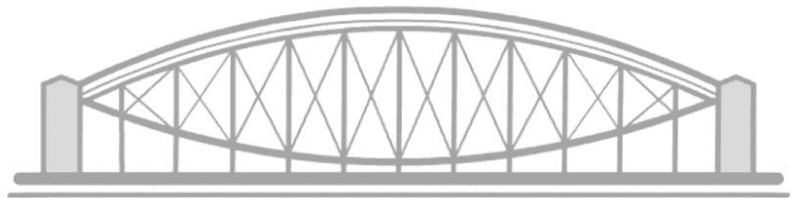




Faculty of Social Science
and Business

Proceedings of the Faculty of Social Science
and Business (University of Plymouth)
Postgraduate Symposium 2008



**The Plymouth Postgraduate Symposium:
Building Bridges in Social Science Research**

Friday 2nd May 2008
Robbins Conference Centre
University of Plymouth

www.ppgs-research.org

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INTRODUCTION

This is the third introduction to proceedings that I have had the pleasure of writing. It is heartening that in those three years the event has grown from quite modest beginnings – although immaculately organised and presented – to this event which not only included presenters from the three schools of Social Science and Law, Plymouth Business School and the School of Geography but, for the first time, included presenters from other Universities. Indeed, thanks to the wonders of modern technology we even managed to have a presentation fed live from Canada. As a result, we have both increased the number of papers and also broadened our scope. It is heartening to also note the variety of methodological approaches that our presenters employed to collect the data for their papers.

With that in mind I would like to thank all those that both took part and attended the event. However, as always there are some people who need special thanks, as without their hard work and enthusiasm all we would have is an idea. Therefore I need to thank the following for all their hard work: Jonathan Lean, Malcolm Williams and Alison Green from the staff and Claire Kelly, Daba Chowdhury, Rossana Guttilla, Natalie Hooton, Katarzyna Jaksina, Hussein Abdou, Luke Sloan, James Parsons and Mark Harron from the post-graduate student body.

The presentation sessions were divided into streams and it is to these this introductory chapter now turns.

Stream One: Politics, Policy, Criminal Justice

This is an area that not only taxes governments in terms of how to 'deal with' aspects of social behaviour but also is the subject of heated debate within the media. The papers presented in this stream reflected this and engaged the audiences with a number of topical and timely topics. For example, Alice Chanter, using the island of Jersey as an example, reflected on the manner in which we engage with young offenders and suggested that we begin to ask the 'why' question much more than our current 'what works' approach to youth justice allows. Layla Wilkie-Buckley continued a crime and justice theme by establishing the role of religion and diversity in society and then examining the manner in which the state provides for freedom of religion, as enshrined in Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights, specifically by looking at provisions in hospitals and prisons.

Mark Harron also looked at diversity but this time by focusing specifically on the recruiting profiles of the 43 police forces in England and Wales. Mark's paper looked at some of the restrictions police forces face in recruiting staff from diverse backgrounds and offered a number of solutions to address recruitment problems. Michelle Jolley moved the discussion away from the

police to look at the manner in which the court system functions. Specifically, Michelle looked at the development of a North American import – the Community Justice Court – into the UK's justice system.

The final two papers in this stream turned their attention to aspects of politics. Luke Sloan, reflecting on a more divergent and informed electorate, provided an interesting piece on what constitutes 'minor' and 'major' political parties. Luke used a two dimensional cluster analysis technique to better define 'minor' political parties. Finally in this stream, Neil Fisher provided a historical look at the reasons behind the spectacular defeat of the once great Liberal party in the 1918 general election. This was a significant event in British electoral history as it seems to mark the beginning of the two party system that dominates contemporary British politics.

Stream Two: Geography and Tourism

Given that in South West England we live in one of the premier tourist regions of the UK, this stream is of great importance to us as individuals and as part of a wider economic community. The papers in this stream reflected two major concerns: one is the effect that climate change and farming decisions will have on the landscape and the other is the manner in which decisions by tourists relating to purchasing and crime have on an area.

Alison Nock's paper looked at the issue of coastal flooding. In detail Alison has identified a niche in the UK's Geographical Information System (GIS) and believes that her work will enable an improvement in coastal flooding predictions by providing greater accuracy and timeliness of response. James Parson's work moved away from local concerns to look at the problems around the Canadian Ice breaking fleet and the impact that the ability of this ageing fleet may or may not have on the development of tourism within the Arctic. James researched how other nations in the Arctic regions manage their fleets and concludes that there is scope for some privatization within the Canadian system.

Saer Barhoum looked at the manner in which the land is managed in terms of farming techniques. Specifically, Saer posed questions about the choices, motivations and reasons farmers had in terms of shifting to organic methods. Saer found that the concept of risk featured heavily in this decision making process. Natalie Hooton's paper examined the links and impacts between crime and tourism, but more generally the impact tourist related crime has on the residents of tourist areas. This marks a move away from the 'traditional' approach of tourist/victim surveys and moves toward an approach that sees the sustainability of local communities as an integral part of the tourist industry. The final paper in the stream comes from Martyn Steer-Fowler and looks at the phenomena of purchasing static caravans as second homes. Using a qualitative approach, Martyn aims to find out why some people choose this form of second home despite there being a number of other alternatives.

Stream Three: Business and Finance

Given the turmoil that we currently see in the worlds of business and finance, this stream is a timely and instructive one. It is equally interesting because it demonstrates the global nature of much of what is happening in the world of commerce. This is best illustrated by the fact that the papers included in this stream deal with matters in Egypt, Turkey, Taiwan and the UK.

Amr Ezat's work investigated the manner in which companies that are listed in the Egyptian Stock Market used the internet to disclose their finances. Amr's initial findings note that whilst just over half of the sampled companies have web sites only, just over a third of these use the web to disclose financial information. Staying in the world of Egyptian commerce, Karim Sorour, in a paper that was probably more timely than was imagined at the time it was written, discussed the nature of corporate governance as applied to Egyptian banks and the banking system. Karim's initial work has noted a governance deficit within the Egyptian system and the paper concluded with some thoughts about ways to reduce this shortcoming.

Daba Chowdhury's presentation examined the manner in which Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in Turkey tackled the need to become involved in Knowledge Transfer and Networking. Daba argues that many Turkish SMEs seem unaware of the need to engage in knowledge transfer and the purpose of Daba's work is to develop a 'First Aid' model for SMEs within Turkey. Tarek Kandil uses a mixed method approach to examine the effects of culture on share price information, by looking at banks and the behaviour of banking leaders in both the UK and Egypt during the period 2004 to 2007.

The final paper in this stream comes from Tony Hung-Yang Lin and introduces us to the issue of women's pension rights in Taiwan following the 2004 Labour Pensions Act and the 2007 National Pensions Act in that country. Tony's work concludes that in order to have a more equitable system there needs to be a tax-based universal policy followed by a pay-as-you-go earnings-related pension scheme, which would minimise longevity concerns and introduce a basic social right.

Stream Four: Sociology

This was one of the most diverse streams and demonstrates the wide-ranging nature and mix of concerns that is British society in the early twenty first century. Aneta Milczarczyk begins by noting that the concepts of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship are recent and somewhat 'trendy' terms. However, further investigation notes that, like many often used social concepts and constructs, clear and agreed definitions are hard to find. Aneta's further work will be to explore the basis of social enterprise with the intention of

allowing the concept and practice to become part of wider policy and organisational structures.

Henry Yeomans' work looks at the highly topical social problem of alcohol use through a historical perspective, by undertaking a comparative analysis of the nineteenth century temperance movement in order to facilitate a discussion as to why the British are seemingly continually alarmed about the drinking behaviour of certain social groups. Jacqui Rogers and Julia Palmer presented papers which discussed methodological concerns. Jaqui's work looks at what is a recurring problem for many researchers and that is one of having an idea that has very little literature surrounding it to date and the impact this has on the chosen research strategy. Julia's work looks at the manner in which focus groups feature in research under the lenses of ontology, epistemology and methodology, before going on to explore both their strengths and weaknesses.

The final paper in this stream comes from Zaheer Hussein and this work looks at the phenomenon of Massive Multiplayer Online Games (MMORPGs). Zaheer used a quantitative method to sample 119 online gamers to examine three phenomena: the impact of online gaming on the players; the effects of online socialising on the life of gamers and why some gamers swapped genders once online.

Finally, we have two abstracts. The presenters of these, Sally Murrall and Hussein Abdou, each address problems that are both contemporary and timely. Sally's paper looked at the problems in policy learning in relation to renewable energy policy and Hussein's work examined the credit scoring models in Egyptian bank's credit decisions.

The set of papers which follow this brief introduction should be seen as a good indication of the state of post-graduates both at the University of Plymouth and beyond. As such, it is my opinion that post-graduate education in the UK is both strong and flourishing.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Paper Editors & Facilitators

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Claire Kelly
Jonathan Lean
Geoff Wilson
Jon Shaw
John Pointon
Lesley Simmonds
Alison Green
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Publication Design and Formatting

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PERSISTENT YOUNG OFFENDER'S FUTURE: A VIEW FROM INSIDE THE HOOD

Alice Chanter

Abstract

Contemporary debate on 'persistent' young offenders depicts a managerial approach towards policy in assessing re-offending in the UK today (Muncie et al 2002). This is highlighted through the sophisticated databases used in criminal research since the early 1980s by criminal justice agencies and policy makers alike. Whilst this type of method provides us with traditional forms of information gathering towards 'measuring' offending, such evidence shines through a narrow managerial lens. The problem with using a predominately quantitative approach to policy is that it does not sufficiently address definition of persistence, socio-political response, or the underlying causes of persistent offending (Muncie 2004). Alternatively, it is based on competing facts and figures, directed towards the governance of crime with very little involvement from the individuals who actually commit such acts (Maguire cited in King et al 2000). Moreover, evidence suggests that such data is typified by a 'populist punitiveness' (Garland 2001), whereby politicians advocate policies that appeal to a fearful electorate. This suggests that youth policy today has taken a shift from discovering young offenders' individual 'needs' towards a categorization of 'risk management' (Pitts 2003). Thus providing us with a rather narrow description of what crime prevention and youth justice necessitates (Hughes 2002).

In order to redress the balance, this paper aims to demonstrate the importance of developing a new research agenda (Farrall 2004). That is, working with and listening to, young people who continue to be involved in criminal activity in order to forge a deeper understanding of why their offending persists. In this sense, a qualitative research advance is combined with a more inclusive policy agenda aimed at widening the local evidence base towards prevention. This paper explores an innovative approach that will enable local policy makers to move beyond the static variables found in numerical data, in which the social and individual variables of persistent offending are often overlooked. In order to explore this research deficit, this paper will draw upon preliminary research analysis from a qualitative research study in the Channel Island of Jersey.

Introduction

A good starting point towards any policy discussion is perhaps to define the topic in hand. Therefore this paper will begin with a brief tour of the literature on 'persistent' young offenders towards a working definition. Next, the paper

will present a short précis of the current youth policy debate in tackling 'persistent' young offenders in the UK today which, will help situate the topic area into a wider contextual framework. The paper contends that, by using a predominately positivist approach towards youth policy, serves to reinforce young offenders as a numerical artifact within a formal system, with little involvement from the young people committing criminal acts. It is argued that this has resulted in the production of a managerial advance to policy one, that incorporates an overuse of punitive measures with limited long-term effect on rehabilitation as it ignores the aetiology of offending. (Pitts cited in McGuire 2006). I believe this policy dilemma is a result of living in a world of statistical relevance, one that is obsessed by numbers, especially in relation to prioritising young people who persistently go through the Criminal Justice System. Consequently, youth policy today is fed by a copious amount of highly confidential data, surrounding '*risk management*' towards a quick fix solution based on a political will of '*what works*' (Maguire 2006). I would suggest that this approach overlooks an important contribution, namely additional qualitative research with persistent young offenders themselves. Central to this procedure, is an aim to research both structural factors and individual variables towards discovering 'why' offending persists for some young people whilst, seeking out factors relating towards *desistence* for others. These issues will be discussed throughout this paper, in an attempt to produce a more balanced approach to youth policy.

Static Variables versus Individual Variables

This methodological concern is nothing new as we are reminded: '*Official statistics...can be viewed as indices of organizational processes rather than as indices of the incidence of certain forms of behaviour*' (Kitsuse 1962). Many contemporary examples of quantitative procedures can be found in everyday policy and practice for example; *Police Statistics, Conviction Rates, Reconviction Rates, Custody Rates, Target Indicators, Performance Indicators, Meta Analysis, Asset Scores, Risk Assessment Scores, Scoring Matrix, Offenders Typologies, Core Profiles*. Whilst, these sophisticated databases provide us with important numerical categories and meanings directed at persistent offending for example, differences between offenders and non-offenders, types of offences, frequency of offences and demographic and social characteristics of offenders. However, it is reasonable to suggest that this type of data highlights a structural connection towards persistent offending whilst ignoring the subjective element of the criminal act itself (Maruna 2004). This paper contends that quantitative approaches alone cannot sufficiently address the important underlying causes of persistence or indeed the individual transition towards prevention. As the policy assessment tools primarily focus on identifying and managing the *risk* of re-offending (Krisberg 2005), thus overlooking important individual areas towards positive reintegration. Many authors argue that this approach has led us into a contemporary mode of *penal populism* (Roberts et al 2003), which is directed at a fearful electorate something I will discuss later in this paper. Meanwhile my

main concern as a researcher is that contemporary policy approaches leads practitioners further into a political world of numerical uncertainty, as the wider factors associated with recidivism are not sufficiently addressed. Therefore I would argue for a more in-depth analysis when dealing with youth offending this, will aim to encourage a more holistic approach using an offender-focused route whilst widening the methodical lens. This point will be emphasized throughout this paper.

The paper concludes with a new focus on the '*research agenda debate*' (Farrall 2004), to help illustrate the positive aspects of combining a qualitative approach with persistent young offenders. Preliminary analysis from the small island state of Jersey will be drawn upon in order to produce a case study for discussion. It is hoped that this location may prove interesting to readers (particularly within other microstates) in that, the research has been conducted in an affluent island state that boasts low crime rates, low unemployment, thriving economy, healthy environment for young people and an ASBO free society. Current research evidence states that this type of locality is in marked contrast to existing studies into persistent young offenders in the UK today. Conversely, due to the marked difference in localities and indeed the small scale findings, this research cannot be seen as representative however, the overall aim of the paper is to demonstrate a need for a more balanced approach to youth policy whilst contributing to the *research agenda debate*. For leading insights (see: Maguire 2000; Farrall 2004; Burnett and Maruna 2006; Moore et al 2006; McDougall, Farrington 2006; and Roberts 2008). Finally, the research findings presented in this paper will seek to produce a legitimate voice for persistent young offenders by, conveying first-hand empirical data towards reintegration needs. Before we can explore this rich data the paper must now move towards a definition of persistence.

Towards a definition of persistence

Research evidence to date suggests that there is no decisive agreement on what a persistent young offender is. According to Arnall et al '*no single definition exists*' (Youth Justice Board 2005) therefore, any explanation put forward from the literature may be viewed as arbitrary. It is useful to note that lack of a 'unified' definition can produce major difficulties for any researcher studying persistent young offenders today, particularly when seeking to provide a meaningful analysis (Crewe 2005). Therefore, by examining a broad range of evidence surrounding the term, various 'definitions' have emerged for this paper albeit under different guises. Over the past decade policy has seen a switch in emphasis from 'persistence' amongst adult offenders towards a proportion of young offenders who were initially classified as: '*dangerous, inadequate, and career criminals*' (Pratt and Dickinson cited in Arnall et al (2005). I believe this switch in emphasis highlights two important issues. *First*, an in-built societal perception towards the usage of such terms emerges. *Second*, the more serious consequences that involves a proportion of young offenders, being convicted of increasingly more crime than the rest of the

offending population. An important observation here, is that regardless of the different labels being used to define 'persistence' suggests, that the term itself is socially constructed mainly due to the socio-political culture to which it subscribes. We are reminded: *'Persistent offending- the recurring notion that a small group of Offenders make up a disproportionate part of the 'crime problem'* (Muncie 2004).

Conflicting definitions: brief tour of the literature

Defining persistent offending is an essential element to any given research project on young offenders. This is because conflicting definitions evolve in the literature that contains a type of language surrounding persistence which varies considerably in contemporary policy and practice. This dilemma is cited in early research studies such as Wolfgang et al's (1972) Philadelphia cohort study of 10,000 juvenile males. This original work found that the likelihood of 'persistency' increased after each consecutive offence, and the prospect of re-offending was high in contrast to the low possibility of resistance. Thus, 'persistency' was identified as a result of the *number* of offences (Arnull et al 2005). This was later disputed in the famous Cambridge study by Farrington (1997) who, stated that 'persistency' suggested a young person who had three or more convictions. Farrington's results were based on a risk analysis, and inferred that the *social characteristics* were also major contributing factors towards the young people as a persistent offender (Muncie 2002). However, whilst this study identified statistical correlations of social factors, his study failed to capture the wider causal issues associated with persistent offending which, I believe are vital areas when researching young recidivists.

Definitions in transit

In contrast, a qualitative study by Foster (1990) highlighted this point in that, a major correlation towards persistence within this particular cohort had a generational connection. These qualitative findings revealed that a specific London location produced a template for a youth crime 'apprenticeship' in that most of the tricks of the trade were socially learnt by young offenders in their daily setting through *'parental reinforcement'* (Muncie 2004). This ethnographic study claimed that caution must prevail for any researchers when using official definitions of persistence, as they cannot be taken at face value, mainly because each community setting differs and the production of definitions may vary considerably. Therefore, it is worth observing that terms like *'persistent offender'* and *'serious offender'* are reminders of socially constructed phenomena which, can often depend on the interpretation of certain types of offences being committed. For example, stealing someone's car may be seen (by some) as 'serious' but in the same light, this crime can be categorized (by others) as a minor offence. This point was cited in the 2003 Crime & Justice Survey (see Budd Sharp and Mayhew 2005) whereby, their analysis showed the difficult task of defining 'seriousness' of particular offences overall, from

theft of a car to dealing in class A drugs. In contrast, the Youth Justice Board later highlighted 'seriousness' as a result of each individual's custodial sentence-length (Moore et al 2006). So, it is important to take into account here, the *transactional nature* (Becker cited in Cohen 2002) leading up to the social construction of these definitive terms. This implies that the consequences are such, that labels are produced for many young people which seems a natural process to place them as *outsiders* (Becker 1963), with little recognition that it is the social or certified definition that has produced the category. Thus, significant policy implications emerge here especially in terms of current research with persistent young offenders.

Additional evidence on defining persistence was put forward by the first ever British study produced by Hagell & Newburn in (1994). It is useful to note that this work focused on persistence as a result of the political rhetoric and public perception surrounding young people involved in crime during this era. It is fair to say, that most of the policy concern was fuelled by increased media hype and orchestrated through the use of isolated stories that appeared regularly from the 1970s in the media. For example, stories such as 'ratboy' 'balaclava boy' 'evil monsters' are all cited in the literature towards a demonization of youth (Jewkes et al 2005). A prime example of this was the James Bulger case (1993) as it provoked socio-political outrage and mass hysteria about the 'evils of society' whilst ignoring the aetiology of the offence (Brown 1998). This resulted in both the Conservative and New Labour governments tuning their policy tactics towards a fearful electorate, by instigating a getting tough on 'persistent young offenders' and the 'yob culture'. A political campaign was led through media spin and popular opinion when, in reality it is fair to say that this particular media explosion was a consequence of two ten year old boys committing one horrific crime. The point here in the context of this paper, is not to downplay criminal behaviour of young people or the seriousness of their crimes. However, it is useful to note the impact that exploited political and media hype has on the public perception of young people overall in such poignant cases. More often than not this results in a derogatory depiction that is difficult to reverse once the seed has been planted (Brown 1998 and Jewkes 2005). As a result of growing socio-political concern directed at persistent young offenders in the UK a committee was set up to look into all aspects of 'youth crime' in the wake of the Home Affairs Committee (HAC) and the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) (Muncie 2002) who, produced conflicting evidence towards the 'true' extent of persistent offending. The former discovered a reduction in youth offending and the latter an increase over a set period. Consequently, Hagell and Newburn's (1994) study discovered no fixed consensus as far as definition was concerned. However, they managed to generate an operational definition for the set purpose of their own research but warned against its vulnerable status due to lack of use. It consisted of three comparable meanings as follows:

The term persistency was used to categorize smaller groups of young recidivists A persistent young offender had a minimum of three arrests in one

year. The frequency of acknowledged offending (including self-report) and frequency of arrests were used to identify a 'persistent offender'
(Hagell and Newman cited in Arnall et al 2005)

Engaging definitions in research

This evidence highlights the importance of definition towards persistence in that, by applying various definitions this will inevitably lead to conflicting samples of young people who appear to be 'persistently' offending. Moreover, these findings confirm Muncie's view that because of the differences in categorization, a proportion of young people will be held responsible for an unbalanced amount of crime overall, despite the disparity in criminal prototype. Therefore, numerous commentators state that it is vital to identify 'persistence' when conducting research in this area. (See Wolfgang et al, 1987; Pratt and Dickinson, 1993; Farrington and West, 1996; Hagell and Newburn 1994). The UK Government (1997) defines a persistent young offender as:

"A young person aged between 10 to 17 who has been sentenced by a Criminal court in the UK on three or more occasions for one or more recordable offences, and within three years of the last sentencing...."
(Home Office cited in Arnall et al 2005)

Contemporary authors like Soothill et al (2003) reflected a need to explicitly define 'persistent offending' as emphasized in their time-scale analysis. They used a modified definition of a Home Office circular which was designed to be applied to large samples of young offenders who were included in the official statistics. Although one must be aware that such figures do not cover the dark figure of crime or indeed, the fact that some young offenders grow out of crime. Moreover, many young offenders are consistently being replaced by 'new kids on the block', while these data sets concentrate on recorded offences only. That said, Soothill's study defined 'persistence' as someone who had; *three divided sentences, over an eight year period, with a minimum of four convictions* (Soothill et al 2003). A more recent study by the Home Office (2004) identified *prolific* and *serious* offenders' through self-report data. This work defined a '*prolific offender*' as someone who has six or more offences within a year, and a '*serious offender*' related to a person who had committed a variety of offences within a twelve month period (Newburn 2007). Thus, reminding us that different definitions produce diverse interpretations.

Finally, the main aim of this section was to emphasize the importance of 'definition' before carrying out research with persistent young offenders. It is reasonable to suggest that in view of the evidence taken from the literature, any definition that is put forward may be viewed as arbitrary. Therefore, this paper suggests that contemporary researchers need to devise a thorough and operational definition before conducting any fieldwork. Likewise, any over-reliance on numerical categorizations of '*persistent*' young offenders may prove difficult in the research field due to the contradictory nature of collation.

In this view, a functioning definition was produced before entering the current research field. This working definition was inextricably linked to the society under study and will be discussed shortly in the Jersey case study section of the paper. Meanwhile, due to a dearth of available research in Jersey, we must first look at a brief summary of the youth policy debate on persistent young offenders in the UK today.

Managing youth policy today

More than half a decade has passed since the instigation of The Children's Act 1948 yet; resemblances of this pre-legislative view still linger in the managerial approach to youth policy, as we return to more punitive measures with persistent young offenders today (see Hendrick, 1994).

'..The child in these homes was not regarded as an individual within his own rights...and with his own contribution to offer. He was merely one of a large crowd eating, playing and sleeping with the rest...more important, he was without feeling that there was anyone to whom he could turn who was vitally interested in his welfare....'

(Rose cited in Muncie 2002)

Contemporary evidence suggests that repeat incarceration of young people is proving to be the least satisfactory way of dealing with 'persistent' young offenders in the UK today (Allen 2006). Principally because, many young people are continually locked-up for their offences, without having their needs addressed towards positive reintegration (Farrall 2004). This is in spite of the essential work of ground level staffs undertaken in the penal process, whose daily routine and resources are undoubtedly overstretched due to the sheer volume of young people entering and re-entering the system (Allen 2006). This type of managerial advance aims at promoting a practical approach, that is, one which appears to be well-organized, consistent, and produces cost-effective policies (Muncie et al 2002), whilst disregarding the all important components of offender reintegration. Allen encapsulates the serious consequences of such an approach he observes:

"At worst, detaining damaged and difficult young people 24 hours a day, seven days a week for weeks, months or even years can interrupt the normal process of growing up, reinforce delinquent attitudes, and create the ingredients for bullying intimidation and racism"

(Allen 2006)

This evidence implies, that youth policy today has taken a shift from young offenders' individual 'needs' towards a categorization of *risk-management* (Hughes et al 2002). Which, according to many authors has resulted in an overuse of punitive measures directed at addressing '*deeds*' rather than '*needs*' of young offenders (see Pitts 2003 for a persuasive overview). I contend, that this approach provides us with a rather narrow description of

what crime prevention and youth justice necessitates as long term solutions are being ignored.

Theoretical propensity and the politics of persistence

Much of the theoretical propensity about persistent young offenders today, suggests that a *new- penology* is trying to shape society's views (Feeley and Simon 1992). Mainly, by producing copious amounts of systematic data directed through political media spin, which place young offenders 'safely behind bars' so that contemporary government appear to be dealing with the situation. That is, managing and controlling any threats that young recidivists may generate towards upsetting the political-equilibrium as government officials advocate policies that appeal to a fearful electorate. Thus, by implanting a policy seed of 'penal safety', this type of approach appeals to a wider community as young recidivists no longer emerge as a threat to everyday lives. Garland (2001) describes this situation as living in a '*Culture of Control*' whereby, protecting the public takes precedence over rehabilitation needs as far as politicians and modern day crime control initiatives are concerned. As a result youth policy today is surrounded by a political ethos of containment, by using a systematic managerial approach that is typified by a '*populist punitiveness*' (Garland et al 2001). However, in reality, these measures appear no more than short – term fixes based on competing facts and figures directed towards the *governance* of youth crime, with very little involvement from the individuals who actually commit such acts (Maguire et al 2000). Authors such as Robinson (2002) remind us of the important consequences of this new- actuarial approach to youth justice:

"It...essentially implies a shift of focus away from individuals in favour of categories or aggregates of potential or actual deviants; and from a position of rehabilitative or 'transformative' optimism, in favour of more limited, 'managerial' goals"

(Robinson 2002)

In response to such concerns, this paper poses an important question; If a systematic, managerial approach, cannot establish a causal connection to 'persistence' for young offenders, or indeed, important aspects of their daily lives such as protection factors towards 'desistance', then what is current day policy aiming to achieve in the long term? Particularly in the existing penal climate whereby continuous UK reports suggest that reconviction rates are rising on an all time high with over seventy per cent of young offenders re-entering custody within a twelve month period (Home Office cited in YJB 2004). The position against young people in UK custody is plentiful within the literature but is beyond the scope of this paper (see particularly Goldson 1993; Pitts 2003; and Maruna 2007). Meanwhile, despite an overuse of punitive measures in the UK as highlighted earlier by Allen (2002), and indeed the

social costs, the current debate surrounding youth policy appears to triumph on a 'what works' basis (Muncie 2004).

Feeley and Simon (1992) contend that at the centre of this 'new' detention phenomenon is a hidden policy agenda, in that penal pastimes inform us that consistency in punishing offenders used to be a sure sign that a system was failing. However, these authors argue that by using a managerial approach today, this is seen as a more positive measure towards dealing with deviant groups through a categorization of *risk-management* (Newburn 2008), as increased systematic procedures are seen to be more efficient in monitoring deviant groups. However this statement may be challenged by asking is this situation really anything new? Perhaps we need to be reminded of where the origins of such discourse lie. Authors like Thomas Moore (1516) observed that the genesis of criminal activity itself can be found in a culture dating back to Tudor times when, feudal landscapes were rife with an impecunious system of gangs and public disorder that were inflamed by the apprehensions of the nobility (Pitts 2003). Moore's writings imply that during this period, the bourgeois and the proletariat were in a state of conflict as a result of their status, especially in the context of social regulation, social order, or disorder as the case maybe. So, perhaps this new- actuarial approach is not just about authoritarian forces at play, it could be part of the ongoing power struggles between the masses. Equally, many historical examples of this approach can be found, one only has to reflect on the Classical era of penal reform during the seventeenth century or Lombroso's positivist legacy in the eighteenth century, followed by the Eugenics movement in the nineteenth century, to see these powerful forces at work. For now, this paper must briefly assess the key events and justifications leading up to a contemporary situation of penal malfunction towards reform.

Legislative targeting of persistent offenders

Up until the late 1970s there was political consensus towards crime, punishment and youth justice in the UK, for specialist insights (see; Muncie et al 2002, Burnett et al 2004, Moore et al 2006, and Roberts 2008). Nevertheless, in 1979 a significant policy change took place, when the Thatcher Government utilized law and order for the first time into the political manifesto which, resulted in an electoral win against Labour. The outcome was such that an increased form of politicization of youth crime and justice in the UK emerged, as the Conservative government introduced a '*short, sharp, shock,*' system in 1979. This scheme was directed at young offenders in custodial settings and was transported to many institutions throughout the UK (Pitts cited in Smith 2003). As a result, important legislative changes took place preceding a Home Office (1981) circular on *Young Offenders* which, was surrounded by a political culture of responsabilization. This White Paper suggested that a new justice route would produce a strong contender for welfare based strategies, as individuals and communities would be encouraged to take a firm lead on a new law and order approach. On a rather

pessimistic note, it was perhaps conveniently overlooked how this type of approach would help to embrace the political purse of the time - as the 'responsibility' for crime control was focused towards new community interventions. This switch in policy focus can be found in the new community initiatives that were introduced at the time and indeed have continued into criminal justice development today. For example: Intense Supervision Programmes, (ISP's) Zero-Tolerance, Electronic Tagging, Defensible Space, some of which were transferred from America to the UK (Newburn 2007). More contemporary examples include: Community Supervision orders (CSOs), followed by the Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) phenomena in the UK. According to Hudson (1987), these initiatives, were seen as individualized ways of dealing with young offenders through 'modern retributivism' instead of stating publicly the new Liberal administration of the day (Hughes et al 2002).

The legislative acts leading up to this type of '*policy transfer*' (Newburn 2007) in England and Wales were as follows: First, the Children and Young Persons Act (1969) which advocated (SOs) for young offenders, then came the Criminal Justice Act (1972) and (CSOs), such orders placed emphasis on retribution in the community and public defense. This was followed by the Criminal Justice Act (1982) (Moore et al 2006), which was a major contributing factor towards the 'risk' debate today, as it was seen as a noteworthy shift from welfare towards a modern-day 'warfare' on Community Supervision Orders. Following the 1988 Criminal Justice Act, a marked reduction in young offenders were entering custody (approx-50%) as informal controls such as police cautioning were being used as a deviation from the courts and detention (Pitts 2002). Consequently, this approach enthused government ministers to promote a hands-off approach whereby, the 1991 Criminal Justice Act formalized a focus on '*deeds*' rather than '*needs*' which disengaged welfare from the formal system (Rutherford cited in Hughes et al 2002). Retribution in the community was then firmly established by the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act as was public protection (see Bottoms, Rex and Robinson cited in Moore 2006). Consequently, in youth justice practice at the beginning of the twenty first century, one could see community monitoring taking hold, as both welfare and diversion were firmly embedded within the political terminology (Goldson cited in Moore et al 2006), this will be highlighted shortly. Meanwhile, the implications from these legislative movements with regards to youth justice were harsh, because they encouraged a failing system which moved away from prevention towards *penal populism* as custody numbers escalate and *risk-management* took hold as we are aptly reminded:

"Moral debate about the purpose and process of intervention has been shifted to the sidelines in the search for 'value for money' and cost-effective measurable outcomes. Youth offending, it seems has simply become another risk to be managed"

(Hughes et al 2002)

Rise of penal populism

As the terminology of the 1990s toughened the Blair legacy took hold with his infamous catchphrase *'Tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime'* (1993), this marked a crucial socio-political challenge towards crime and disorder in the UK with significant emphasis on 'persistent' young offenders. Especially so, in the wake of the James Bulger case (1993) as mentioned earlier whereby, the political stance of both parties aimed at 'getting tough' with young offenders. This forceful outlook took hold and was so much part of everyday life, that punishment and deterrence became leading political contenders. In 1993, under a Conservative government, MP's media spin called for persistent young offenders to be *'locked-up'* whilst *'society needs to condemn a little more and understand a little less'* (Clark and Major cited in Pitts, 2002), Labour also hopped on this political bandwagon maintaining to the public that a 'tough on crime' campaign would be counter-launched with retribution at its helm. I believe, this resulted in a 'soft on the underlying causes' approach to emerge, as more and more young offenders' entered custody with welfare and diversionary tactics at the bottom of the political agenda (Goldson 2000).

The Criminal Justice Act (1994) endorsed this political authority which resulted (eventually) in a New Labour electoral victory. Authors such as Marquand (2000) suggest that a new type of governance emerged here when; New Labour was self-professing towards an informed electorate by sending out the right communication on youth crime. Meanwhile, as far as social policy was concerned, a well exposed Home Office study looked into the cost and effect of the UK youth justice system namely *'Misspent Youth'* (Audit Commission 1999). This work found that a vast amount of 'misspent' money was issued towards local interventions for young offenders which were deemed to be ineffective, mainly because administration costs (70% of a 1bn budget) overtook the outlay on preventative needs (Pitts 2002). The main message taken from this time is that the political approach to crime was bounded by a *'bipartisan consensus'* directed at a *'populist punitiveness'* (Newburn 2007) meaning that, both sides of the political coin were stressing 'tough' penal measures towards an effective electoral goal. For the purpose of this paper this evidence reminds us that studying youth crime today can be politically inclined, socially constructed and by tradition- changeable (see Newburn 2007 and Roberts 2008).

Implications for contemporary policy

It is worth noting that, youth justice today is now subjected by evidence-based research, and so too are the new youth policy strategies which have been put into place. These strategies are attempting to redress the balance by working with persistent young offenders. For example; initiatives like the Intense Supervision and Surveillance Programmes (ISSP-2001) and the Prolific Priority Strategy (PPO 2004), are specifically designed to target 'persistent' young offenders (Moore et al 2006). Some commentators argue that these

programmes are aimed at '*what works*' based on managing immediate issues of young offenders whilst ignoring the wider social issues involved with recidivism. Research evidence suggests that such programmes also suffer from weak evaluations by relying mainly on statistical correlations towards future planning and long-term goals thus; omitting any causal mechanisms involved in the preventative process (see Hughes et al 2002, McGuire 2004, Moore et al 2006, and Newburn 2008).

These observations have serious implications for contemporary youth policy and practice especially, as evidence suggests that anxiety has been articulated by the states reserves about rising costs of punitive authorization for young offenders (Smith 2007). So, perhaps there is need to move away from a purely governmental feel good statutory provision in the forthcoming new '*Youth Action Plan*' which, captivates a forceful '*duty to involve*' the community based on '*respect*'- by 2009 (Communities and Local Government 2007). In terms of outcome, this movement may be seen as productive as far as community involvement is concerned. However, I would argue that this approach produces 'even more excuses' in the fight against persistent youth offending today especially, when penal lock-down for young offender's is on the increase and the individual causes of recidivism fail to be addressed. Pitts (2003) sums this up admirably, '*The actors come and go, the script remains the same*'.

Finally, in this brief tour of theoretical propensity towards persistence, I have tried to show the reader that, when studying this topic, researchers need to be well versed in the underlying complexities of persistent offending. Evidence to date, suggests that this is laden with a Foucauldian analysis (1979) of what is called '*state control*' whereby, traditional youth justice routes have moved away from being simply a law and order legislature, towards a more populist-managerial approach in the name of regulation and efficiency (see Muncie et al 2002 and Smith 2007). Such observation produces a strong case for redressing the policy balance as there are always new avenues to explore. Therefore, as a widening of the methodological lens is emphasized, this paper will now draw on some illustrative research findings from an ongoing project with persistent young offenders- in Jersey.

A case for qualitative research?

In response to Farrall's (2004) concern towards developing a new research agenda, and indeed to Moore et al (2006) observation that we do not spend enough time collecting evidence from offenders themselves. A Jersey case study was instigated in order to redress this policy balance.

'Collecting systematic evidence and information on individual cases, as well as at aggregate level, should be viewed as an integral process for practitioners and managers'

(Moore et al 2006)

The aims of this project were twofold. *One*, was to test a new research approach, as a dearth of qualitative research in Jersey on persistent young offenders was evident. This, suggested to me important gaps in local policy knowledge. *Two*, this research aimed to provide a legitimate voice for young islanders who are 'persistently' going through the Jersey system towards positive reintegration needs. Before drawing on the research findings we must turn to a short profile of the research setting.

Jersey- island profile

Jersey is an affluent island in the English Channel situated fourteen miles off the NW coast of France with a population of 88,200 (estimated from 2001 Jersey Census) within an area of 118 sq km. Jersey, once part of the Duchy of Normandy is now a self-governing island and a British Crown Dependency. Remaining in allegiance to the Crown since 1204 when continental Normandy lost to the Crown for an excellent overview (see Le Herissier 1995). Jersey is not part of the UK or the EU and has a unique constitutional status in that, the island hosts an autonomous jurisdiction with an inherited power base in a locally elected government and legal system. The States of Jersey legislative assembly has 53 members, who deal with all internal matters such as laws, policies, and annual budgets. They also represent the island community, except for defense and international relations for which the Crown is responsible (see www.gov.je). The official language in Jersey was French up until 1957 which remained for many years, and today many of the island laws and court proceedings still uphold this speech (Syvret and Stevens 1981). However, English is now predominant amongst the majority of island residents (71 %), with Portuguese as the second main language (8.4%) and French, and other languages making up the shortfall (Jersey Census 2001).

Jersey- policing

Jersey has an unusual style of policing in that the island consists of 12 separate parishes which have independent police forces namely the Honorary Police system. This is an age old tradition which is made up of voluntary officers who are elected by parishioners themselves. Mawby (1994) asserts that such officers have greater discretionary powers within the local parishes in Jersey as they are closer to the community in which they were elected, unlike the specialist States of Jersey Police (paid force) who have less contact due to their anonymity in their daily roles. Also, Jersey's law enforcement system is such, that the States police do not act as gate-keepers to the Criminal Justice System as many of the local offences can be dealt with at a parish level through attending at a '*Parish Hall Enquiry*' (PHE). This, is led by an elected Centenier so, in this sense the PHE offers an alternative to formal court proceedings for a constructive insight (see Miles and Raynor 2005). The important point for this paper is that Jersey, unlike other jurisdictions is a

location consisting of multifaceted relationships in that many of the island structures overlap such as politics, education, kinship and the same people come into contact with each other. This I believe creates a feeling of social collectivity whilst testing individual objectivity as the socio-political networks are more intense this, we shall see in the current research findings with persistent young offenders.

Jersey- crime profile

Jersey today, is an island that boasts; low crime rates (approx 50% lower than the UK), a healthy economy (GNI-£2.94 billion), low unemployment, a safe environment and an ASBO free society (see States of Jersey at www.gov.je). However, it should be noted that an articulate Criminal Justice Policy in Jersey has been lacking. Consequently, Professor Andrew Rutherford was commissioned in 2002 to review the Jersey criminal justice process by the Jersey Home Affairs Committee (1999), who is accountable for the delivery of criminal justice services in Jersey. That is, with the exception of the Jersey Probation and After Care Service who continue to be part of the Royal Court (States of Jersey 2005). The Rutherford Review (2002) concluded that a development of a reasoned criminal justice policy was of strategic importance to the island as no such policy existed. As a result, Jersey now has its first ever Criminal Justice Policy lodged with the States of Jersey with a life span from 2007-2011. The policy is committed to: *'promoting a safe, just and equitable society'* (Home Affairs Department 2007). The responsibility for criminal justice before the new policy was instigated, lay with the island's individual service departments. This, (I believe) resulted in a fragmented approach to criminal justice matters in the midst of ministerial reform.

Conversely, interesting times have emerged today for formal policy; as a restructuring of the island constitution places the Jersey Home Affairs amongst the ten ministerial government departments who can now be directly accountable for criminal justice policy in the island. For further insight (see Rutherford and Jameson 2002 and States of Jersey Home Affairs Department 2007). The main source on crime *per se* is the States of Jersey Police recorded crime figures, otherwise a dearth of available data is evident. This suggests that caution must prevail when citing any crime figures, especially in Jersey where less formal systems of crime control are in place within a Parish Hall System as we are reminded:

"The States of Jersey recorded crime statistics represent a pool of incidents that form the starting point for the formal law enforcement process"

(Rutherford and Jameson 2002)

Jersey- recorded crime

According to the latest police statistics the number of recorded crimes in Jersey stand at 58.4 per 1,000 population with 4,658 crimes recorded in 2007 approx 50% below the UK. It is reported that recorded crime fell overall in Jersey by 11.60 % in 2007, and that young offenders are responsible for 37% of all recorded crime in the island (States of Jersey Police- Policing Plan 2007). Also, Jersey's prison population in 2007 reached a peak high of 200 within a total capacity limit of 215 mainly due to inadequate sentencing policy. This figure placed Jersey in the upper region of Europe's prison population - per 100,000. It is important to note for this paper that repeat custodial sentencing is not tackling the problem of recidivism amongst young offenders this was highlighted in HM Chief Inspector of Prisons Report 2005 and indeed reconviction data for young offenders which, stands at 70% (within 12 months) and 85% of young offenders being reconvicted within a two year period (see Miles and Raynor 2004).

It is worth observing that there is no custodial sentence in Jersey for young people under 15years. However, some young people can be held in remand at Greenfields Centre, a newly refurbished (2006) residential secure and non-secure unit in Jersey for school age groups- costing 5.5 million. A crucial review of this facility (formerly Le Chenes) was undertaken in 2002 which prompted many positive changes in Jersey for children in residential care (see Kathy Bull Report 2002). However, there are still important policy issues not being addressed in Jersey as far as custody and young people are concerned, particularly, for young female offenders who are incarcerated with adult offenders. For example: young offenders aged 15 and above are sentenced to custody in the island and their only option is to complete their sentence at La Moye Jersey's only prison. Whilst this facility supplies a young offender's institution, it comprises of a wing in the main prison that accommodates young male prisoners only aged between 15-21 years. However, there is no separate wing for young female prisoners who must share their sentence in the central adult female wing where overall conditions are currently under scrutiny (see HMI Report 2005 and States of Jersey C.J. Policy 2007).

This paper will now direct us away from statistical connotations aimed at persistent young offenders. That is, '*artificial aggregates that have no direct representation in the real world*' (Mishler cited in Crewe 2005), towards some qualitative evidence from persistent young offenders in Jersey who put forward a - '*view from the inside*'.

Methodology

This paper has shown that there is no easy solution towards researching persistent young offenders today however, as Plato once said; '*The*

unexamined life is not worth living' (Osbourne 1992). So, I decided to tackle this issue head-on by testing a qualitative research tool with persistent young offenders in Jersey. The findings of this locally funded project aim to produce an insight into persistent young offenders' perception of need towards reintegration, whilst contributing to the local policy- knowledge base.

Before conducting the main fieldwork the following methods were employed. Stage one involved an in-depth literature review on persistent young offenders, plus fifteen hours of informal interviews with Jersey agencies in order to establish a local feel for the topic in hand. The initial meetings proved vital, as a route towards a working definition for the main fieldwork emerged. According to the local criminal justice agency representatives 'NO' set definition is available of a 'persistent young offender' (PYO) in the island. However, my preliminary fieldwork produced two alternative definitions; (a) *Prolific offender* and (b) *Low-Med-High risk- criteria*. The former definition is currently put forward by the States of Jersey Police as someone who is: *'an active offender ... estimated to be responsible for one in ten crimes'*, this is based on a UK Home Office research that determines *'prolific offenders'* as small groups of active offenders who commit approximately 50% of crime overall. This report states that in 2007, 43 prolific offenders were arrested in Jersey 102 times (States of Jersey Police Annual Performance Report 2007). The latter definition was explained by the Jersey Probation and After Care Service, who amongst other agencies would not define a PYO. Instead they use a low/med/high-risk criteria to classify young offenders. For example, young people who are associated with the criminal justice system could be classified as a 'low' level offender whereas, someone in a Jersey young offenders residential would be a 'med' level case, and young offenders in prison would come under the 'high' risk- criteria (Jersey Probation and After Care Service 2007).

It is fair to say that in view of the evidence presented, conflicting definitions emerged in Jersey particularly with reference to a *'prolific offender'* which is based on a UK definition. This 'term' appears to be inconsistent with a unique system in Jersey, principally when one considers that many local offences are dealt with, and recorded at a Parish Hall Enquiry level as mentioned earlier. Therefore, as Jersey has no custodial sentence for young offenders under 15yrs, and my research had a strong focus on reintegration and prevention, it was decided the working definition would be as follows: a 'persistent offender' was someone aged between 16-25years with at least 3 custodial sentences in Jersey. My maximum age-range was decided as a result of concern raised by local agencies who were particularly interested in this higher age bracket and indeed, as a result of a pilot study that was conducted with young offenders themselves. So, armed with a working definition and some thematic responses from the pilot study, my main research methods consisted of: a review of published and unpublished documents in Jersey, meetings with the relevant gate-keepers, outreach observations in Jersey, and in-depth interviews with persistent young offenders themselves.

An ethnographic approach is utilized in this research project which is described by Ellen (1984) as a process of '*subjective soaking*', which means that the research process occurs when the researcher becomes submerged in the culture under study (Ellen cited in Berg 1998). In this light, a social interaction takes place between the interviewer and the interviewee. This allows a deeper understanding to emerge as the transcripts, individual ideas, observations, and perceptions become a product of the overall process (Clifford cited in Berg 1998). A snowball sampling method is employed for the main data collection which, allows the researcher to make an initial contact and ask for that contact to recommend the next respondent who meets the definitive criteria, this continues until the topic area is *saturated* (Sarantakos 1998). This approach is proving constructive in Jersey particularly given the geographical situation of the fieldwork. The ongoing project is aiming for a total sample of 35 which will include in-depth interviews and several individual case-studies for local agency dissemination. Due to the nature of the sampling process the interviews will aspire to include a mixed gender and ethnic origin status. The findings will be analysed using an analytic induction which will aim to highlight the most common factors associated with *persistence and desistance* for young offenders. Thus, a focus on similarities in the data will be explored rather than simply a production of systematic differences (see Berg 1998 and Maruna 2004).

The following findings are drawn from the first two stages of a five year PhD project therefore, they will be discussed in the context of methodological progression rather than a discussion of conclusive results as analysis is ongoing.

Research Findings

"No-one, not even that Judge ever bothered to asked me WHY I did it" (Male participant 20s) In order to empower the young participants into openly discussing their views and experiences leading up to their persistent offending in Jersey, my qualitative approach was guided by an interview schedule made up of eight thematic areas. These were a product of issues arising in a pilot study conducted with young offenders in the island. The main areas covered within the current interviews (averaging 90 minutes), were issues related to: *Relationships, Education & Employment, Health & Lifestyle, Offending, Courts & Custody, Resettlement & Reintegration, Re-offending and Their Future*. Given the sensitive nature of the interviews a ten minute research discussion with each participant was applied. This enabled a rapport to be established, and more importantly to achieve full informed consent from the young people whilst addressing confidentiality and any ethical concerns. The interviews were conducted either in the community or in Jersey's prison. I recorded them in notepad form (only) and transcribed them immediately afterwards for good recall. The preliminary findings form an interpretative perspective (Berg 1998) which, has produced copious amounts of meaningful data reflecting young people's perceptions of their offending situations - as they see it. This rich data

source draws out the main areas of concern for the young people and indeed the challenges they face towards reintegration. The data appears consistent with the policy issues contained in the literature, which will be a useful tool for local practitioners.

Verbatim Snap-Shots

As a full account of the research findings is beyond the scope of this paper, the following verbatim snap-shots represent the main re-occurring themes that arose from the young offenders during the preliminary data collection in Jersey. These qualitative responses reflect the principal objectives of this paper namely, a need for a new approach towards persistent young offenders, through methodological progression in youth justice policy.

One of the main themes emulating from the Jersey cohort (16 to date) was their '*early disengagement from family life and school*'. In some cases, this was a result of disruptive family set-ups, abusive situations, emotional problems, mixing with deviant peer-groups, the majority of young respondents showed a lack of father figures in their lives. These issues appeared to determine their existing disengagement from the family home which, according to the risk factor literature on recidivism - plays a crucial role (Arnull et al 2005).

'I've lived away from home since a very young age in children's care homes but ... all this (offending) kicked off when I was about eleven....when I was shoved into a residential. I got into taking drugs really early you know mixing with other kids who had problems - so listening to adults and doing schoolwork was not for me at all. I always seemed to be getting into trouble an being punished for something'

(Female respondent 20s)

'I didn't like school..... all I wanted to do was be out there mucking around. I was always been told what to do so I just didn't turn up..... eventually I ended up being excluded that's why I was sent to residential I've always got on better with older kids. When me mum and dad divorced when I was younger I got well depressed an didn't wanna know anyone in the familyhad loads of arguments with me mum an dad so like I'd rush out the house an go see me mates -they'd sort me out.....by fourteen I was well into drinking an drugs I remember getting thrown out of school'

(Male respondent under 20yrs)

Another key theme from the young people highlighted a '*small island state syndrome*' in that, once you take on a criminal career pathway it is not easy as a young person to get out of it, mainly due to local stigma and peer group pressure and the pure geographical dimensions of the island setting. Many respondents often spoke about having a criminal record and how this has affected their life chances. This type of stigma encourages a self-fulfilling prophecy to emerge (Becker cited in Lilly 2002) in that, once a label has been

applied it is difficult to discard especially in a close-knit community like Jersey. Sampson and Laub (1997) contend that entering deviancy at an early age may in effect contribute towards persistence of offending as a build up of 'cumulative continuity' transpires towards life choices (see Maruna 2004).

'I was just trying to hold down the first job I'd ever had and the police kept coming in (names location) and harassing me...of course they knew me with my record ..an that but I was trying hard to go straight at the time...but they just wouldn't leave me get on with my work. In the end I got pissed off because my manager didn't want any hassle so I just left the job. Jersey is so small and a criminal record (like mine) really sticks in and out of the job market... .so I can't wait to get away one day... I think it's the only way to really be free'
(Female respondent 20s)

'In Jersey - kids are easy led.....it's just like when you get tanked up an into fights everyone knows you. A mean... when I first started I was just a scared little kid an got into fights in town...one time I got so beaten-up honestly- me face was a real mess but I'd had some drink an drugs so I never told no-one but if it wasn't for mates helping me out I'd be dead! It's just like over here if you don't live at home... then you're in with mates and you help each other - even in 'crime'..... if you get me'

(Male respondent under 20yrs)

A recurring theme was the effects of 'early exposure to youth custody' and how the young offenders' felt that their needs were not being met towards positive reintegration whilst 'inside'. Overall, the participants reported a severe lack of resources in Jersey's prison especially when dealing with health issues and indeed educational and vocational needs. They reported these as central areas that were not being sufficiently met; despite the best efforts made by prison staff and agency staff 'outside'. However, it ought to be acknowledged that during this fieldwork some major changes were being planned. These involved, an introduction of new community initiatives aimed at engaging young offenders in the island, plus some essential training, educational, and vocational programmes were being established in Jersey's prison for the young offenders. Despite many research responses highlighting a need for this vital provision, the young people put forward some key issues about preparing for re-entry into the Jersey community. They felt that this was their most vulnerable time towards desistance, and a period in the community when support was needed most but not being sufficiently met. Such statements were confirmed as this particular cohort's average re-offending rate was (as they suggested) within the first few months of re-entry into the Jersey community.

'I think there should be more support over here when you come out of prison them meetings at Probation should be longer so you can talk over things that.. are really gonna help you settle down better. I think you should be made to sit there for at least an hour an talk about things that mean something- to you. I remember even when I was about 11yrs I was so loud I'd come out of them residential meetings an couldn't wait to get straight back into causing trouble...

I mean there must be a better system than this- cos without the right help this offending crap is going to go on an on for all these kids.. .yeah?’

(Male respondent 20s)

‘I feel your back into the same situation as before (hostel) with like minded people so-you’re feeling low - some drugs are offered and before you know it your back into the old routine. Probation are ok they do try an help me but the drug and alcohol unit – well I don’t think they are that helpful (to me anyhow) I just want people .. (my so called friends) to give me a proper chance to sort my life out-just leave me alone! I only hope I can be strong enough this time to stay clean which is always a worry I have a 50/50 chance of success... if I’m honest but once again Alice..... the decision isn’t just mine...’

(Female respondent 20s)

Interestingly, the young interviewees in this initial cohort constantly referred to their offending patterns in past terms, and they all appeared aware of the consequences of any future re-offending. However, the majority demonstrated signs of blame referral towards early family disengagement, peers, and their social environment in that; somehow *persistent offending* was beyond their control. Also, many expressed signs of low coping mechanisms on release into the community as highlighted in the following quote from a young respondent:

“On release its home first then a really don’t know..... don’t wanna come back in here (prison) must stay away from me mates but that wont be easy.... when I get out am hanging back with the same groupthing is Alice... over here there’s new stuff around especially in town an I tell you things are getting worse ...the more drink an drugs are used the worse it’s gonna getpeople just hanging around getting bored an wasted...”

(Male respondent under 20)

To end this section on a more positive note, the young participants were invited to put forward suggestions to Jersey’s Chief Minister, about any changes they would like to make to the Criminal Justice System and how the island deals with young people who *persistently offend*. The thematic responses show initial similarities emerging in the data. They are now presented from the young people - verbatim:

- *Less locking – up look more at young offenders real needs*
- *Rehabilitate more in the community*
- *I’d have more facilities for young people to keep them off the streets more football pitches in the town area*
- *I would change 15yr olds coming into prison and give them community sentences instead*

- *More rehab in prison especially for the under 18's – workshops to get the YOs (young offenders) focused*
- *Jersey's drug scene is like a designer accessory-there's big demand and kids don't think twice about taking or dealing - so the system needs to clamp down on it!*
- *Change the system – give YOs a chance – help them early on*
- *Give more community sentences then the young offenders will feel it's payback time*
- *Should be more money spent on the prison*
- *Ask young offenders what they need instead of telling them what they need...work through their problems – don't wait till it's too late*
- *Sort out the sentences so that young offenders don't have to go to Prison- it doesn't work!*
- *Make sure there is more things in school these kids are young and need help - kids getting into trouble over here (Jersey) is an easy option*
- *More help from Probation- longer sessions*
- *Help young prisoners with their social skills so they can cope better outside*
- *Do more projects in schools like 'prison me no way' thingy- really good*
- *Listen to young people more instead of trying to make the system look good....the system should be good!*

I contend that these qualitative responses should be seen as a positive step forward for local practitioners who deal with young people involved in *persistent offending* in Jersey. Therefore, although the findings are by no means conclusive, it is fair to say, that there is much to be gained from providing an individual perspective on recidivism. This type of qualitative data produces a more balanced approach to local policy, particularly, when it focuses on individual *needs* rather than *deeds* (Pitts 2003). One observation is clear, that such evidence cannot be found in numerical databases.

Summary

This paper has argued for a qualitative research approach to 'persistent' young offenders. This is in contrast to a predominantly quantitative approach which, according to the literature does not sufficiently address young offenders' *personal or criminogenic needs* (Moore et al 2006). While it is not the intention of this paper to propose that a qualitative method is the 'only way' forward however, I do believe that the Jersey findings highlight a need for a more complex understanding of this phenomenon; if policymakers are to gain a deeper insight into 'why' offending persists from an individual perspective. Overall, this paper has argued for a move away from predominantly static variables found in contemporary policy, to incorporate more individual variables through a qualitative '*view from the inside*'.

My preliminary findings reveal, that early exposure to youth custody for many young participants does not illustrate a constructive way forward, as offending traits continue. Therefore, perhaps it is fair to question, in a contemporary penal climate that supports youth custody as a response to *persistent offending*, what do these populist measures aim to achieve in the long term? In order to tackle this policy deficit my ongoing research will now aim to include young offenders in Jersey who have managed to *desist* from crime (Maruna 2004). This will help to redress the policy balance whilst advancing local knowledge towards protection factors, desistance, and positive youth justice development. In this light, one hopes that local policymakers may take a *managerial* step back from a preoccupation with identifying *risk* which has a gratuitous labelling effect (Moore et al 2006) towards, listening to the stories of the young people experiencing a cycle of crime. Either way, this paper has not done justice to the copious amount of data gathered from them. It is useful to note however, that during the next stage of my doctoral research a full dissemination of the qualitative findings will be available.

Finally at best, this discussion paper has highlighted the complex web between social and structural organization when dealing with young people who '*persistently*' offend. It has suggested that a time for methodological progression - has arrived.

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FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN HOSPITALS AND PRISONS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Layla Wilkie-Buckley¹

Abstract

In an age of religious pluralism, multiculturalism, and religious resurgence, the regulation of religion within society has become increasingly important to the public consciousness. Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights provides the right to freedom of religion, including the right to manifest one's religion or belief. Precisely how far the State is required to go in securing this right continues to be a topic of much debate. An area of particular interest is whether the State is required to provide chaplaincy in public institutions, particularly in places with populations unable to leave such as hospitals and prisons.

The paper will provide an overview of the legal regulation of State-funded chaplaincy in hospitals and prisons in England and Wales. Religious freedom in prisons is governed by legislation enacted over 50 years ago, which is now in much need of reform. In comparison, the right to religious freedom in hospitals is not enshrined in any piece of written law, and therefore is ambiguous at best. Brief comparative reference will be made to systems operative in other jurisdictions throughout the paper, which will then conclude by considering whether there is sufficient provision of state-funded chaplaincy in the United Kingdom.

Introduction

Relationships between religious bodies and governments have never been straight-forward. Whether governments should provide financial support for religious bodies, whether religious organisations should be bound by domestic State laws, and how far religious bodies can go in enforcing their own laws often form the basis of much heated debate.

The introduction of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) has caused considerable changes to this relationship throughout the countries which subscribe to it. Art.9(1) of the ECHR provides that “everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion”, including the right to manifest any such beliefs “in worship, teaching, practice and observance”. The

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contracting States must ensure that this right is secured, subject to the State power to limit the right under Art. 9(2).²

As a general rule, people in England and Wales are free to practice their religion in their everyday lives. However, difficulties often arise when a person is detained in prison or unable to leave a hospital, and is therefore unable to move to the place where they would normally go for worship or other religious services. In these situations, it is imperative that the State provides safeguards and procedures which secure the rights enshrined in Art.9, as incorporated into domestic legislation by the Human Rights Act 1998.

This article will first consider the importance of chaplaincy in secular, state-funded contexts, before providing an overview of the legal regulation of chaplaincy in state-funded hospitals and prisons in England and Wales.³ Comparative reference will be made to systems operative in other jurisdictions throughout, in particular to the USA and Italy. A section will then be dedicated to considering the effect of data protection laws on the delivery of chaplaincy care, followed by some concluding remarks on the current legal position of chaplaincy.

The Need for Chaplaincy Care

In the 2001 Census, almost 80% of the population of England and Wales professed to adhere to one faith group or another,⁴ though it must be accepted that we do not see 80% of our population attending places of worship throughout the week. The decline in attendance at religious institutions, coupled with a dramatic increase in scientific ability and knowledge has led many to believe that we are fast becoming a secular state, and therefore do not require chaplaincy. This is a commonly held misconception, as chaplains not only care for the religious, but also for those of no faith, for atheists and agnostics. When things such as death and illness enter our lives, we begin to turn from “beyond the immediate to the ultimate” (Carr, 2001, p.22). It is commonly understood that in these times that we need the support of someone (or something) else. It is this ‘something’ which a chaplain represents.

² *The limitations set out in Art.9(2) provide that restrictions on the freedom of religion will be justified where they are, “prescribed by law...necessary in a democratic society in the interests of public safety, for the protection of public order, health or morals, or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.”*

³ It is worth noting the reasons for which hospitals and prisons have been chosen: As a general rule, patients enter hospitals voluntarily (save, for example, in cases where the patient is admitted whilst unconscious or under the provisions of the Mental Health Act 1983). In contrast to this, prisoners are generally detained involuntarily. However, the striking similarity which exists between these two distinct categories of people is that they are both in places from which they are unable to leave in order to practice religious observance. It is therefore interesting to compare state provision in these two situations.

⁴ The three largest religions were Christianity (71.8%), Muslim (3%), and Hindu (1%).

The importance of religion in society has been recognised by sociologists and the courts alike. In *Neville Estates v Madden*⁵, Cross J stated that the court was “entitled to assume that some benefit accrues to the public from the attendance at places of worship”, and though “as between different religions the law stands neutral”,⁶ the law assumes that “any religion is at least likely to be better than none”.⁷ Further, in *Holmes v AG* the court stated that religion can take a person “outside his own petty cares and lead him to think of others”.⁸

Sociologist Emile Durkehim described religion as, “a system of beliefs and practices which unite, into one single moral community...all those who adhere to them” (Durkheim, 1965). Though not all sociologists have viewed religion in a positive light,⁹ many continue support Durkheim’s view of religion as a binding force in society.¹⁰

The World Health Organisation has defined ‘health’ as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (World Health Organisation, 1946), and this definition is generally accepted (Payne & Doe, 2005, p.540). The prison system itself may also be seen as a form of medicine, using rehabilitation as a form of therapy, aiming to restore a convicted person to health and to prevent them from re-offending, thus making spiritual care of equal importance in prisons as in hospitals.¹¹

As prisoners are unable to leave their premises to be able to go and practise their religion, it is essential that this right is guaranteed by the State.¹² This view has even been embraced in France, where although the doctrine of *laïcité positive* is accepted, meaning that there should be a ‘wall of separation’ between religion and the State, the State nonetheless considers it a *duty* to provide the ability to practise religion in places where people are unable to

⁵ *Neville Estates v Madden* [1962] Ch 832.

⁶ Though the courts claim to take a neutral stand point between different religions, note the contrast between the case of *Re T* [1981] 2 FLR 239 where the court stated that “in a tolerant society...there is nothing immoral...in the beliefs and practices” of Jehovah’s Witnesses, and the case of *Re B and G* [1985] FLR 134 where the court stated that “scientology is both immoral and socially obnoxious...it indulges in infamous practices”.

⁷ *Neville Estates v madden* [1962] Ch 832, p.853.

⁸ *Holmes v AG* (1981) unreported.

⁹ Such as Marx, who wrote that religion was “the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. (Marx, 1977).” Post modernists may also see religion as a negative force in society.

¹⁰ See e.g. Davie, G. (2004) *From Obligation to Consumption: A Framework for Reflection in Northern Europe* 6(3) Political Theory 281, p.294. It is also worth noting that although occurrences such as the September 11th and July 7th atrocities may lead people to consider religion a divisive force in society, these are exceptional cases conducted by a small minority of religious adherents, and as such are far from the norm. That is not to say that such things should be merely discarded, but simply that when considering the effect of religion on society, they should be placed firmly in context.

¹¹ The provision of spiritual care therefore may be conceived loosely as a contribution to “health” in this wide sense.

¹² For the purposes of this work the right of prisoners to be considered for parole under the Parole Board Rules 2004 is not considered, but in a successful case for parole the prisoner would of course then be able to practise his or her religion freely.

leave in order to ensure that true freedom of religion is observed (Basdevant, 2005, p.180).

The Legal Basis for Chaplaincy Care in Hospitals

Somewhat surprisingly, there is no single piece of legislation which sets out a legal right to spiritual and religious care in hospitals, and much debate exists over the legal basis of such rights.¹³ The Department of Health has, however, published quasi-legislation in the form of guidance (Department of Health, 2003)¹⁴ which sets out general frameworks within which chaplaincy teams should operate.

In the introduction to the guidelines, the background is set out to which the body of the guidelines is intended to apply. It purports to make “no theological or doctrinal definitions”,¹⁵ and for the purposes of practicality (and no doubt also for the purpose of limiting the spending of its scarce resources) takes references to ‘religion’ to include the nine major world faiths: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Bahá’í, Jainism and Sikhism. Although the government intended for religious care to apply only to the above religions, in practice, religions which are and are not catered for varies from Trust to Trust. For example, many Trusts have handbooks which advise on the various needs of faiths including others such as Rastafarianism and Christian Science.¹⁶

The Department of Health publication (Department of Health, 2001) which replaced that Patients’ Charter in 2001 provides that the NHS must “respect [the patient’s] religious, spiritual and cultural needs (s.5).” Although these documents do not constitute legal rights, some have commented that failure to meet the requirements set out within them “generally falls within the investigative powers of the health service ombudsman (Doe, 2002, p.189).”

The Legal Basis to Chaplaincy in Prisons

In contrast to the vague, disputable right to spiritual care in hospitals, there is a clear legal right for all prisoners in England and Wales to access the services of a chaplain. At present, the Prison Act 1952 and the Prison Rules 1999/728 are the two main pieces of legislation which govern chaplaincy services in

¹³ See e.g. Doe, N. (2002) *The Law of the Church in Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff), p.89, compared to: Naismith, S (2001) *Religion and the European Convention on Human Rights* Human Rights & UKP 8. See also: Kennedy, I. & Grubb, A (2000) *Medical Law* London, Butterworths.

¹⁴ The guidelines cover a vast range of aspects of chaplaincy care, ranging from the provision of space for worship, to dealing with emergency incident planning and bereavement services.

¹⁵ Ibid, in the introduction.

¹⁶ See for example: Bennion, R. (2000) *Handbook on Cultural, Spiritual and Religious Beliefs* South Devon Healthcare NHS Trust.

prisons, and it has taken a long time for the government to secure any meaningful right to freedom of religions other than Christianity in prisons.

Initially, it was compulsory for all prisoners to attend an Anglican chapel service weekly. This lasted until 1863 when the Prison Ministers Act was passed. For the first time, ministers who were not Anglican could be appointed and prisoners could register as Roman Catholic, Jewish, Free Church or Anglican. At this time, prisoners were still unable to register as 'nil-religion' (Beckford, J. & Gilliat, S. (1998), p.25.) Following World War II, prisoners were able to apply for permission to be excused from chapel,¹⁷ and with the passing of the Prison Act 1952 the Church of England remained responsible for all arrangements relating to chaplaincy care. Further allowance for freedom of religion came with the passing of the Prison Rules 1964, which allowed prisoners to apply to change their religion, and allowed for previously approved religious books to be made available for the use of every prisoner.

Religions which prisoners can register as has gradually increased since the enactment of the 1964 Rules, and is now governed by the Prison Rules 1999.¹⁸ Some religions still remain outside the accepted 'list', including Rastafarianism¹⁹ and Scientology,²⁰ and there is still a large bias towards the Christian faith, in particular the Anglican denomination. This stems from the fact that the Church of England is an established Church, and therefore retains many of its formerly granted privileges.

In 1973 the Council of Europe issued a set of minimum standards relating to the treatment of prisoners (Council of Europe, 1973), and although the right to freedom of religion is present, it only features in a small section of the document. Paragraphs 41 and 42 provide that every prisoner should be allowed to "satisfy the needs of his religious, spiritual and moral life"²¹ which includes "attending the services or meetings provided in the institution and having in his possession any necessary books."²² Representatives of religions are to be appointed to prisons depending on the various needs of each prison,²³ and no prisoner is to be denied access to a representative of his or her religion. A religious representative who is appointed under paragraph 42.1 "shall be allowed to hold regular services and to pay pastoral visits in private to prisoners of his religion at proper times."

Although the Council of Europe's standards are an ideological model to aspire to, they hold a similar position to the 2003 Department of Health's guidelines

¹⁷ Beckford, J. & Gilliat, S. (1998) *Religion in Prison: Equal Rites in a Multi-Faith Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

¹⁸ Prison Rules 1999, SI 1999/728.

¹⁹ *R v Andrews (Rueben Phillip)* [2004] EWCA Crim 947.

²⁰ *Re Thompson* [2002] EWHC 2635.

²¹ Council of Europe, 1973, para.41.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, at para. 42.1.

on chaplaincy care in hospitals as they are not enforceable in law, and may therefore be of little practical use.

The Human Rights Approach²⁴

It must be noted that this section is primarily concerned with Art.9 of the ECHR. However, it is also worth noting that legal claims to the right to chaplaincy care could also be based on Art.8 of the Convention, which provides for the right to private and family life. Art.8 is the widest of all the Articles, as it provides for the right to “respect” for private and family life, rather than the right to freedom of private and family life. It is also possible in the exercise of Convention rights (including freedom of religion) that a claim could be brought under Art.14, which prohibits discrimination. This would be likely to succeed where, for example, Christian denominations were being afforded privileges which other faiths were not, as for a discrimination claim to succeed it must be shown that there is a comparable group which is being treated more favourably, without justification. However, Art.14 must be invoked alongside another Convention Article in order for a claim to succeed as it does not exist as a right in itself. It cannot be invoked on its own.

Turning to consider Art.9 of the ECHR, it may be argued that this gives a legal basis to the right to spiritual care in hospitals and prisons through its incorporation into domestic law via the Human Rights Act 1998. Art.9 provides that, “everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion”, including the right to manifest any such beliefs “in worship, teaching, practice and observance.” If individuals are unable to manifest their beliefs whilst in hospital, it is possible that a legal claim could follow. To date there has been no litigation on the matter and so it is currently unclear what would happen in the case of a dispute.

As previously noted,²⁵ the right under Art.9 of the ECHR to freedom of religion is a qualified right, not an absolute one. Christos Rozakis, one of the Vice-Presidents of the European Court of Human Rights, stated that “when balancing the interests of the individual believer” who seeks to “have their right enforced against the modern, largely secular, democratic society”, the interest of the latter lies higher than the interests of the individual applicant (Rozakis, C.

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²⁵ In the introductory section.

1998). From this, it would appear that the limitations in Art.9(2) are stronger than the rights in Art. 9(1).

In contrast to this, Carolyn Evans has noted that the right under Art 9.(1) is “subject to fewer limitations than any of the other” qualified rights (Evans, C. 2001, p.137), and that the Art.9(2) limitations should be construed narrowly, as to do otherwise would undermine the purpose of the right. In practice, the Court and the Commission have “interpreted [the Art.9(2)] wording so broadly” that there is little difference “between the way in which Art.9(2) restricts State action” and the ways which the other qualified rights do.²⁶ For example, in the case of *X v Austria*,²⁷ the Commission justified an Art.9(1) breach on the grounds of “national security”, despite this not being a limitation specified in Art.9(2).

Approaches in Other Jurisdictions

As noted above,²⁸ the government in England and Wales provides chaplaincy care for the nine major world faiths in hospitals,²⁹ but predominantly only for Christian denominations in prisons.³⁰ In public prisons in England and Wales, Anglican chaplains are generally in charge of organising the chaplaincy care for all faiths,³¹ and are usually seen as being ‘normally’ or ‘naturally’ in charge.³² This is similar to the system in Italy, where Art.11 of the Agreement of Villa Madama provides that, “time spent in hospitals, in sanatoria or in...confinement to the institutes for prevention and punishment shall not impede the exercise of religious freedom,”³³ and this religious freedom is to be “assured by ecclesiastics”.³⁴ These clergy are paid out of the state budget and in hospitals work under contracts provided by the health administration. Minority denominations have a right of access under Arts.5 and 6 of the Decree of February 1930, and this covers denominations which are recognised under Law 1159 of 1929, which includes all religions, “provided that they do not profess principles and do not follow rites contrary to public policy or morals.”³⁵

In Italian prisons, the chaplains are paid by the State but not considered as “regular State employees,” simply serving on an “open term assignment. (Ferrari, S. 2005, p.225).” In practice this means that they are not afforded

²⁶ Evans, C. 2001, p.137.

²⁷ *X v Austria* App. No. 1747/62, p.13.

²⁸ In the section: The Legal Basis for Chaplaincy Care in Hospitals.

²⁹ These are listed as: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Bahá'í, Jainism and Sikhism. (Department of Health, (2003) *NHS Chaplaincy: Meeting the Religious and Spiritual Needs of Patients and Staff*, p.5).

³⁰ See the Prison Act 1952 s.7(4).

³¹ Beckford, J. & Gilliat, S. (1998) *Religion in Prison: Equal Rites in a Multi-Faith Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.56.

³² Ibid.

³³ Art.11(1) Agreement Between the Italian Republic and the Holy See (18th February 1984).

³⁴ Ibid, Art 11(2).

³⁵ Article 1 of Law 1159 of 1929 [on Non-Catholic Religions Permitted Within the State].

much protection by way of employment law. Much the same approach is adopted in Spain, again only catering for Roman Catholic chaplaincy care.³⁶

It seems that across many of the European Union States that standard practice is to allow for Christian chaplaincy,³⁷ which is often paid for from State funds, but to require other religions to bear the costs of pastoral care themselves. However, this is not always the case. Take for example the system in Belgium, where no chaplaincy is State funded. Under the Royal Decree of 23 October 1964, "Church ministers and lay counsellors" must be granted access if a hospital patient requests it, but ministers of certain religions can be refused access to hospitals if their religion includes "faith healing and alternative medicine."³⁸

The preference for Christian chaplaincy in the EU is largely due to the history of Christianity in Europe, which came with the spread of the Roman Empire.³⁹ Nonetheless, with the increase in religious pluralism, there is now a greater range of religious needs in society. It is therefore important that appropriate steps are taken in order to ensure that the needs of all faith groups are being met, as the UK 2001 Census results show that 28.4% of people belong to faiths other than Christianity or have no faith.

Data Protection and Confidentiality

At present, very little research has been conducted into the effect of data protection laws on the delivery of chaplaincy care, and as such there is a great lack of literature available for consultation. Given the difficulties faced by healthcare chaplains as a result of data protection laws which will be shown throughout this section, it comes as a surprise to discover that there is a vacuum of academic commentary in this area.

In 1995, an EC Directive⁴⁰ was passed with the primary aim of protecting Member States' citizens' "right to privacy with respect to the processing of personal data,"⁴¹ and this was incorporated into domestic law through the Data Protection Act 1998 (herein referred to as the 'DPA').

The DPA sets out to regulate the processing⁴² of personal data which is carried out by a data controller.⁴³ Personal data is defined in the Act as information

³⁶ Ferrari, S. (2005) *State and Church in Italy* in: G Robbers (ed), (2005) *State and Church in the European Union*, 2nd ed, Nomos, Baden-Baden, p.153.

³⁷ See *ibid*, p.224 regarding Italy, p.153 regarding Spain, p.180 regarding France.

³⁸ *Ibid* at p.29.

³⁹ See: Petts, D. (2003) *Christianity in Roman Britain* Shroud, Tempus.

⁴⁰ Council Directive (EC) 1995/46 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data. [1995] OJ L 281/31.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, Art.1.1

⁴² 'Processing' is defined in the Act as "obtaining, recording or holding the information or data or carrying out any operation or set of operations on the information or data." (s.1(1)).

which “relate[s] to a living individual” and can be used to identify that individual.⁴⁴ The DPA lists eight principles⁴⁵ which must be adhered to in order for the processing of personal data to be undertaken lawfully.⁴⁶

The EC Directive specified that there should be a general prohibition on the processing of certain “special categories”⁴⁷ of data. These include, “personal data revealing...religious or philosophical beliefs... and the processing of data concerning health”.⁴⁸ However, no indication is given as to why a person’s religious affiliation or philosophical beliefs should be treated with additional safeguards, when an individual’s place of residence, sex⁴⁹ and marital status are not.

The Directive provides that Member States may derogate from the ban on the processing of special categories of data, amongst other things, where the data subject has provided explicit consent,⁵⁰ or for the purposes of, “preventive medicine, medical diagnosis, the provision of care or treatment...and where...data [is] processed by a health professional.”⁵¹

The DPA translates the Directive’s “special categories” of data as “sensitive personal data,”⁵² and provides that as well as satisfying the standard requirements for the lawful processing of any personal data,⁵³ where that data is sensitive, at least one condition in schedule 3 must also be met. For the purposes of this discussion, the relevant conditions of schedule 3 provide that

⁴³ A ‘data controller’ is defined in the Act as “a person who (either alone or jointly or in common with other persons) determines the purposes for which and the manner in which any personal data are , or are to be, processed.” (s.1(1)).

⁴⁴ Note that this applies both when the information by itself enables identification of the data subject, and also information which could be used to identify an individual if put together with additional information which the data controller has possession of, or is likely to have possession of in the future. (Data Protection Act 1998, s.1(1)).

⁴⁵ Data Protection Act 1998, Sch.1.

⁴⁶ The eight principles provide that all data should be processed “fairly and lawfully”, no personal data should be processed unless at least one of the conditions in Schedule 2 of the Act is met (and in the case of sensitive personal data also one of the conditions in schedule 3), shall only be obtained for specified and lawful purposes, should be “adequate, relevant and not excessive,” accurate and “kept up to date”, not be kept for longer than is necessary to fulfil the specified purpose/purposes, only be processed in accordance with the rights of the data subject, and shall not be transferred to a country outside the EEA unless it can be shown that that country can provide a suitable level of protection. Finally, “technical and organisational measures” must be taken to safeguard against unauthorised processing, and against “accidental loss or destruction of, or damage to, personal data.” (Data Protection Act 1998, Sch.1(1-8)).

⁴⁷ Council Directive (EC) 1995/46 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data. [1995] OJ L281/31, Art.8.

⁴⁸ Ibid, Art.8(1).

⁴⁹ Note that this is not to be confused with data held about an individual’s “sexual life”, which is classed as sensitive personal data.

⁵⁰ Art.8(2)(a).

⁵¹ Art.8(3).

⁵² Data Protection Act 1998, s.2.

⁵³ See above for full description.

sensitive data can be processed where, “the data subject has given his explicit consent”,⁵⁴ or where,
*“the processing is necessary for medical purposes and is undertaken by a) a health professional, or b) a person who in the circumstances owes a duty of confidentiality which is equivalent to that which would arise if that person were a health professional.”*⁵⁵

The Act defines “medical purposes” as including “preventative medicine, medical diagnosis, medical research, the provision of care and treatment and the management of healthcare services.”⁵⁶

In light of the DPA, concerns arose as to whether members of staff could lawfully pass on details of a patient’s religious affiliation to the chaplaincy-spiritual care team, due to the classification of religious affiliation as ‘sensitive personal data’. Further, the definition of “health professional” in the DPA does not include chaplains.⁵⁷ This question was passed for consideration to the Information Commissioner, who concluded that chaplains are not included within the definition of “medical purposes” under the Schedule 3 exemptions.⁵⁸

The information commissioner’s decision is somewhat at odds with the approach taken by the NHS, which has had spiritual care as a part of its healthcare package since its establishment in 1948. This was highlighted in the 2003 guidelines, which referred back to the aims of the NHS when it was established (Department of Health, 2003, p.5), and further stated that chaplaincy care is “fundamental to the care the NHS provides.” The Department of Health publication which replaces the Patient’s Charter (Department of Health, 2001) has also affirmed the value which the NHS places on delivering spiritual care (Department of Health, 2003, p.29). Indeed, one must question the reasons for the Department of Health allowing NHS funded chaplains if they are not there for any purposes connected with medical care, healing and restoring people to health.

The Information Commissioner’s decision raises important questions surrounding the status of chaplains, and whether or not they are to be treated as health care professionals.⁵⁹ It appears even stranger when considered in the light of a comment made by the Department of Health in 2003, that,

⁵⁴ Data Protection Act 1998, Sch.3(1).

⁵⁵ Ibid, Sch.3(8)(1)(a,b).

⁵⁶ Ibid, Sch.3(2).

⁵⁷ Ibid, s.69.

⁵⁸ See: Letter from the Hospital Chaplaincies Council to all chaplaincy networks (Dec 2001), in: Department of Health, (2003) *NHS Chaplaincy: Meeting the Religious and Spiritual Needs of Patients and Staff*, p.31.

⁵⁹ This is part of an ongoing debate of whether chaplains in hospitals should be treated as healthcare professionals (as they now commonly receive contracts of employment and are eligible for various benefits such as pension schemes under the National Health Service Pension Scheme Regulations 1995/300), or whether they should be treated as faith practitioners.

“spiritual care cannot be practicably provided without access to some confidential patient information. (Department of Health, 2003(b) p.43)”

The result of the Information Commissioner’s decision is that a patient’s religious affiliation can only be passed on to the chaplaincy team where the patient has provided explicit consent for this to happen. It was noted, however, that where a patient is unable to give explicit consent, for such as when they are in a state of unconsciousness, relatives and friends are assumed to be allowed to give or refuse consent on their behalf.⁶⁰

The rigid laws on data protection have both positive and negative consequences regarding chaplaincy care in the health care context. The laws prevent unwanted attention or visits from chaplaincy staff to patients, and may even ensure that patients are not discriminated against. This could occur, for example, if a patient recorded their religion as Islam, and subsequently suffered hostility from staff due to ‘Islamophobia’.⁶¹ In this sense, it is a step which at least ensures that a patient’s right to privacy is observed.⁶²

A further example of the effect of data protection on the delivery of chaplaincy care is when a prisoner, who is receiving religious care whilst in prison, is transferred to hospital. If the care team are prohibited from passing on details of the patient’s religious affiliation, then there is a great possibility that the spiritual care which they were receiving will be stopped until they return to prison.⁶³

In light of the decision from the Information Commissioner, the only way for spiritual and religious care to be delivered under the data protection restriction is at the explicit request of the patient, or of a friend or relative where they are unable to give consent themselves. It is currently unclear what effect this will have on the delivery of chaplaincy care, as to-date no research has been conducted in this area.

Conclusions

⁶⁰ Letter from the Hospital Chaplaincies Council to all chaplaincy networks (Dec 2001), in: Department of Health, (2003) *NHS Chaplaincy: Meeting the Religious and Spiritual Needs of Patients and Staff*, p.31.

⁶¹ See e.g. The Muslim Council of Britain, (2002) *The Quest for Sanity: Reflections on September 11 and its Aftermath* London, MCB, for a discussion of ‘Islamophobia’.

⁶² This was, after all, the primary focus of the EC Directive and the Data Protection Act 1998. See: Council Directive (EC) 1995/46 *on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data*. [1995] OJ L281/31, Art.1 where it is stated that, “Member States shall protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons, and *in particular their right to privacy* with respect to the processing of personal data.” (emphasis added).

⁶³ A discussion surrounding this issue took place in the House of Lords: 5 Jan 2004 : Column 10, per Lord Janner of Braunstone.

The European Convention on Human Rights and the Human Rights Act 1998 provide a general legal basis for the right to religious and spiritual care, but are subject to the limitations laid down in Art.9(2), and in practice it is unclear how far this right extends due to the lack of research, academic commentary, and litigation in this area. In prisons, there is a clear legal right to spiritual care as laid down in the Prison Act 1952 and subsequent secondary legislation.

There is little equality in hospitals and prisons between faith groups, and the services of a Christian chaplain are far more readily available than those belonging to other faiths.⁶⁴ The restriction in the 2003 NHS Guidelines to providing spiritual care only to the “nine major world faiths”⁶⁵ is inherently discriminatory. The regulatory regime is frozen in time, as although it was enacted at a time when its provisions were (hopefully) acceptable, it will remain the same throughout changes in social thinking, and thus will require regular reviews in order to keep in line with public views. In a multicultural society, the struggle for equality is never standing still, and at best it will only be in a state of “provisional equilibrium.”⁶⁶ Minority faiths are no longer happy to be merely tolerated, and are seeking to be afforded the same privileges as those from the Christian faith.

The introduction of the NHS Guidelines in 2003 was exciting. It confirmed that the government still recognised the importance of providing spiritual care in the health care context. But in practice the implementation of the guidelines has been questionable. Change is slow, and five years on from the publication of the guidelines, little has changed. In order to secure truly equal chaplaincy care for all faiths, greater funding must be provided, and the importance of this cannot be overstated, particularly in view of the thesis that spiritual care promotes “health.”⁶⁷

In both hospitals and prisons, chaplains are low down on the priority list and are afraid to ask for better conditions through fear of losing what little they have. A considerable amount of effort needs to be spent in demonstrating the benefits which chaplaincy-spiritual care brings to all of its users. It is not solely for the religious.

Whilst the NHS Guidelines are a step in the right direction, the provisions only provide a skeleton framework for how chaplaincy-spiritual care should operate. This leads to many unanswered questions which will inevitably result in great differences between the level of care given by different Trusts.

⁶⁴ See the findings in: Orchard, H. & Percy, M. (eds), (2002) *Hospital Chaplaincy: Modern, Dependable?* Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press Ltd.

⁶⁵ Department of Health, *NHS Chaplaincy: Meeting the Religious and Spiritual Needs of Patients and Staff*, 2003, introduction.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p.9.

⁶⁷ See the section ‘The Need for Chaplaincy Care’ above for further discussion.

The Prison Act 1952 and its supplementary secondary legislation provide predominantly for Anglican chaplains,⁶⁸ and both are now out-dated. New legislation needs to be enacted to specify which religions should be catered for, and how far the right to religious freedom in prisons should go (such as dietary requirements, worship and sacred space, religious equipment and so on).

Research which leads to reform of the legal framework is urgently required, in order that the law can be seen to ensure peoples' spiritual and religious needs are met in times of crises when in public institutions.

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TOKENS TO TANGIBLE TARGETS AND BEYOND: POLICING A MIXED ECONOMY

Mark Harron

Abstract

Whilst it is difficult to argue that Police services in England and Wales have been anything but fervent in their efforts to engage the wider community, there is much to be said about the recruiting profiles of the 43 Police services. Although some have exceeded their centrally dictated targets as to Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) personnel, many have experienced incredible difficulties in attempting to do so. Where the official data on police personnel indicates a range of success, it does so not by the heightened efforts of individuals, but by the very nature of the 'widening police family' and the opportunities that this incredibly vibrant model presents to the active population.

What this paper seeks to address is an explanation as to what restrictions police services face in recruiting a more representative police service; some possible alternatives as to how recruiting programmes may present more opportunities for BME and female applicants; along with some general questions as to the operational benefits of diversity and to the lack of evidence as to 'community engagement' with a more reflective staffing profile. Additionally, the paper seeks to tentatively suggest some methodological routes for engagement with the harder to reach groups within society and to question the need for further diversifying the police service.

The paper also endeavours to evaluate official data on police personnel and asks whether some hidden trends provide for a more comprehensive and varied approach to organisational diversity or whether 'more of the same' 'police led' practices are the best and most efficient way to encourage organisational change. Whilst diversifying the police service is an incredibly active area for police reform, very little independent research material exists particularly centred around the wider policing community.

Introduction

Diversity and community engagement are two dominating themes throughout the recruiting departments of the 43 police services of England and Wales. There remains little doubt that much of the driving force behind police service recruiting efforts can be found somewhere between the contemporary and glamorised concepts of 'community engagement' and that of matching the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) profile of a specific police service area.

Although efforts to increase the gender profile of the police service have been vibrant, there is limited evidence to suggest that the momentum is to match the national female demographic. Although Brown et al (2006) argue admirably that an increase in female officers to approx. 35% of total officer numbers is necessary to achieve a meaningful and organisationally efficient profile for women, this is unlikely to be achieved for many years. Whilst the term 'community engagement' in itself is nothing new and may have more to do with 'corporate re-packaging' than that of innovative and meaningful change in the engagement of communities, reflective community demographics is certainly something that police services across England and Wales have been developing since the inquiry into the murder of the black teenager, Stephen Lawrence and to a lesser extent, the inner London race riots of 1981.

Although the following discussion will centre primarily on 'diversity' with a particular emphasis on race, ethnicity and gender, mention will also be made as to the other varied (and as important) facets of diversity, all contributing to the policing economy and some of which, to a certain extent, have been marginalised by the police service. The terms 'police' and 'policing', although linked, are in essence distinct. The nexus between the two are that they are both involved with the delivery of services via a wide range of privately and publicly funded bodies (Mawby 2006). Therefore, references to the 'police' will specifically relate to the 43 police services of England and Wales unless otherwise indicated and the term 'policing' will relate to the variety of crime detection, prevention and reduction activities undertaken by an array of bodies. Traditionally, the paid police service was formed from the white, male, lower working class population (Leon, 1987). Today, the modern Police service remains both predominantly male and white. As will be discussed, diversity is somewhat a wider concept than that of just race and gender.

The vast majority of people in England and Wales are unlikely to have any positive regular engagement with the police service. Although official statistics both for recorded, detected, perceptions of and the fear of crime exist, no official data exists detailing the levels of public engagement with the police service across a range of other criteria.

Police Officers, England and Wales

The number of full time equivalent (FTE) warranted police officers as of Jan 2008 (HO SB 02/08) was 141,731, constituting a reduction of 185 or 0.1% of total officers since the previous audit some 12 months earlier. Police community support officer (PCSO) numbers rose to 15,391, constituting an increase of 80.7% over the previous 12 months and police staff numbers (all civilian support staff) stood at 75,989, an increase of 1.8%. Many police services will designate their police officers to work across 3 shift patterns spanning a 24 hour period. Therefore at the highest level there are a total of 157,122 (police officers and PCSO combined) officers available for deployment, or 52,374 per 8 hour shift. This number is in reality substantively

lower when officers on annual leave, sick, maternity, paternity leave and other authorised absence (along with desk bound administrative roles) are taken into account. Taking a conservative figure of an approximate 35% reduction in total officer numbers available for operational deployment, the total number of available police officer and PCSO officers is estimated to be 34,043 at any given time for public engagement. The estimated population of England and Wales as of 2006 is calculated to be approx. 53.8 million people. Therefore the ratio of operational police officers per head of population is 1:1580.

Government commissioned reports indicate that approx. 50% of a police officer's time is spent outside of the police station. If therefore, the driving force behind diversifying the police workforce (and particularly uniformed police officers) is for police services to better engage with the communities they serve, it is to some extent, difficult to appreciate how a service can engage more productively with the policed population, where there is such a relatively small number of operational police and PCSO officers and their inability to deploy substantively for long periods of time outside of the police station. Where police services are recruiting officers on the basis that it enhances community engagement and makes minority groups feel that the police service is more reflective of their members, it would seem somewhat logical to deploy officers within minority or hard to reach communities, based on officer gender, race or ethnicity. If deploying officers from BME or female groups into BME or hard to reach communities is not part of the policing diversity agenda then it is difficult to comprehend the rationale for such a national momentum.

As part of the government's neighbourhood policing strategy white paper, *Building communities, Beating Crime* (2004), by April 2008, each community neighbourhood in England and Wales will have their own dedicated neighbourhood policing team. The teams are to be made from police officers, PCSO's and Special constables and are to be drawn from the pool of officers and staff already deployed throughout the 43 Police services of England and Wales. The resulting abstractions from response and community policing teams will be an interesting area for police services to manage.

United Kingdom profile

The vast array of literature on 'community engagement' and certainly that produced by the police services of England and Wales pays particular attention to what has been colloquially termed 'underrepresented' or 'hard to reach' minority groups. Based on data from the last national census (2001) and population forecasts produced by the Office for national statistics (2006), currently, the United Kingdom population is approx. 60.5 million, and England and Wales, 53.6 million. 8% of the population of the United Kingdom are from either mixed race or BME groups. 50.8% of the UK population are female.

England and Wales police service profile

At the time of writing official government figures for police service strength show that of a total of 141,892 officers, 23% were female and some 3.9% of police officers came from BME backgrounds. This contrasts with almost all other staffing profiles within the police service for the same period. The number of Special constables throughout the 43 police services amounted to 14,022 officers and of these, 33% were female and 8% were from BME groups. The total number of PCSO officers was 13,497 and of these, 43% were female and some 12% from BME groups. Total Police civilian staff numbers (including PCSOs) amounted to 91,056 and of these 58% were female and some 7% from BME groups. Although official government data on police service strength discusses some limited success in minority group representation, it does so in relation to the 'Wider police family' which consists of warranted police officers, Special constables, police civilian staff, police volunteers and other uniformed police staff, ie; PCSOs.

T.1 Gender / BME Profile, Police Services , England and Wales, 2008

	Total Number	Female %	BME Group%	Total %
Police officers	141,892	23	3.9	100
Special constables	14,022	33	8.0	100
Police Staff civilian (total)	91,056	58	7.0	100
PCSO	13,497	43	12.0	100
Police volunteers	no data	no data	no data	no data

There are of course some 'wild card' forces that are difficult to analyse in terms of generalisations. However, a much advertised success is that of the Metropolitan police service (MPS) that has indeed met its centrally dictated target for BME officers. Currently their police officer BME profile stands at 7.9% and their gender profile at 20.8%. With a community profile of 46% of the non-white UK population and a BME profile representing nearly 30% of all London residents, the MPS has an incredibly diverse population to police. On the basis that engagement with diverse communities is better achieved through a more diverse staffing base and ideally one that better replicates the community being policed, the MPS have a lot of organisational change to make.

T.2 2 most Gender / BME matched Police services, England and Wales, 2008

	Total Number	Female %	BME %	Total %
Metropolitan Police (Officers)	n/a	20.8	7.9	n/a
West Midlands Police (Officers)	n/a	27.0	7.1	n/a

Notwithstanding the success of the MPS and its' uniqueness in being the largest police service in the UK (31,128 officers), the results should not be readily viewed in isolation. Much of the national transformation and target

achievement across the police service generally can be attributed to both police civilian staff and the introduction of PCSO's in 2002. PCSO's, Special constables, police volunteers and civilian staff are all excellent recruiting forums for the police service. There have been some productive research discussions as to the reasons why members from underrepresented groups are attracted to a career as a PCSO and this of itself may be a basis on which future research can be built. In terms of community engagement, the PCSO is one of the most effective models. Most applicants from BME groups join the police service for many of the same reasons as do white applicants (Holdaway 1991).

Perceptions and experiences of police officers from BME backgrounds go some way to validate (and to some extent are generally perceived throughout minority groups) that the police service remains racist and that recent recruiting drives are ineffective in ridding the service of both racist attitudes and behaviours (Cashmore, 2002). Although many outward indicators of racism have long departed from the police service, many black and minority police officers still experience negative treatment based on their race. (Holdaway and O'Neil 2007).

If however it is identified that it is the arbitrary and often volatile role of the 'police constable' that is such an unattractive facet of modern policing for the underrepresented minority groups, then police services will need to devise new ways of engagement with those communities in order to understand their fears and apprehensions. Some productive and effective community engagement strategies have been produced through a wide range of policing personnel. Although many developments have been made to embrace the growth of women into the police service, female officers still face organisational and gender based problems to their integration within the police culture (Brown 1998).

Rationale for Diversification

The vast majority of police services in England and Wales actively and publicly promote diversity as being central to their corporate values and whilst some seek to identify the wide ranging attributes of diversity (community engagement, diverse profile, range of skills, experiences and cultural awareness) none actually go so far as to provide any tangible and independent evidence to support their programmes. Despite such an active programme of police diversification, developments in achieving a more representative police service have been slow. At current levels of recruitment (current attrition rates of police probationers of 25%), the demographic matching of community profiles will take a considerable amount of time. A 35% profile of female officers in the police service is estimated to be achieved in 15 years and for an 8% profile of BME officers, over 20 years (Brown et al, 2006).

Many reasons are given by police service applicants for applying to join the police service as warranted police officers (secure career, conditions, variety of work, promotion, opportunities, assisting the community). In contrast, evidence shows that many people from 'minority groups' do not consider a career in the police service for reasons of culture, perception of racism, sexism and facing resistance from both within the police service and that of their own community members (Cashmore, 2002). Although it is not always that easy to identify why applications from BME and other hard to reach groups are low, the police service do use a range of exit interviews that try to gauge the reasons for a persons departure from the police service and to that extent, some of the more anecdotal evidence for underrepresented groups not applying to join the police service can be correlated to the experiences of departing officers. However, with the exception of race / ethnicity for BME applicants and gender for female applicants (Brown et al, 2006), many of the reasons that prevent an individual from applying to join the police service are likely to be shared across the whole of the population. Despite the contextual boundaries that are placed on police recruitment literature in making potential applicants believe that the role of a police officer is rewarding and full of opportunities, the reality of policing and particularly that of policing ever demanding urban environments, is somewhat different.

It is difficult to ascertain why police services believe they have been less than successful in attracting and retaining both BME and female applicants. Although the rationale for diversifying the police service may have more to do with an attempt to alter an externally perceived culture of racism within the police service, there are serious questions that police services should endeavour to answer. The problem of itself is simple, the remedy somewhat more complicated than a mere recruiting one. It is suggested that in order to attempt to resolve the outstanding dilemmas confronting both, police services and the communities they seek to recruit from, the following questions should be discussed:

1. What evidence is there to show the practical benefits of diversity?
2. Are communities better engaged with a police service that better reflects their demography?
3. Over and above that of white recruits, do BME recruits add anything other than their race, colour or ethnicity to the policing mix?
4. Do female recruits add anything other than their gender to the policing mix?
5. Do BME recruits join the police service to principally police areas / communities with a high BME profile?
6. Do both BME and female recruits become institutionalised into the male white structure of policing?
7. Do hard to reach and underrepresented groups provide effective engagement opportunities for the police?
8. To what extent should police services go in attempting to re-align resources (over and above that to which they provide for the majority white population) in engaging hard to reach and underrepresented groups?

9. Is there a case for a 'quota' system of recruitment based on the American model?
10. Are current recruitment practices the best way to test and identify the best skilled candidates for a modern and diverse police service?

Which direction

Although it would be somewhat strange for a police service to apportion problems from within minority groups themselves for an aversion to the police service as a genuine and rewarding career, communities now need to take a more active and strategic role in solving the recruitment dilemma. And although there is little evidence to suggest that the 'police' diversity' programme is anything other than a genuine attempt to engage with a growing and diversifying population, a lot of the literature contains negative connotations about race, gender and diversity. Words like 'tolerance', 'awareness', 'diversity', 'minority', 'difference' and the identification of the range of police staff associations found throughout the police service all go to show how compartmentalised the current police service is. In turn, an over emphasis on race within the organisational settings of the police service may indeed restrict the development of multiculturalism both from within and outside of the police service (Holdaway 2003). The extent to which police services are using ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation and religion as recruiting tools are interesting themes. After all, if race, gender and ethnicity based recruitment policies are about targeting socially disadvantaged groups then a dichotomy of allegiances are muddying the undercurrent. The largest socially disadvantaged group in the United Kingdom is, as a matter of fact, white (Edwards 1995).

Whilst many commentators still refer to the police service as being institutionally racist and use that as a reason for the police service having incredible difficulty in engaging with BME groups, the evidence suggests that the police service are incredibly active in trying to change that image. And to that extent it may be the actual change in direction in terms of seeking to transform the police service from being a distant and insular organisation to one of approachable, inclusive and innovative.

So what, if any, restrictions do police services confront in recruiting from these diverse groups? In essence, police services are no different to the vast majority of other corporate entities recruiting from the population. Although there are nominal requirements for assessing and recording information on race, ethnicity and gender on all public bodies (various statutory duties to keep and maintain information), there are no general exceptions to employment legislation for police services throughout their recruitment processes. Of course, as with other large organisations both in the private and public sector, recruitment from minority, underrepresented or other hard to reach groups can go so far as actively advertising for applicants from specific minority groups or for providing additional training to assist disadvantaged or underrepresented groups train in order to compete with other candidates. Selection of successful

applicants has to be based on merit and may not be done according to race, gender, ethnicity or other arbitrary factors. None of the 43 police services attempt to define merit in a standardised way. In fact, to demarcate the boundaries and limits of merit would be incredibly difficult and perhaps merit as a recruiting factor needs to be comprehensively defined, (Johns and Jordan, 2005).

Although some may consider the active identification of minority groups in recruitment material as blurring the edges as between positive action and that of positive discrimination, legislation has provided for such a process. The problem therefore would seem to be a cultural one (Edwards 1995).

Indirect restrictions to recruitment from minority groups

Self segregation and cultural restrictions
Social deprivation and the links to crime
Community distrust
Historical perceptions of race / gender based police practices
Crime levels
Government policy on crime and international relations

Alternatives to current recruiting practices

Community engagement projects with recruiting panels obliged to evaluate experiences from community members as relevant to 'associate' types of police staff
Credits for community engagement as part of an applicant's portfolio
Revised training programmes to embed race and cultural diversity rather than as an annual requirement
Appointment at rank (effective change occurs when minority group membership is reflected proportionately across all ranks) Appointment at rank programme would embrace a wider range of community / commercial experience and would help bring about cultural change in the police service more effectively
All recruitment to be undertaken by independent local community panels using nationally recognised criteria
Part time provision for entry to police service even during probationary periods part
Non-uniformed but warranted appointments to the police service (likely to encourage applications from groups averse to visible patrols in police areas likely to conflict with their race / ethnicity / gender culture)
Experience obtained in any police role (where national qualification criteria have been met) to be evaluated and assessed as relevant to application for appointment as a police officer (Pro-rata) for remuneration and level of rank at appointment)

Reform or the where now debate

So the concept of diversity being the epitome of community engagement and organisational efficiency may be yet another twist of reality. Diversity after all, means difference and difference in an organisational structure (particularly one that promotes and values such a virtue for no other ascertainable reason than itself) is the melting pot for a range of segregation. Segregation both in the sense of separation and that of disengagement and dispute. Probably the most interesting and certainly thought provoking pieces of literature on the concept of diversity has been produced by Kandola & Fullerton (1998). Here the subject matter of diversity has been stretched and academically manipulated to extend to every facet of human interaction or identity. The more that police services engage with the concept of individual identity and subscribe to the notion that valuing difference is the way to engage with minority groups, the more the 'community of policing' diverges and base their efforts at the needs of an individual group, in conflict with that of another minority or majority group.

Certainly within the rank and file community of the modern police service it may be difficult to argue that the period of tokenism has and long evaporated; the evidence still suggests that targets and little more are the principles on which most police recruiting programmes are based. The extent to which the police service itself is the best medium for effecting change or indeed being able to identify creative models for police reform has little evidential substance. They may however contain the best people in being able to understanding the culture of police work? Things always look different from the outside. Where innovative and diverse chief officers can be found, to what extent are they restricted in developing local level policies and programmes that are effective and attract the local community to join the police service in a variety of positions? Whilst it is acknowledged that some police services are managed by chief officers from both BME and female groups, evaluations of such police service's 'community engagement' with minority and hard to reach groups have yet to be tested. To date, there is little to suggest that race, ethnicity or indeed gender in police managerial ranks, enhances or encourages community engagement. It is suggested that research in this area may identify real and tangible operational and community benefits of having a greater profile of BME / female / or other underrepresented groups operating in such ranks.

The United States has an impressive history of modelling recruitment practices to enhance minority representation within the structure of police departments. The legal structures allowing for positive discrimination (often referred to as affirmative action in such a context) in the recruitment of police officers in order to reduce the under representation of BME groups has proved very effective despite early scepticism and opposition and arguably the only real way to increase BME numbers (Leinen 1984). Although it was correctly identified that a system of enhanced positive action programmes would be the only viable way to increase minority group numbers in the British police service (Holdaway 1991), these now seem to be ready for substantive review. Whilst positive discrimination may not seem the most likely or indeed the most attractive way

to encourage minority group applicants it is suggested that the real benefits of such a programme can only be argued once all of the available data from a trial programme have been analysed. There may also be important lessons derived from some of the Australian police services that have faced similar cultural problems with their minority communities. Whether a problem actually exists and whether there is a simple fix to that problem, one thing is however incredibly apparent. The relentless adherence to a target driven culture of 'policing diversity' has been slow in terms of successes and new ways of attempting to re-engage minority groups need to be found. In time, like for many other problems in society, ways of resolving these issues will be identified. Revealing them may be better placed with individuals both from the minority groups themselves and others outside of the police service (Leinen 1984). After all, the Police are arguably experts of policing and not community engagement.

Diversity and community engagement are ever changing concepts within the police services of England and Wales and very much a driving force in police reform. Whilst very few individuals are able to describe the lasting benefits of such, much time, money and energy have been utilised in achieving the current policing profile. With the introduction of neighbourhood policing teams and the incredible growth of PCSO's, more meaningful community partnerships may in time, be created. Whilst BME and female based groups attract most attention from policy makers, other minority groups such as the gay and lesbian community must not be left isolated, both in terms of an effective voice or indeed support and encouragement.

The racial, ethnic and gender profile of PCSO's, Special constables and police civilian staff far exceeds that of police officers generally and a more concentrated effort in recruiting from these areas would, it is argued, have a positive effect. Being able to look strategically at outdated and institutionalised ways of managing both processes and people will enable those outward looking individuals to develop new and challenging ways to do things, more effectively and efficiently. Although valuable data can be obtained from minority and hard to reach members both from within and outside of the police service, new methods of obtaining and interpreting the data should be developed. Engaging any minority or culturally defined group to the exclusion or perceived detriment of any of other, however described, does not in itself increase diversity, but reduces the benefits of effective and productive communities. Although targets are important, they should be associated with productive, meaningful and evidence based strategies that both the police and their local communities can value. Diversity in a real sense is unlikely to be achieved until such time that everyone can see through a range of contemporary human identity categories that serve only to segregate and distinguish us all. Race, ethnicity and gender are but a few of the categories. The process of removing them all is likely to be very slow, whilst at the same time, the best and most effective way to engage with and develop the policed communities.

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COMMUNITY JUSTICE COURTS A NEW APPROACH: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND PROBLEM SOLVING

Michelle Jolley

Abstract

In recent years a number of changes have emerged in terms of the way in which 'justice' is approached. This has particularly been evidenced by the national drive towards more community justice orientated initiatives. Community involvement is increasingly being championed as the way forward for criminal justice policy especially in response to Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) and with the emergence of the Community Justice Court. Community Justice Courts represent a radical development for criminal justice policy within the UK, a development which has been significantly influenced by the much vaunted success of the Red Hook Community Justice Centre in the US. The extent to which these courts are truly effective at delivering a form of community orientated justice, and, how they differ from traditional practice, is yet to be seen within the UK. This paper reviews the emergence of Community Justice Courts in connection with ASB policy and the consequent shifts in the Community Justice Approach in the UK. It then provides an illustration of the framework for my doctoral research by unpacking two key issues which distinguish these courts from the more traditional approaches to justice, namely, community engagement and problem solving.

Introduction

The introduction of community courts represents a new way forward for UK criminal justice policy. The establishment of such courts in the UK follows the lead of innovative practice in the US, most notably the Red Hook Community Justice Centre in Brooklyn. Following a visit to the Red Hook centre, the former Home Secretary David Blunkett advocated this model as a means of 're-balancing' the criminal justice system through heightened community involvement in justice administration, and a further method through which to tackle anti social behaviour (ASB). Since 2005 a number of Community Justice Courts (CJC) have been introduced within the UK, most notably the North Liverpool Community Justice Centre. There has been limited evaluation research examining the operation of the US CJs and, given their recent introduction, there has been even less in the UK. This apparent gap in the literature coupled with the recent introduction of a pilot CJC in Plymouth, Devon thus forms the rationale for my doctoral research. The focus of this paper is twofold. It starts with a review of the literature surrounding the emergence of the CJC, in the context of ASB policy and wider developments in

the community justice approach. From here it moves on to unpack two of the key features of the CJC which distinguish it from more traditional court justice, namely community engagement and problem solving.

Community Justice Courts in Context - ASB Policy

ASB is deemed to be more than a simple reflection of crime and disorder, it is a '...moral challenge to a broad consensus of acceptable behaviour' (Squires 2006:149). It is inherently linked to the idea that community is being 'lost', a belief supported by Burney (1999) who suggests that the social and economic structures underpinning family loyalties and traditions, have diversified and eroded leading to a decreased community interdependency and a culture of mistrust. Regardless of the underlying cause, anti-social behaviour is perceived to be a significant problem within society, a perception reflected in the British Crime Survey (Wood 2004) and the Anti-Social Behaviour Unit's one day count (Harradine 2004). The breadth of this problem is not however widespread but a disproportionate experience of some deprived areas by hard core perpetrators (Social Exclusion Unit 2000). Whilst some of the underlying reasons for this concentrated exposure may be a lack of community cohesion, a report by the then Social Exclusion Unit (2000) notes that it is not the sole reason.

Accompanying this perceived escalation in ASB was a loss in public confidence in the criminal justice system and local authorities' ability to effectively tackle ASB and persistent offending (Burney 2004). According to Collins and Cattermole (2004) the law was deemed to be failing communities by providing insufficient protection and security against ASB issues such as noisy neighbours and persistent drug misuse. In the Labour Party's election campaign paper, *'A Quiet Life: Tough Action on Criminal Neighbours'*, they declared that 'Criminal Procedures have never been designed to curb chronic and persistent anti-social criminal behaviour' (Labour Party 1995:1). Following the election of New Labour in 1997 a host of new policies, tools and measures (Collins and Cattermole 2004; Home Office 2003) were introduced under the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act. The intention of which were to address two specific goals, firstly the apparent failing of the legal system outlined in their earlier 'A Quiet Life' paper and secondly to address the growing problem of ASB.

One such tool designed to assist in these aims was the Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO), introduced under the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act (CDA) as a means of tackling persistent 'criminal' conduct (Carr 2003, Cracknell 2002, Burney 1999). Unfortunately these orders have been surrounded by controversy relating to their perceived negative impact on issues such as net widening and criminalisation of non-criminal behaviour, specifically in relation to the young people (Brown 2004; Harradine 2004; Macdonald 2006). From a political perspective the ASBO has been seen as a key political tool in the fight against ASB and community decline, although its initial uptake fell far short of

government expectation and only slightly improved in the wake of the 2003 Anti-Social Behaviour Act (RSD 2004; Campbell 2002)

ASB is not simply about crime, it is a 'quality of life' issue which has a significant impact on not only the well being of an individual but the community as a whole, therefore many of the powers aimed at ASB and related wider developments have adopted a communitarian flavour. 'Communitarianism is a philosophy that sees the family first and then the community as the site of moral norms and obligations, of responsibilities as well as rights' (Taylor 2003:39). This is something which was not only reflected in New Labour's 2006 Respect Action Plan (Home Office 2006) but also underpins the principles of Community Justice which govern the emergence of CJs as another tool with which to tackle ASB and Quality of Life issues. In short these principles mean that 'the community' is now expected to take on some of the responsibility for tackling ASB and adopt an active role in the process alongside official agencies and the court.

Community Justice Developments and the birth of the CJC

Community Justice is not solely concerned with the issue of justice but the way in which justice and crime impact upon a community, focusing particularly on quality of life and public safety. According to Karp and Clear (2000) community justice poses a direct challenge to traditional criminal justice practices by emphasising the importance of community involvement and breaking down culturally embedded roles and boundaries within the justice process. Offending is no longer deemed to be a problem of state agencies alone, instead it is a community problem and as such the focus for 'justice' should incorporate not only the offending behaviour but the wider social problems underpinning it (Neal et al. 2006). In order to achieve this Karp and Clear (2000) note that community justice activities need to be focused on localised problems, community outcomes and the development of partnerships between the community and the formal criminal justice system.

A number of approaches to criminal justice have emerged within the field of community justice including community policing (Neal et al 2006; Karp and Clear 2000); community crime prevention (Newburn 2002, Crawford 1998) and community courts (Rottman 1996; Kralstein 2005). Although each of these initiatives may look very different they are all underpinned by a set of five core community justice elements. First, the uniqueness of 'neighbourhoods' that is crime and crime control cannot be generalised between areas, cities or counties as each area is unique resulting in the need to focus on specific blocks of space rather than large scale initiatives (Karp and Clear 2000). Second, a problem solving approach, whereby 'Under community justice, crime is not a contest to be won but a series of problems to be solved' (Karp and Clear 2000:328). Third, the need to decentralise power and make accountability more visible, replacing the traditional management hierarchy associated with criminal justice with a matrix of information sharing within and

between organisations, agencies and the public (Karp and Clear 2000; Pakes and Winstone 2005). Fourth, is the prioritisation of community 'quality of life' by changing the behaviour of victims and offenders and providing the community with the necessary self-regulation tools. Fifth, and finally is increased community involvement in the justice process as it is no longer appropriate to assume that public safety is the responsibility of the criminal justice system alone, something which Karp and Clear (2000) comment may have been a factor contributing to the perceived failing of the criminal justice system.

As mentioned earlier one such development under the community justice umbrella has been the reorganisation and development of courts using a variety of community models, including specialist drug courts (Plotnikoff and Woolfson 2005), domestic violence courts (Plotnikoff and Woolfson 2005) and community justice or 'quality of life' courts. It is the development and implementation of the CJC that is the focus of this paper. CJsCs are designed to predominantly deal with cases involving 'quality of life' crimes, such as those associated with ASB and low level offending. Some of the features which distinguish CJsCs from traditional magistrate courts include:

- A single, specialist judge to oversee all cases;
- multi-agency working instead of judge led decision-making;
- the combination of service provision and sentencing under one roof focusing on behaviour which is socially harmful;
- a problem-solving approach adopting a proactive preventative stance rather than simply reacting to a specific incident; and
- community involvement (McKenna 2007; Kralstein 2005; Plotnikoff and Woolfson 2005).

On the surface the difference between mainstream magistrates and CJsCs seems clear but may not be so distinct when put into practice.

The development of community courts in the US has had a profound impact on UK policy, and the subsequent implementation of CJsCs in North Liverpool, Salford and 10 pilot areas including Plymouth, Devon. The apparent success of the Red Hook Community Court, since renamed the Red Hook Community Justice Centre, which opened in 2000 in Brooklyn gave lead to the development of a number of similar courts across the US (Kralstein 2005). In the Red Hook model one judge oversees the court, addressing 'quality of life' offences such as drug possession, shoplifting, and vandalism involving either a local resident or occurring in a designated local area (Kralstein 2005). Through a combination of multi-agency problem solving and punishment the CJC aims to increase the visibility of community restitution through sentencing, and tackle underlying causes of offending behaviour through service and professional support (Kralstein 2005; Pakes and Winstone 2005).

The Red Hook model also emphasises the importance of community engagement employing an open door policy to the centre and court proceedings, allowing a high level of visibility and interaction between the

community and the court (Plotnikoff and Woolfson 2005). The idea is that crime does not simply affect those directly involved with it but has a detrimental impact on the quality of community life as a whole. Through collaborative working between official agencies and community members it is hoped that community problems can be 'tidied up' and offenders' behaviour can be changed, making the justice process more visible and accountable to those affected by it. The extent to which this is being achieved is still under investigation.

Whilst the terminology of community justice and implementation of CJC may be a new phenomenon for western society, the principles and processes associated with them are not new. In the early 1960s Cuban 'Popular Tribunals' as they were termed, developed as a result of dissatisfaction with traditional western courts (Berman 1969). As with the current CJs, Berman (1969) notes that the purpose of popular tribunals was to educate people on the rule of law and tackle instances of 'anti-social conduct' occurring within a specified area, or by a resident of that area. There are a number of further similarities between these tribunals and CJs including the importance placed on the notion of rehabilitation and problem solving to address the cause of this 'conduct' (Berman 1969).

Regardless of the origins of the CJC approach, the apparent success of the American-based Red Hook Project played a large part in the development of CJs in Britain. In the words of Pakes and Winstone (2005:7), 'in the time-honoured tradition of US/UK strategic harmonization...a community justice centre based on the Red Hook example [has come to Liverpool]'. Whilst many of the ideals and rhetoric of US based CJs can be seen in the UK models, differences between UK and US culture, history and judicial development meant that to some extent the CJC and wider community justice approach had to be adapted to fit with UK policy (Coleman 2007; Jones and Newburn 2007). Nevertheless, following a visit to the Red Hook Project in 2003 by the former Home Secretary David Blunkett, the first UK-based Community Justice Centre was opened in North Liverpool in September 2005. Many of the features associated with the Red Hook model were adopted by the Liverpool centre (McKenna 2007) and subsequent Salford model. Space constraints prohibit a detailed consideration of the variations in approach represented in the Salford model but suffice to say that a more mainstream approach was adopted by Salford (Brown and Payne 2007) and the 10 pilot areas more recently identified as new sites for CJs. The success of these courts in comparison to the Liverpool and Red Hook projects is a moot point as these areas are being expected to '...apply the principles of community justice with a fraction of the funding and infrastructure' (Coleman 2007:1).

One of these pilot areas and the focus of my doctoral research is the Plymouth CJC, opened in May 2007 to tackle offending behaviour from people living in, or offending in the Stonehouse and Devonport areas. Like the Salford model, the Plymouth CJC has adopted a more mainstream approach locating it in the city centre magistrate court and using a panel of magistrates and district judge

instead of a specialist judge. Whilst in the Plymouth CJC service providers such as drug and alcohol workers, social services, housing etc are not located within the court building, the CASS desk (Community Advice and Support Service) provides a link to such services and works alongside the police and probation as part of the problem-solving team. With limited evaluation literature currently available I hope that through my research I can review the impact of this 'mainstream' approach in relation to the key principles underpinning CJs and the wider elements of community justice. Many of the core elements of community justice (as outlined earlier) overlap the CJC principles and as such two specific themes have been identified and will now be unpacked, namely community engagement and the problem solving approach.

Unpacking the Issues - Community Engagement

The terms community and community engagement are increasingly being employed as a means of tackling a wide range of social and economic problems. The Together Campaign originally implemented by the Home Office as part of the ASB agenda, used the notion of community engagement as an underpinning strategy for achieving policy goals (Farrow and Prior 2006, Home Office 2003). For community justice and the CJC, community engagement is both a core element and guiding principle for improving community quality of life and increasing the legitimacy of the criminal justice system (Karp and Clear 2000). The problem with this phrase is that it is now used so freely that its meaning is no longer clear, with its interpretation varying depending on the initiative or political rhetoric using it. For Neal et al (2006:304) community engagement is '...the active engagement and involvement of community members in decision-making processes...'. They go on to note that community engagement must be about encouraging participation from the local population as a whole, rather than simply an individual or citizen group in order for it to be effective (Neal et al 2006).

In contrast Andrews and Turner (2006) state that community engagement does not have to be focused on significant action to be effective, but can be focused on improving communication, information sharing, and access to services and practices. Whatever the form, community engagement is deemed to be an important means of strengthening or re-establishing social order by enabling '...local people to develop their own solutions to local problems' (Andrews and Turner 2006:379), which in effect empowers communities to self regulate (Karp and Clear 2000). Through effective community engagement in initiatives such as the CJC, it is hoped that public confidence in the criminal justice system can be re-instated (Karp and Clear 2000). Nonetheless the extent to which community engagement is deemed to be a success is dependent upon not only the issues surrounding 'community' as discussed below but also the meaning afforded to community engagement within the policy context. Localised images of community engagement may differ considerably from the community justice and political ideals.

As well as the potential conflict between local approaches and wider ideals the very nature of 'community' can also have a significant impact on the effectiveness of community engagement. The adaptive nature of communities means that the apparent cohesive and collective community has by and large been replaced with the individualised formation and maintenance of communities, constructed to self-serve individual needs and objectives (Pakes and Winstone 2005). In short community membership is based on personal gain rather than the good of the community as a whole. The communities of late modernity have significant variations, for some the term community evokes a nostalgic notion of 'time gone by' when the idea of safety and respect was not deemed to be a 'problem'. For others, 'community' represents '...disintegrated communities in which cohesion does not really extend beyond the front door.' (Pakes and Winstone 2005:5). Between these two extremes are Gated Communities and 'oft-bemoaned divided communities' (Pakes and Winstone 2005:5). The first representing communities bonded by legal rules and the desire for isolation from the undesirable 'underclass', the latter reflecting shallow, hostile and meaningless engagement which is only broken in the face of threat from an outsider or outside influence (Pakes and Winstone 2005). With this in mind it is important to understand the profile and complexities of such neighbourhoods otherwise our efforts to '...galvanise, develop and work with 'the community' end in failure precisely because this has not been done...' (Foster 2002:175).

It is clear from the above literature that identifying who the community is, is problematic within itself without then adding the issue of engagement. In general the CJC approach to community engagement is highly dependent on the motivation and agenda underpinning the project and those working within it. Whilst these questions are often difficult to answer there are a host of techniques available for classifying the extent and nature of community engagement in decision-making processes. In 1969 Arnstein developed a 'Ladder of Participation' consisting of three levels: Non-Participation; Degrees of Tokenism; and Degrees of Citizen Power each of which contained a number of sub-levels that provided a basis for evaluating the level of participation being experienced (Taylor 2003). More recently Jackson (2001) adapted Arnstein's model to reflect the fact that involvement can vary depending on the stage of the process being assessed, and as such developed a cycle or wheel of involvement rather than a ladder. According to Jackson's Model the ultimate level of involvement is collaborative shared decision making rather than community control as in Arnstein's Ladder (Taylor 2003).

Regardless of the level of engagement achieved and the issues surrounding it, citizen involvement in the CJC is considered to be an essential element of the process. Karp and Clear (2000) note that although the level of engagement can vary considerable, as shown above, this variation is acceptable as long as the community are engaged in a constructive way with the community justice process. In the context of the CJC, preliminary evaluations of the North Liverpool and Salford CJs have reported mixed findings, with community

engagement initiatives being effective with groups already engaged but limited in other aspects (McKenna 2007; Brown and Payne 2007). Nevertheless the nature and effectiveness of community engagement in other CJC areas is yet to be seen and for this reason it forms a key part of my doctoral research on the Plymouth CJC. For example the above models will be used to form the basis of questions relating to community engagement in the CJC process, such as exploring the degree to which community engagement conforms to the principles of two-way communication and involvement in decision making rather than simply informing the community in a tokenistic attempt to improve public relations.

The Problem Solving Approach

Alongside community engagement, the notion of problem-solving is also a key theme of community justice overlapping the principles underpinning CJs. Whilst a problem solving approach may be relatively new to the court process it has increasingly become a mainstream approach to other criminal justice initiatives including community safety (Newburn 2002) and crime reduction (Hughes 2002). The aim of which, according to Newman (2001:109) is to '...create [an] integrated, holistic approach to development and delivery of public policy'. Since the election of New Labour in 1997 there has been a sustained growth in the number of initiatives, both within criminal justice and outside of it, that have adopted a multi-agency approach to problem solving. There are a number of reasons for this notwithstanding the underpinning ethos of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act (CDA) requiring previously independent criminal justice agencies to undertake joined-up working. This included a requirement that the police and local authority should work in consultation on ASBO applications, as well as community consultation on issues of community safety (Campbell 2002; Crawford 2001).

For some this growth in collaborative working has been championed as a way of combining expertise and human resources; allowing effective information sharing; and disrupting ineffective cultural boundaries within certain professions (Hughes 2002, Newburn 2002). However for others it has been critiqued as a strategy reflecting governmental priorities '...rather than any genuine commitment to the rhetoric of *local solutions for local problems*' (Gilling 2005:741). Nevertheless wider shifts in government from hierarchies and centralised control, to market and network modes of governance has meant that for many, the formation of multi-agency partnerships became a necessary means of survival. According to Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) this necessity was underpinned by two organising principles, namely competition and collaboration. As competition for limited resources increased so did the need to form partnerships based on resource dependency, whereby securing new resources and retaining existing ones could only be achieved through collaboration. In contrast, other partnerships were formed on the grounds of collaboration itself and were characterised by '...a notion of synergistic gain

and programme enhancement from sharing resources, risks and rewards...' (Lowndes and Skelcher 1998:317).

Regardless of the underlying reasons for forming partnerships, their growth reflects the complex nature of problems being faced by local government, and a growing awareness that issues such as crime cannot be effectively tackled by one agency alone. Unfortunately the formation of these partnerships has been inherently problematic and is widely documented in the literature surrounding ASB (Campbell 2002), Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRP) (Hughes 2002; Gilling 2005), Community Safety and policing (Crawford 1997; Newburn 2002). Underpinning many of the problems faced by multi-agency partnerships are wider managerial reforms associated with New Labour's 'Third Way' and New Public Management (NPM) techniques of government control. In particular the impact of increased accountability, audits and performance indicators (PI) on issues of trust, power and co-operation essential to multi-agency working, which will now be addressed in turn.

Partnerships take time to establish so that the culturally embedded mistrust, which is often born out of a history of misunderstanding between traditionally independent agencies, can be broken down (Crawford 2001). Furthermore, whilst the need for trust within partnerships is widely accepted, it is often undermined by a demand for accountability embedded within NPM which can lead to '...institutionalise[d] forms of distrust' (Crawford 2001:69). In contrast Broadbent et al (1996) (see Crawford 2001) claims that trust has simply been reconfigured and placed in the hands of inspectors and auditors. Whatever the argument, trust between collaborating agencies is deemed to be a key element of effective practice.

A further problem of multi-agency partnerships is the lack of equal power between the agencies involved. These power differentials can relate to resources, cultural traditions and conflicting professional ideologies. Balloch and Taylor (2001) note that domination of one agency or organisation over a partnership, can result in the partnerships failure to meet the needs of the community or identify true local problems. This predicament is heightened by the prioritisation of PIs within NPM. For example, there can be a lack of shared vision if the partnerships PIs closely match those of one agency but conflict with those of another. Where this occurs the agency who's PIs most closely link to those of the partnership can become the dominant partner, in turn moulding the objectives of that partnership to coincide with their own rather than that of the community, such as in the case of some police driven CDRPs (Gilling 2005). Furthermore where community or smaller voluntary groups are involved the imbalance in resources can prevent those partners from effectively engaging in the initiative (Balloch and Taylor 2001).

One final problem associated with multi-agency working is that of resistance or 'departmentalism' (Gilling 2005). The ethos of accountability and PIs can undermine partnerships by encouraging agencies to focus on their own

organisational goals rather those of the partnerships, in order to meet managerial demands. Where the core business of the agency and the partnership do not match conflict may arise for the individual representative, who is accountable to both (Gilling 2005). Whilst this is by no means a comprehensive account of the problems faces by multi-agency working it does provide an insight into the type of problems that may be encountered in the CJs multi-agency approach to problem solving.

Varying approaches to problem solving have been adopted by the different CJs (McKenna 2007; Brown and Payne 2007). The problem solving approach adopted by Plymouth's CJC has two core elements. First, it relates to the identification and resolution of problems causing offending behaviour on an individual and community level and second, it involves the collaborative working of a number of agents including Probation; Local Police; Community Advise and Support Service (CASS); Harbour Drug and Alcohol Services; community members; the offender; and various magistrate court professionals (Devon and Cornwall Community Justice Board 2003). With the range of barriers faced by multi-agency partnerships combined with a limited amount of research into CJs, the effectiveness of this approach within a traditional justice environment is unknown. Therefore, through my doctoral research focusing on the Plymouth CJC, it is hoped that these issues can be explored in more detail.

Summary

This paper began by reviewing the literature surrounding the development of CJs in the context of ASB policy and wider developments within community justice. The literature showed that growing dissatisfaction with traditional criminal justice practice, increased political attention prioritising ASB, and wider shifts in the 'justice processes' both at home and abroad, have contributed to the emergence of a community justice perspective and the associated CJs. Whilst the development of the CJC is relatively new to the UK it has been impacted upon by the implementation and apparent success of specialist courts in the US. However, the evaluation of these courts both at home and abroad is currently limited therefore providing a rational for my doctoral research.

The paper then moved on to identify two key themes for further examination, namely community engagement and the problem solving approach. Community engagement was shown to broadly refer to the importance of community involvement in decision making processes. Variations in terminology relating to 'engagement' and 'community' were highlighted as a barrier to the *extent* and *nature* of involvement being experienced. In relation to the problem solving approach an examination of the literature highlighted a number of barriers to successful multi-agency approaches to problem solving, including NPM techniques, issues of trust, accountability, power imbalances and resistance to co-operation. Finally, in terms of both community

engagement and problem solving the barriers discussed combined with a lack of current research were outlined as the framework of my doctoral research focusing on the Plymouth CJC.

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OPERATIONALISING DEFINITIONS OF MAJOR AND MINOR PARTIES: TOWARDS A UNIVERSAL DEFINITION?

Luke Sloan

Abstract

Recent electoral and opinion poll data in Great Britain shows evidence of an increase in support for parties other than 'the big three'. Yet, despite the increasing saliency of 'minor parties' in the political system, there is no universal definition of what distinguishes 'minor' from 'major' party status. We begin by showing that 'minor party' activity and support is increasing. Next, we critically evaluate attempts to classify parties within political systems, identifying weaknesses in the establishment of party typologies. We specifically address some potential shortcomings in the widely used method of classification using N_v (Taagapera and Shugart 1989). The paper offers an alternative method of party classification using two-dimensional cluster analysis based on party vote share and the rank order of parties based on vote share. It concludes that the definition between major and minor party status is rarely dichotomous, and that the focus of research should perhaps be based on statistical groupings rather than typical definitions of 'effectiveness'.

Introduction – The Increasing Saliency of Minor Parties

At both general and local elections in Great Britain, the popular focus is on the success or failure of the Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats – the 'big three' if you will. In fact, one could be forgiven for thinking that perhaps there are no other parties, or that they are marginal to the extent that they do not matter to the electorate or to the party system in general. Such a notion is often based on the importance of winning seats as they represent power and influence in elected chambers, but this is at the neglect of another very important measure of party success – vote share.

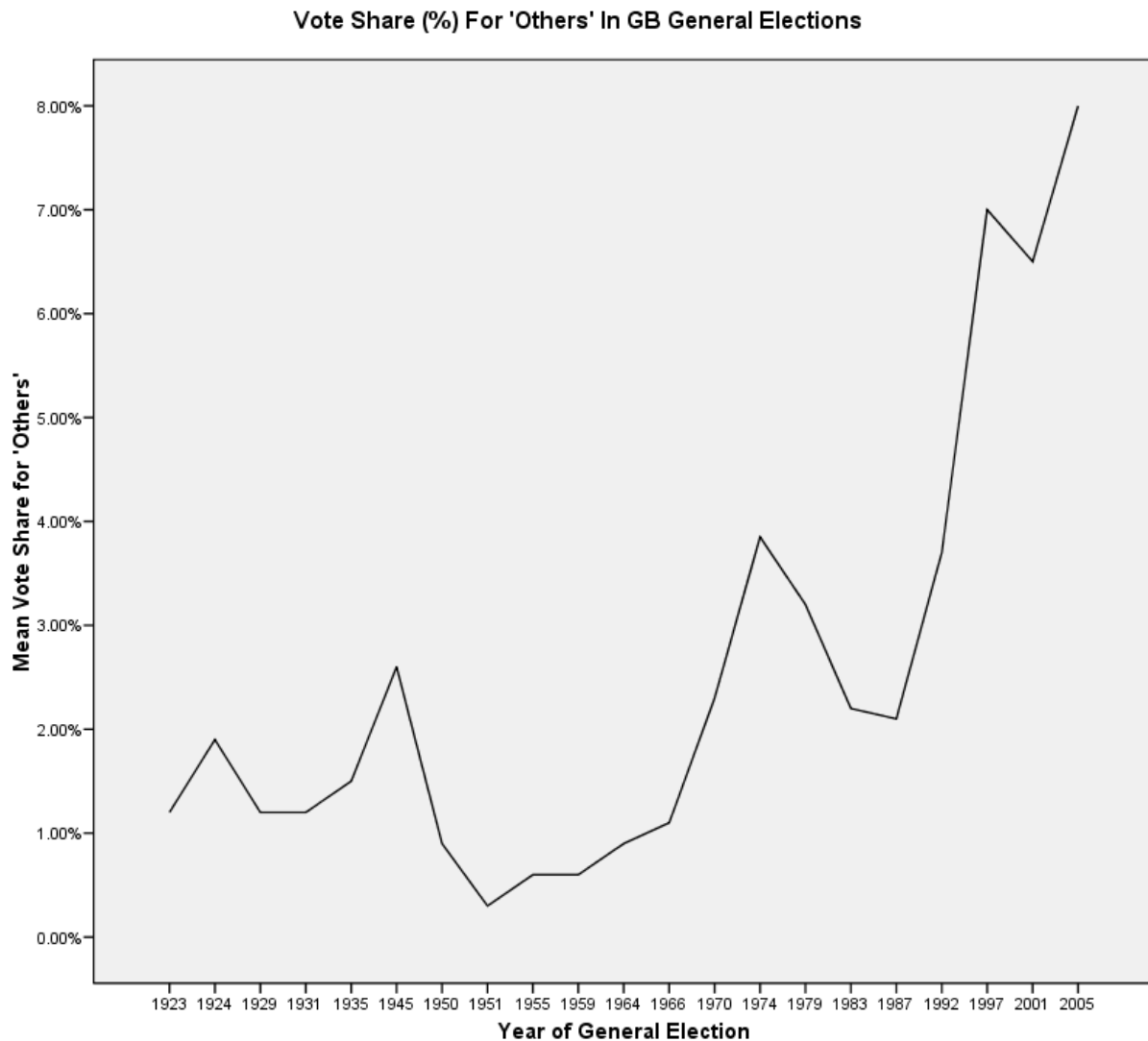
Over the past decade or so elections in Great Britain have seen a marked increase in voter support for parties other than 'the big three' (fig 1). In GB general elections between 1923 and 1997 this support fluctuated between 0.3% in 1951 to just under 4.0% in 1974. However, the level of voter support for these 'other' parties between 1997-2005 is much larger. The sharp increase in 1997 is largely attributed to the emergence of the Referendum Party, but previous trends would lead us to believe that the following 2001 General Election would see a sharp decline in alternative party support. It is therefore

significant that such support drops only marginally and again steeply increases in the 2005 general election to around 8.0%.

In addition to this, we know that 113 parties stood at the 2005 General Election, with 141 parties standing in the May 2007 Local Elections.

Numerically, the 'big three' account for a very small proportion of the number of parties that stood.

Fig 1:

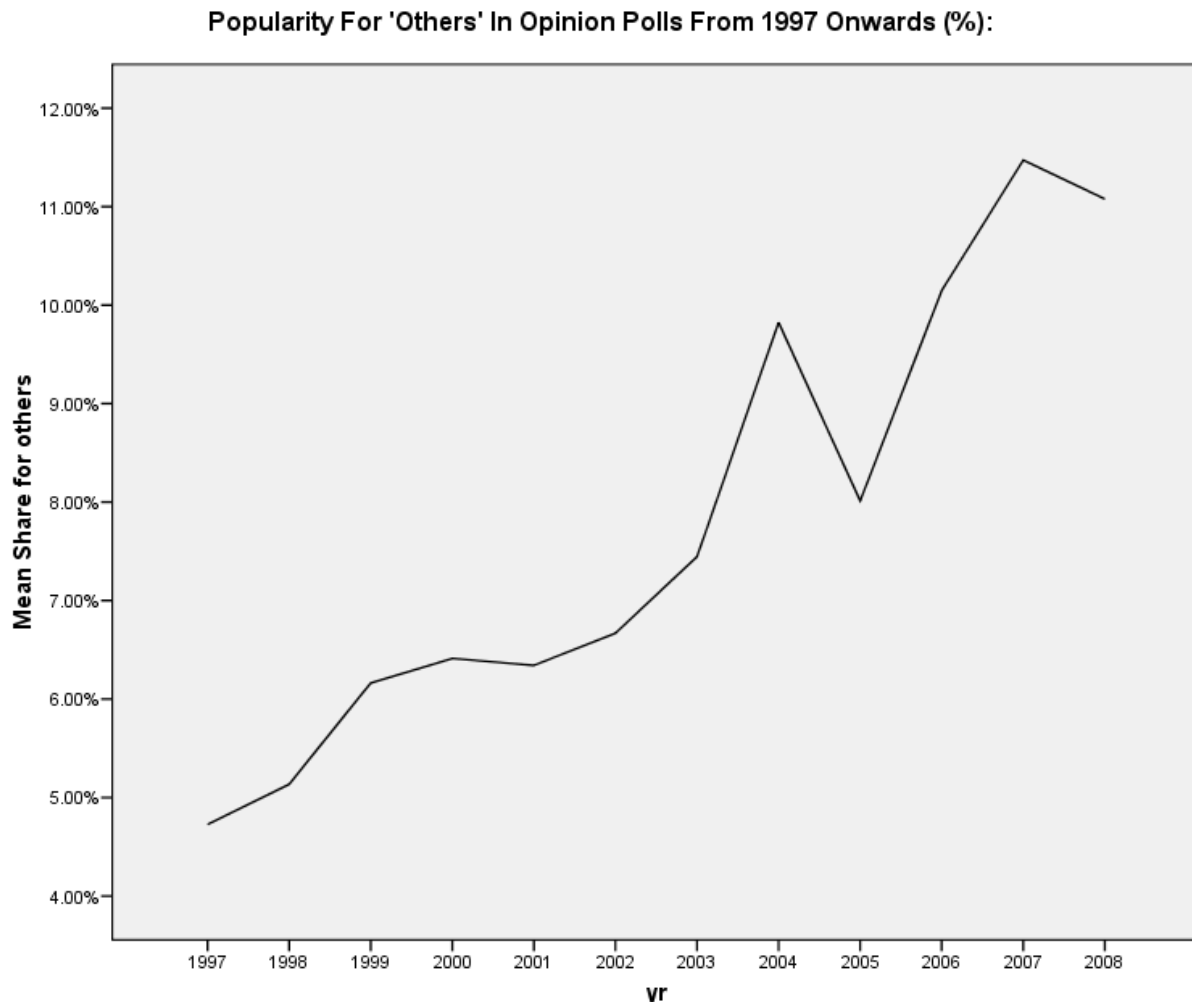


Source: Rallings and Thrasher 2007

This recent increase in support for parties other than 'the big three' is shown by opinion poll data (fig 2). This suggests that currently more than one in ten would vote for a minor party in the event of a general election. Again we can

see a trend illustrating the increasing saliency of 'other' party support in Great Britain over the past decade.

Fig 2:



Source: LGC Elections Centre, University of Plymouth 2007

Small parties, it appears, are playing an increasingly significant role at both local and parliamentary elections. Perhaps they are not winning a large number of seats, but such support from voters is inevitably at the expense of the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats. Given that these smaller parties are playing a bigger role it is important to review how researchers are approaching their classification within the broad description of party systems.

Minor Party Classification in Local Government

A recent attempt at classification has been made by Copus and Clarke (2007) and also by Game (2007), who refers to minor parties in Great Britain as “the ubiquitous 10 per cent” (Game 2007) due to their habitation in the murky ‘others’ category of electoral result tables. The research identifies five types of minor parties based on organisational structure and policy platforms. The first to be identified is the *small national (branch) party* which “organises beyond the locality, at a regional and/or national level” and has “a broad-based political platform with developed policies on a wide range of national issues” (Copus and Clarke 2007:10). Next are the *local parties* that “organises and is active in one locality only, but which has a broad-based local agenda and presents to the electorate a wide-ranging manifesto” (Copus and Clarke 2007:11). *Single issue parties* are simply the political manifestation of single issue campaigns that have decided to formally enter the party arena in an attempt to promote their primary reason for being. *Non-partisan organisations* are tenants and ratepayers associations that are typically anti party-political, but must form a political party due to constraints imposed by the electoral commission (Game 2007:17). Finally we have the *Independent*, of which there are many types (see Copus and Clarke 2007). Although strictly speaking they are not political parties, they play a significant role in the political system and therefore must be accounted for in some respect.

Game (2007) is the first to criticise what his paper refers to as “an embryonic typology” (p.15). The most prominent problem is the amount of contextual knowledge needed to negotiate such a sorting system. For example, the Green Party could certainly be considered a *small national (branch) party* as it campaigns nationally, but they also concentrate all their resources on environmental policy – thus overlapping with the *single issue party* classification. As well as the dual nature of some parties, we have to face the lack of available data required to apply the above criteria. The Electoral Commission does not publish anything other than the party name, officers and contact details. The paucity of information could lead us to believe that the national sounding ‘Community Independence Party (UK)’ is a significant force in UK politics, when in reality it only mustered 771 votes in the May 2007 Local Elections.

We also have to deal with parties that might as well be independents! For example, according to the Electoral Commission database, the Anti-Crime Party has the same person acting as the leader, nominating officer and treasurer, with only one other person involved as the campaign officer. Other examples of little substance behind the label of registered political party is the Maldon and District Independent Democratic Alliance, where the leader is a Michael Helm and the nominating officer is a Michael Werner Helm; or the Hersham Village Society where Clive Royston Green stands as leader and nominating officer with Brenda Eileen Green as treasurer. It appears that political parties have really become a cottage industry – so are these parties really all that different from Independents?

The sum of these observations is that extensive contextual knowledge is required to classify minor parties empirically. For a universal definition of minor parties this is a problem since it does not facilitate cross-national comparisons.

Quantitative Definitions of Minor Parties

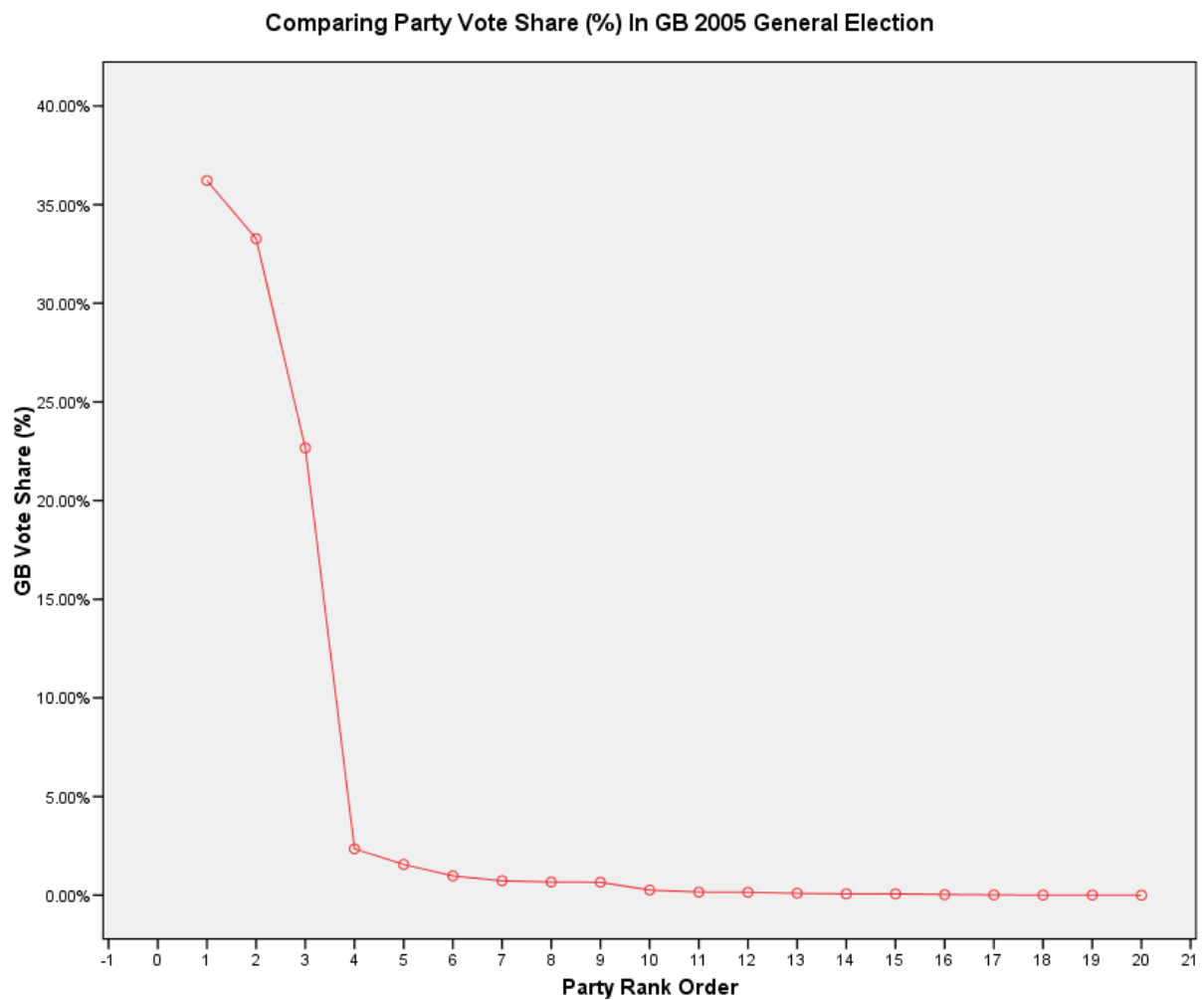
To achieve a parsimonious statistical solution that can be universally applied, we should begin with electoral popularity – vote share. We could instead opt to measure minor party status with reference to seat share, but given the operation of some voting systems (e.g. first past the post) this would tend to discount the importance of such parties in the current electoral climate. The following analysis uses data from the most recent general elections in three different political systems: Great Britain, Denmark and Italy. The intention is to show the variation in party support across national boundaries, and to present a varied dataset with which to test our assumptions.

Simple Visual Interpretation

The following graphs map the vote share achieved by parties in our three different political systems. Each plots the vote share of the party (%) on the y axis, and then the rank order of the party according to vote share (%) on the x axis where the vote share decreases as x increases. For example, in Great Britain Labour have the highest vote share and are labelled *party 1*, the Conservatives have the second highest vote share and are labelled *party 2*, and the Liberal Democrats have the third highest vote share and are labelled *party 3* and so on.

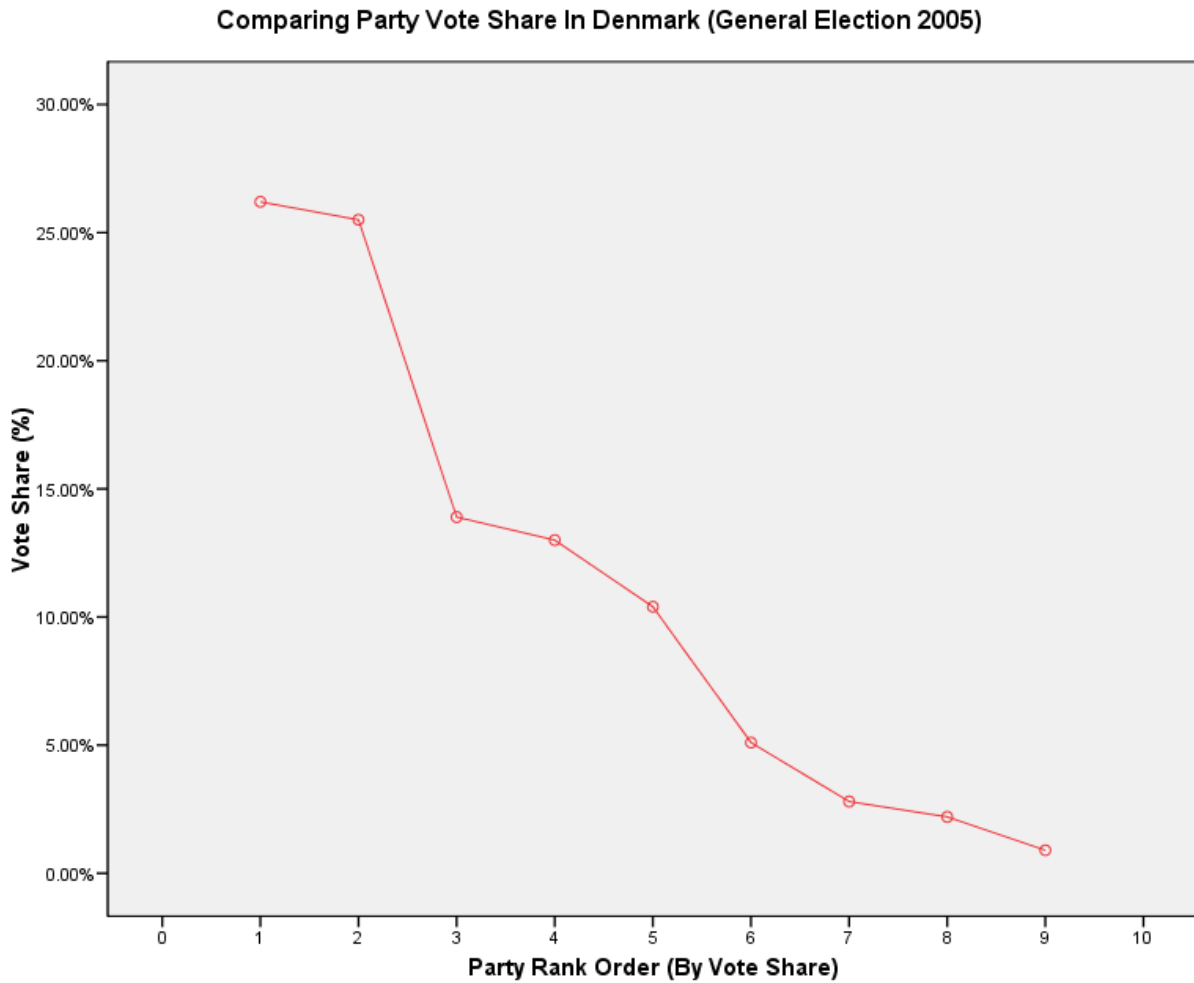
As a disclaimer, you will notice that not all 113 parties have been plotted on the GB graph and the situation is similar for Denmark and Italy. This is partly due to the available data, but also the fact that one starts to get rather bored of typing in data after the 20th party. In reality, this paper is intended to draw attention to issues which need further study, and the general rather than specific trends are of primary concern. The effect of 93 parties in GB that have less than 0.01% of the vote is negligible for the purpose of our analysis. In the following graph for the 2005 GB General Election (fig 3) we can see very clearly that after $x=3$ the plots received very low vote shares and common sense would dictate that these are the minor parties. Despite this we find ourselves feeling uneasy over *party 3* which seems to sit between the two easily identifiable groups. Is it a minor party or is it not?

Fig 3:



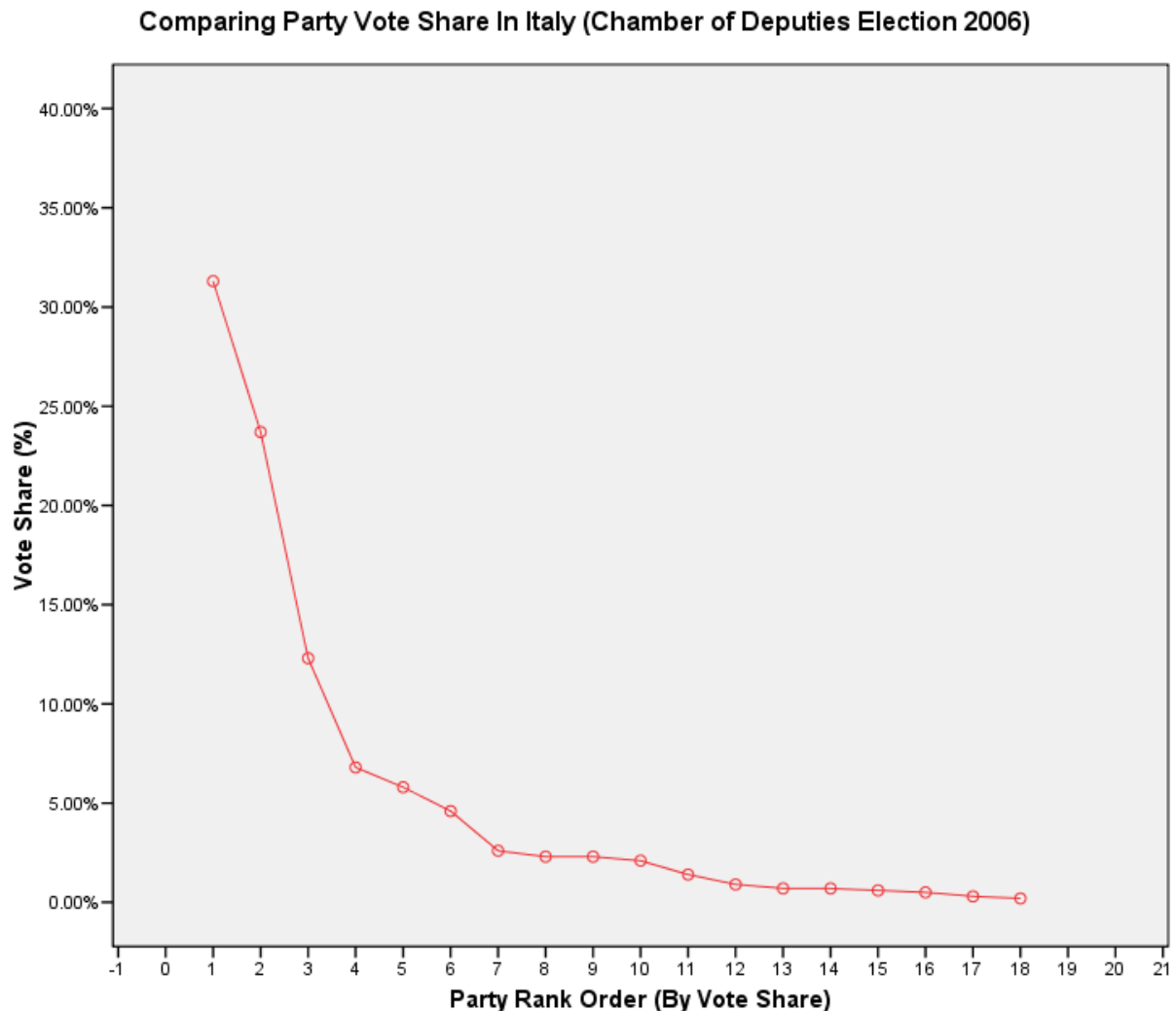
The next graph plots the vote share of parties in Denmark at the 2005 General Election (fig 4). Unlike in the GB there appears to be a much more gradual fall in vote share as x increases making it hard to define where major parties end and where minor parties begin. *Parties 1 and 2* are very clearly major players, but *parties 3 to 5* also have over 10% of the total vote share each, with the next noticeable decrease being *party 6*. We appear to have 3 distinct groups and no obvious major/minor divide.

Fig 4:



Finally, we have the vote shares of parties at the Italian General Election in 2006 (fig 5). Although we return to the steep gradients identified in the GB party system, the spacing of *parties 1 to 3* are very similar whilst covering a large drop in vote share. Are *parties 4 to 6* a group? The differences either side of the plots tell different stories.

Fig 5:



Eyeballing the data gives some idea of the problems. Although it has not answered our questions, simple visual interpretation suggests that the issue is more complex than first thought. Perhaps the whole idea of a dichotomy (major or minor) is wrong, and such an idea would only work in polarised party systems but not in fragmented ones.

We therefore should turn our attention to a way of classifying party systems that relies on party fragmentation itself to aid our understanding and our search for a universal definition.

Effective Number of Parties (N_v)

Taagepera and Shugart (1989) decided to measure the number of effective parties based on vote share (N_v) in a party system – that is, the number of equally sized parties that would need to exist to reach the same level of

fragmentation observed in a given party system (Taagepera and Shugart 1989:190).

The need for the creation of this concept was based on the idea of a false dichotomy between parties that were serious contenders for office, and parties that were not (Taagepera and Shugart 1989:213). Their argument is based on the concept of relativity between different party configurations – for example, as the number of parties increases, so does the chance of a party achieving a low vote share to gain representation through winning a seat. Therefore a party that achieves over 5.0% in Italy is relatively successful as the party system is highly fragmented. Such a result for a party in a strong two party system, such as in the US, would result in nowhere near the same level of success. We must also take into account the differences in the proportionality of electoral systems and rules regarding thresholds. All this makes an arbitrary cut-off point ineffective. They therefore decided to allow party vote shares to determine their own weight thus creating a measure relative to every other party that has a share of the vote.

The process begins by measuring the level of fragmentation in the party system using the Herfindal-Hirschman (*HH*) Concentration Index, a method used previously by economists and businesses to assess how many effective share-holders there are in a given company. In our case we simply substitute the effective number of shareholders with the effective number of parties. We begin by measuring the level of fragmentation in a given system:

$$HH = \sum p_i^2$$

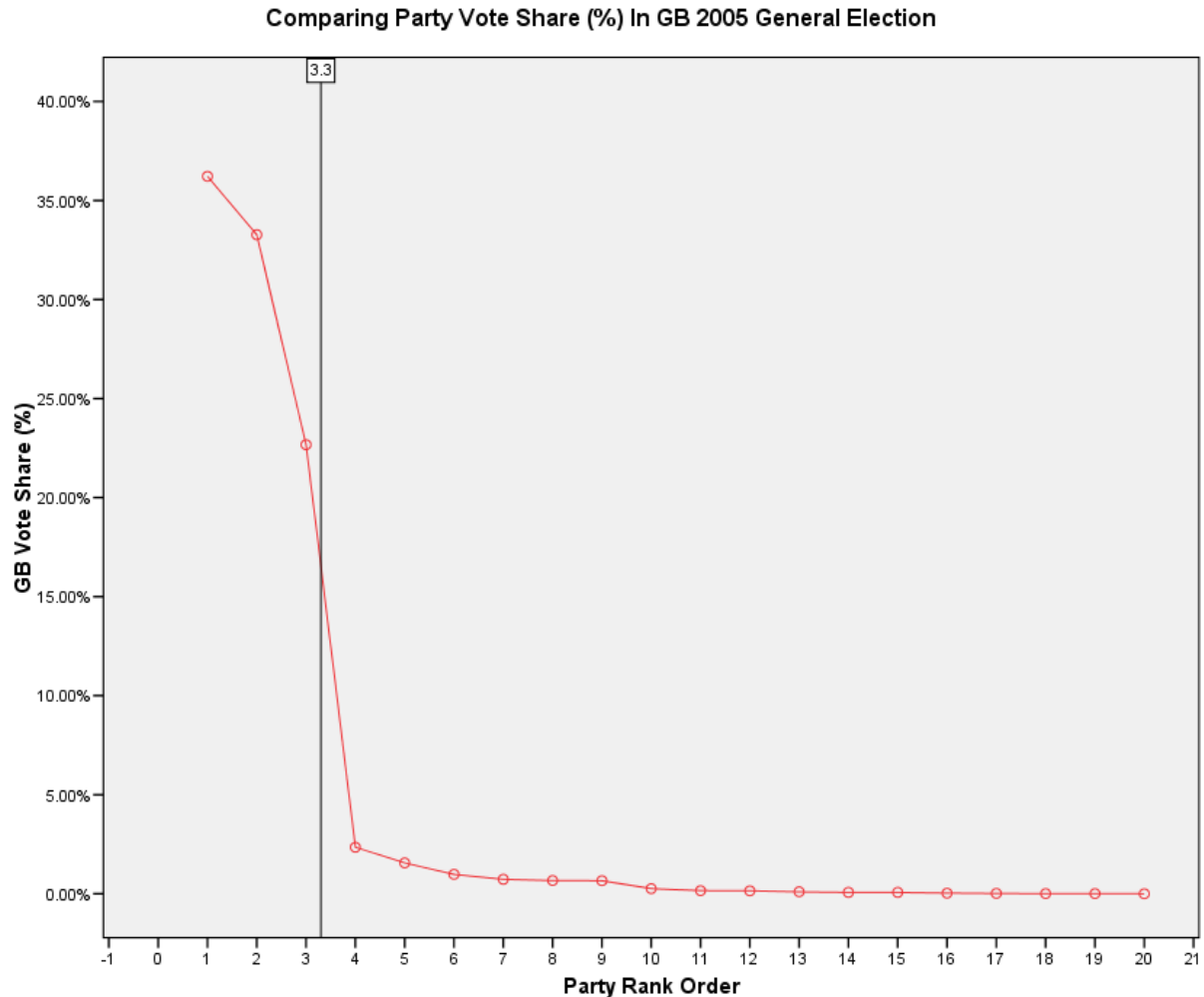
Where p_i^2 is the party vote share (%) squared of the *i*-th party. Simply put, the *HH* score is calculated by the sum of all the party votes shares (%) individually squared. This is effectively weighting each vote share with itself. We now have a fragmentation index for any given system, but we need to establish how many parties are effective in this system based on their scores. To do this we must calculate the number of equally sized parties that would result in the same level of fragmentation – thus the number of effective parties is defined as the inverse of *HH*:

$$N = 1/HH = 1/\sum p_i^2$$

Where “*N* indicates the number of hypothetical parties that would have the same effect on fractionalisation of the party system as have the actual parties of varying sizes” (Taagepera and Shugart 1989:79). Because we are basing our calculations on vote share, the number of effective parties is expressed as N_v . We can now calculate N_v for our three different party systems. The intention is to see where N_v intersects our plots, as presumably the parties that come before this intersect are ‘effective’ (major players) and the ones that follow it are ‘ineffective’ (minor players).

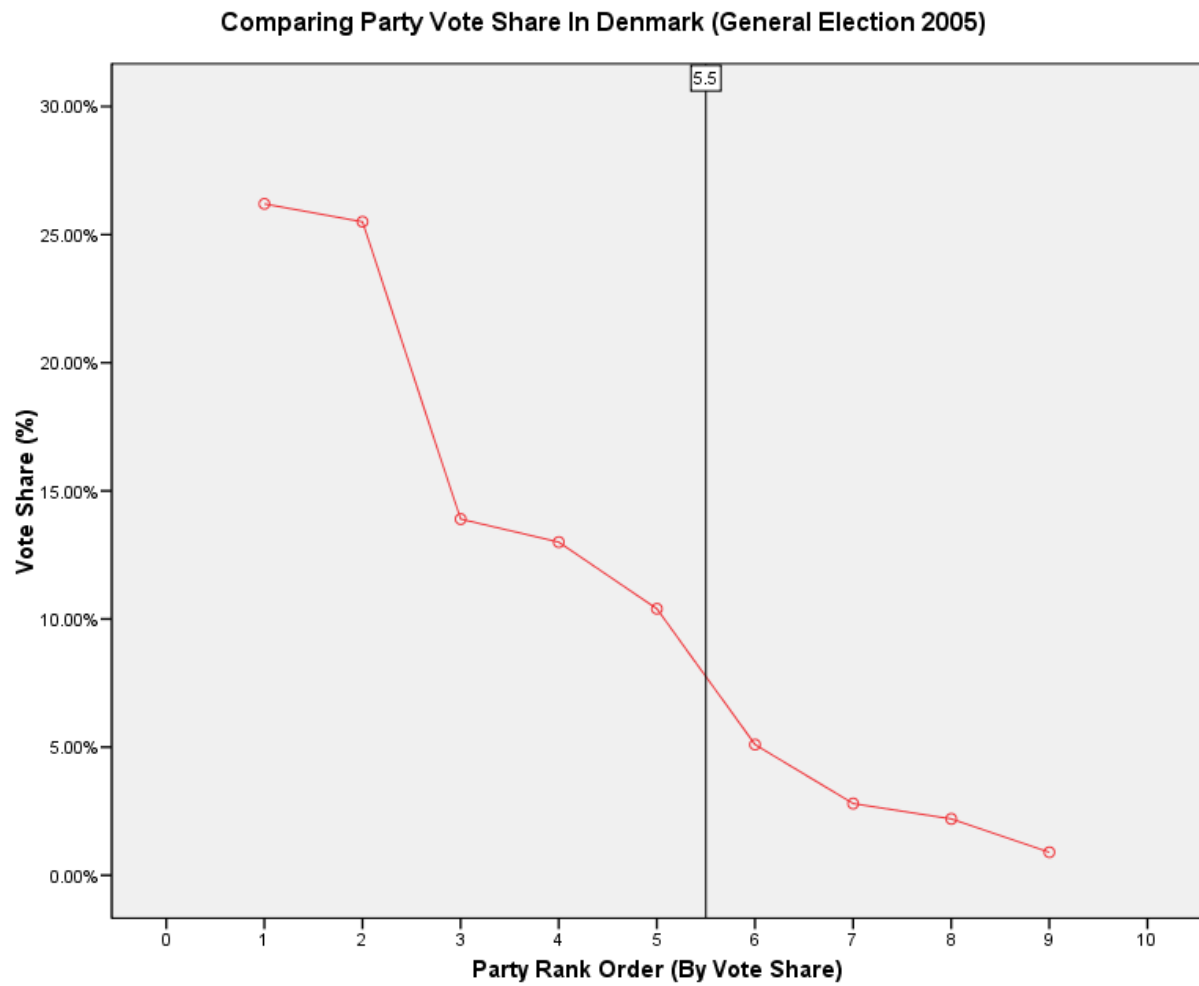
Initially we are not disappointed. The value of N_v for the parties that participated in the GB 2005 General Election is 3.3 (fig 6) – this clearly intersects our interpolation lines where we would expect. Yet does this mean that *party 4* is 0.3 effective and 0.7 ineffective?

Fig 6:



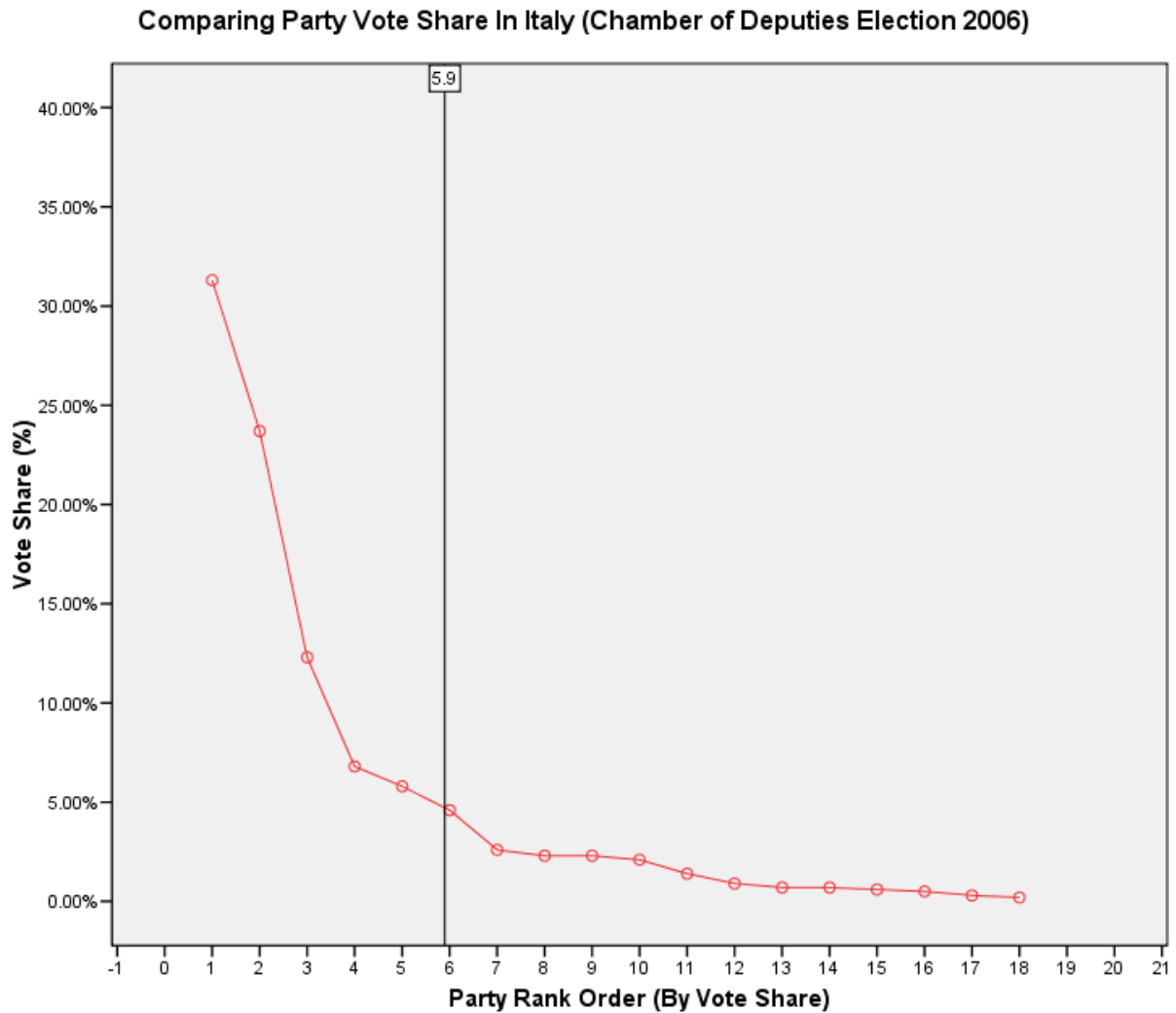
The value of N_v for Denmark (fig 7) causes more concern as we might expect there to be only two effective parties through simple observation. The intersect is actually placed between two parties with a difference in vote share not far from 6.0%, so is one party effective and the other not because of 6.0% in vote share? Again, is *party 6* only 0.5 effective?

Fig 7:



To top it all off we end up with an N_v value of 5.9 for Italy (fig 8). Clearly the same issues apply as discussed previously, but are perhaps more acute in such a fragmented party system.

Fig 8:



We have to conclude that our attempts so far to create a dichotomous divide between major and minor parties is proving to be a challenge. When N_v is not an integer we are unsure what this means, and this is a cause for concern. We could argue that, due to the popularity of N_v as a measure of party systems, it is partly responsible for marginalising the importance of minor parties in the first place. If such a calculation tells us that only a set number of parties are serious contenders within a given party system, then the temptation is to ignore the 'ineffective parties' to the right of the intersect which inevitably marginalises minor parties. Yet despite the terminology, the parties to the left of the N_v intersect play an important role in some party systems.

Clearly our data show that N_v behaves in odd ways – especially in party systems that are heavily fragmented such as Italy. We should also bear in mind that it is intended to calculate how many equally sized parties would be needed to achieve the same level of fragmentation – and that this is only a

crude function of the actual original vote shares. Such summary statistics are useful, but we should be mindful of their lack of precision.

Perhaps now we can justify an attempt to approach the classification of minor parties without feeling the need to adhere to the dichotomous major/minor divide. The paper will now look at an alternative method of describing the party system using vote share based on the concept of a scale rather than a dichotomous definition.

Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis offers a different approach to our problem. Although it is not considered a formal statistical test, it is a useful tool for identifying the boundaries of groups within the data. The method is superior to those used previously as it takes into account the relative distance between all the plots in vote share (the y axis), thus the difference in vote share between every point is compared to the difference in vote share from every other point. It is therefore a more sensitive measure than N_v and less likely to be so blunt.

In our instance we are interested in where cluster analysis defines the minor/major divide, or whether it even makes this divide at all. Throughout all our previous analysis there is an undercurrent of suspicion against the dichotomous divide, and it is now that we can put this to the test.

Two different methods of hierarchical cluster analysis are presented here. The reason is that, with all the different ways cluster analysis can be configured, the researcher can choose the method which presents the data in the most appealing way. The analysis has also been conducted with the cluster analysis making reference to the case number rather than the party number. Therefore the lowest case number on the dendograms always refers to the party with the highest vote share, and as the case number increases it follows the party rank order (vote share decreasing).

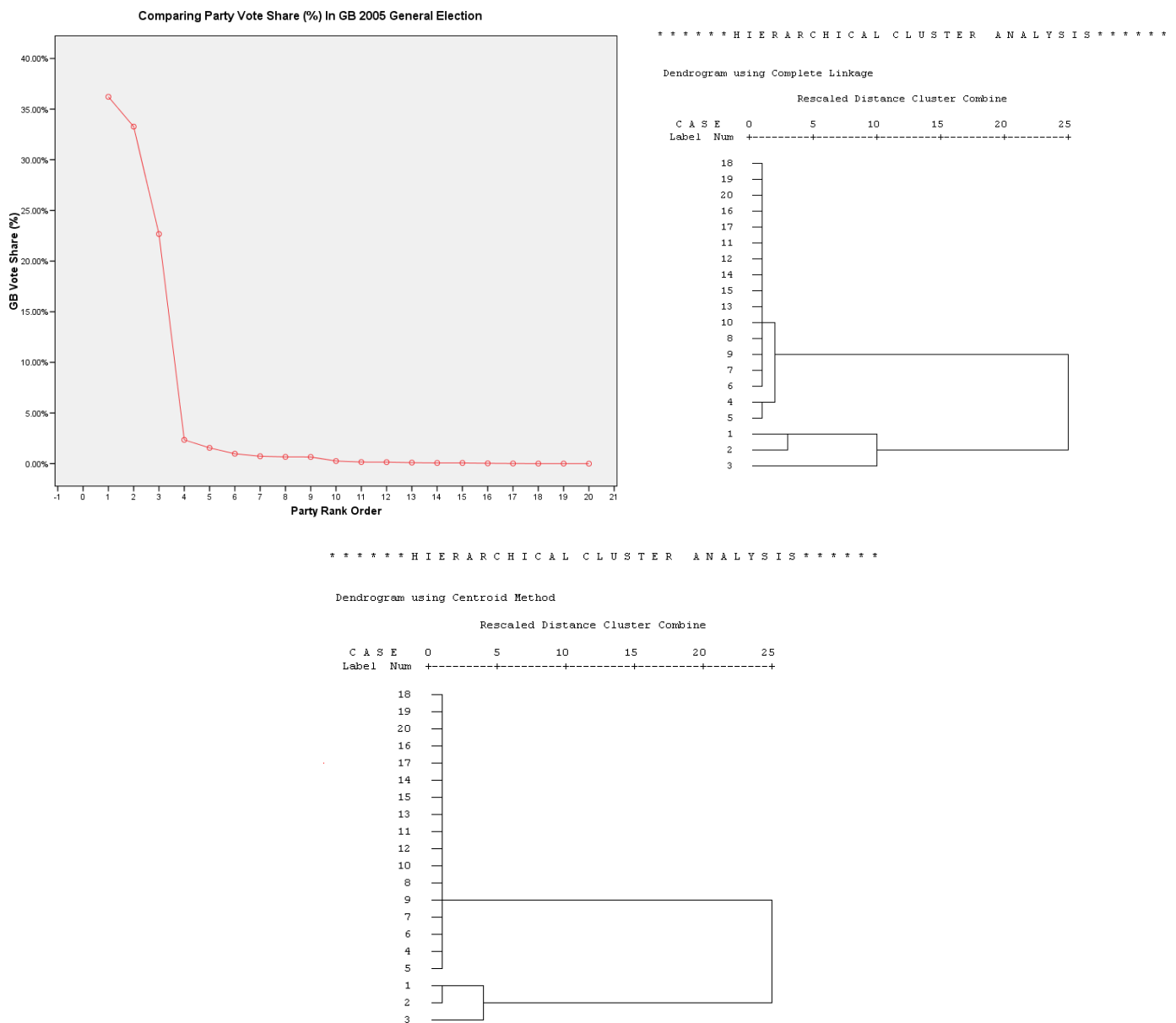
This paper has decided to use *complete linkage (Euclidian distance)* and *centroid (Euclidian distance squared)* to illustrate our point, but also to offer a more balanced approach. The two methods differ in that *Euclidian distance squared* emphasizes the differences in distance between two data points, compared to simple *Euclidian distance*. The result of this is that the clusters formed tend to be tighter and better defined. Despite this, we present cases in which both methods suggest strong groupings of parties regardless thus strengthening our argument. In short, it is up to the reader to decide whether they buy into the argument or not.

In Great Britain (fig 9) the results are what we might expect based on both our previous empirical and statistical analysis. Both the *centroid* and *complete linkage* methods produce strongly defined clusters for *parties 1 to 3*, and visual interpretation of the graph would confirm this. Interestingly *complete linkage* also suggests a less well defined cluster composing of *parties 4 and 5*, and this

is something that is not readily obvious visually. As a result of this we should note that although *parties 1 to 3* are very different to all other plots in terms of vote share, *parties 4 and 5* are slightly different within the boundaries of all the less successful parties. The incrementally higher vote share achieved by *parties 4 and 5* is enough to set them apart from the parties. This indicates a sensitivity in the cluster analysis compared to the summary statistic N_v .

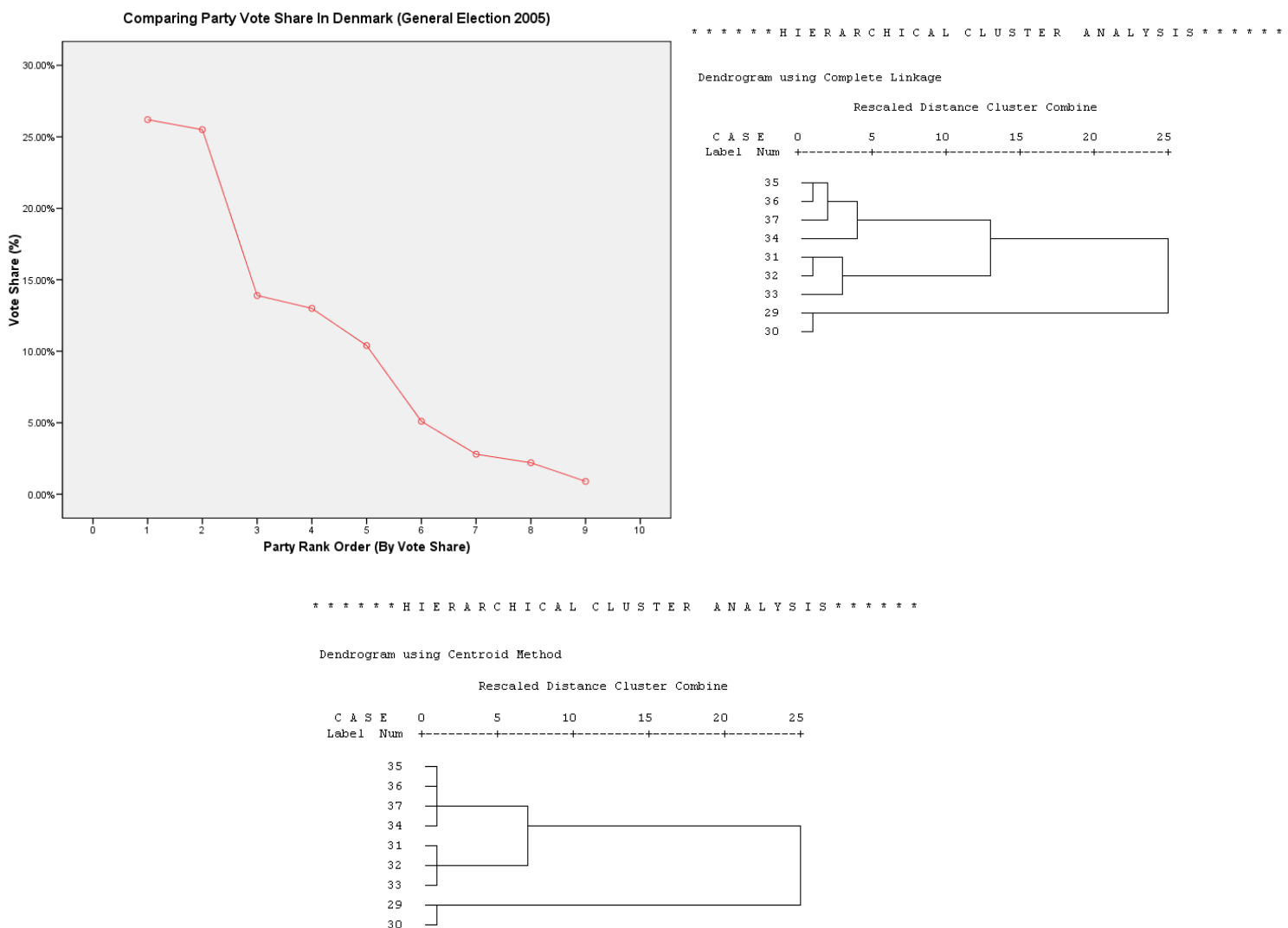
However, we would have no concerns over introducing a major/minor divide for this particular party vote share configuration, falling between *parties 3 and 4* – as previously identified by N_v to be 3.3.

Fig 9:



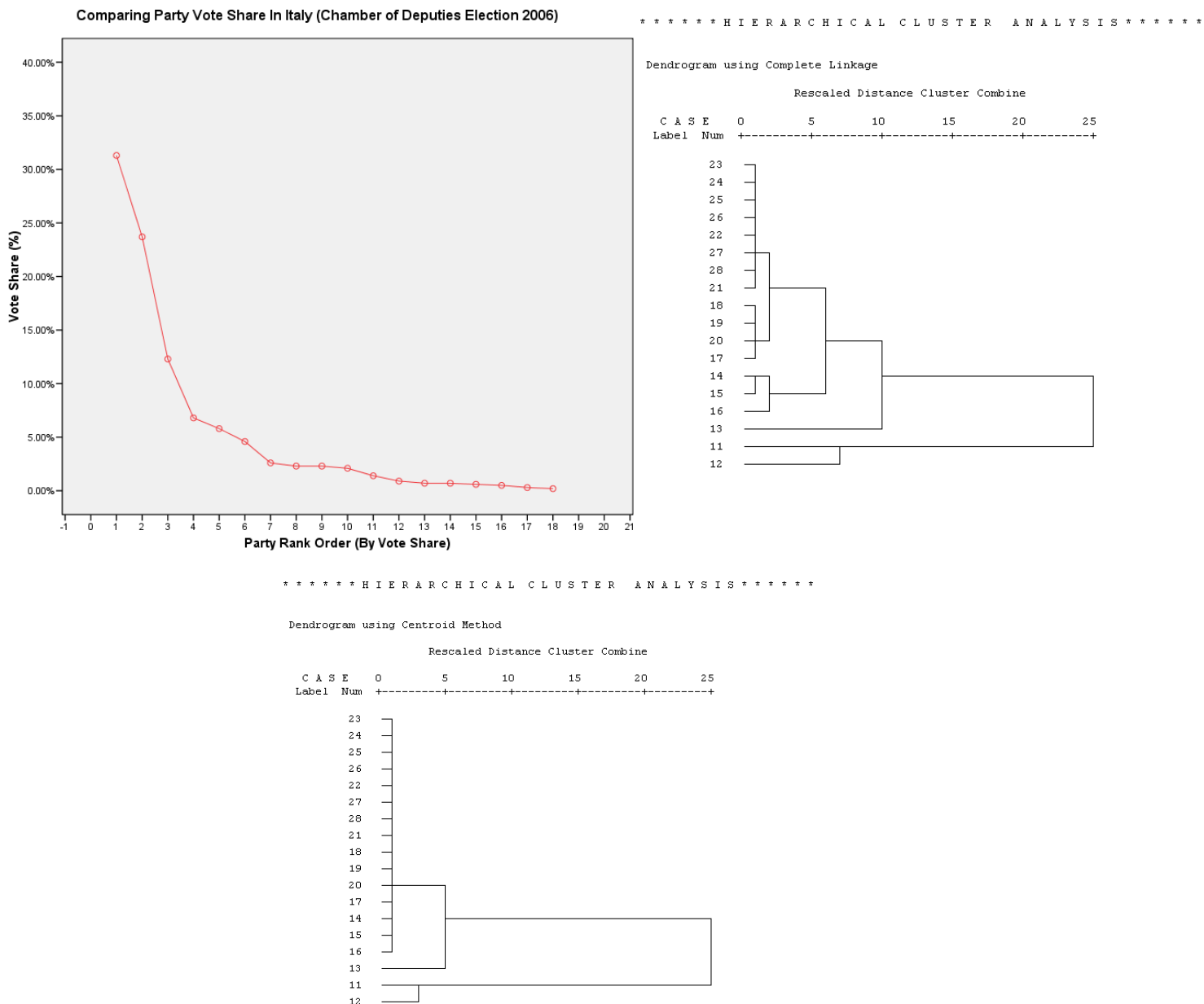
The situation in Denmark (fig 10) is more complex. We see that *parties 1 and 2* are well defined as a cluster in both methods – note that the difference in vote share is not that large between *parties 2 and 3*, but because of the relative nature of cluster analysis this is accounted for in relation to the later plots. However, any simple interpretation ends there. Although we have separate clusters for *parties 3 to 5* and *parties 6 to 9*, is it viable to say that these groupings are different enough? *Complete linkage* emphasises the differences within the clusters and we can see that there is some variation within the group, but this is compounded by the difference between the groups themselves. Unsurprisingly the *centroid* method plays down these discrepancies, but nevertheless we have three distinct clusters in total. Unlike in Great Britain, we find ourselves unsure as to whether we can actually mark a major/minor divide for parties in Denmark. Using N_v we would intersect the x axis at 5.5, but this puts *parties 1 to 5* in the same cluster despite the obvious divide illustrated by two distinct clusters in the dendrogram. In this instance, N_v seems a blunt metric.

Fig 10:



For Italy (fig 11) the *centroid* approach identifies *parties 1 and 2* as a distinct cluster, but it also identifies *party 3* as an imperfect member of the second cluster of *parties 3 to 18*. According to *complete linkage* the situation is more complicated with many small clusters of parties with little between them. Common practice is to intersect the dendrogram at the longest line, but such a method would leave us with two clusters composing of *parties 1 and 2* and *parties 3 to 18* and much of the richness of the analysis would be lost. When N_v is used we intersect the x axis at 5.9, but this does not appear intuitively correct when we transfer this to either of the dendrograms.

Fig 11:



Conclusions

We have identified that as party system fragmentation increases, so does the difficulty in drawing a dichotomous divide between major and minor parties. It is at this point that contextual knowledge of party systems in our countries of analysis might aid us in our definitions through empirical support for theoretical statistical claims. However this does not aid our search for a fully operationalised definition of major and minor party status.

We therefore advocate alternative methods of measuring party systems, particularly for those interested in minor parties. Clearly there is more to the issue than a simple major/minor divide. Cluster analysis has shown that there are subgroups of minor parties which may only differ slightly in vote share, but nevertheless could be classed as separate statistical groups. The problem with N_v is that, as a summary statistical measure, it cannot be used to identify such small discrepancies in the data. A 2% difference in vote share between two parties to the right of the N_v intersect is often very significant within the low vote share (or 'ineffective') group, but not when compared to the high vote share (or 'effective') group.

If we want to appreciate the variation within the blanket category of 'minor parties' then we need to be more discriminatory when choosing a method to measure party systems, and considering the recent increase in popular support and vote share received by such parties, such an approach is hastily required.

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THE DECLINE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY: THE 1918 GENERAL ELECTION IN THE MIDLANDS

Neil Fisher

Abstract

At the 1918 General Election, the once dynamic force that was the Liberal Party suffered a spectacular electoral defeat. The defeat set the scene for decades of decline and fragmentation which the party struggled to recover from. Although the Liberal Party survived, it suffered a quick and permanent fall from being a viable party of government to the third party of an essentially two-party political system.

The fall of the Liberal Party in the context of the 1918 General Election is well documented on a national level, and from early on this was the focus of historical analysis. This is hardly surprising considering the uniquely ambiguous and confusing nature of the election nationally, yet the notion of looking at the decline of Liberalism from a regional perspective was not sufficiently explored. Since the 1960s, historians have begun to rectify this problem, and have since drawn attention to the fact that the decline was not uniform across the country. This paper highlights that the Liberal collapse in 1918 across the Midlands was not clear cut; indeed some Midlands constituencies remained Liberal strongholds, therefore bucking the national trend. My findings fit in with the important work of other historians, who agree that there was a “kaleidoscope” of decline, the extent of which varied even amongst neighbouring constituencies. It is clear therefore that certain factors unique to regions and the grass roots of politics had a fundamental bearing on the election results of individual constituencies.

Introduction

The overall aim of this paper is to analyse aspects of the decline of Liberalism in the context of the history of the Liberal Party after the First World War. It considers the electoral issues and regional politicians involved in the 1918 General Election in the British Midlands (consisting of Birmingham, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Derbyshire). To begin with, there will be a brief discussion on the background to the election for the sake of historical context. Within this, previous research trends will be reviewed in order to ascertain where the paper should be placed within the historiography. The second part of the paper draws upon examples from the local perspective of my study, via research based on

local newspaper and periodical reports, the proceedings of the Midland Liberal Federation, and the election addresses of selected 1918 General Election candidates. I am studying a cross-section of constituencies in the Midlands that together represent the diversity of the region's politics at this time; the Conservative-dominated constituencies of Birmingham are represented as is the more rural and traditionally Liberal constituency of Derbyshire South. As was the case across the country, geographical factors – such as whether a constituency was predominantly urban or rural – lay alongside other factors that determined the extent of the Liberal collapse in individual seats; such as the various electoral agreements made between politicians, the social and political impact of both the First World War and the 1918 Representation of the People Act, the rise of the Labour Party and the question of whether Labour stood to benefit as the new major party of the Left, the problems of forging a distinct Liberal identity that appealed to the electorate, and the role of both local and national Liberal personalities in determining the electoral fortunes of the party. Ongoing research is allowing for the exploration of these factors in more depth, and examples of how they are being approached are highlighted here.

The importance of such factors is evident through an examination of existing historiography. The work of Roy Douglas (1971a & b) in particular sheds light on what was a confusing set of election deals struck between the coalition Liberals and the Conservative Party. By examining the agreements between these parties from a national perspective, as well as highlighting specific local examples that bucked the trend, Douglas has not only discovered what these agreements were, but also that the motives behind them were varied (Douglas, 1971a).

For the Liberal Party, the struggle of forging its own distinctive left-wing identity was exacerbated by the steady rise in electoral support for the Labour Party. While the number of seats won by Labour at the 1918 election did not necessarily represent a sudden surge of support, division within the Liberal Party coupled with a loss of over 100 Liberal MPs at the election (Wood, 1984: 436-437) saw Labour as the largest party in opposition to the coalition government. This was a period of utter confusion for the Liberal Party; the fact that there were two squabbling Liberal factions would have also confused the party's supporters. With this in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Liberal candidates in the Midlands struggled with the relative stigmas of being labelled a coalition Liberal or an Asquithian Liberal. The Asquithian Liberals, in particular, attempted to undo the negative image of belonging to a party that was in opposition to a government that had delivered victory in the First World War. In the aftermath of the 1918 election this confusion and unease within the party became visible to all, via a series of mass defections to the Conservatives by Liberals who were uneasy with the idea of supporting a future socialist government (Pindar, 1983: 7). By contrast, other Liberals such as Josiah Clement Wedgwood drifted towards Labour, appalled that the Liberal Party had abandoned its 'Progressive' principles (Mulvey, 2003: 21). In this sense, Labour was seen as the natural progression from 'New Liberalism',

posing the question frequently debated by historians; was the rise of the Labour Party inevitable in light of the Liberal Party collapse?

Background History

In 1906 the Liberal Party under Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman had been voted into government following a landslide election victory (Seaman, 1995: 21). The administration that followed was one of the most decisive terms of office in British twentieth century political history. The Liberal Government that followed embarked on a programme of social reform. However, when the House of Lords rejected the Budget of 1909, Westminster became embroiled in a constitutional crisis; the key issue being whether an unelected House of Lords had the right to reject Bills that had been passed by the democratically elected House of Commons (Pugh, 1999: 144). The resulting two General Elections of 1910 saw the Liberal majority in the Commons wiped out, but nonetheless a Liberal government led the nation into the First World War.

Following complaints (particularly within the press (BBC, 2008)) that the war was being mismanaged, in May 1915 the Prime Minister - Herbert Asquith - dissolved the Liberal government and took charge of a coalition government consisting of Liberal, Conservative and Labour MPs. In December 1916, the Liberal Party became visibly divided when fellow Liberal - David Lloyd George - enlisted the help of the Conservative leadership to replace Asquith as Prime Minister of the coalition (Taylor, 1992: 67-70). Asquith left the government to sit on the opposition benches, and those Liberal MPs who supported him did the same. There were now two distinct Liberal factions, rallying behind their respective leaders.

Party politics was, to all intents and purposes, suspended for the duration of the war. This proved to be incredibly damaging to the Liberal Party. The party setup in various constituencies was allowed to deteriorate, as the government became increasingly occupied with the day-to-day running of the war effort. As Pindar observes, "In many parts of the country, particularly in London, the North East and other industrial areas, serious decay set in" (Pindar, 1983: 7). The political truce affected all parties, especially as many men involved in politics were called up to serve in the armed forces; yet the negative connotations of the truce impacted the Liberals more than the Conservatives or Labour. What made the difference - and therefore a major reason why the truce was not as damaging to the other parties - was the apathy displayed by and a specific lack of a centralised lead from the Liberal Party at Westminster. The Liberals in particular were unconcerned with the fact that local Liberal associations were no longer meeting (B. Jones, 1997: 22). Party agents and activists called up to the front line were not replaced. The attitude of the Liberals in this case is summarised by Michael Hart, who observes that "Liberals applied themselves energetically to winning the war, and their liberalism was subordinated to the task" (Hart, 1982: 620). Wartime by-elections suggest that some Liberals, particularly in constituencies considered safe Conservative seats, simply withdrew from their election contests or did not

consider it worthwhile to stand in the first place. Owing to the lack of traditional party politics, Liberal candidates who *did* stand in such by-elections often found themselves competing against single-issue movements, such as the Temperance League in London. They were also more often than not defeated by such movements (Pindar, 1983: 7-8).

The 1918 General Election was unique for numerous reasons. As a result of the 1918 Representation of the People Act, there was now universal male suffrage and the franchise was extended to include women over thirty years of age. Approximately eight and a half million women were given the vote for the first time, the total electorate jumping from seven million before 1914 to twenty million by the time the armed forces had demobilised by 1919 (Taylor, 1992: 115-116). The political opinions of these newly enfranchised voters would have been uncertain; or at least they were according to *The Times*:-

"Nobody, not even the most experienced political organiser, has the remotest idea of the direction in which the thoughts of the women voters are turning. The absent voters, too, are an utterly unknown quantity. Even the 8,000,000 men who were on the register for the last general election have learnt so much in the war that the party axis of vast numbers has been shifted to a degree which cannot be gauged with any accuracy."

(‘The General Election’, *The Times*, 15th November 1918: 7)

The new voters were an unknown quantity because aspects of the political sphere had changed since the last election in 1910, which makes sense in light of some crucial observations. The Liberals were now divided and weakened at local level, low morale and local decay during the war proved detrimental to their image. By contrast, Labour had benefited from a steady growth in trade union membership due to close affiliation, and in 1918 individual party membership was introduced independent of union membership (Tanner, 2000: 250). If "vast numbers" of the electorate had changed their allegiance, this was good news for the Labour Party. From Labour's position of relative parliamentary weakness the party had nothing to lose in an attempt to gain further legitimacy. This would have been a problem for the Liberals however, particularly in light of Labour's promise to extend welfare reforms already undertaken by the Liberals (Pelling, 1991: 43-44).

For the election, an agreement was reached between Lloyd George and the Conservatives that he hoped would safeguard his Liberals within the coalition. Every candidate that he felt he could trust was given an official letter of support, underlining the fact that they were the official candidate for the coalition (Cook, 1989: 74). Another motive, of course, was to ensure that the electorate did not mistakenly vote for an Asquithian Liberal candidate in the belief that they were voting for the coalition. Asquith mocked this letter of support by nicknaming it the ‘coupon’ in reference to wartime rationing; the election has therefore become known as the ‘Coupon Election’ (Cook, 1989: 74).

The election was a disaster for the Liberals; in particular, it was a disaster for Asquith's Liberals, who were returned with just 28 seats (Wood, 1984: 436-437). Asquith himself lost his seat and was only voted back into parliament via a by-election in 1920 (Peters, 1998: 14). The coupon exacerbated matters for Asquith's Liberals in such a way as to amplify the coalition government's victory, making it the ideal situation for Labour to pick up extra votes both on their own merit and given the complexities of the election. Indeed, Labour's advances at the election were largely at the expense of the Liberals. However, this is not to attribute the coalition landslide entirely to the distribution of the coupon. As Chris Cook (1976: 75) observes, the coalition capitalised on post-war euphoria to return a massive majority for the government responsible for winning the war. This makes sense considering the election was called days after the armistice. It should be remembered that if it was not for the agreement reached between Lloyd George and the Conservative leader Andrew Bonar Law, some coalition Liberals might not have been elected. Bonar Law worked hard to keep to his side of the bargain across the country; the majority of coalition Liberal candidates did not have to compete against a Conservative opponent, and those Conservatives who did not possess the coupon usually found themselves elected regardless (Cook, 1976: 75).

As a result of defeat at the election, many local Liberal associations simply fell to pieces. Traditional pockets of Liberal strength held out in rural areas like the South West, South Midlands and Lincolnshire (Pindar, 1983: 11). Regardless however, associations fragmented and there occurred a Liberal 'exodus', as many of the party's grass roots individuals joined either the Conservatives or Labour. This migration also affected the party at Westminster. To name just two individuals for contrast, Josiah Clement Wedgwood – MP for Newcastle Under Lyme – joined the Independent Labour Party in 1919 (Mulvey, 2003: 191), and Winston Churchill rejoined the Conservatives in 1924 (Clarke, 1997: 128). The Liberals who left the party therefore did so for a number of reasons; they acted out of despair over the Liberal leadership as well as acting out of a desire to counteract the growing threat from Labour.

Not surprisingly, the decline of the Liberal Party within this timeframe has sparked plenty of debate amongst historians. Early studies attempted to determine when the decline took place, and who was responsible. One of the most well known studies on the decline is one of the earliest; George Dangerfield (first published in 1935) was the catalyst for debate. Dangerfield asserts that the seeds of decline were sown from as early as 1906 – the year of the election landslide – and paints a picture of pre-destined doom for the Liberals. According to Dangerfield, the 1906 landslide covered a multitude of issues, not least that they were "built of showy but not very durable stuff" (Dangerfield, 1997 edition: 24). He focuses on the party's struggle to cope with the growth in violence as a result of industrial unrest, the suffragette campaign and the 'Irish Question'. These issues damaged the party in an irrevocable way, and a Liberal collapse was inevitable in this respect. Dangerfield's conclusion therefore is that the Liberals were doomed to decline before the

First World War had begun and thus many years before the 1918 election defeat.

Subsequent studies however, have rejected this conclusion and regard the pre-war years as years of strength for the Liberals. Two studies in particular shift focus on the Liberal decline towards the end of the war and the subsequent party split from 1918 onwards. Roy Douglas concludes that the outbreak of war signalled the start of the Liberal decline. Before the war there was no evidence to suggest, for example, that Labour were on the verge of overtaking the Liberals as the main political force of the Left (Douglas, 1971b). Trevor Wilson agrees with this to an extent, but determines that the war itself did not split the party, although it did take away the party's confidence that they would ever figure in government again (Wilson, 1966).

Both Douglas and Wilson make good use of the private papers of Lloyd George and other leading contemporary politicians at the House of Lords Record Office. In this respect they link their work to the previous research of Alfred Spender in the 1930s, which focuses quite exclusively on Liberal squabbles and national leadership divisions. Spender (1935: 227) categorises various politicians as victims and conspirators according to their conduct during the 1918 election and beyond. Spender points an indirect finger of blame at Lloyd George, citing the Prime Minister's official reasons for issuing the coupon as questionable considering "with few exceptions all members of the outgoing Parliament, whether Liberal or Conservative, had supported it [the government] in all measures necessary for the conduct of the war" (Spender, 1935: 225). Spender challenges Lloyd George's assertion that a Liberal MP received the 'coupon' if the MP had sided with the government during the Maurice Debate of May 1918.

Approaching the Debate from a Regional Perspective

The above assertion by Lloyd George is easily proved false on closer inspection of the election contests in the Midlands. With this in mind, it is somewhat surprising that historical debate had not really explored the notion of a regional approach in order to answer some of these questions until the 1960s and 1970s. There had been a lack of specific research seeking to explain how and why the Liberals deteriorated not just nationally, but regionally and within individual constituencies. Chris Cook (1976) draws attention to the fact that by studying these events from a regional perspective, it is clear to see that the decline was not uniform across the country. Rather the scale of the decline changed from constituency to constituency. While the Liberal Party on a national scale suffered a tremendous collapse after the pre-war landslide years, from a regional perspective there are examples of constituencies that not only survived the national trend but maintained strength in defiance of it. In other words, there was no Liberal decline to speak of (in this specific context) in such constituencies.

A regional approach to this question has moved the debate forward. Brendan Jones' (1997) study on Manchester Liberalism justifies Cook's conclusions; although the Conservatives had won all of the Manchester constituencies in 1918, at the 1923 General Election the Liberals had managed to win back half of them. Did this constitute a decline that can be attributed to the 1918 election, or did it more resemble a temporary blip that demonstrated the Liberals were not quite 'dead and buried' just yet? Other studies focus on traditional rural strongholds of Liberalism such as North East Wales (S. Jones, 2004), and the South West of England (Dawson, 1998; Tregidga, 2000). With such studies therefore, this regional approach to the question has become more specific. The groundwork produced by earlier studies on the national decline was obviously a pre-requisite for this. However, as will become evident, the collapse of the Liberals was not clear-cut from a regional perspective. This conclusion can only be gained by carrying out research on the grass roots level of politics, which is why the ability to study this question locally is so valuable; it reveals much more about the state of the party and goes beyond looking at the leaders and the squabbles of national leadership.

My initial research on the Liberal Party in the Midlands during the 1918 election has revealed that the themes outlined above are also applicable to the Midlands region. The election contest in Coventry was deeply affected by a controversy surrounding the 'coupon' agreements. Sir Courtenay Mansell had been accepted as the Liberal candidate for Coventry since July 1917 (Midland Liberal Federation, 21st Sept 1917: 102). According to his election speech on 1st December 1918, Mansell claimed that he was not only denied the coupon by the government, but had been deceived into believing that he was due to receive it:-

"...and I know as a fact, though I cannot produce the proof because it is highly confidential, that I was the acknowledged coalition candidate (Applause). Then, about the 20th [of November] something happened... Somebody pulled the strings: Somebody stepped in and stole what is called the 'blessing'"
(*'Sir Courtenay Mansell's Adoption' Midland Daily Telegraph, 2nd Dec 1918*).

Mansell went on to claim that he had attended a meeting at Westminster with Lloyd George and Bonar Law, during which the coalition programme was discussed. Mansell agreed with the programme and was given the impression that he was the coalition candidate. However, on the 25th of November, the front page of the Midland Daily Telegraph displayed a copy of the 'coupon' letter addressed to the Conservative candidate, Edward Manville ('City of Coventry, Parliamentary General Election'. *Midland Daily Telegraph, 25th November 1918: 1*). Three days later, the newspaper published a letter written by Mansell, implicating Sir George Younger - the Chief Conservative Whip jointly responsible for drawing up the coupon lists - in a conspiracy to ensure Mansell would not be given the coupon ('Sir Courtenay Mansell's Candidature'. *Midland Daily Telegraph, 28th November 1918*). Future research will determine whether Edward Manville played a part in this 'conspiracy'; Manville was, after

all, the head of the Daimler car plant in Coventry, and therefore a very wealthy and important businessman.

The events surrounding Josiah Clement Wedgwood MP in Newcastle-Under-Lyme during the election support Mansell's claims; namely that various deals and arrangements regarding the coupon were made in private. Wedgwood was by definition a Liberal MP, but was very independently minded. He had abstained from voting over the Maurice debate, and was popularly known as an outspoken critic of the government (Mulvey, 2003: 181). In light of this, quite why Wedgwood was offered the coupon "remains something of a mystery" (Mulvey, 2003: 181). Wedgwood had been a Colonel in the Army, and apparently the Conservatives hesitated to field a candidate against a locally popular and decorated war hero (Mulvey, 2003: 180). However this only tells half the story, especially when it is remembered that Mansell in Coventry had also served in the war. Behind closed doors, Wedgwood hammered out a deal with the Conservatives; they would support his campaign if he showed support for Imperial trade preference (Bealey, Blondel and McCann, 1965: 71). He was also a close friend of Freddie Guest, the coalition Liberal Chief Whip who drew up the coupon lists alongside Younger. Wedgwood later claimed that his unopposed return in 1918 was due to the fact that Guest owed Wedgwood a favour from when they had served together during the war (Mulvey, 2003: 181).

This example illustrates that the role of certain local personalities (alongside national party leaders), played a part in determining whether a Liberal candidate in the Midlands would win their contest. Another important example where the local standing of a Liberal candidate ensured his success in the election was the case of George Thorne in Wolverhampton East. Under Thorne, this constituency remained not only a Liberal seat but a Liberal stronghold until 1945. In his election address, Thorne reflects on "nearly forty years political activities in your midst, during which time my whole energies have been devoted to ... Social Reform" (Thorne, Election Address, 1918). Furthermore, Thorne was supported by important sections of the constituency Labour Party for the election ahead of the coupon candidate, and member of the British Workers League – a party closely associated to Labour – Reverend John Shaw. The Labour movement in Wolverhampton East was divided as to who they should support. Thorne was supported by Labour progressives such as the Workers' Union because they were averse to "Shaw's crude jingoism" (Lawrence, 1999: 160). Shaw on the other hand was supported by Will Sharrocks (a boilermakers leader, a Wolverhampton councillor and a previously strong supporter of Liberal candidates). Thorne won and held onto support within Labour circles "not by seeking pacts with the Tories", but by sticking to progressive tendencies. Thorne and his successor as MP, Geoffrey Mander, continued to depict themselves as social reformers "and, perhaps, significantly, as 'Labour men' in all but name" (Lawrence, 1999: 160).

In 1918, Labour and Liberal candidates nationwide "proved keen to stress that they possessed good, progressivist credentials" (Lawrence, 1999: 159). In

George Thorne's case, this seemed to be an advantage. However, it does highlight a lack of a distinct Liberal identity for the party, and it is obvious given certain examples that this sat very uneasily among the Liberal candidates. The Midland Liberal Federation was convinced that appearing too close to Labour in terms of policies exacerbated the defeat at the polls:-

"A) The fact that the Labour manifesto as to policy commanded the general assent of the Liberals, and occupied the hole filled by itself until the Manchester meetings in September. B) But the Manchester Programme, great as it was fell absolutely flat, because it never had any opportunity of getting home to the minds of the people. The programme was all right when it came, but it came too late to do anything towards saving the situation"

(Midland Liberal Federation, 31st Jan 1919: 139-140).

Dr JF Crowley, the Liberal candidate for Birmingham Duddeston, was eager to portray himself as a progressive candidate, rather than being strictly Liberal. In his election address, he introduced himself on the front page as the "Liberal and Labour candidate" (Crowley, Election Address, 1918). He pledged to support the coalition government, as long as they did not vary from "progressive principles". To add to the confusion, some Liberal candidates claimed that they were the coalition candidate when they were not. Wilfred Hill, the Asquithian candidate for Birmingham Moseley, was unambiguous on this:-

"I claim to be, in the true sense, a Coalition Candidate...For three years I have been working for the Coalition Government on Reconstruction Committees ...What Mr. Bonar Law wants is exactly what I WANT to give"

(Hill, Election Address, 1918, original emphasis).

Continuing this theme, Sir William Beddow-Rees – the Liberal candidate for Cannock in Staffordshire – also appealed to the electorate as a "Liberal and Progressive candidate" (Beddow-Rees, Election Address, 1918). He urged the electors to ignore the coupon and its probable influence on how they should vote. Having said this, he went on to sound as if he was not only expecting the coalition to win, but that he believed a coalition government would be beneficial to the immediate issues surrounding the post-war peace process:-

"...if elected, I pledge myself to support Mr. Lloyd George, and the Coalition Government, until Peace is signed and the war finally ended...a united Government is absolutely essential until Peace is finally established"

(Beddow-Rees, Election Address, 1918).

Unsurprisingly, Beddow-Rees' pledge to support the government is indistinguishable from such pledges made by coalition Liberals in the Midlands. Of the fifty-six Midlands seats, only seven Liberal candidates were given the coupon. Henry Holman-Gregory, coalition Liberal candidate for Derbyshire South, understandably agrees with Beddow-Rees' sentiments that the country should not abandon the coalition. After all, the coalition had won the war, and it

was therefore best suited to deal with the peace negotiations (Holman-Gregory, Election Address, 1918).

This paper analyses the position of the Liberal Party in the Midlands during the 1918 General Election. I have focused on specific themes, in particular on the fact that Liberal candidates were forced to deal with a number of issues unique to the election. A background understanding of the political situation at this time is therefore important for the study. My research so far has highlighted numerous controversies surrounding the distribution of the coupon. The complexity of this issue is underlined by the fact that there is still debate as to whether certain candidates received the coupon or not. Some Liberals in the region were denied this privilege for straightforward political reasons; others, being known critics of the government with a popular support base within their constituency, were able to strike deals to ensure re-election. This reveals that popularity and the reputation of a candidate within a constituency had a fundamental bearing on their electoral fate. The Midlands Liberals also struggled from a lack of a distinct Liberal identity, Liberal Party voters would have also agreed to many (if not all) of the Labour Party's policies. Liberal candidates recognised this, and presented themselves as a 'progressive' choice claiming to represent both Liberal and Labour causes. I support the contemporary view that the decline of the Liberal Party can not be pinpointed to a single year or General Election; some Liberal constituencies were lost in 1918, but others remained Liberal strongholds until the end of the Second World War.

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COASTAL FLOODING BY EXTREME EVENTS - 21st CENTURY CHALLENGE

Alison Nock

Abstract

Coastal flooding due to extreme weather events has always threatened coastal towns, cities and seaports. The problem may be exacerbated in the future by global sea level rise and by an increase in the frequency and magnitude of severe storm events. In response to this threat, research funded by the Natural Environment Research Council (NERC), the Environment Agency (EA) and the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) is being undertaken to examine global environmental changes and their likely impact on anthropogenic activities. NERC'S new strategy, entitled "The Next Generation of Science", aims to provide the scientific expertise to address key environmental science themes including global climate change and natural hazards (NERC 2008). The work undertaken in the Coastal Flooding by Extreme Events (CoFEE) project is a component part of the NERC FREE (Flood Risk from Extreme Events) Programme and supports the NERC mission using numerical modelling, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and spatial data management to assess how flood risk along the Sefton coast (UK) will change in the future due to predicted scenarios of sea level rise and increased frequency of extreme storm events. Specifically, the work presented here has identified a niche in the UK GIS flood risk assessment community that will underpin the development of many future flood risk applications. It aims to assist with the improvement of coastal flooding predictions by providing greater accuracy and timeliness of response. Further, increased knowledge of coastal flooding processes is considered to be pivotal in improving understanding and quantification of flood risk through accurate representation of coastal flooding models in GIS and spatial databases.

Introduction

Almost two-thirds of the world's population lives within 60 kilometres of the coast and half of the world's cities are located on the coast or at river mouths and estuaries (UN Atlas of Oceans, 2006). An increase in coastal flooding events attributable to global climate change is likely to impact significantly on human activity. The recent document "*The summer 2007 floods in England and Wales – A hydrological appraisal*" summarised this recent fluvial flooding event as "*remarkable in extent and severity for a summer event*" with estimated insurance claims approaching £3 billion. In March 2008, strong gale force winds combined with spring high tides resulted in coastal flooding along

western areas of the UK stretching from southern England to northern Scotland. The effect of these floods was not as catastrophic as those in the summer 2007 but nevertheless created problems for a range of coastal communities and accompanying financial costs and provided a warning of how more extreme events in the future might affect the coastline.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Fourth Assessment Report (IPCC 2007) suggests that climatic hazards will increase in Europe in the future. If IPCC sea level rise predictions are correct, by 2080 an increasing percentage of the coastal population will be threatened by flooding. This, combined with a predicted increase in storminess, is likely to threaten up to 1.6 million people annually and result in significant economic loss. In the longer-term, sea level rise may even threaten the existence of some coastal communities. The IPCC report also highlights the high sensitivity of Europe to extreme events with short-duration events such as windstorms and heavy rain increasing significantly in frequency. According to the IPCC report, temperature increases have been greater at northern latitudes with average Arctic temperatures increasing at twice the global average rate in the last 100 years of 0.74[0.56- 0.92] °C from 1906-2005 compared to the corresponding trend of 0.6 [0.4 to 0.8]°C from 1901-2000. Eleven of the last twelve years have been the warmest since records began. In response to the warming, average global sea levels increased at average rates of 1.8 [1.3 to 2.3] mm per year over 1961 to 2003 and at an average rate of about 3.1 [2.4 to 3.8] mm per year from 1993 to 2003. Further, the occurrence of extreme events has increased. However, although the underlying trend is clear, it is still not possible to state unequivocally whether this is due to decadal variation or longer-term trends. For example, the most recent analyses of tidal gauge measurements from the last 300 years suggest substantially higher rates than the IPCC. However, it is widely accepted that sea level will be between 0.8-1.5 m higher than present levels by the end of this century.

With climate change seemingly inevitable, the delivery of timely information to predict coastal floods within a range of temporal and spatial scales is vital. The CoFEE project seeks to understand the past and present response of the coast to extreme events and to predict through modelling the future coastal response and flooding consequences in response to changes in sea-level and to extreme storms. Owing to its wide range of coastal environments typifying much of the UK coastline, Liverpool Bay and the Sefton Coast have been chosen as the study site (Figure 1). The study considers the last 200 years and benefits from a rich data archive and contemporary data sources. The project involves partners at the University of Plymouth (UoP), the Proudman Oceanographic Laboratory (POL), the British Oceanographic Data Centre (BODC), the University of Liverpool, (UoL), Edge Hill University (EH), and Sefton Council, (SC). The project started in April 2007 and will be completed in 2010. The close involvement of Sefton Council and the EA allows the development of bespoke outputs from the project to meet individual end-user and stakeholder requirements. In this way, fundamental research in CoFEE can assist in the development of flood forecasting and mitigation.

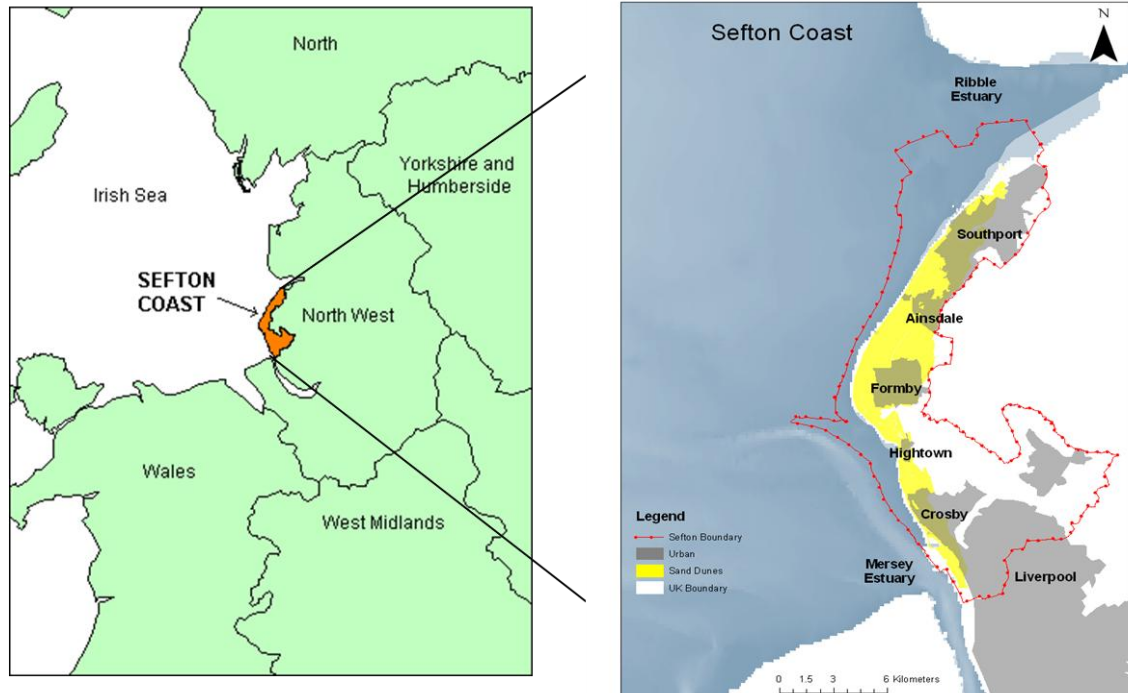


FIGURE 1 Sefton coast study site, UK

Objectives

The fundamental objective of this PhD research is the development of an accurate and robust coastal flooding modelling system that integrates geomorphology, oceanographic, hydrodynamics, and topography. It aims to: 1) predict complex coastal flooding scenarios; 2) inform coastal managers; and 3) develop advanced GIS coastal flooding models and databases that incorporate stakeholder/end-user specifications. The research area to be considered encompasses coasts, estuaries and regional seas to the edge of the continental shelf. Importantly, the project aims to develop seamless integration of the topographic-bathymetric interface of the Irish Sea with topographic land-based systems.

The proposed GIS aims to address the following scientific problems: (a) the sensitivity of differing coastal environments to flooding over a range of timescales; (b) the effects of coastal morphological change on flood extents; (c) the identification of flooding areas vulnerable to extreme events based on storm impact and intensity; (d) the contribution of projected storm intensity (frequency and magnitude) on the erosion of the sea bed and the resultant sediment delivery on the coast for the protection and offset of coastal erosion; and (e) the response of coastal environments to flooding and coastal erosion due solely to the combined forces of geology, antecedent geomorphology and sediment availability (Williams et al 2007).

The aims of this PhD research include the development of the following: 1) Cutting-edge GIS Spatial Data Infrastructure technologies and tools; 2) the integration of conventional flood inundation systems within the GIS and; 3) exploration of the multidimensionality of coastal flooding beyond the third-dimension. The proposed research satisfies the NERC FREE (Flood Risk From Extreme Events) Program Objective 1- making use of extensive historical, contemporary and real-time datasets; Objective 5 –inundation and flood risk mapping and; Objective 6 - optimal use of available data.

Approach and Methods - GIS Methodologies

Within the UK, there is a lack of a consistent, continuous and contiguous geospatial sets for the coastal zone and as a result, difficulties in combining spatial analyses for disciplines within the coastal area (Longhorn, 2007). CoFEE will collaborate with key players in the coastal flooding and climate change disciplines for example, the EA, POL, NERC and DEFRA, to reinforce the need for consistent GIS and databases. Currently, GIS is used primarily as a visualization tool for the output of climate models. The use of GIS is promising but limited due to disparate infrastructures, data standards and resulting lack of interoperability. It is envisaged that this research will bridge the gap between scientists developing GIS techniques, geographers and other coastal flooding experts (Thornes, 2005).

The research will use the ESRI ArcGIS client software as an integration tool to model: a) all relevant physical processes; and b) extreme event scenarios. It will assist in determination of the causes of flooding and will enable quantification of flood risk. In collaboration with end-users the developed GIS tools will contribute to appropriate flood mitigation. GIS will allow complex manipulation, analysis and multi-dimensional visualization of extreme events through mapping and model integration of currents, tides, wave height, sea surface temperature, shoreline etc. (Figure 2). The system will have a capability to manage data ranging between geomorphologic and hydrodynamic processes to insurance flood risk information.

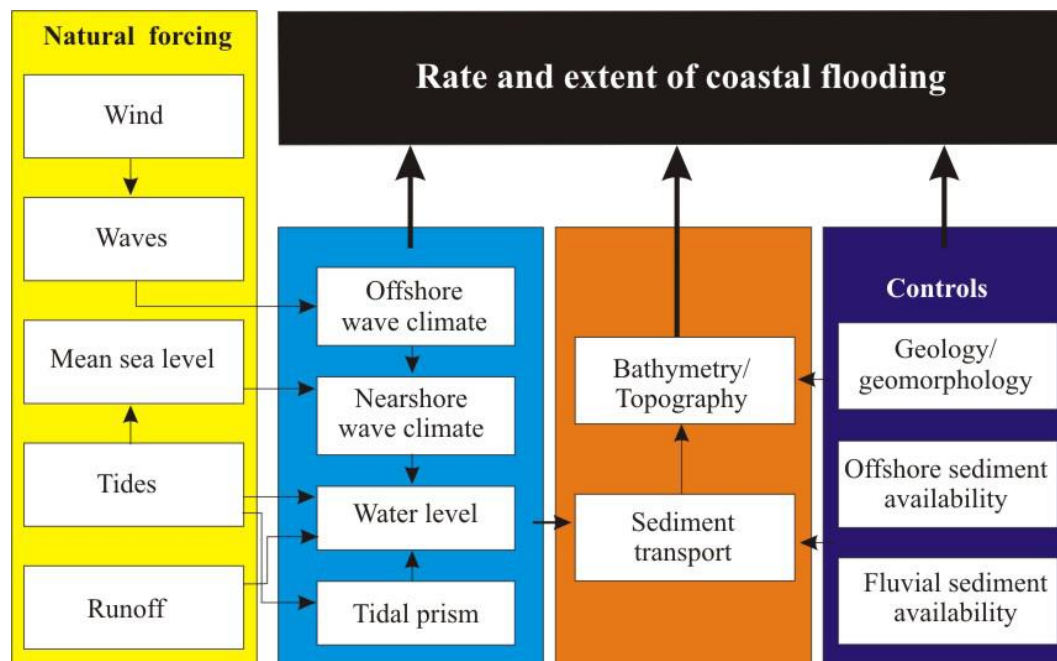


FIGURE 2 Summary of physical factors influencing coastal flooding (from Williams et al., 2007)

The simulation of coastal floods will be based on linkages between coupled hydrodynamic models designed to simulate waves, tides, currents and storm surges and models to simulate coastal flooding. Inundation models will be linked via the GIS to investigate the rate and extent of flooding. The complex spatial analysis and visualisations of the resultant multidimensional flood will be developed in an ESRI ArcGIS software solution. The hydrodynamic GIS component will be used to investigate flooding along salt marshes, sand dunes and hard defences. The modelling system will operate using a bespoke CoFEE spatial database developed in collaboration with key coastal flooding scientific organisations. The GIS will superimpose historical, recent and real time datasets to forecast and now-cast extreme flood scenarios.

The prerequisite for flood simulation are the geospatial development of a coastal flooding database; seamless mapping of the ocean floor from the continental shelf to coastal areas; and the integration of POL hydrodynamic data. Development has commenced of the CoFEE spatial database using the ESRI ArcGIS client software and personal geodatabases. Major thematic groups in the marine and coastal applications have been identified and converted into a GIS application domain. A spatial database framework is being designed to represent the coastal flooding data from key partners and national bodies. Current metadata lists are being compiled to improve data standards. Table 1 highlights the current datasets processed in the spatial database and future data collection types.

LIDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) digital elevation models (DEM) generation for a selected study area in Sefton will be processed and linked to the UK Hydrographic Office (UKHO) gridded bathymetric surfaces along the land-sea interface. LIDAR is an airborne mapping system which uses a laser to scan the ground and measure distances between the ground and the aircraft in usually 800 m swathes. The equipment collects millions of closely spaced three-dimensional points to produce a map of the ground beneath. Onboard GPS is used to coordinate and provide accurate navigation. The LIDAR data will be processed using ESRI ArcGIS system to produce DEM's of the Sefton Coast. The coastal environment will integrate with Ordnance Survey and Environment Agency mapping for completeness. The accurate representation of the fluid nature of land-sea interface is fundamental to conducting complex spatial analyses in the 2.5 dimension domain and greater. A spatial data management strategy will be devised to continually maintain and update the CoFEE spatial database for the lifecycle of the project. Any new observations from oceanographic laboratories and recent storm events will be updated.

Data type	Location	Description /Source	Dates
Bathymetry	E. Irish Sea	Hydrographic surveys /POL/BODC	1970 - present
	Sefton Coast	Hydrographic surveys /SMBC/BODC	1850 - present
	Sefton Coast	Historical surveys /SMBC	1840 - present
Topography	Coast & estuaries	LIDAR/aerial photographs /EA/POL/NERC/SMBC	2001 present
	Sefton coast beach profiles	Levelling survey data /SBC	1953 - present
	E. Irish Sea	Coast Maps / OS	1890- present
Tides	E. Irish Sea & estuaries	Tide gauge / UKTGN/NTSLF/COBS	1900 - present
Tidal currents	E. Irish Sea & estuaries	Current meter/ADCP/HF radar data POL/BODC/COBS	1890 - present
Waves	E. Irish Sea	Wave buoy/pressure sensor/x-band radar data	
		MO/BODC/POL/COBS	1900 - present
Storm surges	E. Irish Sea	Water levels and waves /BODC/NTSLF/SMBC/POL	1900 - present
Meteorology	E. Irish Sea	Wind/temperature/precipitation/MO/local observatories	1880 - present
Sediments	E. Irish Sea	Grain size/mineralogy /BGS/POL/SMBC/EH	1900 - present
	Sefton coast & estuaries	Grain size/magnetics /SMBC/EH	2000 - present
	Sefton coast	Accretion/erosion rates /SMBC/EH	1968 - present
	E. Irish Sea coast	Aeolian: Dune surveys/aerial photographs /SMBC/EH/EA	1930 - present
	E. Irish Sea	Bedforms: Offshore surveys/aerial photographs/SMBC/EH	1950 - present
	E. Irish Sea coast	Alongshore transport: rates and directions /SMBC/EH	1960 - present
	E. Irish Sea estuaries	Sand and silt transport /SMBC/EH	1880 - present
	E. Irish Sea	Photographs and texts /SMBC/EH	1850 - present
Historical data	E. Irish Sea	230 reports; 130 papers; expert correspondence /SMBC/EH	1840 – present
Literature	Sefton Coast	Video of Storms 2008; Photographs	2008 – present
Video	BBC	Coast program	2007
Land/Property Valuation	Sefton	Land Registry Parcels	TBA
	Sefton	Council Tax	TBA

TABLE 1 COFEE Database in development (adapted from Williams et al. 2007)

A key aspect of marine GIS is 'interoperability'. This refers to the ability to share and deploy data across agencies and corporations based on common and consistent data standards. Internationally, the Open GIS consortium is the international body responsible for governance and promotion of a range of standards and specifications for geospatial data. CoFEE will investigate and amalgamate current marine standards, such as ISO TC211, Open Geospatial Consortium, MarineXML (Extensible Mark-up Language), MOTIIVE (Marine Overlays on Topography for Annex II Valuation and Exploitation), Climate Science Modelling Language, (CSML), ESRI ArcMarine and provide a new

standard on the use of geospatial data for coastal flooding. Within Europe, the European Commission directive of INfrastructure for SPatial InfoRmation in Europe (INSPIRE) will also be incorporated in the dissemination of CoFEE, (Millard et al. 2006).

Coastal Flooding Methodologies

CoFEE will interface state-of-the-art scientific knowledge related to coastal flooding with public bodies responsible for flooding and coastal protection. Using all scientific and technological advances the research aims to produce an integrated coastal flooding model to simulate hypothetical extreme events and to examine the predicted flood inundation rate and extents. The performance of current hydrodynamic models will be critically evaluated and optimized. Predicted changes to the magnitude and frequency of extreme events predicted by global climate change models will be examined. Scenario studies will help to define the sensitivity of coastal landscapes and to assess how flooding risks may change with time (e.g. Lowe et al, 2001). The CoFEE project partners possess a range of specialisms to model the physical processes and to predict the propagation of coastal floods.

Integrating model: COSIM

A Coastal Storm Impact Model (COSIM) will be developed by CoFEE partners to determine flood inundations speeds and extent. The COSIM model will combine existing hydrodynamic, coastal flooding and coastal morphology models to provide an integrated model to predict the rate and extent of coastal flooding. Oceanographic spatial- temporal data for the Eastern Irish Sea would be provided through the POL Irish Sea Model. This will predict extreme water levels due to the combined effect of tides, wind and fluvial inputs COSIM would be applied to examine specific sites within the study area and will focus on historical storm events and simulated events in the future.

POLCOMS

The Proudman Oceanographic Laboratory Coastal Ocean Modelling System (POLCOMS) will provide the underpinning hydrodynamic predictions (waves, tides and surge). POLCOMS is a 3-D baroclinic model which operates in the deep oceans to the continental shelf (Holt & James, 2001). Waves are incorporated using the spectral models WAM and SWAN and the GOTM turbulence closure scheme is used to solve the bottom boundary condition and drive sediment transport. An important aspect of POLCOMS is the ongoing development of statistical methods to predict the joint probability of extreme waves and water levels likely in the future to define flood risk.

Coastal Flooding

CoFEE will evaluate the potential of existing coastal flooding inundation models such as Geoscience Australia and the Australian National University, AnuGA model and the University of Bristol model LISFLOOD-FP (Bates and De Roo., 2000). AnuGA predicts inundation extent and rates through robust modelling of the shallow water equation in a triangular mesh (Nielson et al., 2005). The system models water as it enters and leaves a flood plain. AnuGA will be supplied with appropriate bathymetry and topography to simulate coastal flooding. The LISFLOOD-FP is a two-dimensional model used to simulate floodplain inundation over complex topography and uses the Manning's equation of time stepping to calculate flows between cells (Williams et.al. 2007). This may have practical application when considering breaching of natural or man-made sea defences.

Coastal Morphology

As coastal flood risk is related strongly to coastal geomorphology, CoFEE recognises the need to investigate coastal evolution. Current morphological models such as the Delft 3-D and LITPACK, predict evolution over relatively short time periods and have applications where coastal evolution is rapid. CoFEE will use these and other models such as GENESIS, and X-Beach to study the impact of changing wave climate on drift-oriented shorelines and the ensuing consequences for coastal protection (Williams et al., 2007).

Coastal Flooding Past and Future

Historical flooding event simulations will be used to test the validity of current flood inundation models for three selected environments. COSIM's performance as a prediction and simulation tool will also be tested against historical events. Within the same environments, COSIM will also investigate three IPCC sea level rise scenarios within a 1-50 year timeframe (Williams et al., 2007). The rate of flood inundation speed, flood risk and damages to urban areas will be determined. The GIS will be used to calculate the socio-economic losses to property, infrastructure and display flood risk inundation mapping in the most vulnerable environments. The possibility of using theoretical expertise and artificial intelligence to develop reliable forecasting rules will be investigated (e.g. Lawry, 2004).

Conclusions

In summary, the research will improve the analysis and prediction of coastal flooding in the UK and explore end-user involvement and commercial opportunities in the coastal flooding sector. The insurance market, marine spatial planning and flood risk management sectors stand to benefit from the outcomes of CoFEE. The relevance of the research to each of these

disciplines will be investigated. The fusion of CoFEE's advanced spatial capabilities, multi-dimensional modelling and visualisation techniques with real world applications should significantly improve flood risk mapping, safeguard coastal communities and continue to protect the UK economy.

The research brings exciting challenges and new opportunities to coastal flooding, using GIS technologies to marry complex coastal flooding models, mapping and disseminating new science. The coastal flooding environment is complex as it constantly undergoes change. GIS will be used to analyse extreme events and coastal flooding in three-dimensions and beyond. This research will provide the general framework to represent coastal and marine data spatially and temporally. The adoption of POL models within the GIS will provide a definitive UK coastal flooding standard which can be adopted by any agency interested in hydrodynamic factors. As sea level rise, oceans warm, storm intensity increase and coasts flood, CoFEE will assess how climate change can affect sensitivity of coastal environments to flood during extreme weather events.

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DEVELOPING POLICIES TO MANAGE CANADA'S ICEBREAKING SERVICES: A GROUNDED THEORY APPROACH

James Parsons, John Dinwoodie, Michael Roe

Abstract

Empirical evidence has shown that summer ice conditions in the Arctic have become less severe in recent years. However, fluctuations year on year, combined with persistent winter ice will continue to impede maritime shipping activity in the Arctic. This region is abundant in natural resources and tourism is increasing. Arctic shipping activity is expected to continue to increase significantly.

Reports from the office of the Auditor General of Canada noted a lack of adequate and effective management of capital and human resources in the fleet management of Canadian Coast Guard (CCG) icebreakers. The ageing CCG fleet of Arctic icebreakers is limited in its ability to operate year round in the Arctic and vessel replacement will be necessary in the near future. Canadian shipyards are currently unable to build Arctic icebreakers competitively in the global market. While a lack of Arctic icebreaking capability is not only a Canadian phenomenon, other Arctic Council nations avail themselves of private involvement in the delivery of their icebreaking services.

This paper reports on the research completed to date, discusses the decision to adopt a grounded theory methodology and presents some preliminary results. The overall aim of the research is to conduct a strategic situational analysis of the CCG services, principally Arctic icebreaking, and to investigate which services, in terms of effectiveness and efficiency, may be suitable for private involvement. Research objectives are:

- *To synthesize experts' perceptions of future marine activity in the Canadian Arctic;*
- *To compare experts' perceptions of the CCG services, principally Arctic icebreaking, in terms of their ongoing effectiveness and efficiency;*
- *To analyze contiguous systems (including Swedish, Finnish, United States, and Russian) of private involvement in their icebreaking services in terms of funding and operations;*
- *To analyse Canada's position with respect to private involvement practices in its marine transportation sector;*
- *To analyse the importance of specific background factors with respect to private involvement in the delivery of CCG icebreaking services in the Arctic;*

- *To identify and evaluate different models of privatization and the forms they might take in relation to CCG services in the Arctic, principally Arctic icebreaking.*

A literature review and a scoping exercise consisting of three rounds of Delphi have been completed. Also, in-depth and semi-structured interviews have been conducted and analysis is partially completed using inductive and deductive analysis adhering to the constant comparative method of grounded theory methodology in developing a substantive theory. With respect to different “slices of data”, Delphi results will also be subjected to inductive analysis. Finally, in attempting to triangulate research findings, hypotheses formulated from inductive analysis may be tested, outside of the grounded theory methodology, using a quantitative survey.

While initial research findings have highlighted that outright privatization of CCG services, a monopolistic situation, may not be the key to increased efficiency, there are potential gains in efficiency from private management of the Arctic icebreaking fleet.

Introduction

For centuries explorers have tried to find a route through the Arctic linking Europe and Asia, see Figure 1. John Cabot proposed a Northwest Passage as early as 1490 and attempted to find it in 1496. As efforts continued throughout the centuries, it was not until 1854 that Robert McClure proved the existence of such a passage. It took another 51 years for the first ship transit of the Northwest Passage to be made by Roald Amundsen in 1905 (Pharand, 1984).

Interest in the Arctic region, whether stemming from climate change or its abundance of natural resources, is high on the agenda of many nations. The annual extent of Arctic ice coverage is retreating at a notable rate and it is estimated that the Canadian Arctic will experience nearly ice-free summer seasons starting as early as 2050 but probably not before 2100 (Falkingham, 2004). NASA data shows that Arctic perennial sea ice shrank abruptly by 14 percent between 2004 and 2005 (Hupp and Brown, 2006). Consequently, it would be logical to assume that less ice should increase the ease and mobility for ships currently working in Arctic regions and also for those ships that may be contemplating future activity in the Arctic regions. Milder sea ice conditions in the higher Arctic latitudes may present new merchant shipping opportunities by way of the shorter distances available to Europe-Asia and East Coast North America-Asia traffic. In terms of marine transportation, an increase in activity will most likely result in the startup of new business and increase business activity for others already established and catering to the marine transportation sector. A virtuous circle of business and economic activity appears to be moving northward (National-Research-Council, 2005).

Figure 1 Map of Canada



Source: Adapted from Political Divisions [online]. Available from: http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/reference/national/can_politica/referencemap_image_view [Accessed 23 October 2006].

On a global scale, Arctic regions are rich in natural resources. Arctic basins hold about 25 percent of the world's undiscovered petroleum resources (Ahlbrandt and McCabe, 2002). On a local scale, Canada's Arctic regions are estimated to hold 33 percent of its remaining recoverable natural gas and 25 percent of the remaining recoverable light crude oil (Indian-and-Northern-Affairs-Canada, 2006).

Cruise ship activity is increasing in Arctic waters and Arctic fishing fleets have already begun to follow the fish stocks that migrate northward as the ice edge retreats (National-Research-Council, 2005). Any increase in activity will

increase the necessity to respond to accidents and create a greater need for law enforcement in ice margin areas, which will increase the need for ice-capable ships in the Arctic (National-Research-Council, 2005).

With respect to Canada's sovereignty and adequate resources to enforce it, Carnaghan and Goody (2006) conclude that the views of Canadian academics differ; while Huebert (2003) believes Canada presently has insufficient resources to enforce its sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic, Griffiths (2003) believes that Canada's effort in enforcing its sovereignty in the region is sufficient. CCG commissioner Mr. George Da Pont states that, while the CCG currently plays a significant role in the Arctic, nothing is certain as to the extent of its role in the future (Binkley, 2006). In addition, Da Pont notes that neither the Russians nor the Canadians have the commercial infrastructure in place to support increased vessel traffic in their respective Arctic waters.

Table 1 illustrates that the Canadian Arctic icebreaking fleet is aging. The first icebreaking vessel scheduled for replacement is the LOUIS S. St-LAURENT in the year 2017 (Robertson, 2006). She has only 20000 kilowatts of power, limiting her use in terms of year round Arctic operations. Arctic icebreaking vessels constitute a significant financial investment. It is calculated that it will cost \$CAD 2B to 3B to rebuild the current Canadian icebreaking capability and that it will cost \$CAD 10B to build the icebreaking potential required to meet anticipated future demand (Robertson, 2006). Securing such monies may not be easy for the CCG as it is currently experiencing a funding gap of about \$CAD 55M (Department-of-Fisheries-and-Oceans-Canada, 2006). Reports from the office of the Auditor General of Canada from 1997 to February 2004 state that there is a lack of adequate and effective management of capital and human resources by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) in fleet management of icebreakers in the Maritimes Region of Canada (Clemens et al., 2004). These issues are not new and changes are needed.

Cutting edge icebreaking technology is being implemented in new tonnage currently under construction in European and Far East ship yards, for operations in the Arctic regions of the world. Arctic nations such as Sweden, Finland, Russia, and the United States are currently availing themselves of private involvement in the execution of their icebreaking operations.

Table 1 CCG Arctic Icebreaking Fleet

Name of Vessel	Home Region	Built
Sir Wilfrid Laurier	Pacific	1986
Des Groseillers	Quebec	1982
Pierre Radisson	Quebec	1978
Louis S. St-Laurent	Maritimes	1969
Terry Fox	Maritimes	1983
Henry Larson	Newfoundland and Labrador	1987

Background

The history of icebreaking with respect to the development of Canada dates back to the early-middle 1800's with the building of the CHIEF JUSTICE ROBINSON in 1842 (Guard, 2001). Self-governance, the beginning of independence from the United Kingdom, in the Dominion of Canada came about with the British North American Act of 1867 which conferred the authority for the icebreaking activities on the federal government (Guard, 2001). Since then, responsibility for icebreakers and icebreaking has been added and the responsibility has been transferred to different federal government departments, with the most recent transfer being to the Minister of Fisheries and Ocean, via the Oceans Act, in 1997 (Guard, 2001).

In 1994 a study was conducted by Consulting and Audit Canada, on behalf of DFO and CCG, then a part of Transport Canada (TC), to seek feasible ways of improving their efficiency in delivering services to the Canadian public. The study initially reviewed seven options before concluding that the creation of a Crown Corporation was the alternative offering the largest potential savings and was most acceptable to the fleet management community (Canada, 1994). The seven options considered were as follows:

- *A) Improve fleet efficiency within the existing departmental structures*
- *B) As above with sharing of facilities and functions when additional efficiencies can be achieved*
- *C) Integrate the two fleets under one department (DFO, CCG or Public Works & Government Services Canada)*
- *D) Establish an independent Maritime Fleet Operating Agency to manage and operate the combined fleet*
- *E) Establish a Crown corporation to operate the combined fleet*
- *F) Establish a Government Owned Company Operated (GOCO) organization in which the integrated fleet would be operated by a private company*
- *G) Privatise the ownership and operation of the fleet*

The study determined that options A and B would be too expensive, options C and D would be too difficult to implement, and F and G would take too long to put into place. While option E, the establishment of a Crown Corporation, was decided upon, it has yet to be implemented (Canada, 1994).

Canada's northern communities have one of the fastest growing populations in the world; with a population growth of 16 percent per decade, increased demands on destination and regional, and intra-Arctic traffic will continue to grow (Gorman and Paterson, 2004). Economic development and exploration of Canada and the Arctic has and will continue to be heavily dependant upon a reliable transportation infrastructure (Panel, 2001). In the light of climate change and the continual decrease of Arctic ice (Flato and Boer, 2001; Falkingham, 2000; Falkingham, 2004; Hupp and Brown, 2006), Canada's

involvement and activity in the Arctic is anticipated to increase (Canada, 2007) and with this will come an anticipated greater demand for an efficient and effective transportation network. It would seem rather unlikely that significant economic development in the Canadian Arctic and the Arctic in general will come about without the involvement of icebreakers and ice strengthened cargo vessels. The question could be asked: would the economic development of the Canadian Arctic be farther ahead than its current state if Canada had an extended season, or even a year-round presence, for its icebreakers operating in the Arctic? From an economic development perspective, it would seem rational for a country to first put supporting infrastructure in place in order for business to follow, a case of commerce following the flag. Unfortunately, with respect to current Arctic development, the CCG icebreaking fleet is not equipped to operate on a year round basis in the Canadian Arctic (Brigham, 2007; Robertson, 2007; Haydon, 2007).

Given the possibility of limited future CCG involvement in the Arctic, even though economic activity is forecast to increase significantly, it would be fair to assume that any deficiencies in the provision of services being offered by government organizations would be provided for by private interest. Consequently, it seems appropriate to undertake research looking into the implications of private involvement into the delivery of government services traditionally undertaken by the CCG.

Methodology - Literature Review

The initial review of literature was focused on the major themes of Arctic maritime transportation, Arctic resources, climate change, icebreaking technology, the CCG, the Arctic Council, privatization, risk management, and insurance. Saunders et al. (2007) describe exploratory research as being initially broad and then becoming progressively narrower as a result of any, or a combination of the following: a literature review, the interviewing of experts in the subject area, and conducting focus group interviews.

Subsequent to the literature review, a Delphi exercise consisting of three rounds of questioning was conducted to enhance research sensitivity. The questions put forward in the first round of Delphi were founded on the results of the literature review and focused mainly on current and future CCG levels of services, Arctic climate change and its affect on transportation in the Arctic regions, new icebreaking technology, the global status of Arctic icebreakers, privatization, and the growing demand for natural resources in politically stable but rather remote and harsh environments. Potential participants were identified through the literature review, as well as from personal meetings at conferences related to the research topic. The exercise was carried out independently by participants using an e-mail based survey. Table 2 identifies the number of participants and questions in the Delphi exercise.

Table 2 Summary of Delphi Exercise

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3
Participants	32	27 of 32	23 of 27
Questions	32	44	21

Delphi, according to Lindstone and Turoff (1975), is seen as an appropriate method to gather data not previously gathered, know or available.

Grounded Theory

While the literature review and Delphi exercise raised awareness with respect to issues associated with climate change, the increased demand for Arctic resources, the CCG and its aging fleet of icebreakers, and the lack of transportation infrastructure in the Arctic, they did little in terms of offering solutions to the issues. With respect to this research, the main issues being raised are that the CCG is poorly managed and underfunded, and the CCG icebreaking fleet needs to be renewed and enhanced. In attempting to understand why the current situation is as it is and how best to resolve these issues, both effectively and efficiently with the Canadian taxpayer in mind, it would be reasonable to avail of qualitative research in the form of in-depth and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders conversant of the issues mentioned. Policy matters may relate to past, present or future situations. Hyman (1951) notes that in the case of anticipations about the future, inferences can only be made through the personal documentation of an individual's thoughts and that interviewing is an effective method of capturing such thoughts.

Grounded theory is well suited for qualitative research using interviews (Robson, 2002). It is a constant comparative analysis process in which data are collected, transcribed, and subsequently subjected to both micro and macro analysis and coding for the purposes of developing categories and saturating them with respect to their properties and dimensions. It is a systematic, rigorous, and formalized approach to data analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

While a theory can be developed at various junctures of the research depending on the nature of which the research is approached, Collier (1994) notes that no theory is unsusceptible to revision and improvement, and that it is continually in process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Glaser and Strauss (1967) note that the generation of a theory involves a process of research in which hypothesis and concepts not only come from the data but are systematically worked out in relation to the data.

With respect to grounded theory methodology, while a researcher may have theoretical conceptions in mind at the outset of a research project, it may prove advantageous not to structure data gathering too tightly at the commencement of research (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Consequently, the first in-depth, and to a degree, semi-structured, interview involved an interviewee identified by a Delphi participant; a non-probability sampling technique known as snowball sampling (Saunders et al., 2007). The interviewee had previously been a manager at CCG and had been tasked with looking into ways in which the CCG may be operated more efficiently and effectively. The interview was arranged in two parts. During the first part of the interview the interviewee informed of his previous work noted above. During the second part, a list of questions, generated from the literature review and Delphi study, was used as a guide to help focus the interview. As with all subsequent interviews, the first interview was recorded, transcribed, and subjected to an initial analysis. Initial results were used to identify potential new interviewees, and to develop questions. Subsequent interviewees were identified using a combination of snowball and theoretical sampling techniques. Theoretical sampling is the process of allowing emerging theories, stemming from the coding and analysis of previously collected data, to guide subsequent data collection, coding, and analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In addition, theoretical sampling of previously collecting data is accepted in the grounded theory methodology (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and as such, the Delphi results and literature review serve as “slices of data” to help with the development and saturation of categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Linstone and Turoff, 1975).

To date, eight interviews have been conducted. Table 3 highlights some of the information pertaining to the interviews.

Table 3 Details of Interview Subjects

Interviewee	Position	Date	Interview Format	Sampling Technique
Richard Hodgson	Retired CCG Manager	06/07/07	In Person	Snowball
Ian Marr	Retired CCG Manager	26/07/07	Telephone	Snowball
Ray Pierce	Retired CCG Manager	31/08/07	Email	Snowball
Tom Paterson	Vice-President ENFOTEC	13/09/07	Telephone	Theoretical
Arno Keinonen	Director of Science AKAK	25/09/07	Telephone	Theoretical
Alymer Gribble	Gibson Marine Consultants	15/10/07	Telephone	Theoretical
Andrew McNeill	CCG Commanding Officer	23/10/07	In Person	Theoretical
Rod Stright	Retired CCG Manager / Current Marine Consultant	24/10/07	Telephone	Theoretical/Snowball

A general analysis of each interview was undertaken before proceeding with further interviews, and in keeping with the constant comparative analysis of grounded theory methodology, interviews, literature review, and Delphi results were, and continue to be, analysed at micro and macro levels during subsequent data analysis and coding. Memos, in both note and diagram form, accompany data analysis. The collection of data in more than one way helps ensure all of the issues relevant to the research are covered even if their initial importance is not fully appreciated by the researcher (Curran and Blackburn, 2001).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) characterize the grounded theory methodology as being both inductive and deductive; the process of analyzing data, otherwise known as coding, allows for assumptions about phenomena to be deductively made which then in turn calls for questioning of these assumptions leading inductively to new discoveries. Coding is central to grounded theory and, as previously noted, occurs at both micro and macro levels. While micro analysis is a combination of open and axial coding, it is not intended to be done in the absence of macro analysis. Open coding concerns itself with the identification of conceptual categories and the subsequent discovery of a category's properties and dimensions, and axial coding looks at the process of relating categories to their subcategories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Higher level selective coding is used for the integration and refinement of theory evolving from open and axial coding. Hypotheses are typically presented at the selective coding level (Robson, 2002). To date, open, axial, and selective coding have taken place. Selective coding will continue to be used for further integration of the hypotheses and relationships, developed under open and axial coding, identified in the conceptual model depicted in Figure 3. Development of the conceptual model is discussed below. To date, seven of the eight interviews have been analyzed and coded in consideration of the conceptual model developed.

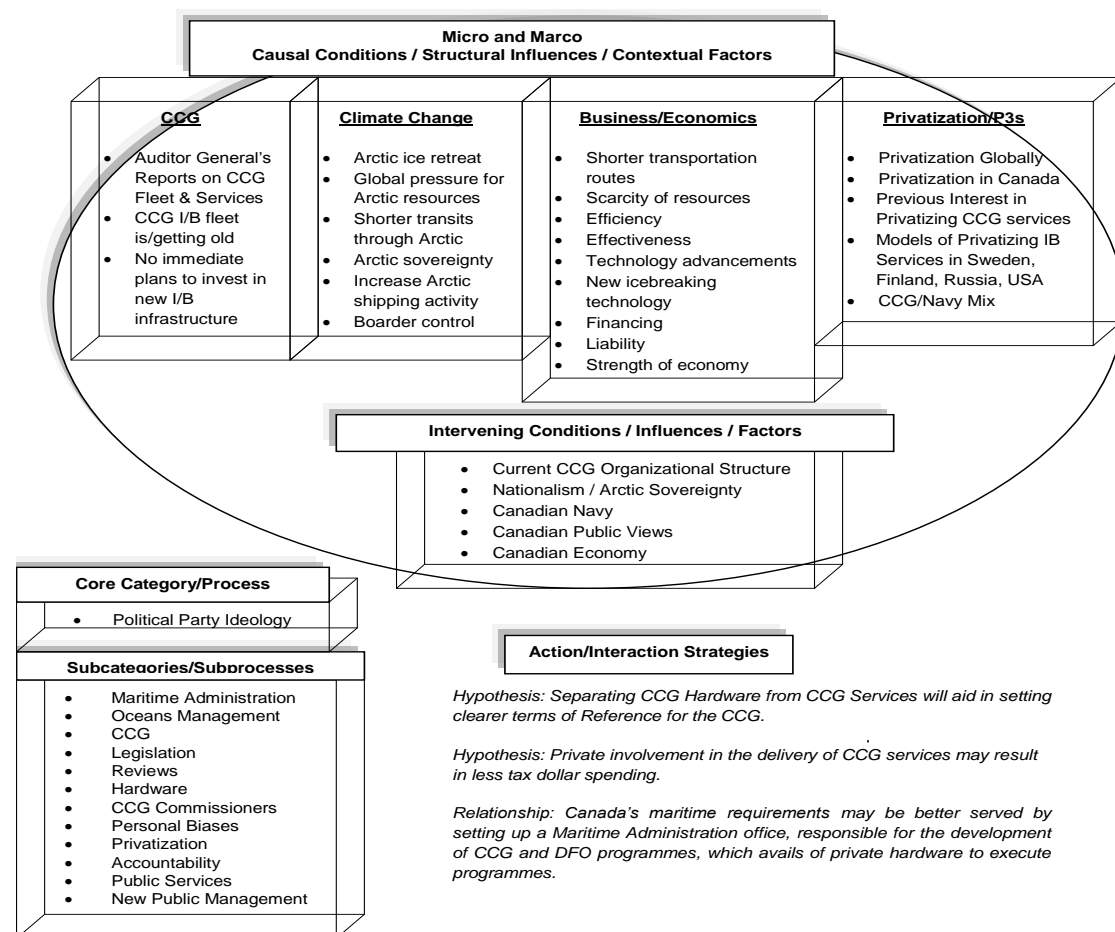
Grounded theory integrates structure (or conditions) and process (denoting action/interaction strategies over time), with the use of an analytical tool referred to as the paradigm (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The paradigm is not a standalone tool of analysis, and is intended to be used in conjunction with a coding device referred to by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as the matrix. Whilst the paradigm concerns itself with conditions, action/interaction strategies, and possible consequences, the matrix guides the analyst in looking at conditions and consequences on both macro and micro levels. The conceptual model depicted in Figure 3 highlights the combination of both the paradigm and the matrix applied to seven of the eight interviews to date.

Results - Results of the Literature Review and Delphi

A review of the literature revealed that there is little public information with respect to research on the privatization of CCG services in the Canadian Arctic, and that privatization is successfully being used in the icebreaking

services of other Arctic nations. In addition, the CCG icebreaking fleet is aging and will soon require replacement as global interest in Arctic regions continues to increase with the melting of Arctic ice. Further, there is considerable uncertainty as to when Arctic regions will experience totally ice-free conditions. Finally, while there are major management issues with respect to the overall operation of the CCG, Arctic operations appear to be managed more effectively when compared to the more autonomous regional operations. Arctic operations have been noted by some Delphi participants as the only CCG operations that show some signs of a national programme. It is important to note here that while the six CCG icebreakers used for Arctic operations are operated out of the Pacific, Quebec, Maritimes, and Newfoundland & Labrador regions, the Central and Arctic region is responsible for coordination of ice breaking activities in the Arctic (Guard, 2006). In consideration of the above, it is also important to note while Arctic operations may appear to run relatively smoother, Delphi participants have commented that this decentralization of fleet operations results in ineffective interregional communication and consequently underutilization of vessel use in the Arctic (General, 2007).

Figure 3 Conceptual Model

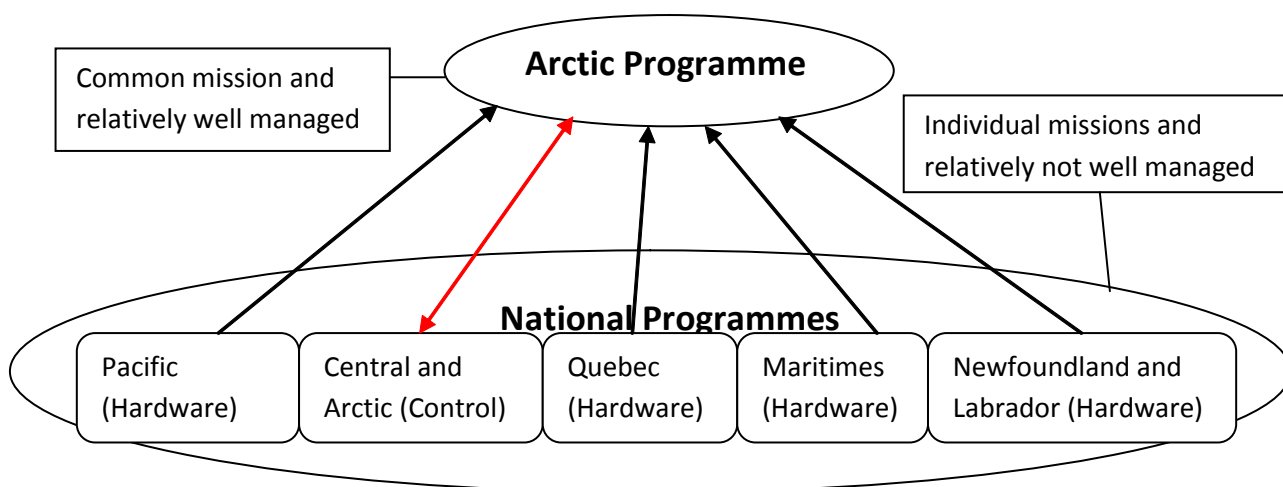


Preliminary Results of Grounded Theory

Although analysis of personal interviews is not complete, preliminary results confirm that the grounded theory strategy is effective in that category saturation is evident and diminishing returns with respect to data collection is being noted. This is particularly evident in the subcategories of private management and icebreaker design/construction. However, it is worthy of mention that Strauss and Corbin (1998) refer to saturation as a matter of degree, and if a researcher were to investigate long and hard enough new properties and dimensions would be discovered.

With respect to signs of an emerging theory, research indicates that CCG Arctic operations are suitable for private involvement and that private management of the CCG fleet is the option offering the greatest potential in terms of increased efficiency and effectiveness. Research indicates that while on a national basis the CCG is poorly managed, the Arctic programme runs relatively much smoother than so called national programmes in southern latitudes of the country. The underlying difference between the two programmes is that the region in control of Arctic operations does not allocate any of its hardware i.e. icebreakers, to Arctic operations, see Figure 4. To the contrary, with respect to national programmes in the south, individual regions are responsible for the operation of icebreakers and control of local programmes. Therefore, to improve on the issues with Arctic operations as noted in the Delphi results with respect to the decentralization of fleet operations resulting in ineffective interregional communication and consequently underutilization of vessel use in the Arctic, it may be that the CCG should have a fleet of icebreakers allocated specifically to year round Arctic operations and most importantly, that they be managed by private interest involving local stakeholders.

Figure 4 Regional Inputs into the Arctic Programme



Conclusion

From an organizational perspective, the CCG is hindered by bureaucracy, inefficient, and ineffectively managed. The CCG requires new management. The current situation with the CCG fleet of icebreakers, in terms of icebreaking capabilities in the Arctic, is limited and the current fleet will not be able to respond to the future demands of Arctic shipping activity. Canada will require new and increased Arctic icebreaking capabilities. In addition, Canada currently lacks the ability to build Arctic icebreakers on a competitive basis with other nations. Consequently, construction of icebreaking tonnage in Canada will cost taxpayers considerably more than if built on a globally competitive basis. Further, it will take considerably longer to construct icebreaking tonnage in Canada than it would elsewhere in more technologically advanced shipyards.

Unless Canada is going to significantly increase the development of its Arctic and locally construct a fleet of icebreaking vessels capable of meeting future Arctic shipping needs, it may be in the best interest of Canadian taxpayers to have a modern day Arctic icebreaker built in Europe or the Far East and to have it managed by sound private shipping interest.

With respect to advice for future researchers, during the first round of Delphi some participants experienced difficulty downloading the free version of Adobe Reader 8 required to complete the questionnaire. Consequently, the questionnaire was resent as an MS Word document to those individuals that had not returned their questionnaire up to that time. Subsequent Delphi questionnaires were administered using the MS Word format only.

Future Directions

Further coding and analysis of all data collected to date, following the grounded theory strategy, will be necessary to facilitate the development of any form of substantive theory. In addition, feedback is welcomed on the idea of devising a quantitative survey, most probably a Likert approach, in an attempt to triangulate results and test the hypotheses developed in accordance with the conceptual model.

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RISK AND FARMERS DECISIONS TO FARM ORGANICALLY OR CONVENTIONALLY

Saer Barhoum

Abstract

The present study analyses the importance of farmers' risk attitudes in their decisions to adopt or not adopt organic farming. Perceived risk is expected to be a significant factor constraining/ justifying taking up organic farming. Among organic farmers, risk attitudes differ widely and are often closely linked to farming background. Preliminary data also suggest that farmers perceive organic farming as being riskier than other farming systems. Regarding risk attitudes, organic farmers are more likely to be risk-seekers than their non-organic colleagues. For non-organic farmers, risk attitudes are important factors in their decisions to farm non-organically.

Introduction - The rise in organic farming

Over the past few decades, agriculture in most developed countries has experienced dramatic changes with regard to the rapid spread of *organic farming* based on a set of standards and rules (SOEL and FiBL, 2002; OCW, 2003; DEFRA 2006a). This farming system is thought to provide solutions for environmental damage caused by agriculture, the depletion of non-renewable resources, and contamination of food by agricultural chemicals (Thamsborg, 2001; Burton et al., 2003; Winter, 2003; Lien et al., 2006). These perceived benefits have been the key drivers of *policy change*, *consumer demand* and *farmer behaviour* in the recent rise in organic farming (CRER, 2002; Dabbert et al., 2004). Since the mid 1980s, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), health concerns of consumers, and farmers seeking to farm in more environmentally-friendly ways have all led to a considerable increase in organically farmed area and organic farmer numbers in Europe (Helga and Minou, 2005).

Adoption decisions

The rapid spread in the organic sector has been paralleled by a substantial amount of research into organic farming aspects from a variety of perspectives (HDRA, 1999; Offermann and Nieberg 2000, Padel, 2001, Makatouni, 2002; Krebs, 2003; Pimentel et al., 2005). This wider work can be categorised according to the following categories: environmental/animal welfare aspects, organic farming techniques, financial performance, organic consumption, food quality issues and adoption decisions.

Although factors affecting farmers' adoption of specific activities (such as different agri-environmental schemes, organic and integrated farming) can be classified into 'external and internal *factors*' (Wilson, 1996; de Lauwere et al., 2004), understanding decisions about organic farming adoption has largely relied on internal processes. These internal factors from the basis of this study, particularly as farmers' personal circumstances have been found to be important in influencing farmers' decisions whether or not to adopt organic farming (Lockeretz, 1995; Fairweather and Campbell, 1996; McCann et al., 1997; Duram, 1999; Midmore et al., 2001; Schneeberger and Kirner, 2001; de Lauwere et al., 2004; Darnhofer et al., 2005). Overall, organic farms are usually small and extensive and contain a variety of farm and non-farm activities. Further, a high percentage of organic farmers has been found to be better educated, younger, more likely to be from an urban background and with less farming experience than conventional farmers (Rigby et al., 2001; Dabbert et al., 2004; Lobley et al., 2005).

Such research results have been complemented by investigations of motives and barriers that influence farmers' decisions to adopt organic farming. In this respect, philosophic, ethical, environmental and financial considerations have been identified as significant incentives that prompt farmers to take up organic farming (Padel, 2001). On the other hand, specific difficulties and risks in organic farming have been highlighted as important obstacles that hamper organic farming conversion (Schneeberger and Kirner, 2001). Simultaneously, the majority of adoption studies have identified different sources and types of risk in organic farming from the farmer's point of view (see for example, Midmore et al., 2001).

Risk in organic farming

It is generally accepted that *organic farming is riskier than other farming systems*, in particular conventional farming. Although some risks in organic farming are considered similar to those in other farming systems (Hanson, 2003), organic farmers are exposed to a variety of risks compared with their non-organic colleagues (de Buck et al., 2001; Wynen, 2003; Hanson et al., 2004; Koesling et al., 2004; Flaten et al., 2005). These risks can be grouped into *production, market, financial, institutional* and *personal and social risks*. However, few attempts have been made to build upon this general notion to explain how risk perceptions and attitudes influence farmers' uptake of organic farming. It seems that the majority of researchers have accepted the hypothesis that organic farmers are more likely to be risk-seeking compared with conventional farmers. Similarly, the hypothesis that organic farmers without farming backgrounds and those with farming backgrounds may differ in the extent to which they are willing to take risks has not been supported by detailed empirical analyses. It is these research gaps that this study will particularly aim to address.

Research aims and objectives

Through a case study in the UK, this thesis will analyse the importance of farmers' risk perceptions and their willingness to take risks in their decisions to farm organically or conventionally.

This study will have five specific objectives:

- Using Devon as a case study region, to assess conventional and organic farmers' perceptions about sources and types of risk associated with organic farming.
- To assess the importance of willingness to take risks with regard to conventional and organic farmers' decisions to farm/not to farm organically or to consider conversion to organic farming.
- To analyse possible differences in risk perceptions and willingness to take risk in organic adoption between farmers from farming and non-farming backgrounds.
- Based on Morris and Potter's (1995) notion of a 'participation spectrum', to categorise farmers into a typology based on a risk-spectrum (e.g. from risk-averse to risk-taker) regarding organic adoption behavior, and to use this as a platform to provide policy guidance.
- To analyse possible changes in risk perceptions once farmers have adopted organic farming.

Methodology - Approach and survey area

In the present study, *reasoned action theory* — which suggests that attitudes are functions of beliefs and that there is a link between attitudes and behaviour (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) — is utilized as a conceptual framework. Devon (UK) will be selected as the case study area as it is the county with the largest number of organic and in-conversion farms in the UK (DEFRA, 2006b; Waugh, 2006). Devon also has a large number of farm holdings (<http://www.devon.gov.uk/agriculture>), which means that data on organic and non-organic farms in Devon are considered sufficient to allow conclusions about organic and non-organic farmers' risk attitudes to be drawn.

Data collection

Data for the present research questions will be gathered from multiple sources — an approach also known as *triangulation* (Arksey and Knight, 1999). The use of this approach is more likely to enable the researcher to maximize the understanding of the research questions as the weaknesses of one methodology can be outweighed by the strengths of another (Hoggart et al., 2002).

As a result, questionnaires, the method of 'familiarization' and in-depth interviews will be used. The *questionnaire* includes different types of questions

including direct and indirect questions about risk attitudes. Likert-type questions are used for direct questions, while open-ended questions are used for gathering risk attitudinal information inductively. The questionnaire has been conducted by telephone to ensure data maximisation in the context of available time and money. 300 farmers have been targeted and were systemically chosen from lists of the organic farmers in Devon registered with the Soil Association, through farmers' listings in the Yellow Pages, and through a snowballing methodology that also helped identify non-listed organic farmers.

Prior to the main survey, the questionnaire was piloted in August and September 2007 utilizing a sample of 34 organic and non-organic farmers from the west and middle of Cornwall — a county adjoining Devon. Based on the pilot study, the questionnaire was changed using informants' comments who suggested improving the clarity and simplicity of the questions (de Vaus, 2002; Parfitt, 2005). In addition, a 'familiarization' methodology was also used — an approach similar to 'participant observation' (for a detailed discussion on the participant observation method see Cook, 2005). Piloting of survey methods, therefore, also included visits to 6 organic and non-organic farms in Cornwall to help the researcher — who is from Syria and, therefore, not familiar with British farming culture — to experience for himself the day-to-day activities on farms in the south-west of the UK. The experience gathered during these visits were particularly useful in helping to frame the context for subsequent interviews with farmers in Devon.

In addition to the questionnaire, in-depth interviews will allow a deeper understanding of underlying factors in informants' decisions as they will be able to use their own words when discussing specific topics linked to organic farming (Darnhofer et al., 2005; Valentine, 2005). There will be three groups of interviewees: a sub-set of farmers who also answered the questionnaire, farm respondents outside the questionnaire, and non-farm respondents. 15 farmers taking part in the questionnaire will be interviewed in-depth to expand on some responses, to allow them to address other issues, and to collect more detailed information about their future farming plans. Further, different actors from the farm family and 20 stakeholders from the wider agricultural sector in Devon will be interviewed. These additional interviews will be important, as while the final adoption decisions are usually undertaken by farmers as individual actors farmers' decisions are often affected by others' opinions, behaviours and interventions (Burton and Wilson, 2006). These interviewees will be recruited through 'snowballing' and 'cold calling' methods, and they are expected to enrich the conclusions of the present research. Indeed, spending time in the countryside and talking to farmers is more likely to help the researcher to become better embedded in the farming culture of the UK.

Preliminary results

The main survey started in January 2008 and — at the time of writing — data collection is still in process. Nonetheless, the preliminary data highlight that

most organic and non-organic farmers see *organic farming as a risky farming system*. Further, they suggest that *organic farmers are risk-seekers compared with non-organic farmers*. Willingness to avoid risk is the most significant reason for not taking up organic farming. In contrast, accepting organic farming as a new challenge is the least important motive for organic farming adoption. A key result is that *organic farmers appear to choose to farm organically for a variety of reasons to meet their aims in farming*. Environment-friendly farming, animal welfare and producing high quality food are the most important objectives for organic farmers. Interestingly but not entirely unexpected, profit maximizing tends to rank lower among organic farmers compared with other farmers.

Contrary to expectations, a low proportion of organic farmers in Devon come from a *non-farming background*. Those from non-farming backgrounds have *similar risk attitudes* to organic farmers with a farming background. In other words, 'newcomers' are willing to take the same risks as their organic farming colleagues with farming backgrounds, although newcomers did not previously farm. However, there appear to be a few differences between organic farmers from farming and non-farming backgrounds. For example, *financial aims* were more important in the approach of organic farmers from non-farming backgrounds, as were other more altruistic goals such as *protecting the environment* and *working with animals*. Additional analysis to be conducted after completion of the questionnaire survey and interviews with selected farmers will further unpack these interesting trends, and will help contributing towards providing a more nuanced assessment of organic farming and risk behaviour in the UK.

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AN EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY PERCEPTION OF TOURISM AND CRIME

Natalie Hooton

Abstract

This study reviews the general literature on tourism and crime and the impact crime can have upon community life within a tourist destination. It highlights incongruous elements of the tourism and crime literature, as despite research not demonstrating that visitors are the only or even primarily the victims of crime, the emphasis of the tourism and crime relationship has been concerned with crime rates against tourist (Brunt and Brophy 2004). This paper however aims not to distinguish the victimisation rates between tourist and local residents, but rather to evaluate the community impacts tourism-related crime can have upon local residents. To realise the 'social reality' of hosts and to determine the extent to which a 'community' can influence, and be influenced by residents' perceptions. As a result, this paper maintains that gaining an improved understanding of the impacts of tourism-related crime upon local community attitude and perception is vital for the future sustainability of the tourism industry (Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson 2006:182), as what is often forgotten is that human communities represent both a primary resource upon which tourism depends, and they justify the development of tourism itself.

Introduction

Tourism and crime is a well documented topic of investigation, with crime being considered an externality of tourism development (Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996:506). On the one hand it is believed that tourism "like any other industry, contributes to environmental destruction" of a destination. On the other "given proper planning and management, tourism can enhance the environment and be a positive influence" (Walmsley, Boskovic and Pigram 1983:137). Tourism can therefore bring a range of 'welcomed' and 'unwelcome' changes to a location (Brunt and Hambly 1999:26), including impacts of "noise, pollution, litter, vandalism and crime" (Brunt and Hambly 1999:26). These impacts are dependent on internal and external factors affecting the tourist destination and the nature of tourism activity taking place. As a result, the tourism and crime relationship remains unclear due to the complex and inter-related characteristics identified by Ryan (1993:173).

What is clear however, is that crime can have serious consequences for both a destination and individuals (Ryan 1993:173), be them tourists or hosts. It is for this reason that it is critical to gain an improved understanding of tourism

impacts and assess the force they can have upon local residents. After all, the future sustainable development of tourism requires a harmonious relationship to exist between the communities, the industry and tourists alike (Zhang *et al.* 2006:182). To do so the 'social reality' of hosts needs to be identified, alongside issues of power and influence of community members and organisations, as without such information, how can tourism and crime impacts be truly measured within a destination area?

It is an ongoing exertion of influence and development. The presence of large number of tourists have an effect on the society they visit (Brown 1998:66). Resident attitudes can become reflective of their perceived level of economic benefits; the nature and extent of contact with the industry (Krippendorf 1987:46); and, their ability to continue their daily duties without inconveniences being caused. The sensitivities and relationships developed can determine the hosts' perception of the industry, be it positive or negative, and impacts the way in which a community shapes and responds to the social and environmental change created by tourism (Pearce, Moscardo and Ross 1996:6). Eventually tourism is blamed for the disruption of internal family structures (Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996:505), due to the creation of conflict; formed through the socio-cultural, economic, and power discrepancies experienced by individuals (Tosun 2002:233). This then witnesses hosts becoming more antagonistic towards tourists and tourism overtime (Doxey 1975), and further disjointed from the tourism product and the overall harmonious relationship at the destination level. At which stage, issues and relationships between tourism and crime become more apparent (Brunt and Hambly 1999:25) and the need for understanding is highlighted. This is due to destinations who gain notoriety as crime hot spots experiencing difficulties in retaining their tourism industry and improving their social situations (Prideaux 1996:59).

For these reasons alone, all factors of change need to be considered in the tourism and crime relationship as crime can seriously impede tourist activity (Brunt, Mawby and Hambly 2000:418). It is also magnified by the fundamental fact that a 'community'; characterised as a group of people who have something in common with one another (Crow and Allan 1994:3); represents both a "primary resource upon which tourism depends, and their existence in a particular place at a particular time may be used to justify the development of tourism itself" (Richards and Hall 2000:1). On that basis, the host community can form a reason for travel, and encourage tourism to their area (Richards and Hall 2000:1) which simply identifies their crucial role within the tourism product.

Respectively, by determining the reactions and responses of a community to tourism and crime, the different socio-economic neighbourhoods within a destination can be considered, and built upon. Therefore the aim of this literature review is to evaluate the extent to which a community can influence, and be influenced by, resident perceptions of tourism. The review will purposefully evaluate the importance and classification of a community, and

the role it plays in shaping the attitude and perception of residents from the same neighbourhood; whilst determining resident responses to issues and impacts of tourism-related crime within the community through their interactions and encounters with tourists. This will offer further knowledge and understanding to the theories of tourism and crime, whilst addressing the issues facing the community, the industry, and tourist. However to do this, a firm understanding of the term 'community' is required as "our perceptions of contemporary community life are frequently distorted by misperceptions of patterns of social relationships that made up community life in the past" (Crow and Allan 1994:22).

Tourism and the community

"Human consequences are an integral part of tourism" (Burns and Holden 1995:119), with host-guest relationships being framed by the pressures of the social relations between people who would not normally meet (Burns and Holden 1995:119). The associations are framed by the confrontational aspects of meetings between cultures and ethnic groups (Burns and Holden 1995:119), whose lifestyle, level of prosperity, language and behaviour may differ. This is reflective of the meetings between holiday-makers and local residents. Respectively, these are individuals who may feel released from many of their normal economical and social constraints, or reconcile gains and costs of sharing their lives with others (Burns and Holden 1995:120). Either way, both parties are influenced by the social and cultural impacts of tourism, as tourism affects the values, attitudes, customs and beliefs of individuals, as well as living patterns and their mode of life (Brown 1998:66; Goeldner and Ritchie 2006:299). Accordingly, it is inevitable that the presence of large numbers of tourists will have an "effect on the societies they visit, and not improbable that they should in turn be affected by these societies" (Brown 1998:66). Therefore "the issue of how communities shape and respond to social and environmental changes is a driving factor in assessing community responses to tourism" (Pearce *et al.* 1996:6).

The term 'community' however has developed many meanings (Crow and Allan 1994:3) with every sociologist possessing their own notion of what a 'community' consists of (Bell and Newby 1971:27). This has led to different views of community boundaries being established within the literature. A community can range from, and include, a group of people having something in common with one another, which could be identified in a geographical and territorial manner; to being distinguished by means of shared characteristics, other than place, where people are linked through ethnicity, occupation and other interests (Crow and Allan 1994:3). As a result, definitional and measurement problems exist with concepts of community (Pearce *et al.* 1996:27), for that which constitutes a community has not been considered carefully by researchers (Burr 1991, cited in Pearce *et al.* 1996:27). The term can also imply a false sense of cohesion of local views, as residents are grouped purely for analytical purpose (Prentice 1993:218). Therefore to

address these dilemmas it is suggested that future studies should characterise 'what' constitutes a community from the beginning, as man's perception is "an extremely dynamic process" (Goodey 1971:4) and stereotypes can prove to be extremely influential upon collective perception (Pi-Sunyer 1989:189).

On the one hand, individual perception can influence and dictate the overview of a community's ability to comprehend issues of ownership and input, the benefits from tourism, and the social impacts which change the nature of the community (Peck and Lepie 1989:204). On the other, a community can play a significant role in shaping social identities and patterns of action of their members (Crow and Allan 1994:1). So evidently, community relationships can develop differently within each neighbourhood, as the effects of tourism can be felt through different means. These include the type of contact; the relative importance of the industry to an individual or community's prosperity; and, the tolerance threshold in the residents' receptiveness (Doxey 1975:195; Murphy 1985). However, a major problem with developing such community studies is related to the capability of describing and profiling the impacts of tourism, as only a few researchers have requested residents to rate or assess the importance and level of impacts upon their lives, and even fewer have developed a list from respondents themselves (Pearce *et al.* 1996:27). This is despite acknowledging the fact that individuals within a community respond differently to opportunities and challenges (Murphy 1985:120) by reconciling their personal traits alongside a variety of personal and complex variables (Murphy 1985:120).

Therefore it can be assumed that the relationship between communities, the industry and tourists is complex and inter-related, with community residents holding both similar and dissimilar attitudes and aspirations towards tourism and tourism development (Zhang *et al.* 2006:182). The affects of these attitudes can influence individual perception, encounters and interactions with the industry, and form the basis of a collective community perception on tourism development, derived through the personal attitudes and perceptions of local residents (Johnson, Snepenger and Akis 1994:629); be it diminished or enhanced. This is duly emphasised when the tourism industry, as an element of change, modifies the level of engagement with tourists, sways the economic gain perceived by hosts, and emphasises the socio-economic impacts felt by a community. Hence the need to identify groups of residents by their responses to allow "researchers closer to the development of more general theories concerning the links between perceptions and attitudes and the corresponding stage in tourism development" (Perez and Nadal 2005:939). However as Perez and Nadal (2005:936) have emphasised, real progress depends upon a better understanding of the factors that underline these patterns.

Host attitude and perception

"Tourism has been regarded as playing a major role in bringing about social change" (Perez and Nadal 2005:925). Moreover, it is seen as having an effect

upon the socio cultural characteristics of residents' habits, daily routines, social lives, beliefs and values which, in turn lead to "psychological tensions" (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt 2005:1058) within a destination. As a result, the development and understanding of "local reactions and the factors that influence these attitudes is essential if successful tourism policies are to be achieved" and the long-term sustainable future of the tourism industry is desired (Williams and Lawson 2001:270; Perez and Nadal 2005:927). For resident reactions and behaviour towards tourism is reflected in the quality of life of the hosts, and the viability of commercial ventures within the tourism industry (Williams and Lawson 2001:270).

Resident behaviour is influenced by a number of economic and tolerance issues (Madrigal 1995:86), and has become reflective of Doxey's (1975:195) Irridex Index which considers different levels of perception, all of which stem from "the impact between residents and outsiders at any given tourist destination" (Doxey 1975:195). Irritations imply that as the numbers of tourists increase, and resorts develop, attitudes of the host population alter from euphoric anticipation to antagonist resentment (Doxey 1975:195). However, in reality, it is recognised that "different residents within a given time period may exhibit the full range of feelings on Doxey's scale" (Carmichael 2000:603). This is due to the wide spectrum of variables in operation which must be used to arrive at a relevant conclusion about a collective opinion, which includes more than just the assumptions of interactions and encounters. It involves the added diversity of escapism (Ap and Crompton 1993:48). Hence, actions provide "a conceptual base for understanding the exchange of resources of any kind, concrete or symbolic, between individuals and groups (Ap 1992, cited in Andereck and Vogt 2000:29).

Despite less research being undertaken into the opinions and attitudes of local people (Sharpley 1994:169), the consequences emerging from tourism development can be categorised into three broad areas; economic, socio-cultural and environmental effects. These effects form two polar perspectives from the host community, consisting of a positive outlook or a negative standpoint (Liu and Var 1986:193; Gursoy, Jurowski and Uysal 2002:80; Andereck *et al.* 2005:1057). The extent of which is dependent on a variety of issues, including: the level of economic benefits perceived by local residents (Madrigal 1995:86); the nature and extent of contact residents have with the industry (Krippendorff 1987:46); and, the residents' ability to continue their daily duties without inconveniences being caused. However, perception is "an extremely dynamic process and one which is very difficult to monitor" (Goodey 1971:4), as residents seek equivalent benefits from tourism, to what they themselves offer in the form of costs (Perez and Nadal 2005:927).

One theoretical basis, developed to understand 'why' residents perceive tourism impacts differently, is the social exchange theory (Ap 1992:665; Perez and Nadal 2005:927). The theory, developed from an economic perspective (Ap 1992:667; Perez and Nadal 2005:927; Zhang *et al.* 2006:185), predicts that "those who are greater beneficiaries of tourism will perceive higher levels

of positive impacts" (Andereck *et al.* 2005:1071), thus categorising attitude's as a trade-off between the benefits and costs perceived by individuals (Zhang *et al.* 2006:186). However, research has recently shown that "it is not simply the existence of an exchange that is important, but its nature and value that influences attitudes and perceptions" (Sirakaya, Teye and Sonmez 2002:651). Thus the social exchange theory can be viewed an incomplete structure (Andereck *et al.* 2005:1072).

Social representations, on the other hand, view various aspects of social life as phenomena which can be studied in their own right (Pearce *et al.* 1996:38). The key is being able to identify and distinguish similarities between individual residents within the community, who are influenced by different mechanisms: direct experience, social interaction and the media (Zhang *et al.* 2006:186). These similarities include values, ideas and practices, which have two key functions. The first, is "to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community" (Moscovici 1984, cited in Pearce *et al.* 1996:38). As a result, social representations are "valuable for explaining social conflict or reactions to salient issues" (Pearce *et al.* 1996:39). For example, commonality, in the sense of common views, can spread the feeling of 'shared understanding' between individuals and thus very little representation needs to be shared in public. Then again, when individuals are unable to agree, explicit representations can be used to explain conflict (Pearce *et al.* 1996:40). As a result, "cultures, subcultures, groups and institutions can exert both direct control over actions" through regulations and "indirect control through socialization and the sharing of social representations" (Pearce *et al.* 1996:48).

This is consistent with the work of Krippendorf (1987) and Goodey (1971), who consider resident attitudes as being defined by their opinion about, and expectations from, tourism. This is developed through economic importance and the occupational structure of the local population (Krippendorf 1987:46); and man's perceptual model of space and action. Perception is after all not just about seeing, but it is about hearing, touching, tasting and smelling the entirety of what is 'out there' (Goodey 1971:4). The consequences of these opinions can vary with respect to the level and type of contact the host has with the tourism industry overtime, and the formation of avenues of personal space. It allows different opinions to be conceptualised from person to person overtime, whilst assisting the deeper understandings of 'which' factors have an influence or discouragement upon the positive and negative elements of perception (Goodey 1971:6). What is forgotten, though, is that "tourists and natives are in diametrically opposite situations. What is freedom and pleasure for the former, means burden and work for the latter" (Krippendorf 1987:58). Therefore a number of additional variables need to be considered when placing man's action space into a tourism context. This is due to tourism being a highly social business (Pearce *et al.* 1996), and the fact that socio-cultural attitudes of man can inform the action of an individual and shape the views of images and others (Murphy 1985:57).

Residents form their opinions through a number of sources including issues of attachment and consumption, economic reliance and ethnicity (Williams and Lawson 2001:271). This results in human relationships becoming more complex than ideal (Alber, Jannelle, Philbrick and Sommer 1975:94), with separate aspects of contact and attitude combining to have more specific applications to the understanding of resident attitudes to tourism impacts (Alber *et al.* 1975:94). Carmichael's (2000) linkages between specific impacts and resident perception helps to affirm the variation in attitudes and behaviour of residents from the same neighbourhood and assists the classification of residents within a given 'community', with one's attitude being negative or positive and one's behaviour being active or passive (Ap and Crompton 1993:48; Carmichael 2000:604). Crucially though, attitudes are not considered as being static; instead, residents can change their interaction and perception of the community and tourism, by crossing boundaries. However, even with this knowledge, there is still "a limited understanding of residents' responses to the impacts of tourism" (Carmichael 2000:601) due to the diversity in the range of communities in which tourism occurs, and the multiplicity within each specific host community (Carmichael 2000:601). There is also a lack of segmentation studies found within the mainstream literature (Perez and Nadal 2005:927). Therefore the exploration of the key determinants would be a satisfactory first step towards finding a solution to these problems (Beggs, Hurlbert and Haines 1996:407), as specific understandings of resident behaviour remains undiscovered. In this case, the aspects of tourism and crime shall be discussed further as the response of residents are better understood by acknowledging and identifying both the extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions that influence resident reactions towards tourism (Faulkner and Tideswell 1997). This includes acknowledging and understanding the stage of development, the tourist/resident ratio and issues of seasonality and attachment at a destination, which are all key elements in the understanding of the tourism and crime literature.

Tourism and crime

The tourism and crime relationship can range in voraciousness, varying from incidental commitment of crime to deliberate actions of terrorists (Ryan 1993:173). The main difference arising through perception and legality, as what is illegal in one country is not necessarily illegal in another (Ryan 1993:174). To date the research undertaken has not been developed in a particularly systematic manner (Brunt *et al.* 2000:417), as studies have varied in their focus, "the extent to which they can be replicated, and the sagacity of research methods" (Brunt *et al.* 2000:417).

Nevertheless, the progression of the tourism and crime literature since Jud's (1975) initial analysis has enabled the categorisation of broad topics for investigation to be formed (Brunt and Hambly 1999:26; Brunt *et al.* 2000:417; Brunt and Shepherd 2004:318). The categories represent a balance of defined

areas in which crime may occur (Brunt and Hambly 1999:26; Brunt *et al.* 2000:417; Brunt and Shepherd 2004:318), and are reflective of Ryan's (1993:173) classification of the types of relationships, as displayed in Table 1, with the addition of policy responses.

Table 1: The Types of Relationship between Crime and Tourism

Type 1	Tourists are accidental victims of criminal activity which is independent of the nature of the tourist destination. In this case most crime is directed against the indigenous population, and is of a nature consistent with that found in non-tourist locations.
Type 2	A venue which is used by criminals because of the nature of the tourist location, but the victims are not specifically tourists.
Type 3	A location which attracts criminal activities because tourists are easy victims.
Type 4	Criminal activity becomes organised to meet certain types of tourist demand.
Type 5	Organised criminal and terrorist groups commit specific violent actions against tourists and tourist facilities.

Source: Ryan (1993:173)

These broad areas of interest are created due to crime occurring in a tourist destination, against hosts and tourists, with individuals involving themselves in risky behaviour; therefore deviating from their normal behaviour (Brunt and Hambly 1999:33). In this manner, tourists and hosts can succumb to the fate of criminal activities by accident, or they can be classified as risk-takers to begin with (Diamanche and Lepetic 1999:21). With this in mind, it can be implied that tourists are not always the victim of crime, but can in fact be the perpetrators of criminal activity (Brunt 1999:1) within a tourist destination. This is important to note as "a theme has emerged whereby tourists can be seen as the aggressors and not solely the victims of crime" (Brunt 1999:3).

The general emphasis of the tourism and crime relationship is concerned with "tourism development and its affect on crime rates or crimes against tourists" (Brunt and Brophy 2004:4), as opposed to "exploring the possibility of the tourist as the offender or deviant" (Brunt and Brophy 2004:4). This is in spite of Ryan and Kinder's (1996:26) statement that "travel frees the inhibition", the coincidence of the peaks and troughs of criminal activity with the holiday season (Walmsley *et al.* 1983:154), and the fact that "badly behaved tourists have provided many newspaper column inches" (Brunt and Agarwal 2004:7; Brunt and Brophy 2004:4). Instead limitations have restricted the development of the tourism and crime literature, as crime data is relatively easy to secure, however to prove a causal relationship between tourism and crime within a specific location is very difficult (Haralambopoulous and Pizam 1996:506). Other fundamental issues include how crime is measured (Brunt and Shepherd 2004:325) and recorded (Albuquerque and McElroy 1999:975), tourism is quantified (Brunt and Agarwal 2004:3), and deviance is defined. These are all important factors as deviancy implies that there is 'one normal' society, and

that is obviously not the case (Ryan and Kinder 1996:25), as tourism studies have been widely criticised by the lack of a homogenous society (Brunt and Courtney 1999:498). This leaves a number of unanswered questions surrounding the tourism and crime literature, for if deviancy is simplistically defined as the behaviour that differs from normal behaviour patterns; can tourism itself be viewed as being a deviant act? Or does it make a difference that crime is not socially tolerated but tourism is (Ryan and Kinder 1996:24)? Either way, deviancy is categorised as a process of action and reaction, of individual intent with social implications (Ryan and Kinder 1996:27) for the whole community.

Furthermore, crime activity is not necessarily evenly distributed within a destination, due to the uneven spatial and temporal distribution of people (Felson and Clarke 1998:22). This identifies *why* certain destinations do not constantly suffer from criminal activity in every sub-neighbourhood all the time. Distribution also contributes to the study of 'hotspots' within a place (Felson and Clarke 1998:22), and the level of antagonism felt by local residents. For it is believed that within the final stage of the Doxey's (1975) 'Irritation index', issues and relationships between tourism and crime can become more apparent (Brunt and Hambly 1999:25), as sheer numbers alone generate tension (Mathieson and Wall 1982:139). However, it is unknown if "places vary in their capacity to help cause crime, or merely in their frequency of hosting crime" (Sherman, Gartin and Buerger 1989:46). For instance, when place is the central unit of analysis, the location, facilities and features of a destination can influence the level of crime in the immediate environment (Eck and Weisburd 1995:8) by drawing or deterring individuals to the area. In the same instance, if "crime is concentrated in direct proportion to the concentration of people, then there may be nothing particular criminogenic about those places" (Sherman *et al.* 1989:44).

This theory is strongly linked to crime studies and the criminology of place, as destinations which gain notoriety as crime hot spots and offer a more hedonistic lifestyle, are found to have higher crime rates (Brunt *et al.* 2000:417). The destinations also experience difficulties in retaining their tourism industry (Prideaux 1996:59) due to elements of escapism being illustrated within the marketing of these hedonistic resorts; attracting additional pleasure seekers and opportunists to the area (Prideaux 1996:73). Thus putting both tourists and residents at risk from the possibility of becoming a victim of crime and contributing to the overall increases in crime rates which can be directly related to tourism growth (Fujii and Mak 1980:34; Prideaux 1996:72), illustrating how crime can negatively influence the quality of life of individuals and the wider community (Amethyst 2007:36).

Conclusion

This study has reviewed the general literature of tourism and crime and has considered the importance of understanding the impacts crime can have upon

the local community and individual members of the host population. After all, local communities can influence, and can be influenced by individual resident perceptions due to the extremely influential nature of stereotypes (Pi-Sunyer 1989:189). However to gain a deeper understanding the avenues and personal spaces of individuals (Goodey 1971:6) need to be identified. This will assist the understandings of 'which' factors have influence or discouragement upon the positive and negative elements of perception within a tourist destination. This can be achieved through a comparative analysis of crime rates to explore whether rising overall crime rates and victimisation are inevitable with mass tourism development, or whether they are more influenced by specific determinants of the destination (Albuquerque and McElroy 1999:981).

The main logic drawn is that local residents are important aspects of the tourism product, and it is imperative to fully understand the impacts tourism-related crime can have upon their daily lives, routines, attitudes and aspirations, as it sets the nature of the encounter in which hosts and guests meet. This is vital, as hosts are frequently being assumed as a 'fixed entity' (Sharpley 1994:169) and not always considered in the development process of tourism. This should not be the case, as the attitude and perception of residents dictate individual responses to the opportunities and challenges of tourism, through three main determinants: contact, economic importance, and tolerance thresholds.

For these reasons, it is recommended that future studies should delve deeper into the impacts of resident perception and attitude upon community life and the industry. This can be achieved by firstly, defining the term 'community' to encourage the description and profile of impacts to be developed from the residents themselves. Once ascertained, investigations can endeavour to contribute further knowledge and understanding to the theories of tourism and crime by succeeding where others have failed. This will help to ascertain the importance of community attachment and consumption by resident type in relation to tourism and crime-related impacts. Allowing research to aid preventative techniques and policy procedures of the future, by identify the different socio-economic neighbourhoods which exist within a specific area.

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SECOND HOMES: THE INTRINSIC VALUE OF STATIC CARAVANS

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Abstract

Evidence suggests that for just over half of purchasers the appeal of static caravans is their ability to provide the chance of a second home yet for the remainder of static caravan owners their passionate loyalty shown towards caravans reflects the little regard they have for the alternative forms of retreat these owners could afford. Clearly there are significant reasons beyond price which explain such an investment. This paper draws upon qualitative in-depth interviews to establish the role static caravans play within second home consumerism, and considers the reasons for the purchase of a fast depreciating property asset and the forms of value they provide. In their broadest sense second homes were found to be desirable for reasons of escape, salvation, control, and enhancement, but in addition static caravans had a number of surprising attractions. Many of their alluring features proved to be inherent in their design, establishing a unique environment in which living was perceived to be a fairytale, exciting, novel and an adventure. Remarkably many of their obvious shortcomings such as size, confinement and lack of permanence proved to be attributes, creating a unique sense of freedom and connection with nature, where space and time was considered to hold greater value, and by virtue of their compactness life explained as organized, tidier, simplified and as a consequence more enjoyable than home. This work draws together a number of findings which emerged from the research to explain the success static caravans enjoy within second home tourism, and to provide some resolve to the previous absence of such a study.

Second Homes - Second Home Ownership

The recent proliferation of second home ownership in Britain has become a significant feature of contemporary tourism. Fuelled by growth in urbanisation (Williams, King and Warnes, 2004: 97) and the relentless pace of modern life during a period of increasing wealth and recreation, no longer does it remain the pursuit of the *leisure class* Rojek (2000: 13) suggests, or the phenomenon of the *middle class* Jaakson (1986: 370) refers to, but has become an accessible preoccupation of many social groups. This has been greatly facilitated by the reinvention of the holiday park industry using business models based more on the sale of caravans as affordable second homes than traditional holiday lettings (Middleton and Lickorish, 2005: 88).

The landmark works of Coppock (1977) and Jackson (1986) account for many of the explanations for such ownership, and continue to punctuate much recent study. The need for change, a better environment, a break of routine, a connection with nature, and to provide status and identity are acknowledged to remain chief driving forces of second home demand (Ward, 2005: 1; Quinn, 2004: 113; Hall and Muller, 2004: 14; Muller, 2002: 426; Eldred, 2000: 22; Chaplin, 1999: 44). Single explanations cannot in themselves provide explanations for ownership. In contrast to buying a principal home where there is a tendency to focus heavily on the personal needs of the family, a purchaser in looking for a second home often combines objectives (Godbey & Bevens, 1987: 18) including holidays, retirement, rental income, and a multitude of leisure interests (Aronsson, 2004: 86; Williams, King and Warnes, 2004: 111; Clout, 1977: 57; Robertson, 1977: 134; Coppock, 1977: 9; Henshall, 1977: 76).

Most recent studies have tended to concentrate upon the social characteristics of occupiers (Svenson, 2004: 55; Visser, 2004: 196); location preferences (Muller, 2004: 244; Mottiar and Quinn, 2003: 109; Kaltenborn and Bjerke, 2002: 381); mobility and journey patterns (Hall, 2005: 125; Haldrup, 2004: 434; Dijst, Lazendorf, Barendregt and Smit, 2004: 139; Duval, 2004: 87); and economic, planning and social impacts (Muller, Hall and Keen, 2004: 15; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones, 2001: 59). As Crofts (1977: 103) indicates it is extremely rare for such literature to recognise the role of static caravans, and their exclusion has continued to remain somewhat puzzling. With the exception of a study conducted by The Tourism Company (2003) on behalf of the Wales Tourist Board to consider the nature of the caravan holiday market and policy issues, little research has been undertaken into what has become a significant element of second home tourism.

Research Methodology and Terms of Reference

This study concerns itself with the reasons people buy *static* caravans, not as letting accommodation or residential dwellings, but as second or additional homes. Contrary to official definitions it considers caravans which are only intended to be permanently sited and not easily moved, expressly excluding those intended for holiday rental or which are corporately owned. It considers the views and perceptions of both owners and sellers.

The research was conducted at six holiday park locations within the South West of England, using a random process of selection to interview. As the study set out to develop explanations for consumer behaviour towards caravan second-homes, rather than making initial connections between variables, the sample size could be dictated by the results of the survey, with sampling continuing to what Mason (2005: 134) refers to as *theory saturation point*, whereby a consistent picture emerges and an appropriate explanation or theory could be provided for it. Semi-structured open-ended questions were chosen in order to contribute a level of interaction with the study population

and freedom to the inquiry that predetermined questions would be unable to provide. Twenty-one interviews were conducted, and over twenty-five hours of recorded discussion collected. The transcribed qualitative data were analysed using a framework methodology, consisting of five stages of arrangement within which ideas were identified, considered, reworked and finally interpreted according to theme and context (Gillham, 2000: 62; Ritchie and Spencer, 1994: 177).

As previous research recognises the true appeal of second home ownership to be often realised after the acquisition is made, and when the 'decision process becomes a continuing cost-benefit analysis' (Robertson, 1977: 131), the presentation of findings have been grouped into wider explanations for the need for a second home, and the more specific reasons why a static caravan was chosen and how it was then enjoyed.

Presentation and Discussion of Findings – Escape

Amongst the principal reasons given for second home ownership unsurprisingly was to *escape* the effects of urban life. Distress from excessive *noise, crime, disturbance, traffic, and abusive or unruly behaviour* were frequently referred to, and there was an overall sense of relentless disruption that was hard to evade: *"I am in a terraced house and you are watching the telly if they are watching next door, I go in the garden and I have got their radio ..."* was illustrative of the frustration.

Many also referred to escape in terms of the pressures endured in their working and domestic life. Whether retired or fully employed for many this seemed to emanate as much from jobs awaiting them at home as from busy or demanding occupations. At the second home there was no requirement to enter into work, and those jobs which did exist were all the more enjoyable for the voluntary and leisurely context in which they took place; *"we usually work when we are down here"* but *"we don't mind doing those jobs"* one couple explained. The second home provided sanctuary, and a holiday environment in which it was considered natural and acceptable to have the freedom to do what they wished, when they desired:

"I think that all week you build up the pressure in work, and I think that this is kind of the release for it ... because I can do what I want down here ... I can go off ... I please myself ... not only that but when you are home you tend to look 'well what can I do?' and find something to do, and inevitably you end up doing a bit of work around the house"

Salvation

For most owners the second home provided not only a means for escape, but *salvation* in the contrast of the alternative life it contributed; *"this morning I*

woke up and there were birds singing ... no sirens going off ... it's just totally different" one interviewee explained. Typically the contrasting environment of the second home was referred to in terms of *"almost all the opposites to what we have got at home"*: solitude, freedom, peace and quiet, and one within which an owner could relax and unwind providing a means for the stress of life at the principal dwelling to be released:

"I feel totally un-overlooked ... very private ... there's no phone going to ring ... nobody is going to knock on the door ... that's the luxury. I get up in the morning and I feel really content ... and I say to you 'oh another day in paradise' ..."

Control

A third theme to emerge was *control*. Inextricably linked with working and domestic agendas, owners suggested that they had little control of their lives within their principal dwelling, and had difficulty breaking the incessant routine and pace while they remained within the home environment. The second home seemed to provide an opportunity for them to break that routine and regain control, offering an environment within which they could do as they wished, when they wanted, and without the interruption of external demands and influences. One owner explained this value to be not so much in doing nothing, but having the *choice* to do as they wished, and with such choice came freedom. In the second home environment there was no timetable, no agenda, and time therefore became *"totally different ... you're not clock watching. Nothing really matters ...because it's no big deal, and there's no rush"*.

Enhancement

Conversely other owners talked of enjoyment for their work, and love of their domestic environment; *"we love where we live as well ... we just wanted to get away for a break"* such owners exclaimed. For this group the value of the second home seemed to be provided not by escape, but variety and change, commonly referring to their purchase in terms of a holiday or break from the routine of work or their schedule at home. Sometimes the regularity of change was surprising, with an almost perpetual yo-yoing between the principal and second home. *"When we're down here we have had enough, and when we get up home, we have had enough, then we come back"* an owner explained. Each location seemed to complement the other; the principal dwelling raising the desirability of the static caravan, which following a visit replenished the appreciation of home. The second home was not so much a salvation, but an *enhancement* of their lives. Not only did the second home provide variety therefore but life at the owner's principal dwelling was more enhanced and enjoyable as a consequence.

Opportunity

Others specified varying personal reasons for their purchase, often in conjunction with other themes such as *escape* and *enhancement*. Ownership provided the chance for families to unite, removed from one another's personal agendas, permitting greater togetherness and sharing of quality time which was not possible at the principal dwelling. Quite simply second homes provided *opportunity*. Grandparents could interact with their grandchildren, and gain considerable satisfaction and pride from them enjoying the advantages of their wise investment; *"we get as much pleasure from them coming back saying they have enjoyed it"* one couple explained. It was also common for interviewees to refer to childhood relationships with the area, for example *"my father used to bring us"* and *"I came when I was a kid"* were typical recollections.

Almost half of owners referred to their second home as a substitute for foreign travel. They talked of being *"fed up with going abroad"* and growing *"cautious about flying"*, emphasising the value of the second home in providing less stressful, more regular, hassle-free holidays. For them their second home was purchased in order to provide a break whenever they wished for as long as they wanted, without *"the hassle, the stress, and everything to get there"* foreign travel demanded.

The Allure of Static Caravans - Emotive Nature

Almost all owners described the time that they chose their static caravan in passionate terms, knowing instinctively when they had found the right one for them. Led by emotion, first impressions seemed fundamental to the decision process, governed by a love and feeling for the caravan, as much as the functionality and utility it offered: *"as soon as I looked at it I knew it was mine"* ... *"I just fell in love with it ... it was like love at first sight!"*; *"as we walked into it I said I like this ... yeah ... we both did ... as soon as we walked in"*; *"we just fell in love with it, and I can't explain it any more than that"*. Notwithstanding the basic criteria of price, size and number of bedrooms, owners found it difficult to describe what they had been seeking, but felt *"overwhelmed"* when they had found it, using phrases such as *"there was a bit of a wow factor"*; *"there's a certain umm ... what is it ...?"*; *"this is nice ... wow this is nice ..."*. Others to be certain of how they felt took a little time to reinforce their choice, but nevertheless showed considerable passion toward their purchase.

Affordability

Invariably owners saw a fundamental appeal of their caravan to be the ability to provide them with *"the chance of a second home"*, referring to *budget* and *price ceiling* as the chief constraints on further choice. *"There was no way that we could afford a proper second home anywhere, and caravans were ... totally*

affordable” was typical of the discussion. However there was much evidence to suggest that price was not the single attraction, and many indicated a passionate loyalty to caravans with little regard for alternative forms of property. A supporting quantitative study of owners of static caravan second homes to this research found 46.8% had the financial ability to purchase traditional built second homes yet remained steadfast in their commitment to buy static caravans. Suggesting a chance of a more permanent second home without the constraints of a budget or price, owners were largely dismissive: “*I think I would still be looking to a caravan*”; “*nothing else even crossed our mind*”; “*no ... never entered my mind*”; “*it had to be a caravan*”; “*yes, it still would have been a caravan, oh yes*”. In many ways owners were suggesting that they were a certain kind of person, a group, or cohort, referring to themselves as ‘*the caravan type*’, typically exclaiming “*it’s just what we like*”, or “*we are caravan people, aren’t we ... a cottage wouldn’t be for me*”.

Freedom

There were many obvious reasons for such loyalty. Some of those interviewed associated more conventional forms of property with worry and added responsibility. Responsibilities they were seeking to escape:

“Mentally it feels less burdensome. I think that if you take on a second home which is a building or something structural, personally I would be scared stiff of things going wrong, and maintenance and goodness knows what, that I don’t know anything about. Whereas here I don’t feel any burdensome responsibility ... it’s lovely”

Others suggested caravans offered them a degree of *freedom* and a connection with outdoor life which conventional properties were unable to provide, and although constrained within the boundaries of the Park and their individual pitches, references such as “*you feel that you are in the countryside*” and “*you have got the countryside around you*” were common. Caravan types it was suggested have got to like the outdoor life; “*I mean you don’t buy these and sit in them all day*” a typical owner remarked.

The *freedom* which interviewees referred to static caravans providing appeared in a number of forms. For some it meant the avoidance of the maintenance and upkeep more conventional types of property required, whilst for others it meant they provided *choice* and *opportunity* to do as they wished. Sometimes it was used to refer to connection to *nature*, which might be the coastline, countryside, the environment their plot provided, or even with the elements themselves. “*I can feel really close to the wind and the rain*” one owner explained, “*and know I will never get wet*”.

The Value of Space

Almost all who were interviewed revealed a significant appeal of the static caravan as being the orderly environment they provided. *Compact, neat, tidy*,

and *uncluttered* were words regularly used. It was evident from the discussion that by virtue of the limitations of size, manufacturers had given considerable thought to ergonomics, design, and the use of space, which became a necessary requirement to keep tidy:

"If caravan builders built you a house you would probably have the best house in the world" one owner remarked, "... it's not more spacious but it feels more spacious because of the use of space"

"you become very disciplined ... and very good at keeping it uncluttered ... we want these psychological benefits of an uncluttered appearance, and we work harder to keep it that way, and it pays off ... it all makes a difference to my frame of mind totally ... and is easier because it is in a caravan"

This emerged as central to the post-consumption appeal of caravans and the nature of the life which they provided. Despite being considerably smaller than their principal home, almost all owners felt their caravan to be spacious, and significantly more than half of those interviewed implied that the space because more limited, held a greater value to that of their principal dwelling. This led them to live quite different, and for most a *"more enjoyable life"* at their caravan. With space at a premium owners talked of being *disciplined*, *tidier*, and *less cluttered*, and fewer possessions seemed to make for a simpler, but more satisfying life:

"Oh it's just like a sense ... to breathe! I always feel that as soon as I get down to the caravan and I'm in there then I'm ... oh! ... yeah! You've only got the things that you actually use and need. At home I always say to myself we have got a lot of stuff here we don't really ... it's just gadgets or whatever ... it's almost like why have I got it all? I said to you why have we got all this stuff at home, we don't need it"

The Effects of Light

Surprisingly as many as half of the interviewees referred to the abundance of light as an alluring characteristic of caravans. The *"illusion of light"* was *"part of its niceness"* making it *cosier*, *welcoming*, and *homely*. They referred to an uplifting feeling, freedom and cheerfulness provided by the daylight from the predominance of windows opposed to other forms of property, and often made comparisons with their home. Typically the contrast could not be more pronounced:

"We could never grow plants in our living room ... which is quite gloomy, we would have the light on at like nine o'clock in the morning" whereas in their caravan it was "umm ... cosier ... windows and more light coming in ... plenty of sunshine". Another said "at home ... umm ... it's like darker colours. My front room is like a red ... a deep red ... so everything seems more closed in",

whereas in the caravan *“there are more windows ... it’s lighter ... it makes you feel freer”*

Such a positive effect of the daylight on the attitude of owners whilst they visited their caravan was not untypical:

“... we had decided that it would be a caravan ... because ... light ... I could never stay in apartments ... the light. I absolutely adore the light. The lovely thing about caravans is that they feel spacious ... you have got daylight coming in, and I find daylight coming in makes an incredible difference to your mind ... if you are looking at a wall, ooh you feel hemmed in ... but if you are looking at daylight you’re not somehow”

Fairytale Environment

Most owners were proud to suggest static caravans to be properties in the same sense as their principal dwellings, but interestingly for those who could not it was for reasons not of their size or limited life, but the fact that they possessed wheels and could feasibly be moved. Both owners and sellers alike were universally agreed that static caravans possessed a certain novelty; *“there’s something about them”* one explained because they’re *“like a big doll’s house”*. Clearly caravans were different to conventional properties, and interviewees showed considerable post-consumption excitement in describing their life which they led in them, commonly using terms such as: *make believe*; *adventure*; *novelty*; a place where *“your childhood instincts sort of come out in you”*; and life becomes a *fairytale*. An owner’s time within a static caravan it seemed was spent with an expectation that it would be short lived, which seemed to further add to the novelty, and its simplification and miniaturisation made for an exciting existence; an adventure; a disneyfication of life. *“I know it’s reality ... I know it’s there, and everything’s solid ... but it’s like one day I am going to wake up and it’s gone ... and it just seems unreal”* one owner explained.

In all instances the static caravan was considered to provide a home from home. The majority of the sample explained how they had personalised it in some way, making it individual, a mirror, or *“a miniature version of home”*. This often included creating small ornamental gardens, adding verandas, paths and patio areas, erecting hanging baskets, pictures of family in the living room, and leaving all their personal belongings in place anticipating their next visit.

Perceived Value

Invariably their purchases were seen to provide good value, not in terms of a monetary investment consumers were quick to recognise, but in the lifestyle and quality of life that they provided for the cost incurred. Its value, one owner explained was *“the enjoyment that we got out of it ... and I value that*

enjoyment". Predominantly static caravans were perceived as a *lifestyle investment*. For the relatively small number of owners who also sub-let, any income was viewed as facilitating the payment of annual pitch fees, rates and running costs, rather than to provide a rate of return on the investment of the purchase price. Despite such an attraction, subletting was often seen as hindering personal use, and unless it became an essential part of affordability, owners were firm in maintaining the privacy of their home from home.

Considerable reference was also made to the value of the owner community, which was created through the bringing together of like minded people with shared and common interests. Unlike the urban areas of many owners' principal homes, where people *"haven't got the time of day ... the modern generation ... they can't be bothered"* life at the second home played out traditional values within a predominantly leisure environment, where owners could behave convivially towards one another and be able to genuinely spare the time to build long term friendships and relationships. People are so nice and friendly, they always seem to have the time for you they would remark; *"I have got more friends down here than I have got home to be honest"*.

A Sales Perspective

Most sellers had experience of selling at a number of locations, and naturally reported some differences between owners. These were largely of character and personality rather than perception or general requirements which remained remarkably similar between regions. Their experience taught them that caravan owners were in many ways distinct, sharing characteristics quite different to those seeking conventional property. Property people were thought to be more analytical in behaviour, seeking enjoyment from the monetary return and safety of their investment, as much as any benefit from the leisurely lifestyle that caravan owners enjoyed. If customers asked about depreciation it was suggested they *"don't tend to buy"*. Certainly owners were felt to be *"like minded"* but opinion was divided as to whether they could be classed as a group in other ways. On the one hand some sellers were adamant that *caravan types* existed, confident they could be picked out from the crowd, yet others felt that caravans had become so advanced that they now appealed to audiences *"used to having a fantastic standard of living"* and should not be thought of as caravans any more.

Without doubt some owners were known to have had the means to buy other forms of second home, but in preference were thought to have bought static caravans for reasons of *confidence, simplification* and *control*. As one seller explained purchasers can *"understand [caravan] ownership better"* because it's simplified and there are few unknowns; if something requires attention they don't fear *"how much a management company are going to charge"*, and can feel *"confident that their street won't change in the next five years"*. The purchase of a caravan was far more *prescriptive* in nature than for a conventional property. Consumers could choose a design that they liked and

“spec it” to their personal and individual requirements without the worry of alterations or building work.

Conclusion

This research has aimed to uncover the reasons people buy static caravans as second homes, and to better understand the background to the decisions which take place. This has been provided in a number of ways. It has demonstrated how more broadly the reasons for owning a second home are conceptualised by the emergent themes of *escape*, *salvation*, *control*, *enhancement* and *opportunity*, and how an appreciation of the intrinsic appeal of static caravans provides further dimensions to understanding second home consumerism. From the language used it was obvious that ownership was an emotive experience, and despite the obvious attraction of price a proportion of owners who could clearly afford other forms of second home were steadfast in their desire to buy a static caravan. Evidently there were significant reasons beyond price and affordability which drove the decision process, and much evidence pointed to it being as important for it to be a static caravan as it was owning any form of second home.

The discussion has demonstrated how many of the pre and post consumption forms of value identified in previous studies of Coppock (1977) and Jaakson (1986) were delivered from the simplicity caravans provided, and amongst the themes to commonly repeat themselves: *novelty*, *make believe*, *freedom*, *lifestyle* and *simplification* forged a close relationship with their design. Not unlike the driving force of *identity* referred to by Ward (2005: 1), Quinn, (2004: 113), Hall (2004: 14) and others, caravans were shown to provide a unique form of second home, an arena in which life was simplified and returned to basic values. The ambiance of light produced an uplifting feeling, and the compact design and lack of permanence a fairytale environment in which living was exciting, novel and an adventure. The limited space was regarded as possessing greater value, and life considered more organised, tidier, simplified and as a consequence more enjoyable than at their principal dwelling.

Remarkably the obvious shortcomings of size, confinement, and lack of permanence proved to be attributes, offering unique forms of value and attraction to the consumers who used them. The data suggest that whilst many of these attractions are specific to caravans and intrinsic in nature, emanating from their design, form and function, they were also found to drive consumption in their own right. This poses the question of whether in the absence of static caravans all such owners would still seek, crave, or indeed feel the necessity for second home ownership. Not unlike the Canadian lakeside cottage Jaakson (1986: 372) refers to as having ‘*mystical meaning*’ (Jaakson, 1986: 372) static caravans possess a surreal fairytale quality, inherent in their design, which offers and is intrinsic to wholly unfamiliar forms of second home lifestyle.

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ONLINE DISCLOSURE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EGYPTIAN LISTED COMPANIES

Amr Ezat

Abstract:

The internet is becoming a very useful information disclosure tool in the recent years. Many corporations begin to disseminate their information on their websites to support the different needs of their stakeholders.

As compared to the traditional paper based disclosure, the internet financial reporting has unique characteristics. Among these characteristics, the ability to disseminate the information to wide audience on more timely basis and using different types of information format such as (hypertext, multiple file format (PDF, HTML) and using multimedia).

As the internet financial reporting practices are voluntary, many companies can improve their disclosure with both the content and presentation format of internet disclosure. Consequently, many studies in developed countries had argued the potential effect of using the internet in disclosing the information and the determinants of disseminate the information on the companies' websites.

This study will seek to investigate the current situation of the internet disclosure of the listed Egyptian corporation in the Egyptian Stock Market by examine the entire listed corporations (432 companies) in December 2007 .

The results reveals that 225 companies (52.8%) of the sampled companies have website and among these companies (98.7%) disclosed social information, (91.1%) disclosed corporate governance information, (48%) disclosed timeliness information and (35.6%) disclosed financial information.

Introduction:

The disclosure of information has played a critical role in the efficient allocation of scarce resources in the capital market. Therefore, the lack of information disclosure to the stakeholders may hinder their ability to make rational decisions. Many studies had mentioned the importance of information disclosed for stock market investors' decisions through capital market studies conducted in different countries and cross-country surveys of users (Barker, 1998); (Bhushan and Lessard, 1992); (Mangena, 2004).

Many methods are used to convey information about company's affairs to stakeholders. Among them, hard copy corporate annual reports and press release. As a result to the diversification in stakeholders need, the traditional means of disclosure would not be useful to fulfil these needs. Stakeholders will look forward to more accurate, timeliness and relevant information which require searching for complementary means of disclosure to satisfy these diversification needs. (Hines, 1982, Givoly and Palmon, 1982, Day, 1986, Wallace, 1988, Solas and Ibrahim, 1992, Abu-Nassar and Rutherford, 1996, Bartlett and Chandler, 1997).

In the same direction over the last years, the revolution in the information technology has paved the way to discover new tools which may assist in different aspects of life. One of the most popular development of the wide spread of information technology is the use of the internet. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that most companies begin to benefit from the wide spread of internet in conveying the useful information to their stakeholders. In addition, many companies will decide to disseminate their information on their websites as an alternative to the traditional hard copy annual reports. As financial accounting responsible for the preparation and distribution of financial information to stakeholders, it should be particularly interested in this shift.

Many studies had argued that the potential effect of using the internet in disclosing the information and the determinants of disseminate the information on the companies' websites (Ashbaugh et al., 1999, Bagshaw, 2000, Bonsón and Escobar, 2002, Debreceeny et al., 2002, Ettredge et al., 2001, Debreceeny and Rahman, 2005, Marston and Polei, 2004, Momany and Al-Shorman, 2006, Bollen et al., 2006, Khan et al., 2006, Pervan, 2006, Spanos, 2006, Sriram and Lakshmana, 2006, Trabelsi and Labelle, 2006, Abdelsalam and street, 2007).

Many changes would happen in the Egyptian Environment in the last few years. Among them; the moving toward an extensive economic reforms by adapting the privatisation policy of its public sector companies, issuing a package of laws and regulations required for more stability in the Egyptian economy such as Capital Market Law (CML) No.95 of 1992 which issued by the Capital Market Authority (CMA) and the beginning of applied the corporate governance rules in most listed corporations. These changes lead to consequent changes in the Egyptian Stock Market which witness a massive increase in the volume of traded shares.

As a result of these changes, the nature of the Egyptian users of accounting information and their needs will change. As they will looking forward to get more timely, accurate and adequate information to aid them in making rationale decisions.

Based on this point, there will be essential need to satisfy the required needs of the stakeholders in the Egyptian environment by providing the useful required information through the website of the companies. Few Egyptian

studies discussed the notion of online disclosure (Tawfik, 2001); (Mohamed, 2002); (Metwaly, 2003) and (EL-Dyasty, 2004).

This study will seek to fill the gap in this area. Many objectives will expected to achieve by conducting this study, this will discuss later. The remainder of the paper proceeds as follow: the next section will introduce the literature review in the field of online disclosure either in devolved or developing countries. Then, section 3 discusses the previous studies of online disclosure in the Egyptian environment. After that, section 4 mentions the objective of the study and section 5 mentions the question of the study. Then, section 6 introduces the research methodology and finally section 7 discusses the conclusions and limitations of the research.

Literature review:

The majority of the studies that discuss the dissemination of financial information on the companies' websites are emerged in the USA and European Union countries. On the other hand, few studies are related to the developing and Arab countries. These studies can be summarised in table 1.

Table 1: online disclosure studies

USA	Data collection date	Population	Corporate web sites (%)	Financial data on site (%)
Louwers et al., 1996	March 96	Top 150 Fortune500	65	37
Petravick and Gillett, 1996	May 96	Top 150 Fortune500	69	55
Gray and Debreceeny, 1997	Late 96	Top 50 Fortune500	98	69
Petravick, 1999	Jan 98 March 98	To 150 Fortune500	95	93
Prentice & et al., 1999	February to may 1998	490 listed companies	82	80
Ashbaugh et al., 1999	Nov. 96 to Janu.97	290 companies	87	70
FASB 2000	January 1999	Top 100 Fortune	99	94
UK				
Lymer, 1997	December 96	Top 50 companies	92	52
Lymer and Tallberg, 1997	December 96	top 50 companies on the UK Stock and 72	92 (for UK companies) 90 for (Finish companies)	52 (for UK companies) 82 for (Finish

		companies listed on the Helsinki Stock Exchange		companies)
Marston and Leow, 1998	November 96	FT-SE 100 companies	63	45
Hussey and Sowinska, 1999	June 97 – Jan.98	FT-SE 100 companies	91	63
Gowthorpe, 2004	May2000 October 2001	314 smaller listed companies	74 (may) 83 (Oct.)	81
European Union				
Gowthorp and Amat, 1999	July 98	379 companies, listed at the Madrid Stock Exchange.	19	56
Hedlin, 1999	September 98	60 listed Swedish companies	98	83
Blommaert and Merens, 1999	February until June 1999	44 Dutch listed companies	98	95
IASC, 1999	November 1999	660 companies in different countries in Europe, Asia, North and South America	86	59.5
Holm, 2000	June-August 99	231 listed companies in Denmark	78	56
Fisher et al., 2000	January 2000	220 listed companies in New Zealand	56	44
Bonsón et al., 2000	October 1999	50 listed companies in France, Germany, Nether. Spain, Italy Belgium, Finland	100	82
Smith and Pierce, 2005	March 2001	100 European companies listed in London	97	93

		SE		
Developing countries				
Stainbank, 2000	June 1999	Top 100 South African companies	43	33
Venter, 2002	January 2002	Top 100 South African companies	85	66
Barac, 2004	January and February 2003	Top 100 South African companies	87	75
Davey and homkajohn, 2004	September to November 2002	top 40 Thai listed companies	92.5	81
Pervan, 2005	October 2003- October 2004	38 listed companies in Croatia	100	53
Hamid, 2005	January 2004	100 Malaysian companies	74	95
Khadaroo, 2005	February 2003	100 Malaysian companies and 45 Singapore companies	87% Singapore's companies 75%. Malaysia ones	
Abdul-Hamid et al., 2006	December 2004	963 Malaysian companies and 631 Singapore companies	69% Singapore's companies 49% Malaysian companies	
Khan et al., 2006	July 2004 to June 2005	the top 60 Bangladeshi companies	40	50
Arabic Countries				
Ismail 2002	Oct. 2001 and Feb. 2002	128 listed companies in Bahraini , Saudi Arabia ,Qatari	39	47(Bahraini) 41(Saudi Arabia) 21.1(Qatari)
Al-Htaybat, 2005	September 2004	190 listed Jordanian companies	29	24
Momany and Al-Shorman,	October 2003 -	60 comp. listed on Amman S.E.	45	70

2006	September 2005			
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Previous studies in the Egyptian environment

Few studies investigated the online disclosure of the listed corporations in the Egyptian Stock market. Among these studies, (Tawfik, 2001) examine the 58 Egyptian banks and found that 32.8% of the sampled banks had website. Of these only 25.9% banks had financial information on their website. (Mohamed, 2002), compared between the most active 50 listed Egyptian companies , the most active 43 Saudi Arabian companies and the most active 12 Kuwaiti companies. The study showed that all the Kuwaiti companies had website while 81% of the Saudi companies had website. The Egyptian companies that had a website were 48%. The disclosure of the financial information on the companies' website was 50% for Kuwaiti companies, 14% for Saudi companies and 18% for Egyptian companies. (Metwaly,T, 2003) investigate 140 Egyptian companies . The study founded that the percentage of the companies which had a web site was 44.2% and 40% of these companies disclosed financial information. The highest disclosed financial information is balance sheet and income statements (100%). (El-Dyasty, 2004) also made a comparison between the top 100 listed companies in Egyptian stock market and the top 100 Fortune in USA. The study revealed that 100% of the USA companies had websites while the percentage was only 54.6% for the Egyptian companies. The disclosed financial information was 62.2% for USA companies and 39.6% for the Egyptian ones. The study also found nonfinancial information on the web sites of both group of companies. The USA was 47.5% while the Egyptian was 4%. From the above studies some points can be concluded:

- All the studies examined only the extent of the website of the Egyptian companies and the disclosure of the financial information without checking for any other information such as corporate governance information or social responsibility disclosure.
- All the studies did not classify the disclosed items into content, presentation and timeliness of information. The studies only check the availability of the items on the website.
- Although only one study (El-Dyasty, 2004) examines the listed companies in the Egyptian Stock market, it did not examine the entire companies but it chooses the top 100 listed companies.

The research objective

The primary objective of this study is to provide a snapshot of the current situation of the Egyptian listed companies about disclosing the information via the internet. This would achieved by investigating the entire listed Egyptian companies (432 companies) in the end of 2007. The study checks firstly

whether the listed company has website or not then checks the websites of the companies to determine the disclosed information.

Research Question

This study examines many issues: first, to what extent does the listed Egyptian corporations have website? Second, for these companies which have website, what is the percentage of disclosing financial information on their website? Third, to what extent does the listed Egyptian corporations commitment with disclosing corporate governance and social responsibility information on their website? Fourth, does the listed Egyptian corporations taking into their account the timeliness of disclosing their information on the website?

Research Method – Sample

This study examines the entire listed Egyptian corporations (432) on the Egyptian Stock Market in the end of 2007. An online search of the websites of these companies was conducted depending on some search engine such as Google and Copernic Agent. Also, some information was collected from Misr For Central Clearing, Depository And Registry company (www.mcsd.com.eg) and from the site of mubasher company (www.mubasher.info/CASE/market/marketwatch.aspx).

As the nature of the website which may vary from period to another, the author depend on offline browsing software (called offline explorer,V.6) when visiting the website of the companies to take a snapshot of these sites in the time of conducting the study.

Building the checklist

The study constructs a checklist to investigate the disclosure of the items on the website of the examiner companies. This checklist derived from previous studies (Abdelsalam and street, 2007); (Abdul-Hamid et al., 2006); (Allam and Lymer, 2003); (Bollen et al., 2006); (Davey and Homkajohn, 2004); (Ettredge et al., 2001); (FASB, 2000), (Geerlings et al., 2002); (Larrán and Giner, 2002); (Lybaert, 2002); (Marston and Polei, 2004); (Pirchegger and Wagenhofer, 1999); (Spanos, 2006); (Sriram and Laksmana, 2006) and (Xiao et al., 2004).

Consistent with the need to explore the extent of information on the companies' website, the checklist will be categorised into three groups with overall 127 items: the content items which represent what the companies disclose on their website contain 85 items, these items will be classifying into four groups ; first , the accounting and financial information. Second, the corporate governance information. Third, the social responsibility information. Finally, Contact details and other information.

The presentation items which show how the information is presented on the companies' websites contain 31 items and finally the timeliness items which deal with the real-time and updating information contain 11 items.

Results analysis and discussion - Level of internet usage by Egyptian companies

The results showed that about half of the listed Egyptian companies have website. Table 2 illustrates that 225 (52.08%) of 432 companies have website.

Table 2: Level of internet usage by listed Egyptian companies

Sample	No.	%
Website	225	52.08
No website	207	47.92
Total	432	100

Comparing with the previous Egyptian studies, this percentage is acceptable and shows that there is an increase in the number of companies which have website.

Type of information disclosed on the website

By examining the website of the 225 listed companies, many different types of information was found. This information was either financial, social, corporate governance, or timelines. Table 3 Summarise the number of the companies that disclosed each type of information.

Table 3: type of disclosed information on the website.

Item	No.	%
Financial	80	35.6
Corporate governance	205	91.1
Social	222	98.7
Timeliness	108	48

From the previous table, it can be concluded that the social disclosure information is the highest disclosed information on the website of the listed Egyptian companies and then come the corporate governance information which represent good indicator for the commitment of the listed Egyptian companies with the rules of disclosure that the principals of corporate governance required.

According to the timeliness information, the study reveals that 48% of the companies disclosed timely information which consider –to some extent- acceptable percentage because of the nature of the Egyptian stock market as

emerging market. In addition, the financial information on the website is relatively low comparing with the social and corporate governance information. This is an indication that the Egyptian companies do not recognise the importance of disseminate financial information on their website. This should be taking into account from the Egyptian Capital Market Authority in order to increase the efficiency of the market and introduce valuable information to the investors.

Analysis of financial information on the website

(O'Kelly, 2000) mention that companies intended to provide financial information section on their website to reduce the number of telephone requests for standard information such as annual reports. According to table 4, it can be noticed that the highest disclosed items were; balance sheet, income statement, cash flow statement, statement of changes in stockholders' equity, Financial highlights/summary and notes to the accounts.

Table4: the disclosed financial information on the website

Items	No. of companies disclosed	%
Balance sheet	65	28.9
Income statement	56	24.9
Cash flow statement	45	20
Statement of changes in stockholders' equity	40	17.8
Financial highlights/summary	40	17.8
Notes to the accounts	39	17.3
Performance analysis	34	15.1
Auditor report(with or without signature)	33	14.7
Financial Ratios	32	14.2
Complete annual report as on document	31	13.7
Capital Data	30	13.3
Segmental reporting by line of business	24	10.7
Summary of financial data over a period of at least 5 years	23	10.2
Management report	22	9.8
Annual reports of at least 3 years	21	9.3
Summary of key ratios over a period of at least 5 years	20	8.9
Off balance sheet financing information	20	8.9
Segmental reporting by region	19	8.4
Share price history	18	8
New technology	18	8
Earnings or sales forecast	18	8
Share price performance in relation to stock market index	15	6.7
Supplement or amendment to current year annual report	15	6.7
industry statistics	14	6.2

Past dividends	10	4.4
Acquisitions	6	2.7
Discussion on the benefit of holding corporate shares	6	2.7

From the above table, it was noticed that the disclosure of financial information on the website of the listed Egyptian companies need more concern from these companies as it is constitute a small percentage. In addition, it is useless to these companies to have website without disclosing valuable information on this website to aid the investors in making rational decisions. So, to compatible with the new requirements either from the Egyptian Capital Market or from the international bodies (concerning the transparency of the disclosed information), the Egyptian companies should direct their attention to disclosed more financial information on their website.

Analysis of corporate governance information

The disclosure about corporate governance information on the website becomes one of the most important listed regulations of the Egyptian companies. Many companies showed commitment with these regulations while the rest intend to do that in the very soon future. Table 5 illustrates the disclosure of corporate governance information by listed Egyptian companies

Table 5: The disclosed corporate governance information

Items	No. of companies disclosed	%
Company history	184	81.8
Strategies and objectives	123	54.7
Board of directors	91	40.4
Chairman's message	85	37.8
ownership structure	77	34.2
Organizational Structure	60	26.7
Management's planes to meet objectives and strategies	53	23.6
Information about directors dealing	39	17.3
Sideline activities of the members of the management board	27	12
CV of the members of the management or supervisory board	22	9.8
Code of Ethics	15	6.7
members of the audit information	14	6.2
Articles of Association	11	4.9
Assessments of analysts	7	3.1
Information about share option programs	7	3.1
Documentation of press and analysts' conferences	7	3.1
report of audit committee	6	2.7

Notice of meetings and agenda to annual shareholders' meeting	5	2.2
Compensation of the members of the management board	5	2.2
Remuneration of the members of the management board and directors	5	2.2
Analyst forecasts	4	1.8
Compensation of the members of the supervisory board	4	1.8
Speeches of the management board during the AGM	1	0.4
Voting results of AGM	0	0

As the concept of corporate governance is representing a new concept in the Egyptian environment, it is expected to disclose more in the future on the website of the Egyptian companies especially with the current requirements from the Egyptian Capital Market authority.

Analysis of social responsibility disclosure

Many companies begin to feel about their responsibilities according the community that they practice their activities in. Consequently, these companies were required to disclose the social information to their stakeholders to increase the confidence in the activities that these companies performed in the environment. Table 6 summarises the disclosure of social responsibility on the website of listed Egyptian companies.

Table 6: Social responsibility information on the website.

Items	No. of companies disclosed	%
Company profile	217	96.4
Discussing on product quality and safety	127	56.4
Customer profile	91	40.4
Vision statement	87	38.7
Commercial sponsoring	76	33.8
Non-commercial community involvement	75	33.3
Employee profile	57	25.3
Description of recruitment and selection processes	43	19.1
Employee/social/safety or health report	41	18.2
R&D investment (current & previous)	30	13.3
Environmental Report	24	10.7
Information about guarantees offered	24	10.7
Integral after-sales service	24	10.7
Human resources information	17	7.6
Sales licenses (current & previous)	17	7.6
Corporate responsibility report	14	6.2

Internal promotion plans	14	6.2
Information R&D projects underway	14	6.2
Investment in e-business	10	4.4
Employee training	9	4
Patents filed in this year; previous exercises	7	3.1
Information on intangibles	7	3.1

Other information related to the content of website

There is also some information disclosed on the companies' website and related to content. Table 7 shows other content information disclosed on the website of the companies.

Table 7: Other disclosed information

Items	No. of companies disclosed	%
English version of home page	206	91.6
Links to product and sales information	206	91.6
Table of contents	196	87.1
Advertisements for their own products or services	180	80
News summaries	95	42.2
Search box	50	22.2
Frequently asked questions	31	13.8
E-mail to investor relations	20	8.9
Hyperlinks to financial analysts	18	8
Phone number to investor relations	16	7.1
Postal address to investor relations	16	7.1
Name of investor relations officer	15	6.7

Timeliness disclosed information

Some have recommended that the internet will provide the information timely which mean that the business reporting will be real time reporting in addition to the monthly, quarterly and annual cycles (FASB, 2000). Moreover, (Lybaert, 2002) stated that information technology allow companies to report information in a timely manner and to provide it more frequently to all who are interested. Table 8 summarise the information that related to the timeliness of disclosure.

Table 8: Timeliness of disclosed information

Items	No. of companies disclosed	%
link to the regulatory news service	77	34.2
Current press releases or news	73	32.4
the most recent interim financial reports	41	18.2
Pages indicate the latest update	35	15.6
Market share of key products	34	15.1
Option to register for future e-mail alerts regarding press releases, newsletters, etc	32	14.2
the date of the last website update	29	12.9
Monthly or weekly sales or operating data	17	7.6
Current share price	14	6.2
Calendar for future financial events	14	6.2
Current dividends announcements	8	3.6

The format of disclosed information

Until recently, the main source of information for investors was printed annual financial statements (venter, 2004). The transition to online reporting enables the companies to benefit from the unique feature of internet such as using HTML or PDF in reading the financial statements and the ability to download these statements. Table 9 describe the format of presented information on the website of listed Egyptian companies.

Table 9: The type of format of disclosed information

Items	No. of companies disclosed	%
PDF format only	39	17.3
Html Format only	26	11.6
Both PDF & HTML	0	0
XBRL format	0	0

Analysis the design of the website

Many items are related to the quality of website. These items are related to how the types of information are presented on the companies' website. Table 10 illustrate the other item that relate to the presentation of the information on the website.

Table10: Items that related to the design of the website

Items	No. of companies disclosed	%
contact to the company	223	99.1
Loading time of the Web site b10 seconds	222	98.7
Click over menu	213	94.7
Next/previous buttons to navigate sequentially	212	94.2
Page divided into frames	193	85.8
Text only alternative available	166	73.8
Graphic images	136	60.4
Flashes	91	40.4
Pull-down menu	79	35.1
Feed Back	72	32
Site Map	58	25.8
Clear boundaries between the annual report (audited) and other information	54	24
Financial data in processable format	53	23.6
Internal search engine	44	19.6
Login to the site	44	19.6
Sound files	41	18.2
Hyperlinks inside the annual report	29	12.9
Number of clicks to get to investor relations information	29	12.9
Video files	23	10.2
legal statement	22	9.8
privacy statement	20	8.9
Use of presentation slides	15	6.7
Change in printing friendly format possible	13	5.8
Function to recommend the page	11	4.9
Help site	7	3.1
Service to change data in the Share register online	6	2.7
web casting events	3	1.3
Cookies	2	.9

Conclusion, Limitation and future research

Over the last years, there has been growing research on using the internet as a means to disseminate financial information. Most of these studies are descriptive and mainly concern with the state of art of online disclosure. This study also represents descriptive study that examines the extent to which the internet is used for financial information in Egypt.

The study extend the scope of the previous Egyptian studies by examine the entire listed Egyptian companies, investigate the disclosure of corporate governance information in detail, examine the social disclosure information on the website and check the timeliness of the disclosed information.

The results of the study revealed that about half of the listed Egyptian companies (52.08%) have web sites and about (35.6%) of these companies disclosed financial information, (98.7%) of the companies disclosed social information, (91.1%) disclosed corporate governance information and (48%) of the companies disclosed timely information.

These results demonstrate that the listed Egyptian companies should direct their attention towards disclose more financial information on their website as the percentage is represent very low according to the requirements of Egyptian Capital Market Authority. The disclosure of social and corporate governance information is representing satisfactory and accompany with the current requirements. The timeliness of the disclosed information need some interest from the listed companies as this item is very crucial for the investors who want timely information to aid them in making rational decisions.

The limitation of this paper is that did not investigate the determinants of the online disclosure. Many variables may affect the using of website in disseminating the information. Therefore, further research can be undertaken to investigate the main factors that determine the online disclosure on the listed Egyptian companies' website. Another direction may be conducted in the future concerning the period of collecting the data. This study concentrates on a snap shot to the Egyptian website in December 2007. This can be extended to make a comparison between two points of time instead of only one snap shot which will flourish the research.

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TOWARDS CORPORATE GOVERNANCE EXCELLENCE IN THE EGYPTIAN BANKING SECTOR

M. Karim Sorour

Abstract

Avoidance of Corporate governance related scandals coupled with the desire to improve the investment climate have led to an increased focus on and appreciation of good corporate governance in Egypt. A recent global investor survey confirms that investors are willing to pay a premium for well governed companies and that this premium reaches 39 percent in the case of Egypt. For these reasons as well as the special nature of banks and the vital role of banks to the Egyptian economy, reform of the corporate governance of Egyptian banks has emerged as an issue of urgent concern. Initially, this emergence was as part of a broader reform of a troubled banking sector, but there is now an added emphasis owing to both that general focus on corporate governance reform noted above and, more specifically, the assigning of a pivotal role to banks in promoting good corporate governance throughout the whole economy.

This paper discusses the special nature of the corporate governance of banks, describes the background to corporate governance in Egypt and to the Egyptian banking sector (EBS) in particular. It also discusses the current corporate governance practices in the EBS and compares them to the international benchmark standards for Top 100 World Banks. This reveals a 'governance deficit' in the Egyptian banking sector and the paper concludes by highlighting ways of reducing it.

Introduction

Although the phrase 'corporate governance' is now widely used in business it was scarcely used until the mid 1980s, when it emerged as the title for a research paper, report and a book title (Tricker, 2000: XVIII). Broadly speaking, corporate governance refers to the powers and responsibilities of different interest groups in the company, in terms of how these powers and responsibilities are exercised and shared (Solomon & Solomon, 2004:12). The corporate scandals that occurred during the period 1990 to 2003 contributed enormously to corporate governance gaining momentum as a major concern for business as well as a top priority for reformers with, for instance, the British Maxwell corporation scandal of 1991, the British Barings bank collapse of 1995, the American Enron and WorldCom scandals of 2001 and 2002 respectively, and the European Enron 'Parmalat' scandal of 2003 all being

blamed on weak corporate governance structures and practices (Jones, 2005:7-8; Solomon,2007).

A wide-spread acceptance of this as the reason means that reform efforts aiming to avoid the occurrence of such scandals will improve a country's investment climate and make it more attractive to direct foreign investment (Levitt,1999).The importance of good corporate governance in increasing investors' confidence in a country is undeniable. The Global Investor Opinion Survey of 2002 conducted by Mckinsey & Co. confirms this. Its findings indicate that investors are willing to pay a premium for companies that exhibit high corporate governance standards. This premium averaged 12-14 % in North America and Western Europe, 20-25% in Asia and Latin America and over 30% in Eastern Europe and Africa, reaching 39% in the case of Egypt (Mckinsey & Co., 2002:6).Avoiding corporate scandals and thereby boosting investor confidence is not, the only reason for corporate governance reform; another is enhancement of a company's performance.

Banking industry is quite important to the national economy of a country as well as to the international economy; one of the main factors that contribute to the success of banking systems is corporate governance (Trayler, 2007:184). The Asian financial crisis 1997 being blamed to weak corporate governance of banking systems is one good example that illustrates importance corporate governance plays in banking systems (Nam & Lum, 2006:5).

Banks corporate governance has emerged as an issue in Egypt due to two reasons, firstly that some of the serious problems that the EBS faced in the last decade were corporate governance related. Secondly, the voluntary Egyptian corporate governance code 2005 has nominated the EBS as a principle vehicle to promote compliance with the code principles, by considering the level of client's compliance with corporate governance principles as criteria that affects the loan approval decision (Egypt Code of Corporate Governance, 2005). Accordingly, it is essential to evaluate the current corporate governance practices in the EBS and assess how far these practices comply with the international benchmark of banks corporate governance.

Corporate Governance of Banks

Research into corporate governance has vastly increased during the last two decades. Initially, most of it addressed corporate governance in the US and UK along with some attention to other developed countries such as Japan and Germany (Sheleifer and Vishny, 1997). Recently though, an amount of research has emerged focusing on a wider range of countries both developed and developing. Solomon and Solomon (2004) present a list of corporate governance research in 24 countries other than the US and UK. That list does not include Egypt however. In fact, corporate governance research in Egypt is still in its infancy stage as compared to other countries, with Egypt only committing itself to corporate governance reform since 2001

Another gap in the research is that “very little attention has been paid to the corporate governance of banks” (Sheleifer and Vishny, 1997). This tends to be strange taking into consideration the significant attention that has been dedicated to the role of banks in the corporate governance of other firms (Macey and O’Hara, 2003). Ferri (2003:13) notes that it is widely accepted that banks are capable of screening applicants and borrowers as well as monitoring them and this enables them to set a level of corporate governance standards that applicants must comply with.

This lack of attention to the corporate governance of banks is particularly worrying given that there are special features of banks that will arguably increase their need for good corporate governance as compared to other types of firms. These special features include an opaque nature of banks that greatly increases the agency problem as well as information asymmetries between insiders and outsiders. Although information asymmetries can be found in any sector of the economy, evidence shows it is greater within the banking sector (Furfine, 2001). The hiding of a bank’s loan structure for long periods, and ability to change the risk composition of its asset quickly are examples of matters that make it difficult to obtain information about a bank ongoing operations. This lack of information handicaps traditional corporate governance mechanisms and gives bank insiders in the shape of executives an advantage over outsiders in the shape of diffuse shareholders, creditors and depositors (Levine, 2003:3). Deposit insurance is another problem this encourages a minimal level of monitoring by insured depositors who do not have the incentive to monitor banks as long as their deposits are backed by insurance, thereby minimising their role in corporate governance of banks and giving bank executives the opportunity to increase their risk taking (Levine, 2003 ; Arun and Turner, 2004).

Another special feature of banks is that regulation restricts the type and number of bank acquirers, as well as making it more expensive and time consuming to mount a hostile takeover. Consequently, a takeover is less likely to occur leaving bank executives less disciplined by takeover threat than executives of non- financial firms (Prowse, 1995:26).

Bank Corporate Governance in Developing Countries

Arun and Turner (2004:371) and Das and Ghosh (2004:1263) point out that although an effective system of corporate governance for banks is extremely important in any country, its importance is higher in developing countries for several reasons. These reasons include the dominant positions of banks in a developing financial system, the role of banks in the economic growth of developing countries and the dominant role of banks in financing business firms given the usually underdeveloped financial markets of developing countries. They add that the recent liberalization of banking sector in developing countries through ‘privatization and disinvestment’ along with the reduction of economic regulation has given bank executives more freedom in

determining management practices and in setting priorities for the serving of interests. Furthermore, analysis of a number of banking collapses in developing economies shows a high correlation between collapses and weak corporate governance in these banking systems. This increases the importance of good corporate governance practices in banks of developing countries (Gandy et. al., 2006:4).

Many developing countries have started corporate governance reform in their banking sectors such as Pakistan, India and Indonesia. This includes, firstly, increase the effectiveness and independence of the regulator (central bank). Secondly, restructure the legal and regulatory framework governing the operations of banks to be in accordance with the recommendations of international organisations such as Basel committee and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Finally, issue guidelines for good corporate governance in banks based on the recommendations of the abovementioned organisations but adjusted to the domestic economic and regulatory situation of each country (Khalid & Hanif, 2005:23).

Banks Corporate Governance in Egypt

It follows that as a developing country; good corporate governance is particularly important for Egyptian banks. However, there are reasons peculiar to the Egyptian case that increase its importance as compared to other developing countries. These reasons include the following:

- Egypt has initiated an economic reform programme designed to improve the country's economic situation that includes building an attractive investment climate based on strong corporate governance structure as one of its main aspects. The aim is to offer investors protection from financial losses resulting from corporate governance related failures by reforms to Egyptian Corporate governance. That reform has passed through many stages, culminating in the issuing of Egypt's first corporate governance code in 2005. This is a voluntary code applicable to many types of corporations including banks. But it adds another dimension to the importance of banks to corporate governance reform in Egypt as the code give banks a major role in ensuring adherence to the code by making compliance with it a precondition for credit extension (Egypt Code of Corporate Governance, 2005:4).
- The assigning of this role to Egyptian banks means that they have to be a model of high quality corporate governance themselves, in order to insist on high standards from others.
- The corporate governance of the Egyptian banks has not only emerged as an important aspect of the general economic reform programme mentioned above. It is central to another and more particular reform programme focused upon the Egyptian banking sector itself. Those reforms were initiated to deal with the problem of non-performing loans (NPL) that reached its peak in late 1990s. Corporate governance is

central to this process because of the assumption that behind the NPL problem was weak governance standards leading to improper credit and investment decisions (Oldham and Bennadi, 2005:5), whereby “loans were given based on intentionally overvalued assets to fit the collateral base of each bank and disregarding future cash flows of the borrowers” (Kalhoefer and Salem, 2008:5). Notably, the NPL problem had negative impact on the interests of shareholders, depositors and creditors as they jointly suffered from loan defaults. This assumption was also reflected in the passing of the Banking Unified Law 88 of 2003 that addressed a range of modernization issues, including the need to enhance and monitor corporate governance in banks as well as other issues such as the objectives and functions of the Central bank of Egypt (CBE), Management of the CBE, the financial system of the CBE and Management of public sector banks.

Corporate Governance of the EBS: The current status

This section evaluates the current status of the corporate governance quality in the EBS. Firstly, it presents the main results of the Egyptian banking Institute (EBI) survey 2006, that evaluated the corporate governance in the EBS and how far it complies with the widely accepted framework of good corporate governance principles in banking industry as set by Basel Committee recommendations to enhance corporate governance in banking organisations (2005), and principles of corporate governance issued by the OECD (2004). This highlights the corporate governance areas that needs further improvement. Secondly, it compares corporate governance quality indicators of the EBS extracted from both the EBI survey 2006 and the annual reports of these banks to the Top 100 world banks (TWB) benchmark. This confirms certain corporate governance areas that needs further enhancement, in order to the corporate governance practices in the EBS to reach the international standard.

The EBI survey Results

A key of objective of the EBI survey was to assess how far the EBS applies the international good corporate governance practices, as set by Basel Committee recommendations on enhancing corporate governance in banking organizations (2006), the OECD principles of corporate governance (2004) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) (EBI, 2006).

This questionnaire based survey examined various aspects of corporate governance in the EBS namely: General framework of good corporate governance, Rights of shareholders, equitable treatment of all shareholders, the role of stakeholders in corporate governance, transparency, board of directors and external monitoring.

The general framework for good corporate governance revealed that although there is a good level of understanding of the 'key' principles of good corporate governance, there is a need to officially document and publish the level of compliance with the governance structures at the bank level. This requires a set of principles / guidelines of good corporate governance in EBS to be available, against which Egyptian banks report periodically their level of compliance.

Shareholders of the Egyptian banks enjoy to a considerable extent their rights, this includes rights to securely register their ownership, transfer shares, obtain relevant information on timely basis, participate and vote in annual general meetings, including election and dismissal of board of directors' members as well as share in the annual profits. Additionally, the majority of the surveyed banks do not offer differential rights to a certain shareholders class. Finally, shareholders have to a great extent the rights to appoint auditors, approve dividends and bank charter amendments without restrictions, wind-up, liquidate the bank. The majority of surveyed banks show that shareholders are treated in an equitable manner, in terms of equitable rights to vote, access information about voting rights prior to purchasing shares. However, fewer banks allow shareholders to obtain redress for violations of their rights. Similarly, few banks keep a record of related party transactions which require shareholders' approval.

The survey also revealed that the current banking regulations protect different stakeholder groups, with the highest protection devoted to clients, employees and creditors, while communities and competitors rights are observed but to lesser extent.

Although the surveyed banks show a high level of disclosure of material information and financial transparency, supported by independent external auditor's work and strong internal audit function, the Survey revealed that few banks have formal training programmes that aim enhancing its employee's knowledge about corporate governance, compliance and internal control processes. More effort is required to enhance disclosure practices pertaining to remuneration of senior key executives.

Half of the surveyed banks indicated that their credit risk assessment systems do not include the evaluation of the client's corporate governance practices. This point is not only important to the soundness of credit extension process but also to improve corporate governance practices in the client's companies.

The majority of the surveyed banks indicated that their board of directors includes independent members; fewer banks however, indicated that they have a determined number of seats for independent directors. None of the surveyed banks have a board comprised of a majority of independent directors. This is another area that needs further enhancement in accordance with Basel committee and OECD good corporate governance principles. However, still the

majority of banks separate between the chairmanship and the chief executive position.

Moreover, the majority of surveyed banks have an audit committee. This is considered to be normal as the formation of an audit committee in EBS is required by law. Likewise, the majority have a credit committee; while, only half of the respondents have nomination and remuneration committees, with a minority having corporate governance committee. Finally, board self evaluation is another area that needs further enhancement, especially that most of the surveyed boards do not conduct reviews of their effectiveness.

The quality of EBS corporate governance in comparison with TWB

In its definition of bank corporate governance, Basel committee states that:

“Corporate governance involves the manner in which the business and affairs of individual institutions are governed by their boards of directors and senior management” (BIS, 2005:4).

Obviously, this definition demonstrates that the role of the board of directors is fundamental to good corporate governance in banks. Accordingly, this section compares the corporate governance quality indicators of the EBS and the TWB pertaining to bank's board of director's characteristics as well as board committee's structures. The former includes the number of board members, the percentage of internal directors, and degree of chairperson independence. The latter includes the percentage of banks with Audit, compensation, and risk committees. In addition to the degree of independence of the audit and compensation committees. Finally, the existence of corporate governance and risk statement are other governance quality indicators that were taken into consideration.

The international benchmark of corporate governance quality indicators of the TWB was obtained from Trayler (2007) survey of corporate governance. While, the EBS corresponding indicators were obtained from the EBI survey on corporate governance namely: percentage of independent chairman, percentage of banks with audit, compensation and risk committee and the degrees of independence of audit committee. While, the number of board members, the percentage of Egyptian banks with risk and governance statements were obtained from the annual reports of these banks. Indicators such as number of internal directors, number of board meetings and the degree of independence of the compensation committee in EBS were not reported by all banks of the EBS, making the analysis of the available information meaning-less.

The comparison revealed that the average bank board in Egypt has 8.5 directors compared to 14.6 directors in the TWB. Despite, that many studies indicates the importance of board size for good corporate governance (Trayler:

2007, 192). The composition of the board from a majority of independent directors is of higher importance, especially in countries such as Egypt, where independent directors can play, to name but few, a critical role in “countering political interference, effectively monitoring management and thereby prevent abuse and related party transactions” (MENA-OECD, 2006). Although, few banks of the EBS report the number of independent directors leading to the impossibility of calculation of average number of independent directors. EBI (2006) indicates that the majority of boards in the EBS are not comprised of independent directors. Egyptian banks show a high tendency to separate the chairmanship and CEO positions, as 71 percent of EBS have these positions separated, compared to an average of 38 percent in the TWB. Moreover, 55 percent of the EBS reported on their corporate governance practices compared to 100 percent of TWB. This assures that corporate governance reporting and disclosure practices need further enhancement to be in line with the international benchmark in this respect. 68 percent of the EBS has risk committees compared to an international benchmark of 77 percent in TWB, with the majority do not report on their board’s policy in risk setting, as 40 percent only of EBS have a statement on risk compared to 72 percent of TWB. The study revealed that 96 percent of the EBS has audit committees compared to 94 percent in the TWB. Moreover, 100 percent of these committees are comprised totally of independent directors compared to 67 percent in the TWB. The EBS shows high percentages in this respect, as the Unified Banking Law requires banks to form audit committees that are totally comprised of independent directors. Finally, 89 percent of TWB have compensation committees compared to only 54 percent of Egyptian banks that have such committee. This percentage needs further enhancement due to the important role played by compensation committees in reviewing compensation against competitors and best practices, which helps in retaining high quality directors and executives (Sherwin, 2003:24).

Table (1) summarises the current status of corporate governance in EBS in comparison to the TWB as a benchmark.

Table 1. Comparison of corporate governance indicators of the EBS and the TWB

	Corporate Governance Indicator	Top 100 Banks	Egypt
1	Number of banks	100	25
2	Number of directors	14.6	8.5
3	Number of internal directors	3.7	N/A
4	Number of Board meetings	10.2	N/A
5	Independent Chairman	38	71%
6	Statement on Corporate governance	100	58%
7	Statement on Risk	72	40%
8	Audit Committee	94	96%
9	Audit Committee all independent directors	67	100%
10	Compensation Committee	89	54%
11	Compensation Committee all independent directors	58	N/A
12	Board Risk Committee	77	68%

Source: Compiled by the Researcher based on Trayler (2006:193), EBI (2006: 1-49) and Annual Reports of EBS 2006 (N/A: Not Available)

Conclusion

This paper highlighted the importance of corporate governance in the EBS. This firstly, includes protection of the interests of shareholders and other stakeholders such as depositors and creditors. Secondly, promote good corporate governance practices and thereby enhance the investment climate in Egypt. Finally, enhance the performance of EBS through better investment and credit decision making.

The Paper presented the main features of EBS corporate governance and highlights areas that need further enhancement to be in line with international best practices. Moreover, the paper compared corporate governance quality indicators of the EBS to the international benchmark of the TWB in terms of board of director's characteristics and structure.

This led to determine the corporate governance deficit in the EBS that namely includes: few banks have corporate governance statements; and few as well disclose their compliance with corporate governance policies; exclusion of the evaluation of clients' corporate governance by banks credit risk assessment systems; Boards of directors that do not comprise in majority of independent directors; insignificant use of nomination; remuneration, corporate governance and risk committees; need for more disclosure on key executives' remuneration and finally insufficient training of banks employees on corporate governance, compliance and internal control processes.

As the subject of corporate governance is relatively new to the Egyptian business environment much effort is expected from the banking sector to promote the corporate governance culture amongst its clients. To carry out this role the EBS should be a good model of corporate governance itself.

Moreover, corporate governance should be incorporated to credit evaluation processes as to give the client an indication of the importance of corporate governance to the loan approval process and thereby promote compliance to good corporate governance practices in the Egyptian business environment. However, effective performance of these roles requires reducing the current corporate governance deficit identified in the EBS. This can be initiated by learning from other developing countries experiences in improving their banking sectors corporate governance such as India, Pakistan and Indonesia. Here attention should primarily be given to issuing a set of guidelines for good corporate governance in the Egyptian banking sector based on the international standards but adjusted to the characteristics of the Egyptian banking industry as necessary. This step will make the corporate governance issue gain momentum and is expected to improve corporate governance among various banks of the EBS. However, more research will be necessary to determine the corporate governance principles included and whether compliance with these principles should be voluntary or mandatory.

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KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER IMPROVEMENT AND CAPABILITY THROUGH NETWORKS: A CASE OF TURKISH SMEs

Dababrata N Chowdhury

Abstract

This research paper proposes a Knowledge Transfer and Networking approach to the development of SMEs in Turkey. The modern world is frequently referred to as a world of knowledge. The study examines the knowledge transfer process of SMEs business networks in the Turkish Textile Industry. The problem firm's face is how to manage knowledge to gain efficiency and competitive advantage forced modern companies to think about Knowledge Transfer and its applications. However, many Turkish SMEs seem to be unaware of the importance of managing this process. This research reviews and develops a First Aid model for SMEs in Turkey in order to implement or better the existing knowledge transfer procedures. This also helps one understand the level Improvement and Capability of the process of knowledge transfer is entertained in SMEs.

Introduction:

Knowledge Transfer (KT) has attracted particular the attention in the business world. To understand how the KT and Networking operates in Turkish small enterprises, will give insight into the competitiveness of SMEs .Knowledge transfer networking has been defined by Seufert, Von Krogh, and Bach (1999), as "signifying a number of people, resources and relationships among them, who are assembled in order to accumulate and use knowledge primarily by means of knowledge creation and transfer processes, for the purpose of creating value." In order to survive and grow, there are many methods that firms can use. Firstly, networking can be an end in itself according to Gilmore et al (2001) and has proven a successful tool for smaller firms. In order for firms to appreciate the importance of networking and to consciously and successfully implement the networking concept through planning, they need to overcome the regular problem of lack of networks expertise. The difference between the success and failure of small firms can be the availability of and access to the relevant information and support services that have become increasingly common (Summon 1997). The business support infrastructure such as IT, government support and support by private organisation that we see today are of great value to struggling SMEs (Sparrow 1999) and the benefits of this form of knowledge transfer are perhaps not emphasised enough. In numerous cases, however, outside help is often sought too late – that is at the stage when firms are almost beyond help. Knowledge transfer is,

therefore, a critical factor in improving the growth prospects of many smaller businesses via networks. In the following sections, the relevant literature is reviewed to identify the gaps with respect to knowledge transfer and network in Turkish SMEs.

Literature Review – Knowledge

One of the most used and consistent definitions for “Knowledge” is proposed by Davenport and Prusak: “Knowledge is a flux mix of framed experiences, values, contextual information, and expert insights that provides a framework for evaluating and incorporating new experiences and information. It originates and is applied in the minds of knower’s. In organizations, it often becomes embedded not only in documents or repositories but also in organizational routines, processes, practices, and norms” (Davenport & Prusak, 1998). From this definition the authors identify six knowledge components: experience, truth, complexity, judgement, rules of thumb and intuition, values and beliefs. Bell definition of knowledge is “knowledge is the judgment of the significance of events and items, which comes from a particular context and/or theory” (Bell, Tsoukas & Vladimirou, 2001). The differential element of this definition is the dependence of knowledge from a particular context or theory, which implies that knowledge cannot be systematically generalized. From a critical perspective, Tsoukas and Vladimirou redesign Bell’s theory to include the dimensions of personal versus collective knowledge: “Knowledge is the individual ability *to draw* distinctions within a collective domain of action based on an application of context and theory, or both (Tsoukas & Vladimirou, 2001). Knowledge Principles as explained by Davenport and Prusak are stated below:

- Knowledge originates and resides in people’s minds.
- Knowledge sharing requires trust.
- Technology enables new knowledge behaviours.
- Knowledge sharing must be encouraged and rewarded.
- Management support and resources are essential.
- Knowledge initiatives should begin with a pilot program.

Davenport and Prusak’s definition of knowledge is considered appropriate to use in this research. Additionally, Bell’s clarification about the dependence of knowledge on a determinate context or theory is also considered relevant. This is because trust, business developments and IT plays an important role in knowledge transfer in between SMEs.

Knowledge Transfer

Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) describe knowledge creation as a spiralling process that starts with the individual and then moves across the organisation in a never-ending process of knowledge transfer (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995).

This highlights the value that needs to be placed on understanding knowledge transfer in SMEs.

Understanding Knowledge Transfer

Alavi (2000) highlights the importance of knowledge transfer by suggesting that for superior performance of a social entity, knowledge generation and its successful transfer needs to take place. Cross, Parker, Prusak, and Borgatti (2004, p. 62) also posit the value of knowledge sharing in today's economy, "where collaboration and innovation are increasingly central to organizational effectiveness." The transfer of knowledge occurs when knowledge is diffused from one resource to another by storing or sharing it (Bajracharya & Masdeu, 2006). Knowledge is either transferred purposefully or it may occur as an outcome of other activity. Knowledge transfer can be defined as a "Knowledge systematic approach that obtains, organise, restructures, warehouse or memorise, deployment and distribute knowledge to points of action where it will be used for sharing and adopting best practices" (Wiig, 1997). The transfer of knowledge depends on time, scope, complexity, and strategic importance because it determines the effort and resources of the organization. The organization needs to consider pedagogical skills, teaching and learning capabilities, and social networks for successful implementation (Pradhan & Rainer, 2004).

Transfer of knowledge includes two actions: one is transmission which means sending knowledge to potential receiver and another is absorption meaning that knowledge must be incorporated either by a person or a group. As such, Davenport and Prusak have expressed this concept as "*Transfer = Transmission + Absorption*" (Davenport & Prusak, 1998). The availability of knowledge is not sufficient; it should also ensure the usability of available knowledge. "*Knowledge that isn't absorbed hasn't really been transferred*" (ibid). Davenport and Prusak further argues that transmission and absorption has no meaning if new knowledge does not lead to some change in behaviour. While talking about transfer of knowledge, many economists often mention that the individual is not only eager to learn new things from other resources but also willing to share the knowledge that they acquire. Bajracharya and Masdeu argue that considering this notion, it appears that transferring knowledge is rather very smooth process. Nevertheless, there are other factors that make it complex. The organization may be threaten by the significant problems like unwilling to share, difficult to articulate, time factor, and so forth for which organization should build strategies to capture the knowledge and transfer them to appropriate resources.

Therefore, while knowledge transfer between firms includes the flow of knowledge between SMEs and the ability to understand and to utilise this knowledge, it also includes the reality that the evidence of knowledge transfer may not always be easy to observe because tacit knowledge is not as

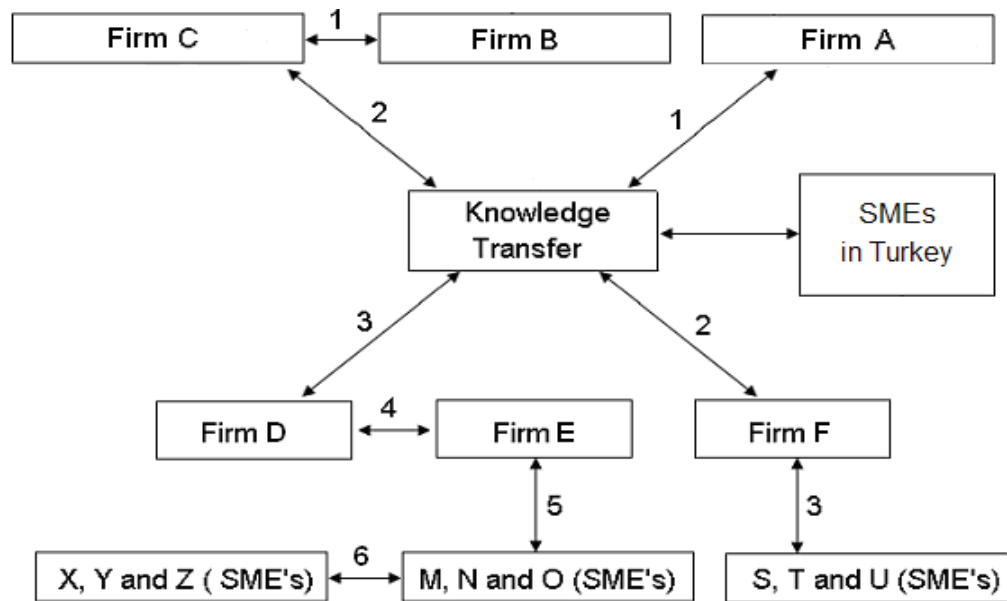
tangible; therefore when considering knowledge transfer we need to consider the character of knowledge.

SME Networks

SME networks have been classified as 'personal', 'support' and 'industrial' with emphasis being given to the sets of dyadic relationships that comprise the network (Shaw & Conway, 2000: 367). Personal networks often revolve around an owner's social circle of friends and acquaintances. Support networks comprise accountants, banks, local agencies and other providers of business assistance. Industrial networks are the exchange relationships involving customers and suppliers forming part of SMEs value adding processes. These three types of networks are central to the existence of many SMEs (Martin, 2000). In practice an SME's personal, support and, even sometimes, industrial networks may overlap significantly. Interest in personal networks has been stimulated by attempts to understand how involvement in these networks can help create, develop and grow small firms (Shaw & Conway 2000: 370). Personal contact networks, it has been found, help generate social support for the owner, extend strategic competencies in terms of identifying opportunities and threats, and can supplement internal resources to resolve major operational problems. Owners can save significant time and money by accessing information, advice and resources through their personal networks. Social networks help build relationships that can give the small firm access to new markets, technology, finance and political protection (Doukas & Kalantaridis, 2000). Relationships are governed by norms of personal social behaviour which serve as the rules and guidelines within the network. Relationships are based on trust which, in this context, means that the other person would reciprocate a favour if needed (Martin, 2000). The concept of knowledge transfer network is explained in the following section with the help of a simple block diagram.

Knowledge Transfer Networks in SMEs

The diagram below describes the process involved in knowledge transfer as applied between various firms of a Textile industry in Turkey. This helps an easier way of communication between SMEs with the help of IT (Knowledge transfer process).



*Bi-directional arrow indication communication that rely on Networks
Diagram 1: Knowledge Transfer Networks Flowchart*

As shown in the above diagram, the knowledge transfer networks in textile industries in Turkey depends on the availability of modern technology particularly IT (information technology). The bi-directional arrow indicates the communications process that depends on the IT. I make two main points from the above diagram. Knowledge transfer could be achieved by two different routes depending on the resources available. The first is the direct route that follows path 1, 2 and 3. It shows that any knowledge that is arriving from different SMEs where this knowledge could be utilized for final production or it might be sent back with improvements amended to it. SME's S, T and U have modern technologies, good network and enough resources to communicate with Firm F. The second is the Long Path route (that follows route 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6) where knowledge collected to/from various entities lack modern technology and network that makes communication and knowledge transfer delayed and difficult. The knowledge transfer networks is bi-directional that depends on innovation and the demand for the product in the business/market. Ideas can be exchanged via networks from different SMEs in Turkey.

First Aid Model

The Network First-Aid model is a new concept this research would like to propose. The below diagram shows that any department within the organization should start by listening to each other, understand, trust and collaborate with each other in the network.

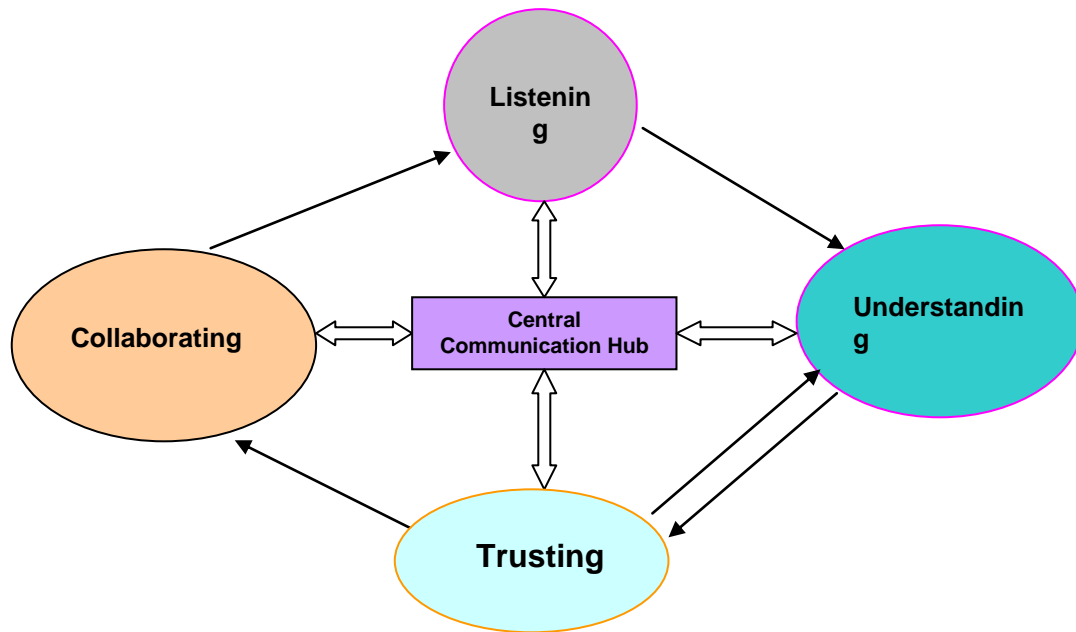


Diagram 2: Network First Aid Model for SMEs.

In any form of knowledge transfer business network, listening, trusting and collaborating are the main elements to connect each other to businesses that are geographically separated. The Listening section of the above diagram shows that any conversation in the network is gathered and passed on to the understanding section. Understanding the gathered knowledge is trusted and then collaborated with the entire organisation to share the knowledge. Network First Aid forms a central communication hub which helps the entire knowledge transfer process within the organization. Central communication hub could be a set of expertise, group of IT experts or a computer that receives and forwards the information to other sections. It is a reserved knowledge that constitutes experienced knowledge transfer professionals and could be contacted for any sort of procedural help that may be required by other sections. The Central communication hub may be able to develop SME training presentations, design and develop various awareness materials, maintenance of existence database systems and develop a web strategy for collecting and storing information related to knowledge transfer procedures. Knowledge transfer becomes incomplete if the information being shared is not trusted and the entire process is complete only when the information is trusted once it is clearly understood. In practice, for example, when two firms are aimed a particular task and only one firm end up with its product then there is a loss in the final product. So, both firms needs appropriate communication and this is where Network First Aid box plays its important role. Similarly, collaboration, trust and understanding elements will contact the Network First Aid with the help of IT for any sort of help that they might need to ensure that the final product is completed in a stipulated amount of time.

A knowledge transfer network's strength in any particular area or service depends on how actively its partners exchange information with each other and reciprocate. Scott (2000) argues that the method is best suited for network analysis, where some players act as key information distributors within a network and others act as bridges between networks. For example, if an organization receives advice from a network partner, the organization should be prepared to help them in the future. Partners who are willing to pass on skills to each other will establish the network as a centre of excellence or expertise and facilitate future collaborations. A well established network will thrive if its participants play an active role in keeping the network topical and relevant (Dwyer, 2000). Therefore the first aid model may be play as bridges between networks in SMEs.

Method of Research

The entire process of collecting and processing the data is schematically represented as shown in diagram 3.

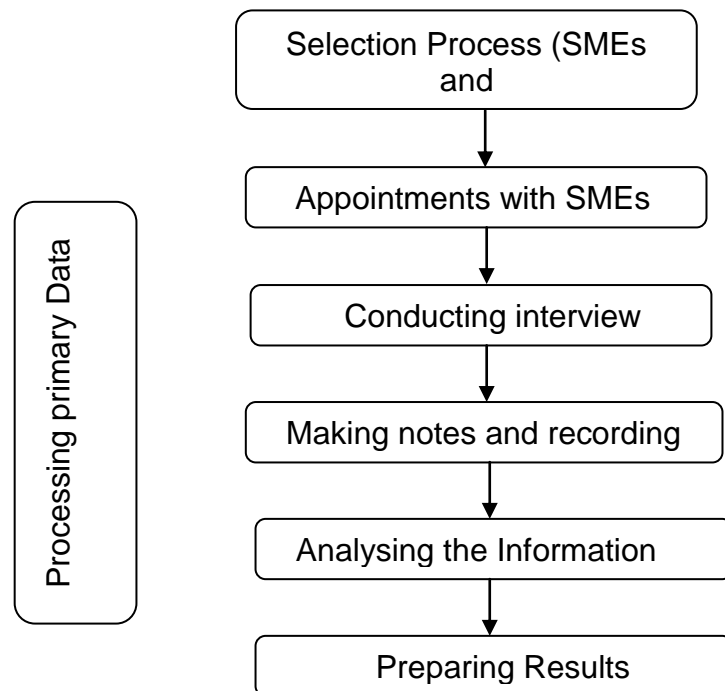


Diagram 3: Interview Process

Primary data is believed to be used to explore a specific research objective, which will be gathered using interview techniques. According to the nature of the topic, I decided to use semi-structured interviews which facilitated a better understanding of the relationship between variables in an exploratory and explanatory study and allowed us to discover interesting and unanticipated phenomena related to the research topic (Saunders et al., 2000) Interviews have been used to gather data on Knowledge Transfer practices within the

Turkish Textile SMEs under research. An interview is a survey method designed to collect extensive information from each respondent. It is an ordinary conversation, with one individual at a time that has been extended and formalized in order to collect data. Keeping in mind the purpose, the research method was to interview the managers, owners/founders and CEO in order gather as much information as possible. Moreover, the interviews are expected to provide information that reflects the opinion of both their customers and employees in SMEs. The process of interviewing implies not only asking questions but also a systematic recording and documenting of responses. All the interview questions were originally written in English and then translated into Turkish language. An appropriately designed semi-structured questionnaire was more likely to encourage the interviewees to express their points of view accurately. After finishing each interview, the taped interviews were uploaded in the computer and also stored in CDs for the safety of the collected data. 18 interviewers had a copy of the recorded interview to clarify any confusion by referring to the record whenever needed. The entire interviews of respondents were noted down. The draft of each interview was made in order to select the information that is interest of this paper. Finally, the corrected version of primary data of each interview was processed and framed in the paper. The interviews were conducted in Company's offices. Most interviews lasted between 30 to 60 minutes.

Table 1. Summary of the responses to Key Issues

Question asked	Number of respondents			
What are the advantages of doing business in Turkey?	Easy to communicate : 7	Turkey's Geography: 10	No Answer: 1	
What type of information/resources do you share with other SMEs	IT and Management: 8	Management Skills: 5	Marketing Strategies: 2	No Answer : 3
What are the most important obstacles in Knowledge Transfer (Idea Sharing) to SMEs in Turkey?	Trust: 15	IT support: 2	Lack of KT Awareness: 1	
Why do you think Knowledge Transfer (Sharing Ideas) in SMEs is important?	Share ideas: 10	Improve business ideas: 5	Get closer to other SMEs: 3	
What kind of IT resource you use for KT?	Internet: 14	Existing Knowledge: 2	Company Database: 2	
Why do you use private and public	Develop business	Improve Trust: 4	Collaboration : 12	

knowledge in your company to develop any product?	skills: 2			
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Focusing on the textile industry in Turkish SMEs the research was capable to explain the theoretically driven assumption and to show the relation between the concepts of Knowledge Transfer and SMEs network. 18 SMEs responded to this survey and majority of the responders are in the higher position in the company and aged between 24 and 48. They have good business ideas but not many were familiar with modern technology. However, they were happy to implement and hire expertise when they are in need. Some of them were not happy with business because they are still using old technology which makes it difficult to cope up with the market demands.

From the above survey results, we have decided to describe the following three key 'knowledge sharing' factors: (1) *having strong trust* (2) *believe in collaboration*

Factor 1: Having Strong Trust

In particular, trust as a control mechanism is based on the belief in the other partner's reliability in terms of fulfilment of obligation in an exchange (Appleyard, 1996). Trust allows both parties to assume that each will take actions that are predictable and mutually acceptable (Uzzi, 1997). These expectations reduce transaction costs—for example, monitoring and renegotiating the exchange in reaction to environmental changes — particularly in highly complex tasks facing strong time constraints (Kluge, Stein and Licht 2001). Trust also affects the depth and richness of exchange relations, particularly with respect to the exchange of information (Lee and Al-Hawamdeh, 2002.)

Giving without expecting something in return is a show of trust. As outlined by Peter Blau (1986: p.8), social exchange is distinguished from strictly economic exchange by the unspecified obligations incurred in it and the trust both required for and promoted by it (Blau, 1986). This process of exchange innately hinges on trust as crucial for the provider to take initial action based on a belief that the receiver will respond in like kind at some future point (Coleman, 1988). Szulanski (1996) explain that both applied and scholarly research have made it clear that relationships are critical for knowledge creation and sharing and that ineffective relationships can block knowledge transfer. This factor was considered one of the most critical for the success of the SMEs in the process of knowledge transfer. In Turkish SMEs knowledge sharing by being the first ones to do so, and by setting the ground rules to establish the trust that gave other members the confidence to share their knowledge. One of the respondents indicated that Trust is the most importance aspect for SMEs in order to share information/resources with others. Other respondents explained

that business with other SMEs is impossible without Trust. However, we lose our profit margin because of sharing business skills with others where trust is not considered important. Some of the respondents formed the equation trust = risk. Textile industry in Turkey is very competitive industry and every SME wants profit without sharing the information. We can conclude that if a firm X want to get involved with firm Y, they need to trust each other in order to achieve a common profit. Therefore it is clear that the issue of trust arose during the discussion of collaboration.

Factor 2: Believe in Collaboration

Collaboration of Networks is established for collective benefits and is most successful and effective where there is give and take by participants and members. This involves sharing organisational experiences through dialogue and interaction with other partners, as well as learning from theirs. For instance, the organization could attend debates and discussion groups to contribute their ideas and experiences or offer to speak at a conference. Other related research efforts have analyzed communities of practice (Wenger, 1998), actor-networks and networks of strong and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973). In his proposition, Granovetter explains that regular flow of information depends on the presence of multiple short paths between persons, as opposed to a local bridge does not represent a likely path of information flow, though it represents a possible path of such an information flow. Participants agreed they needed to believe in collaboration in order to share knowledge. One respondent said that collaboration has to be delivered on time similar to exchanging trust and get access to the resources/information. Few mentioned that collaboration is a big asset of knowledge sharing. Large SME's are thinking twice before they shake hands with smaller SMEs. This forms a gap in the understanding that directly affects effective knowledge transfer. SMEs owned by family members and friends find it easy to collaborate no matter the size of the SME and SMEs in the same area/groups collaborate with each other with ease.

Discussion

The results of this study have implications for the research and practice of business engaged in knowledge sharing. Three of those implications are now considered.

First, there is a need to conduct a survey of SMEs in Turkey to find out the detail their approach to KT. This survey would increase the validity of the factors we have identified in this study offering us a better understanding of KT in Turkish SMEs.

Second, one of the key factors identified in this study is the role of the SMEs Trust. As discussed earlier, Trust encourages knowledge sharing by being the

first to do so and by developing an environment of Business. How these conditions for knowledge sharing are developed.

Finally, we believe the results from this study could be used as a key element of SMEs knowledge transfer in Turkey. For example, an inventory of factors influencing knowledge transfer could be used as an instrument for examining where the SMEs stand in relation to deploying knowledge transfer process in their business.

Conclusion and Limitation

Knowledge is a valuable asset and is crucial for enhancing capability and competitiveness of Textile firms. Without any mechanism to deploy that knowledge, Turkish firms may not cope with changes and challenges in the dynamic business environment in today's world. The study has made an attempt to identify several important factors and explain knowledge transfer in Turkish Textile firms.

Effective Knowledge Transfer implementation helps SMEs with free flow of information, ideas and resources. But, this often may not be easy as there might be a communication gap between various entities in or between Turkish SMEs. The main challenge faced by most businesses is to manage the flow of information among different entities. Firms may not be able to handle complex knowledge transfer procedures with the changes and challenges in the dynamic business environment. Therefore, SMEs need a clear understanding on what to be shared, when to should be shared or accessed and with whom the resources has to be shared. This study has made an attempt to identify and examine several important factors and developed *First Aid Model* in order to reduce the communication gap with the help of Trust and Collaboration in knowledge transfer process in Turkish Textile firms. Turkish SMEs will be able to achieve a desired level of participation in Knowledge Transfer process with the help of the *First Aid model*. For these reasons, research into the nature of knowledge Transfer environment is important and constructive and should be conducted on a continuing basis.

The study remains subject to several limitations. Firstly, since the researcher consulted very few SMEs and the response might not truly representative of the whole Turkey, then the findings may not be generalized at large. Secondly, the study's small response in the context of Textile companies in Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa and Izmir may limit the findings' statistical power. To overcome this, the researcher will conduct further study with larger number of SMEs. Thirdly, there is a potential risk with respect to the responses due to the use of self-reported views by the respondents. This could be reduced by asking the questions included in the study at different points of times during the interviews.

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THE EFFECT OF CULTURE ON CROSS-BORDER BANK ACQUISITIONS PERFORMANCE

Tarek Kandil

Abstract

The previous researchers found that national culture that leaders have affected their leadership style and financial performance. This proposal attempts to investigate the effects of culture on banking share price performance. We try to assess the utility of doing this by studying the effect of leadership behaviours on the employees' shared understanding value in banks that carried out mergers and acquisitions, which affect banking customers perceived services quality and then create the banking share price performance in the long-run. The population of the present research is the number of the cross-border M&As banks in Egypt and UK during the period of time from 2004-2007. Mixed methods approach will used to achieve the research proposal objectives.

"Culture was a big issue in deciding to do the deal".

Proctor & Gamble CEO A.G. Lafly about the merger with Gillette [Fortune 2005]

Introduction

Given the increased globalisation of all banks and increased interdependencies among nations, the need for better understanding of cultural influences on leadership and organizational practices has never been greater. Situations that leaders and would-be leaders must face are highly complex, constantly changing Just like they face in the cross border M&As, and difficult to interpret. More than ever before, managers of international firms face fierce and rapidly changing international competition.

Globalization has also created the need for leaders to become competent in cross-cultural awareness and practice. Ting-Toomey (1999) believes that global leaders need to be skilled in creating transcultural visions. They need to develop communication competencies that will enable them to articulate and implement their vision in a diverse workplace.

This research proposal attempts to investigate the role of national and organisational cultures on banks long-run performance after cross-border M&As in both the UK and Egyptian banks, and defining the relationship between banks customers' perceived services quality (as a mediator variable) and bank share price performance after mergers and acquisition in the two counties' banking sectors.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the related theories and development of hypotheses. Section 3 discusses methodology. Section 4 concludes with suggestions for future research.

Cultural challenges on mergers and acquisitions: Related theories

National and organizational cultural dimensions

Cultural studies originated and led by sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists. Culture can be observed at two levels: organizational level and national level. Culture can be unique to specific organization. From this perspective culture can be defined as the shared meanings or assumptions, beliefs and understandings held by particular mini-societies (Igo & Skitmore, 2006). Differences in organizational culture believed to be derived from common basis of organizational management and motivation which rewards and punishes certain behaviour. National culture is absorbed early in life when the individual is still unconscious of its influence. Organizational culture, on the other hand, is acquired much later in life at a conscious level (Pheng & Leong, 1999). Hence, national culture is more deep-rooted in the individual than organizational culture. At the same time, organizational culture can be viewed as a derivative of national level culture. Cross-cultural research has demonstrated that national culture explains between 25% and 50% of variation in attitudes (Gannon, 1994).

National Culture affects our view of business and management and, consequently, the outcome of cross-border M&As. When complementary to the objectives of a cross-border M&As, cultural differences may be an asset. When in conflict, they will be a liability and a risk factor. Either way, national cultural differences should be accounted for and planned for so as to reduce the risk of failure and increase the chances of success. This argument is based on the reflexivity theory in economics, as proposed by Soros (1987).

Review of the literature, reveals that Hofstede's model is one of the pioneers of the cross-cultural models and it is cited by many researches including Muller & Turner (2004), Harris et al (2005), Muller et al (2007), Shore & Cross (2005) and Javidan & House (2001). However, GLOBE's framework (House et al, 1997) is seen to be a more comprehensive model, incorporating all 5 dimensions of Hofstede and addressing 3 key gaps of culture research (Blyton, 2001). This model incorporates important issues that might influence project planning such as performance orientation, assertiveness, and humane treatment. Moreover, GLOBE Study is more recent than Hofstede study. Data collection for Hofstede's study was done more than three decades ago during the period 1967-1973. The GLOBE study data was collected during the last decade, during the period 1994-1997 (House et al, 2004) and therefore best resemble cultural human behaviours among countries globally to date.

GLOBE is a multi-phase, multi-method project in which investigators spanning the world are examining the interrelationships between societal culture, organizational culture, and organizational leadership. GLOBE study cultural framework of 9 dimensions is used in this research due to its more recent data

(nine for “as is” and other nine for “should be”. In the following lines, each of the dimensions is described (House et al, 2004):

- *Uncertainty Avoidance.*
- *Power Distance.*
- *Institutional Collectivism.*
- *In-Group Collectivism.*
- *Gender Egalitarianism.*
- *Assertiveness.*
- *Future Orientation.*
- *Performance Orientation.*
- *Humane Orientation .*

The overall purpose of the GLOBE project was to determine how people from different cultures viewed leadership (House et al, 2004). GLOBE researchers identified six global leadership behaviours: charismatic/value based, team oriented, participative, humane oriented, autonomous, and self-protective (House & Javidan, 2004). These global leadership behaviours were defined in these studies as follows (House et al, 2004).

Cross-border M&As in banking sector: Motivations

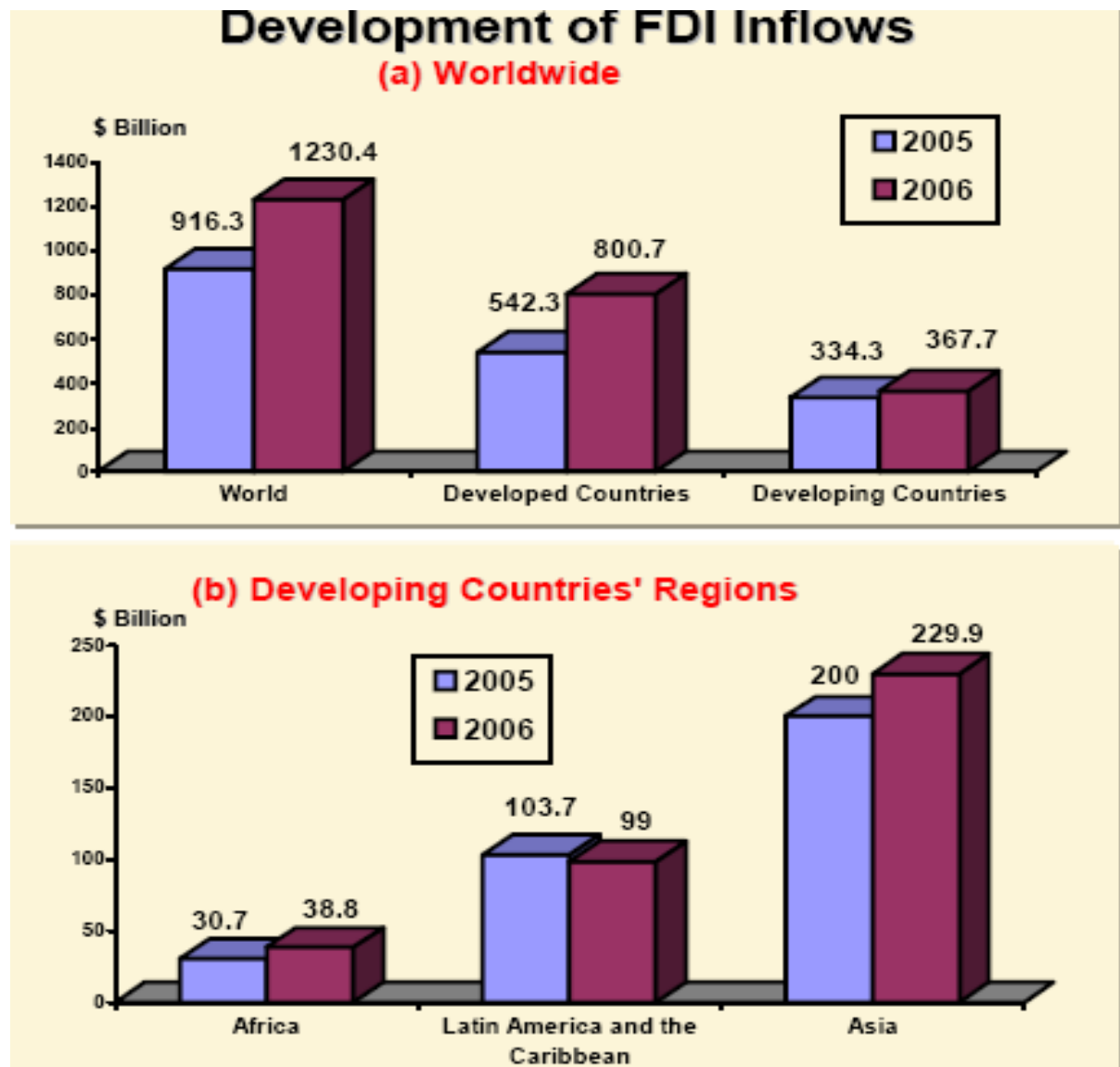
The improved performance of advanced economies was the main reason behind rising widely growth rates. They recorded a growth rate of 3.1% in 2006 compared to 2.5% in 2005. The best performance regions were the United States, Euro area, Japan, and United Kingdom. Concerning emerging market and developing countries, they witnessed also an increase in the growth rate reaching 7.9% in 2006, compared to 7.5% in 2005 FDI have been directed, over the last few decades, to emerging countries to restructure their national institutions and laws and ensure that they are better environments for attracting foreign direct investment and foreign companies into their countries. In this process, there have been some successes and yet a majority of developing countries (especially Arabic region) are not attracting as much capital and foreign investment as they would like to have (Fariborz Moshhirian, 2007).

Steven Brakman et al., (2006) revealed that the neoclassical theory predicts that in the absence of explicit barriers and removal of national constraints on foreign capital, capital should flow from rich to poor countries where capital productivity is much higher.

“This will also spread risk amongst countries and in effect, in such a globally integrated business economy, the role of countries with respect to the location of investment, is very much diminished. However, in reality, we do not have such an integrated global economy in which the borders amongst nations could be argued to be irrelevant with respect to the movement of capital and labour”
(Fariborz Moshhirian, 2007)

As for foreign direct investment flows, they increased significantly in 2006 by 34.3% reaching \$ 1230.4 billion compared to \$ 916.3 billion in 2005. In the case of developed countries, FDI increase by 48% to mount to \$ 800 billion in 2006, with the United States of America, followed by the United Kingdom. Similarly, FDI flows to developing countries increased, but at a lower rate (10%), totaling \$ 368 billion in 2006. It is also worth noting that in Africa, FDI inflows surged to a new record of \$ 38 billion, implying a growth rate of 26.5%.

Figure 1.1



Source: Social and Economic Development A Follow-Up Report for the Year (2006 / 2007) ministry of economic development –Egypt.

Two Main motives are, usually mentioned to explain M&As: a strategic motive (reduce competition) and an efficiency motive (cost reductions) .Trade theory suggests that comparative advantage could be included in full explanations of

M&As, just when decision makers in the cross-border Mergers and acquisitions take the long-term and dynamic nature of the Mergers and Acquisitions process in their consideration by moving on “to how cultural differences impact on the Mergers and Acquisitions process and its outcome.” (See, Satu Teerikangas and Philippe Very, 2006) In the same way that some studies have argued for the significance of high quality national financial services institutions as a way of addressing some of the national cultural and economic bottlenecks and also as a way of creating the right integrated environment for sustained economic growth (Stulz, 2005). Other main Challenges face international financial services institutions are the importance of services sector which has increased progressively in developed economies because the trend towards internationalization of services is recognized (see, Knight, 1999, Cicicet al., 1999; Gronroos, 1999; Anne M. Smith and Nina L. Reynolds, 2002, Steven Brakman et al., 2006). Indeed, the rise of the services sector has become possible largely as a result of increasing of international trade in services which is growing at a faster rate than other areas and accounts for one-fifth of world (Stauss and Mang, 1999, Richard Normann, 2002, Anne M. Smith and Nina L. Reynolds, 2002).

On the other hand, these issues have caused important changes in the business of consumer financial services, especially in banking sector. Evaluation of the financial system and increasing in competition in the sector are the most critical main characteristic that has been marked (Juan Carlos et al., 2006). The Banking business has undergone changes in the regulation, in consumers 'demand for services, technological, and the entry of new competitors from businesses outside banking (Gardener et al., 1999, Juan Carlos et al., 2006).

The other strand of literature our study relates to is that on transcultural M&A. There exists very limited empirical evidence on long-term performance of UK banks who acquire banks from Egypt though the role of law and the degree of shareholder and creditor protection in the acquiring bank's country will study (Gachibowli, et al. 2007)

Methodology

Certain types of social research problems call for specific approaches. Therefore, researchers must analyze what research approaches called for their problems. According to the present proposal, we will try to investigate the relationship between the cultural effects and Bank share price performance after the cross-border mergers and acquisitions in both UK and Egyptian Banking sectors, through mediating the role of leadership behaviours on middle managers and employees shared understanding values, and the effect of customer perceived services quality from the banking services provided by them on banks' share price performance after mergers and acquisitions. So, in this research proposal we will intend to collect both qualitative data from middle managers and quantitative data from employees and banks customers, those are three main research samples.

Following mixed methods will provide us great empirical evidence to achieve our proposal objectives. Moreover that will enable to ask two main questions have been neglected in the previous researches, they are:

- What are the effects of national and organizational culture on Cross-border M&As long-run performance?
- What is the role of leadership behaviour through the relationship linked among middle managers, employees shared value and customers perceived services quality

Research variables and measurements

Table (1) Research variables and measurements

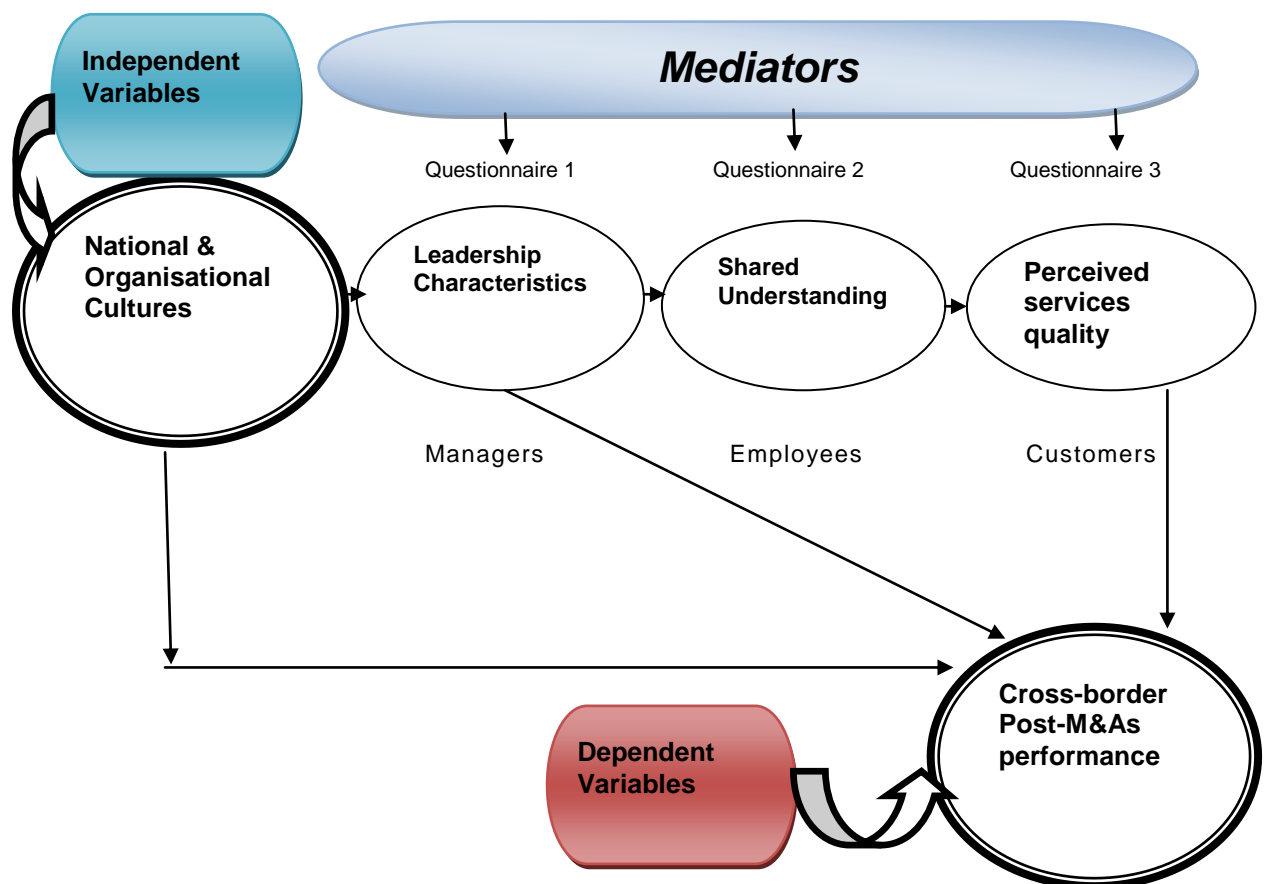
Variables	Definitions	Literature Evidences
<u><i>Dependent Variables</i></u>		
National & organisational Cultures (N&OC)	Define culture as shared motives, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from common experiences of members of collectives.	Robert J. House et al.,(2005) Robert J. House et al.,(2005)
<u><i>Mediator Variables</i></u>		
Leadership Style	Reflects the ability to inspire, to motivate, and to expect high performance from others based on strongly held core values. This kind of leadership includes being visionary, inspirational, self-sacrificing, trustworthy, decisive, and performance oriented.	Senge (1990); Hays and Hill (2001); Voss et al. (2005)
2. Shared understanding Value	The extent to which employees understand their visions, service standards, and service performance results	Parasuraman et al. (1988)
3. customers Perceived Service Quality	The extent to which a firm successfully serves the purpose of customers	Zeithaml et al. (1990); Reeves and Bednar (1994)

Cross-border mergers and acquisitions (Dependent Variable)

The measure we use to capture the long-run performance of the acquiring banks is *the buy- and hold abnormal return* (BHAR). The BHAR essentially indicates the excess return over the market that an investor buying the shares of the acquiring company will be enjoying if she made the purchase in the month of the acquisition

The BHAR methodology is standard in studies of long-term stock performance. Barber and Lyon (1997) argue that the BHAR is the appropriate measure because it "precisely measures investor experience". However, Mitchell and Stafford (2000) question the assumption of independence of multi-year event-firm abnormal returns made by studies using BHARs. They advocate usage of the calendar-time portfolio returns (CTAR) approach which accounts for dependence of event-firm abnormal returns. We decide to use the BHAR methodology because our focus in this proposal is to explain the cross-sectional variation in returns as a function of cultural differences between the acquirer and target, and the CTAR methodology does not lend itself to such cross-sectional analysis.

Figure 3.1: Research Model



Research hypotheses

- 1- Cultures' dimensions have a significant relationship with Cross-border post-M&As performance in the long- run.
- 2- Leadership characteristics dimensions have a significant relationship with Cross-border post-M&As performance in the long- run.
- 3- The effects of Culture on Post M&As performance are investigated by the relationship among leadership characteristics, shared understanding and customer perceived services quality
 3. a. There is a significant relationship between Leadership characteristics and employees shared understanding.
 - 3 b. There is a significant relationship between employees shared understanding and customer perceived services quality after cross-border M&As.
 - 3 c. There is a significant relationship between customer perceived services quality and Cross-border post-M&As performance in the long-run

Data and Sample – Population

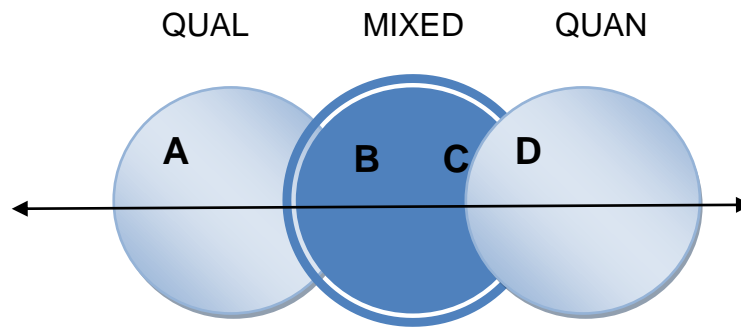
The population of the present research is the number of the cross-border M&As banks in Egypt and Uk during the period of time from 1998-2008, we will analysis the cross-border M&As of banking sector between Egypt as a target country and Uk as bidder country , and taking 2002 as cutting year , so we will analysis before and after that year (2002) , considering Uk banks as a benchmarking of Egyptian banks

The number of the cross-border M&As bank in Egypt is currently 20 banks and 60 banks in the UK according to the statistics of central banks of each country. We also take the middle managers, Employees in each banks in each country before and after mergers and acquisitions as representatives of the research instrument (questionnaire) quantitatively and semi-structure interview qualitatively. Moreover, we will take a sample of the customers who deal with each bank in each country before and after M&As , and another sample of Egyptian customers who deal with banks acquired by British banks.

Sampling

The characteristics used in MM sampling strategies are combinations of (or intermediate points between) the probability and purposive sampling positions. The following figure could show that:

Figure 3.2 Characteristics of Mixed Methods Sampling Strategies



Zone A consists of totally qualitative (QUAL) research with purposive sampling, whereas Zone E consists of totally quantitative (QUAN) research with probability sampling. Zone B represents primarily QUAL research, with some QUAN components. Zone D represents primarily QUAN research, with some QUAL components.

Zone C represents totally integrated mixed methods (MM) research and sampling. The arrow represents the purposive-mixed-probability sampling continuum. Movement toward the middle of the continuum indicates a greater integration of research methods and sampling. Movement away from the center (and toward either end) indicates that research methods and sampling (QUAN and QUAL) are more separated or distinct.

Data Sources

There are so many research data sources in the present research, we can divided them into two classifications they are:

- Primary sources: Banks managers, employees and customers of each country
- Secondary sources: Central Bank of Egypt and UK, Banks financial statements, Related authorities and governmental bodies

Data Analysis - Structure Equation Modelling (SEM)

Structural equation modelling (SEM) grows out of and serves purposes similar to multiple REGRESSION, but in a more powerful way which takes into account the modelling of interactions, nonlinearities, correlated independents, measurement error, correlated error terms, multiple latent independents each measured by multiple indicators, and one or more latent dependents also each with multiple indicators. SEM may be used as a more powerful alternative to multiple regression, path analysis, factor analysis, time series analysis, and analysis of covariance. That is, these procedures may be seen as special cases of SEM, or, to put it another way, SEM is an extension of the general linear model (GLM) of which multiple regression is a part.

Neural network analysis

Neural network is one field of artificial intelligence that has made great progress toward automating human reasoning where it has been inspired by studies of the neural processing of human brain (Ali, J., Rao, and C.P. 2000). Neural Networks have been applied to two different categories of problems recognition and generalization problems, (Dulbia, 1991), Recognition includes visual applications, as such learning to recognize particular words, Generalization problems include classification and prediction problems. Many researches founded that neural networks have been particularly useful in problems involving predictions, classification and pattern recognition. In many applications of NNMs in recent years, researchers attempted to use NNMs as an alternative to multivariate analytical methods such as regression analysis, and attempted to show that NNMs provide a superior methodology than multivariate analytical methods Marquez *et al.* (1991) asserted that “artificial neural network (ANN) models provide a viable alternative to classical models”. NNMs are non-parametric in nature and are not as constrained by distribution-related requirements as most traditional statistical models. The attractiveness of NNMs as an alternative to regression models is further enhanced by the fact that while the latter are the most popular methodological approaches in business administration, (Ali, J., Rao, and C.P. 2000).

A neural network consists of many neurons that are connected with each other in different ways to form different neural network topologies: feed-forward back propagation network, fully recurrent neural networks bidirectional associative memory networks Boltzmann neural networks, generalized regression neural network, etc. The most common topology is the feed-forward back propagation network (Nguyen & Cripps, 2001), as shown in figure:

Figure 3.3 Neural network analysis structure

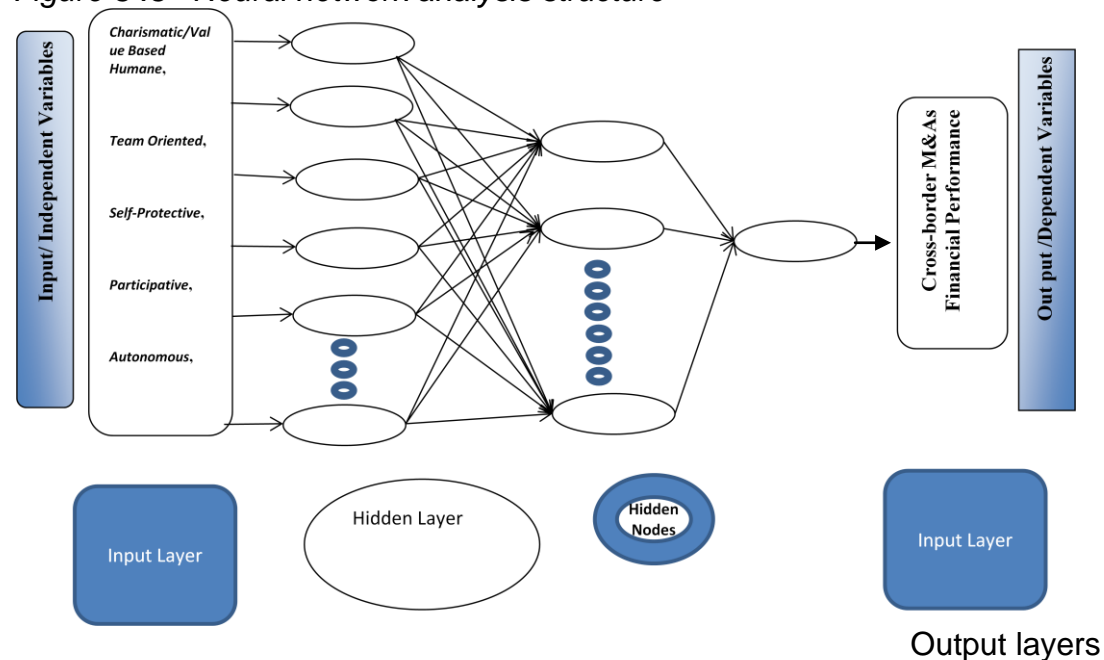
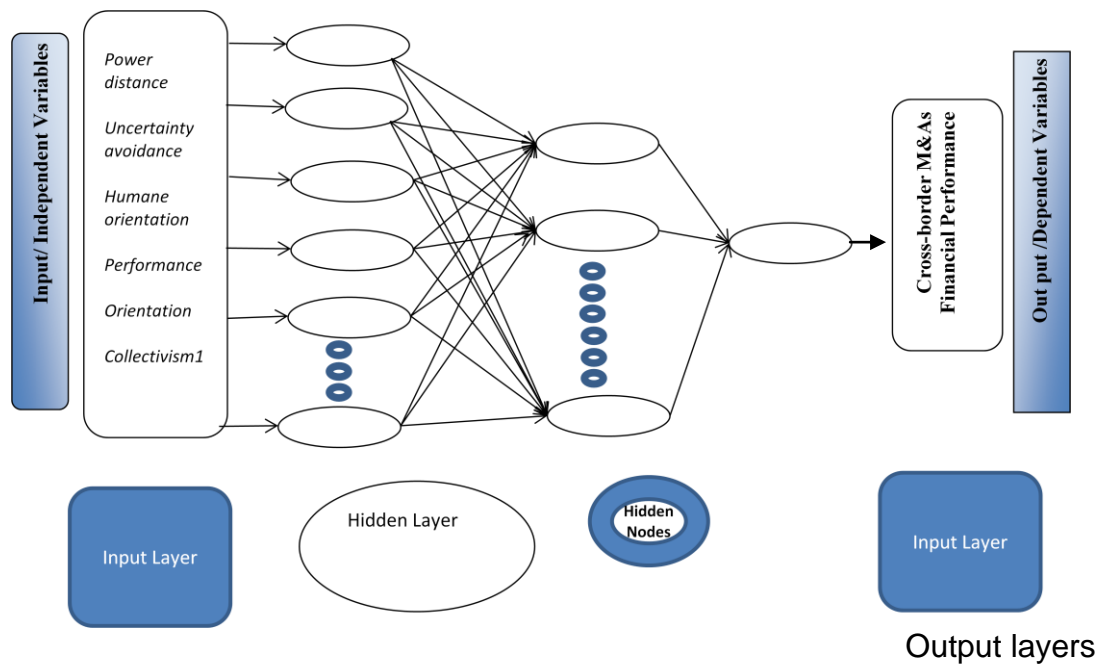


Figure 3.4 Neural Network Structure of the effect of leadership style on financial performance



In the neural network analysis, the data are usually split into two sets: training and testing the NN is “trained” by repeated presentations of the same training data , using periodic testing on a segregated subset of the data to determine when to stop the training process. The final model is validated against test data that was not used during training .There are six inputs nodes corresponding to the next explanatory variables in the data were connected to the hidden layer of nodes , where the number of nodes was selected via experimentation. These hidden nodes were connected to a single output node, whose value represents the cross-border mergers and acquisitions financial performance. A weight, initially set to randomized value, was associated with each connection between nodes in the network. Processing in the hidden and output nodes involves applying an activation function to the sum of the weighted values from the input and hidden nodes, respectively. Logistic activation functions of the form

$$F(x) = 1 / (1 + e^{-x})$$

Were used for all hidden and output nodes, also known as sigmoid functions, these S-shaped curves give the network the capability to internally represent nonlinear function of leadership style dimensions input variables. The objectives is to fine a set of weights to minimize a total error function based on comparison of the network output values to the desired outputs for the training data , the NN here could be considered as nonparametric regression model with complex nonlinear form .Neuroshell 2 was selected to updating network weights that dynamically adjusts the size of each weight change during the

training using local gradient information and thus does not require user specification of learning rate and momentum factor Ali, J., Rao, C.P. (2000).

Pilot study

In the present research, we have done pilot study based on qualitative method to investigate the feature of Egyptian culture and leadership style and to correlate them with cross-border M&As financial performance.. we have done it by using the Egyptian banking Middle managers who were involving in the process of pre- and Post-cross-border M&As ,Telephone via and computer based interviews were use to collect data for those issues .

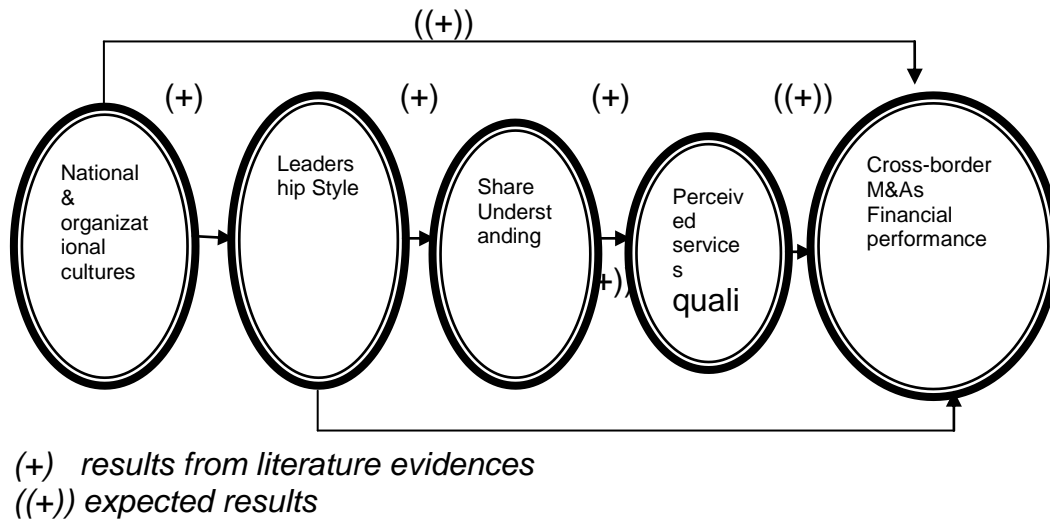
Pilot study Questions Design

The design of the questions for the interview was heavily influenced by the recommendations of Dilman (1978) and Oppenheim (1992) who both presented comprehensive reviews of literature on questionnaire design. The interview questions generated were based on the aims of the study and literature review. The questions were also checked against questions of similar studies (Cartwright and Cooper, 1996; James et al., 1998; James, 2002).

The questions for the interviews were divided into three main parts as follows:

- (1) The first part was concerned with the company's background (for example, company's products and markets, size etc.) as well as information about the motivation for the company's decision to merge and its target selection criteria.
- (2) The second part of the questionnaire had questions about the strategic and culture consideration during the various stages of the M&As process.
- (3) The last part dealt with questions relating to the role of culture, cultural integration and cultural fit in the merger and acquisition integration process.

Figure 3.4 The Final research Model



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See also Appendix 1 overleaf - Appendix 1:

Study	Sample	Dependent Variables	Independent Variables	Findings
Timothy A. Kruse et al., 2007	69 mergers of manufacturing firms traded on the Tokyo Stock Exchange during 1969 to 1999.	Post-mergers operating performance of diversity managers. Business Group membership Firms.	1- Diversification of managers. 2- Employment	There is an evidence of improvements in operating performance for the entire sample, and that the pre- and post-merger Performance is highly correlated. Finally, existing relationships among merging firms and mergers with distressed targets are not related to post-merger performance.
Abhay Abhyankar & Keng-Yu Ho, 2006	U.K. firms following convertible preference share period 1982–1996.	The long-run stock price performance of firms following convertible preference share issues.	The convertible preference shares of mergers companies	There is no evidence of long-run stock price underperformance for firms following the issuance of convertible bonds
ASeth et al., 2002	100 cross-border acquisitions of U.S. firms between 1981–1990	Total shareholders gain,	Synergistic: asset sharing relative sales size, reverse internalization target's R&D, Ad, marketing intensity, market seeking relative market growth of the	There is an evidence of pre-offer over performance and post-offer underperformance using buy-and-hold abnormal returns BHARs

			target country, financial diversification	
Harzing 2002	287 subsidiaries of 104 firms between 1995– 1996	Mode of entry acquisition vs. start-up, control, expatriates, local responsiveness	Firm level: international strategy global vs. multidomestic	Multidomestic strategy, relative size and foreign experience are associated with acquisition entry mode. R&D intensity and cultural distance are positively related to Greenfield start-up entry Mode.
Aloke Ghosh a,b,, Prem C. Jain 2000	The sample consists of 239 mergers completed between 1978 and 1987 in the UK	Firms increase financial leverage following mergers.	Mergers follow the combined firms.	Financial leverage of combined firms increases significantly following mergers. A cross-sectional analysis shows that the change in financial leverage around mergers is significantly positively correlated with the announcement period market-adjusted returns.

PENSION REFORM IN TAIWAN: IS THE RETIREMENT INCOME SUFFICIENT FOR WOMEN?

Tony Hung-Yang Lin* **

Abstract

This research chiefly examines women's pension rights in Taiwan after the reform in 2004 (Labour Pension Act) and 2007 (National Pension Act). This study finds that most indigenous researches focus on social exclusion but overlook the impacts from labour market. That is, influences from women's life cycle, related policies and working conditions would be more decisive. This research suggests introducing a tax-based universal pension scheme as first pillar to provide certain level of retirement income and a pay-as-you-go earnings-related pension scheme as second pillar, then people's longevity risk could be minimised and this basic social right would be vested.

Introduction

The poverty researches in Taiwan began from the studies of the culture of poverty, which was initiated from Lewis's (1966: 21; and see also page 19 about the confusion of poverty) work. It employed four dimensions to analyse the culture of poverty and defined seventy characters of it. The problem of poverty in Taiwan was then brought up by an Australian scholar, David Shack (1974), who concentrated on the culture of poverty in Taiwan. Thereafter, Taiwanese government paid more attention on indigent problems and promulgated the Social Assistance Act in 1980 which was to help households' income falls below the "minimum of government subsistence".

Pearce (1978) developed a great insight of female poverty studies and found that the percentage of female who fall below poverty line went up continuously and markedly since early 1960. Some scholars argued that the methodology applied could neither accurately reckon the female poverty rate nor clearly define whether women or households that have female breadwinners could be easier to become destitute. They believed that relative poverty risks of female

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** I would like to acknowledge the funding from National Science Council of Taiwan to support my research (NSC-095-SAF-I-564-075-TMS).

(Bianchi 1999; Mc Lanahan, et al. 1989) or the observation of the poverty rate of female breadwinner household (Pressman 1989) would be more meaningful. Bianchi (1999) argues that the trend of feminisation of poverty is not clear since 1980s because since that time the juvenilisation of poverty became more severe than that of faminisation and aging population. Studies about feminisation of poverty in Taiwan began from Bo's (1985) discussion.

Thereafter, some studies about poverty such as household income inequality (ex. Hsueh 2005; ex. Tsaur 1996; Wang, et al. 2001; Wang, et al. 2003a), elderly poverty (ex. Chen, et al. 1999; Hsueh 2002) and the definition of poverty (ex. Leu 1999; Lin and Wang 2000; Wang 1994; Wang, et al. 2005; Wang, et al. 2003b) became popular. Other researches concentrated on the inequality of employment (Chen 2001a; Chen 2002), distribution of resources within households (Chen 2001b; Lee 1998) and poverty tendency of female-headed households (Chen, et al. 1999; Wang and Ho 2005). Still some started paying attention to feminisation of poverty around the turn of the century (Chen 2003; Hsueh 2004; Wang and Ho 2006; Wang 2005).

From contemporary studies done by indigenous scholars, we found that seldom works concentrated on labour market and female pension rights, which is the point this paper focuses on. In the following sections, we will introduce relevant reforms and schemes first then review the condition of female employment and pension rights. The discussion and conclusion comes in the last section.

Reforms and Existing Schemes

Basically, Taiwanese government divides people into three groups: governmental employees; private employees; and fishers and peasants. Governmental employees, including civil servants, servicemen, and faculty in public schools and universities constitute less than 10% of employed population and are covered by affluent social insurance pension schemes. While workers in private sectors are covered by Labour Insurance scheme as first pillar of retirement income and either Labour Retirement Benefit scheme or Labour Pension Act as second pillar. Moreover, allowance programmes and the National Pension Act cover the rest or support people's insufficiency.

In this section, we briefly introduce the existing programmes and extract the parts that are related to women's retirement income and its reforms.

Social Allowance Benefits

Social Allowance Benefits were proposed during the local governmental election in 1993. At that time, because employees in private sectors, fishers and peasants did not have enough retirement income, local governments that were financially affordable implemented and extended the idea. The first programme promulgated by central government was Senior Peasants Living

Allowance in 1995 that aimed to cover farmers and tenants who attend 65 years old. Other programmes were launched in 1998 (Living Allowance for Senior People who Live in Mid- or Low-Income Household), 2002 (Senior Citizen Living Allowance and Senior Aboriginal Living Allowance) and 2007 (Special Care Allowance for Senior People who Live in Mid- or Low-Income Household) which provide 3,000NTD, 3,000NTD and 5,000NTD benefits respectively (£1=59.875NTD on 17 April 2008). These programmes will be due since the onset of National Pension on October 1, 2008.

Labour Insurance Old-Age Benefit

Labour Insurance (LI) is the most important social insurance system for employees. It was established in 1950 for political reasons to serve a part of labour and pacify the unrest at that time (Kuo 1997: 54; Lin 1994: 180). LI covers 82.2% of labour force in Taiwan, and the Old-Age Benefit is the most important part among all benefits which constitutes four-fifths of total payments. The statutory retirement age has multiple definitions. The earliest retirement age is fifty-five years old if one is insured by LI for more than twenty-five years, while the normal retirement age is sixty (men) and fifty-five (women) years old, and compulsory retirement age is sixty-five for both. LI Old-Age Benefit was just reformed and will provide pension payment in the future according to one's insured period, and the maximum payment equals to forty-five "monthly insured wage" (known as "Basic Point"). The monthly wage is the average amount of his or her last six month of insured salary.

Labour Retirement Benefit

Labour Retirement Benefit scheme is a part of Labour Standards Act (since 1984) which is an employer-sponsored scheme. The conditions are tight and infeasible for the labour market nowadays. For one thing, it requires workers either to serve in the same company for twenty-five years, or for fifteen years and attend fifty-five years old, to be entitled to the payment. From Legislative Yuan's (as the Parliament in the UK) investigation, the life of firms is about thirteen years in average (Legislative Yuan 2003). For another thing, employees' seniorities would be renewed when they shift jobs. Obviously, when female workers leave their jobs for giving birth, their seniorities would be renewed and hardly be entitled to retirement payment. The above reasons explain why the rate of beneficiary of Labour Retirement Benefit is low. From Lin's research (2007), the rate was about 20%. Thus, Legislative Yuan started considering to revise Labour Retirement Benefit scheme since 1990 and the new system, Labour Pension Act, was passed in 2004.

Labour Pension Act

Labour Pension Act is the output of pension reform in 2004 which is chiefly based on Central Provident Fund (CPF) system but the rules are stricter than

Singaporean CPF (Kuo, et al. 2005; Lin 2004). Employers are regulated to contribute at least 6% of workers' monthly wage while employees' parts are voluntary (up to 6% is income tax free). The rule for claiming payments is simpler than former system. On the one hand, if one is covered for over fifteen years and attend the age sixty, then he or she could apply for periodical payments. The periodical payment is calculated from one's account balance, life expectancy and market interests. In other words, the periodical payments will be exhausted when attending the age of life expectancy. On the other hand, if a worker who contributes less than fifteen years, he or she could receive lump-sum payment only. Additionally, retirees could decide whether to allocate a part of the deposit to purchase annuity insurance at the time when claiming payments to cover longevity risk. Companies that hire more than two hundred workers could vote for contracting out and establish its own retirement plan.

National Pension Act

In order to cover those who are non-workers (e.g. housewives), unemployed or disabled and maintain their living standard, National Pension scheme was passed on 8th of August 2007 and will be introduced on 1st of October 2008. This system covers three risks (old age, disabled and death) and provides four kinds of benefits (old-age, disabled and survivor's pension benefit, and death payment). It chiefly covers the non-labour force that is aged between 25 and 64, which constitutes 44.7% of non-labour force and 15.1% of populace. The insurance premium is defined by minimum wage (17,280NTD) and the contribution rate is 6.5% in the beginning (then will go up by 0.5% yearly if necessary until the cap 12%). Retirees who have ever been or are insured by this scheme are entitled to old-age pension payment if they attend 65 years old. The payment is calculated from minimum wage at the year of retirement, seniority accumulated with this scheme and some multipliers. The difference from others above is that it provides pension instead of lump-sum and periodical payments.

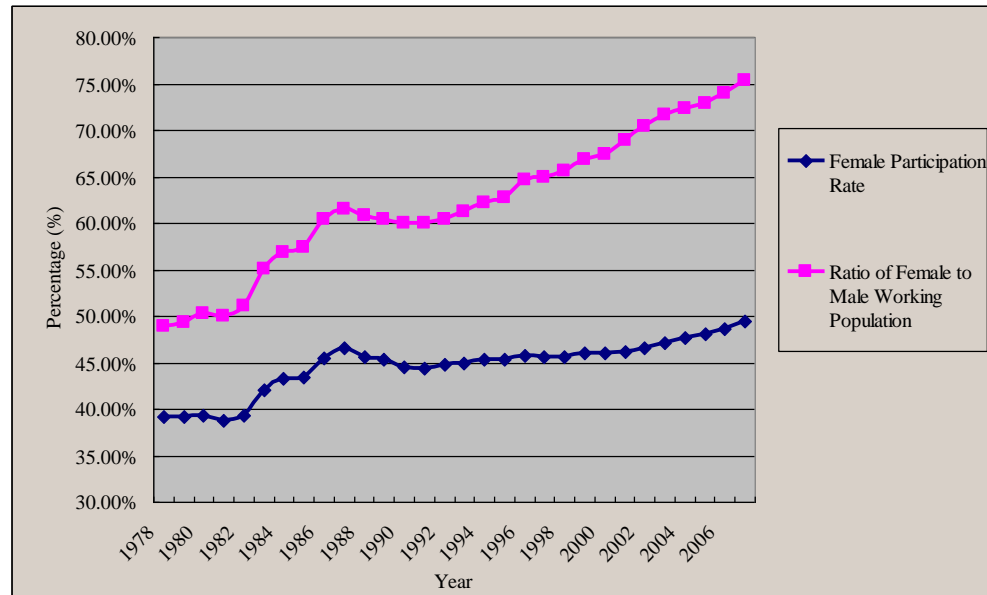
Labour Market and Women's Pension Rights

As Orloff (1993: 57) argues, when a country is overly emphasised on poverty and general pension reform issues, women's pension rights and its link with labour market conditions may easily be overlooked. With limited relevant literatures and statistics, Taiwan is exactly a case she mentioned.

Figure 1 illustrates two trends about female participation rates. The lower line depicts the participation of female population aged between 15 and 64 that take a part in gainful works. Female participation rate increases slowly from below 40% to nearly 50% during last three decades. As Bussemaker and van Kersbergen (1999: 17-21) and Fu (1993) argued, from the viewpoints of women's participation rate (less than 50%) and the design of social provision

schemes (mainly in social control), Taiwan was and is still a corporatist welfare state.

Figure 1: Female Participation Rate and Ratio of Female to Male Workers*



Note: * The number for 2007 is calculated until the end of October.
Source: Calculated from National Statistics, Taiwan (www.stat.gov.tw)

The upper line describes the ratio of female to male workers which means that in 1978 one female worker was hired in every two male workers then increased to about three female to four male workers in 2007. From this trend, firstly, the chance of being employed between both genders becomes more equal. Secondly, however, this percentage may possibly be influenced by women's participation rate and total female labour.

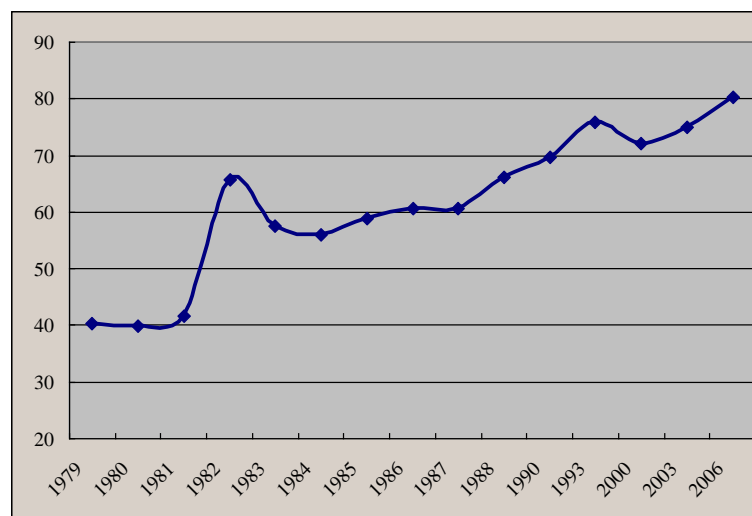
Table 1: Female Worker's Average Times for Giving Birth	
Year	Times
2000	1.06
2003	1.08
2006	1.05
Source: National Statistics, Taiwan (www.stat.gov.tw).	

It is true that giving birth is a popular reason for female workers to quit labour market. Therefore, knowing the times of leaving jobs and how long it takes to return are important for understanding female employees' life cycle. Taiwanese government started collecting this statistics every three year since 2000. Table 1 shows the average times of leaving jobs for delivery is above one (between

1.05 and 1.08), which means that respondents at least leave once for giving birth and childrearing in average.

Figure 2 shows a longer term of record about how long do female employees take to return labour market since they quit their jobs for giving birth. The data illustrates that the period is doubled from 1979 to 2006. The average month of return increases from 40.28 months to 80.24 months (nearly seven years) in 2006, which means women either spend more time on child caring or on looking for jobs. Although there is no further statistics about the gender difference of the length of finding jobs, it is true that the longer the length the more inferior to women's working still and pension rights.

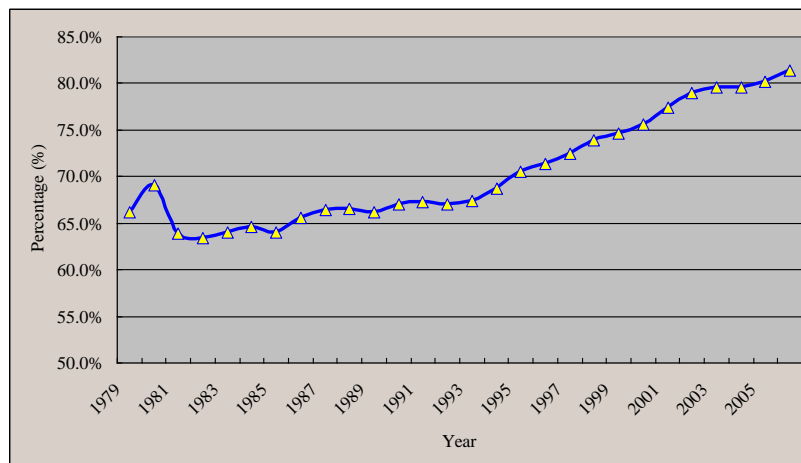
Figure 2: Average Months of Returning to Work after Delivery



Source: Ministry of Interior (MOI)

Gender equality is getting important nowadays. Figure 3 shows the difference between female and male ordinary salaries between 1979 and 2006. The line fluctuates in late 1970s and early 1980s then goes up stably to 82% in 2006. It means that in early 1980s, women merely gained less than 65% of men's wages. Until 2006, though it has improved by about 20% during past decades, equal treatment still has a long way to go.

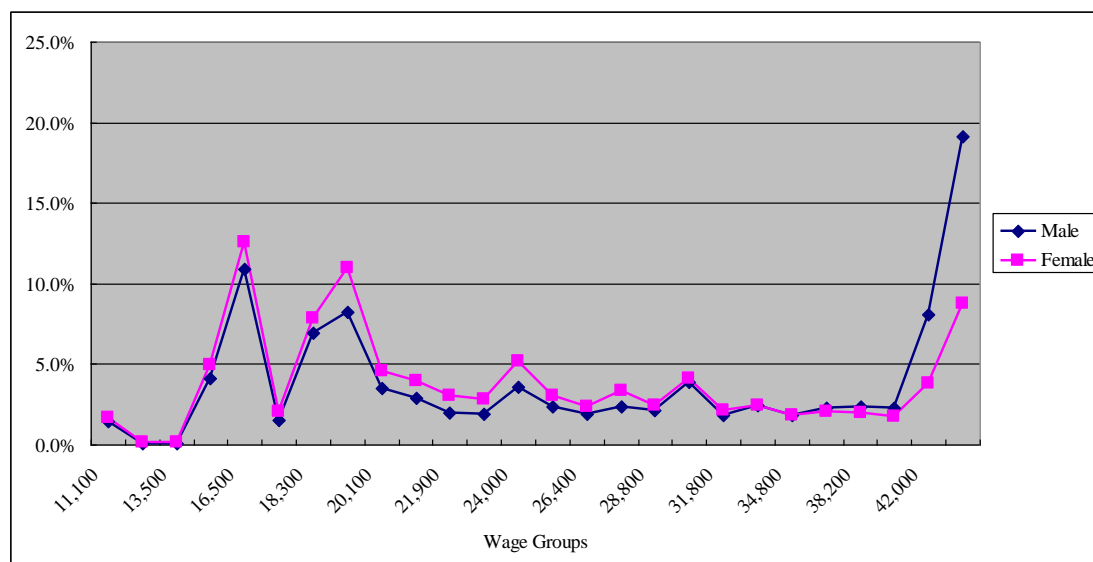
Figure 3: Ratio of Female and Male Regular Wages (1979-2006)



Source: Calculated from National Statistics, Taiwan (www.stat.gov.tw)

The distribution of female and male wage groups is another way to evaluate the equality of employment condition. Figure 4 illustrates the percentage of male and female workers in each wage group and finds that there is no great difference between male and female workers in lower wage groups, but the numbers for male in the highest two groups are two to three times to female. In general, percentage of insured female workers whose wage groups are below 31,800 NTD is higher than male workers, but the situation converts in higher income groups. To some extent, it is closely related to less higher-wage positions possessed by female employees (e.g. managerial positions), or more female labour are working with inferior conditions.

Figure 4: Gender Difference of Wages Insured by Labour Insurance (2006)



Note: The wage is in NTD (£1=59.875NTD on 17 April 2008).

Source: Council of Labour Affairs, Taiwan (www.cla.gov.tw).

Table 2 illustrates the average years of working by gender in 2006, which is estimated from the average insured wage, average benefits and Basic Points earned by workers. It depicts that the average working years of female workers is 24.5 years while that of male is 27.5 years. With regard to the requirement of Retirement Payment by Labour Standards Act, female labour seems not possible to receive the payment by the criteria that one has to contribute at least 25 years in a company. Another requirement to receive the payment is to serve in a company at least 15 years and attend 60 years old. With regard to relevant discussion in Legislative Yuan, because over 90% of companies are middle- and small-size firms and its average years of operation is about 13 years, not many workers can meet this condition (Legislative Yuan 2003). That is why merely around 18% of retirees are entitled to this payment each year.

Table 2: Average Years of Working by Gender in 2006				
Gender	Average Insured Wage*	Average Benefits*	Basic Points** Earned	Average Years of Working
Female	25,327	869,959	34	24.5
Male	28,773	1,152,672	40	27.5

Notes: * The wage and benefit are in NTD (£1=59.875NTD on 17 April 2008).
 ** Basic Point is the basis when calculating Labour Insurance Old-Age Benefit. One can earn 1 Basic Point every year in the first 15 years of insured, and then is doubled in the later 15 years. One could earn up to 45 Points in 30 years of insured.
 Source: Calculated from Council of Labour Affairs' data, Taiwan (www.cla.gov.tw).

The replacement rate of retirement payment is important for evaluating the adequacy of a payment scheme. Among all the retirement payment plans, some statistics of Labour Pension and Labour Insurance are by gender but not for Labour Standards. The replacement rate for Labour Pension is relatively low may not be meaningful at this moment because it was just launched in 2005. Table 3 shows the replacement rate of Labour Insurance Old-Age Benefit for female workers in 2006 was 10.6% and 14.4% for male in average.

Table 3: Replacement Rate of Labour Insurance Old-Age Benefit by Gender in 2006					
Gender	Average Insured Wage*	Average Benefits*	Average Age of Retirement	Life Expectancy at Retirement	Replacement Rate**
Female	25,327	869,959	56.90	26.99	10.6%
Male	28,773	1,152,672	57.45	23.17	14.4%

Notes: * The wage and benefit are in NTD (£1=59.875NTD on 17 April 2008).
 ** "Replacement Rate" is defined as the percentage of the benefit to one's last drawn salary.
 Source: Calculated from statistics provided by Council of Labour Affairs, Taiwan (www.cla.gov.tw).

Although Labour Pension Act was put into practice in 2005, Labour Standards Retirement Payment scheme is still dominant now. The replacement of the Retirement Payment from Labour Standards Act for all workers fluctuated between 11% and 13% during this period (as shown in Table 4). Thus, the total replacement rate for female labour from first and second pillar retirement incomes is 22.9% and 26.7% for male. However, on the one hand, the rate for female workers may not be accurate because they are harder to meet its requirements. On the other hand, Lin (2007) estimates that less than one-fifth of retiree can be entitled to this payment, female beneficiaries would be fewer. As shown in Table 2, women's average insured period is 24.5 years which is slightly less than the requirement 25 years, while the number for men is 27.5 years. Moreover, the replacement rate level is much lower than some basic social standards (e.g. 45%, stated in ILO Conventions No. 128).

Table 4: Replacement Rate for Labour Standards Retirement Payment 2001-2006	
Year	Replacement Rate
2001	12.3%
2002	12.8%
2003	11.5%
2004	11.9%
2005	13.2%
2006	12.3%
Source: Ministry of the Interior (http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/) and Council of Labour Affairs (http://statdb.cla.gov.tw/).	

Concluding Remarks

The discussion of women's pension right may need to focus both on female employees and female non-workers. Though this research mainly concentrates on the former part, policies for the later part would be put into concern in this section as well.

The discussions about female worker's pension right are as follows. Firstly, though women's employment condition has been improved in past decades, in average, monthly wage and insured salary are still lower than men's. Because nowadays most of the pension provisions are entitled according to employment records (e.g. wage level and seniority), the equality of employment conditions must be inspected. This problem could be learnt from the replacement rates (Table 3 and 4) which shows that the rate for female retirees is about 4% lower than male with the lump-sum payment from Labour Insurance system. Secondly, with regard to the fairness of employment conditions, authorities concerned may need to play more active roles in investigation. Because the procedures are based on prosecution and may not reach to the cases in medium- and small-firms, the Council of Labour Affairs has to pay more attention in this issue. That is, authorities concerned could not only educate

employers and employees about the equal treatments, but also examine some companies randomly.

Thirdly, though the reform from Labour Standards Retirement Benefit to Labour Pension Act in 2004 was on the direction that made every employee be entitled to retirement payment, the result went towards marketisation. It is true that this new system is based on participants' individual accounts and lack of pooling mechanism. It is also true that for a system that is based on individual account may overly rely on one's years of working and wage level. As Standing (2002) and Gustman et al. (1994: 434-5) argued, this new paternalism surrenders women to market and drives them further commodified and rely on labour market. Besides, the uncertain level of retirement payment would make retirees' income insecure. Plus, because the main key of pension rights nowadays is to obtain longer seniority and earn higher salary during one's career, marketisation without adjusting the imbalance between genders would endanger virtual equity. Therefore, the problem is the same if fully-funded plans remain (de Mesa and Montecinos 1999; Ginn 2003: 21-4; Ginn and Arber 1991: 391; Ginn and Arber 1999: 326-7 and 337).

Fourthly, aside from equality issues, government may need to consider recognising female workers' rights to "social wage" (Vosko 2006: 6-7) as caregiver after giving birth. Although current laws protect maternity leave with position reserved, it may not be covered if they would like to raise baby for some years by them and thus influences their retirement incomes. Moreover, with regard to Table 1 and Figure 2, female workers in average leave for maternity reasons for more than once and return after 80 months, which means female workers may not work for at least 6 years after giving birth. Therefore, with this development, policymakers may need to fund women's social wage scheme from Labour Insurance Fund or other sources. Lastly, retirees' retirement income, especially women, would be more stable if the payment from Labour Pension Fund is annuitised. It is true that women's life expectancy at the effective retirement is about 4 years longer than men's, and thus would result in lower level of replacement and the payment will be exhausted after reaching life expectancy.

The policies for non-working women would be more crucial not only because the provisions are inadequate, but also it would make them more rely on breadwinners. As Lee (1998) argued, no matter women do gainful works or not, for most of the cases, women are economically inferior to other household members in Taiwan. In this sense, women have to count on breadwinners to contribute premiums to National Pension scheme before attending statutory retirement age. For one thing, though this policy arrangement reveals the traditional ideology of kinship solidarity (Crow 2002), it would make women dependent to wage earners. For another thing, obviously, it declines the recognition of social wage. Hence, with regard to non-working women's pension rights, it would be a long-term goal to introduce a demo-pension system which is funded by general taxes (or mainly by value-added tax as Swedish model) to provide a certain level of retirement income. This

arrangement corresponds to Esping-Andersen's (1999: 41) statement that the risk "should be shared universally". From a short-term perspective, legislators have to consider appreciating non-working women's values as housewives and caregivers and turn them into contribution of National Pension system. In this sense, non-working women, and other groups if necessary, could offset the premiums.

As Bergh (2004) stated, social rights would be reserved properly and retirement income would be protected appropriately if an earnings-related pay-as-you-go pension benefit system and a well-devised basic income programme are applied by policymakers. In this sense, at the time of reform in Taiwan, the combination of a tax-based universal pension scheme (first pillar) and a pay-as-you-go financed earnings-related pension system (second pillar) is suitable to top up the income level, and 45% of replacement rate would be reachable. The future of Taiwan, as Gough (2004: 199-201) argued, would either go marketisation or universalism, but Taiwan is still at the intersection.

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SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: NEW AND MISUNDERSTOOD PHENOMENON

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Abstract

Social entrepreneurship and the social enterprise have become 'trendy' in the last decade. Most sources identify the phenomena starting with academics, professionals, then through diverse national and international organizations and institutions, and finishing with state governments. However, there is an ongoing debate among different patrons on the meaning of the concepts. Despite many attempts to find out what social entrepreneurship is, and particularly what constitutes the social enterprise, there is still no satisfactory answer (Boschee & McClurg, 2003).

Entrepreneurship literature provides diverse definitions of these notions; various approaches to social entrepreneurship and social enterprise as well as related problems and probable solutions. Meanwhile, claiming that their identities are not clear. My pilot study proves the same.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to ascertain the necessity to explore the basis of the social enterprise, specifically its identity that has been neglected in existing studies. This is in order to provide a meaningful understanding of the organization and accordingly allowing the phenomena of social entrepreneurship and the social enterprise to gain legitimacy and be recognized in the market environment. As a result, this would ultimately impact on new and existing policies and regulations, and the deliverance of proper help and advice regarding the development of the social enterprise.

The Nature of Social Entrepreneurship and the Social Enterprise
The literature contains an array of definitions of entrepreneurship and 'enterprise' derived from the French verb 'entreprendre' which means to 'undertake' some project or activity (Dees, 2001). Currently, entrepreneurship is identified with, (i) high growth and high capitalization, (ii) innovation and innovativeness, (iii) opportunity recognition, or (iv) creation of new organizations (Aldrich & Reuf 2006: 63). Nevertheless, no matter which of these four main competing interpretations of entrepreneurship we adopt, entrepreneurship leads, eventually to value creation Volery (2004) and Hornaday (1992). Kao (1993: cited in Thompson, 2002, p.413) affirms this view by stating that entrepreneurship is "the process of adding something new [creativity] and something different [innovation] for the purpose of creating wealth for the individual and adding value to society". Moreover, the

importance of entrepreneurship in economic development has been acknowledged by (Schumpeter 1934, Baumol 1993 cited in Beugelsdijk 2004, and OECD 1998 cited in Beugelsdijk 2004).

How did entrepreneurship come to be linked with the social enterprise? A majority of researchers claim that there were the following macro factors: slowdown in economic growth caused by crises of the welfare system, high level of unemployment, need for changes in governmental social strategies and high competition within the third sector that influenced the emergence of the social enterprise (Perrini 2006). Thus, non-profit organizations, started to employ innovative, entrepreneurial techniques so that they could carry on their activities in the difficult socio-economic conditions they found themselves in the eighties. This era brought about a tough situation for the third sector organizations that manifested itself in increased operating costs, low wages, poor quality service, puny sector reputation and many more new dilemmas. Additionally, a number of competitors started to grow (especially the business or for profit ones) whilst amounts and sources of subsidies and funding for these non-profits were being reduced so that resources were insufficient for maintenance, growth and development (Dees 1998, Johnson 2000, Pättiniemi 2001, Drayton 2002, Mort, Weerawardena & Carnegie 2003, Boschee & McClurg 2003, Perrini 2006, and Weerawardena & Mort 2006).

Therefore, faced with such a dismal situation non-profit organizations were forced to find more effective solutions to their socio-economic needs and problems. As a result, they introduced the concept of entrepreneurship, though principally identified with business ventures, have been successfully associated with the context of social problem solving (Alvord, Brown & Letts 2004). Now, non-for-profits use business techniques, expand their scope of activities and launch new more effective funding strategies (Perrini 2006) as they try to escape from the 'dependency model' that kept them under control of their grant donors towards rigorous financial accountability (Newman & Wallender 1978 cited in Perrini 2006). Hence, the effect has been that non-profits have entered the world of business and started to create alternative financial sources that would help them to fulfil their social mission more effectively (Davis 2002, Knowledge@Wharton 2003).

Nowadays, the interest in social entrepreneurship and the social enterprise has been growing considerably all over the world which therefore indicates that the time is opportune for studying, starting, developing and getting engaged in social movements. It has also become an area of interest for many academics and researchers. Social entrepreneurship is new as a discipline of science and language but not new as a phenomenon (Dees & Elias 1998 cited in Mair & Marti 2006, Johnson 2000, Thompson, Alvy & Lees 2000, Dees 2001, Davis 2002, Alvord, Brown & Letts 2004, Nicholls 2005). The practice of social entrepreneurship was ahead of its theory, thus initiatives such as having an innovative character and using entrepreneurial capacities to solve social problems are not novel (Alvord, Brown & Leets 2004). Bornstein (2004) claims that the difference between contemporary social entrepreneurship and its

previous form is in the scale of the phenomenon, in a more systematic approach to the problem and in the ability to blur the boundaries between different sectors. Additionally, the author (2004) sees the distinction between 'old' and 'new' social entrepreneurship in the rise of competition, cooperation and concentration on performance in the third sector.

However, similarly to the concept of entrepreneurship, there are many diverse approaches to social entrepreneurship and the social enterprise. Although, recent literature on social entrepreneurship concentrates on answering what constitutes the phenomenon, how we should define and comprehend it (Perrini & Vurro 2006), there is still no satisfactory answer and the meaning of social entrepreneurship remains widely misunderstood (Boschee & McClurg 2003). Perrini (2006), who is a representative of an extended view of social entrepreneurship, claims that just this approach allows one to understand the entrepreneurial character of the phenomenon that explores opportunities, goes in the direction of self-sufficiency and generates innovation. Thus, social entrepreneurship adopts from businesses a strong sense of innovation and change (Dorado & Heattich 2004 cited in Perrini 2006), the ability to spot needs that have not been met before, and entrepreneurial opportunities (Casson 1982 cited in Perrini 2006, Leadbeater 1997, Shane 2000 cited in Perrini 2006). Furthermore, social entrepreneurship has its own unique characteristics, e.g., by perceiving a social gap it aims at improving global, national, regional or local social conditions through setting and fulfilling different long-term objectives (Perrini 2006).

Considering the ongoing debate on the true meaning of the social enterprise I decided to do a pilot study in order to ascertain:

- What constitutes the social enterprise
- What are these distinctive features that differentiate it from other entities?
- Knowledge of these is necessary in order to understand the social enterprise and its actions. This exercise was also a starting point for my field research. For the purpose of the pilot study I temporarily adopted a broad meaning of social entrepreneurship and the social enterprise so that I could select a research sample

Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted from 22nd March 2007 to 16th May 2007 during which seven 'social entrepreneurs' and one person from an organization supporting community actions were interviewed. The participants, 'social entrepreneurs' are regarded as such because they do not recognize themselves as social entrepreneurs or they are not sure of it, or there are others who call them that way. The research sample was identified and developed through contact with the participants of the study at events, other persons' advice to contact them, or existing participants recommending new

ones. All organizations of the eligible participants are based in the United Kingdom. One interview was conducted with each entrepreneur excepting one who was interviewed twice. Emails were also exchanged with one interlocutor in addition to an interview in order to clarify or follow up issues from the discussion. The shortest interview took around 30 minutes, the longest one more than 3 hours. As research tools for the purpose of my pilot study I used interviews (open questions, notes taken during and after each of the interviews), direct observation (notes taken during and after each of the observations), email exchange, analysis of organizations' brochures and articles on the organizations and on the 'social entrepreneurs', and articles written by the interlocutors. In the analysis of the data I used a grounded theory approach. At first I identified codes from the texts that were on the same issue, next I collected them into similar concepts from which I created common categories. Consequently, four major findings emerged from the analysis of the pilot study as follows:

- (1) Relationships between the government and the social enterprise
- (2) Definition of the social enterprise
- (3) Perception of self and identity
- (4) The role of business in the social enterprise.

Finding 1 - *Relationship between the government and the social enterprise*

Some of my interlocutors expressed dissatisfaction with the definition of the social enterprise given by the UK government where the social enterprise is presented basically as an organization between a charity and business. To them, the social enterprise is something new, different and much deeper than the government's description. They argue that the new legal form of the social enterprise called 'Community Interest Company' (CIC) that was introduced in 2005 cuts the social entrepreneurs' wings and affixes some labels strictly defining what it is and what it can and cannot do. For them it just represents the government's point of view as its introduction in this existing form did not take into consideration the opinions or realities of people working in the social sector. The interviewees claim that both the definition and new regulations on social enterprises put some constraints on social enterprises and indicate that one must act within some structures and rules that have been developed to serve only the government's needs. They perceive the government's actions as putting limits on social enterprises. One of my interlocutors compares the situation to the position of disabled people who hate being labelled as disabled because then they must meet some criteria which they have not chosen, but it was the government who has done it. However, some of my interviewees agree that introducing CIC was the intention of the government to put some order in the social economy sector. Simultaneously, they admit that these steps serve the government more. Contrarily, other groups claim that the policy and environment are extremely positive but that the trouble is in governmental attitude to dealing with social problems and the way it manages them. It wastes

a lot of money allocated to tackle social problems without visible effects. They were disappointed with the government as on one hand it invites social entrepreneurs to cooperate but on the other hand it tries to do the work itself. They expressed concern that not listening to people who are actively involved in social entrepreneurial initiatives and know better what is happening there and what should be done creates a problem for the development of social entrepreneurship.

Finding 2 - *Definition of the social enterprise*

Almost all of my interlocutors have their own perception on what the social enterprise is but they agree that they are not sure what exactly constitutes this type of organization. They assert that there is confusion around this issue. One interlocutrice explicitly admitted that she had not heard about the concept before our meeting, therefore she could not comment on it. Another 'social entrepreneur' claims that social enterprises are such organizations that run some business or earned-income strategy and use the profit for fulfilling its social mission. However, every business, to her, has a social angle as it delivers products or services for people. According to another interviewee, the social enterprise is a business which generates profit that is used for social purposes, but she stresses that she does not know whether her definition is correct since different people have different concepts on the issue that creates an unclear situation. However, she confirms that social enterprises are different from charities since social entrepreneurs must introduce something different, new and innovative, but, as she adds, it should not be the imitation of somebody else's ideas because it is not entrepreneurial any more. Further, she states that the social enterprise may at the same time run a business and raise funds. Another interviewee was unable to say precisely what the social enterprise is but he claims that the issue whether the social enterprise runs some business or not is not necessarily the case in this debate. A different interlocutor says that the social enterprise is some form of organization that does not need to be a company but is more than a loose cooperation, consists of more than one person, so it is a collection of people who must conduct at least some earned-income strategy. He tried to elaborate on the problem saying that the social enterprise has elements of a charity and business combined with something else. However he could not specify what this combination of factors and some unique features may be. According to him, there is also a hint of excitement, breaking rules and boundaries as this is what entrepreneurs do. Although, he was not sure whether innovation should be connected with the social enterprise, he sees similarities between Victorian charities that were innovative during the Victorian era and what nowadays is called social enterprises. Nevertheless, he distinguishes the charity from the social enterprise saying that the difference is such that the charity does not make profit, does not run a business but raises funds from donations, is registered with and regulated by the Charity Committee, and is identified now with aid for the Third World, that is, donating money, food, equipment and other basic necessities.

Finding 3 - *Perception of self and identity*

A majority of the interviewees do not consider themselves or they are not sure whether they are social entrepreneurs and their organizations social enterprises. They admit though, that others usually perceive them and their organizations that way. One of them states that other people see her as a social entrepreneur and her organization as a social enterprise, although she does not consider herself like that. She claims that her organization is a business whose purpose is to achieve a social goal. Another 'social entrepreneur' is a little bit confused about specifying the nature of his organization as he claims that it is both a non-profit and profit-making organization. While, still a further interviewee is not able to be precise about her organization as well. However, she sees it not as a charity but as a business and a getting funding non-profit venture. Nevertheless, just a few of my interlocutors believe themselves to be social entrepreneurs or people running social enterprises.

Finding 4 - *The role of business in the social enterprise*

Some of the pilot study interlocutors want their organizations to have a 'business angle'. One says that she runs a business in order to be able to gain a social goal. Thus, the base for setting up her organization was a social mission and the enterprise has been operating to fulfil it. She claims that running a business within a social enterprise is important as it guarantees sustainability, so there is no need to worry about procuring finance when government funding ends. Another interviewee thinks similarly. His organization started running a consultancy and training business (they have contracts with both public and private groups) because they were worried about its sustainability. The founder admits that they were aware that donations and grants are not a secure source of income as they can come and go, so they decided to work out some earn-income strategies. He felt that something needed to be started in order to generate profit from trading if they wanted to stay in the market and moreover, according to him, social organizations should be autonomous and self-directed. Hence, the profit they generate is reinvested into the organization: in its growth, innovation and new social projects. He affirms that they are innovative since from the beginning they have been trying to respond to the market failure regarding services for people with disabilities by tackling issues which were neglected by others. Therefore, he affirms that his organization has been innovative because what they have been doing and how they have been doing it (new settings, new tools, new delivery mechanisms, and new programs) had not been done before. While having visited this organization, I had an impression of professionalism being a part of it - the professionalism that usually is identified with the private sector. The organization has employees from the private sector and the founder claims that it is important as these people bring a business approach and a new way of thinking. At the same time he is aware that his organization lacks high quality management, ICT capacity and database

management systems. Nevertheless, he admits that it is extremely difficult to balance a social mission and business, therefore, in the past they had to quit some projects after one year of financing as they could not afford them any longer. Alternatively, to another interviewee, there is not a big problem with balancing social and business aspects. According to him, the real problem is not in the issue of running a business within a social enterprise and concentrating on this activity since social organizations that rely on grants and fund-raising also must spend some time on income generation. Rather he claims that the problem is in scale and in a type of business which brings profit. Another interlocutrice claims that her organization is very innovative as there has not been this kind of enterprise in her town before. They try to make the organization professional and since it is a credit union, they want it to resemble a bank. They are engaging some professionals who are working or have worked for financial institutions, banks or similar cooperatives since for her it is important to have somebody from the private sector who can introduce business features in the organization.

Conclusion

The analysis of all four findings have shown the ambivalence in the perception of the 'social entrepreneurs' regarding the government's approach to the issue of the social enterprise. In addition one can also discern the understanding of the social enterprise by the 'social entrepreneurs', in defining the social enterprise and themselves. Moreover it has depicted the ambiguity concerning the role of business in the social enterprise. All the findings indicate that the social enterprise is confused about its 'self' and as a result of the status quo. Hence, the social enterprise lacks recognition in the institutional environment (Suchman 1995). Furthermore, the identity of European social enterprises overlaps with other forms of social service providers (Borzaga & Solari 2001), despite, Borzaga and Defourny *et al.* (2001), and Steinberg (1997), acknowledgement of the difference between the social enterprise and other non-profits, public and profit organizations. Strom (2007) indicates that hybrid organizations that many put in the fourth sector differ from those present in public, business and third sectors. This is one reason why many sources underline the fact that there is a difference between the non-profit and the social enterprise. Ben Klasky, the executive director of the Net Impact says that "people simply doing non-profit work are not necessarily doing social entrepreneurship" and he continues "...unless they are doing something that's never been done before" (Knowledge@Wharton 2003: 1). Nevertheless, these two notions are often confused and used interchangeably. Young (2000) agrees that the social enterprise has a problem with defining its identity, and Borzaga and Solari, (2001) add that its nature of form is not clear. Likewise, since identity "defines who we are in relation to the larger social system to which we belong" according to (Fiol, Hatch & Golden-Biddle 1998 cited in Hatch & Schultz 2000: 25) it is therefore crucial to research the identity of the social enterprise. This is in order to draw a clear picture of the organization that has been developing and also has a great potential to become one of the main

players in the market. Dutton and Dukerich (1991) support this notion saying that it is important to study organizational identity since individual's understandings of an issue and motivations for action on it are led and triggered by identity which have an effect on patterns of organizational acts over time. Thus, since the ongoing discussion on the definition of the social enterprise aimed at giving this organization or concept a meaningful understanding has not brought about significant input or adequate clarity, there is a need to approach this problem from another perspective by investigating its identity.

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EXPLAINING BRITAIN'S ALCOHOL 'PROBLEM': TEMPERANCE IDEAS AND ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM

Henry Yeomans

Abstract

In recent years, there has been persistent unease about the drinking habits of the British public. This has been especially evident in newspapers, political speeches and Acts of Parliament, all of which have tended to focus on the negative effects of alcohol on health or crime and disorder. Based around the belief that alcohol is essentially problematic in a social and moral sense, this preoccupation is often seen as distancing Britain from the more relaxed approach to alcohol typified by many of our European neighbours. Anti-alcohol, temperance attitudes and the alarmed reactions they produce, however, are neither new nor exclusively British. In the Nineteenth Century temperance movements, which expressed acute concern over public drinking habits, occurred in Britain and several other countries. It would therefore be worthwhile to ask what produces temperance beliefs and this pervasive neurosis about alcohol.

This paper will investigate temperance ideas historically and comparatively in order to facilitate discussion of the social forces that produce this enduring British anxiety about drinking. The paper argues that the objective incidences of social problems relating to alcohol are not, in themselves, sufficient justification for the alarmist reaction and will focus on the historical processes that have problematised alcohol. Particular attention will be paid to the role of religion in the formation of the temperance movement as well as the role of Protestant beliefs in the construction of alcohol as a social and moral problem.

Introduction

British attitudes towards alcohol appear characterised by social panic. Earlier this year Vivienne Nathanson, the British Medical Association's head of science and ethics, claimed that we are facing a "public health emergency" due to consumption of alcohol (*The Independent*, 22/02/08). It has become commonplace to hear that drinking is "out of control" (Sandra Gidley MP, *Daily Telegraph*, 26/07/07) or that we are faced with an "epidemic of drunken teenage violence" (*Daily Mail*, 16/08/07). The *Daily Mirror* claims that alcohol has turned areas of towns and cities into "no-go areas" (*Daily Mirror*, 03/03/08) and *The Sun* goes even further claiming that whole swathes of Britain are now drink-fuelled "war-zones" (*The Sun*, 04/03/08). The acute anxiety expressed in regards to the effects of alcohol on health and crime distinguishes Britain from

most European countries and the misuse of alcohol has come to be seen as a very British problem. This point is exemplified by Judge Charles Harris QC who argues that British people become “pugnacious and bellicose” after drinking and “fight at the slightest provocation” (*BBC*, 28/06/06). This paper will investigate this peculiarly British neurosis about alcohol and explore the origin of these anti-alcohol, temperance sentiments.

A British Problem?

To begin with the assumptions underlying this reaction will be examined. Firstly, there is the belief that people in Britain consume more alcohol than in other European countries. Research varies slightly in findings but tends to agree that Britain is not the chief consumer of alcohol in Europe. In fact it is quite common to find France, Spain, Luxembourg, or other nations with more ‘relaxed’ attitudes towards alcohol ranking well above Britain (see: WHO,2004:11-12). Secondly, the popular belief that alcohol consumption is rising is also questionable. Although it is generally accepted by academics that there was a steady increase in consumption in the second half of the Twentieth Century (Harrison,1971:66-72; Institute of Alcohol Studies,2005:6-7), data from the General Household Survey (2006) and the Information Centre (2007) show a year-on-year decrease in (self-reported) levels of alcohol consumption from around 2001-2002 onwards. Statistics published by the WHO (British Heart Foundation,2006) and British Beer and Pub Association (BBPA,2007), based on the production and sale of alcohol, provide some corroboration to this trend, displaying a decrease in consumption in recent years.

The accuracy of the idea that alcohol consumption is increasing is thus ambiguous. In regards to the problems it causes, reliable measurement of alcohol’s harmful influence is very difficult. In terms of health, alcohol is usually one aetiological factor contributing to, say, liver disease, and as such its effects are hard to distinguish from those of, for example, diet or heredity. In reference to crime, both recorded crime levels (Nicholas *et al*,2007:1-18) and the British Crime Survey (Home Office,2007) show a steady decrease in crime levels over recent years. Although we cannot definitively isolate the level of alcohol-related crime, the aggregated national picture certainly does not support the idea of an epidemic. In terms of levels alcohol consumption and its harmful effects, it is difficult to find empirical support for the alarmist reaction to British drinking habits.

But the central thread of this paper does not concern whether or not the popular views about alcohol are factually correct, rather it is concerned with where these views come from. This investigation must be predicated by the brief discussion of the lack of evidence supporting the popular reaction (above) in order to demonstrate the absence of any objective or empirical link between the moral panic and the actual situation. To reinforce this, it should be pointed out that even if some or all of the assumptions underlying the reaction were ‘correct’, this still does not explain the mass hysteria. Reinerman asserts that

“the existence of compelling troubles or substantial human suffering may be necessary but not sufficient conditions for the emergence of a successful movement for public action” (1988:101) and discusses this point in reference to the ‘Mothers Against Drink Driving’ campaign (MADD). This campaign emerged in the USA in the 1980s despite the fact that the country had comparatively low levels of drink-driving and no evidence of an increase. Rather than being the logical response to a worsening problem this was the re-branding of a particular behavior, previously regarded as something of a ‘folk crime’, as problematic by a powerful movement of ‘moral entrepreneurship’ (Reinarman,1988:101). Levine reinforces this point by asking why, in America, children of alcoholics have formed themselves into a sizeable self-help movement whilst children of the poor or mentally ill have not (Levine,1993:1). The issue at stake thus becomes the character and origin of the attitudes that construct a particular ‘problem’ rather than its empirical actuality. Instead of focusing on whether there is a British problem with alcohol, we should be looking at why we *perceive* alcohol as a problem in Britain.

Alcohol has been drunk in Britain for hundreds of years, during the majority of which time its consumption was deemed perfectly acceptable. The Assize of Bread and Ale in 1267 ranked beer as ‘the second necessity of life’ and established a pricing system that ensured alcohol was always affordable to the peasantry (Burnett,1999:111). It is documented that in the Middle Ages many people, notably Queen Elizabeth (Burnett,1999:113-114) and diarist Samuel Pepys (Burnett,1999:1), drank beer or wine at breakfast. In the 1680s and 1690s an average of three pints of beer per day was given to children at Christ’s Hospital and St Bartholomew’s Hospital, and many workers received their wages in beer even after this practice was outlawed in 1887 (Burnett,1999:113-116). Alcohol was also used recreationally, such as in the popular folk tradition of Saint Monday (Thompson,1967:73-76). Alcohol thus appears to have been very much part of everyday life for hundreds of years and it was not until the Eighteenth Century that any large scale concern over alcohol consumption was voiced. The ‘gin panics’, which occurred between 1720 and 1750, were perhaps the first episode of significant British anxiety about the public’s drinking habits, but they were fairly localised being concentrated solely in the south-east. As Borsay describes, they were also not concerned about alcohol *per se* and generally encouraged people to abandon spirits in favour of beer (Borsay,2007:7). The temperance movement which emerged in the Nineteenth Century, however, viewed alcohol itself as a moral evil, and the progressive regulation of the alcohol trade through licensing from 1872 onwards suggests this movement had a degree of influence. The development and proliferation of licensing laws in this period illustrates that there was something of a transformation in attitudes to alcohol; it went from being a customary part of everyday life, to being seen as an essentially problematic substance in a social and moral sense.

There appears, therefore, an association between the emergence of the temperance movement and the problematisation of alcohol. Levine identifies nine ‘temperance cultures’ which experienced temperance movements in the

Nineteenth Century that are comparable qualitatively and in terms of size. These countries are: Britain, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland (Levine,1993). In order to assess the origins of temperance views it is necessary to ask what factors can differentiate these countries from non-temperance cultures. It is sometimes argued that industrialisation produces temperance movements (Engels,1993:109) and whilst all nine of Levine's temperance cultures are industrial Western nations there are many other countries fitting this criteria that did not experience mass temperance mobilisation, for example Germany or France. Alternatively it has been asserted that there is a relationship between temperance and the consumption of spirits - the contention being that spirits produce more social problems and therefore provoke a temperance reaction (Levine:3-4). Again, however, this argument is weakened by the non-occurrence of temperance movements in countries, such as Russia or Czech Republic, which consume larger quantities of alcohol per capita in the form of distilled spirits than any of the nine temperance cultures (WHO,2004:13). So neither of these explanations can identify a factor found in the temperance cultures and absent from non-temperance cultures. More seriously they both erroneously presuppose an objective connection between an increase in social problems relating to alcohol (driven by industrialisation or spirits) and the development of temperance attitudes. The importance of focusing on the means through which we come to perceive alcohol consumption as problematic was highlighted earlier, and in this respect both of these explanations are unsatisfactory.

Two possible explanations of temperance movements have been ruled out and the question of how they can be accounted for remains. A striking commonality of the temperance cultures is that all nine are predominantly Protestant countries (Levine:7-12). To an extent, this religious geography only corroborates popular stereotypes of drunken, beer swilling northern Europeans contrasted to sophisticated southern European wine-drinkers. However, this pattern is disrupted because so many Protestant nations, for example Germany and Denmark, are non-temperance. Protestantism in general cannot therefore be singled out as an explanation and we need to narrow the enquiry slightly. Eriksen (1989) draws attention to the crucial role of *ascetic* Protestantism in the Swedish temperance movement and, to extend her analysis, it is apparent that the nine temperance cultures in question were, or are, all home to strong movements of ascetic Protestantism. In Britain this was manifested through the popularity of Methodism, Baptism, Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, all of which, to some degree, draw inspiration from the doctrines of Sixteenth Century Puritans. It is also clear on a regional level that temperance groups were strongest in areas where non-conformism was rife, such as the South-West, the North and Scotland, yet weak in the South East where the more-Lutheran Church of England was dominant (Warner,2003:x, Shiman,1988:9). There appears a geographic association of ascetic Protestantism and temperance cultures in which alcohol use is problematised.

But this relationship is more than mere association. It is well documented that the British temperance movement was instigated and pioneered by members

of ascetic Protestant churches. Harrison states that in 1837 there were 285 teetotal ministers listed nationally, of which 40% were Methodist, 25% Congregationalist, 21% Baptist, and only 5% Anglican (Harrison, 1971:179). Harrison goes on to describe how the UK Alliance and the British Temperance League in particular “were powered by militant provincial non-conformism” (Harrison, 1971:258) and were close to non-conformist parliamentary radicals, such as Joseph Chamberlain. Gusfield has observed a similar religious constitution to temperance groups in the USA (Gusfield, 1962:105-107) and Eriksen described how ascetic Protestant preachers from Britain and the US established the first temperance societies in Sweden (Eriksen, 1989:61-66). The participation of ascetic Protestants in the temperance campaign, particularly in the early stages, shows that Calvinist beliefs are not just associated geographically with the emergence of temperance movements, but warrant consideration as a potentially causal variable. It seems Calvinism played a crucial role in the creation of temperance culture. The second section will address the question that is logically prompted by this conclusion, namely: why?

An Interpretive Explanation of the Association between Temperance and Ascetic Protestantism

“Every Christian professor is laid under a *moral obligation*... to abstain for his own benefit as well as the benefit of others” (W. Hunt, 1841:33). In order to explain the relationship of Calvinism to temperance, it is a useful starting point to consider the divergent cultural ethos of Catholicism and Protestantism in reference to deviant behaviour. In Catholic cultures incidents of drunkenness, like all improper behaviour, can be confessed to a priest and the sins forgiven by a merciful god. Protestantism, however, substitutes confessional rituals for individual self-control and the resistance of temptation. Durkheim sees the Reformation as based around the rise of free thought and individualism, an affront to the kind of dogma and ritual indicative of the Catholic church (Durkheim, 1970:375). In *Suicide* Durkheim argues that Catholics are born into a culture of forgiveness and operate within social formations based on firm family as well as congregational ties. These ties are supplemented by extensive church regulations of behaviour in all aspects life, all of which means that Catholics are firmly attached to earthly life and so less inclined to suicide. Protestantism by contrast is more individualistic, and the burden of agency is seen as weighing heavily upon people. More freedom of thought and less regulation means people are encouraged to reflect on how they should and should not behave, and control their thoughts and actions accordingly. The psychological strain imposed upon individuals by this religious ethos can be unbearable and Durkheim sees this factor as important in causing suicides (Durkheim, 1970:374-375). To our discussion the significance of these differences in religious belief and practice lie in their illumination of macro ideological differences between non-temperance Catholic countries, and Protestant nations inclined toward temperance in which individual self-control has become a moral virtue.

The eminence of individual self-control in Protestantism may go some way towards explaining a perceived obligation to avoid drunkenness, but it is clearly only a partial explanation seeing as many Protestant countries did not experience temperance movements. So what is different about ascetic Protestantism? In *The Protestant Ethic* Weber stresses the importance of the Calvinist belief in predestination and argues that it shifted people's focus away from *achieving* a state of grace, which is the focus of Lutheranism or Catholicism, and towards *proving* you own state of grace (Weber, 1965:98-103). According to Weber, this doctrine promotes an interest in the secular world, particularly in the sphere of work and labour. It becomes imperative for the individual to rationally order their lives - to work hard, to save money and to control emotional or physical impulses (Weber, 1965:126-127). If the individual follows this rational path and becomes wealthy or successful this is taken as a sign that God looks favourably upon them and so, presumably, they are one of the elect destined for a place in heaven (Weber, 1965:141). Calvinism thus intensifies the Protestant idea of self-control and places a powerful spiritual currency upon rational worldly activity. If alcohol costs money, disinhibits behaviour, inclines its imbibers towards spontaneity, and reduces capacity for work (both when consuming and often the next morning) it starts to become clear why such a thing was moral anathema to Calvinists.

Alcohol was also closely connected with recreation, which was viewed with general suspicion by Calvinists. To Calvinists, the earthly and the divine were totally separate spheres (Weber, 1965:102-103) and, whilst God is perfect, human beings are essentially depraved, degraded, sinful creatures. The Nineteenth Century Methodist preacher Jabez Bunting claimed that "the dust of self-abasement is our place before God" (quoted in Thompson, 1980:400) and consequently, as E.P. Thompson describes, guilt, shame and self-repulsion are the only emotions suitable to mankind. The classic puritanical view that pleasure is immoral arises directly from these ideas as time spent recreationally becomes, not just a waste of time which could be used for rational labour, but also an act of reveling in the vulgarity of humanity and thus an affront to God. Individuals who avoid recreation and take enjoyment only from work, are seen as possessing a degree of personal worth that reflects well on their prospects for salvation. Echoing this point, Sennett argues that the loss of a ritual (confessionary) religion leads to a belief in "denial of self-gratification for purposes of validating the self" (Sennett, 1976:333). Importantly, this self-denying behaviour is distinguishable from the monk chastising himself before God - such self-absorbed behaviour is oblivious to the divinity of God and the essential vulgarity of humanity (Sennett, 1976:333-334). Calvinism promotes a worldly asceticism that seeks no material, sensory or indeed spiritual gratification. The development of this puritan ethic is crucial to understanding why the British temperance movement believed abstinence or prohibition, rather than moderation, was the only means for destroying the evil of alcohol.

Self-control, rationality and abstinence from pleasure were part of a worldly asceticism that inclined Calvinists towards temperance beliefs and accordingly, there is evidence of these ideas in temperance sources. A letter printed in *The Times* claimed that “the worst cases of murder, street robbery, housebreaking, seduction, and suicide, may all be traced to this horrid source” (*The Times*, 04/01/1830) and increasingly the breakdown of social and moral order, as represented by crimes such as these, was seen as the *inevitable* result of alcohol consumption. A condensed example of this reasoning can be found in the work of the temperance activist W. Hunt. In his book *History of Teetotalism in Devonshire* he spends the early pages describing how alcohol leads to the social ‘evils’ of crime and poverty before explaining that moderate drinking is the start of this path. With this reasoning set out, he resorts to referring to alcohol itself as evil for the rest of book (Hunt, 1841:1-35). The UK (Prohibition) Alliance went further and referred to alcohol as “an all-embracing, all-explaining evil which must be removed before progress could be made in any other sphere of social reform” (Harrison, 1971:372). A hymn sung in Cornwall by the Methodist temperance organization ‘the Band of Hope’ exemplifies these attitudes and also sets out a code of behaviour to avoid the evils of drink. The hymn contains the lines: “Temp’rance boys and girls can *work*, for themselves and others, alcohol we’ll never touch, that all *courage* smothers”; and later “*self-denying strong and brave*, for life’s burden bearing” (Bailey *et al*, 2007). The construction of alcohol as an absolute moral evil has the effect of logically precluding the possibility of harmless, moderate drinking. Moreover this hymn demonstrates that the individualistic, Calvinist virtues of hard work and self-control were transposed onto the issue of alcohol and promoted as the only defence against this evil.

Given the strength of these convictions as already expressed, temperance societies can be understood as constituting, in the minds of their adherents, a battle against evil. Harrison notes that this concept of a struggle was popular with nonconformists and quotes Sir Wilfrid Lawson thus: “I wonder what man was born for... excepting to struggle. We live in a world full of sin, of wrong, and of injustice, and if we are not to struggle, the sooner we are out of this world the better” (Harrison, 1971:377). Temperance propaganda often echoed this semantic; for example the section of the *English Chartist Circular* dedicated to temperance spoke of the social movement in terms of “battle”, imminent “victory” as well as “laying siege to the stronghold of corruption - the fortress *Intemperance*” (*English Chartist Circular*, 1841-1844:23). To the ascetic Protestant the temperance movement became not just an ameliorative campaign against a singular social problem, but a series of actions instrumental in the struggle to establish godly conditions of total sobriety upon Earth. It came to embody the eternal conflict of good against evil; as temperance activist T.H. Barker put in 1871, temperance was literally “part - and oh how large a part! - of the great war between Heaven and Hell” (Harrison, 1971:372). Convinced by the evils of drink and motivated by the non-conformist idea of ‘the struggle’, temperance became a powerful *moral* crusade in the Nineteenth Century.

This last point is significant in capturing the breakdown of the individual's jurisdiction over their own behaviour. With the stakes in the struggle against alcohol established as absolute, the Calvinist, imbued with an ardent work ethic and desire to bring glory to God, could not let the 'sinful' behaviour of his neighbour go unchallenged. The construction of alcohol as morally evil imposes an imperative upon the devout to take action against its production, retail and consumption. To elaborate, drinking alcohol can be a purely individual act that does not result in any social problems, such as crime, poverty or illness (much less popular action against these problems). But the temperance movement's beliefs and propaganda constructed a powerful connection, rooted in Calvinist doctrine, between alcohol and social ills thus instigating a social movement against its use. If the object campaigned against is considered a binary negative, then there are no social boundaries which temperance activists could not justify crossing, including the separation of public and private affairs. Thompson corroborates this point by describing how, concerning puritanical behaviour in this era, "there is perhaps a new insistence, a firmer accent, as those moralists who had accepted this new discipline for themselves enjoined it upon the working people" (Thompson, 1967:87). In this context temperance propaganda became chiliastic in tone, often condemning those who drank alcohol; it was no longer necessary merely to take the teetotal pledge yourself, but crucial to encourage others to take it. Personal behaviour became public business as Calvinist-inspired ideas transmitted it through a decidedly moralising medium.

It has been established that ascetic Protestantism, above Catholicism or Lutheranism, inclined its followers toward temperance. It inspired them to lead strictly regulated, disciplined, labouring lives; it replaced beliefs in universal salvation and the power of confession with a mantra of self-control; it demonised pleasure and time not spent bringing glory to God; it imbued the faithful with a sense of struggle, a fighting spirit to be directed against any evil crossing their firing line - a space soon filled by the remoulded 'evil' of alcoholic drinks; and it eroded any sense of privacy as every person's behaviour came under the moral jurisdiction of the Calvinist conscience. It was in this ideological context that every individual was placed under a 'moral obligation' to avoid alcohol for his benefit and the benefit of others.

Conclusion: Contemporary Attitudes Revisited

To summarise, there is a chronological and geographic association between ascetic Protestantism and temperance movements. These associations in addition to the clear historical links, in terms of the religious make-up of early temperance groups, suggest that Calvinist ideas were a decisive factor in the emergence of temperance movements and the subsequent problematisation of alcohol in popular thought. Harrison argues that as the popularity of temperance societies flourished they became, firstly, strongly supported by Anglicans and then, secondly, increasingly influential in Parliament and thus progressively removed from a spiritual or religious semantic field. The end

result of the temperance movement was thus “instead of making Radicalism Christian it ended by secularizing Christianity” (Harrison, 1971:31) – or, in this analysis, a particular variant of ascetic Protestant Christianity. Successive pieces of licensing legislation enacted from 1872 onwards served to ingrain the essentially negative, even evil, nature of alcohol into secular law and broader notions of social order. Nowadays public discussion of alcohol, especially through the press, government and academically, focuses overwhelmingly on the problematic aspects of alcohol use (Gusfield, 1996:4-54). The idea that alcohol is a social problem is now a common sense assumption, a point which demonstrates the hegemonic status of Calvinist, temperance beliefs.

It was famously argued by Max Weber that Calvinism has become embedded in modern capitalist culture and continues to shape our thoughts and perceptions in a secular age (Weber, 1965). In light of this paper, it can be asserted that the salience of Calvinist beliefs is apparent in British attitudes towards alcohol. To return to some of the statements cited in the introduction, this argument should place a new slant upon our analysis. The alarmist comments about ‘out of control’ drinking or an ‘epidemic of violence’ now appear driven by a distinctly Calvinist anxiety about self-control and social order (or a lack of both). Vivienne Nathanson’s claims about a ‘public health emergency’ can be seen as reflective of the breakdown of any division between public and private responsibilities - the non-conformist idea of the struggle has constructed a moral imperative to avoid alcohol, meaning that what the individual may do in private (to their own liver) is now clearly a public issue. And Judge Charles C. Harris’ denigrating statements about British drinking culture now appear driven by a puritanical disgust with the recreational habits of the masses and a powerful sense of national self-repulsion. The continuing visibility of ascetic Protestant beliefs in popular discourse on alcohol suggests a pervasive and enduring impact upon our national psyche. The British neuroses about alcohol thus seems the result, in no small part, of how we *perceive* rather than *use* alcohol.

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MULTIDISCIPLINED INDIVIDUALS: DEFINING THE GENRE

Jacqui Rogers

Abstract

My research concerns itself with the development of multidisciplinary expertise within a project based organisation operating within the oil & gas industry. Informal learning has attracted significant research attention in recent years especially in respect of social interaction theories such as Communities of Practice (Wenger & Lave, 1991). Although there is a substantial body of literature in many of the areas covered by this research there is little which addresses this particular research focus.

As a consequence of the lack of appropriate literature it became necessary to change the research strategy from that of an inductive case study to Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967). The ability to identify and scope out areas for investigation which grounded theory provided enabled the scope and direction of the research to be established. Further, identifying the key elements within the working environment and how they interact to provide the learning environment will enable the appropriate explanatory concepts to be developed from the data.

The intention of this paper is to discuss the difficulties encountered with the research to date and how determining the appropriate research strategy addressed these.

Introduction

The need for further research to augment existing literature which has not yet been “sufficiently envisioned, embedded and evaluated in the context of small, project-based firms to form a robust, grounded body of innovation knowledge in its own right” (Barrett & Sexton 2005, p.14) is widely acknowledged (Zakarian & Kusian 1998; Van Der Vegt & Bunderson 2001; Gann & Salter 2000). This research is seeking to make a contribution in this area in respect of the development of multidisciplinary expertise by individuals within project teams.

The initial section below sets out to familiarise the reader with the research by giving some detail on its background and context. The paper then moves on to review current literature discussing identified themes and areas where the literature is lacking or fragmented. The remaining sections of the paper discuss steps taken to address the inadequacies including the decision to

change the research strategy. Finally it will outline the research aims and objectives.

Background and context

In the workplace individuals are often defined or 'labelled' by the knowledge domain in which they work, e.g. geologist, reservoir engineer. Generally individuals strive to obtain status and recognition from increasing excellence inside their knowledge domain. Nevertheless there are individuals who have the capability to expand their arena of expertise to incorporate one or more additional disciplines or areas of interest. In fact they wear more than one label – they are multidisciplined individuals! They have acquired the ability to work across the disciplines not through formal education/training but from their work experiences.

Such individuals have a number of advantages in resource constraint environments. They have an enhanced ability to achieve more with less combined with a more rounded view of the world enabling them frequently to put together more practical solutions across a broader range of problems. In addition, they often have an added confidence in their core discipline as the individual is boosted by acquiring additional expertise. These attributes add value for the employer since they become a source of creative problem solving and assist by differentiating the organisation in recruitment and retention of staff. Multidisciplined individuals "provide a greater pool of folk who understand the broader aspects of the business from which to draw future leaders", (Gaffney 2008).

The research is set within the context of the Oil & Gas industry. Subject to rapidly changing economic, political and environmental impacts this sector is driven by the cyclical nature of its business; increasing complexity of applied technologies; changing educational approaches from generalist to specialist and back; changes in the size and nature of the companies and increasingly dominant, a critical shortage of manpower due to reductions during down-cycles or pressures during up-cycles such as the current one.

Initial literature review

The original research strategy to be applied to this research was that of a case study. Case studies allow the researcher to gain an understanding of the processes at work within a limited environment and are "a worthwhile way of exploring existing theory" (Saunders 2003, p. 93). Having previously completed a Masters Degree dissertation on the same theme (MAPD 2005) it was initially thought that the major themes to be researched would emerge from the literature review with comparative ease. However, this proved not to be case and the review became more wide ranging and time consuming than it might have otherwise have been in the effort to find appropriate material.

The literature review commenced with the requirement to define the meanings to be applied to certain terms used within the research as closer investigation had revealed a number of differing meanings applying to the same terms. The themes of boundaries and the role they play; various types of communities and learning processes were also explored and are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Definitions

This research is principally about exploring the concept of what people do at work which has meant defining a wide cross section of the terms used. This process is described within the research as labelling since labels “classify, define, describe, designate, identify, name” (Collins Thesaurus 1992, p. 256). Labels are often a convenient way to group a bundle of different ideas and act as great communication devices. However the very act of labelling creates a variety of expectations about what the label should or should not contain and this creates difficulties. Often, particularly in the case of abstract ideas, closer inspection reveals imprecision or misunderstandings as to the actual mechanism, process or idea which the label is conveying. Examples are discussed in the following sections.

Multidisciplinary – Meanings and usage

There appear to have been few attempts within the literature to apply the term ‘multidisciplined’ to individuals apart from references found inside computer expert-systems literature, e.g. Alford (1999) typically the term is more commonly applied to teams. It also became apparent that a variety of different terms are used both in academia and industry to describe teams utilising a selection of individuals drawn from differing disciplines. Most commonly the terms ‘inter’ and ‘multi’ are used as though they are interchangeable. Wilson and Pirrie (2001) attempted to distinguish between the various terms on the basis of among, between and across the disciplines finally settling on ‘inter’ to describe teams capable of producing different perspectives which combined knowledge from all disciplinary backgrounds. Two years later Housley (2003) used the same reasoning for using the term ‘multi’ to fit such teams. Given this contradiction it became increasingly important that a specific meaning be applied to the word in the context of the research.

‘Multidisciplined’ rather than any other term was favoured for use in the research on the following grounds:

- Kline (1995) suggested that multidisciplined thinking enabled the concept of emergent ideas to apply to creativity

- Multidisciplinary teams are frequently attributed with the ability to produce metaperspectives which enable increased creativity (Belasen 2000)

Both points attribute the quality of creativity which is generally deemed to be the main feature of multidisciplined working and which should be associated with individuals who develop additional expertise across the disciplines.

Project Teams

The focus here is on the sharing and learning processes which may or may not be present within project teams. In terms of how project teams work together Øvretveit (1997) produced a continuum based upon how closely team members interact and it is a useful mechanism to chart interaction between members recognising that the knowledge transfer process requires this condition to be present. At one end of the continuum sits those teams where there is no interaction; their nature being more in the way of groups with something in common. At the other end, team members share and interact routinely to achieve their goals. It is teams operating at this latter end of the continuum which provide the ideal learning situations for their members. The research fixed upon 'integrated multidisciplined' as the appropriate term to describe such teams. It soon becomes apparent that there are many teams described as such within the literature and industry publications but very few which contain all the building blocks necessary for learning to take place within the team.

Significantly, fully integrated teams are those teams which are recognised as being the most successful in terms of creativity (Pence & Wilson 1994; Masters 1990; Grigis et al 1995). In multidisciplinary teams this creativity is further fuelled by the ability of individuals within the team to combine knowledge across the disciplines to produce new perspectives (Belasen 2000) and it is this ability that enhances the personal development of the individual within the team (Hackman 1990).

Learning in the Workplace

"Learning on the job" is a familiar, everyday term and yet closer inspection surprisingly reveals a complex and uncertain structure. It is clearly deemed to be the poor relation in terms of education: inferior to formal education/training (Smith 1999); the least understood (Livingstone 2003) and there is confusion within the literature as to what it really consists of (Colley et al 2002).

Styhre (2006) suggested that workplaces are packed full of learning material which has been catalogued in various ways to understand how the individual makes use of it in the last forty or so years. Various writers (Polanyi 1962; Blackler 1995; Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995) have catalogued material based on

the nature of the information. Significantly Yanow (1998) took a different approach separating theory from practiced based information allowing for the development more recently of social interaction learning theories. This approach effectively separates 'learning' from 'knowing'. Poikela (2004) highlighted the thorny question of when does knowledge become knowing suggesting that only once knowledge was placed inside the right context; a view reversed by Nicolini (2003) who argued that knowledge is what you are taught through formalised training and everything else is learning.

Differentiation between theoretical and practical knowledge (Yanow 1998; Contu & Wilmott 2003) has allowed for the development of social interaction theories which seek to explain in depth what "learning" in the workplace consists of and how such learning takes place.

Exploring 'labels' confirmed the confusion of ideas surrounding certain terms making it necessary to define precisely the meanings to be attached to the terms 'multidisciplinary' and 'integrated multidisciplinary teams' within the context of this research. However, a closer review of learning within the workplace did not produce any clarification on learning processes revealing instead a number of alternate theories as to what might be taking place.

Knowledge Domains and Boundaries

Boundaries are utilised within knowledge domains to separate out the individual domains but they also occur in team, communities of practice and organisational literature.

The challenge within the disciplines is the constant change created by the growth of knowledge itself; disciplines are created, expand and then, in many cases, are mutated or superseded as the body of knowledge grows with traditional boundaries becoming confused over time e.g. engineering. Looking more closely at the boundaries between the disciplines, in addition to separating out the work they allow for differing research traditions (Sil & Doherty 2000). Contrary to Kline (1995) and Housley's (2003) arguments that increasing specialisation is detrimental to the development of ideas there is a strong case made for their retention and maintenance since:

- they act as containers of knowledge (Brown & Duguid 1994);
- they create closed communities of self interested groups clustered around and promoting the development of a specific knowledge area (King & Brownwell 1966): Toulmin 1972: Fournier 2000)
- Given this, boundaries must be maintained and defended with vigour (Rushmer & Pallis 2003) although it is recognised that some disciplines are more robust in defending their borders than others

Closer examination of the evolving disciplines and their boundaries makes it apparent that the boundaries and overlap areas between the disciplines form a

fertile ground creating new ideas and innovations, encouraging the growth of new disciplines and forming a rich learning environment for individuals, (Wenger 1991: Holbeche 2005).

It is possible to 'map' the disciplines to gain an understanding of how they fit together and where the disciplinary boundaries lie. Two different ways of mapping were found within the literature. Firstly a la Becher (1989) charted the disciplines by how they were utilised (in this study from reserves extraction through to refinery processing) which allowed for an almost one dimensional picture showing basic discipline groupings to emerge. These groupings provided an understanding of where overlaps might occur and, as with any map, highlighted the distance and consequent remoteness between other disciplines.

The second method, based upon how the information flowed through the disciplines (Levorsen 1967), allowed a more complex, multi-layered picture to emerge, highlighting the lack of interaction between certain disciplines in the process.

Organisations

The review incorporated a brief discussion on 'learning organisation' (Senge 1990) and business organisations particularly post modernist organisations (Burrell & Cooper 1988) where traditional hierarchal boundaries have largely disappeared. The review focussed on organisations employing professionals and having those special characteristics stressed by Bucher and Stelling (1996) of 'collegiality, peer evaluation and autonomous, informality, and flexibility of structure'; all qualities of the target organisation.

Different types of boundaries were found in Richard McDermott's (1999) view of organisations which consisted of Communities of Practice and utilised cross disciplinary teams terming them 'Double-Knit organisations' because of the learning loops called into play by the combination. Barrett and Sexton (2005) conducted research into small project-based firms in the construction industry in an attempt to add to the available theoretical and practical insights into project based organisations and within this were able to identify workers who were 'infinitely expandable in terms of their skills and abilities and the ways in which these may be deployed', (2005, p.10) thereby emphasising the major strengths, that of functional flexibility and innovation, of such organisations.

Boundaries within the context of this research are fascinating places being utilised to control and defend territories within knowledge domains while at the same time full of opportunities for development, growth and creativity at the individual, organisational and corporate level and promoting the development of multidisciplinary individuals.

Communities

A discussion on knowledge domains noted how communities were created around them providing for long term, deep seated behaviour patterns among individuals (Neuhauser 1988: Kline 1995, Becher 1989) and providing both status and a sense of belonging. Social interaction learning processes in the form of Communities of Practice (Wenger 2003) are included both for their immense learning potential and also as they act as a containment mechanism for the discipline itself. Wenger uses Communities in the learning context however there are similarities to earlier writings in the same vein e.g. Fleck (1979). Communities of Practice attract criticism because by their very nature they can become introverted (Gummesson 1991) and are subject to peer and internal power pressures (Contu & Willmot 2003: Boud & Middleton 2003). It was recognised that sharing does not come easily to every individual and as such these communities may actually be hostile environments (Contu & Willmot 2000).

Learning

In thinking about the acquisition of additional and different discipline expertise it is clear that somewhere in the process learning forms a major component and previous research pointed to the learning available within project teams. The review looked at communities of practice as discussed above but also covered other social interaction learning theories and considered a number of alternatives.

The social interaction theories presented together at the Academy of Management, San Diego 1998 reveal a number of different ways to view 'learning' at work. There are four main theories; situated learning or communities of practice (already discussed), interpretative-cultural, cultural and historical activity and sociology of translation better known as the actor network theory. Although focussing on different aspects of learning they share common themes relating to language (Wittgenstein 1953), meaning of objects (Blackler & Engestrom 2005) and peer relationships (Vgotsky 1978).

Social interaction theories are gaining ground rapidly with the Communities of Practice perhaps being the most popular. Major criticisms levelled at these four theories include Ashton's (2004) point that the underlying research was based largely on specific groups of people, e.g. Erault (2000) studying professional staff only, or, in the case of Communities of Practice, that it has moved away from its original stance to become no more than a management tool.

Among the alternatives considered were Kolb's (1984) well known experiential learning cycle based on learning by experience and reflection. This work formed the basis of later work by Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) which

emphasised sharing actions, experiences and information as being fundamental to the learning process.

The work of Meyer and Land (2003) looking into threshold concepts and 'troublesome' knowledge is particularly interesting as they used the approach of changing an individual's perspective so that it opened up new or previously hidden ideas. This area has previously been explored by other writers (Engestrom 1994, Brookes 1994, Tillema 2005) and these concepts hold the potential to be viewed as stepping stones between spontaneous learning and the deliberate acquisition of expertise on the part of the individual. These two points represent the opposite ends of Eraut's (2000) continuum which noted that although the individual may have no intention to learn there is always an element of spontaneous learning present.

Clearly this is not a 'one-way street'; the individual has to be interested in the interaction and subsequent learning but also the environment has to be such that knowledge domain interaction takes place thereby creating a learning environment – a point not highlighted enough in the literature. As far as the individual is concerned it may simply be a case of the individual's willingness to share information, to listen and learn from colleagues and then explore the concepts further on his own. This may also mean perhaps having the courage to move away from the traditions of their own discipline if necessary.

Having reviewed the findings of the literature review the next section discusses in more detail the weaknesses identified and how this changed the research strategy.

Research aims/methodological issues

Initially it was thought that an inductive case study approach would be suitable for the current research but on seeking to extend the literature review from the team/learning approach it had previously taken it became apparent that the literature from the individual's perspective was diverse, inconclusive and sometimes totally lacking. To illustrate the lack of appropriate literature examples can be found in "teamwork" where the focus is placed on interpersonal skills, team roles (Belbin 1981) or on promoting team work itself. Another example is Övretreit (1997) who attempted to get to grips with how teams actually function but still did not really identify where the learning opportunities were focussed and how the individual can best take advantage of these opportunities.

The inconclusive nature of the literature meant that there was little guidance provided as to what would most likely prove to be key elements and how such elements may possibly interact with each other. Lack of guidance proved challenging in terms of attempting to scope out the research framework. In attempting to surface the individual perspective the initial thought was to look at such areas as multiple intelligences (Gardner 1983), creativity (Sternberg

1985), personality/trait theory (Eysenck 1991, Pinker 1998) and indeed the various, and multiple, motivational theories e.g. McGregor 1960, Alderfer and Smith 1982, Shamir 1991 .

It soon became clear however that investigating the predisposition/personality traits of individuals would not prove particularly constructive since if the discussion was focussed more on the individual's particular qualities all that would be necessary would be a list of traits/characteristics that a potential multidisciplinary individual should possess. While there is already a substantial body of literature on competencies and traits as well as in the theory connected to team working none relates to what it takes to make a good multidisciplinary individual. Even if there was some predisposition on the part of the individual the environment itself must allow for multidisciplinary growth.

The requirement to develop themes more in keeping with the focus of the research within the target organisation itself rather than within the literature pointed to the adoption of the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Strauss & Corbin 1998). An additional consideration is that many of these areas already have a substantial literature available and grounded theory will allow for "theoretical speculation which can be a fertile source of ideas for practicing researchers seeking original ways of looking at problems that otherwise seem old and worn", (Seale, 1999, p.87).

The more usual approach within grounded theory is to start collecting data in the early stages of the research and use the concepts that emerge to define the literature review. In this particular study extensive literature searches were completed prior to data collection so that adopting grounded theory as a strategy at this late stage may have already prejudiced the researcher's openness in interpreting the data. Prejudice is discussed in more detail by Bazeley (2007) who says that to expect researchers to have no prejudice at all "is generally no longer seen as realistic" (Bazeley 2007, p.22). This view is supported by one of the originators of grounded theory who indicated that literature searches can "enhance, rather than constrain theory development" (Strauss & Corbin 1998, p.49) and advocated early and frequent reference to the literature.

Bazeley (2007) suggest that the way to overcome both prejudice and other assumptions, including those arise from the philosophical approach of the researcher was to "recognise them, record them, and become aware of how they might be influencing the way you are thinking about your data" (Bazeley 2007, p.23). In practise this is perhaps less of a problem than it would first appear. Using secondary data (interview transcripts from previous Masters Study) the coding process itself allowed for new perspectives to emerge. In this particular example although familiar with the data from previous research recoding it suggested that in addition to the organisation structure already covered in the literature review the type of management strategy being followed could prove to be relevant. This will involve further reference to the

literature and provides an indication of the effectiveness of grounded theory in these situations.

Having discussed the requirement for grounded theory the following section looks at what this meant in practical terms for the research.

Initial steps

The initial steps following the change in research strategy was to look to the target organisation to provide the scope and direction for the research. The first question centred on what specific working practices of the target organisation allowed for and promoted multidisciplinary development? Isolating common activities and requirements into distinct areas would enable more precise data to be collected which may then reveal how influential a role the activity/requirement plays in whatever process may be taking place.

In order to address this question it was necessary to firstly determine what common qualities/attributes new recruits brought with them before moving on to establish the common elements within the working environment. These elements can be summed up as follows:

- a. Education/Experience: staff are either highly educated holding one or more degrees or had significant experience in their core disciplines/skill sets.
- b. Project involvement: working inside project teams or significant involvement with the teams
- c. Professional Societies: belonging to one or more professional associations with a significant number actively participating at regional, national and international levels.
- d. All staff exposed to the company ethos/structure
- e. An open environment where professional staff are encouraged to take an interest in any field and pursue it inside a project environment in the appropriate environment of team leaders and colleagues

From these basic requirements it was possible to scope out an outline framework for the study which can then be refined as more data becomes available. With hindsight it is clear this framework might have been reached much earlier in the investigation if the grounded theory approach had been adopted earlier. The data itself may well have indicated at least the initial coding and allowed for a more focussed literature review as themes developed.

It should be noted that the controlling or environmental elements identified so far may not prove to be the main, or even the only, factors involved in multidisciplinary development. The review had been by necessity wide ranging and it is acknowledged that there are a number of significant aspects which

have not been addressed in the detail and which may ultimately be required e.g. problem solving, which in itself contains a significant body of literature.

Having set out the background to the research the next section looks at the aim and objectives of the present research and its current status.

Research aims and objectives

Within this framework of everyday, well researched areas the work of Lewes (1875), Goldstein (1999), and Corning (2002) among many writers exploring the concept of emergent properties is useful as a different perspective. Emergent properties arise from a number of different processes/elements which when working together allow new and more complex properties to emerge e.g. the worldwide web, stock market, elections. Taking this further, although there are a number of very common features to be found in the target's working environment the specific combination/interaction of these features may allow for new properties to emerge which will assist in explaining the multidisciplinary development process.

Given the discussion above the initial research objectives are as follows:

Identify and describe the disciplines utilised within the target organisation, map the disciplinary boundaries and describe their culture.

Investigate the nature of the interaction between key features within the working environment to identify which situated learning processes may be present.

Explore and assess the role of professional associations and any communities of practice identified within the working environment to better understand their affect upon the individual.

Determine if any emergent properties arise as a result of data gathered and if so, describe their nature.

Develop an explanatory theory that could be utilised on a wider scale.

Initial coding has already commenced using data (written records) from the target organisation and secondary data in the form of interview material obtained during the previous Masters Degree research. A mix of methods including semi-structured interviews, questionnaire and participative/observer on actual projects will be utilised in the next months as fieldwork is carried out.

Summary

This research concerns itself with multidisciplinary individuals, i.e. specialists who acquire additional expertise across the disciplines within their working experiences. The literature revealed little or very limited material directly related to multidisciplinary individuals although each of the elements identified so far has a significant literature behind it. This lack of specific material

created initial problems in a choice of research strategy which have now been resolved by the adoption of the grounded theory approach.

The most outstanding feature of the literature review is the lack of clarity behind commonplace words e.g. multidisciplinary, team processes, informal learning and the requirement to establish the meanings to be applied to such words and processes within this research. This precision is necessary since such 'labels' bundle together a number of differing meanings. These meanings are usually general in nature and have evolved over time and across a number of areas within the literature e.g. communities as in social development, within knowledge domains and in social interaction learning theories.

Multidisciplined Individuals hold a number of advantages in the workplace in terms of flexibility and creativity but the processes which produce such individuals are not understood and this study seeks to make a contribution towards filling that gap in the literature.

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REFINING THE FOCUS GROUP AS A RESEARCH METHOD

Julia Palmer

Abstract

Focus groups are a valuable and reliable research method, providing that design, data collection and analysis follow thorough and systematic procedures. In this paper I situate focus group design alongside decisions regarding ontology, epistemology and methodology. Specifically I discuss my choice of a broadly constructivist ontology, interpretivist epistemology and qualitative methodology for my PhD research concerning the Internet experiences of university students. I then outline the advantages of focus groups in terms of their open research agenda and group interaction, before defending them against criticisms regarding scientific research and generalizability.

A discussion on the design of focus groups follows. In terms of participant recruitment, purposive sampling and the use of incentives are highlighted as important factors. The formation of a strategic questioning schedule is outlined and the role of the moderator is introduced with an emphasis on establishing rapport with participants. Before proceeding with data collection, the focus group design can be refined through piloting, which provides an opportunity to improve the questioning schedule and moderating skills. Additionally, reference is made to ongoing refinement.

Finally, this paper discusses inductive analysis in relation to my own research, and identifies ATLAS.ti as useful software for organising data.

Introduction

This paper explores the use of focus groups as a research method, with an emphasis on the importance of refining the method through research design and piloting. Firstly, the paper is situated within the wider context of research, including ontology, epistemology and methodology. Secondly, focus groups are introduced as a research method with consideration of their advantages and disadvantages. Thirdly, research design is discussed in relation to participant recruitment, the questioning schedule and the role of the moderator. Fourthly, the importance of refining focus groups through piloting is noted, with reference to the questioning schedule and the role of the moderator. Finally, a brief account of inductive analysis is provided. The paper draws on my experience of using focus groups as part of my PhD research, in which I explore the Internet experiences of university students. The key themes of this

research are: the affordances of the Internet for university students; the ways in which university students maximise the opportunities and minimise the risks of the Internet; and how Internet use shapes and gets shaped by the transition to university. This is a qualitative study, which uses focus groups and interviews as the main research methods.

The wider context of research

Ontology, epistemology and methodology are three key issues which have implications for research design; it is crucial that they are consistent with one another in order to provide the basis for a sound research enquiry. By way of definition, ontology is concerned with 'what exists' (Blaikie, 1993: 6), whilst epistemology is concerned with 'how what exists may be known' (Blaikie, 1993: 7). Ontology and epistemology together inform the choice of methodology. Broadly speaking a qualitative methodology is concerned with words and a quantitative methodology is concerned with numbers.

The research regarding the Internet experiences of university students is informed by a broadly constructivist ontology, defined by Blaikie (1993: 203) as 'the assumption that social reality is produced and reproduced by social actors'. In other words, social reality is dependent upon the knowledge, assumptions, attitudes, beliefs and values of the people within a particular society. The constructivist ontology is supported through an interpretivist epistemology, which is concerned with how people negotiate and construct meaning (Blaikie, 1993: 96). Interpretivism therefore seeks to understand actors through their own perspectives. As such, an interpretivist epistemological framework lends itself to a qualitative methodology, which allows access to non-quantifiable areas such as experience and gives voice to the participants.

Within a qualitative methodology a range of methods are available. Focus groups and one-to-one interviews were selected for this research project. Semi-structured schedules were used throughout, thus providing opportunities for participants to shape the agenda through structuring their own responses and asking their own questions. In addition, because data collection took place face-to-face, there were opportunities to probe and make further enquiries, ensuring that in-depth data was obtained. Similarly, face-to-face data collection 'offer[s] the researcher the opportunity to check that he or she has understood the informant correctly' (Denscombe, 2003: 178) and therefore enhances reliability.

Focus groups as a research method

Focus groups emerged as a research method due to dissatisfactions with traditional methods, such as questionnaires, in which '[t]he respondent was limited by the choices offered, and therefore the findings could be

unintentionally influenced by the interviewer through oversight or omission' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 5). Instead, focus groups use an open research agenda, which is 'ideal for exploring people's experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns' (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999: 5). Focus groups are a useful method for exploring the development of ideas and opinions, as participants collectively make meaning through agreement and disagreement. This feature was particularly important for the present research, because one purpose of the focus groups was to generate the direction of the project through finding out which aspects of the Internet were of interest and concern to the participants. These interests and concerns were then followed up through interviews, which 'probe individual experiences, encouraging self-reflection' (Breen, 2006: 466).

Although focus groups have increasingly been recognised as a social scientific research method, they have been criticised by positivists who maintain that 'all science ... is devoted to the pursuit of explanations, which take the form of general laws' (Outhwaite, 1987: 6-7). However, focus group research 'is not the type of scientific research that seeks to control and predict, but it is the type that seeks to provide understanding and insight' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 198). Krueger and Casey (2000: 198) defend the method through explaining that 'focus group research is scientific research because it is a process of disciplined inquiry that is systematic and verifiable'. Indeed it is essential that research design, data collection and analysis follow systematic procedures.

A further criticism against focus groups is that due to the low number of participants the data cannot be generalized. However, it is important to '[k]eep in mind that the intent of focus groups is not to infer but to understand, not to generalize but to determine the range, and not to make statements about the population but to provide insights about how people in the groups perceive a situation' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 83). Due to this different intent, the concept of generalizability is less applicable to focus groups than the concept of transferability, which refers to the 'larger theoretical concepts as opposed to the specific findings' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 203-204). Therefore, reaching theoretical saturation is the guiding point for determining the sample size; '[s]aturation is a term used to describe the point when you have heard the range of ideas and aren't getting new information' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 26).

Despite their criticisms, focus groups are reliable providing that research design, data collection and analysis are thorough and systematic. Focus groups enable in-depth data to be obtained and this valuable data produces findings that may be transferable across environments.

Designing the research method

Having discussed the wider context of research and introduced focus groups as a method, this paper discusses the importance of research design, in terms

of participant recruitment, the questioning schedule and the role of the moderator.

Participant recruitment

A successful recruitment strategy is an important aspect of research design. Given that the purpose of focus groups is to gain insight and depth, purposive sampling is appropriate because it 'allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested' (Silverman, 2000: 104). For this reason, first year undergraduate students were selected for my study, due to their existing experience of transition. I accessed this sample through two different recruitment procedures (formal and informal), in order to increase the diversity of students invited to participate.

Formal recruitment comprised of short presentations during departmental induction sessions in Freshers' Week. Presentations were given in two departments from each faculty of the University. During the presentations, the research was introduced and the following incentives were emphasised:

- A great way to meet people;
- Cake and refreshments provided;
- An opportunity to share your views;
- An excellent research experience.

These incentives were attractive to first year students who were concerned with making new friends, having a good time and embarking upon a degree course. According to Krueger and Casey (2000: 91), incentives are important because they encourage participation and communicate the importance of the research. Furthermore, people 'feel honoured when they are asked to provide opinions for a research project' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 93). After the presentation, students were given the opportunity to express an interest in participation through leaving their contact details or taking a form with my contact details. It was emphasised that any interest in participation could be withdrawn.

Informal recruitment comprised of approaching students as individuals or as groups whilst they queued to enter the Freshers' Fair. The same information was provided as that provided during the formal recruitment, however this information was given 'in conversation' rather than as a presentation. In addition, lollipops were handed out to everyone spoken to, as it was felt that this would show appreciation for my intrusion into their free time.

As a result of the recruitment, seventeen students participated in this phase of the research, across four focus groups. The original intention was to have four to six participants in each focus group, following the advice of Krueger and Casey (2000: 74): '[i]f the questions are meant to gain understanding of people's experiences, the researcher typically wants more in-depth insights.

This is usually best accomplished with smaller groups.’ The size of the focus groups however had to be adjusted when issues of attendance were encountered. This meant that the four focus groups comprised seven, four, three and three participants respectively and lasted between fifty and eighty minutes. The focus group that had seven participants had been arranged as six participants, although an additional student arrived having been recruited by one of the participants from the group. In contrast, in the focus groups that were comprised of three participants, more participants were expected to attend but failed to. Although it is recommended that the minimum number of participants in a focus group is four, groups were still conducted with three participants in order to honour their commitment to the research. Interestingly, one of the groups of three participants was the most successful group overall in terms of generating discussion.

Holding four focus groups satisfied the advice to ‘plan three or four focus groups with any one type of participant. Once you have conducted these, determine if you have reached saturation’ (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 26). Inductive analysis highlighted recurring themes from within and across the focus groups, leading to the decision that further data collection through focus groups with first year university students would not be necessary. Data collection instead commenced through one-to-one interviews with the participants and through a second series of focus groups with prospective university students. This stage of the data collection is ongoing and therefore is not discussed further in this paper.

Participants were not recruited according to pre-existing groups; nevertheless, there were potentially existing relationships within the groups between participants who may have met on their degree course or in their halls of residence. The combination of different participants affects the research context: ‘[p]re-existing groups are likely to have established their own norms as to what can and cannot be said’ (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999: 9). Therefore, in an attempt to ensure that all participants shared some familiarity with each other informal conversation was encouraged between participants before the focus groups commenced, as recommended by Macnaghten and Myers (2004: 69): ‘it also helps if they share some ways of talking even before the moderator tries to get them to talk: assumptions about entitlement to speak, ways of disagreeing, ways of conceding, and a sense of humour’. This reinforced the commonalities between the participants as new university students, which is important because ‘there has to be some common ground between participants for the differences between participants and tensions within one participant’s views to emerge’ (Macnaghten and Myers, 2004: 69).

Obtaining informed consent from participants is essential practice for ethical research. Consent to participate, to be recorded and for the data to be used should be obtained before data collection. I provided my participants with an information sheet introducing the research and thanking them for attending. Voluntary participation was emphasised and participants were informed that they could opt out of the research at any point. It was explained that the focus

group would be recorded if all of the participants consented, and that the data would be transcribed. Furthermore, participants were assured that confidentiality would be maintained, unless disclosure was required by law. Participants were asked to respect the confidentiality of others in the group. Participants were asked to hand in their consent form at the end of the focus group, thus providing them with an opportunity to withhold their consent after the process of data collection.

The questioning schedule

The focus group questions for this phase of the research were designed around topics which had been identified from the existing literature, including: the role of the Internet, Internet experiences, Internet risk, Internet crime, Internet skill and Internet regulation. These topics relate to the theoretical background of the study regarding the Information Society and the Net Generation; the life course and the transition to university; and risk. The schedule consisted of opening, introductory, transition, key and ending questions (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 44), which were tested amongst fellow researchers prior to the pilot study: a refining process advised by Krueger and Casey (2000: 66). The purpose of each type of question is outlined below:

- The opening question encourages each participant to talk early in the group (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 44);
- The introductory question often 'asks participants to remember when they first experienced or encountered the organization or topic under investigation and to describe the experience' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 45);
- The transition question makes 'the connection between the participant and the topic of investigation' (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 45);
- The key questions cover the main areas of enquiry;
- The ending question checks that no opinions have been missed out and offers participants a final opportunity to comment (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 45-46).

This distinction encourages the use of systematic questioning, which 'allow[s] participants to become familiar with the topic, giving each individual a chance to recollect personal opinions and listen to the opinions of others' (Krueger, 1998a: 10). Systematic questioning therefore creates an environment within which rich data can be obtained from participants who are at ease with the process. It is indeed important that all aspects of research design take into consideration the comfort of the participants. This includes not only the way in which the questions are asked but also factors such as the timing, duration and location of the focus group, the provision of refreshments, allowing participants the time to become comfortable with one another, and establishing rapport between the focus group moderator and the participants.

The role of the moderator

Myers (1998: 87) outlines the role of the focus group moderator as follows:

- (a) The moderator introduces topics and closes them, following a plan.
- (b) The moderator can intervene to control turn taking.
- (c) The moderator elicits and acknowledges responses.

That is, it is the role of the moderator to ensure that the discussion is focused, and that each participant has opportunities to express their views. It is equally essential that rapport is established between the moderator and the participants. In the focus groups discussed in this paper, rapport was established through my close proximity to the participants as university students, having started as an undergraduate student just five years prior to the research. I ensured that this was mentioned to the participants before the focus groups, in order that my familiarity with their position was known. Furthermore, I was contextually close to the participants with regard to the research topic, in that I am also a university student using the Internet. This proximity to the participants influenced the focus groups in that I was not viewed as a distant researcher but rather as a fellow student, thus encouraging participants to be at ease and to share their personal experiences. It is therefore useful for the researcher to find a commonality between themselves and the participants in order to create a relaxed atmosphere and to reduce the power imbalance potentially present between the researcher and the participants.

Rapport is also established with participants through the attitude of the researcher, as Kitzinger and Barbour (1999: 13) advise: 'researchers should avoid being judgemental, presenting themselves as experts or making assumptions which close off exploration'. Given this advice, focus groups should be approached with the attitude that the participants know more than the researcher and that they have valuable opinions and experiences to access (Krueger, 1998b). In line with this, the moderator should be careful not to 'indicate his own attitudes toward the subject matter under discussion or toward the interviewee' (Merton et al., 1956: 183), as this could introduce bias.

Refining the research method

Following design of the research method a pilot study is recommended. The pilot study for the research discussed in this paper took place with four first year university students, prior to the main study in October 2007. The pilot study had the twofold aim of refining the questioning schedule and of developing moderating skills. This was important for enhancing validity through ensuring that the questions were understood and that the focus groups would be held by an experienced moderator (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 202). The pilot study also provides a useful opportunity to test avenues of questioning before finalising the schedule.

A fellow research student attended the pilot study in order to provide feedback on both the questions and my moderating skills. Our reactions to the pilot study were largely similar and influenced the ways in which the research method was refined. For example, two original strands of questioning were removed from the schedule. Firstly, participants were originally asked to discuss what is good and bad about modern life. Although this question encouraged participants to situate the Internet within a wider social context, it was felt that the responses were biased because participants already knew that the research was about the Internet. Secondly, participants were originally asked to discuss Internet regulation. In this case it was felt that participants were introduced to too many topics and that this topic did not produce data that would enrich the study, as aspects relating to Internet regulation had previously emerged from the other topics. More generally, the research instrument was refined through rephrasing questions that had an element of bias, simplifying complex questions and altering the order in which the questions were asked. The value of the pilot study is therefore immediately apparent. Not only can it be used to approve or disprove the value of particular questions, but it can also be used as an opportunity to become aware of biases or clumsy phrases. A pilot study therefore encourages the researcher to critically reflect on the research design.

In terms of developing moderating skills, the experience of the pilot study demonstrated that increased pausing and probing (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 110) would initiate more in-depth responses. Furthermore, I learnt the importance of not being restricted by the schedule but rather using it as a guide. Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1956: 44-45) warn that 'the interviewer may adhere too closely to the guide by *forcing* upon interviewees questions and topics which appear in the guide, but which do not tap or are not relevant to their actual experience'. Using the schedule as a guide meant that questions were not always asked in the same order but rather that each focus group progressed according to the direction of the participants.

Although a distinct pilot study is clearly valuable in terms of refining the research instrument, it is equally important that consideration is given towards refinement as the focus groups progress. This can take place during data collection itself, when listening to the recording of the focus group and when transcribing the data. For these reasons it is beneficial that each stage is carried out by the researcher where possible. Indeed I found that these processes enabled me to become immersed in the data and were beneficial to both refining the research method and analysing the data.

Analysis

Inductive analysis is consistent with an interpretivist epistemology, in that it concentrates the researcher on the perspectives of the participants: it 'involves *discovering* patterns, themes, and categories in one's data. Findings emerge out of the data, through the analyst's interactions with the data' (Patton, 2002:

453). Therefore, findings are based on the data rather than attempting to fit the data to pre-existing theory as in deductive analysis (Patton, 2002: 453).

Inductive analysis occurred through several phases. Firstly the raw data as captured by the digital recorder was transcribed word for word with an indication of repetition, pause and overlap. The transcribed data was then entered into ATLAS.ti and annotated using codes and memos in order to identify concepts and to conceptually organise the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The emergent concepts were then organised into categories thus identifying the core themes of the research. Deviant case analysis will also be used as the research continues (Silverman, 2001).

The initial findings demonstrate that the Internet has diverse affordances for university students, which are both positive and negative, and also functional and relational (Hutchby, 2001). It is evident from the data that the participants are aware of a range of opportunities and risks of the Internet and that they develop strategies of risk negotiation in order to maximise the opportunities and minimise the risks of the Internet. This is particularly clear in terms of online communication and online information. Participants were asked more directly about these strategies during the one-to-one interviews, in order to provide more in-depth data. The focus groups did indicate areas of interest regarding Internet use and the transition to university in terms of keeping in contact with friends and family from home, making new friends and learning information seeking skills. These findings informed the questioning schedule for the second phase of focus groups with prospective university students, and therefore became a 'theoretical guide to the further collection and analysis of data' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 40).

Conclusion

Research design has the ability to enhance or reduce the quality of subsequent data collection and data analysis. Design begins within the wider context of research, at the point of decision-making regarding ontology, epistemology and methodology. It is important that research methods are selected that are complimentary to these decisions. This paper has discussed the focus group as a valuable research method, when utilised through systematic and thorough design, data collection and analysis. Aspects of design including participant recruitment, the questioning schedule and the role of the moderator have been discussed. In particular, the importance of designing focus groups with consideration to the participants has been put forth. This includes offering valuable incentives to participate, constructing questions which familiarise the participants with the topic, and developing good rapport with participants. The importance of refining the research method through piloting has been discussed. Piloting provides the opportunity to identify the extent to which questions are effective and the opportunity to reflect upon one's strengths and weaknesses as a moderator. Finally, the process of inductive analysis has

been introduced in terms of generating concepts and categories from the data and then using these to inform further data collection and analysis.

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ONLINE VIRTUAL ENVIRONMENTS AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GENDER SWAPPING⁶⁹

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Abstract

Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) are one of the most interesting innovations in the area of online computer gaming. Given the relative lack of research in the area, the main objectives of the study were to examine: (a) the impact of online gaming (e.g., typical playing behaviour) in the lives of online gamers, (b) the effect of online socialising in the lives of gamers, and (c) why people engage in gender swapping. A self-selecting sample of 119 online gamers ranging from 18 to 69 years of age (mean = 28.5 years) completed a questionnaire. The results showed that just over one in five gamers (21%) said they preferred socialising online compared to offline. Significantly more male gamers than female gamers said that they found it easier to converse online rather than offline. It was also found that 57% of gamers had engaged in 'gender swapping' and it is suggested that the online female persona has a number of positive social attributes in a male-oriented environment.

Introduction

Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) are one of the most interesting innovations in the area of online video gaming. These games have evolved out of the text-based multi-user domains (MUDs) and they have utilised the internet as a new gaming forum which allows people to link up and play together (Griffiths, Davies & Chappell, 2003). The nature of MMORPGs is to offer a rich three-dimensional world that is populated by hundreds of thousands of gamers. Immersion is aided by the use of realistic graphics, sound effects and enhanced social interaction. Social interaction in MMORPGs is almost obligatory, as players must collaborate with other players in the game to succeed in more complex goals. MMORPGs allow gamers to explore a range of identities by playing a character created by the player (Eatough, Davies, Griffiths & Chappell, 2006). Gamers can choose the gender, race, profession and morality of their character.

⁶⁹ A version of this paper was first published in *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 2008, 11, (1), 47-53.

To date, very few studies have examined online socialising. Lo, Wang and Fang (2005) surveyed 174 college aged online gamers. They found that the interpersonal relationships of online gamers decreased and social anxiety increased as the amount of time spent playing online increased. Furthermore, they claimed that online games provided a sense of brief satisfaction and encouraged overindulgence in virtual social relationships at the expense of real world friendships.

In contrast to these more negative effects, it would also appear that virtual environments have the potential to provide short-term comfort, excitement and distraction. Research has found that online communication allows for the development of computer-mediated social support (e.g., support via email and chat rooms), which could buffer the negative effects of stressful life circumstances, as do types of non computer-mediated social support (Preece, 2000, Cotton, 2001). Ng and Wiemer-Hastings (2005) used an online survey to study excessive use of the internet and online gaming. Their results revealed that MMORPG players chose to spend their social time in-game rather than socialising in the real world. It was the social aspect that existed in-game that attracted players to MMORPGs.

Gender differences in online gaming are a relatively under-researched area. Griffiths et al (2004) found that there were increasingly more females playing online. Almost 20% of their sample was female. This could be explained by the fact that online games tend to cater for a wide audience by allowing players to develop their own character. Alternatively, it may be that online games are moving away from the traditional video game content that focused on stereotypical representations of females and masculine themes (Bryce & Sullivan, 2001). Yee (2005) found that males were more likely to play MMORPGs for the achievement and manipulation functions, while females were more likely to play MMORPGs in order to build supportive social networks. Research that examines the experiences and attitudes of male and female gamers is needed. The phenomenon of 'gender swapping' (playing a different gendered character to oneself) is a common practice online. Griffiths et al (2004) reported that 60% of their sample of online gamers had played a different gendered character online. Griffiths et al (2004) speculated that the introduction of game icons such as *Lara Croft* in *Tomb Raider* means that it has become quite normal for males to play female characters. Further research that examines the reasons for 'gender swapping' and its effect on video game stimulation is an interesting area for exploration.

To date, there is a relative lack of research on the socializing aspects of online gaming and the reasons for gender swapping online. The studies that have examined online gaming have tended to focus on the demographics of online gamers or the negative consequences of MMORPGs. The present study set out to examine the psychosocial effects of online gaming. The main aim of the present study was to examine the psychological and social effects of online gaming using an online questionnaire method. The main objectives of the

study were to examine: (a) the impact of online gaming (e.g., typical playing behaviour) in the lives of online gamers, (b) the effect of online socialising in the lives of gamers, and (c) why people engage in gender swapping.

Method – Participants

One hundred and fifty-seven participants completed an online questionnaire. Thirty-eight participants' data were discarded for being under the age of 18, resulting in a sample of 119 participants. There were 83 males (69%) and 32 females (26%), with four participants not specifying their gender. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 69 years (mean age = 28.5 years; SD = 9.6 years). The majority of participants were from the United States (73%), followed by those from the UK (8%) and Canada (3%). Participants were recruited from online gaming forums that were specifically for online gamers.

Design and Materials

An online questionnaire survey was used in the present study for the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. A specially designed piece of online questionnaire software (Autoform) was used for the collection of online data. The online questionnaire asked questions on basic demographics of online gamers (i.e., country of residence, gender, etc.). It also asked questions relating to typical online videogame playing behaviour (i.e., the amount of time spent playing online per week), and reasons for playing (i.e., for entertainment, for stress relief, etc). There were also specific questions on particular aspects of playing history (i.e., whether they had ever gender swapped their game character) and Likert-scale questions relating to the effects of online gaming (i.e., whether they played online in order to avoid feeling anxious).

Procedure

Following a small pilot study, an online questionnaire was publicised and placed on various gaming forums hosted on well-known gaming sites. These sites were www.Allakhazam.com, www.egvault.ign.com, www.womengamers.com, and www.white-wolf.com. The Allakhazam site was used as the main recruitment forum because of its large audience. It also caters for more than five MMORPGs, which includes Everquest 1 and 2, Final Fantasy XI, World of Warcraft, Star Wars Galaxies, Dark Age of Camelot and Lineage II. Each fan site had similar structural features (e.g., latest news, help guide, site map, forums, etc).

Postings inviting gamers to take part in the study were placed in the off-topic forums. All participants were informed about the purpose of the study (i.e., to examine various psychosocial effects of online gaming). Once gamers visited the hyperlink address to the questionnaire, they were given clear instructions on how to fill in the questionnaire and were ensured that the data they provided

would remain anonymous and confidential. A debriefing statement at the end of the questionnaire reiterated the purpose of the study, and informed participants of their right to withdraw from the study.

Results - Impact of online game playing

Typical playing behaviour: Participants were asked about the amount of times per week they played online video games. A large minority of gamers (41%) played 4 to 6 times a week and almost two in five gamers (39%) played 7 to 10 times a week. A tiny minority of gamers (2%) played more than ten times a week. On average males played online nearly 7 times a week compared to the females at nearly 5 times a week. Gamers were also asked about the average length of each game playing session. The results revealed that a large minority of gamers (47%) spent 210 minutes or more per playing session. One fifth of gamers (20%) played between 150 and 209 minutes per session. The mean playing time per week by gamers was 17.46 hours. There was a significant correlation between the number of times gamers played per week and the length of time per session ($r = 0.39$, $p < .05$). Female gamers played longer per session ($M = 198$ minutes), than male participants ($M = 186$ minutes), although the finding was not significant ($t[112] = -0.509$, $p > 0.05$, $r = .40$).

The effect of online gaming on the lives of gamers: Over two-thirds of gamers (68%) said that online gaming had a “stimulating effect”, where a stimulating effect was when online gaming had either a social, challenging and/or interactive effect on gamers. Typical responses included the following:

Extract 1: *“It provides a different environment to enjoy myself and in which to meet online friends”* (P1, male, age 32).

Extract 2: *“The level of interactivity with others is engaging, similar to if you invite friends over for a multi-player gaming session. It is also great fun to work with others for a common goal particularly if they are people with whom you've been working with (online)”* (P6, male, age 19).

Extract 3: *“I like games, always have. I like to socialise, always have. I get both in Everquest. I'm good at games and not one woman I know in real life is. They think it is weird. So I get to play with people more like me in that way”* (P16, female, age 38).

Extract 4: *“It's challenging and exciting to role play. I keep my character's personality true and much different from mine. Online I am a completely different person”* (P92, female, age 23).

Extract 5: *“There is a sense of achievement when something is accomplished and a sense of adventure when trying/doing new things and exploring new areas as well as learning about the world that the game takes place in”* (P97, female, age 28).

In terms of online gaming having a satisfying effect, almost two-thirds of gamers (63%) said online gaming did not satisfy their social needs. However, 28% said online gaming satisfied their social needs that were not satisfied in the real world. The reasons for this were varied:

Extract 6: *"I can go anywhere and talk to anyone and not seem strange. It's in fact expected. In the real world you would be looked at mighty funny if you did that"* (P28, female, age 47).

Extract 7: *"At times I do rely on online gaming as an entertaining way to socialise with long distance relatives and friends. I have recently moved from the West coast to the East coast in the united states"* (P36, female, age 39).

Extract 8: *"I don't have many friends in real life because I have been moving a lot recently. But my online friends are always in the same place"* (P41, male, age 27).

Extract 9: *"It gives me a medium to interact with people on an intellectual level without having to qualify myself first. It's invigorating to not have to prove myself before speaking"* (P98, male, age 20).

In relation to the absorbing effects of online gaming, half of the gamers (50%) said that they felt as though they were absorbed into a different virtual environment when they played online. For instance:

Extract 10: *"Because you are in a different place in online worlds. You are free to do what you want"* (P70, male, age 25).

Extract 11: *"It's like any other fun experience to some extent there's a suspension of disbelief. When watching a movie, reading a book, playing an online game, I become engaged in the experience"* (P91, male, age 26).

Extract 12: *"Things happen in MMORPGs that wouldn't or couldn't happen in real life and sometimes the graphics combined with the game play mix together so well and you feel as though you are actually there"* (P116, male, age 24).

Extract 13: *"In most MMORPGs you are role playing as someone else. You become your character and thus become absorbed in the world around you"* (P20, female, age 24)

Socialising in online gaming

Just over one in five gamers (21%) said they preferred socialising online compared to offline. Reasons were varied. For instance:

Extract 14: *"It's a very laid back means of communication and more effective I think. Everyone can speak their mind... at the same time if they like and*

everyone will still be heard (so no feeling like you can't get a word in or needing to raise your voice)" (P3, male, age 24).

Extract 15: *"I have found over the past eight years of online gaming that people are more open to accept each other. Good or bad, you are judged on how you interact with other online participants not as a person would be by being judged on physical appearance" (P36, female, age 39).*

Extract 16: *"People seem to have less inhibitions when it comes to socialising and conversing [online]" (P41, male, age 27).*

Extract 17: *"Socialising in a game setting often takes form around a central purpose. Hunting for some obscure item or accomplishing some perilous journey. This allows a sense of not only friendship but camaraderie to develop" (P43, male, age 19).*

Extract 18: *"It is much easier to converse and relate to people in a virtual world. You don't physically see the people you are talking to. Although this also has a steep drawback as in you get people who have no will to hold back" (P88, male, age 21).*

More two-thirds of gamers (67%) said they preferred socialising offline compared to online. Reasons were varied. For instance:

Extract 19: *"No, I think it's less personally fulfilling to talk about a character or something rather than to a real person. However, I believe that people can be much more candid and open when talking online" (P21, male, age 18).*

Extract 20: *"Just want to say that they are both satisfying. They are both different as the relationships are different so there is no real comparison" (P97, female, age 28).*

Significantly more male gamers (60%) than female gamers (19%) stated that they would rather spend time with friends in an offline environment rather than online ($X^2[4] = 11.57, p < 0.001$; odds ratio = 1.1). In relation to online communication, significantly more male gamers (40%) than female gamers (6%) stated that they found it easier to converse online rather than offline ($X^2[4] = 17.65, p < 0.001$; odds ratio = 0.36). The majority of gamers (59%) said they did not play online to escape from other things. One third of gamers (34%) agreed or strongly agreed they used gaming as a way of changing their mood compared to 44% who disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Gender swapping

Results revealed that the majority of gamers (57%) had gender-swapped their game character. This included over half of all males (54%) and more than two-

thirds of females (68%). This finding was significant ($\chi^2 [4] = 18.16, p < 0.001$; odds ratio = 2.1). There were many reasons for gender swapping. For instance:

Extract 21: *"It enables me to play around with aspects of my character that are not normally easy to experiment with in real life"* (P1, male, age 32).

Extract 22: *"I just felt like it really. Mostly my characters are female, but I think I made my male character because I was tired of creepy guys hitting on my female characters. It's utterly ridiculous, very annoying and not the reason why I play the game"* (P39, female, age 32).

Extract 23: *"Because if you make your character a woman, men tend to treat you FAR better"* (P49, male, age 23).

Extract 24: *"For fun and to see if it felt any different"* (P51, female, age 29).

Extract 25: *"If you play a chick and know what the usual nerd wants to read you will get free items...which in turn I pass them to my other male characters...very simple. Nerd + Boob = Loot"* (P65, male, age 20).

Extract 26: *"I mostly play female characters but sometimes I make a male character and don't let anyone know I'm female in real life. It's interesting how different people treat you when they think you are male. Kind of like a window into their strange man universe"* (P117, female, age 23).

Discussion

The present study examined some of the psychosocial consequences and effects of online gaming. Results showed that two-thirds of gamers did not find the socialising aspects of online virtual worlds to be more pleasant and satisfying than offline socialisation. However, those gamers who thought otherwise, provided good reasons as to why they thought the virtual worlds were more pleasant and satisfying. For example, the socialising aspect of the online virtual worlds was seen as a laid back means of communication. Participant 3 (Extract 14) saw them as a place where "everyone could speak their mind" and where "everyone will still be heard." This suggests that the virtual world is a place of equality, and together with the breakdown of visual social cues, may explain why one in five gamers found them more pleasant and satisfying than offline socialisation. These findings are consistent with the arguments of Morahan-Martin (1999) who asserts the ability to change identity online is a liberating experience because it can change the way people are perceived by trying out different ways of presenting yourself and interacting with others. This had a positive effect for Participant 43 (Extract 17), allowing a sense of friendship and camaraderie to develop. These findings are also consistent with the findings of Griffiths et al (2004) showing that the social and

co-operative elements of MMORPGs are the main reasons why people like them.

The study also found that two-fifths of gamers said that they played online to escape other things. Furthermore, a third of gamers (34%) stated that they used online gaming to change their mood. These characteristics may be indicative of a tendency for some gamers to use online gaming as a mood modifier. The gamers may also undertake online gaming as a means of coping with problems in their everyday lives. These findings support Jacobs's (1986) *General Theory of Addiction* that suggests people who play excessively are either over-or under-aroused and use online gaming, or other reinforcing behaviours, as a means of escape and to relieve depressive states. Research by Wood and Griffiths (2007) found that escape was the prime characteristic of the gambling experience that facilitated the continuation of problem gambling. This feeling of escape may be used as a maladaptive coping strategy (Wood, Gupta, Derevensky & Griffiths, 2004). It can be speculated that online gaming may be used as an alternative method of coping in that some gamers will use it to distract themselves from having to deal with daily problems. Further research is needed in order to support this assertion.

The results revealed that two-fifths of gamers played 4 to 6 times a week and a further two-fifths played 7 to 10 times per week with a mean playing time per week of over 17 hours. Furthermore, nearly half of the gamers spent three and a half hours or more per playing session. This demonstrates that MMORPGs appear to require dedication and time. There was a significant relationship between the number of times gamers played online per week and the length of time per session. This suggests that the more times a gamer plays online the longer the session will be. An unexpected result was that female gamers played online longer per playing session than males. The reasons for this could be due to the socialising aspect of MMORPGs, which can be related to the fact that two-thirds of females (68%) said that they played online to socialise with other gamers and for entertainment.

In assessing the psychosocial effects of online gaming, the study found that two-thirds of gamers said online gaming had a stimulating effect. The gamers provided a variety of reasons for this, such as the challenging and exciting aspects of role-playing online, the level of interactivity with other players, and the opportunity to meet new friends online. This highlights the difference in gaming experience between MMORPGs and other offline gaming formats. However, dedicated gaming consoles such as Microsoft's *XBOX* and Sony's *Playstation 2* have developed the capacity to allow players to compete against other players online. It would be interesting to see how this type of experience would fair against the MMORPG experience.

Just over a quarter of gamers stated that online gaming satisfied their social needs that were not satisfied in the real world. They provided some interesting reasons. For example, Participant 36 said that she relied on online gaming as an entertaining way to socialise with long distance relatives and friends (see

Extract 7). For Participant 98, online gaming provided a medium to interact with people on an intellectual level without having to prove his ability before speaking (see Extract 9). Contrary to the findings of Lo et al (2005), the gamers in the present study showed no signs of having experienced any sort of deterioration in real world interpersonal relationships. Rather they were more functional individuals who maintained contact with real world friends and relatives in a more complex manner online. Further research could examine why enhanced social interaction occurs in MMORPGs.

The present study also attempted to explain why gamers engage in 'gender swapping' and whether this has an effect on video game stimulation. Previous research has not considered the reasons as to why people gender swap. Overall, 57% of the sample said they had gender swapped their character. Significantly more females than males had gender swapped their character. This can be explained by the reasons provided by Participant 39 (Extract 22) who gender swapped in order to prevent unsolicited male approaches on her female characters. Participant 117 (see Extract 26) appeared to gender swap out of interest, and found that she was treated differently by male gamers when she was playing a male character. However, for Participant 49 (Extract 23) playing a female character meant that male gamers treated him far better. This provides support for Griffiths et al's (2003) findings that suggests the female persona has a number of positive social attributes in a male-oriented environment.

Some gamers engaged in gender swapping as an experiment. Participant 1 (Extract 21) said that gender swapping enabled him to play around with aspects of his character that would not be possible in real life. Other reasons for gender swapping were that female characters had better in-game statistics, specific tools were only available with a female character, the class of character was only available in one gender, for fun, and just for a change. What makes these findings important is that in most instances, the gamer has the opportunity to choose the gender of his or her character and to develop other aspects of their character before they begin to play. Choosing to gender swap may have an effect on the gamer's style of play and interaction with other gamers and could even have an effect on guild membership.

From these findings it can be concluded that gender swapping appears to have an effect on video game stimulation. No previous research has highlighted such findings and this study provides the foundations for further research in to the area of gender swapping. Further research could perhaps examine how gender swapping may affect guild membership when members of the guild discover that one of the members is not who they say they are. Alternatively, research could be carried out to see whether gender swapping has an effect on the gamer's gender identity or gender role when they are not playing online.

It is important to recognise the limitations of the study. Firstly, self-report measures raise questions about the truthfulness of responses that must be taken into consideration. Secondly, this was a relatively small sample when

compared against previous online research that has obtained much larger samples. Finally, the data collected came from only four online forums catering for approximately 10 MMORPGs. This raises the issue of how representative these MMORPGs and their players are. Thus, further research would need to gather data from a larger number of forums that cater for more MMORPGs.

Future research could take a more qualitative approach to data analysis by making use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Eatough et al (2006) used IPA in their study to examine how individuals perceived *Everquest* in the context of their lives. They managed to gather valuable data by making use of IPA. This type of methodological approach would be useful in examining online gaming experiences such as excessive use or to examine how players construct meaning in online virtual worlds. IPA could also be used to understand how gamers express themselves when they create their own characters and identities.

One of the most important features of MMORPGs is the social communication that occurs between gamers. In the present study, many online gamers enjoyed the socialising aspects of online virtual worlds, but as much as gamers enjoyed the time they spent online, they enjoyed real-life social activities more. Further research that focuses on both the positive and negative effects of socialising in online gaming is clearly required.

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IDENTIFYING AND TESTING POLICY LEARNING IN UK RENEWABLE ENERGY POLICY

Sally Murrall

Abstract

Despite the need and potential for renewable energies (RE) to make a significant contribution to the decarbonisation and reduced fossil-fuel dependence of economies, RE capacity in the UK has generally developed slowly compared to some other EU states, with persistent under-achievement against national and EU targets. This signals the need for detailed re-examination of reasons for these 'failures' and, in particular, the extent, nature and constraints on 'policy learning' within UK RE policy. The aims of this paper are, first, to argue that the concept of policy learning provides useful new perspectives on how decision-making systems respond to new challenges, and, second, to explore a methodology for empirically testing how policy learning has and has not informed UK RE policy. We begin by outlining policy learning processes explored in the literature, identifying causes, types, and mediating influences on, policy learning and change. We then outline a methodology for empirical testing of how policy learning has influenced the evolution of UK RE policy.

SAMPLE SIZE SELECTION IN CREDIT SCORING MODELS AND BANKS' CREDIT DECISIONS

Hussein Abdou

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the impact of three different sub-sample sizes of accepted applicants on the quality of commercial public sector Egyptian banks' credit decisions. Because statistical techniques are not being used in this environment, the sample selection bias problem should be reduced. Both neural nets, namely, probabilistic neural nets (PNNs) and multilayer feed-forward neural nets (MLFNs), and conventional techniques, namely, multiple discriminant analysis (MDA) and logistic regression (LR), are applied. To test the predictive ability of each classification model, the validation technique utilises training and hold-out samples, such that for each of the three sample sizes, the training and hold-out samples together comprise the whole data-set. To judge the impact of sample size selection on the models, we investigate the use of two criteria to assess quality, average correct classification (ACC) rate and estimated misclassification cost (EMC), to which sensitivity analysis is applied to the latter using different misclassification cost (MC) ratios. Neural nets give better ACC rates, but under the minimum EMC criterion, there is a role for MDA as well. Finally, a confirmatory analysis of the data was undertaken by Kohonen maps.

*Proceedings of the Faculty of Social Science and Business (University of
Plymouth) Postgraduate Symposium 2008*

www.ppgs-research.org

ISSN 1753-7061 (online)