Contents

Acknowledgements

Introduction

In 2001 Sir Ian Blair then the Metropolitan Police Deputy Commissioner complained that 16 fatal shootings and 74 attempted murders in London over the previous 8 months had been unreported. He stated in the Independent[1] that if white women were being murdered at the same rate that black men were, there would be headlines everywhere. He accused the media of institutional racism and accused it of viewing the people involved in gun crime as irrelevant because they were only **black** drug dealers (McLagan 2005).

The free-expression of the print media is protected by *Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[2]*. In practice this has meant that they are free to be prejudiced and to employ stereotypes when covering race issues. Nonetheless, there is a law against the incitement of racial violence:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of all frontiers.

This dissertation will explore how the black British male's identity is represented and constructed in media representations of British Gun crime. This will be achieved by researching newspaper articles two weeks after case study (1): shooting of Danielle Beccan, and case study (2): shooting of WPC Bown. The dominant representations

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[1] *The Independent* 18 June, 2001

[2] ARTICLE 19 is an international organisation named after Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, guaranteeing everyone the right to freedom of opinion and expression. ARTICLE 19 works around the world to achieve and protect media freedoms and to safeguard every person's right to freedom of expression and freedom of information. We apply a free speech analysis to all aspects of peoples' lives, including public health, the environment, and issues of social exclusion.

and categories of analysis will be brought to light after firstly the newspapers, and secondly after the case studies are contrasted. These will be further compared to interviews in order to display the dominant representation of the black British male and perhaps also the missing representations.

Case Study 1 Danielle Beccan

The Nottingham gun crime cases of Danielle Beccan and WPC Bown were used to explore the media representations of the Black British male. Danielle Beccan was shot on the night of the 10th October 2004. She had been enjoying the annual Goose Fair in Nottingham. She and a around a dozen friends ages 14 to 17 were on their way back home to St Ann's across the Forrest Recreational Ground. It was believed that from within a gold-coloured car, a gunman wound down the blacked out windows and sprayed the bullets at the group of girls. Danielle was hit in the abdomen and died on the operating theatre at QMC hospital, Nottingham. It was revealed[3] that the gunmen opened fire on the girls simply because they lived in St Ann's which was the territory of a gang rival to they area in which they live - The Meadows.

Case Study 2 WPC Bown

At 11:45 pm on the 13th of February 2006 the police received as call about a burglary in Lenton in Nottingham. Two PCs were sent immediately, one a man with 15 years experience the other Rachael Bown who was nearing the end of her one year probationary period with the Nottingham Police. Just after midnight the two officers approached a man standing near the burglary scene. When questioned he fired a shot which hit WPC Bown below the body armour in the lower abdomen. She too

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[3] Source: Nottingham Evening Post, Danielle: The Full Story, Thursday October 13 2005.

underwent surgery at the QMC but survived despite being in intensive care for a considerable period.

Chapter 1

Black Presence and Media Representations in Britain
Introduction

Britain has always been a country of immigration (Anthias and Yuval Davis 1993) but it has been the period after the Second World War wherein race relations have became an important political and societal issue in Britain.

The first significant encounter between Africa and white Britons began in the fifteenth century between European traders and West Africans that resulted in slavery for three centuries. The second was the 19ᵗʰ Century colonisation of Africa by European superpowers that battled for the control of African territories. The third was the post-Second World War migration from developing countries into Europe and North America. These sudden and limited contacts between different nations and ethnic groups caused many different popular beliefs. These beliefs came from ignorance, fear and need to find a plausible explanation for different physical and cultural differences (Fryer 1987).

The binary opposed words of 'black' and 'white' were heavily charged with meaning long before the English met any black faces. Very few binary oppositions are neutral therefore the colours 'black' and 'white' have power relations (Derrida 1974). The connotations of blackness in England traditionally included death, mourning, evil, sin and danger. Black was the colour of hell, the devil, poison and forsaken love. (Hall 1997: 253) The word black had negative connotations too; for example that of being blacklisted, punished in the black-book, blackmailed, black sheep of the family and

blackguard. On the contrary the colour white had the positive connotations of purity, innocence, virginity, harmless lies and perfect human nature.[4]

Africans were declared as the descendents of Ham cursed in the Bible 'by God for looking on his father's nakedness as the old man lay in his tent' (Cameron Allen 1949). They were eternally to be 'the servant of servants unto his brethren' (Hall 1997: page). They symbolised the 'primitive' in contrast to the 'civilised world'. Africa, 'historically marooned' was regarded as being inhabited by 'cannibals, deverishes and witch doctors' (McClintock 1995 in Hall 1997:41).

The popular representation of racial difference during slavery tended to subordinate the status of back people (Hall 1997: 256). They had an 'innate laziness…born for servitude' they were represented as 'primitive', 'simplistic' and 'lacking in culture' compared to the '*civilised* Europeans' (Hall 1997: 260, emphasis own). This logic of the cultural differences between blacks and whites became naturalized. 'Naturalization is a representational strategy designed to fix difference and thus *secure it forever*' (Hall 1993: 243) it is permanent and fixed in history. Black people were reduced to the essence of their characterised stereotyped selves (Hall *et al,* 1978).

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[4] See Don Cameron Allen, 'Symbolic Color in the Literature of the English Renaissance', *Philological Quarterly,* XV (1936), **83-4;** PJ.Heather,'Colour Symbolism: Part I', *Folk-Lore,* LIX (1948), 169-70; Harry Levin, *The Power of Blackness: Hawthorne Poe* Melvilk (Faber &Faber, 1958), 35-6; Harold R. Isaacs, 'Blackness and whiteness', *Encounter,* XXI (1963), 12-14; W.Djordan, *White* over *Black* (1968), 7-8; Alan James,' "Black": an inquiry into the pejorative associations of an English word', *New Community,* IX (1981-2), 19-30; Mary Searle-Chatterjee,'Colour symbolism and the skin - some notes', *New* Community, IX (1981-2), 31-5.

Following the ending of the British Empire from the late 1950s - a process that Hall has described as one of 'post-colonial decline' (Hall, 1978) - there has been a reaffirmation of British national identity, (Gilroy, 1993) and a revival in the concept of 'place'. In an Enlightenment or neo-Enlightenment age people of a certain society or country are naturally bonded or linked together and others, the outsiders, are marginalized (Van Dijk 1991: 156). The coded racist practice of the immigration law became apparent thirty years ago when there was a cross party agreement that the immigration of Black people into Britain had to be controlled (Budge 2003). For example the mass black immigration in the 1950s saw media representations in which Afro-Caribbean people were inferior to white people.

In contemporary society black people are often marginalized. For example for every black British Caribbean descendent at university in Britain there are two in prison[5]. British Blacks are three times more likely to be arrested than their white counterparts[6] and get longer sentences: 54% get four years or more as opposed to 43% of whites. The black-British prison population is up 54% [7]since New Labour came in to power in 1997. In London, young Afro-Caribbean boys account for 77% of all 10-17 year olds accused of murder.[8] Half of all Afro-Caribbean families are single parent units.[9] A higher proportion of Afro-Caribbean pupils are excluded from school than any other ethnic group.[10] British 'blacks are three to five times more likely to be treated for severe mental illness than the general population'[11] Therefore this has resulted in

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[5] Commision for Racial Equality figures 2004.
[6] Statistic on Race and the Criminal Justice System Home Office report 2004
[7] The Observer March 30 2003 Martin Bright.
[8] London Youth Crime A Year on Comparison 2002/3.
[9] Trevor Phillip Sunday Times Magazine
[10] DFES Minority Exclusions and the Race Relations Ammendment Act 2000 interim summary Nov 2003.
[11] Empiric by K Sproston and J Nazroo 2002

Black Britons being six times more likely to be stopped and searched than a white person[12].

Immigration in the UK

Post-war black immigration reflected British economic need: Britain was short of labour after the Second World War and the Government, supported by and the national press, opened the door for immigration (Fryer 1984). Initially, many of the former citizens of the Commonwealth who had represented Britain in the war were 'welcome(d) home' to the 'motherland'[13] Up until 1954 there was little migration from the Caribbean; despite the demands for service and the provision of work and accommodation. For example in October 1948 180 migrant workers arrived. The summer of 1949 saw 253 Caribbean's emigrate to Britain, a few hundred came in 1950, 1000 in 1951, 2000 in 1952 and the same again in 1953. However larger numbers started to arrive over the next four years including women and children who would settle in Britain: 24 000 in 1954, 26 000 in 1956, 22 000 in 1957 and 16 000 in 1958 (Fryer 1987).

British industry gladly absorbed the 125 000 Caribbean migrants, who were largely in their twenties and who would settle in Britain. In some industries the demand was such that workers were recruited in their home countries. For example, in April 1956 London Transport recruited staff from Barbados and within twelve years 3787 Basian's had been employed (Fryer 1987).

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[12] Empiric by K Sproston and J Nazroo 2002
[13] Head line Evening Standard no 38 608 (14 July 1948) sited in Fryer chapter 11 Settlers)

It was not just Afro-Caribbean's that were encouraged to leave their homeland for the 'paved streets of gold' in Britain; by the end of 1948 there were 55 000 Indians and Pakistanis living there (Fryer 1987). Under colonial rule there was no distinction between British subjects born in the UK and those born in other countries formerly colonised by Britain. All had the right to enter the UK and find work. The 1948 Nationality Act granted UK citizenship to the subjects of British colonies (Fryer 1987). It was not only the British encouragement that acted as an incentives to the migrants, there were strong reasons in their own countries to leave for a new land. In India many had lost their homes and jobs after the independence of Pakistan and India. Britain offered a safe haven away from flood, famine and poverty (Fryer 1987). In the Anglophone Caribbean the cost of living had doubled during the war. There was also large- scale unemployment that made many people desperate because there was no social capital or support. Importantly it was Britain where most Caribbean's searched for work therefore instead of the United States because in the US 1952 McCarren Walter Act restricted immigration.

Despite the white British ideology of black subordination and the accompanying idea that the bulk of the workforce was unskilled, in fact only 13 percent of the workers were so: 25 % of men were non skilled-manual workers and 46% were skilled labourers. Yet when they arrived they had to settle for a lower status job because of the prejudice of white employers who offered jobs to the familiar white faces. In the late 1950's more than half of the male West Indians in London had lower status jobs than their skill and experience would suggest (Fryer 1987). The jobs that were offered were unwanted and menial for example sweeping the streets, manual labour and night shift jobs. This shocked and dismayed the new settlers whose ideology of Britain as

their 'motherland' was formed, in part, by the colonial educational system. They believed themselves not to be 'strangers' but 'kinds of Englishmen' (Deaken 1970).

At that time although half of British whites had never met a black person two thirds held them in a 'low opinion [and] prejudice was widespread' (Fryer 1987). Western ideas about race and images of racial difference had been shaped long before the encounters of post-war immigration.

This post-war Racialisation was achieved by the discourse called *Orientalism* by which European Culture was able to manage and even produce the 'Orient' politically socially, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post enlightenment period' (Hall 1993). Within this matrix of western hegemony over 'the other', the 'black' emerged as a new object of knowledge. The Orient is displayed, reconstructed for illustration in anthropology, linguistics and in racial and historical theory (Said 1978). Orientalism, the production of the European identity [white] as superior, linked with Foucault's power/ knowledge creates a ideological form for imperialism- the creation of an assemblage of truth-regimes in which biological difference (i.e. the presence of dark-pigmented skin) is correlated with a hierarchy of cultural differences in which the European figures as the modern, the civilised, and the progressive against the Orient's lack. In this way those who have the power and the power of knowledge rule as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of ideas about black people in the past and arguably, today.

In the post-war period, the manner of manipulating societal views of 'coloured' immigrant groups has been through the repetition of coded racist discourse,

stereotypes and images of black men. This shows the application and effectiveness of what Foucault (1977, 27) called *power* and *knowledge.* Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true. Knowledge once applied to society becomes true and becomes 'common sense' which sustains a regime of truth. Thus, it may or may not be true that black people are criminals and drug dealers. But, if everyone believes it to be so and society punishes black people accordingly, this will have real consequences, and will come to seem to be true even if it has never been conclusively proven.

When new migrants arrived with the promise of work they were greeted with prejudice by white employers who accused them of being dirty, lazy, greedy, threatening and abusive (Fryer 1987). Trade unions campaigned to protect white workers from the black migrants. Small communities of black people began to form in the industrial areas of the country, for example in Birmingham, Manchester and Nottingham, although London had the highest population with 40 000 people of Afro-Caribbean descent (Wickenden 1958 in Piklington 93-4).

By the end of the 1940's there was evidence that violence was increasingly inflicted on black communities. There were a few minor incidences in 1948 in Birmingham (Layton-Henry 1984 p35 and in Liverpool (Fryer 1984 p367) but the most serious acts of violence were the riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958 (Fryer 1984, Miles 1984, Pilkington 1988). These violent acts were attributed to gangs of Teddy Boys looking for Afro-Caribbean's, Africans and Asians.

Nottingham

There were 2500 Afro-Caribbean's and 600 Asians living in Nottingham in 1958. Violence erupted on the evening of Saturday 30 August where a group of British whites, estimated to be between the number of 1500 and 4000 people shouted 'Let's get rid of the blacks' (Bowling 188 racial violence, Fryer 1984). Luckily serious injury was avoided because the black community stayed indoors under a self imposed curfew (Hiro 1991 p39).

Notting Hill

Notting Hill had a large cosmopolitan population with extremes of wealth and poverty. Attacks against the newly emigrated Afro-Caribbean contingent in Notting hill began to occur on isolated incidents from July 1958. White right wing vigilante groups, including the Mosleyites (Hall et al 1978 p333-4) emerged and their aim was to 'keep Britain white' (Hirro 1991 p39) .

It was in the late 1940's and early 1950's that the problem of Black immigration was constructed by governmental discourse (Miles And Phizacklea 1984 p24 Layton Henry 1984 916-30 Solomos 1989 p40-9). Despite Britain experiencing a short supply of labour there was a political debate about the control of 'coloured' immigration. There was a revision of the 1948 Nationality Act to limit the number of black workers. This was because of the issues of housing, employment and **Crime**' (Solomos 1989 p46, emphasis own,) were correlated with the wide held belief that 'the problems were caused by too many coloured immigrants'.

In the period between 1958 and 1968 British politics became racialised (Miles 1984 Solomas 1989). Black settlers in Britain watched both Conservative and Labour politicians progressively accommodate themselves to racism. 'If u want a nigger for a neighbour vote Labour' (Campaign slogan for Conservative Party Candidate Peter Griffith, Smethwick, 1964). The shared view was that the problem was not a 'white racism but black presence…it was seen as the fewer black people the better for race relations ' (Fryer 1987:376).

The Labour MP Roy Hattersley stated in 1965 that 'without limitation, integration is impossible' (Rose 1969:328). Various laws were implemented to toughen the immigration laws. In 1962 the Conservative Government under Harold Macmillan enacted the first Commonwealth Immigrant law. This restricted the admission of Commonwealth settlers. This signalled that black people were second-class citizens and held the status of undesirable immigrants (Fryer 1984). The conservative Enoch Powell arguably generated a sea change in the political debate of race. He delivered his controversial 'rivers of blood' speech that focused on the repatriation of commonwealth migrants. It was made on April 20, 1968. The central political issue addressed by the speech was *not*, however, immigration as such. It was the introduction by the then Labour Government of anti-discrimination legislation, which would effectively criminalize the expression of racial prejudice in certain areas of British life. In June 1969 Powell devised a scheme to repatriate 700 000 non-white immigrants at a cost he estimated at £300 million (Bowling).

The immigration Act of 1971 came into force in 1973 and ended most primary labour migration. This meant that the only black people who could enter Britain were those under contracts for a specific job and for a limited time, a kind of visa system no

longer than twelve months in the first year of implementation. This gave enormous power to the police and immigration office that could arrest illegal immigrant suspects without a warrant. Consequently black communities where condemned by law to harassment and detention without trial (Fryer 1987).

By 1975 two out of every five black people were born in Britain (Smith 1977). Notably these children African, Caribbean and Asian decent faced unfair discrimination in areas of employment, housing and education (Smith 1977) and were not treated like white British children. The younger generation of British born black's refused to accept the kind of lower status jobs and poor conditions that the previous generation had consented to (Fryer 1987).

The Conservative party which came to power in 1979 under Margaret Thatcher further tightened immigration control and `chose to emphasise the dangers posed to British social and cultural values by the black communities already settled in Britain (Solomos 1989). Thatcher introduced the 1981 Nationality Act that defined British nationality more narrowly. This contributed to further unrest and violent protest around race relations during the 1980's in urban areas. There was a resurgence of rightwing extremist view and political conflicts, for example in St Paul's Bristol (1980) and in Toxteth and Brixton in London (1981). These were followed by strategies of police containment. According to Solomos a complex range of consequences for the rioting also came to light after the contentious Scarman Report of 1981. Lord Scarman's strong argument in the report was `in favour of a historical and social explanation of the riots' (Solomos 1989).

Identity and Representation

This led to a great deal of debate during the 1980's concerning Black British identity. The formation of Black British communities had brought about new ways of looking at identity. In a predominantly white culture it has always been difficult for Black British people to resist having a racial identity.

> The term `black' was coined as a way of referencing the common experience of racism and marginalization in Britain and came to provide the organizing category of a new politics of resistance, amongst groups and communities with, in fact, very different histories, traditions and ethnic identities
> (Hall 1992).

In these experiences Hall, includes the Asian, African and Caribbean Diaspora. The state of Britain politically, economically and socially had been affected by the appearance of new ethnicities and new ways for Black British people to speak about the problems they faced in the country. Black British citizens wished to construct an identity for themselves against the policies of racism (Gilroy 1987).

Kobena Mercer stated that blackness became 'debiologised'. This rearticulation of Black British identity in the 1980's `showed that identities are not found but made that they are not just there, waiting to be discovered in a vocabulary of nature, but they have to be culturally and politically constructed through political antagonism and cultural struggle' (Malik 1996).

A good illustration of these constructions of black identity is provided by Gilroy (1987) when he alludes to The Sun on 19 March 1985. On the front page is a picture of a young black British man with dreadlocks. The paper told a story of 'lazy…pot-smoking Rastafarian… who had been on the dole for two years'[14] charged with the possession of cannabis (Gilroy 1987). Judge Argyle, who learnt that the defendant was awaiting the results of a job application, had obtained a job for him. Judge Argyle was prepared to defer sentence if he took the opportunity that he had offered. Instead the man Everton Samuel, 'the cheeky Rasta' left the court saying, 'If the Judge likes to buy me a car I'll take the job. Argyle stated that he was living in a different world from the rest of *us*, he continued to tell that his attitude had done his own people no good and that his manner merely feeds the prejudice of those people who think that anybody who is coloured is automatically unfit to be a member of society.'(Emphasis own in Gilroy 1987)[15]. This courtroom drama alluded to by Gilroy (1987) manifests the many themes and the images central to contemporary racism, especially the significance of black criminality in today's racial discourse. Samuels's socially predetermined criminal character is declared openly in his 'dress and subculture affiliation as well as his black skin' (Gilroy 1987). His representation contains the residue of *his people's* previous criminal incarnations-'the scrounger, the knifemen, the drug dealer'(Gilroy 1987). Nowhere in the newspaper report is it explained the cultural link between Rastafari and drug use. Instead this issue is assumed as common sense. There is also a link between Samuel's origin crime of cannabis possession and his belligerence of work, not just because the blackness of his skin but by an inferred definition of the Caribbean culture in which these character traits have their roots (Gilroy 1987). Samuel's 'laziness', his 'drug use', his 'hat', his 'dreadlock', his

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[14] The Sun 19/3/1985
[15] Standard 25/3/85

'insolence' and his possession of a flick knife two years prior, are pronounced by his blackness. They are the signifier, not just for him, nor just for black criminality, but through the 'folk grammar of common sense racism' for the black culture as a whole. Therefore when Argyle articulates that he has 'done your people no good' he is not questioning Samuel, black youth's, black criminals or Rasta's but all blacks. Judge Argyle is positioned in the discourse of narrative as representatives of the British people of the white population and the British traditional culture that is locked in a struggle between the disruptive criminal encroachments of blacks (Gilroy 1987).

The idea that blacks are a high crime social economic group and that their criminality is an expression of black culture has become an integral part of British neo-racism since Powell's 'river of blood speech' (Gilroy 1987). Society's anxiety about the volume of black settlement, added to the fear of crime (largely in the form of both street disorder) meant that these were identified as an expression of black culture and came to occupy the place which sexuality and disease had held in earlier times. This image of black crime became a focus for popular anxiety and was a sign of national decline, crisis and chaos (Gilroy 1987, Hall 1992). Black crime has provided a vehicle for popular racism that is connected with the day-to-day struggle of police to maintain order and control at street level; and at a macro level, the political conflict that is displayed by Britain's movement to more authoritarian modes of government and social regulation (Gilroy and Sim 1985). A thin red line separates the 'colonial front' between *us* and *them*, between *black* and *white* represented by the police and the personification of the law (Gilroy 1987). This further enhances black character as the other, the alien and distances them from the substantive historical forms of Britishness- white culture (Gilroy 1987). Black criminality and racial connotations

have not evaporated contemporarily but remains and drags the political energies of the white working class down into the depth of racism and reaction (Jones et al 2005).

Black migrants who came to Britain seeking work became racialised as 'other' by political and print media discourse. When the migrants had British children they too were criminalised although in a new, neo-racialised way.

Britain was short of labour and therefore encouraged post-war black immigration. When the migrants arrived with the promise of work they were greeted with prejudice by white employers. It was in the late 1940's and early 1950's that the problem of Black immigration was constructed by governmental discourse. Despite Britain experiencing a short supply of labour there was a political debate about the control of 'coloured' or black immigration. There was a revision of the 1948 Nationality Act to limit the number of black workers. The most serious acts of violence were the riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958In the period between 1958 and 1968 British politics became racialised and black settlers in Britain watched both Conservative and Labour politicians progressively accommodate themselves towards racism. In 1965 The Labour Party expressed that 'without limitation, integration' with black people was 'impossible'. Therefore various laws were implemented to toughen the immigration laws. In 1962 the Conservative Government enacted the first Commonwealth Immigrant law which restricted the admission of Commonwealth settlers and signalled that black people were second-class citizens. In 1968 the 'rivers of blood' speech focused on the repatriation of commonwealth migrants. The immigration Act of 1971 came into force in 1973 and ended most primary labour migration. This meant that the only black people with a specific type of visa could

enter Britain. This gave enormous power to the police and immigration office that could arrest suspected illegal immigrant without a warrant. Consequently black communities where condemned by the law to harassment and detention without trial. The Conservative party which came to power in 1979 further tightened immigration control and emphasised the dangers posed to British social and cultural values by the settled black communities. Subsequently, Thatcher introduced the 1981 Nationality Act that defined British nationality more narrowly. This contributed to further unrest and violent protest around race relations during the 1980's in urban areas for example in St Paul's, Toxteth and Brixton.

Society's anxiety about the volume of black settlement added to the fear of crime, largely in the form of street disorder. This meant that crime was identified as an expression of black culture which came to occupy the place which sexuality and disease had held in earlier times. Neo-Racialisation is central to contemporary racism. This is where black criminality is preconceived by white society because of skin colour. The preconceived representation of a style of hat, dreadlocks and Rasfarianism contains the residue of black peoples previous criminal incarnations-'the scrounger, the knifemen, the drug dealer which is pronounced by an individual's blackness. These signifiers are way to represent, however reductively, black culture as a whole, through the use of 'folk grammar…common sense racism'.

Chapter 2 Gun Crime in the UK and Nottingham
Gun Crime Statistics

Deaths due to homicide occupy a peculiar position in British society as one of the rarest yet one of the highest profiles causes of death (Shaw et al 2004). Although murders are relatively uncommon events, society is constantly surrounded by images of murder, whether in news reports, crime fiction, television dramas, music videos, computer games and in film. Despite this considerable media presence there has been little academic study in Britain. Internationally murder has been studied within a range of academic disciplines, including sociology, history, criminology and political science (Shaw et al 2004). In spite of the recently publicised increase in gun related crime in the UK across the mediums of television and newspaper, the statistics for the mortality rate in Britain remains dramatically lower than the United States and the rest of Europe. (See appendix)

> The term 'homicide' covers the offences of murder, manslaughter and infanticide. Murder and manslaughter are common law offences, which have never been defined by statute, although they have been modified by statute. Manslaughter is the unlawful killing of another without any malice either expressed or implied (Home Office 2006).

Part of the tragedy of modern homicide is that the epidemic appears to be having a particularly profound impact on young adults. Figures for youth homicide would encompass all methods of murder with guns, knives or hitting, kicking and strangulation. In 2000, an estimated 199,000 youth homicides 9.2 per 100 000 population occurred globally. There are widespread regional variations between

regions and countries with Latin America being the most severely affected, 84.4 per 100 000 in Colombia (Cutts et al 2006). The lowest rates tend to occur in Western Europe (France 0.6 per 100 000) but Japan has a particularly low youth homicide rate at 0.4 per 100 000. Countries experiencing economic and political turmoil tend to experience an increased rate of homicide (Wilkinson 1996 in Cutts et al 2006). Despite the UK having one of the richest economies in the world, why does Britain's print media discourse portray an escalating homicide and gun crime rate?

In contrast with the homicide rate and with reference from the table (Appendix) it appears that England and Wales total firearm morality rate is 0.3 rate per 100 000 population. This is the lowest in Western Europe with Romania in contrast to America which registers 11.3 per 100 000 population. Despite the sense of moral panic surrounding gun crime in contemporary Britain, gun-related homicides remain a relatively minor part of the statistics criminal violence.

Homicide

There were 858 deaths initially recorded as homicides in England and Wales based on cases recorded by the police in 2003/04 that was a decrease of 18 per cent on 2002/03. This was the first annual fall since 1996; 72 per cent of homicides victims in the UK were male.

Figure 1.1   Offences recorded by the police in England and Wales 1951 to 2003/04
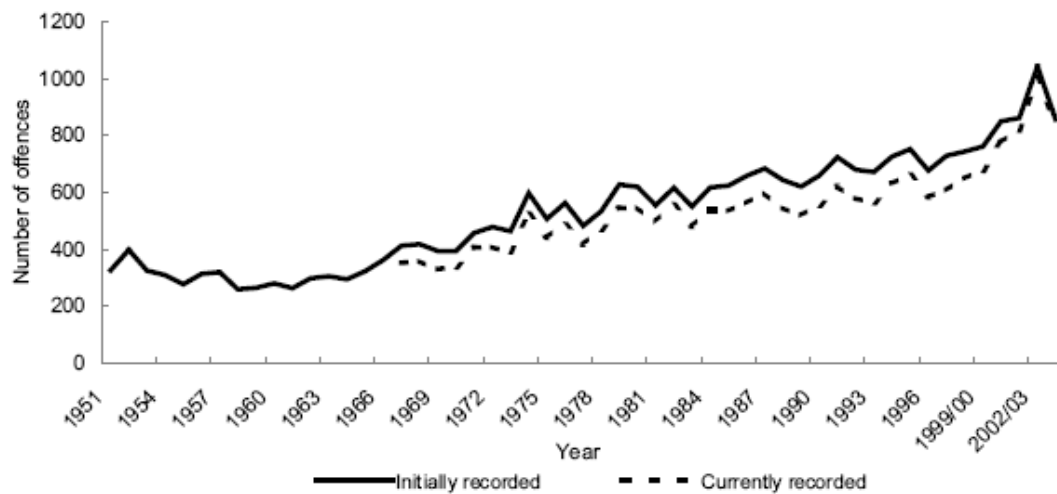
(All graphs and data Povey 2005 Home office unless stated otherwise)

As figure 1.5 shows the current highest figure of homicide in the UK is 61 per million of the population with boys under the age of 1 year old. The second highest homicide rate is in the youth category; those aged 16 to 29 years. This was recorded at 40 per million of the population. This is the age category that will be focused on in this dissertation because this is the age group that are criminalised by the press and law and are subjected to the idea that they are the ones involved in gun crime.

Figure 1.5 Offences currently recorded as homicide, by age of victim

Figure 1.5   Offences currently recorded as homicide, by age of victim
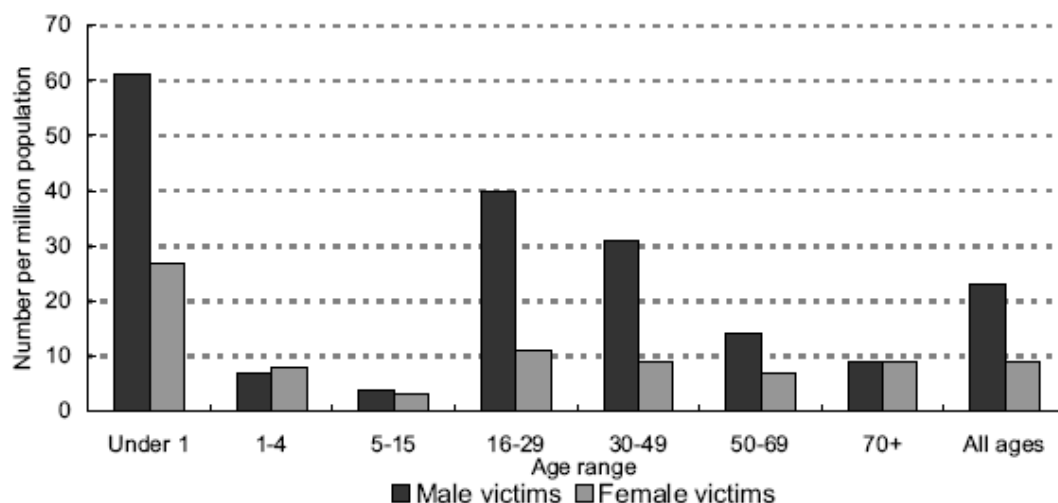
In spite of the widely reported increase in gun crime, the most common method of murder in the UK remains a sharp instrument. The highest homicide figure is 30 per cent for men 24 per cent for women by this method.[16] In 2003/04, shootings accounted for only 9 per cent of homicides, 11 per cent of male and 3 per cent of female victims. In comparison with the previous year (see appendix), the number of deaths by shooting has fallen by 4 units, a decrease of 5 per cent that follows a further

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[16] The second highest homicide method of killings is hitting and kicking which was recorded at 19 per cent for men and 11 percent for women. Equally recorded was the method of strangulation which was the highest figure for women at 19 per cent but only registered 3 per cent for men

decrease of 21 per cent between 2001/02 and 2002/03. The proportion of homicides by shooting has also declined over the past ten years: in 1993 they accounted for 15 per cent of homicides. But despite these figures the public are barricaded with newspaper discourse that states that gun crime is rapidly on the increase. In order to consider the relationship between the problematisation of black British youth in relation to criminality and gun crime in particular, it will be useful to briefly summarise the pertinent statistics held on gun crime in the UK.

Gun Crime

For the latest Home Office figures, it is possible to say that guns were not the most popular method of murder. The figures also break down the different firearms used in gun crimes and whether guns were fired, and people subsequently injured. Povey (2005) also displays which crimes often resulted in guns being used and the national breakdown of gun crime in to police force areas.

Figure 1.2 Offences currently recorded as homicide, by apparent method of killing and sex of victim

Figure 1.2   Offences currently recorded as homicide, by apparent method of killing and sex of victim
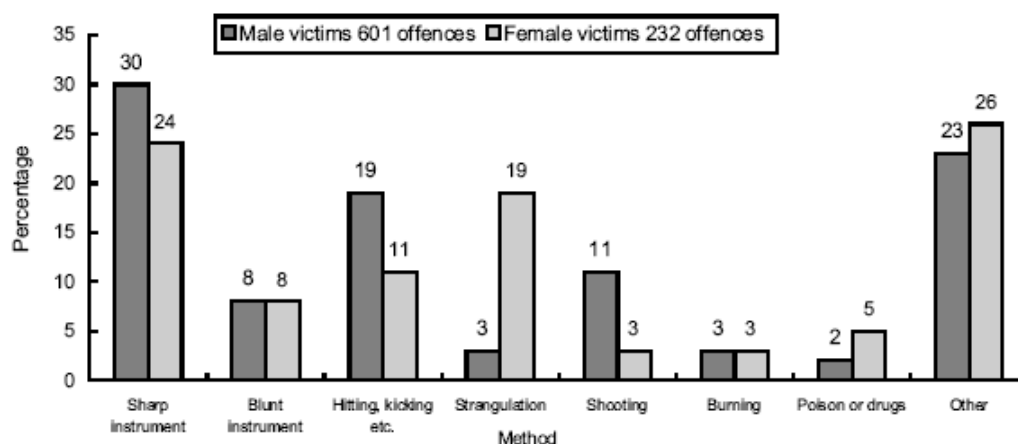
Firearms other than air weapons were reported to have been used in 10,338-recorded crimes in 2003/04. This was an increase of less than 1 per cent over the previous year,

although the number has almost doubled in the five years from 1998/99.Air weapons were reported to have been used in 13,756 recorded crimes, a fall of 0.5 per cent compared to 2002/03.

Figure 2.1 Crimes reported to the police in which a firearm has been used
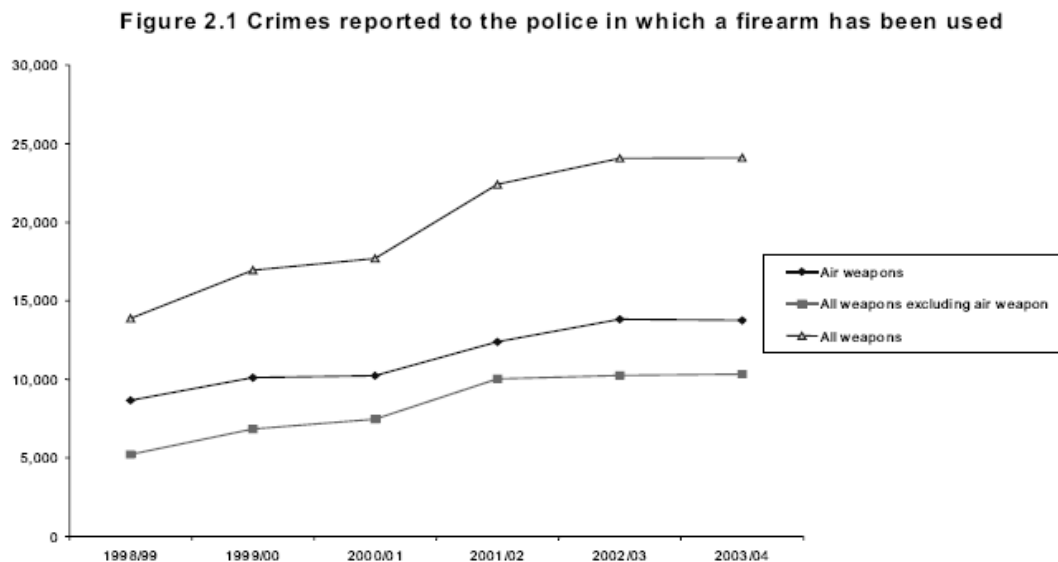
Overall, firearms (including air weapons) were used in 0.4 per cent of all recorded crimes, or one in every 250. The proportion excluding air weapons was 0.2 per cent, or 1 in every 500. Injury caused during a firearm offence is also rare. As will be shown later, only a fifth (20%) of firearm offences resulted in an injury. Handguns were used in 5,144 recorded crimes in 2003/04 which was down 7 per cent on the previous year, following a six per cent fall in 2002/03.There were 2,146 recorded crimes which were believed to involve imitation weapons in 2003/04 which was an increase of 18 per cent, following a 46 per cent rise in the previous year. There were 68 homicides involving firearms in 2003/04a decrease of 16 per cent from 81 the previous year. Only 8 per cent of all homicides in 2003/04 involved firearms.

Figure 2.2 How firearms were used, 2003/2004
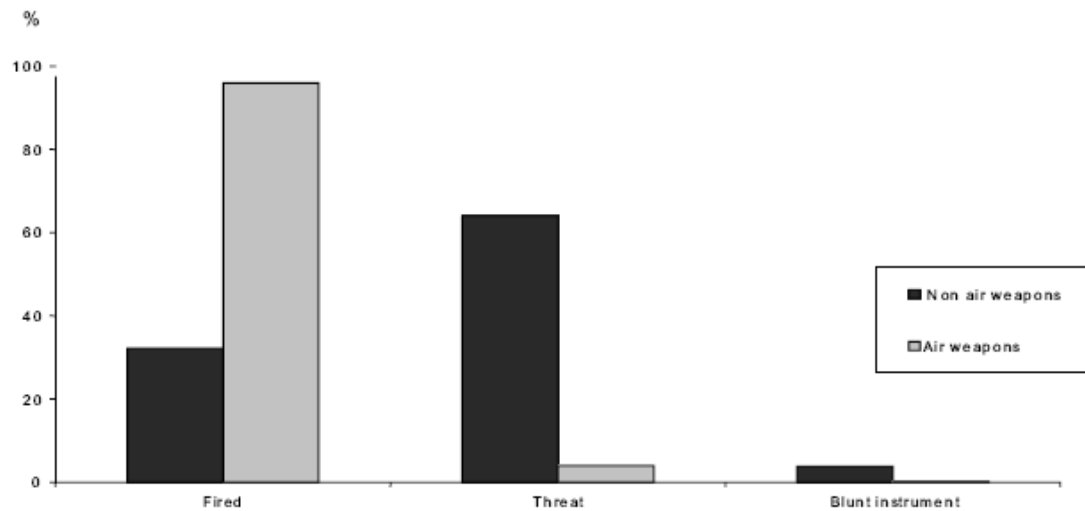
Firearms were more often used as a threat or, occasionally, as a blunt instrument, non air-weapons were fired in 32 per cent of cases. Whilst Handguns were fired in 11 per cent of crimes in which they were involved and shotguns were fired in about 35 per cent of cases. Other types of firearms, including rifles, starting guns and CS gas were fired in just over half of crimes in which they were involved (See Appendix)

The pie chart below shows the breakdown of weapons used in non-air weapon firearm crimes. The highest was the handgun that was used 50 per cent of all firearm crimes. The second highest figure was the imitation gun, which increased dramatically in use at 21 per cent of firearm crimes. The sawn off shot gun popular in most film and newspaper representations of gun crime was only used 3 per cent of all non-air weapon firearm crimes.

Figure 2.3 Types of weapon used in non-air weapon firearm crimes: England and Wales 2003/04

Long barreled shotgun
4%

Other firearm
9%

Sawn off shotgun
3%

Unidentified firearm
13%

Handgun
50%

Imitation firearm
21%

Rifle
0.5%
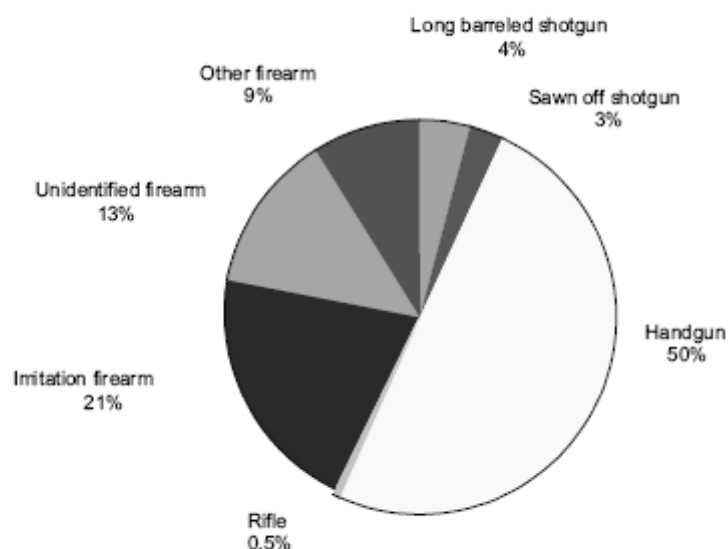
The table below displays the firearm offences by type of principal weapon. Similarly to the pie chart above the hand gun appears to be the most popular in gun crimes registering over 5 000 times in 2003/04, although the number has decreased from 2001/02. All other types of method have increased in this time period. The most notable increase is the imitation weapon registering 600 times in 2000/01 to 1800 times on 2003/04.

Figure 2.4 Firearm offences by type of principal weapon
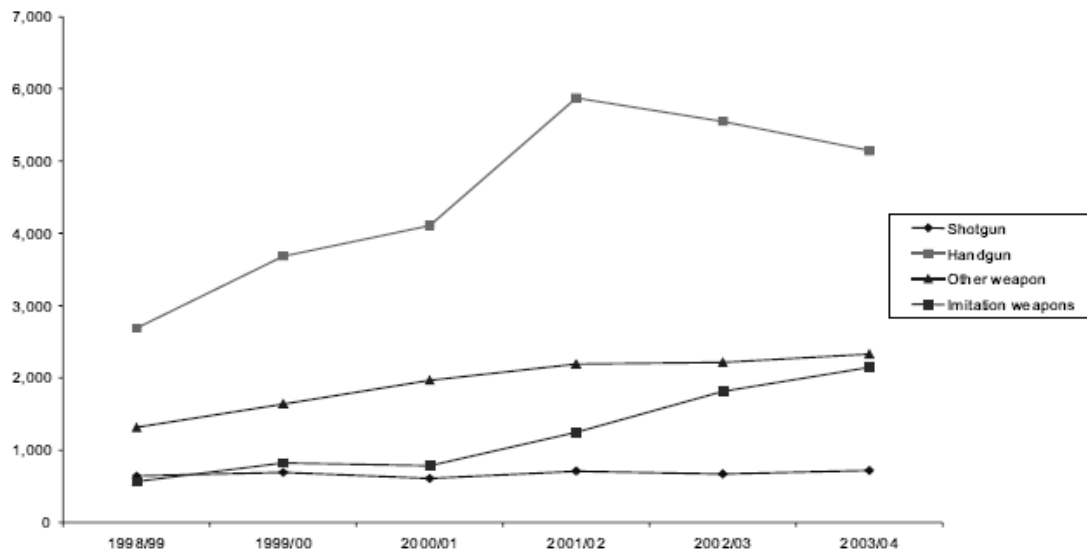
In 2003/04, 20 per cent of crimes involving firearms (including air weapons) caused injury; fired or used as a blunt instrument (4,762 offences). Crimes involving shotguns, handguns, and other non-air weapons caused injury in 14 per cent, 11 per cent and 37 per cent of incidents respectively (See table below). As shown above, air weapons were most likely to be fired, but caused injury in only 17 per cent of crimes, and in 93 per cent of these cases the injury was slight.

Number of offences						Recorded crime
Year	All weapons	All weapons excluding air weapon	Shotgun	Handgun	Other weapon excluding air weapon	Air weapon
1992	2,319	597	183	290	124	1,722
1993	2,348	770	219	393	158	1,578
1994	2,241	650	179	317	154	1,591
1995	2,056	646	146	299	201	1,410
1996	1,981	769	104	279	386	1,212
1997	1,972	778	71	314	393	1,194
1997/98	2,074	804	74	317	413	1,270
1998/99[2]	2,378	864	73	239	552	1,514
1999/00	3,172	1,195	100	352	743	1,977
2000/01	3,203	1,382	73	400	909	1,821
2001/02[3]	3,792	1,877	111	648	1,118	1,915
2002/03[4]	4,556	2,179	107	640	1,432	2,377
2003/04	4,762	2,367	104	590	1,673	2,395

1. By the weapon being fired, used as a blunt instrument or in a threat.
2. There was a change in the counting rules for recorded crime on 1 April 1998.
3. Figures may have been inflated by some police forces implementing the principles of the National Crime Recording Standard before 1 April 2002.
4. The National Crime Recording Standard was introduced on 1 April 2002. Figures for some crime categories may have been inflated by this.

There were 68 homicides involving firearms in 2003/04, down from 81 in the previous year. There were 662 firearm crimes that resulted in serious or fatal injury, up one per cent from 653 in 2002/03. However, this accounts for only 2.7 per cent of all firearm crimes. Appendix shows, by type of firearm, the proportion that were fired and not fired, and the proportion that caused injury, if they were fired. Although handguns were fired in only 11 per cent of cases, when they were fired 39 per cent of cases resulted in a fatal or serious injury. Similarly, shotguns were fired in 35 per cent of cases and, *when fired*, resulted in a fatal or serious injury in 28 per cent of cases.[17] The number of injuries was unchanged from the previous year. The number of firearm crimes that resulted in injuries has doubled over the last five years: from 2,378 in 1998/99 to 4,762 in 2003/04. The largest rise was seen in crimes involving non-air weapons.

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[17] Air weapons, when fired, resulted in a fatal or serious injury in only one per cent of cases and, in fact, resulted in no injury in 82 per cent of cases.

Table 2b Crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales in which firearms were used[1] by degree of injury

Year	Non-air weapons				Air weapons				Total injuries
	Total	Fatal injury	Serious injury	Slight injury	Total	Fatal injury	Serious injury	Slight injury	
1998/99	864	49	162	653	1,514	0	133	1,381	2,378
1999/00	1,195	62	200	933	1,977	0	171	1,806	3,172
2000/01	1,382	72	244	1,066	1,821	1	166	1,654	3,203
2001/02	1,877	95	392	1,390	1,915	2	165	1,748	3,792
2002/03	2,179	80	416	1,683	2,377	1	156	2,220	4,556
2003/04	2,367	68	437	1,862	2,395	0	157	2,238	4,762

1. By weapons being fired, used as a blunt instrument or in a threat.
2. A serious injury is one which necessitated detention in hospital or involved fractures, concussion, severe general shock, penetration by a bullet or multiple shot wounds.

One police officer was killed by a firearm while on duty in 2003/04, the first such fatality since 1995. Another three were seriously injured, and ten received slight injuries.

Table 2c Crimes recorded by the police in which a police officer on duty was injured by a firearm

Year	Total	Fatal injury	Serious injury [1]	Slight injury
1994	21	-	12	9
1995	15	1	9	5
1996	9	-	4	5
1997	6	-	2	4
1997/98	6	-	3	3
1998/99	11	-	-	11
1999/00	10	-	-	10
2000/01	8	-	5	3
2001/02	10	-	-	10
2002/03	12	-	1	11
2003/04	14	1	3	10

1. A serious injury is one which necessitated detention in hospital or involved fractures, concussion, severe general shock, penetration by a bullet or multiple shot wounds.

Violence against the person and robbery offences accounted for a half of recorded crimes where firearms were used, with violence against the person contributing 33 per cent and robbery 17 per cent. The number of robberies involving firearms fell by 14

per cent in 2003/04 following a 13 per cent fall in the previous year (See below)

Figure 2.5 Crimes in which firearms were reported to have been used by offence type
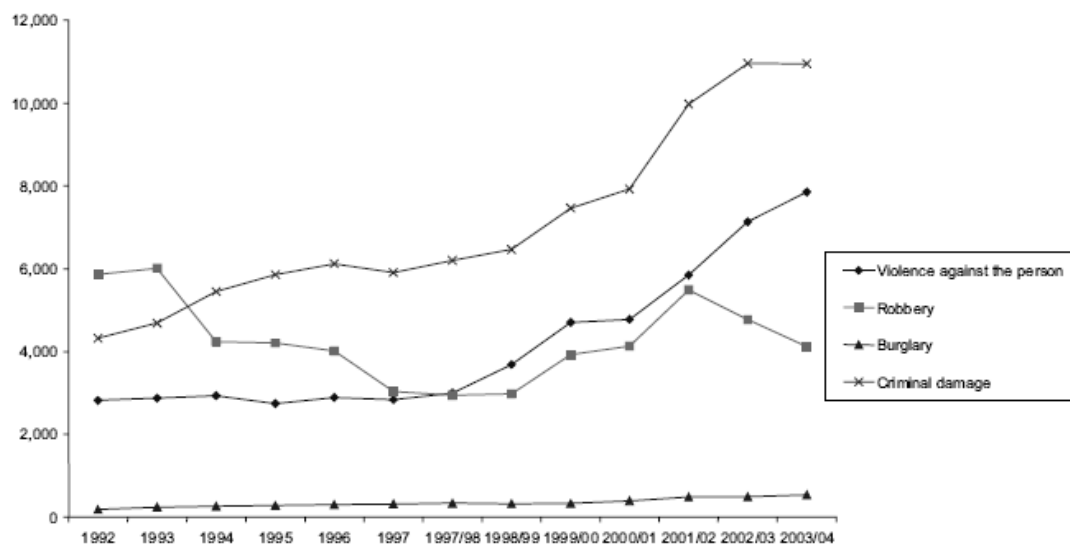
Criminal damage made up 45 per cent of overall firearm offences whilst violence against another person accounted for 46 per cent of the total that was 41 per cent up from 2002/03. Sixty-one per cent of all non-air weapon firearm offences in England and Wales occurred in just three police authorities: Metropolitan, Greater Manchester, and West Midlands (see part chart below). 38 per cent occurred in the Metropolitan Police area, 12 percent in the Greater Manchester area and 11 per cent in the West

Midlands. Despite the ideology of Nottingham being gun capital of the UK and Europe it does not even register independently in police force areas.

Figure 2.7 Firearm offences in police force areas: 2003/04
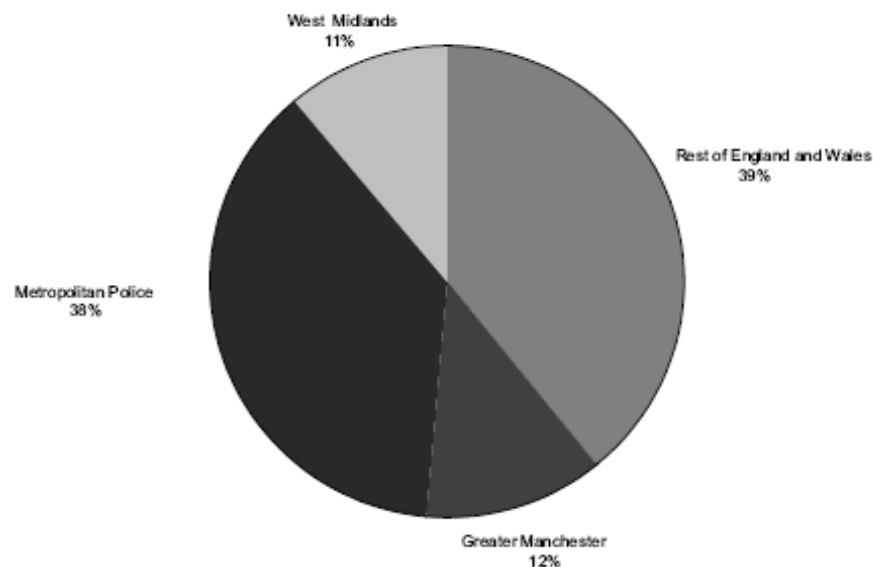
In 2003, 2,768 people were found guilty or cautioned for indictable crimes under the Firearms Acts, seven per cent or 172 more than in 2002, and the highest total for five years. The four most common indictable offences were: possessing or distributing prohibited weapons or ammunition; possessing firearms with intent to cause fear of violence; possessing firearms or ammunition without a certificate; and possessing a shotgun without a certificate. Together, they accounted for 82 per cent of all indictable offences under the Firearms Acts. Taken together, the number of convictions and cautions for indictable and summary offences stood at 3,258 in 2003, up 2 per cent on 2002 but 31 per cent fewer than in 1998. Cautions accounted for 30 per cent of the total, down from 32 per cent in 2002 and 40 per cent in 1998. The statistical side of homicide and gun crime have been explored. Theory of gun crime will now be discussed.

Homicide, suicide and social inequality

Durkheim (1999) considered homicide to be inversely related to suicide. His investigations suggested that this relationship formed two opposed social customs. Where social customs were generally 'gentle and pacific', in times of difficulty people would withdraw from life and be more prone to suicide; where 'average morality has a ruder character and human life is less respected' people will be more likely to kill others rather than themselves. Thus he saw the nature of the social and moral environment as a crucial factor in determining homicide rate (Cutts et al 2006). Wilkinson (1996) has observed in the United States that the there is a strong relationship between income inequality and rate of violent crime, including homicide. He believes that correlation between income inequality (the share of total household income received by the least well-off 50 per cent of the population) and homicide rates suggests that differences in income inequality may account for as much as half of the wide variation in homicide rates between states(Shaw et al 2004).He alludes to other studies which find homicide rates are more closely related to inequality than to poverty. He states the links between crime and income inequality parallel those between health and inequality. 'It not only provides independent confirmation that income distribution has important psychosocial effects on society, but shows that the effects are consistent with the view that wider income differences are socially divisive. Indeed, there are suggestions that they undermine the legitimacy of the society's institutions more widely' (1996, p. 156–157)

Wilkinson's theories are interesting to use for the case study of Nottingham, if indeed Nottingham is the *gun crime capital* of the UK. Nottingham is sometimes seen as a 'tale of two cities'[18] one rich and prosperous, the other suffering hardship and deprivation. The city centre, with its wealth and cosmopolitan lifestyle is surrounded

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[18]One Nottingham http://www.ocpn.org.uk/

by some of the poorest communities in the country, for example Sneinton, St Ann's, Lenton and Radford. The reason that there is gun crime in Nottingham, according to Wilkinson (1996), is because of the large differentiation of incomes between the richest and the poorest and lack of social integration.

Wilkinson (1996) studies also echoes Durkheim's observation of the inverse relationship between suicide and homicide and the role of social integration. However Wilkinson's interpretation revolves around whether the anger and bitterness brought about by adverse socio-economic conditions are internalised, leading to suicide or expressed externally leading to homicide. Wilkinson(1996) focuses in particular on 'loss of face', of pride and prestige and humiliation that is often expressed as a source of violence by murderers. Areas of low socio-economic status have been found to be associated with an increases homicide risk in a number of different places, including the USA and Germany (Karman, 1996; Lester, 2002; Wallace and Wallace, 1998 in Shaw et al 2004).

The relationship between the status of the socio-economic and the risk of murder is demonstrated by data below that indicates that it is the unemployed who are most likely to be murdered (Brookman and Maguire, 2003 in Shaw et al 2004). The Homicide Index suggests that in England and Wales between 1995 and 1999, and in Scotland between 1979 and 1998, approximately 40 per cent of homicide victims were the unemployed. Both data sets also indicate that a high percentage of unskilled manual workers were amongst the victims. Other occupational groups, including security staff and prostitutes, are at also more at risk of murder in the UK (Brookman and Maguire, 2003; O'Kane, 2002; Ward et al., 1999 in Shaw et al 2004).

Britain's Breadline poverty index reveals an increasing inequality gap and increased distribution of murder in impoverished areas. The figures below displays that in the least poor areas of Britain for every 100 people expected to be murdered, given how many people live there, and their age and sex, only 54 were actually murdered during 1981–1985 and only 50 by 1996–2000, a fall of 7.4 per cent or 4 per 100. However, in the poorest areas of Britain, for every 100 people expected to be murdered, 243 people were killed at the start of the 1980s, rising to 282 at the end of the time period, a rise of 16 per cent. During 1981–1985 people living in the poorest 10 per cent of areas in Britain were 4.5 times more likely to be murdered than those living in the least poor 10 per cent of areas but by 1996–2000 those living in the poorest tenth were more than 5.7 times more likely to be murdered than the least poor tenth. (Shaw et al2004)

In the table below, for every increase in poverty there is a rise in the murder rate. The inequality in murder rates between areas also rose steadily over the two decades such that people living in the poorest tenth of Britain were 143 per cent more likely than average to be murdered in 1981–1985, increasing in the successive 5 year periods to 161 per cent, 171 per cent and then 182 per cent above the average SMR of 100 in 1996–2000(Shaw et al 2004).

The increase in murder rates was concentrated almost exclusively in the poorer parts of Britain and most strongly in its poorest tenth of wards. By the 1990s the 'excess' murders above the national average in the poorest half of Britain amounted to around 200 per year. Just over half of that number of 'excess' murders was amongst the poorest tenth of the population. The rise in murder in Britain has thus been

concentrated almost exclusively in the poorest parts of the country and among men of working age (Shaw et al 2004).

SMRs for murder by area by poverty in Britain

Breadline Britain poverty decile	1981–1985	1986–1990	1991–1995	1996–2000	Change in SMR 1981–1985 to 1996–2000	% Change in SMR 1981–1985
1-least poor	54	59	55	50	−4	−7.4
2	67	65	67	60	−7	−10.4
3	62	69	68	66	+4	+6.5
4	74	85	72	81	+7	+9.5
5	79	77	83	88	+9	+11.4
6	95	95	95	103	+8	+8.4
7	112	122	125	130	+18	+16.1
8	119	130	148	147	+28	+23.5
9	151	166	191	185	+34	+22.5
10-poorest	243	261	271	282	+39	+16.0
Ratio 10:1	4.50	4.42	4.89	5.68		

Note: Expected values are based on 1981–1985 national rates.

Source: (Shaw et al 2004)

Cutts et al (2006) believes that this dispels the myth that gun crimes are the key factor behind the high murder rates in poor (urban) areas in Britain. Firearms account for only 11% of murders in the poorest area of Britain compared to 29% of murders in the least poor areas. The more affluent an area the more likely it is that guns will be used when murders are committed. The most common way in which people are murdered in the poorest half of areas in Britain is through being cut with a knife or broken glass/bottle, followed by strangling and only then firearms.

Weapons and Drugs

In media representation of the black male identity (See chapter 1) gun crime appears to go hand in hand with drugs. McLagan (2005) stated that gun crime barely registered in the UK crime statistics in the 1950's because firearms were only used by professional criminals and in domestic murders or 'crimes of passion'[19] . There was a

[19] Popular opinion, if not courts of law, sometimes view the commission of murder or of grievous bodily harm more sympathetically as a crime of passion—a physical outbreak of intense jealousy

slight rise in the 1960's where guns were used in gangland killings and armed robberies but it was not until in the 1980's that there was a substantial rise in the gun crime figure. However, according to McLagan (2005) it was 1999 when gun crime began to increase rapidly in comparison with previous decades. He argues that two factors lay behind the increase - serious drugs firstly, cocaine then crack, and heavy violence imported from Jamaica. McLagan (2005) condemned Kingston as a breeding ground for criminals: ' [t]he gangs are a loose knit set of geographic-political groupings who live in deprived and squalid slum areas…they have no hope of employment…no state welfare…rely upon their wits to survive from an early age. Violent death usually by the gun is a normal event in the slums'.

The use of weapons and guns in relation to drug use and drug purchases is problematic as it increases the possibility of homicide. The combination of drugs, crime and guns is clearly of special concern for the Government. (Home Office Research Study 205 Drugs and Crime NEW-EDAM Programme Bennet 2004). A random sub-group of all arrestees were asked about ownership and access to weapons and guns (See appendix). Almost half of the random arrestees 49 per cent tested positive for cannabis. There was a general increase in the prevalence of drug use over the period 1997 to 1999 among arrestees tested in the repeat surveys conducted in Nottingham (Bennet 2004). In both Nottingham and Sunderland, the percentage of arrestees testing positive for cannabis increased. In Nottingham there was a significant increase in the prevalence of positive tests for opiates and cocaine. There is also some evidence of an escalation of general drug use. However, the pattern of change reflected the different starting points of the two areas. In 1997, arrestees in

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responding to presumed or witnessed sexual deception. An important aspect of determining a crime of passion is the immediacy of the response www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crime_of_passion

Nottingham were more heavily involved in 'minor' drugs but in 1999, arrestees in Nottingham appeared to escalate from 'minor' to 'major' drugs. It should be noted that the terms 'major' and 'minor' drugs are used in this report to distinguish heroin and crack/cocaine from other drugs (Bennet 2004).

The study also showed that 27 percent of arrested criminals stated that they had carried a weapon (other than a gun) at the time of an offence at some time in their lives. 15 per cent said that they had carried a weapon at the time of an offence in the last 12 months. More importantly 66 per cent of arrestees said that they had owned or had easy access to a gun at some time in their lives and about 24per cent said that they had done so in the last 12 months. 30 per cent had mixed with people who owned or had access to a gun in the last 12 months. It is not necessarily the case that the guns owned were illegal or that the firearms involved were used in connection with a crime. In fact, 9 per cent of arrestees said that they had recently owned or had easy access to a gun for the purposes of hunting or target shooting and one per cent said that they owned or had easy access to a gun as part of their legitimate job. However, 13 per cent of arrestees said that they had recently owned or had easy access to a gun for protection or self defence; three per cent said that they had a gun for use in criminal activity and one per cent said that they had a gun to impress people. The highest prevalence rate of gun ownership and access was in South Norwood (29%) and the lowest rate was in Nottingham (20%) (Bennett 2004).

Gun Crime in Nottingham

Nottingham has been labelled 'Assassin city', 'gun capital' and the home of 'binge drinking'. It is a conurbation of a quarter of a million people with a previously stolid

reputation encompassing Robin Hood, lace and bicycle manufacturing and cricket by the river Trent. The city of Nottingham is home to tens of thousands of students and holds two established universities and is the entertainment capital of the East Midlands and hosts many more thousand revellers every weekend. Nottingham drug gangs have presence in four particular areas of the city: first, Bestwood, secondly, St Ann's, thirdly, Radford and finally, the Meadows and Sneinton.

The murder of Danielle Beccan and shooting of WPC Bown are just two shootings in a long line of gun crimes in Nottingham. Police deal with more than one shooting a week.[20]In the last few years there have been, amongst others the murders of Brendon Lawrence, 16 killed in 2002 after being shot in St Ann's; Marian Bates, 64, shot dead in 2003 at her jeweller's shop in Arnold whilst protecting her daughter from armed robbers; Marvyn Bradshaw, 22, shot dead outside a pub after a case of mistaken identity; Joan and John Stirland, 53 and 55, shot dead at their home in Carlton in 2004; Donzal Munn, 25, shot dead in his car in Radford in 2004;Omar Watson, 24, shot dead at a hair salon in Radford in 2003.

There were a total of 71 incidents involving firearms in 2003 in Nottingham however this number fell to 56 in 2004[21] because of the implement of Operation Stealth. Similarly guns injured 35 people in 2003 that had fallen to 22 the following year. Operation aimed to reduce gun related criminality and Class A drug supply in Nottingham. So far they have made **7**51 Arrests, seized £1,800,000 of Class A drugs and recovered 185 Firearms**.** [22] In October 2004 thousands of people held a protest against guns in Market Square, Nottingham. A major gun amnesty followed the shooting of Danielle Beccan with a poster campaign with the theme 'Not in

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[20] www.bbc.co.uk
[21] www.bbc.co.uk
[22] http://press.homeoffice.gov.uk/press-releases/Top_Drugs_Cops_Applauded_At_Home?version=1

Nottingham, Not in My City', however the gun amnesty only saw 40 weapons handed in.

Chapter 3

Methodology

It was decided that qualitative research would be used because quantitative research focuses upon the analysis of numerical data, and in doing so usually makes use of large sets of data to make generalisations and predictions (Searle 2004). In comparison, qualitative research analyses societal and cultural behaviour, and attitudes which it is not possible or desirable to quantify (Searle 2004). In other words, qualitative research 'tends to focus on exploring, in as much detail as possible, smaller numbers of instances or examples which are seen as being interesting or illuminating, and aims to achieve 'depth' rather than 'breadth'' (Blaxter *et* al. 1996 in Harrison 2001) 'it also allows the researcher to learn at first hand about the social world' (Burgess 1984). It is for these reasons that qualitative research allows for a greater expression and insight into the representation of the black British male and of the world of British gun crime.

This analysis employs qualitative content and textual analysis. The approach provides insight into the way texts help to shape and reproduce social meanings and forms of knowledge (Tonkiss in Searle 2005). Content analysis is a qualitative method for studying textual data. It seeks to analyse the 'frequency' and 'presence of specific terms narrative and concepts'. It has a long history in psychology and in communication (Berelson 1952) and today it is used in the analysis of newspaper articles, radio and television reports. The principal strength of this approach lies in its clear and systematic study of text as a basis of analysis and interpretations (Searle

2005). It has a high degree of 'validity' and 'reliability' for clear 'empirical evidence' allowing 'replication' and 'generalisations'. Although there are many kinds of advantages of these research methods they are also criticisms because it is concerned simply with 'crass content': with 'what is said', rather than 'how it is said' for example (Tonkiss in Searle 2005).

The starting point of qualitative content analysis is to define categories of analysis and to code the data using these categories. The reliability of the coding process is an important consideration-however, there may be a bias in the results because different researchers code their data in individual different ways (Searle 2005).

There are two sources of research data that will be explored in order to understand how the black male identity is represented and constructed in media representations of British Gun crime. The first data set is a sample of newspapers articles, which will be subject to qualitative content analysis, and the second is interview data drawn from semi-structured tape-recorded interviews that will also be subject to qualitative content analysis.

Then the finding will be subjected to discourse analysis. The organisation of textual meaning is central to discourse analysis. This qualitative approach to textual analysis can sometimes be difficult to pin down because it is used in different ways within different fields (Hammersley, 2002, Wetherall et al 2001). It focuses how social categories, knowledge's and relations are shaped by discourse. Discourse analysis takes it places within a larger body of social and cultural research that is concerned with the production of meaning through text (Searle 2005). Therefore it involves a

perspective on language in newspapers that does not reflect reality transparently but constructs and organises the terms in which society understands social reality (Searle 2005).

Data newspapers

Two case studies, the 10th October Goose Fair Shooting of 2004 and the 14th February Shooting of WPC Bown in 2006 will be used to identify the representation of the British black male identity in gun crime. Articles two weeks succeeding both shootings will be researched: from 11th to 25th October 2004 for Goose Fair Shooting and 14th to 28th February 2006 for the shooting of WPC Bown. Two weeks was the period chosen because the immediate representation of news coverage would be explored rather than the longer-term investigative journalism. The reason for this was because longer investigative journalism tends to be more normative in evaluation. Lexis Nexus will be used to identify and gather articles needed for the content analysis for keyword search. The researched term that will be used is simply 'Bown' for the WPC Bown shooting; this is because this allows the greatest content to emerge in the two weeks prior to the shooting. Also some newspapers differed in description of the police officer Bown, for example PC Bown or WPC Bown. Therefore using 'Bown' as a research term was a way to reduce error and illuminate all articles possible. For the 'Goose Fair Shooting' at first it was believed that simply using the previous name, 'Goose Fair' as a research name would suffice however problems occurred. Some national newspapers did not use this method of description rather focussing on Nottingham or Lenton for example. Therefore like the previous example the name of the victim Danielle Beccan was used to highlight as many articles in the two-week period as possible.

The national newspapers selected were *The Sun, The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph;* including the Sunday equivalents the *News of the Word, The Mail on Sunday* and *The Sunday Telegraph* and locally the *Nottingham Post.* The national newspapers that were selected are three different formats of newspaper, tabloid, mid-range and broadsheet from the same ideological position- right wing conservative. Both the middle market and tabloids are the popular newspapers (see below). The vast majority of readers buy tabloid newspapers. Newspapers present their regular readers with a packaged and relatively ordered view of the world, through their layout and daily running order(Ferguson 1998). Readers know where to look to find the sports page, the stock exchange figures, the women's page and the television listings. The fact that a familiar newspaper offers a sense of identity and possibly security to its regular readers is an important contextualising factor when considering questions of 'race' and ideology. Issues relating to 'race' may, of course, be written about on any page of a newspaper, though it could be argued that they are more likely to be found under a limited number of categories or genres. These would include sport, entertainment, social 'problems' and crime (Ferguson 1998).

UK social grade definitions

Social grade	Social status	Occupation
A	upper middle class higher	managerial, administrative or professional
B	middle class	intermediate managerial, administrative or professional
C1	lower middle class	supervisory or clerical, junior managerial, administrative or professional
C2	skilled working class	skilled manual workers
D	working class	semi and unskilled manual workers
E	those at lowest level of subsistence state	pensioners or widows (no other earner), casual or lowest grade workers

(Source : http://www.businessballs.com/demographicsclassifications.htm)

The Sun is the highest read popular national daily tabloid newspaper and is owned by Murdoch's News Corporation. It targets the working class (C2 and D) and has a circulation of 3105 333 in February 2006.The Daily Mail is a mid range popular newspaper with a circulation 2328 439 in February 2006. The Daily Mail targets the conservative middle class (B and C1). The Telegraph a broadsheet daily morning national newspaper has a current circulation of 841 013 and targets right wing rural whites (A and B). It is owned by Press Holdings.

National newspaper circulation

	February 2006	February 2005	% change	February 2006 (inc bulks)	Sept 2005 - February 2006	Sept 2004 - February 2005	% change
Dailies							
Sun	3,145,333	3,273,016	-3.90	3,145,433	3,215,592	3,283,318	-2.06
Daily Mirror	1,656,655	1,719,743	-3.67	1,656,655	1,693,997	1,748,427	-3.11
Daily Star	791,900	854,291	-7.30	791,900	811,158	860,304	-5.71
Daily Record	449,409	480,417	-6.45	450,302	449,600	472,951	-4.94
Daily Mail	2,328,439	2,330,665	-0.10	2,439,142	2,259,588	2,300,603	-1.78
Daily Express	801,046	807,574	-0.73	801,046	810,132	866,263	-6.48
Daily Telegraph	841,013	855,994	-1.75	901,123	846,334	863,708	-2.01
Times	629,225	638,723	-1.49	669,691	644,185	628,532	2.49
FT	404,600	394,892	2.46	440,837	399,252	402,563	-0.82
Guardian	367,626	340,499	7.97	382,931	379,124	346,573	9.39
Independent	230,364	227,305	1.35	266,075	225,565	225,427	0.06
Sundays							
News of the World	3,630,290	3,649,366	-0.52	3,630,390	3,708,237	3,749,791	-1.11
Sunday Mirror	1,451,834	1,534,736	-5.40	1,451,834	1,492,712	1,591,479	-6.21
People	884,410	1,007,140	-12.19	884,410	893,885	982,855	-9.05
Sunday Mail	535,360	563,540	-5.00	535,970	543,053	579,973	-6.37
Daily Star Sunday	386,690	419,172	-7.75	386,690	402,841	468,880	-14.08
Mail on Sunday	2,199,594	2,301,029	-4.41	2,285,387	2,229,580	2,330,549	-4.33
Sunday Express	862,987	935,304	-7.73	862,987	852,532	911,112	-6.43
Sunday Times	1,357,485	1,387,032	-2.13	1,371,545	1,356,701	1,351,340	0.40
Sunday Telegraph	647,798	645,251	0.39	683,741	644,199	660,475	-2.46
Observer	456,533	414,898	10.03	484,357	435,867	421,773	3.34
IoS	211,293	174,268	21.25	244,287	193,271	176,244	9.66

(Source: Media Guardian Monday March 13 2006)

Nottingham Post is a daily evening local tabloid newspaper that is owned by the Daily Mail and General Trust[23]. Therefore one would expect the newspaper to have a right wing political sphere. Leftwing papers were not chosen limiting the field, as it was not possible to compare and contrast all articles.

Right wing newspapers were chosen because they were thought to be more likely to represent and associate young black men and gun crime. Looking at differences in

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[23] http://www.mediauk.com/

representations it was decided to compare articles from the different newspaper formats especially because the Daily Mail owns the Nottingham Evening Post.

These newspapers have different audiences, aims, production styles and format but have the same political spectrum. The aim would be to see if these newspapers represent gun crime and race differently and why.

Interview data

The interview data comes from 8 individuals: a member of the Nottingham Police Department; young individuals from Nottingham black community that may have had 'gang' affiliations; an owner of a local barbershop; a painter and musician who deals with issues of race and equality in his work; a member of a government youth advice centre and an employee of Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). All interviewees were men roughly aged between 21 and 40 years old.

The youth advisory centre provides a guidance service for all 13 to 19 year olds(via Nottinghamshire Learning & Skills Council(LSC), Nottinghamshire County Council and Nottingham City Council). The Board of Directors includes representatives from the LSC, education, youth, health, police, voluntary and community services and from the employment sector; it also includes two service users. The services are operationally managed by two Local Management Committees (LMCs) - for the City and County areas.[24]

The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) was set up under the 1976 Race Relations Act. It receives a grant from the Home Office, but works independently of

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[24] http://www.cnxnotts.co.uk/about/intro.html

government. Its three main objectives are to work towards the elimination of racial discrimination and promote equality of opportunity; to encourage good relations between people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds; to monitor the way the Race Relations Act is working and recommend ways in which it can be improved.[25]

The first draft questionnaire was prepared with 10 questions. When conducting a pilot interview it became apparent that the language of the questions was too complicated and that prior knowledge of the discourse was assumed. Appropriate amendments were made simplifying the language and extending to 22 questions to incorporate all levels of skills for the interviewees. (Appendix)

Interviews are most importantly a form of communication and a means for extracting different forms of information from groups and individuals. An interviewer must demonstrate respect for people as individuals, have the ability to show understanding and sympathy for points of view and above all the skill and willingness to sit quietly and listen (Thompson 1988).

Social research interviews range from the formal questionnaire to totally open ended interviews. In this case of qualitative interviewing the discussion will be semi-structured which is often referred to as 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess cited in Mason 1996). The aim is to encourage the interviewee to talk at some length on a range of issues. The researcher is often regarded as a co-producer of the data that is a result of an interaction between researcher and interviewee (Mason 1996).

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[25] http://www.cre.gov.uk/about/index.html

The interactive element means that interviewing is highly flexible but is also an unpredictable form of research. The research method allows topics to be approached in a variety of ways, for example in this case, involving matters that might be perceived to be difficult or sensitive i.e. drug use, experiences of violence and gun possession or instances where the interviewee may be reluctant to talk on issues of racism and other forms of prejudice. Therefore this method can be used to tackle such issues sensitively achieving a depth of understanding difficult to reach using other research approaches.

The interviews will be an example of non-probability technique, that gives access to groups of people whose activities are normally hidden from the public or official view for example drug dealers, gang members. This sampling is called snowball or network sampling (Bloch in Searle 2005). Snowball respondents are obtained through referrals among people who share the same interest or characteristics (Harrison 2001). This technique relies on personal recommendations by people and is a useful way to tap into people who are involved in a network that might otherwise be wary of participating in other social research surveys.
(Searle 2005)

The interviews will be anonymous, semi-structured, recorded on digitally on minidisk and later fully transcribed. From the Nottingham Police, statistics of Nottingham and police perceptions of gun criminals will be extracted. The non-representative snowball interviews from Nottingham's black British youth, Barbershop owner and Gang members will present the social issues of gun crime- the reason why sectors of society feel that they have no choice other than to join street gangs. Most of these

interviewees are the people who are often marginalized by newspaper reports on gun crime it is important that their feelings are noted especially their views on police, guns, institutional racism, law and societal racial bias. Therefore it is imperative that these members are interviewed. These people are the prime reason for the dissertation's production. The members of youth advisory group, the CRE and the musician /artist are commentators and perhaps even activists on British black issues. It is hoped that these people want to be interviewed because they know how the black male identity is represented and constructed by the media and have built their own views on the perceptions of gun crime. They have informed views and want to act to change the perception of the marginalized people. They have a significant relationship with the research topic and therefore these interviews are an example of purposive sampling (Searle 2004).

The interviewees were contacted either by email or by phone call (see appendix) and then interviewed in person, other than the local youth in the Barbershop in Sneinton. Although the time in the barbershop was scheduled the people who were approached were random, other than the barbershop owner. The interviews are all confidential and anonymous to keep 'free flowing responses' (Saran 1984). All interviews following the pilot were carried out successfully, except that with the Nottingham Police Department who despite promises of interviews and email press packs illustrating the facts about Nottingham gun crime, ultimately failed to meet me or send an email reply.

The first recorded interview was with a black British student who had lived in Greenford in West London before moving to Nottingham and is one of the minorities of black students at the university. This interview was conducted as a pilot and lasted only 10 minutes.

The second scheduled interviews took place in a local barbershop in Sneinton. Three people in the barbershop were interviewed: the owner of the barbershop, a barber and a local man waiting for his haircut. The barbershop owner was a man 'born in Africa' who had been 'educated in Britain'. He is currently working towards an MBA in Liverpool. The Barber is a mixed race man born in England with a white mother and a 'Jamaican father' and is a 'trained cook'. The local man is also mix race with a Jamaican father and an English mother who played football professionally in Sweden. Each interview lasted between 30 and 40 minutes. More people were approached; for example those in the youth category (16-21 years old) outside and inside the barbershop, however they refused to comment on issues of race and of gun crime. This was the most difficult of all the interviews because the interviews were conducted in a very public place with many people coming in and out of the barbershop.

The fifth interview took place in Brighton in a local pub. The interviewed black British, underground hip-hop emcee, entrepreneur and artist once lived in Hackney and in Nottingham but is now situated in Brighton. This interview lasted 1 hour and 30 minutes.

The sixth interviewee was a British/Ghanaian individual who is working for the CRE, and was conducted in a restaurant in London. It lasted 30 minutes.

The final interview was conducted in a café in Hockley in Nottingham with a black British senior manager of a local youth advisory service. This interview lasted about 1 hour and 10 minutes.

The reason that the fifth sixth and seventh interview took longer was because these people knew a great deal about the representations and constructions of the black British male. It was my belief that these individuals could unearth the hidden truths surrounding gun crime and encode the neo-racism in representations of black British men in print media.

The data that emerged through the interviews will be analysed comparing one interviewee with another in anticipation of themes becoming evident. The reason for this would be to see if the newspaper discourse would be reinforced or undermined by the thoughts and opinions of the interviewees; for example do the interviewees concur with the print media depictions that all black men are criminals?

Chapter 4 Empirical Data (I)
Newspaper analysis

There are 137 newspaper articles that have been used to identify how the black male identity represented and constructed in media representations of British Gun crime. The national newspapers used include: *The Sun, The News of the World, The Daily Mail, Sunday Mail, The Telegraph and The Sunday Telegraph*; and the local Nottingham *Evening Post*.

There were 74 individual newspaper articles between the 11th and 25th of October 2004 that reported on the case study of the shooting Danielle Beccan: 26 articles in The Sun, 4 in News of the world, 10 in *The Daily Mail*; 1 in the *Mail on Sunday*; 3 in the *Daily Telegraph*; 1 in the *Sunday Telegraph* and 29 in the *Nottingham Evening Post*- A total of 45 National newspaper articles and 29 Local Articles.
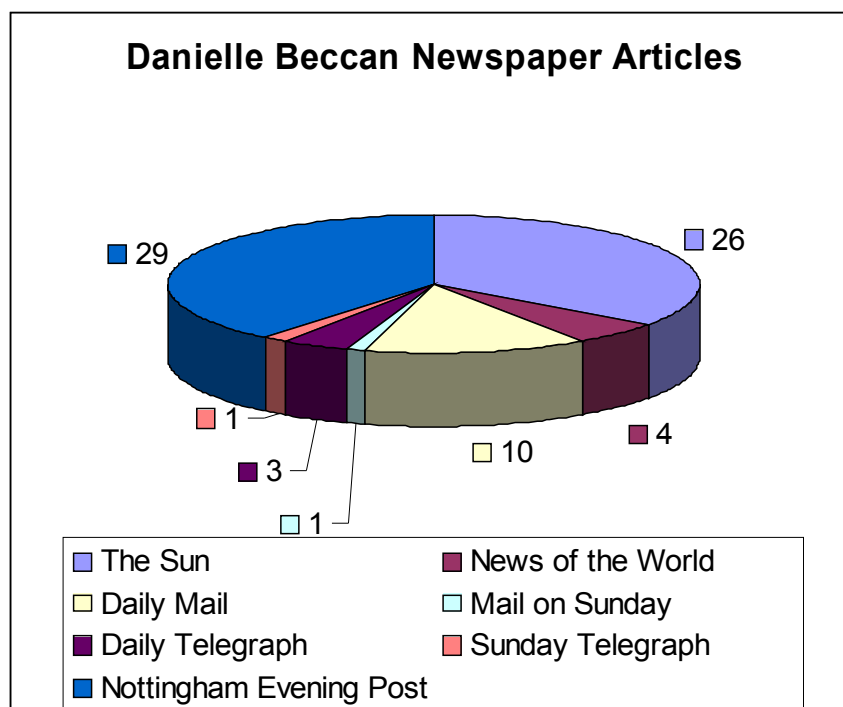
There were 63 individual newspaper articles between the 14th and 28th February 2006 that reported on the case study of the shooting of WPC Bown: 19 in *The Sun*; 0 in *News of the World*; 7 in The *Daily Mail*; 3in *The Mail on Sunday*, 12 in *The Daily Telegraph*, 0 in *the Sunday Telegraph* and 22 in the *Nottingham Evening Post*. National articles 41- a total of 41 national articles and 22 local articles.
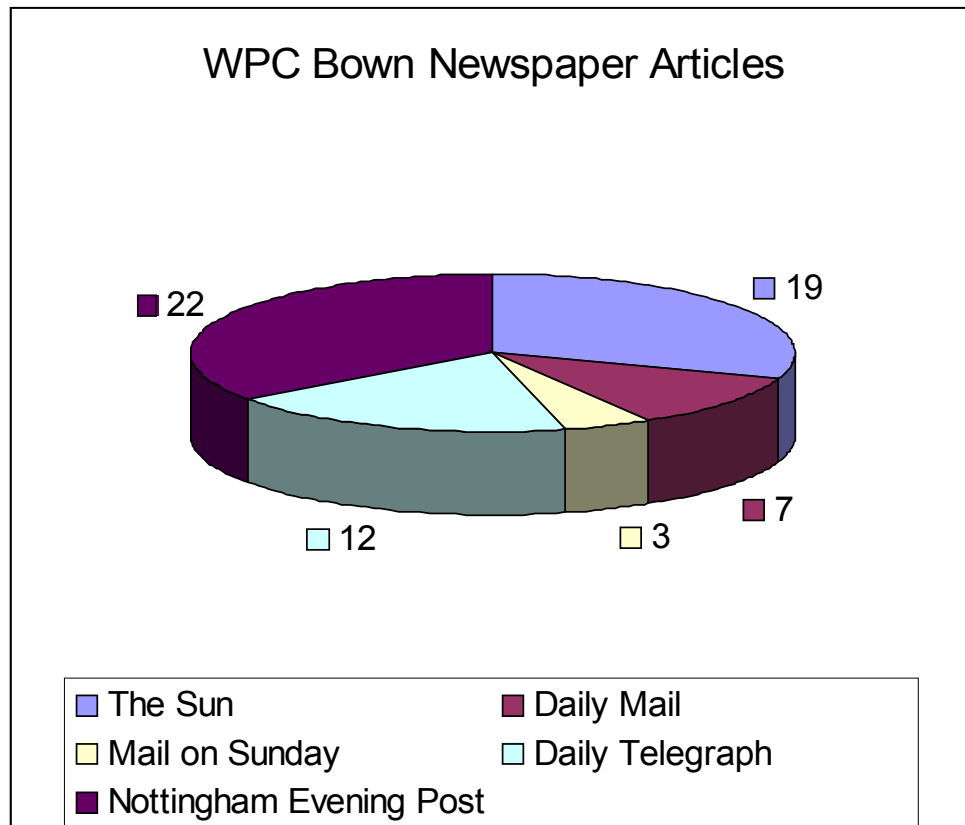
The Daily Mail has the longest article in the Danielle Beccan study with 2250 words (see below); followed by *The Sun* with 1606 words; then the *Nottingham Evening Post* with 1500, then the *Sunday Telegraph* with 1466; *Daily Telegraph* 627; The *News of the World* 202 and finally the *Mail on Sunday* with a word count of 57. The Shortest articles found when researching the selected newspaper are as followed: *Nottingham Evening Post* 37, *The News of the World* 50, *The Sun* 63, *The Daily Mail* 193 and *The Daily Telegraph* 467. Other than the local newspaper having the shortest

article, the increase in the length or the number of articles is as expected from tabloid to midrange to broadsheet.

The Danielle Beccan Case Study 2004 :-Articles Lengths

	The Sun	The News of the World	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph	Nottingham Evening Post
Longest article (words)	1606	202	2250	57	627	1466.	1500
Head line	Gun UK The Tragic Legacy	Knife Menace Threaten us all	11 fatal shootings. 60 wounded 250 gun seized… and the latest victim, a 14 year-old girl. No not a foreign war zone, but an English city. So why is Nottingham Britain's Gun capital?	Danielle: man held	Man is held after girl 14 dies in drive by shooting	When guns break out of the ghetto, As stories of innocents caught in cross fire fill the news, its clear that gun crime has reached areas where recently it seemed unthinkable.	Taking battle to gun crime
Date	14 Oct	17 Oct	16 Oct	17th Oct	11th Oct	17th Oct	20th Oct
Shortest (words)	63	50	193	n/a	467	n/a	37
Headline	Danielle 4 Arrests	Opinion	Man charged with killing on Danielle	n/a	Baby is the latest victim of surge in gun crimes	n/a	Blunkett's Crime plea
Date	19 Oct	18 Oct.	20th Oct	n/a	13 Oct.	n/a	23 Oct.

(Source: Lexis Nexus)

The longest articles attributed to the shooting of WPC Bown were written by the Daily Mail with a word count of 1328, then the *Mail on Sunday* 1061, *The Daily Telegraph* 1012, the *Nottingham Evening Post* 792 and finally *The Sun* with 579 words. The shortest article was the Sun 22, *the Mail on Sunday*, *The Daily Telegraph* 74, The *Nottingham Evening Post* 82 and then *The Daily Mail* with 85 words.

The WPC Bown Case Study 2006 –Articles Length

	The Sun	Daily Mail	Mail on Sunday	Daily Telegraph	Nottingham Evening Post
Longest (words)	579	1328	1061	1012	792
Headline	Gun Terror on Britain's Streets	The two cruel twists of fate that puts this rookie PC in intensive care.	Of course they fight… they 're Soldiers	Let our Police reclaim the streets Former Flying Squad chief John O Connor explains the reality behind PC Bown's Shooting	PC Shot
Date	15th Feb.	15th Feb	19th Feb	15th Feb	14 Feb
Shortest (words)	22	85	63	74	82
Head line	Shot Cop Hearing	WPC Shooting accused in court	Man charged with shooting of WPC	Man Charged over police shot police woman	PC Shooting Man in Court
Date	20th Feb	21st Feb	22nd Feb	19th Feb	21st Feb

(Source: Lexis Nexus)

The categories of analysis were taken from Gilroy (1987)(see Chapter 1) and from the similarities of descriptions from the articles by journalists in the newspapers selected across the 2004 case study. The categories of analysis used for content analysis are as followed:

    a) Yardie
    b) Gun-Toting
    c) Gangs/ or gangsters/ or hoodlums/ or dealers/ or druggies
    d) Influences of Hip hop/ rap
    e) Youth/ or specification of young age
    f) Crack cocaine /drugs
    g) Culture[26]
    h) The ideology that gun crime is out of control.

The above categories of analysis were used to analyse articles that depict the murder of Danielle Beccan. The results of these findings are displayed in the table below. The newspaper with the highest total rate of the selected categories is the *Daily Mail* with 17, 6 descriptions of the gang/gangster etc., 4 Yardie and 3 crack cocaine/drug; the second highest is The Sun with a total 14, 5 using category gangs/gangster etc. and 4 using crack cocaine/drugs. *The Daily Telegraph* and *the Sunday Telegraph* have 6 categories whilst the *News of the World* has 2. The local *Nottingham Evening Post* also only had 2 categories despite having 29 articles.

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[26] For example the assumption of gun culture, drug culture Yardie culture as a general black culture (see Gilroy Chapter 1).

Table Categories of Analysis in National Newspapers:
Case Study of Danielle Beccan

Categories of analysis	The Sun	News of the World	The Daily Mail	The Daily Telegraph	Sunday Telegraph
Out of control	1	0	1	1	0
Gang/ gangster/ dealer/ hoodlum.	5	1	6	2	3
Yardie	1	0	4	0	0
Culture	2	0	1	0	1
Gun- toting	1	1	0	0	0
Hip hop /rap	0	0	2	0	1
Drugs/crack cocaine	4	0	3	2	1
Young/youth	0	0	0	1	0
Total	14	2	17	6	6

Table Categories of Analysis in Local Newspaper:
Case Study of Danielle Beccan

Categories of analysis	Nottingham Evening Post
Out of control	1
Gang/ gangster/ dealer/ hoodlum/ druggie etc.	0
Yardie	0
Culture	0
Gun- toting	0
Hip hop /rap	0
Drugs/crack cocaine	1
Young/youth	0
Total	2

The categories of analysis were also used for content analysis in the 2006 shooting of

WPC Bown. However it became apparent that 3 further categories emerged in 2006

that were not present in 2004:

    a) Yardie
    b) Gun-Toting
    c) Gangs/ or gangsters/ or hoodlums/ or dealers/ or druggies
    d) Influences of Hip hop/ rap
    e) Youth/ or specification of young age
    f) Crack cocaine /drugs
    g) Culture[27]
    h) The ideology that gun crime is out of control

    i) Illegal immigrant
    j) Use of racial stereotypes, for example gold teeth walking with limp
       swaggering and baggy trouser.
    k) The description of the victim as black.

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[27] For example the assumption of gun culture, drug culture Yardie culture as a general black culture
(see Gilroy Chapter 1).

The highest number of original categories of analysis in articles is the *Telegraph* with 27, 10 gang/gangsters, 8 Yardie and 5 crack cocaine/drugs; followed by the Sun with 20, 9 gangs/gangster etc., 4 crack cocaine/ drugs and 4 gun-toting; then the *Daily Mail* with 11 categories, 4 Yardie, 4 gangs etc. and 3 crack cocaine/drugs. This finding was surprising because it was believed before data was collected that the *Daily Mail* would have a greater number of categories. The local *Nottingham Evening Post* only registers a total of 2 original categories in 22 articles. The highest register for the new 2006 categories is the Sun register 4 illegal immigrants and use of racial stereotypes categories and 2 black categories-taking the combined total to 30. The next was the *Nottingham Evening Post* with 7 new category registers, then the *Telegraph* with 2.

Table Categories of Analysis in National Newspapers:

Case Study of WPC Bown

Categories of analysis	The Sun	The Daily Mail	The Telegraph
Out of control	1	0	1
Gang/ gangster/ hoodlum/ druggie etc.	9	4	10
Yardie	2	4	8
Culture	0	0	1
Gun-toting	4	0	0
Hip hop /rap	0	0	0
Drugs / crack cocaine	4	3	5
Youth/ young	0	0	2
Total	20	11	27
Suspicious foreigner /illegal immigrant	4	0	1
Racial stereotypes	4	0	1
Black	2	0	0
(Extended Categories) Total	(10)	(0)	(2)
	30	11	29

**Table Categories of Analysis in Local Newspaper:
Case Study of WPC**

Categories of analysis	Nottingham Evening Post
Out of control	0
Gang/ gangster/ hoodlum/ druggie etc.	1
Yardie	0
Culture	0
Gun-toting	0
Hip hop /rap	0
Drugs / crack cocaine	1
Youth/ young	0
Total	2
Suspicious foreigner illegal immigrant	2
Racial stereotypes ie gold teeth limp swaggering walk baggy trouser	3
Black	0
(Extended Categories)	(7)
Total	9

Looking at the actual counts for each categories of analysis it was difficult to compare between tabloid, midrange and broadsheet and how black men where represented in the print media in regards to criminality and gun crime. It was decided that this could be achieved by contrasting the number of categories with the number of articles to see the occurrence of the categories in each of the articles selected. The results formed interesting reading. The *Daily Mail*, as expected had the highest occurrence of category to article ratio (59%), the second *The Sun* 54%, the *News of the World* and the *Daily Telegraph* both 50%. That is other than the unrealistic anomalous occurrence of the *Sunday Telegraph* 600%,

It was not until the second 2006 case study of WPC Bown was analysed that a surprise emerged. It appeared that there was a large jump in occurrence of the categories of analysis. The highest occurrence was the *Daily Telegraph* with a massive 225% (241% with extended categories). Therefore for every article in the *Daily Telegraph* in its depiction of the shooting of WPC Bown there were 2¼

categories of racially loaded description. These increases of occurrence continued in all findings in the second case study: 157% in the *Daily Mail*, 105% (158%) in *The Sun* and even in the local newspaper the *Nottingham Evening Post* an increase from 7% to 32 (41%). The possible conclusions of the increases will be addressed in the Discussion and Conclusion.

Articles to Category of analysis ratio of both Case Studies

Danielle Beccan	Articles	Categories	Occurrence (categories/articles)
The Sun	26	14	54%
News of the World	4	2	50%
The Daily Mail	10	17	59%
Mail on Sunday	1	0	0%
The Daily Telegraph	3	6	50%
Sunday Telegraph	1	6	600%
Nottingham Evening Post	29	2	7%
WPC Bown (extended categories)			
The Sun	19	20 (30)	105% (158%)
The Daily Mail	7	11 (11)	157% (157%)
Mail on Sunday	3	0 (0)	0% (0%)
The Daily Telegraph	12	27 (29)	225% (241%)
Nottingham Evening Post	22	7 (9)	32% (41%)

Chapter 5 Empirical data (II) Interviews

Analyzing the data produced from the 7 interviews with young black British men sees 6 themes identified: education; problems of social integration; media representation of black British people; criminalisation by police; gun crime and black music culture. Despite repeated efforts and initial agreement that they would participate in the research the Nottingham police ultimately refused to provide an interviewee.

Education

Almost all interviewees had been taught white Eurocentric history and literature in school, with no perspectives given by black commentators. The Barbershop owner stated that he was taught 'everything about Europe ...but nothing about [the history or literature of] Africa [and] that the education system would not spend anytime talking about Africanism…or black people'. The reason for this according to the employee of the government youth advisory service (GYA)is because 'history is written only by the winners [of history].' The artist/emcee only received 'one page' of black history which was 'a picture of a native in a grass skirt' and the CRE employee realised that 'many threads and perspectives' of British history [are] missing in school'. On the other hand, all interviews had learned some knowledge of black history: for example, either from home; or from a 'Caribbean… temporary supply teacher at school' (Local man); or receiving knowledge of African history/literature at university (CRE employee). 3 out of the 7 interviewees had been excluded from their educational institutions, for example the barber did not study 'much' at school because 'the teachers let him do 'what [he] wanted' and therefore was expelled a total of 7 times; the local man was excluded from junior school once but he saw 'all [his] senior years'

through, whilst the artist/emcee was also excluded a few times from junior school. The GYA employee expresses his belief that the 'education system is designed to fail' because 'full employment is not achievable [and] would bring anarchy' to Britain if the demand exceeded the supply of jobs. Therefore society has a built a bias 'political educational system…so that people can fall through the net- a class structure where the poor falls through, then a race structure were ethnic minorities fall through'. Therefore black people are doubly marginised in society. He explained that the 'black youth low educational attainment' is because 'white teachers interpret the national curriculum in their own way'. This is confirmed by the artist/emcee who believes that his educational experience was 'largely prejudice', especially in 'Barton on Trent' where his teacher only displayed blacks as 'slaves' and taught in class that 'Britain and US should police the world'. The GYA employee states that this 'interpretation [of the national curriculum] should not only be reflective of where the teacher lives but should instead reflect the multicultural planet' – not just representing the UK experience but 'reflect world history'. He aspires to 'a global curriculum' rather than a National Curriculum.

The education system has tried to incorporate a wider perspective for a more inclusive education so that pupils have the opportunity to learn about Black history and Black culture-Black History Month (BHM). The Artist/emcee expresses that the idea of 'BHM only pigeonholes…black people' and 'putts up a barrier' between them and British society. He believes that BHM is a 'marketing scheme' which should be 'included into to life all year round…. rather than just for a week…for example as an artist if you apply for BHM you're guaranteed to get [work] shown- what about the rest of the year? Do I have to wait till October to be showing stuff?' The local

barbershop owner stated that BHM 'really should be incorporated in the National Curriculum because if further excludes the black community.

Representation

All interviewees, other than the CRE employee believe that the media representation of the black British community is poor. The student used the television example of the 'BBC2 series of *Babyfather'*. He stated that 'it came across in the wrong way…close [black] friends impregnating women, having kids all over the place [and leaving] them'. The Artist/Emcee says that he 'always look at *East Enders* as a generalisation' for the representation of black people in Britain. He expressed that many of the black characters in East Enders are 'derogatory' caricatures for example 'Paul', an 'alcoholic drug dealer' and those that are presented 'positively… are *wimps* with have no backbone.' He believes that 'television's a powerful tool but 'no black man controls the television' leaving only white men to represent black society and black culture. In 'society in general', he expressed that 'when a black man' is creative, or 'invents something' he is portrayed by the media as 'just a name… but as soon as there's something derogatory … its like, Oh! He's *Black!* There's a picture to it straight away… It's like all the black crimes that are committed … the face makes the front page'. The local barbershop owner believes that the black male is constructed in the media as 'criminals', expressing that 'the media and society is basically racist'. The GYA employee believes that the British media represent the black community 'negatively' believing that Black British youth are criminalised because 'the odd person who actually commits crime is compounded in to the news'. He used another example to present the way in which media also displays black people negatively namely by the fixed sexual representation: the *Dulux* paint advert-the character

'Brooklyn Nights' (Brooklyn being semiotically symbolic to black, crime, drugs and hip hop; Nights obviously dark, noir and sordid, sex). In this advert the blond women leaves her white man because she is not sexually satisfied and therefore 'mixes with Brooklyn Nights' because she believes he can satisfy her. He conveys that there are no positive representations of "normal" 'black families' or 'black couples' in the media and if 'the black population doesn't see positive images then the community will never aspire for education and [for] success'. On the other hand, the CRE employee stated that the representation of the British black community is 'better' now than when he was younger, when 'everyone was either a criminal, sportsman or music artist'. He expresses that the media represents more 'diversely by the likes of growing middle class professionals like Tim Campbell in *The Apprentice* and Derek in *Big Brother*… a far cry from the 1970's shows such as *Love Thy Neighbour*.'

The GYA employee believes that the media 'social constructs… disempowers Africans…like slavery', he says that it is 'no coincidence that in every major western city young black men' are marginalised and disempowered, whether in 'education' or 'employment'. This Fanonian[28] notion is reinforced by the Artist/emcee who expresses that the media want to keep black people looking and sounding stupid… keeping the black people where they are' [by] 'keeping control of slaves'

Integration

This leads to the next theme that comprises the social issues of racism and black British integration. The Barbershop owner thinks that 'it's because of separation… that black kids…the 17 to 18 year olds don't feel that they fit into [British] society'. He displayed this by giving an example of a black boy in his barbershop that 'sang a

[28] Black Skin White Mask (1967)

hip hop song…[which] was very negative…when talking about real life.' This boy in his song narrated that he 'was a reincarnation of [Stephen] Lawrence and all these kids who have been killed because of their race… [therefore he is] looking over his shoulder and thinking am I gonna be the next target?'

The artist/emcee, student, barbershop owner and barber feel that it is the upper and middle class British white society that is not willing to integrate. The local barbershop owner felt that whilst growing up he realised that he was 'not accepted' into white patriarchy because 'every time I go for a job a white person will have the advantage'. He had been called 'Kunte Kinte' from the *Roots* series and when moving to the dominantly white town of Kirby 'a swastika [was] painted' on his door. He felt threatened by his new Kirby contemporaries 'who [would] slow down and literally just stop to watch'. The student felt in 'more posh areas', 'more white areas' that he was more targeted by local people, he felt that they looked at him 'as if he didn't belong…[and that he was] bringing down the area'. The barber concurred also stating that in more 'middle class white areas' there is 'more racism' because there is less integration with 'ethnic minorities'. The artist/emcee recollected when he was 'growing up' he saw the preconceived stereotypes by white people of black people acted out in front of him when 'white people were like grabbing their handbags when there was a black person around' which made him feel 'really shit' even if everything was 'all good…the form of racism cut straight through [his] heart'. He stated that this only happened because 'black kids' had a 'reputation [for being] criminals [for] robbing and [for] street crime'. He believes however that racism is not about the actuality of a word but is about the 'context' in which it is said. He believes that racism exists in today's society but thinks that 'money talks more these days than skin

[colour].' He thinks that this is the reason that a 'lot of black people…are getting into the *bling*, cause they're used to getting judged on their appearance' and when they look wealthy they get 'treated in a certain way'. He said that black people are 'adopting the wealth' so that white British society does not treat them like the 'textbooks…savages [or]…criminals'. He believes that if 'poor [black] people' want 'self esteem' and cannot achieve it in a job because of societies prejudice; if 'people judge what they see' then they will look towards 'things like jewellery, clothes and cars' for empowerment.

Police

All 7 interviewees have either been stopped or searched by the police or feel that the police policy criminalises ethnic minorities. The student had never been subject to overt racism however he was stopped and searched in Nottingham after 'pulling over to use a mobile phone'. He was asked for 'insurance details' but more importantly he was asked to show his 'tattoo for future reference', in case he 'ever committed a crime in the future'. The local barbershop owner concurs stating that the police have 'this perception that black people can't make it [legally and]…that all it takes is a black person in a *BMW* and they'll think that you've got drugs in your car.' The artist/emcee had been 'stopped and searched quite a few times, just randomly' although, 'a couple of times it was justified' because he was 'carrying for protection'. He stated that 'London has got the highest police presence' especially in Hackney where he grew up. There he expressed that the police 'want to get your fingerprints as soon as possible, any excuse… to get you in the system'. The local man believes that black people are targeted in society by using the example the Nottingham area of St Anne's where he used to live, where there are 'police around every corner'. He compares the

relationship between the police and black people like an episode of *Tom & Jerry*, 'it's like cat and mouse at nighttime'. The GYA had been followed by the police 'numerous times… that it became a routine every time [he] went out in Nottingham'; both the local man and the barber had been stopped and searched 'justifiably…when younger'. They were arrested for 'carrying an offensive weapon' and later 'received a caution' but the barber 'was beaten up' in the back of the police car.

The CRE employee articulates that the Black British youth is criminalised by police, politics and the judicial system, suggesting 'a huge disparity in the general targeting of different communities by police surveillance', for example, 'black people are stopped 6 times more often than white people, which appears to be unjustifiable', which is said to be 'affecting community confidence levels in the police'.

Gun Crime

Three interviewees have possessed a weapon for 'protection' at some point, nevertheless 2 social commentators believe that 'gun crime is not out of control' in Nottingham unlike the newspaper reports suggest. The CRE and GYA employee state that gun crime 'only constitutes to a very small level of crime'. The GYA employee says in Nottingham there was 'a blip in gun crime over a short period of time however when compared in the long term Nottingham does not have a problem'. He believes the reason why the media depict Nottingham as 'gun capital' is because Nottingham city council did 'not have a reputation management department…PR that would spend time to rebuff negative stories' until recently. The 'Yardie' has always been presented by the media as the perpetrator of gun crime in Britain however the artist/emcee, CRE and the GYA employee believe that this is not the case. The

artist/emcee says that it is not the Yardies coming from Jamaica that causes gun crime in Britain instead he believes that 'Britain's history has always had that violent element [before] there was hardly any blacks on the streets…There's always been a problem with guns.'

On the other hand the GYA employee believes the 'prevalence of guns' in Nottingham is because of the 'reduced rivalry' between the IRA in Northern Ireland and the fact that 'many guns' were brought back from the 'Gulf War'. He believes it to be 'hypocritical' of Tony Blair to criticise those people involved in gun crime in the UK when he settles his differences in 'Iraq and Afghanistan' in the same way. He expresses that 'Jamaicans are only small facet of gun crime' in Britain; 'they didn't make the socio-economic conditions' that cause gun crime. The artist/emcee agrees, conveying that people 'with little or no self-esteem…[poor] with nothing …with society looking at you like you're an animal' the gun is the weapon of social 'empowerment'. The GYA employee assures that gun crime is only 'about poverty', and the way to 'improve and turn the situation around' is 'long term investment' in social support. Whilst the artist/emcee believes that the only way to help black people away from gun crime is to 'instil notions of self-worth' in them. The CRE employee believes this can be achieved through the 'idea of the importance of role models, both at home but also in the community' to keep youths away from gang culture.

Black Music Culture

Recently the print media has linked the negative influence of black music on British society, gun crime and anti-social behaviour. All 7 interviewees agree with newspaper discourse that this form of music influences the young British public. The student

stated that music influences especially 'the youth', for example 'in terms of slang' and the way 'we dress…they is all hip hop orientated.' He expresses that many young men 'try to take on the role of the [hip hop] videos [into] real life!' The barber 'definitely' concludes that music is a major influence in his life and to other peoples lives, 'I'm a B boy [and] proud of it'. However he believes that commercial hip hop is 'more like a business than a culture'…[and] people have taken it too much to a commercial and retail level.' He is very unhappy with the message sent out by mainstream hip hop artists like 50 Cent, 'every knows how I feel about [him]…I'm not going into telling the kids to go and pick up a gun [and] how I've been shot so many times.' This is concurred by the CRE employee who believes that 50 Cent ideology of 'getting rich at any cost approach is getting pushed a head of knuckling down and working hard'.

The GYA employee reiterates that 'Commercial hip hop destroys the black community and should be banned from *MTV* and from people's homes…the fact is that the young are influenced by hip hop artists who are not very bright…with no education who have transformed from crack dealer to icon…with a slogan get rich or die trying…This is serious problem'. 'What does that mean to someone without skills to interpret [the songs], when his family has nothing'- this gun toting life appears to be a 'credible option'. He argues that 'positive forms of hip hop are not getting forced through on a regular basis' therefore only the 'shit is filtered'. 'The shit'…where it is ok to describe a man as a dog and is ok to call a woman a bitch…is not helping people'

The Artist/emcee thinks that commercial hip-hop keeps the black population pigeonholed; emphathizing that 'derogatory rap' receives airplay in front of the 'intelligent and life-changing…knowledge rap' which 'doesn't get any'? He believes that it is the 'white men in suits' who control the radio and who own the record labels who promote these types of artists because they 'need to keep [black people] in the ghettos, to be fighting over coke, crack-smack or whatever.'

Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusion

This dissertation considered the case studies of Danielle Beccan and WPC Bown, based on primary research, taking the form of analysis of the print media and semi-structured interviews.

 137 newspaper articles in total were identified in *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph*, together with their Sunday publications and the local *Nottingham Evening Post*. 74 newspaper articles between the 11th and 25th of October 2004 reported on the shooting of Danielle Beccan and 63 newspaper articles between the 14th and 28th February 2006 reported on the shooting of WPC Bown. In the first case study 8 categories of analysis emerged. Three further categories of analysis came to light in the second case study.

The right-wing print media represented gun crime in Nottingham as being 'out of control'[29] and constructed the black male identity negatively. In the Danielle Beccan case study young black British men were represented as Jamaican Yardie[30], gangsters[31], thugs[32] and hoodlums[33] who come to England and spread[34] and infects with a culture of gun crime[35], crack[36] and rap music[37]. The print media in the WPC

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[29] The Daily Telegraph 15 October 2004 'I Love you said Danielle…'

[30] The *Daily Mail* 16 October 2004 'Man charged with killing Danielle'

[31] *The Sun* October 20 'Stop Gun yobs plea'

[32] *News of the world* 17 October 'Gun thug' Opinion

[33] The Daily Mail 11 October 'Girl of 14 shot for someone's else quarrel'

[34] *Sunday Telegraph* 17 October 'When guns break out of the ghetto As stories of innocents caught in cross fire fill the news, its clear that gun crime has reached areas where it seemed un thinkable'

[35] *Sunday Telegraph* 17 October 'When guns break out of the ghetto As stories of innocents caught in cross fire fill the news, its clear that gun crime has reached areas where it seemed un thinkable'

[36] The *Daily Telegraph* 13 October 'Baby is latest victim of surge on gun crimes'

[37] The *Daily Mail* 16 October 'Possession of guns lends a cachet to those who have been brought up on a diet of gangster rap'

Bown case study represented young British blacks as gun toting[38], Yardie style crack cocaine dealers[39] but as also illegal immigrants[40] and suspicious foreigners[41].

In the first case study *The Daily Mail* had the highest occurrence of category to article ratio (59%), the second *The Sun* 54%, the *News of the World* and the *Daily Telegraph* both 50%. In comparison with case study 2, the highest occurrence was the *Daily Telegraph* 225% (241% with extended categories); 157% in the *Daily Mail*; 105% (158%) in *The Sun* and even in the local newspaper the *Nottingham Evening Post* an increase from 7% to 32 (41%).

The 7 interviewees, a student, a local man from Sneinton, a local barbershop owner, a barber, a CRE employee, an artist/emcee and Government youth advisory service employee whose conversations were recorded digitally identified 6 themes, namely education; social integration; media representation of black British people; criminalisation by police; gun crime and the influence of black music culture.

Almost all interviewees had been taught white Eurocentric history and literature in school unless they had continued education to a university level. (N.B. For every black British Caribbean descendent at university in Britain there are two in prison). 3 out of the 7 interviewees had been excluded from their educational institutions. It is believed that the educational experience is largely prejudiced and is designed to fail because full employment is not achievable. All interviewees believe that the media representation of the black British community is poor only presenting derogatory caricatures as either: criminals, sportsman or music artists. However it is believed that

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[38] *The Sun* 21February 'Death Penalty only answer to gun killers'
[39] The *Daily Mail* 17th February Recovery set back for shot WPC
[40] The Sun 18 February 'In the Nick of Time'
[41] *Daily Telegraph* 19 February 'Outlaws arms you arm outlaws'.

the media represents more diversely today than previously. The held view is that the middle class, whites are not willing to integrate with ethnic minorities causing racial tensions in British society. Although racism exists in today's society it is thought that money is more important than skin colour in determining how one is treated, and this is why many, particularly black people are investing into the *bling* culture. All 7 interviewees have either been stopped or searched by the police and feel that police policy criminalizes ethnic minorities. This is because there is a huge disparity in the general targeting of different communities by police surveillance. 3 interviewees have possessed a weapon for 'protection' at some point, nevertheless two of the social commentators believe that gun crime is not out of control in Nottingham despite what newspaper discourse suggests. The Yardie and the illegal immigrant are not responsible for gun crime in Britain but instead it is the socio-economic conditions caused by society's prejudices. All 7 interviewees concur with newspaper discourse that rap/hip-hop, influences the young British people in a negative way.

The composition of media, the politicization of race/gun crime and the wider representation of race in society arguably is the reason why the media represent and construct the black British male identity in the way they do.

Despite attempt to improve the situation over the last 10 years Britain's Print Industry, including publishing and journalism in both national and regional newspapers, journals and magazines remain white dominated (Alfini 2006). The CRE survey by MORI and WLRI indicates that racial discrimination exists in the print industry. The number of ethnic minority workers is disproportionably low relative to Britain's general population proportion. Alfini (2006) using the CRE WLRI believes that due to the highly competitive nature of the print industry many journalists are willing to

accept exploitative conditions and accept low pay to break into the industry. Therefore members of the middle class, most likely to be white have the advantage because they have access to other sources of income and also social networking provides a competitive advantage. For example, Alfini (2006) believes there is an 'old boy' exclusion and marginalisation in which an Oxbridge education is particularly favoured. It is believed that the majority of these people were educated privately and lived in rural areas and therefore had limited if not, no contact with ethnic minorities. It could also be suggested that growing up in this way results in having a conservative psyche and one could argue a pro national identity and a discriminatory mentality against ethnic minorities and the black community. This viewpoint is confirmed by Van Dijk (1991). He believed media depiction of 'the other', in this case the black British male, is biased because those whom are marginalized are rarely given a voice. He also states that the journalist is usually a white male and his mental mode is already affected by former 'racist' structures and opinions, voiced in the dominant discourse of ideology. Van Dijk (1991) states, that the journalist would generally represent his group and class and therefore 'tend to favour [his] own group' (Van Dijk 1993) and reveal his 'general social cognitive schemata', that is, prejudice, towards 'the other'. For example in the 16th October 2004 Daily Mail article, white drug criminals are described as 'white crime families' whilst black drug criminals are described as 'Yardie gangsters'. Therefore the term gang, as is obviously the label Yardie is a loaded racist term and used only where the perpetrators are black. Therefore racist ideology remains in print media, although the rhetoric has altered because open prejudice and racism have largely become social taboos in contemporary society (Van Dijk 1991: 368). The tabloid press, in particular produce lingering stereotypes which fuel public fears. British blacks are presented as a threat

to the stability of society as their 'non-whiteness' (Said, 1985) and their 'ethnic origin' challenges the myth of 'British cultural distinctiveness'.

Van Dijk (1991) demonstrated that ethnic minorities are systematically associated with conflict crime, intolerance [and] unreliability'. This is an example of scapegoating shown by the press. The media's representation of young black British men contributes to society's intolerance, prejudice and discrimination against them. Such representations contribute to the legitimation and reproduction of racist values and discourse in the press, and consequently, in the public sphere. The public would therefore form views about black British people in society, creating further tension between the self and other, white patriarchy and ethnic minorities. In this way, the media is engaged in an endless process of reproducing already existing prejudices and stereotypes. The key finding of Van Dijk's research into media discourse is that the press manages to manufacture an 'ethic consensus in which the very latitude of opinions and attitudes is quite strictly contained.' (1991) He argues that acquisition process occurs through the discursive practise of talk and text suggesting that the media play a vital role in society's 'production process'.

It could be argued that the gun crime discourse (by using the extended categories) could be used politically to aid the Conservative campaign against the Labour Prime Minster Tony Blair. For example the Labour Party is viewed as being weaker on issues on crime and on immigration. Therefore, the right wing Conservative newspapers needed to find instances to attack the Labour Government especially in the 2005 election where Howard pressed for the message on controlled immigration[42].

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[42] The Conservative website boasted at the start of the campaign that Michael Howard had thrust immigration to the forefront of his campaign.

Howard's team asserted that immigration was a legitimate part of the self-declared 'battle of Britain'. In fact there was a danger that the conservatives were becoming a one-policy party[43]. Opinion polls showed that immigration was high up on the list of salient issues. Therefore there was a particular focus on immigration and asylum during the 2005 General Election. It was widely interpreted as evidence as a 'dog whistle campaign' by chief Tory Strategist Lynton Crosby to resonate a specific groups of voters. Labour attempted to neutralise the Conservative perceived advantage by promising swift action if re-elected (Wring 2005). This resulted in derogatory depictions of ethnic minorities and immigrants in gun crime newspaper discourse.

Another reason for the massive differences of coded racism in media discourse arguably is that in Case Study 1 a black girl was shot by a black and a white man; whereas in Case Study 2 a white woman police officer was shot by a black man. Therefore due to the racial differences, between the victim and the perpetrators in the two cases there is likelihood that the chance of further derogatory and coded racism in the newspaper discourse will increase considerably between the Danielle Beccan Case study 1 and the WPC Bown Case Study 2.

Black British men are negatively represented and stereotyped as criminals who threaten the stability of white British society. The power of the media through ideology manipulates the public through repetition of racist discourse, stereotypes and images. This in turn, reaffirms the British national identity. The media images of black British men as criminals become the common sense in the minds of the white British public. This contributes to British society's intolerance, prejudice and

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[43] A. Thompson 'We lost but the conservatives are back in the game' interview Lynton Crosby Spectator 19/05/05

discrimination against black British men. The media by using coded racism in the Danielle Beccan and the WPC Bown case studies therefore legitimises the changes to British immigration and judicial policy by influencing the public.

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The Appendix

Appendix

Operation Trident

Operation Trident was established in March 1998 and was an intelligence-based initiative in response to a series of shootings and murders around the areas of Lambeth and Brent in London. Black criminals on members of the wider black community were perpetrating the majority of these crimes. The incidents were hard to investigate because of the unwillingness of black community to aid police. [44]This was because of the lack of trust between police and the wider back community due to historic conflict (chapter 1) and also through fear of reprisals from the criminals involved. Therefore Community support was identified at an early stage as being vital. The Trident Independent Advisory Group was formed to harness the support of the community and to help police operations to be better informed. It has remained at the heart of the Trident strategy.

In August 1999 Operation Trident was implemented on a London wide scale to co-ordinate resources and intelligence for local officers investigating shootings across the capital. Operation Tridents aims are to arrest and prosecute anyone involved in shootings within the black community to reduce the fear of crime in London's black communities and therefore increase community confidence. It targets known criminals and disrupts their activities, investigates and tries to prevent gun crime and supports victims and witnesses of crime. [45]

Over 300 police officers and 70 support staff are dedicated to Trident, supported by Trident's Independent Advisory Group. In 2005/2006 Trident had a 100% murder

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[44] http://www.met.police.uk/
[45] http://www.met.police.uk/

detection rate and sentenced criminals for a total of 852 years in including 12 life sentences. Trident seized 117 firearms, 1781 rounds of ammunition, £350,407 in cash and arrested 712 people.[46]

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[46] http://www.met.police.uk/

1. What nationality do you feel that you are?

2. Do you consider your self to be part of the British culture?

3. What kind of things were you taught in school? Did the teacher teach anything other than white history/English, for example Caribbean literature or pre-colonial Africa etc

4. How does that make you feel? How does do u think it makes other non-white Britons feels?

5. Have you had any racial prejudice at work or not be promoted when you thought you should have i.e. because of racial grounds?

6. Have you been stopped and searched? Were the grounds justified? Were you unfairly treated?

7. Do you/ or British black youth (bbf) feel segregated in the area that you/they live? Is there a higher police presence there? OR do you/bbf feel more targeted by police and public in other areas?

8. How do you look at issues of race in your work?

9. How do you feel the black British community - especially the youth- is represented in film, TV, magazines and newspapers?

10. Do you feel that Black British youth is criminalised by police, politics, judicial system and language? How?

11. What do you feel the affect of commercial hip hop (bling, gun toting etc.) has on the British black youth?

12. Do you feel that this representation further reinforces the racial stereotypes of the 'drug dealer' 'yardie' gangster and further increases the problems?

13. Why do you feel that there are few black British role models like Malcolm X, Spike Lee etc?

14. Why does newspaper discourse state that gun crime in Britain/ Nottingham is 'out of control'? IS gun crime out of control?

15. Why has Nottingham been labelled the gun capital of the UK/EU? unequal distribution of income?

16. Do u think that there a link between organised crime from Jamaica and British gun crime?

17. Why do you feel gun crime has become a major political agenda for Government especially since the 2005 election?

18. Has Government projects like Operation Trident or Operation Stealth (Nottingham) helped reduce gun crime or has it only ghettoised the problem?

19. Do you think that there are predominately black British youth involved with 'gun and gang culture'?

20. How would you keep youth away from gang culture?

21. How do use issues of race in your work?

22. How do you combat the problems of criminalisation, alienation, stereotypes racism, gun crime in your work

Interview transcripts

1. Sneinton local

AC: What do you feel is your nationality?
S1: Mixed race. Half Jamaican and Half English
AC: You see yourself as part of English culture?
S1: Very much so.

AC: What sorts of things did you study at school?
S1: Humanities, religion, IT.
AC: Did you get taught anything other than white history, like, say, Caribbean literature?
S1: Yeah, we had a Caribbean teacher at school. He was a temporary teacher, but he used to learn us a lot. I'm quite in with my roots anyway, even though I've been brought up by my mother, who's a white woman, I've kept up with my Jamaican side.

AC: Did you enjoy school?
S1: I did, you know: concentrated more on sports than I did my education though.
AC: Were you ever excluded?
S1: No. I was once in junior school, but I saw all my senior years out without it.

AC: What sort of work have you been doing since school?
S1: I went straight into football. I got released by Forrest when I was sixteen, and did 2 years apprenticeship with Doncaster, and then a year as a Pro in Sweden. I've played football all my year really.
AC: Did you experience any racial prejudice at football?
S1: Yeah, I've experienced it a couple of times, but years ago, when I was younger, not in Sweden. I was really looked after. More when you're playing Shirebrook and Mansfield and them kinds of places.
AC: Did you experience any prejudice in terms of promotion?
S1: No.

AC: Were you ever stopped and searched?
S1: Yeah, when I was younger. I used to have like a little sound (a youth group revolving around music, and the youth club), and was playing just around the corner from me club one time, and there was a set of Radford lads that came like to give us a bit of trouble, and we used to have to carry a little something to protect ourselves, and I had a little half of a walking stick, and as I was coming round the corner an officer asked me to stop and said 'can I search you' and I started running and I dropped all my records in the middle of the road innit, so that I had to stop to collect them, and I got arrested for carrying an offensive weapon and I got a caution when I was a kid.
AC: Do you feel you were unfairly treated?
S1: Not really, cause I just co-operated.

AC: Do you feel segregated in the area you live in?
S1: Nah, I'm from St. Anne's originally, but I'm in an area that is predominantly white, 'cause I'm in Bingham now, so its totally different from what I grew up in.
AC: So do you feel more targeted in that area?
S1: Nah, nah.

AC: Do you think there's a higher police presence?

S1: What, where I live? The police are non-existent!

AC: What about St. Anne's?

S1: St. Anne's is a different thing. The police are around every corner. It's like cat and mouse at night-time. Where I live in Bingham, its totally different. It's like – spot the pig car!

AC: Do you know anyone who has carried a firearm or offensive weapon. You can skip this question if you want to.

SI : Skip!

AC: How do you feel the Black British community is represented in film, tv, magazines, etc?

SI : It all depends on what type it is. I can't really answer that.

AC: What sort of music do you like?

SI : I like hip-hop, and R&B, a bit of drum n' bass, I like a variety of music really.

AC: Do you think the way you live your life is influenced by your music?

SI : Not really. More when I was a kid prob'ly. As I've got older, I don't really let no music influence me.

AC: Do you have a role model?

SI: Ain't really got a role model like that y'know. I'd say my mum is my role model. She's the person that showed me right through the years. So anything in my life, I think its from my mum really.

2. Trent University educated Black youth

AC: What do you feel is your nationality?

S2 : British

AC: What sorts of things did you study at school?

S2 : English, English history, and the history of Europe

AC: Did you get taught anything other than white history?

SC2: On occasion maybe, … an example being the Egyptians.

AC: How did that make you feel?

SC2: Just normal.

AC: Did you enjoy school?

S2 : Yes.

AC: What sort of work have you been doing since school?

SC2: Voluntary work. Work with kids. Charity work.

AC: Did you experience any racial prejudice at work?

S2 : Nope.

AC: Did you experience any prejudice in terms of promotion?

S2 : No.

AC: Were you ever stopped and searched?

SC2: Yes.

AC: Do you feel it was justified, or were you were unfairly treated?

S2 : It wasn't justified in any way, and it was unfair. I was stopped and searched in and around Nottingham City Centre just for pulling over to use a mobile phone. I had to produce my insurance details and documents at the local police station, and they asked if I had any tattoos and made a copy of my tattoo for future reference, in case I ever commit a crime.

AC: Do you feel segregated in the area you live in?

S2 : Not at all.
AC: Do you feel there's a higher police presence where you live?
S2: Not at all.
AC: Do you feel you're more targeted in other areas.
S2: In certain areas, yes.
AC: Like?
S2: Upper class areas, more posh areas.
AC: More white areas?
SC2: Yeah, you feel, you *can* feel a lot more targeted.
AC: Is that by the people there?
SC2: Yeah, generally it would be the people in the areas, not as if you don't belong, but as if you're bringing the area down in a way.
AC: And the police as well?
SC2: Yeah, they've a lot more got an eye on you type of thing.

AC: Do you know anyone who has carried or used a firearm or offensive weapon.
SC2: Yes
AC: Why did they have or use it?
SC2: Had it for protection and used it over nothing, over a silly fight.
AC: When would you think it was necessary for someone to use a weapon?
SC2: Only if someone had a weapon in front of you, and was about to use it on you.

AC: How do you feel the Black British community is represented in film, tv, magazines, etc?
S2 : I don't think its represented well in terms of the recent BBC2 series *Babyfather,* which is about four friends that all went to school together. They were close friends but after school they all impregnated women and left them and basically just became four friends that became dropouts and had kids allover the place. It was a hit show with the BBC and I don't think it came across in the right way.

AC: What sort of music do you listen to?
S2 : Hip-Hop and R&B.
AC: Do you think the way you live your life is influenced by your music?
SC2: To a certain extent, in terms of the slang we use nowadays and the way we talk; to a certain extent, the way we dress now is hip-hop orientated, and a lot more kids are trying to take on the role of the videos – its becoming more real life, you know – this whole 50Cent wannabes and this wannabes and that wannabes, and I just think that *does* influence a lot of people's lives and all that.
AC: Who is your role model?
S2 : My Mum, I'd have to say.
AC:
S2 :
AC:
SC2:

3. Owner of black Barbershop

AC: What do you feel is your nationality?
S3 : Do I feel, or am I?

AC: Either.

S3: I'm African.

AC: Born in Africa?

S3: Born in Africa, but I'm British, a British citizen.

AC: So you can see yourself as part of the British culture?

S3: No.

AC: You don't. Were you educated in England?

S3: Half my education was in England.

AC: In the English system, what sorts of things did you study at school in terms of history and English?

S3 : Everything about Europe, a bit about America, but not much, but nothing about Africa

AC: So no Black history.

S3: No.

AC: How did that make you feel?

S3: You get used to knowing, … when I was growing up we realised that we were not accepted *yet*. Its only recently that the kids, like my kids, where they are, there's a diversity in school and from a young age they're taught different cultures and different religions …

AC: In the area's …

S3: Yeah, in Kirby, near Mansfield, it's an all-white area, the kids are the only black kids there, and they're being taught, they've tried to diversify the whole thing, but they still won't spend anytime talking about Africanism in itself, or even black people. To be honest, it's not really fair if they're the only 2 black kids in the class that they should then …

AC: Do you not think that because we're a multicultural country that it should really have been taught …

S3: It should be now, yeah, definitely, because the people get accepted more.

AC: Because we have Black History Week – that really should be incorporated in the national curriculum …

S3: True. OK. The problem is there's that separation –black kids – the 17 to 18 year olds, don't fit into the whole culture, they don't feel they fit in with society, the way that's been set up … whether that's a race thing, I don't know, because, to be honest, most of them happen to be black, so …

AC: Did you enjoy school when being taught here?

S3: Yeah

AC: Did you experience any racial prejudice at work?

S3 : Yeah, Kunte Kinte they used to call me, because the main slave from the *Roots* series was called Kunte Kinte. In Kirkby, when we first moved there someone came and drew a swastika on the door …

AC: Did you experience any prejudice in terms of promotion?

S3: Yeah. I feel, I know that everytime I go for a job a white person will have an advantage over me …

AC: Even if you're better qualified?

S3: Yeah.

AC: Were you ever stopped and searched?

S3: Yeah.

AC: Do you feel it was justified, or were you were unfairly treated?

S3: I wouldn't call it unfairly treated. I'd say that's how the police are. All it takes is a black person with a BMW and … they probably think that you've got drugs in your car, and they search all sorts of places and … they ask you questions and you'll think why are they asking me that question: 'Do you own this car?' What? You think I *can't* own it? And like, 'does this car belong to you?', and every time you answer its like they're not sure that this car should belong to you and you feel like saying 'what are you trying to say? Do you think I can't own it?' And I think that in the police mind they have this perception that black people can't make it.

AC: Where?

S3: Nottingham. Anywhere in Nottingham. As soon as they see you they'll follow, until they feel they have cause to stop.

AC: Do you feel segregated in the area you live in?

S3: Yes, as in we are six black families in Kirkby.

AC: Do you feel more targeted in that area – in a white, middle class area?

S3: Yes, you can see people slow down and just literally stop to watch you.

AC: Do you know anyone who has carried a firearm or offensive weapon. You can skip this question if you want to.

S3: No.

AC: How do you feel the Black British community, especially the youth is represented in film, tv, magazines, etc?

S3: Criminals

AC: Criminals?

S3: Yes, criminals. As simple as that.

AC: Can you give some examples?

S3: Do they describe black people as successful? I can't think of any black people they talk about as a success.

AC: Sports Stars?

SC: Only because its sports - but just general black youngsters who are described as successful – they're never described as successful. You hear more, a lot more, a large perception of black kids being described as criminals … You could have a case going, there'll be three white men and a black man, and they'll focus on the black man

AC: So there's a complete criminalisation of black youth?

S3: Yeah.

AC: What sort of music do you like?

S3: Black music. R&B.

AC: Do you think music influences the way you live your life?

S3: Personally, yes, and the music the kids listen to *does* affect how they think.

AC: So in terms of people like 50 Cent, it does glorify the violence?

S3 : Yes.

AC: And it's a commodified lifestyle?

S3: Yes. There's things that as black people we need to look at. Sometimes white people act the way they act because of the way *we* act. Sometimes, … yeah, we're having a meeting with the Council, to try and make this place a mentoring place, so these guys can mentor to the youth , … there's so many of these guys who like music

so, … we'll make them try to have different lyrics – have the same beat, but the lyrics they put in their music, it should be positive rather than what they put in.

AC: Russell Simmons (sp?) has just done that, he's just done a thing called *Rapturation (?),* and that's very interesting …

S3: Yes. Very positive. That's what it is. You know, this is a black barbershop, the kids come and they'll put on their own music, there's a guy who sings something – he's from Nottingham, he sang a hip-hop song and the way he sang it, it was very negative – it came from his heart – the message wasn't lets go and kill everyone, it was about how he feels himself.

AC: If its negative, its wrong?

S3: No, because he was talking about society, he was talking about Lawrence and all these kids who have been killed because of race, and he was saying that he feels like that … the lyrics go something like, 'I'm all these guys reincarnated', so he's walking around with these guys thinking, he's looking over his shoulder and thinking, am I gonna be the next one, am I gonna be the next target? So if the kids hear that, then obviously they'll be thinking the same … obviously they'll become defensive, so we need to try to help them if a white person comes and they do what they normally do, they'll see that as racist, because with that mindset well that's it. If society is basically racist, then society has got us to think like that. The Damilola case for example; the reason why it's such a big thing, because the kid was black.

AC: Because the Lawrence case was such a mess, they wanted to get this one right?

S3: In a way they're trying to do right, but in a way they're making it worse because everyone gets upset, especially if they're messing it up, like the way they're doing it, because now they're not getting the killers, and it confirms everyone's thoughts that its blacks so they're not going to pay as much attention. So society *makes* people feel the way they do and, then, if its not deliberate, they're not doing anything to stop them feeling the way they do.

AC: Who is your role model?

S3 : None of the celebrities. I look at people like Richard Branson and people like that, someone who's had dyslexia and has made it.

AC: Thanks very much.

S3: That's ok. That'll be £50.

4. Sneinton local interviewed in Barbershop

AC: What do you feel is your nationality?

S4: British. I'm from Britain. I was born here.

My nationality is English. My Mum's English my Dad's Jamaican I was born in England so my nationality is English innit.

AC: What sorts of things did you study at school?

S4: Not much cause I got expelled. I got excluded from junior school three times, I got expelled from senior school four times, so the only thing I learnt was to be bad.

AC: Did you get taught anything other than white history, like, say, Caribbean literature?

S4: No, teachers just let me do what I wanted … I just did the things I enjoy, like going to the gym

AC: You didn't enjoy school?

S4: No, like say you was my maths teacher, well I hit my maths teacher over the head with a chair, so I got dropped to the lowest maths classes.

AC: Do you feel that the reasons you were excluded were that you're a young black male?

S4: No, it was nothing to do with that. In a way, I can see where you're coming from cause there was this little vibe about, Yo, tax the white boys, y'know, but at the same time I wasn't like that, I was the black sheep of my family, I wasn't easily led, I went my own way. So it was nothing to do with the kids 'cause I was more or less rolling with the older kids who had already left school, or with my family. So I suppose with a few people you'll find that but that ain't the case with me.

AC: What sort of work have you been doing since school?

S4: I'm a chef. I cook all types of cuisines – Italian, French, Greek, modern English, Japanese, Cantonese.

AC: Did you experience any racial prejudice at work?

S4: Kinda. Off the top of my head I can't really rember, cause I'm mixed-raced, and I don't really follow the prejudice thing.

AC: Were you ever stopped and searched?

S4: Yeah.

AC: Do you feel it was justified, or were you were unfairly treated?

S4 : It was justified and it was unfair treatment. What happened right was, it was at school yeah, and this was one of the only times I've been stopped and searched, 'cause I *know* what I'm doing when it comes to being stopped and searched. Basically, what happened was is, a lot of kids I knew at the time went to a different area to have a fight with some other kids. They put three kids in a coma, and I missed the bus 'cause I jumped off that bus and onto the next one to drop my dog off, but by the time I gotr up there, the police was already alerted and looking. Everybody had just fled the scene and I just got on the scene so they arrested me, my cousin, and one of my friends who I was with, beat us up in the back of the car, and took us to the police station, told it that it was us – got a caution – blahblahblah …

AC: Do you feel segregated in the area you live in?

S4 : Not really, I'm all over the shop man. Not really, no.

AC: Is there a higher police presence in the area you live than in other areas?

S4: Yeah. Not all the areas, but some of the areas.

AC: Do you feel more targeted when you go to some, like white middle class areas?

S4: Suppose so, yeah. An example would be like traditions, like white weddings, neighbours saying 'get back to your own country' or whatever, plus its like when you get to more middle class areas its like more white people than black people, and that's why there's more racism, cause there's less of the ethnic minority, so that's the obvious answer to that obvious question.

AC: Do you know anyone who has carried a firearm or offensive weapon.

SC4: Yeah, but I wouldn't say that though. Let's leave that. But if you'd asked me, I would've said it was me. Doesn't matter though man.

AC: How do you feel the Black British community is represented in film, tv, magazines, etc?

S4 : Well they're not really because of people like Westwood innit, trying to help people out with the hip-hop but he's too busy smokin' a pipe, so … not never going to get the chance to promote English roots so just promoting American roots … But at the underlying level in the underground scene itself its *us* guys cause we *know* who they are but for people who don't know nothing about English hip-hop, R&B, the scene, I reckon it could get more promotion.

AC: What sort of music do you like?

S4: I listen to all types of music but I love hip-hop, particularly English hip-hop.

AC: Do you think the way you live your life is influenced by your music?

SC4: Definitely, it always has done man. Makes me a B Boy. I'm a B Boy and I'm proud of it. I'm a B Boy, that's me. If I didn't listen to my music, I wouldn't be a B Boy.

AC: What do you reckon of like 50 Cent, glorification of Guns, and stuff like that?

S4 : Well, everyone in the shop knows how I feel about 50 Cent, and I'm not into telling the kids to go and pick up a gun, or telling people that I've been shot so many times, … but at the end of the day hip-hop's a culture man, about real life, and that's the way I feel – that people have taken it to too much of a commercial level, retail market y'know what I mean, its more like a business than a culture – like, 'I'll go and buy this hip-hop company, and I'll go and buy that hip-hop company, and I'll sell you this track, and I'll sell you that track by this or that artists and there's no more *battling,* …

AC: That's true, its also like radio play, everyone's paying to get on the radio …

SC2: All the radio play is like *actual* tunes that are like *actual made,* there's no such thing anymore as a pirate radio station or a dub-play, a dub-play is where no one else has got that tune that like you've made up this tune original for yourself. People don't know about dem tings anymore. They've lost it man. They've lost that vibe.

AC: Who's your role model?

S4: A guy called Big L, but he's dead now. He's my role model. In hip-hop he's my role model because at the end of the day like he's the only one who's come through and started a new style, way before people like M&M, talking about things like killing your ma, killing your sisters, and killing your family and he just gave me a different style, like Cold Dirty Bastard, …

AC: Like Gangstarr?

S4: Like Gangsta, but at the end of the day, its all, its all style n' effects, dgadgadga… you know what I'm saying innit mate, but Big L came with the original lyrics, like tight lyrics, where – Bam! – its just like the best, he's been the biggest influence, he's sold the most tunes, he's written the most tunes for the most artists, he got rich before he actually made a track for himself, plus he had his own label before he actually made a track for himself. I think he's the biggest man on the planet and I wish he was still here. I miss him bad.

CRE Questionaire
    23. What nationality do you feel that you are?

British/Ghanaian

24. Do you consider your self to be part of the British culture?

Yes

25. What kind of things were you taught in school? Did the teacher teach anything other than white history/English, for example Caribbean literature or pre-colonial Africa etc

National curriculum for both history and English. I vaguely remember some work about the spice trade and routes, and a little about the slave trade. Most of my knowledge of African history and literature came from the home or at university.

26. How does that make you feel? How does do u think it makes other non-white Britons feels?

I think that there is a need to recognise that the narrative of British history has many threads and perspectives and some of them were/are missing in what's taught in schools today. While cultural diversity in the curriculum is important in helping make school relevant to all children, and may inspire an interest in different areas of study, this isn't as important as ensuring that children from all backgrounds have the basics when they leave school. How important is knowledge of African kings and Queens if you can't spell or add up properly, or are not equipped with the social and workplace skills required?

27. Have you had any racial prejudice at work or not be promoted when you thought you should have i.e. because of racial grounds?

Not that I'm aware of (in relation to both situations). Sadly when it comes to employment, it's not very easy to establish whether racial prejudice has been a factor in decisions regarding appointment. In relation to being passed over for promotion, it is usually easier because you can compare your experience with a comparable person from a different racial background.

28. Have you been stopped and searched? Were the grounds justified? Were you unfairly treated?

No.

29. Do you/ or British black youth (bbf) feel segregated in the area that you/they live? Is there a higher police presence there? OR do you/bbf feel more targeted by police and public in other areas?

Not that I'm aware of. Tooting is a very multicultural area and I don't see much segregation. There isn't a high police presence.

30. How do you look at issues of race in your work?

Yes, I work at the Commission for Racial equality as a senior policy advisor. I have previously worked as a parliamentary officer, lobbying on CRE key issues. I have

also previously looked at the CRE's European and international work. I now spend more time writing speeches for the chairman, Trevor Phillips, and managing my directorate's business planning and budgeting functions.

31. How do you feel the black British community - especially the youth- is represented in film, TV, magazines and newspapers?

Better than when I was younger, when everyone on tv was either a criminal, sportsman or musical artist. Of course there is still a major representation of those characters, but the media does have a little more diversity in terms of representing Black Britons. The diversity within the group is better represented i.e. the growing middle class professionals evidenced by the likes of Tim Campbell (The Apprentice), Derek (Big Brother and others in soaps like Holby City, East Enders etc… It's a far cry from the 70s shows such as Love Thy Neighbour.

32. Do you feel that Black British youth is criminalised by police, politics, judicial system and language? How?

Yes, a quick glance at the annual stop and search figures published by the Home Office suggests a huge disparity in the general targeting of different communities by police surveillance. There is an unfair perception propagated by elements of the media that Black people are more worthy of close attention from the criminal justice system

The latest figures provide yet more evidence of the impact that stop and search is having on community relations. Though a necessary tool for combating crime, the current levels of disproportionality – black and Asian people are stopped six and two times more often than white people – appear to be unjustifiable. Although there has been a reduction in the disproportionality (from eight and three times respectively last year), the level of disproportionality remains unacceptable.

This has led to the perception among some communities that stop and search is being used in a discriminatory way - affecting confidence levels in the police and in some cases reducing the willingness of people to assist with the investigation of crime.

33. What do you feel the affect of commercial hip hop (bling, gun toting etc.) has on the British black youth?

The effect is on the peer groups in schools where there isn't a high expectation of what young black men and women can achieve, where the 'get rich quick at any cost' approach to getting ahead is pushed ahead of knuckling down and working hard to get good grades. Of course role models and images of a different sort within and outside of hip hop culture are important in stressing the array of options and potential avenues for young people.

34. Do you feel that this representation further reinforces the racial stereotypes of the 'drug dealer' 'yardie' gangster and further increases the problems?

Yes.

35. Why do you feel that there are few black British role models like Malcolm X, Spike Lee etc?

They are emerging, but perhaps not so many bombastic, charismatic role models compared to those in the States. There are few in politics, Trevor Phillips and Lee Jasper, David Lammy, Simon Woolley apart. Many are sporting role models, but Thierry Henry's recent stand against racism has pushed him into celebrity politics in the same way as Jamie Oliver, for example. There are different ways in which you can make an impression on young minds

36. Why does newspaper discourse state that gun crime in Britain/ Nottingham is 'out of control'? IS gun crime out of control?

This is something I'm not really an expert on. Surveys of the general population suggest that there is little difference between ethnic groups in terms of offending rates. However, the Home Office states that 'Homicide statistics point to a serious problem of gun crime within a narrow section of the young black male population'. At the CRE we support the call for more research into this area, and recognise that although the involvement of young black people in gun crime is alarming, the data shows that overall gun crime constitutes only a very small proportion of all crime and the chance of victimisation is extremely remote. Nevertheless the risk of victimisation is most acute for ethnic minority people. Although ethnic minorities have historically been more likely to be the victims of crime than white people, the gap is narrowing according to the British Crime Survey. This is a positive finding, but we need to see more data on this. We are, however, very concerned that people of mixed race are much more likely than others to be the victims of crime. This is the first year that we have had this data and we need to understand the reasons for this high level of victimisation so that steps can be taken to address it.

37. Why has Nottingham been labelled the gun capital of the UK/EU?

A few high profile cases

38. Do you think that there a link between organised crime from Jamaica and British gun crime?

Yes, but there is probably a link between all organised crime from other parts of the world and British gun crime

39. Why do you feel gun crime has become a major political agenda for Government especially since the 2005 election?

Not particularly. I'm sure there are initiatives to tackle public perception of rising gun crime because of high profile cases, but given that it is 0.355 of all crime, perhaps the focus of public policy on gun crime is not so great

40. Has Government projects like Operation Trident or Operation Stealth (Nottingham) helped reduce gun crime or has it only ghettoised the problem?

Not really qualified to say.

41. Do you think that there are predominately black British youth involved with 'gun and gang culture'?

No – certainly the crime patterns in different cities around Britain suggest otherwise.

42. How would you keep youth away from gang culture?

I think the main thing is the importance of role models both in the home but also those in the community, especially those based in projects that occupy the spare time of young people. Advertising campaigns like the F.R.A.N.K ones on drugs, those on the uncoolness of smoking and the drink driving ones may also be useful.

Artist

Interview transcript 5

AC: What do you feel is your nationality?
S5: I'd say I'm Black British
AC: You see yourself as part of British culture?
S5: Yeah …

AC: Were you ever taught Black British history or Caribbean history at school?
S5: I remember having one lesson about African history where the teacher pointed to one page in this book. And that was a picture of native with grass skirts etc
AC: Recently there has been Black History Month.
S5: Yeah, that started later, when I was in first year at uni, around 99.
AC: How did that make you feel?
S5: It (BHM) was good. But it was a bit weird – to pigeonhole like this is 'black' art and give it a month; it just felt that by doing that you're not only giving black people a chance, but you're saying to black people – 'you're special', and you're sort of putting up a barrier around yourselves; as an artist I've always worked with and taken influence from white and black people, so its like why would you want to do that, why would you separate it out? To say that your work is because of your colour – you're black so your work's black … when you look at someone's work you don't see their colour.
AC: Yeah, labelling's like …
S5: Yeah when you go to a gallery you don't think like – hey! A *Black Guy* painted that! Unless you're dealing with black issues. But you don't have to be black to deal with black issues. But its good, because although it was recognised before it wasn't promoted before, it didn't have a marketing scheme behind it. With BHM we have a marketing scheme, but I just think that it should be all year round. Its difficult. Because there's a lot that hasn't happened for black people. Door's get closed, but they're not in front of you, a committee doesn't sit down and discuss a black artist and they're not going to not let him win because he's black, they'll make some other reason up: "we're not going to give you that job because you're black!" They're just going to not give you the job.

So its just difficult to weigh up whether we're right or wrong, cause its definitely needed but …

AC: What about other sorts of culture like Asian culture …

S5: Yeah that's it, there are other people of colour y'know, that come under that black barrier; I noticed that under the Asians, for example – the subgroups – they wouldn't be all working together, like in Nottingham we've got MACCA (?), the black artists, and in the same building you've got Asian artists, so, d'you know what I mean? They confer and stuff, but they keep themselves separate.

AC: Do you mean like cross-pollination?

S5: I mean like if you're going to keep em separate them keep em separate – don't just like give the whole budget for the whole …

AC: non white …

S5: yeah, then we can come back with your ideas, and then we can pigeonhole you a bit more, its just like – you know, that's what they were saying to me in Nottingham, go for *this,* go for *this,* go as a black artist, apply for BHM cause you're guaranteed to get shown, - What about the rest of the year!? Do I have to wait till October to be showing stuff? I *do* appreciate it, don't get me wrong, but I'm also not *about* that as an artist – I do work when I want to do work.

AC: How do you think that makes other non-white people in Britain think?

S5: Yeah, exactly, its like imagine there was White History Month, if that was happening, what would black people be like? You know, cause we get upset about the BNP and blahdeblah, and they're speaking from their perspective, and I definitely don't agree with what they're saying, but the stance they're making – they want to have their own identity and they want to keep that identity going, and there's nothing wrong with that, do you know what I mean, cause this is an English country.

AC: Yeah but that goes back to how you classify who's English

S5: Well it's a predominantly white country. Not saying that they're right, just that everyone should be entitled to their views. And the BNP's not pigeonholed to one month throughout the year, … they're racist all year! So it (BHM) shouldn't be boxed like that.

AC: Did you enjoy school?

S5: Yeah, it was in Hackney and it was mixed, and I enjoyed that!

AC: Were you every excluded from school?

S5: Nah! I liked school. I got excluded a few times (in junior).

AC: What sort of jobs have you done since school?

S5: Tried to got to college. Had a fight with a Guardian Angel at college, in 95 or 96. I had a fight with one of them at Southgate College and got expelled. Egos and peer pressure and me being a twat. I went to college to do art, and then went and did a printing YTS, but I didn't do it for very long –passed but didn't do for long, and just got involved in street dramas and stuff – not 'drama' … I've never been in *that* sort of full time work promotion wise – I've worked glamming (?) and stuff like that …

… and its like language is funny isn't it, like I've got mates who talk to each other, white *and* black, we're having a laugh sometimes and he'll push it sometimes, and instead of getting into it, we'll have a laugh about it, or if someone's being racist, anywhere, it's *the tone,* and *how they say it,* not just what you say …

AC: Yeah that's quite interesting …

S5: … I feel like, if you get heard, and if you're with your mate messing about but you're around people you're not saying that regardless, it empowers black people to say it, and you could be doing a rap or you could be copying somebody's rap, you could be saying something that Buster Rhymes' saying in a record, how often does Buster say Nigger? So if someone says that to me, I have to put it in context, like whether he's trying to push me, or whether he's angry at me, or whether he's my mate and …

AC: Bit of banter …

S5: Yeah … but it can be taken out of context … I've seen people jump up because someone else has said it, …

… Yeah, and it's the tyranny of the English language, its sort of built to get away with like sly, double entrenders and … like even my tutor at Barton Trent, he said black is not a colour, and to me, that was racist, and I used to look in his eyes and I knew he was racist, the way he said to me was like, you're excluded from the spectrum, if those people are not behind you then …

AC: (talks about the importance of role models in education)

S5: … and he also said to me that Britain and the US should police the world, he was really old in his thinking … I think that because you've got people like that in places in education, and you've got that sort of mentality running through, no one will be able to stop them causing so much harm cause its your future you're dealing with … I mean that history lesson that we had at school, I mean when that happened she said this is African history', and all the blacks were slaves, and it was just two pages …

AC: … like straw skirts and that?

S5: Yeah, and that was it. Next page. That was as much as I got from school. Two pages that said all blacks were slaves.

AC: What age was that?

S5: Well, at school at that time it was all re-runs of Roots and stuff on the tv, you just be vexed, … you're like the only black man on t.v. and you're struck up … I think what happened from that year is that it becomes internal, black people start looking at each other and … (?) … all the hierarchy within your own sector, within your own group, … within the black population, you've got Africans, you've got all the different people that make up the population, but there'll all from different whereabouts, … so they start supporting … its like, oh, *I'm* from Arsenal and *I'm* from Jamaica, …

AC: Its like the guy I live with he's Jamaican and he's quite against Africa ..

S5: White people are exactly the same. Yeah, because they're good at pigeonholing and labelling, they're good st calling people names, … it helps you say 'oh yeah, I'm an individual – this is what makes me individual, from you, any contender, black or white, I'm going to be me, I'm going to be Jamaican even if it means siding with the white man over the African thing'. It's a pity, but you can see how it relates; its not changed from them old days really.

AC: Have you ever been stopped and searched?

S5: Yeah.

AC: Did you feel it was justified or unfair?

S5: In London, I got stopped and searched quite a few times, just randomly – a couple of times it was justified – I had something on me carrying for protection so I got banged up for carrying a knife and that's fair but other times I got pulled up over nothing. In fact, I was out with a mate and it was in Leicester Sq. sort of area with a

couple of girls and me and my mate had just walked outside and we got stopped and these guys were just blatantly stopping us because we were black.

I got stopped down here one time and he did say some guy had been stabbed and the guy fit my description and they putt the cuffs on … Just before then I'm coming from the pub with a friend and he'd just been skanked for £60 of weed and I was laughing at him like – when do you ever do that - Just give the guy you haven't met the money and wait for him, and then he went to the police and said he'd been held up with a knife, … and *I was the guy!,* it was me when they came and cuffed me cause I looked like this guy who'd just done my friend – the friend I'd just been talking to in the pub … they got him to drive past … if they're searching you they've got a reason.

AC: Did you ever feel you were segregated, in Hackney or here?
S5: London's got the highest police presence, Hackney, yeah, it sort of, the police in Hackney watch you from when you're a kid, like they want to get your fingerprints as soon as possible, any excuse, as you're growing, to get you in the system, … which is sort of, … *they've* got a good thing, they're thinking ahead, but they're also turning you onto it a bit, cause as soon as you get busted when you're a kid, you know your names in the system – you know what I mean – you start having this conversation about it with your brethren like – 'you know I got busted the other day' and yeah, … like 'I got nicked the other day' and its like you popped your cherry … and you're into that group and you'll be part of that group. When kids go to jail they find out what that means, like 'I'm getting more props', and 'I've done all the weights', and 'I'm bigger than everyone else', and 'I'm a man around my hood' … its just helping grow you, like plants that don't grow straight, you know, its wrong, but things are changing, that more black people are coming into the force …
AC: but there's still institutional racism in the police force …
S5: yeah, its like I look at the Black struggle all over the world – if like Rosa Parks didn't do that thing on the bus, then that wouldn't have happened, constantly you're looking at laws and stuff that *have* to be broken, someone's got to pay for that scene to be changed, that's the way it is …
AC: you still see the way you live as a struggle, as a black …(?)
S5: No, I don't walk around thinking that. I try not to dwell on it. But I do find that as conversations go late into the night I find that I'll end up talking about black stuff and I'll like wonder why and then I'll remember that its because someone else has made a remark …
AC: Do you think racism has become more coded now?
S5: I don't mind people who say they're not racist cause they've got black friends cause they can hear their own ignorance as they say it … I like know these guys who go out with black girls and they're like as racist as fuck .. they're like, 'oh, I've got a *black* girl', and I'm like, 'why you talking to me about it like that, you sound like you've just got a trophy …', I don't think about it like that, If I meet a girl I meet a *grl,* its just about whether I get on with her …

… money this, money that … money talks more these days than skin … probably a lot of black people these days getting into the bling, cause they're used to getting judged on their appearance, so, when you look wealth you get treated a certain way … so they're adopting the wealth rather than … still acting what … people used to say about black people which was funny, like savages – these were textbooks – and mental capacities – things have kind of filtered out to the black nation, like if

education's kind of telling you that you're an animal … you see that in the eyes of certain people as you're growing up – so these stereotypes – they kind of provide you with a scapegoat -… so if things are getting rough you can sort of resort to being like a tough-guy from the hood … 'I could whip this guy and get away with it – it sort of provides you with an easy escape … when I was growing up, that thing where white people were like grabbing their handbags when there was a black person around – stuff like that was so true when I was growing up … you'd be like 'you fucker!' you just made me feel like really shit by doing that – it could flip you into a whole different way of thinking … everything was all good and then suddenly! So racism's a powerful thing cause it can cut straight through whatever you're feeling, hit you right in your heart … if you don't know how to deal with it, if its never happened to you before … I know people are going out there robbing people … but its going to happen whether you're black *or* white … a lot of black kids get their reputation robbing, street crime was from black people …

AC: Gilroy writes about the association of black youth with mugging and the criminalisation of young black people …

S5: its just practicing that old textbook … 'you're all criminals' … 'just destroy your own places you're living in, they're slums' … Why's that! Cause you were *put in* slums … and while the other areas were built up … your areas were left till last, and that's why it's a slum … cause you got no maintenance in that one … and its falling around your ears – you wanna move out? You move out! … Bang! Instantly society does it all up … like, now, it looks better now there's no niggers in it

AC: Like the East London gentrifications…

S5: Same thing.

AC: How do you feel the Black British community, particularly the youth, is represented in film, tv, magazines, etc?

S5: I always look at *East Enders* as a generalisation of what's going on in England, … and I look at the Dots and the whole families that have come and gone and there's no black families that have just stayed they've all just come and gone and they're all derogatory … the positive ones are *wimps* or have no backbone, they're easily swayed … (?) in *East Enders* is worse, like Paul, for instance, a lovable character … but they've made him in such a way that … he deserved to get what was coming to him … and then some guy drove in in a cab and killed him, and he's got his Dad who's got everything, and *he* goes and shags Pat! Why Pat!? That is the worse – when I saw that I just thought there's no hope for us, do you know what I mean? That's *it!*
 … our heroes are more likely to be film actors than they are to be black people who've changed stuff or worked hard for stuff … don't hear much about successful black writers or inventions that black people have made … when a black man invents something he's no longer a black man he's just a name, blahdeblah … but as soon as there's something derogatory … its like, Oh! He's *Black!* There's a picture to it straight away. Its like all the crimes that are committed … his face is making a front page – I've come to realise *that's* the way it is … you change it by doing *good* things and promoting *good* things – that's why the media they'd rather promote the derogatory rap …

AC: What sort of music do you like, and do you think the way you live your life is influenced by your music?

S5: I'm not listening to music generally, but I do love my hip-hop, but I know its important to listen to everything … you can buy into the whole culture of rap, you

could like listen to it for a week, and then be wearing all the gear, … It's good that the music's so powerful but its bad cause you're like representing black culture – they've got names for black people cause they're wearing American clothing … its like what you trying to say is it like 'black people dress like that'? Like 'black' is a sort of suit you can put on … and you've got the other side where people just love the music and they go to the jazz clubs and they know its about struggle and they've got an idea where its coming from … and they hear it in the vocals and they hear it in the tunes and that's the expressive part of the culture … because they're dealing with one type or genre of music they wanna say that's like black music … and the media reinforce these views … they don't go like – Oh, you're wearing a suit so you must be Trevor McDonald … but they're doing it if you're like wearing the baggies … and I feel sorry for those people who are trying to mix it, cause its trendy, … It shouldn't be a representation of the whole community, because we're all individuals, but because its being marketed that way, then that's what it is – like, I'm more likely to go and wear a pair of baggies, cause I actually know people who will look at me and judge me on what I'm wearing … so, you *can* dress like you're going to intimidate people, or you can mixn'match … if I've got my hoody on man then … it's a spin-off from war … you know what I mean? Its like Asbo's its like coming full circle … like *poor* people, you're gonna associate with … you're going to be a bit more cool, cheap … but fashionable … because you look different … and because the media associates that with being black - then wearing that you get associated with being black.

AC: What do you think of 50 Cent and the whole glorification thing and the effect that has on young people?

S5: For me it just shows what society is now. Like if you look at poor people, if you look at what they try to achieve to make themselves feel self-esteem, its all these things like jewellery, clothes and cars and stuff … people judge you on what they see … I'm black, obviously I'm black, that's the first thing they're going to see … so some people what say I'm brethren … I can take that the wrong way – what d'you mean? I'm not brethren! Its like the 50s growing up in American society where money is God, its fighting for money with a bunch of other slaves that were captured years ago …

AC: Do you see these people (50Cent etc) as artists?

S5: they're artists trying to make it in a massive worldwide money-making game … its an independent industry that came out of the streets … and now its worth millions. And the medias always going to want to control that cause they don't want too many black people just positively coming out of the streets … and they want to keep black people looking and sounding stupid … but the thing is 50Cent isn't stupid or ignorant he's just playing the system

AC: You don't think he's a pawn? Would you do that yourself?

S5: No, its not me, its not my value system … if I can walk down the street and people say 'look there's that artist' that's good … 50's a businessman … he compared himself to Bush the other day and to me that's sort of the best thing he could have said … look at Bush and how gung-ho he is, get the arms from wherever, get the money from whoever, its exactly the same thing!

AC: Do you think the British Black community is criminalised by the police, the judiciary?

S5: Yeah, the media … this is what I think as a paranoid black man and Britain, I actually think there's a document entitled 'Keeping the black people where they are', 'keeping control of our slaves', or something like that?

AC: That's like Fanon's ideas …

S5: So there's a document that's been prepared and handed out through the media, through the elites … to keep the black people – I think there is, like, a strategic plan …Just even the way they put on adverts, what adverts going to follow the next and what programme's going to follow the next, everything's strategically done, … like television's a powerful tool and if you had that sort of tool then you'd use it strategically, and I *know* no black man controls the television, you know what I mean! If there's like an interesting or important documentary about black people its on at 2 in the morning …

AC: Why are there few black British role models?

S5: There are millions of role models but they're not promoted.

AC: Like Zephaniah?

S5: What? The poet? Yeah, but you've derogatory rap and you've got like intelligent and life-changing rap where people are sitting down and putting knowledge on the track, but does it get any bling? Does it get any? No. You're putting your rubber on the floor, its gotta be sexdrugsn'rockn'roll, cause that's what turns us on, as people, not just black people, … weneed them to consume, we need them to be buying guns … we need to keep them in the ghettos, and to be fighting over coke, crack-smack, whatever it is … and to dangle a carrot in front of their faces … and like people that come over from Jamaica its like 52 dollars in the pound, its taking the piss … its about that international inequality … people are coming from these countries where they've got fuck-all but respect for life is really low, cause you're expendable, your life ain't really worth nothing, …

AC: Like the Yardie stereotype?

S5: If you're coming from a place where you've seen people from England coming over there, and just abuse your people and your race, cause they have more money – cause the money over here is worth more over there … what are they gonna do? Your first ambition is that you're gonna get to Britain and get some of that dough, and then go back and live like a king in your own country, which you *should've* been able to do in your own county, but because the economy's so fucked, and it shouldn't be … Jamaica's a plentiful country, because of their dependence and colonisation and all that … Britain's got a lot to answer for … you can't expect that …, slavery was a very dark era and long process – it went on for hundreds of years and millions of black people died and millions were sold like bags of sugar and you can't expect … I went to the slavery (?) at Liverpool, one of the famous American presidents said without the slaves our country would be nowhere and nothing of what they were …

AC: What do you think of reparation?

S5: Slavery is *everybody's* history, like the Jews done –its everybody's history like the Holocaust … like they've got a word – 'anti-semitism' just for racism against Jewish people, and *that's* important …

AC: Some people have been repaid …

S5: Yeah, that's gonna happen, its like just under the surface like a bomb ticking away …

AC: How would you keep young people away from the gun culture?

S5: I was in Nottingham and there's like this Jamaican chicken shop place, that bin there before we ha any problems with guns … but the gun shop was there first … Britain's history's always had that violent element … *Let Him Have It!,* You seen that? Its an old English film about gun crime back in the day, and there was hardly any blacks on the streets and there was guns coming in from the war, and you could get a tool back in the day easy like you can get a tool today … *Let Him Have It!* 's

about a simple guy who gets caught up and there's this scene where they're about to shoot a copper and he says like 'let 'im ave it', but he's like let's give him the gun, give the copper the gun so he can go, not like let him have it like Bang! There's always been a problem with guns – I mean like the Cowboy films we used to watch when we were growing up, they've had more influence than half the gangsta rap tunes and blahdeblah … gangsta films like Pacino's film they've had more influence … and if you're poor, if you've got nothing, there's not much hope, there's no self-esteem, … A gun can give you all of that. When you've got nothing … and society's looking at you like you're an animal …

AC: The way to correct it is to gve the people more self esteem

S5: … instilling notions of self-worth … and that's hard to do when the parents are like battling against poverty … like when you Dad's put off work and he's depressed, and your mum's depressed, and you're not getting … and it can happen, y'know, you can be made redundant and there are like people who've been in jobs for like 25 years and they've got it all laid out, and once you're dropped -what are you gonna do? You're gonna retrain, or you're go to Japan and do something else, where your job's not worth as much as it is here …

AC: Did anyone influence you to become an artist?

S5: My uncle … my Mum gave me to my grandparents when I was about 9, and I went to London and lived in a house with 2 uncles and grandma and granddad, 2 aunties and my great grandma came to stay – it was a little terrace house, … shared a room with 2 uncles and one of them was an artist – kind of photographic style, and when you're a kid and you see someone getting praise for something then that's what you like …

AC: Does your work reflect Black British culture?

S5: I try not to let them … I couldn't say it did. It's vast innit. I would do, like it or not, cause I'm black British and young … the work I do *is* my perspective …

AC: How do you look at 'race' in your work?

S5: I was asked once 'how come you only paint black people?', and I didn't realise … and I said 'why do you say they're all black?', to me its not, they're just people, so the next thing I did I made a conscious, so the next thing I did I made a conscious effort to paint white people, … and someone came up and said 'why are all the white people in your painting doing crack?', …

 … I never wanna draw with race in mind, with the rock thing I'm doing, people like put on a mask and it doesn't matter what colour you are underneath cause *that's* what I can see, your mask, … big red-lipped and wild-eyed – in the painting's I've done I've done black people as brown-skinned and they're black people and you also get the wogs you know what I mean so it's a little like people from that will see that he's not just saying these are black people and these are white people – its just a state of mind thing y'know, …

Governement Youth Advisory Employee

No transcription-tapes available

Table 1.01 Offences [1] initially recorded by the police as homicide by current classification [2]: England and Wales 1951 to 2003/04

Numbers and rates per million population   Recorded crime

Year	Number of offences initially recorded as homicide	Number of offences no longer recorded as homicide	Number of offences currently recorded as homicide	Offences currently recorded as homicide per million population
1951	328	..	..	..
1952	400	..	..	..
1953	327	..	..	..
1954	311	..	..	..
1955	279	..	..	..
1956	315	..	..	..
1957	321	..	..	..
1958	261	..	..	..
1959	266	..	..	..
1960	282	..	..	..
1961	265	..	..	..
1962	299	..	..	..
1963	307	..	..	..
1964	296	..	..	..
1965	325	..	..	..
1966	364	..	..	..
1967	414	60	354	7.3
1968	420	60	360	7.4
1969	395	63	332	6.8
1970	396	57	339	7.0
1971	459	52	407	8.3
1972	480	71	409	8.3
1973	465	74	391	8.0
1974	599	73	526	10.7
1975	508	65	443	9.0
1976	565	77	488	9.9
1977	484	66	418	8.5
1978	535	64	471	9.6
1979	629	83	546	11.1
1980	621	72	549	11.1
1981	556	57	499	10.1
1982	618	61	557	11.2
1983	552	70	482	9.7
1984	619	82	537	10.8
1985	625	89	536	10.7
1986	660	97	563	11.2
1987	686	87	599	11.9
1988	645	98	547	10.9
1989	622	101	521	10.3
1990	661	106	555	10.9
1991	725	102	623	12.3
1992	681	100	581	11.4
1993	673	108	565	11.1
1994	727	95	632	12.4
1995	753	90	663	13.0
1996	678	93	585	11.4
1997	734	125	609	11.9
1997/98	729	121	608	11.8
1998/99	745	95	650	12.6
1999/00	764	85	679	13.1
2000/01	848	76	772	14.9
2001/02	864	56	808	15.5
2002/03	1,045	81	964	18.4
2003/04	858	25	833	15.8

1. A separate offence is recorded for each victim of homicide, so that in an incident in which several people are killed, the number of homicides counted is the total number of persons killed.
2. As at 22 October 2004; figures are subject to revision as cases are dealt with by the police and by the courts, or as further information becomes available.

Table 1.03 Offences currently [1] recorded as homicide by apparent method of killing and sex of victim: England and Wales 1993 to 2003/04

Numbers												Recorded crime
Apparent method	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
Male victims												
Sharp instrument	122	159	184	139	133	137	152	153	156	194	184	182
Blunt instrument	37	33	48	49	48	47	41	44	49	36	26	48
Hitting, kicking, etc.	67	62	89	64	76	79	76	81	86	121	110	113
Strangulation [2]	27	28	25	20	10	12	30	20	86	17	19	20
Shooting [3]	51	49	55	38	52	45	42	52	63	91	55	67
Explosion	3	-	1	2	1	1	2	3	-	-	4	-
Burning	7	22	16	13	15	15	13	9	9	15	7	19
Drowning	4	8	1	4	7	5	3	3	7	8	3	20
Poison or drugs [5]	7	6	9	15	12	12	24	20	21	20	66	11
Motor vehicle [6]	6	4	4	2	11	12	11	10	10	15	18	17
Other	9	3	9	29	24	26	27	27	47	23	30	24
Not known	3	3	3	-	6	9	12	28	9	17	26	80
Total	343	377	444	375	395	400	433	450	543	557	548	601
Female victims												
Sharp instrument	60	72	59	58	67	65	50	60	58	67	84	55
Blunt instrument	29	22	30	19	23	21	24	26	26	24	20	19
Hitting, kicking, etc.	30	32	17	17	23	24	13	13	16	25	38	26
Strangulation [2]	62	76	58	57	54	49	50	36	63	61	47	45
Shooting [3]	20	14	11	9	6	7	4	9	9	6	22	6
Explosion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Burning	7	17	17	11	14	13	19	4	9	14	15	8
Drowning	2	5	2	5	-	1	3	3	1	5	3	5
Poison or drugs [5]	2	11	7	13	5	5	23	33	11	14	135	12
Motor vehicle [6]	3	1	2	-	1	1	3	1	8	5	5	7
Other	5	1	10	15	13	12	17	18	22	14	20	24
Not known	2	4	6	6	8	10	11	25	6	15	27	25
Total	222	255	219	210	214	208	217	229	229	251	416	232
Total victims												
Sharp instrument	182	231	243	197	200	202	202	213	214	261	268	237
Blunt instrument	66	55	78	68	71	68	65	70	75	60	46	67
Hitting, kicking, etc.	97	94	106	81	99	103	89	94	102	146	148	139
Strangulation [2]	89	104	83	77	64	61	80	56	149	78	66	65
Shooting [3]	71	63	66	47	58	52	46	61	72	97	77	73
Explosion	3	-	1	2	1	1	2	4	-	1	4	-
Burning	14	39	33	24	29	28	32	13	18	29	22	27
Drowning [4]	6	13	3	9	7	6	6	6	8	13	6	25
Poison or drugs [5]	9	17	16	28	17	17	47	53	32	34	201	23
Motor vehicle [6]	9	5	6	2	12	13	14	11	18	20	23	24
Other	14	4	19	44	37	38	44	45	69	37	50	48
Not known	5	7	9	6	14	19	23	53	15	32	53	105
Total	565	632	663	585	609	608	650	679	772	808	964	833

1. As at 22 October 2004; figures are subject to revision as cases are dealt with by the police and by the courts, or as further information becomes available.
2. Including asphyxiation. Year 2000/01 includes 58 Chinese nationals who collectively suffocated in a lorry en route into the UK.
3. These figures may not agree with those in the firearms chapter because (a) figures include cases where the firearm was used as a blunt instrument and (b) homicide figures include shooting by crossbows and are compiled at a later date and take into account the results of police and court decisions.
4. Year 2003/04 includes 20 cockle pickers who drowned in Morecambe Bay
5. Year 2002/03 includes 172 victims of Dr Shipman.
6. Excluding death by careless/dangerous driving and aggravated vehicle taking.

Table 2a Crimes in which firearms were used, by type of firearm, whether fired, and degree of injury caused in 2003/04

Percentage   Recorded crime

	% fired	% Not fired [1]	Of those fired		
			% Fatal or Serious injury	% Slight injury	% No injury
Shotguns	35	65	28	8	64
Handguns	11	89	39	10	51
Rifles/other [2]	56	44	7	57	36
Air weapons	96	4	1	17	82

1. Includes incidents in which firearms were used as a blunt instrument to cause injury (see Table 2.5).
2. Starting guns, imitation weapons, supposed/type unknown, prohibited firearms (including CS gas) and other firearms.

Number of offences   Recorded crime

Year	All weapons	All weapons excluding air weapon	Shotgun	Handgun	Other weapon excluding air weapon	Air weapon
1992	2,319	597	183	290	124	1,722
1993	2,348	770	219	393	158	1,578
1994	2,241	650	179	317	154	1,591
1995	2,056	646	146	299	201	1,410
1996	1,981	769	104	279	386	1,212
1997	1,972	778	71	314	393	1,194
1997/98	2,074	804	74	317	413	1,270
1998/99[2]	2,378	864	73	239	552	1,514
1999/00	3,172	1,195	100	352	743	1,977
2000/01	3,203	1,382	73	400	909	1,821
2001/02[3]	3,792	1,877	111	648	1,118	1,915
2002/03[4]	4,556	2,179	107	640	1,432	2,377
2003/04	4,762	2,367	104	590	1,673	2,395

1.   By the weapon being fired, used as a blunt instrument or in a threat.
2.   There was a change in the counting rules for recorded crime on 1 April 1998.
3.   Figures may have been inflated by some police forces implementing the principles of the National Crime Recording Standard before 1 April 2002.
4.   The National Crime Recording Standard was introduced on 1 April 2002. Figures for some crime categories may have been inflated by this.

Table 2.07   Crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales in which firearms were reported to have caused injury[1] by degree of injury and type of principal weapon 2003/04

Number of offences   Recorded crime

Type of weapon	Total	Fatal injury	Serious injury[2]	Slight injury
Shotgun	104	11	60	33
Handgun	590	35	220	335
Other weapon excluding air weapon	1,673	22	157	1,494
All weapons excluding air weapon	2,367	68	437	1,862
Air weapon	2,395	0	157	2,238
All weapons	4,762	68	594	4,100

1 .   By the weapon being fired, used as a blunt instrument or in a threat.
2 .   A serious injury is one which necessitated detention in hospital or involved fractures, concussion, severe general shock, penetration by a bullet or multiple shot wounds.

Firearm offences (excluding air weapon offences) by police force area

Table 2.14 Firearm-related mortality[1]

Country	Total firearm-related mortality[1]			Firearm-related homicides[2]	
	Year[3]	Number	Rate per 100,000 population	Number	Rate per 100,000 population
England & Wales	1999	159	0.3	62 [4]	0.1
Northern Ireland	1999	28	1.7	17	-
Scotland	1999	25	0.5	7	-
Austria	1999	293	3.6	17	-
Belgium	1995	379	3.7	59	0.6
Bulgaria	1999	133	1.6	51	0.6
Cyprus	..	..	..	..	..
Czech Republic	1999	259	2.5	46	0.4
Denmark	1996	101	1.9	15	-
Estonia	1999	71	4.9	31	2.1
Finland	1998	295	5.7	22	0.4
France	1998	2,964	5.0	170	0.3
Germany	1999	1,201	1.5	155	0.2
Greece	1998	194	1.8	74	0.7
Hungary	1999	129	1.3	31	0.3
Ireland (Eire)	1997	54	1.5	7	-
Italy	1997	1,171	2.0	463	0.8
Latvia	1999	92	3.8	34	1.4
Lithuania	1999	67	1.8	18	-
Luxembourg	1995-1997	12	-	1	-
Malta	1997-1999	7	-	4	-
Netherlands	1999	131	0.8	75	0.5
Norway	1997	139	3.2	10	-
Poland	..	..	..	..	..
Portugal	1999	202	2.0	61	0.6
Romania	1999	73	0.3	19	-
Russia	..	..	..	..	..
Slovakia	1999	171	3.2	43	0.8
Slovenia	1999	61	3.1	9	-
Spain	1998	352	0.9	85	0.2
Sweden	1996	183	2.1	11	-
Switzerland	..	..	..	..	..
Turkey	..	..	..	..	..
Australia	1998	334	1.8	56	0.3
Canada	1997	1,034	3.4	159	0.5
Japan	1997	83	0.1	22	0.0
New Zealand	1998	84	2.2	4	-
South Africa	..	..	..	..	..
U.S.A.	1998	30,419	11.3	11,802	4.4

(1) Homicide, suicide, unintentional and undetermined death by firearm discharge.
(2) Homicide by firearm discharge.
(3) Most recent year up to 2000 or average of three most recent years available for countries with populations under 1 million.
(4) 1999/00 Home Office figure from Table 2.01.
- Rate not calculated for fewer than 20 homicides.
.. Data not available.
Source: World report on violence & health (Table A10), World Health Organisation 2002.

Table 14.1:   Access to and use of weapons and guns ever and in the last 12 months

Percentages

		Ever n=380	In the last 12 months n=380
Have you had a weapon (apart from a gun) on you when commiting an offence?	Yes, a knife	14	8
	Yes, another weapon	9	5
	Yes, both	4	2
	No	73	85
	Total	100	100
Have your ever owned or had easy access to a gun?	Yes, owned and/or had easy access to a gun	36	24
	No, neither own nor had easy access to a gun	64	76
	Total	100	100
Have you ever mixed with people who owned or had easy access to a gun?	Yes, people mixed with owned or had easy access to a gun	36	30
	No, people mixed with did not own or have easy access to a gun	64	70
	Total	100	100
What kind of gun have you owned or had easy access to? [1]	Air gun/rifle	12	8
	Handgun pistol	18	12
	Shotgun	15	11
	Rifle	5	5
	Other gun	5	3
	Not sure what type	2	1
What were your reasons for owning or having easy access to a gun? [1]	Hunting/target shooting	12	9
	Protection/self-defence	16	13
	Use in criminal activity	5	3
	As a legitimate part of job	2	1
	To impress people	2	1
	Other	6	4
Have your ever had a gun with you when commiting an offence? [1]	Yes	5	3

Note: This question was included on the follow-up questionnaire, which was answered by half the sample. The number of arrestees allocated to follow-up questionnaire version 'A' was 380. Percentages calculated on valid cases only. [1] These questions were put only to those arrestees who said that they had owned or had access to a gun. Multiple responses possible in relation to the questions on type of gun.