Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice

Challenges for Higher Education

Edited by
Suzanne Young · Katie Strudwick

Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice

"This ground-breaking text is a long overdue and invaluable resource in the vibrant HE field of Criminology and Criminal Justice. It is essential that effective learning and teaching is diverse, inclusive, authentic and transformative—the very foundations of this exciting book. Populated by leading experts and cutting-edge evidence, Suzanne Young and Kate Strudwick's text is essential reading in the pursuit of a critical, reflective and engaging learning and teaching experience for both students and lecturers."

—Stephen Case, *Professor of Youth Justice, Loughborough University, UK*

"This book is a long-awaited and a very welcome contribution to the field. Fabulous and contemporary collection of experiences, practices in teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice, relevant in any international context. It is an essential reading for criminologists who are interested in transformative learning and innovative teaching the 21st Criminology curriculum."

—Anna Matczak, *Lecturer in Comparative Criminology, The Hague University of Applied Sciences, The Netherlands*

"Kate Strudwick and Suzanne Young's keen editorial eye has brought together into one collection a welcome slice of collective practical wisdom from contemporary criminologists. What binds its author's together is an admirable concern for the quality of the student experience and with mentoring today's criminologists as they enter the classroom for the first time. This excellent text will undoubtedly grace the bookshelves of many a criminology lecturer for years to come."

—Marty Chamberlain, *Professor, Teesside University, UK*

Suzanne Young · Katie Strudwick
Editors

Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice

Challenges for Higher Education

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Suzanne Young
School of Law
University of Leeds
Leeds, UK

Katie Strudwick
College of Social Science
Lincoln University
Lincoln, UK

ISBN 978-3-031-14898-9 ISBN 978-3-031-14899-6 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6

Cover illustration: SEAN GLADWELL\Getty Images

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Suzanne would like to dedicate this book to Sandy and Callie for their love and encouragement.

Kate would like to dedicate this book to Andy, Emily, and Tom for their continued support and patience!

Acknowledgements

As editors, we are exceptionally proud of the collection, which highlights some of the tremendous work being undertaken in the scholarship of teaching and learning criminology. This edited collection would not have been possible without the amazing contributing authors. We acknowledge their perseverance, resilience, and unwavering commitment to the text, given the context within which the book was comprised.

We must also acknowledge Palgrave Macmillan for their support in the production of this text. Many thanks to Josie Taylor, senior commissioning editor, and Liam Inscoe—Jones and Sarah Hills, editorial assistants, who saw the importance of the text, were understanding of the constraints during the global pandemic, and supported the production at every stage. We couldn't have asked for more from our publishers.

We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback in the early stages of the book.

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Ismail Azam was a sociology student at Northumbria University from 2017 to 2020. He has since developed a website called 'Conversation Race', where he writes and publishes race-related articles in a colloquial form for better comprehension of the subject. Ismail recently completed his M.A. in Sociology and Social Research with his final research dissertation exploring how Black Lives Matter (BLM) failed the UK.

Dr. Charlotte Bishop is an Associate Professor in Criminal law at University of Reading. Her recent research has been on how the harm of domestic violence, including controlling and coercive behaviour, could be more effectively evidenced in criminal court proceedings, and how courtroom participation could be made safer and more effective for witnesses who are also a victim of domestic violence. Charlotte's research takes a gendered approach to the issue of domestic violence and much of her work is also based upon the insufficiently recognised link between ongoing abuse and trauma.

Jodie Brown was a student in criminology at Northumbria University from September 2017–2020. As part of her final year dissertation placement, Jodie worked on this project as a research assistant collecting and analysing data in relation to criminology reading lists. Since finishing university Jodie has worked as a support worker and is currently working setting up a project to enable a positive move on from crisis accommodation for rough sleepers in Newcastle.

Fabian Campbell-West is a computer scientist working in applied data science for start-up companies. He specialises in data analytics for cyber security and computer vision applications. He has worked on diverse interdisciplinary criminology projects from monitoring websites for evidence of human trafficking; reviewing cybercrime forums performing automated analysis; and tracking pedestrian movements to help suicide prevention. As co-founder of Digitect he provides consultancy in software and data for open-source intelligence and cyber security. He is also co-founder and Chief Technology Officer at Liopa, a venture capital-backed start-up that uses artificial intelligence to provided automated lip reading as a service. Fabian holds a B.Sc. Hons. in Computer Science with Mathematics from the University of Bristol and a Ph.D. in Computer Science from Queen's University Belfast.

Dr. Marian Duggan is a Senior Lecturer in criminology at the University of Kent. Her research focuses on recognising, responding to, and reducing sexual, domestic, and hate crime victimisation. Marian's ongoing work on Clare's Law (the Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme) and sexual violence in higher education focuses on the efficacy of prevention policies and community-based violence reduction initiatives.

Natacha Harding is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Winchester. Her teaching focuses on victimology, media, and fictional representations of offending and victimisation; and miscarriages of justice. Her research focuses on political narratives concerning victim of crime, experience of the criminal justice, and political reform.

Victoria Humphrey graduates from the University of Lincoln in 2021 with a 1st class honours degree in Criminology. Victoria is undertaking a Master's in Criminology and Criminal Justice. She is interested in researching the prison experience, specifically surrounding substance misuse and mental health.

Dr. Phil Johnson is a Lecturer in criminal justice, who gained his Ph.D. in Applied Social Science (Lancaster) in 2009. He researches various aspects of community sentencing policy and practice. He was appointed a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy in 2014 and is a co-author of the Oxford Textbook on Criminology (2021).

Professor Deborah Jones is a former Metropolitan police officer and currently an Associate Professor of Criminology. She is also the Education Lead for the School of Social Science, Swansea University and a Senior Fellow of the HEA and a UKAT Recognised Senior Advisor. Her research focuses on the regulation of the sex industry and the role of Higher Education in bringing about desistance from offending.

Dr. Lisa Long is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at Leeds Trinity University. Her monograph *Perpetual Suspects: A Critical Race Theory of Black and Mixed-Race Experiences of Policing*, was published in 2018. Lisa's research interests include 'race' and racism(s) in Criminal (in)Justice, Critical Race Theory in Criminology, and anti-racist pedagogies.

Dr. Ruth McAlister is Head of Research and Intelligence at Harod Associates and an Associate Lecturer in digital criminology at Ulster University. She specialises in cybercrime offending, victimisation, and the policing of cyberspace, primarily through utilising web scraping, open-source intelligence techniques, and social network analysis. Her research primarily examines online recruitment on classified and recruitment websites for the purposes of human trafficking. Other research interests include understanding rapport in hacking forums, online child sexual abuse, and animal rights extremism. Ruth is a Fellow of the Higher Education Academy and holds a B.A. Hons in Sociology and Politics from Queen's University Belfast, an M.Sc. in Cybercrime and

E-investigation from the University of Derby, a Post-Graduate Diploma in Higher Education Practice from Ulster University, and a Ph.D. in Sociology from Queen's University Belfast.

Dr. Clare McCluskey-Dean is an academic liaison librarian for the School of Education, Languages and Psychology and the School of Humanities at York St John University. Her research centres on critical information literacy, looking at the effects of systemic inequalities in the publication of information and how to tackle them, and on amplifying marginalised voices in Higher Education library collections and curricula.

Keenan Mundine is a Biripi Aboriginal man who grew up in 'The Block', in inner Sydney. Orphaned at age seven, he grew up in care and on the street, and spent most of his teens and twenties in jail. Keenan is committed to changing the narrative about crime for Aboriginal communities.

Dr. Helen Nichols is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Hull. Helen's research focuses broadly on contemporary adult male imprisonment with core interests in the experience and impact of imprisonment. Helen's book *Understanding the educational experiences of imprisoned men: (Re)education* was published in March 2021 and she has conducted research on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on access to healthcare for people under probation supervision. Helen continues to actively research in the field of penology.

Dr. Richard Peake is an Associate Professor in Criminal Justice and Criminology at the School of Law, University of Leeds and Fellow of the Higher Education Academy. His scholarship interest focuses on diversity and inclusion and has previously published around the difficulty of transitioning to Higher Education for students from vocational courses in the UK.

Professor Howard Sercombe is a sociologist and youth worker. He has worked with Aboriginal young people in urban street work, in country towns, and in outback communities. He is not Aboriginal, but grew up

in Aboriginal communities. He has been active in youth work and its academic development across the world.

Carly Stanley a Wiradjuri woman, is currently CEO of Deadly Connections Community & Justice Services (http://www.deadlyconnections.org.au/), an Aboriginal NGO aimed at disrupting the cycle of disadvantage and justice system involvement of Australia's First Nations people through the provision of Aboriginal-led, innovative, culturally competent solutions.

Dr. Kelly J. Stockdale is a Senior Lecturer in criminology and programme leader for the B.Sc. (Hons.) criminology programme at Northumbria University, Newcastle. Her research relates to criminal justice, restorative justice, and people's lived experiences when in contact with criminal justice agencies. She also researches the criminology curriculum and students' experiences when reading and studying criminology.

Dr. Katie Strudwick is an Associate Professor of Criminology and Dean of Lincoln Academy of Learning and Teaching (LALT) at the University of Lincoln. She is a long-standing member of the British Society of Criminology's Learning and Teaching Network and Senior Fellow of the HEA. Her research focuses upon student engagement, employability, and partnerships with Policing, with a specific interest on co-creation and co-development of teaching and learning through Student as Producer.

Rowan Sweeney is a doctoral researcher and graduate teaching assistant in social sciences at York St John University. Her research relates to restorative justice, criminological teaching and learning, critical theory, intersectionality, decolonisation, and social justice. Rowan's Ph.D. critically explores the production, and exclusion, of knowledge(s) of restorative justice within undergraduate criminology. She also researches decolonisation and intersectionality within higher education curricula.

Helen Wolfenden is a radio broadcast academic at Macquarie University. She has worked with BBC and ABC Radio, including managing the regional station that takes in most of outback Western Australia. She is

interested in translation between academic and practice-based knowledge systems, and in new developments in spoken word media.

Dr. Suzanne Young is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice in the School of Law at the University of Leeds. She is a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy, Chair of the British Society of Criminology's Learning and Teaching Network, and Co-Director of the Centre for Innovation and Research in Legal Education at the University of Leeds. Suzanne's scholarship interests are in the areas of student engagement, active learning, and technology-enhanced learning.

Acronyms

BTEC	Business and Technology Education Council
FE	Further Education
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
NSS	National Student Survey
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
OfS	Office for Students
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
UCAS	Universities and Colleges Admissions Service
WP	Widening Participation

List of Figures

List of Tables

1

Introduction

Katie Strudwick and Suzanne Young

Addressing the Challenges in Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice

Criminology is an interdisciplinary field of study that has attracted widespread growth within the higher education setting in the United Kingdom. Developments within the discipline have been shown in levels of interest in the subject, indicating a huge rise of 240% increase in students enrolling in criminology courses from 2013 to 2019 (Young, 2022). This has resulted in an increasing number of higher education

K. Strudwick (✉)
Lincoln Academy of Learning and Teaching (LALT), Lincoln University, Lincoln, UK
e-mail: kstrudwick@lincoln.ac.uk

S. Young
School of Law, University of Leeds, Leeds, UK
e-mail: s.young@leeds.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_1

institutions offering criminology and criminal justice courses, with over 1000 undergraduate criminology Bachelor programmes on offer in the United Kingdom (UCAS, 2022).

There is a myriad of challenges with teaching criminology and criminal justice as an interdisciplinary subject. Some have an established legacy, such as the overlap, yet recognizable paradox, between theoretical approaches, the importance of the foundations of criminological enquiry alongside providing a critical lens on current topical challenges, in a global and localized way (McLaughlin, 2011). The discipline addresses such debates, which is why it can be transformative and empowering for the learner, often this is seen as the value of the subject and why it continues to secure its position and currency in social sciences, frequently helped by a multitude of research led or specialist modules. The age-old debate of the relationship between where and how criminology sits with criminal justice policy continues, whilst not ignoring the logical overlap with other social science disciplines, sociology, social policy, politics (see Garland, 2011; Palmer, 2021). This has resulted in criminology and criminal justice being seen as having mutual, yet interchangeable focus, alongside a blurry and nebulous connection with many other social science subjects.

Such attraction has led to criminology as a study at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. The exhaustive realm of the subject, and the benefits that come with this continual evolvement and development of new knowledges, presents criminology and criminal justice as being both historical, yet contemporary in nature. As a discipline, the diversity of theoretical debates, their relevance to current criminological issues, alongside evolving epistemological dilemmas and research topics have arguably widened the scope and broadened the challenges facing educators today. Such pedagogical dilemmas, and increasing diversification, have tended to lead to perceptions of the discipline as eclectic, with many interlocking and overlapping elements, often presented as 'lens' or subject areas which align together to form criminology and criminal justice as a discipline. All of these have evidently been presented as challenges for discipline, with responses to these being varied and often innovative.

It therefore seems timely and appropriate for a text of this nature to be published. A resource which shines a light on narratives from both academics and students, providing considerations of key disciplinary issues which have a place and relevance for the reader. This text furthers the discussion of the significance and currency of such debates, presenting criminology as a wide subject area. Externally, trends shown in higher education, raise questions about the place and value of studying, the evolving role of student engagement, relevance of authentic assessments and quality standards, and the move to more diversity with innovation and creatively shown in teaching and learning. These issues have been addressed in wider higher education agendas through the reassessment of the roles of students, the value of learning and graduate outcomes and employability within programmes (see: Policy from the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2010, 2011, 2015, 2016a, 2016b; Augar Report, 2019; Office for Students, 2020). Discussions in the text address external drivers, such as the Teaching Excellence Framework and direction from the Office for Students, alongside the impact of such trends on the discipline, all being part of the holistic dialogue.

This edited text has the core remit to address the challenges for those involved in designing and delivering higher education through criminology courses, at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, making it distinctive from all other criminology and higher education (HE) texts. The collection has a dual focus, which benefits both students studying and academics involved in teaching criminology. By highlighting a number of contemporary challenges and discussing differential approaches that can be developed with such debates, considerations of how teaching materials are designed and how content is delivered are explored in the chapters. With a focus upon answering the 'how' questions, this edited text presents a divergent focus through the chapters and debates, which all have some level of autonomy in their questioning and challenging dilemmas, whilst also having overlapping themes.

This collection is not a 'how to teach' criminology text, or indeed one that outlines key areas in the discipline, but is more about identifying the challenges and tensions that should be understood by all, students and those teaching criminology. The binary purpose presented

in this text highlights the wide context of themes and reflections of practice, evidenced through exemplars explored in the chapters. The sections provide depth, whilst narratives address key messages for discipline. The lens by which pedagogical issues, literature and resources are addressed presents chapters which have relevance for anyone involved and interested in the discipline of criminology and criminal justice. Whilst some of the discussions may hold more appropriateness for a UK market, many of the core challenges discussed do indeed cross boundaries to the international market.

Themes of the Edited Collection

One of the central themes presented in this text is the focus upon relevant pedagogical debates, which will be of importance to readers. With a dearth of texts focussing upon critical reflections and pedagogical guidance in criminology, this text focusses upon some of these aspects, covering different distinct 'lenses' by which the subject can be understood, its diversity, transformative learning and innovation. The edited text is divided up into thematic parts; Theme One 'The challenges of diversity and inclusion'; Theme Two 'Challenges of creating authentic learning environments and Theme Three 'The challenge of creating transformative conversation'.

Theme One presents four chapters which discuss the challenges of diversity and inclusion. Stockdale, Sweeny, McCluskey-Dean, Brown and Azam focus upon developing and embedding critical information literacy. Presenting arguments that address vulnerability and marginalization, they argue that criminology as a discipline, continues to limit itself, often to a male and Western viewpoint. This chapter explores their journey to improve critical information literacy in the criminology curriculum, addressing dilemmas from different viewpoints, lecturers, a doctoral researcher and graduate teaching assistant, a librarian and two students.

In the second chapter Duggan and Bishop present debates associated with feminist scholars, addressing the potential for conflict between personal and professional identities. This discussion reflects upon the

intersection of a gendered and intersectional nature, noting the freedom and autonomy on values and ethics, whilst considering wider institutional resistance and restrictions. By unpicking resistance to feminist perspectives, the discussion addresses ways to overcome institutional barriers to embedding intersectional approaches in teaching criminology.

In the third chapter Long presents the challenges involved with teaching race, addressing the pedagogical debates embroiled in such topics, and further reflects upon strategies to inform and challenge race thinking and the racial dynamics in the classroom. Part of this discussion considers the place and role for students and the positioning of these debates within the wider curriculum.

The final chapter in this first section from Peake addresses a common issue of widening participation, with reflections for personal tutors and educators to ensure the playing field is levelled as far as possible. The chapter addresses the transition from a non-traditional route to making the transition often seen as difficult to negotiate. By identifying the differences with wider socio-economic challenges, alongside vocational or alternative learning, considerations reflect upon how to promote equity in learning and teaching. The aim of this chapter is to encourage higher attainment and raise the self-esteem of those who may not initially feel part of the HE environment.

The second theme 'Challenges of creating authentic learning environments' begins with a chapter addressing contemporary issues of online and digital technology within criminology. By focussing upon the role and impact in the real world, McAlister discusses the need to move beyond traditional social science thinking and pedagogical approaches. Arguing to bridge the gap between criminology, digital technologies and computer science, discussions refer to different socio-technical approaches to studying cybercrime, whilst exploring solutions to ameliorate the harm caused by it.

In Chapter 7, Johnson reflects upon approaches with visual teaching and its role in relation to learning in criminal justice. This chapter explores how visual teaching, predominantly based on smartphone photography, has been adopted at an undergraduate level in criminal justice modules. The chapter is presented in three parts firstly addressing why and how a visual approach has been adopted, moving

on to exploring the legal and ethical responsibilities arising from this kind of teaching and learning, and finally presenting opportunities for innovation that may arise with assessment from the visual approaches.

In Chapter 8, Jones focusses upon strategies and reflections for embedding employability in the curriculum. By identifying the currency with this topic, as shown in recent UK subject benchmarks (QAA, 2022), the chapter reflects upon curriculum enhancement adopted by one UK-based criminology HE degree provider. This progressive approach has transformed approaches to employability and considers the competing demands of the research-teaching nexus and the role of external partners in delivering criminological learning.

The final third theme 'The challenge of creating transformative conversations' explores how difficult topics have been embedded within teaching and learning. In Chapter 9, Nichols and Humphrey discuss the challenges of creating learning experiences to enable students to understand the experiences of vulnerable people within the prison estate. By presenting collaborative insights between lecturer and student studying the module the chapter addresses dilemmas and issues of relevance for supporting student engagement, alongside connecting theoretical concepts with lived experiences. The chapter further reflects upon ways of uncovering hidden voices and what the benefit may be for the wider learning experiences for students.

In Chapter 10, Harding discusses the topic of teaching sensitive materials. By reflecting upon sensitivity through educational, sociological and victimological considerations of delivering teaching, Harding addresses challenges by exploring the best way to address sensitive topics within criminology. The approaches discussed highlight the importance of ensuring duty of care to students' wellbeing, whilst further considering the potential impact of students' experiences outside of the university environment. It is argued that there is a core responsibility, as educators, to teach content that can be both challenging and potentially distressing, which drawing upon experiences of delivering sexual offending and victimization, seeks to explore the middle ground of the positions being presented.

Chapter 11 by Sercombe, Stanley and Mundine presents an eye-opening and powerful narrative of the impact of decolonizing the

curriculum, which addresses the epistemological challenges of doing black and doing white in the same space on a university campus. With the focus of the chapter on teaching at the University of New South Wales, narratives explore the efforts to expand provision whilst enabling students to learn about the realities of the disproportionate incarceration of First Nations people in Australian prisons.

The concluding chapter aligns the key themes addressed in the book and addresses what the future may hold for teaching criminology and criminal justice. It indicates key pedagogical principles for criminology courses that help to address the challenges outlined in the text. With an acknowledgement of some of the wider ethical and practical challenges for the discipline take away's and lessons learnt from the innovative work are presented in the book as the focus for the final reflections. The discussions highlight key questions for all criminology educators which are inherently particularly to the discipline.

On a final note, this collection offers critical reflections and pedagogical guidance which considers a wider range of challenges covering diversity, transformative learning and innovation. By learning from others' practice, and understanding their interpretations of dilemmas, important discussions are presented about how they have been overcome in practice. The illustrations discuss how innovation has been applied to learning inside and outside of the classroom, with an emphasis on the use of real-world examples. By providing suggestions for resources, alongside evidence-based argumentation, different voices and conversations are presented through the discussions of pedagogic practice. Issues are topical, addressing important agendas for UK Universities, with questions of why they are important and why they are often so challenging in practice. With the addition of top tips for educators and keywords, the chapters present arguments which can be applied to practice.

References

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2010). *Securing a sustainable future for higher education: An independent review of higher education funding*. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/422565/bis-10-1208-securing-sustainable-highereducation-browne-report.pdf [Accessed 1 June 2020].

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2011). *Higher education: Students at the heart of the system*. http://www.gov.uk [Accessed 20 July 2020].

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2015). *Fulfilling our potential: Teaching excellence, social mobility and student choice*. http://www.gov.uk [Accessed 1 June 2022].

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2016a). *Higher education and research bill to deliver choice and opportunity for students*. http://www.gov.uk [Accessed 1 June 2022].

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2016b). *Success as a knowledge economy: Teaching excellence, social mobility and student choice*. http://www.gov.uk [Accessed 1 June 2022].

Augar report. (2019). Department for Education. *Review of post-18 education and funding*. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/805127/Review_of_post_18_education_and_funding.pdf [Accessed 20 July 2020].

Garland, D. (2011). Criminology's place in the academic field. In M. Bosworth, & C. Hoyle (Eds.), *What Is Criminology?* (pp. 298–377). Oxford, Oxford University Press.

McLaughlin, E. (2011). Critical criminology: The renewal of theory, policy and practice. In M. Bosworth, & C. Hoyle (Eds.), *What Is Criminology?* (pp. 49–61). Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Office for Students. (2020). Transforming opportunity in higher education. https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/publications/transforming-opportunity-in-higher-education/ [Accessed 1 June 2022].

Palmer, D. (2021). The five troubling developments in criminology. In D. Palmer (Ed.), *Scholarship of teaching and learning in criminology* (pp. 1–16). Palgrave MacMillan.

QAA. (2022). Subject benchmark statement: Criminology. https://www.qaa.ac.uk/quality-code/subject-benchmark-statements/criminology

UCAS. (2022). https://www.ucas.com [Accessed 1 June 2022].
Young, S. (2022). *Transitions through university: Exploring expectations and motivations of undergraduate students*. Leeds Institute for Teaching Excellence Project Snapshot. https://teachingexcellence.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/89/2022/01/Suzanne-Young-Project-Snapshot.pdf [Accessed February 2022].

Part I

The Challenges of Diversity and Inclusion

2

Exploring the Criminology Curriculum—Reflections on Developing and Embedding Critical Information Literacy

Kelly J. Stockdale, Rowan Sweeney, Clare McCluskey-Dean, Jodie Brown, and Ismail Azam

Introduction

In this chapter, we explore a particular challenge faced when teaching criminology and criminal justice; how to apply critical information literacy ourselves, and how to encourage our students to develop these skills when engaging with criminological material. Our aim when teaching is to go beyond decolonising the curriculum, to pay attention to

K. J. Stockdale (✉) · J. Brown · I. Azam
Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK
e-mail: kelly.stockdale@northumbria.ac.uk

J. Brown
e-mail: jodiebrown1@outlook.com

I. Azam
e-mail: ismailazam12@gmail.com

R. Sweeney
University of Gloucestershire, Cheltenham, UK
e-mail: rsweeney@glos.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_2

issues around intersectionality, and to consider how to develop students' awareness of the content they engage with. This chapter, therefore, seeks to share our journey so far; discussing why we need to explore our criminology curriculum before sharing some of the key findings from our initial research around criminology reading lists and student engagement with criminological literature. The chapter shares personal reflections: Ismail Azam shares his experience as an Asian male social science graduate; Rowan Sweeney describes her journey as she progresses through academia in her Graduate Teaching Apprentice role; Kelly Stockdale considers her position as senior lecturer and criminology programme lead; student Jodie Brown discusses her experience and involvement in the research project and uses this to reflect back on her studies; and Clare McCluskey-Dean shares insight from her role as an academic liaison librarian. These reflections, positioned in relation to the themes of belonging, reflexive practice, and resource creation, provide insight into the authors' experiences both studying and working in academia. We conclude by arguing the case for developing critical information literacy within the discipline.

Reflecting on Our Criminology Curriculum

Exploring the curriculum which we have developed, inherited, and continue to use when we teach criminology is important. Continually reflecting upon the topics considered, perspectives included, and teaching approaches used within the curriculum is central to ensuring that learning is an active, meaningful, and inspiring process for students (Freire, 1970). Knowledge construction is fundamentally linked to power relations due to the inherent interconnection between knowledge and power (Foucault, 1980; Mader, 2012). It is therefore important to critically explore the literature used within criminology, to identify the

C. McCluskey-Dean
York St. John University, York, UK
e-mail: c.mccluskey-dean@yorksj.ac.uk

perspectives of criminological topics which students are exposed to, as well as voices which are not represented. The variety of existing voices and perspectives (such as LQBTQ+, Black and Minority Ethnic (BME), and non-male), regarding an array of criminological topics, provides opportunity for the discipline to be diverse and authentic. However, it is not understood how this range of voices is represented across teaching. We argue that it is important to reflect on the criminology curriculum and the information students use to construct knowledge about such topics.

Criminology is a rapidly expanding discipline with the number of courses being offered at universities across England and Wales growing at an exponential rate (Stockdale & Sweeney, 2019: 86–87). New criminology courses have the potential to develop and reimagine subject content, as well as enable the development of criminological awareness and understanding in a larger number of individuals. There have also been movements across academic institutions to widen participation, resulting in increased numbers of criminology students, and staff, from a diverse range of backgrounds (Watts & Bridges, 2006). Yet similar inclusivity and representation is arguably not mirrored in the criminology curriculum. While it appears that the 'character of contemporary criminology', which has diversified in relation to research areas, should provide the ideal scenario for the criminological canon to be diverse and representative, this opportunity is arguably not being harnessed in the classroom.

Researching Critical Information Literacy

Since 2019, the authors, as an academic team, have been exploring and developing the concept of communities of practice in information literacy (McCluskey-Dean, 2020). As part of this we have actively been researching student experiences of the criminology curriculum by conducting interviews and focus groups (Stockdale & Sweeney, 2019) and working with students, including employing student curators to help us develop new material (Stockdale et al., 2021a). We have also explored criminology provision across England and Wales, particularly

the content of undergraduate degree criminology programmes (Sweeney, forthcoming), as well as an in-depth study of indicative reading for criminology course validation, and specific module reading lists (Stockdale & Sweeney, 2022).

A starting point was to prompt students' critical thinking and in so doing we developed the 'intersectionality matrix' (Stockdale & Sweeney, 2019) as a pedagogical tool to allow students to clearly visualise the prominent authorship of their reading (Stockdale et al., 2021b). Our research shows that most key texts used on degree programmes are written by white, male authors, and these are the authors most known to students; students struggle to name any Black or minority ethnic female authors that they have read or whose work they are familiar with. Our research also highlights how criminological issues relating to race and gender are typically covered in separate modules within the degree programme and are not embedded as a form of critical praxis throughout degree content. Key to our findings is that undergraduate students were both shocked at their gap in knowledge, but also reflective as to the reasons why there was a lack of diversity in their knowledge. When students had the time and space to consider the authors they were reading, they were eager to engage with a wider range of voices and experiences of crime, criminal justice, inequality, and oppression. Students want more, as our narrative reflections from two students in the chapter highlight. Hopefully, this chapter provides the space to consider why there needs to be a change, highlights some of the potential pedagogical opportunities, and considers the challenges faced.

Staff and Student Personal Reflections on the Criminology Curriculum and Curriculum Development

The following is built from personal reflections from each of the authors, documenting their experiences, their thoughts, and their feelings in relation to teaching criminology, learning criminology, and supporting academics in developing their pedagogical practice. It is important to

note that these reflective pieces are from a situated point and place in time. Reflections took place at the end of the academic year 2019/20 following our initial research into reading lists and student experiences of the curriculum. It was also Kelly's first year as programme leader, Rowan was midway through her PhD, Clare was coming to the end of her Ph.D., and Jodie and Ismail were approaching completion of their undergraduate studies. We have all continued reflexive practice and learning, and our views and ideas have continued to grow and develop as part of this journey.
The following themes arose from our reflective statements:

1. A sense of belonging—how the current curriculum includes and excludes students and academic staff.
2. Reflexive practice—how students, staff, and academics reflect on curriculum content.
3. Creation of resources—opportunities and barriers to the creation and co-creation of curriculum resources.

A Sense of Belonging—How the Current Curriculum Includes and Excludes Students and Staff

How curriculum content can include, and perhaps more importantly, how it can exclude both students and staff is an important starting point when considering our criminology curriculum. As hooks (1994:8) argues, everyone, both teachers and students, influence the classroom dynamic, and everyone's presence must be acknowledged and valued. Yet this is not always the case for Black and Minority Ethnic students who witness this exclusion throughout their studies; something their white peers (and teaching staff) are often unaware of.

> *As an Asian student, witnessing and experiencing a monolith of whiteness within both the modules and staff/student body, makes you feel like a black dot against a bright white canvas - isolated, excluded, as if you're not meant to fit in. I must admit, I was used to white spaces, though I was taken aback*

when coming to university, especially given the narrative of universities being the epicentre of progressive thought. But the dominant white structures which are entrenched within university institutions and their pedagogy is enough to affect any Black, Asian, or other minority ethnic students. Ismail

Doing a placement in the research team put the issues within the criminology curriculum into the spotlight. When undertaking analysis of criminology core module reading, I spent many hours researching authors' details, and almost every time I found the same result: the text was written by a white male author. I found this time and time again: it became obvious that there was a significant problem with the criminology curriculum reading list. What I had been learning, by and large, was the white male perspective. I am certain that the majority of white students who take this course and have this learning experience will not recognise this problem or be aware that our understanding of criminology comes from a very limited world view. This experience made me reflect on aspects of the curriculum other than the reading lists. I recalled studying a module on prisons where issues of race were only briefly mentioned. This is problematic when Black, Asian and other ethnic minority groups are significantly overrepresented in prisons. It seems inaccurate not to teach this module through the lens of race. Jodie

Centring the student voice, among other voices, and exposing whose voices have been marginalised should therefore be key to our teaching. Tewell (2019) argues that a contextual approach to engaging with learners from marginalised communities is vital, as their academic studies are one part of a large picture of considerations and adaptations to a society which at best does not understand their needs, and is often wilfully working against them. This is asserted strongly by Owusu-Kwarteng (2019: 9) in relation to the higher education (HE)experience as a whole, who states that there is:

> Failure to ensure that the curriculum includes content which analyses varied social groups and their experiences, and opportunities for students to express their views on these issues and their own encounters. Instead, students are frequently expected to assimilate, and their lived experiences are negated.

Ismail's reflection below highlights that we are teaching topics that have the potential to be transformative for our students, however, we need to recognise our own biases and privileges and the political ideologies that pattern our values (Sexton, 2020; Twyman-Ghoshal & Lacorazza, 2021). It is not only about considering the colonial and imperialist nature of the discipline but, as Friere (2001: 36–37) asserts, those teaching should have more respect for what students know, discussions should include the concrete reality of students' lives whereby a connection can be built between the curriculum and lived experience.

> *The field of study has been of particular interest since setting foot in my sixth form sociology classroom. Deriving from a working-class background with Indian/Pakistani heritage and growing up in the North-East of England, my lived experiences have been nothing short of a challenge. This discipline has allowed me to process and articulate the structural racism and class struggles that have defined me as a person. However, as an Asian student I have concerns about the racial disparity that I have witnessed within Higher Education, from the one-dimensional white perspective, which is taught to all students, to the lack of diversity seen amongst the staff and even the student body*. Ismail

What is therefore particularly important within criminology, as students are often the criminal justice practitioners of the future, is the need to understand that we have "a powerful opportunity to provide rigorous, critical, social science education to practitioners before they are indoctrinated". (Sexton, 2020: 249)

> *As a very early career academic, completing a PhD and teaching criminology in my Graduate Teaching Assistant role, I am positioned as a staff member while still being acutely aware of engaging with the discipline as a research student. The marginalisation of certain voices within criminology is something which I have often noticed and reflected on as a student and new academic. My early experience of teaching criminology raised two key questions for me. Firstly, how can we as criminologists expect students (as members of deliberative democracy and potentially the criminologists and criminal justice practitioners of the future) to understand, critique, and reimagine social conditions central to criminology if they are not exposed to*

the variety of perspectives which are relevant to these matters? Secondly, why does the discipline, and many of the individuals who work within it, not feel more compelled to open up spaces for the voices and work of people from all backgrounds? The main conclusions I came to were that the impact of the marketisation of Higher Education heavily impacts staff workload, and ability to create innovate and inclusive curricula; and the elitism which exists within the academy obstructs the inclusion of a range of voices and sources which are fundamental for students to fully learn and develop their criminological imagination. I believe that criminologists, due to the issues which we profess to be concerned with, have a duty to act against the curriculum challenges brought by neoliberal HE and elitism. This is not only important to empower criminology students, but also to develop, strengthen and improve the discipline. Rowan

The evidence for a critical approach to the resources around which a university course is designed, and in affecting structural change in the way these sources are used, is apparent in the accounts of students from communities which suffer from systemic discrimination. Shaffait (2019) outlines the experiences of Muslim students, showing how drinking culture leads to the social exclusion of those who are teetotal, that the prevalence of Islamophobic stereotyping and language impacts feelings of belonging, and that "A diverse curriculum could help to create a sense of belonging" (4). The report breaks this down into specific recommendations such as "Incorporating non-western voices that are often silenced through a Eurocentric curriculum can help to overcome institutional whiteness" (Shaffait, 2019: 4) and that student input is vital in highlighting which voices to include. Eddo-Lodge (2018) and Ahmed (2012) both reveal the transformative nature of their experiences of single university courses which finally integrated voices and sources linked to their own experiences—Eddo-Lodge as a Black woman and Ahmed as a woman of colour and a member of the LGBTQ+ community—after educational journeys that were white and euro-centric.

As an academic librarian, I inhabit a role at the intersection of collection development in terms of the resources offered to the members of the community at the university at which I work, and how those resources are found,

evaluated, and used, commonly referred to in library research and literature as information literacy (CILIP, no date). I spend a great deal of time dealing with individual queries from students, in one-to-one tutorials and in email conversations, which reveal the specific experiences and frustrations they encounter in their studies. Each of these aspects of my job informs the others and show that there is much more to the process than the learning of skills to complete assignments: instead, there is a need to centre the student as researcher, understand their experiences, and move away from a deficit skills model which is based on a specific 'ideal' student, excluding many (Donovan & Erskine-Shaw, 2020). Clare

I am a final year criminology student and I have loved studying criminology. What drew me to the discipline was its desire to understand and incite positive change for those who have experienced disadvantage. I was initially interested in class-based inequalities and feminism; however, I can reflect now that the feminism I was aware of and interested in initially was mainstream white feminism. Reflecting now, I had a very limited world view, which the discipline of criminology should have helped me open up, but I found it did not. My world view has only begun to open up outside of the criminology curriculum, through some reading, but mainly through learning from the knowledge and passion for tackling racial injustice as well as the lived experience of someone close to me. Without having that opportunity to learn from someone so passionate I wouldn't have the curiosity or understanding that enabled me to take part in this project. Throughout my time studying criminology I found that criminology was not as progressive as I had once believed. As explained above, the tradition of the discipline has marginalised certain voices which has distorted the production of knowledge in criminology . Jodie

Reflexive Practice—How Staff and Students Reflect on Curriculum Content

Critical information literacy asserts that the traditional skills models have generally not considered the social and political structural influences on what information is available to an individual, or how their social circumstances impact upon how information is evaluated (Elmborg, 2012). In terms of how a student is supposed to engage with their

studies, there is often a lack of representation of their own lived experiences, especially if they are from a community (or indeed more than one community) which is marginalised. Donovan and Erskine-Shaw (2020) have researched this in terms of academic literacies, focusing on students arriving at university, and asserting that issues of identity and socialisation in the academic environment are key to their experience, especially if they come from backgrounds where going into HEIs is not the norm.

> *We are not embedding critical information literacy at the start of our degree programmes, we are teaching students to explore how societal structures and criminal justice agencies might recreate and perpetuate social divisions such as sexism and racism, but we are not necessarily considering that criminology as a discipline is overwhelmingly white, male, cis-gendered and heteronormative in the way that it discusses the structural and personal context of crime*. Kelly

> *I would like criminology to truly start to represent the voices of groups that experience marginalisation, like I once thought it would. My degree in criminology has not equipped me with the knowledge to understanding the world from a wider perspective than my own. The discipline needs to provide a wider world view by teaching literature from an accurate representation of society. I think this needs to come from more than just the authors on the reading list and include the contents of modules within the programme. This would mean properly integrating race and gender perspectives into all the modules rather than just a tokenistic single lecture.* Jodie

Curriculum change and design and the importance of the student's voice is a recommendation of research into the experience of all traditionally marginalised communities, including trans staff and students in HE. McKendry and Lawrence (2017) argue it can make the experience inclusive, and also impact upon other sectors in terms of raising awareness of those on professional programmes:

> *Consider trans inclusion and inadvertent transphobia within the curriculum and ways to include trans history, identity, and experience within content […] For those who design and deliver professional programmes […] consider opportunities to raise awareness amongst professionals of the future and*

include trans issues within the curriculum. (McKendry & Lawrence, 2017: 18–19).

This is important as students should be able to engage in reflexive practice within their studies, to understand which voices have been historically excluded and marginalised, and which are being routinely presented across their course. It is only by embedding these critical information literacy skills that our teaching practices can be transformative, can empower students, and can contribute to social justice.

When speaking to students during classes about the weekly readings I continued to hear phrases such as: 'how am I supposed to understand this?', 'why are we having to read such old texts?', 'that is a very old-fashioned view', 'I didn't realise this was what criminology was going to be like' and 'this just doesn't make sense'. Students clearly felt overwhelmed and understandably resistant to the course because the sources they were being told to read were largely out of context to them. While, of course, it is important to encourage students to explore traditional social and criminological theory, my own experience as a student showed me that including a diverse range of voices does not mean that the 'old' or 'traditional' voices need to be removed. Instead, I focused on providing students with materials and ways of learning which resonated with them and include diverse viewpoints (both old and new), to try to open up new ways of understanding and knowing, ultimately leading to empowerment, transformation, and active critical thought inside and outside the academy. Rowan

Realigning my practice in accordance with critical information literacy principles has been an important shift in my work in 20 years in academic libraries, and I believe it is vital to continue along these lines if we are to truly claim that higher education contributes to social justice. Clare

Creation of Resources—Opportunities and Barriers to the Creation and Co-creation of Curriculum Resources

The centring of the student is vital in acknowledging their experiences as members of various communities. It is also vital in unveiling and dismantling the structural discrimination in the information and publishing landscape, which in turn impacts on the dominant content and discourse in university curricula. Sociologists such as Zeballos (2019) have critiqued the academic peer-review process as allowing white male voices to dominate. Within evidence-based medicine, there are those looking at systemic impacts on what is published (Heneghan et al., 2017). Students must be empowered to investigate these issues:

> *To be able to reflect on the implications of how […] knowledge is historically constituted and reproduced, to understand the racialized, gendered and classed contexts in which it is developed and to notice the silences and exclusions upon which it establishes its authority*. (Rupprecht, 2019:16)

The following reflections describe the challenges and barriers that the authors have either faced themselves, or have experienced or recognise as being key issues when attempting to create resources:

> *It would be great to see a wider perspective of voices taught, though many people believe that simply including more Black, Asian, and other minority ethnic perspectives in the curriculum will solve the disparity of one-dimensional teaching. However, this could so easily be reduced to a tick-box exercise if not implemented properly. To mitigate this, lecturers who are conveying the newly taught theories of race need to have a solid comprehension of the information that they are teaching – especially if it comes from the perspective from someone who differs to them ethnically. If they do not properly adopt an epistemological approach to these theories, information and experiences bear the potential to be relayed incorrectly, and in turn, could hinder their validity. This is something which I as a student witnessed first-hand, and I am sure that my experiences are not isolated from others*. Ismail

Prior to my current role, I completed a BA (Hons.) in Criminology and Politics and a MSc in Social Research for Criminology at the University of Stirling in Scotland. Throughout these degrees I became increasingly aware of, and thankful for, the critical and diverse nature of the criminology curriculum and teaching which I had been exposed to. To me, criminology, due to the vast array of intersecting topics and fields it encompasses, offers unique opportunities to intricately consider social order and control as well as related oppression and social harm. In my view, criminological exploration enables the experiences and vulnerabilities of individuals, in the context of various forms of control, to be understood and challenged. This understanding, developed from my own studies, is the principal reason why I wanted to pursue a career as a criminology academic and facilitate criminological learning to act against marginalisation and harm normalised by hegemonic social structures. As a new academic I was eager to develop my critical pedagogic approach to facilitate criminological teaching and learning, shaped from my view that criminological thought and education can enable de-mystification of inequalities and injustices which often result from normalised systems of criminal justice and social control. Inclusion and empowerment of the vast array of voices which have a stake in, and experience of related issues, I therefore believe, are essential to the criminology curriculum. However, upon speaking to others and taking up my current position teaching criminology I realised that the way I had explored criminological thought as a student was, sadly, not the norm. Involvement in teaching on a variety of modules evidenced to me that inclusivity within module and programme curricula was not always viewed as vital. I increasingly saw, and continue to see, that curriculum materials are often recycled and maintained for many years. Resultantly, focus is given to well-established, often harmful, criminological voices. This does not support students, particularly those from diverse backgrounds, to actively engage in the curriculum. Rowan

My first thought when reflecting on this journey is to consider my own positionality within academia and the experiences that led me to start this research at this point in my career. Like many working in HE, my own journey is one of precarious employment, which comes with low wages, limited opportunities for progression and few benefits (i.e., pensions, sick pay, parental/carers leave, or paid research time) compared to those on permanent contracts. Working as an hourly paid lecturer on people's modules, you are either given pre-existing material from previous years, which you may update, or you may need to (or decide to) design content from scratch, however, the rate of pay

remains the same at 1 hour preparation time for 1 hour delivery. You are allocated teaching often only a week or two before starting. With one hour to prepare a lecture on content that is unlikely to be in your area of expertise, you are heavily reliant on previously used material. You are reliant on textbooks/reading materials that you can source quickly, and new books cannot always be purchased and available for students in that time. So, you do your best; you engage students, you encourage critical engagement with the material at hand, but it is difficult to introduce dramatically new content. You cannot redesign the wheel in an hour, there are limitations and constraints on what is achievable in these conditions. We need to address the working conditions of staff in HE which we already know is structured unequally for academics of colour, female academics, and those with disabilities. We also need to work together to improve the way our discipline is taught and the content that we deliver to students. As a senior lecturer and programme leader for criminology I want to do more, the research we have conducted with students suggests they want more too. But we are relying on individual pockets of work; academics working well beyond their paid hours to create and develop materials and inspire students to think critically. As a discipline we need to work together, we need to acknowledge the issues within our discipline and work together to create diverse content. Kelly

The identification and development of this community of practice in critical information literacy has not been without challenges. It requires trust between the members as each one interrogates their own practice, individually and collectively, to reveal whose voices they are privileging in their teaching, and how to not only address this, but do so in a way that involves the student voice. However, in linking it to other initiatives in the development of pedagogic practice and social justice, we have been able to support each other in this. I have recently undertaken research into my role which investigated a sustainable model for embedding information literacy in the Higher Education curriculum, in which I as a librarian position myself as a facilitator of a community of practice. Through this, staff across an institution can learn from each other about critical information literacy and design learning and teaching influenced by the various aspects of the theory (McCluskey-Dean, 2020). Clare

There are clear structural challenges faced by new academic staff, while work is being done by individuals it is clear the current environment

in HE is not conducive to decolonising and transforming the current criminology curriculum. Changes in HE in England over the last decade have impacted on criminology in particular: the relaxation of the number of students able to enrol at university; the subsequent exponential increase in criminology courses offered; and the ever-increasing number of students entering these courses (Stockdale & Sweeney, 2019, 2021a, 2021b, 2022). Staff working conditions across the sector have been adversely impacted: workloads have significantly increased, meaning there is little opportunity to plan and recreate materials with decolonisation and critical information literacy in mind. Universities are choosing to rely on increasing numbers of casual contracts for academics, resulting in precarious working conditions that cause stress, fatigue, and impact on the ability to engage with literature that has not previously been included, and unsustainable workloads where staff are not paid for any additional work beyond basic preparation and teaching delivery. Furthermore, gender, ethnic, and disability pay gaps are continuing, with female academics, academics of colour, and those with disabilities experiencing significant pay discrimination. At the time of writing the University College Union (UCU) has launched a 'four fights' campaign to address these issues. Unfortunately, until some of these structural issues are addressed it is difficult for academics to be able to bring about meaningful change in the wider criminology curriculum.

However, on an individual level we need to recognise that the discipline needs a more inclusive curriculum; it is by overtly recognising this, by embedding critical information literacy and opening up discussion, that we can see that students are well-placed to contribute and co-create resources.

> *When I look at my course, I see a white, western curriculum that does not reflect all students. An equal curriculum not only builds wider perspectives but builds self-esteem for all Black, Asian, and other minority ethnic students, and can also contribute to diminishing racial prejudice through better understanding. Universities could become more enticing for Black, Asian, and other minority ethnic students if they see modules that correctly reflects them.* Ismail

It is so important that the curriculum is representative, because without broader and more representative perspectives of criminology being taught to students, white students like myself will continue to not recognise or question the problem because it simply appears to be the norm. It is the responsibility of universities as educators to provide students with this information so they can question the status quo, which now unquestioningly pushes a white, Western, male perspective. If criminology had been more representative and diverse it could have helped me and others like me to begin to question problems in our society and the criminal justice system. Criminology students will be the future professionals and will be creating policies within the criminal justice system. Without these students being given the knowledge and tools to question and challenge the injustices within these institutions, they will not be in a position to accurately represent and advocate for marginalised groups. Jodie

The Importance of Critical Information Literacy for Criminology

While critical information literacy evidently offers a tangible, and valuable, way of improving inclusion and intersectionality within curricula across Higher Education, arguably it is particularly important to criminology. Indeed, this chapter has explored the historically marginalised voices which are often missing from criminology curricula, those of the global south, BME communities, non-males, and LGBTQ+ communities, and the damaging impact this can have on the learning experiences and development of critical thought for students. The subject matter of criminology, broadly focusing on justice, punishment, and power, affords opportunities to illuminate, as well as work to overcome, inequalities and injustices experienced by oppressed groups and individuals (Cohen, 1988; Davis, 1998; DeKeseredy, 2010). Arguably, this interdisciplinary and advocacy character of criminology is unique. However, the philosophical concepts of punishment, crime, human rights, justice, and modernity on which criminology rests are historically, and contemporarily, shaped by white (largely male) perspectives (McEachrane, 2014). This is not necessarily a call for traditional criminological perspectives to be denied or eradicated, rather that criminology curricula and

pedagogy must recognise the role it plays in reproducing white privilege and gender norms, as well as harmful discourses and stereotypes (Peters, 2018; Salami, 2015). Critical information literacy, which works to disassemble hierarchical knowledge by incorporating all voices relevant to a topic, offers an effective approach to overcome the inequality of perspectives within criminology curricula.

Indeed, critical information literacy centralises the inclusion of authentic and relatable perspectives, ideas, and literature within modules and degree programmes, supporting students and staff to engage fully in the curriculum—enabling collaboration, and active rather than passive learning (Freire, 1970). Embedding critical information literacy within criminology curricula provides a way for criminology students and staff to actively engage in the way criminological knowledge has developed and act against the harmful discourses and social divisions criminology often reproduces (Agozino, 2003; Boukli & Kotzé, 2018; Davis, 2003; Moore, 2016). The range of voices welcomed by critical information literacy provides opportunities for both students and staff to connect with various perspectives relevant to the criminological issues they are studying or teaching. In doing so, encouraging all involved to reflect on voices which resonate with them, as well as those which do not. Arguably, enabling individuals to recognise their own positionality and become open and empathetic to the experiences of others. Such awareness and understanding, supported by critical information literacy, reduces the 'othering' which is common to curricula in neoliberalised HE, particularly in criminology due to its subject matter (Peters, 2018). Thus, a critical approach to criminology education, can equip students with the knowledge, confidence, and skills to question harmful discourses and stereotypes in their curriculum as well as in their own personal and political lives outside of the academy (Barton et al., 2010).

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has argued that there is a need for criminology as a discipline, and for us as educators to develop and embed critical information literacy practices within our teaching and our curriculum. We have

recognised the deep structural inequalities in the sector which inhibit decolonising and the embedding of critical information literacy. We have reflected on our experiences as academics and students, and in so doing we recognise this as a starting point. The issues addressed here are broader than the curriculum; for those working in academia we need to reflect on our own research, writing, and peer-review practices too. It is about developing a critical consciousness or conscientisation (see Freire, 1970 and Hooks, 1994): a more diverse curriculum in some modules or some degrees is not an end, it needs to be joined by meaningful praxis. The authors also acknowledge the necessity of developing a community of practice themselves, whereby librarians, other professional staff, academics, and students learn from each other, develop, and recognise the links between pedagogy and information literacy and use this to design and deliver our criminology curriculum.

Top Tips: Embedding Critical Information Literacy

- We highly recommend building your own community of practice within criminology departments. This should include library and professional staff across the university in order to develop a community of practice around curriculum design and delivery, and also as part of staff development whereby all are learning from each other.
- Critical information literacy as a skill needs to be taught to (and co-developed with) students when they first start their degree programme.
- Pedagogical tools, such as the intersectionality matrix (Stockdale & Sweeney, 2019) can be used to reflect on reading list content and also as a prompt for students and staff to reflect on as part of their writing practices.
- An equal curriculum is imperative to ensure all students are included in their criminology degree programmes. Not addressing the colonial roots of criminology, teaching race and gender as separate issues to prisons and punishment, not including voices from female, indigenous, non-western, working-class, non-binary and LGBTQ+ authors effectively excludes our students.

- Teaching and learning provide opportunities for transformation. As educators in a discipline that claims to challenge power structures and address inequalities at its heart, we need to actively do this ourselves and encourage our students to explore and disrupt the structures within the discipline that propagate this. Developing their/our critical information literacy, and in doing so their/our critical thought and criminology imagination, is essential.

References

Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Duke University Press.

Agozino, B. (2003). *Counter-colonial criminology: A critique of imperialist reason*. Pluto Press.

Barton, A., Corteen, K., Davies, J., & Hobson, A. (2010). Reading the word and reading the world: The impact of a critical pedagogical approach to the teaching of criminology in higher education. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education, 21*(1), 24–41.

Boukli, A., & Kotzé, J. (Eds.). (2018). *Zemiology: Reconnecting crime and social harm*. Springer.

CILIP. (no date). *Academic and research librarians*. https://web.archive.org/web/20190511044017/https://www.cilip.org.uk/page/AcademicResearchLibrarians

Cohen, S. (1988). *Against criminology*. Routledge.

Davis, A. (1998). Racialized punishment and prison abolition. In J. James (Eds.), *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*. Blackwell.

Davis, A. (2003). *Are prisons obsolete?* Seven Stories Press.

DeKeseredy, W. S. (2010). *Contemporary critical criminology*. Routledge.

Donovan, C., & Erskine-Shaw, M. (2020). Maybe I can do this. Maybe I should be here: Evaluating an academic literacy, resilience and confidence programme. *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 44*(3), 326–340.

Eddo-Lodge, R. (2018). *Why I'm no longer talking to white people about race*. Bloomsbury.

Elmborg, J. (2012). Critical information literacy: Definitions and challenges. In C. Wetzel Wilkinson, & C. Bruch, (Eds.), *Transforming Information Literacy*

Programs: Intersecting Frontiers of Self, Library Culture, and Campus Community (pp. 75–95). Association of College and Research Libraries. http://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1013&context=slis_pubs

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.

Friere, P. (2001). *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage*. Rowan & Littlefield.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977*. Pantheon Books.

Heneghan, C., Mahtani, K. R., Goldacre, B., Godlee, F., Macdonald, H., & Jarvies, D. (2017). Evidence based medicine manifesto for better healthcare. *BMJ (Clinical research ed.)*, 357(Journal Article), p. j2973. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.j2973

Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to Transgress*. Routledge.

Mader, B. M. (2012). Knowledge. In L. Lawlor, & J. Nale (Eds.), *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon*. Cambridge University Press.

McKendry, S., & Lawrence, M. (2017). *TransEdu Scotland: Researching the experience of trans and gender diverse applicants, students and staff in Scotland's colleges and universities*. University of Strathclyde (Book, Whole). https://www.trans.ac.uk/Portals/88/TransEdu-Scotland-Report-2017.pdf?ver=2017-10-31-142716-560 (Accessed 8 November 2019).

McCluskey-Dean, C. (2020). Identifying and facilitating a community of practice in information literacy in higher education. Doctoral thesis, Robert Gordon University.

McEachrane, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Afro-Nordic landscapes: Equality and race in Northern Europe*. Routledge.

Moore, J. M. (2016). Built for inequality in a diverse world: The historic origins of criminal justice. In *Papers from the British Criminology Conference* (Vol. 16).

Owusu-Kwarteng, L. (2019). Educated and educating as a Black woman: An auto/biographical reflection on my grandmother's influence on my academic and professional outcomes. *Gender and Education* (pp. 1–17). Advance online publication (Journal Article). https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2019.1632811

Peters, M. A. (2018). Why is my curriculum white? A brief genealogy of resistance. In J. Arday, & H. S. Mirza (Eds.), *Dismantling Race in Higher Education: Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Rupprecht, A. (2019). Towards decolonising the BA humanities programme core module "Critical Traditions in Western Thought." *Decolonising the Curriculum: Teaching and Learning about Race Equality, 1*(July), 16–17.

Salami, M. (2015). Philosophy is more than white men. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/education/commentisfree/2015/mar/23/philosophy-white-men-university-courses

Sexton, L. (2020). Starting the conversation in the classroom: Pedagogy as public criminology. In K. Henne & R. Shah (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of public criminologies* (pp. 249–258). Routledge.

Shaffait, H. (2019). *Inclusivity at university*. King's College London.

Stockdale, K. J., & Sweeney, R. (2019). Exploring the criminology curriculum. In *Papers from the British Criminology Conference* (Vol. 19, pp. 84–105). British Society of Criminology.

Stockdale, K., Casselden, B., & Sweeney, R. (2021a). Using student focus groups and student curators to diversify reading lists at Northumbria University. *SEDA Educational Developments., 22*(3), 12–15.

Stockdale, K. J., Sweeney, R., & McCluskey-Dean, C. (2021b). Exploring the criminology curriculum—using the intersectionality matrix as a pedagogical tool to develop student's critical information literacy skills. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511253.2021.2019290

Stockdale, K. J., & Sweeney, R. (2022). Whose voices are prioritised in criminology, and why does it matter? *Race and Justice*. Special Issue: Anti-racism & Intersectionality in Feminist Criminology & Academia: Where do we go from here? (Forthcoming).

Sweeney, R. (forthcoming). Restorative justice in criminology? Critically exploring the production, and exclusion, of knowledge(s) in undergraduate curricula in England and Wales. PhD Thesis, York St. John University.

Tewell, E. (2019). Reframing reference for marginalized students: A participatory visual study. *Reference & User Services Quarterly, 58*(3), 162–176.

Twyman-Ghoshal, A., & Lacorazza, D. C. (2021). Strategies for antiracist and decolonized teaching. *Higher Ed teaching strategies.* Magna Publications. https://www.facultyfocus.com/articles/equality-inclusion-and-diversity/strategies-for-antiracist-and-decolonized-teaching/

Watts, M., & Bridges, D. (2006).Enhancing students' capabilities? UK higher education and the widening participation agenda. In *Transforming unjust structures the capability approach* (pp. 143–160). Springer.

Zeballos, Z. (2019). Whitewashing race studies. *The other sociologist*. https://othersociologist.com/2019/07/29/whitewashing-race-studies/ (Accessed 8 November 2019).

3

Teaching Criminal Justice as Feminist Praxis

Marian Duggan and Charlotte Bishop

Introduction

Thanks to popular culture's fascination with crime and criminals, criminology remains one of the fastest-growing disciplines for undergraduate study in the UK. Prospective students often apply wanting to know more about how criminals—particularly serial killers—operate, even though this is rarely the focus of many UK critical criminological degrees. Perhaps more importantly, they (and their parents) are aware that the criminal justice system is essentially a recession-proof industry, ticking

M. Duggan (✉)
University of Kent, Canterbury, UK
e-mail: m.c.duggan@kent.ac.uk

C. Bishop
University of Reading, Reading, UK
e-mail: C.Bishop@reading.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_3

the all-important graduate employment box. This, coupled with incentives such as graduate fast-track routes in the increasingly professionalised justice sector, means criminology remains an attractive degree option in terms of value for money.

What ought to be of importance to the conscientious criminology tutor is whether—and how—students carry their learning with them into the workplace upon graduation. Critical criminology degrees which highlight structural inequalities, discrimination, victimisation, marginalisation, harm, persecution and so forth based on factors such as 'race', religion, sexual orientation, gender, age and class seek to impart knowledge designed to inform progressive social change. Global movements such as Black Lives Matter and #MeToo, or those which highlight refugee/migrant crises and expressions of Islamophobia, demonstrate how criminology is a subject with a wider reach far beyond the classroom.

A specific focus on gender in relation to social and criminal justice issues often forms the basis of feminist-inspired critical pedagogies, with analyses typically foregrounding the experiences of women as victims, offenders and criminal justice practitioners in an otherwise androcentric domain. Feminist pedagogy is inherently critical in nature, employing an analytical and questioning approach which is unaccepting of the (gendered) status quo (Shackelford, 1992). Feminist scholars engage in the wider deconstruction of (and resistance to) patriarchy through: incorporating students as experts of their own experience; encouraging students to engage reflexively with power, privilege and positionality; and prioritising transformational learning (Lawrence, 2016). This is especially relevant to criminology which, like many social science degrees, has a disproportionately higher ratio of female students.

While different feminist identities and pedagogical approaches exist, educators are aligned in their investment to affecting a critical pedagogy which is 'united in a view of education as a practice committed to the reduction, or even elimination, of injustice and oppression' (Clarke, 2002: 67). Underpinning these objectives is the key feminist mantra *the personal is political* which helps unveil the gendered nature of social and structural institutions:

> *At its simplest level, feminist pedagogy is concerned with gender justice and overcoming oppressions. It recognises the genderedness of all social relations and consequently of all societal institutions and structures*. (Shrewsbury, 1997: 167)

Feminist educational spaces are designed to impact on students' lives within and beyond the classroom (McCusker, 2017). Applying a feminist approach to teaching means: emphasising (dis)empowerment; highlighting students' voices; resisting hierarchy; engaging collaboratively and sharing learning experiences in an immersive manner. Employing critical feminist pedagogies when teaching issues related to social and criminal justice are of specific importance due to their role in:

> *[E]ffecting social change, redefining pedagogical power and authority, valuing personal experience, diversity and subjectivity, reconceptualising classrooms as spaces for social justice, and using learning to help students to become activists and go beyond the classroom to effect the necessary wider changes that are needed*. (McCusker, 2017: 448)

Many feminist tutors employ this critical and transformative potential in their academic practice as part of their efforts to ensure students can 'contribute to equity and equality, within and beyond the academy' (De Welde et al., 2013). However, despite educators' best efforts or intentions, this type of message or method may not always be welcomed, or supported by intended audiences, particularly those who may be more results-oriented than impact-led.

This chapter presents findings from an empirical research project exploring feminist socio-legal scholars' experiences of teaching gendered and intersectional issues on criminology, criminal justice, and criminal law modules in UK universities. Between 2018 and 2019, forty-four self-selecting participants completed an anonymous online survey, and fourteen took part in follow-up, semi-structured interviews. The thematic analysis of the survey findings fed into the interview protocol, with interviews being recorded for professional transcription and thematically analysed by both researchers. Interview participants were remunerated for their time with an online shopping voucher. The research underwent full ethical review in the lead author's university and was funded

by a grant awarded by the Socio-Legal Studies Association. To adhere to confidentiality and anonymity, interviewees are referred to by their pseudonyms and any identifying details about their institutions are omitted.

The chapter focuses on four key thematic areas identified in the analysis: challenges to participants' feminist identities and feminist ideologies more generally; mechanisms of embodying and embedding intersectionality; experiencing reflective practice as feminist praxis; and efforts taken to make learning relevant. The chapter concludes by reinforcing the need for feminist pedagogy before presenting five take-away recommendations for best practice as illustrated by our findings.

Challenges to Feminist Identity and Ideology

Feminism's visibility in contemporary popular culture has benefited from both the internet and high-profile women leaders like Beyoncé, Angelina Jolie, Emma Watson and Meghan, Duchess of Sussex openly identifying as feminists and inspiring generations of younger people (Stern, 2018). However, for many of our participants, it was their own university studies which sparked a more private curiosity and awareness around feminism as both an ideology and identity. Learning from inspiring and engaging tutors had resonated not only due to the content of classes, but also the ways in which the material was taught. In their efforts to emulate and build upon this with their own students, participants noted the importance in meaning and value of eliciting understanding and relevance through applying information in ways that was relevant to people's lives. For example, drawing on personal experiences was considered an effective way to make learning more authentic, so this often began with a desire to be upfront about their own feminist stance early on:

> *I start the module by making the case that we should all be feminists regardless of gender and outlining patriarchy as harmful to all regardless of gender, sexuality and so on.* (Survey respondent)

> *I do feel that I should, and I certainly do, declare that I'm a feminist before I teach. And I don't think that should make an impact on what I'm teaching. But … I think I do it so then people understand where I'm coming from.* (Sylvia)

Taking efforts to state one's feminist position models a teaching practice which recognises individuality and subjectivity in a way that invites students to understand without judgement. Importantly, such a move may also help offset learners' dismissive or hostile interpretations of feminism or feminist identities which have arisen because of misrepresentations of feminism as extremist, 'man hating' or being synonymous with lesbianism:

> *I had one male student tell me he couldn't identify as feminist as 'some women take it too far'. I suggested to him that his position is the same as not identifying as male as some men are rapists.* (Survey respondent)

> *I still see a lot of people responding to the word 'feminism' like it's a dirty word*. (Betty)

Betty's comment that, to some, feminism is a "*dirty word*" is demonstrative of resistant social (and political) responses to the identity. For this reason, Stern (2018: 45) describes feminist self-identification in the classroom as an act of 'vulnerability'. Conversely, Blackmore (2013: 146) suggests that disclosing one's feminist identity as a 'political, epistemological and indeed normative position' constitutes a feminist leadership approach.

Resistance to feminism (and feminists) in the academy, from both students and faculty, is not a new phenomenon (See work by Clark et al., 1996; Morley, 1998; Thwaites & Pressland, 2016). Exploring this culture of student resistance to feminism, McCusker (2017) highlighted the importance of generational factors. Recognising that her students had been exposed to more negative representations of feminism at a time where several identified as 'third wave feminists' or 'postfeminists', she was mindful of the cultural differences between this period and her own exposure to it 'at the height of its so-called second wave':

> *Whatever their reasons for rejecting and disavowing feminism, their views certainly reflected a gulf between them and me. I wanted to traverse that gulf and find means to engage in meaningful discussions about feminism with them.* (2017: 455)

In reflecting on these issues of positionality and interpretation, McCusker demonstrates her commitment to feminist (pedagogic) praxis and facilitation. Interestingly, similar themes were evident in some of our participants' narratives. Jane recalled how it can be difficult for students—particularly those so familiar with the status quo—to get on board with feminist critique as '*they will feel that it's biased, or that it's political*'. This bias (usually inferred to be against men) was also evident when seeking to address binaries such as good or bad; for or against; right or wrong; man or woman. Resistant students often used feminist challenges of power, privilege and hierarchy (which highlight how some women are structurally disadvantaged) as templates to critique feminism on the presumed exclusion of, or bias against men or male experiences. Participants noted the regularity with which students would focus on the supposed omission of men as victims:

> *I have noticed a trend towards highlighting male victims, whether of sexual violence or, more commonly, victims of false rape allegations. While this is positive that less visible forms of violence are receiving attention, I notice that this is sometimes weaponised during discussions of violence against women.* (Survey respondent)

Bright (1987: 131) argues that effective learning processes require students' active involvement and tutors' recognition of the pervasive effects of patriarchy 'even on the most feminist of class members'. Female students' eagerness to highlight the dearth of knowledge on male experiences of sexual and domestic violence (and on women as perpetrators of such harm) could be read in several ways. To some, this may be in opposition to feminism's traditional efforts to foreground women, while to others it could be seen as extending the focus beyond women in line with the growth of intersectional feminism. It may be also the case that focusing on men as victims protects these students from thinking

about their own (heightened) vulnerability to victimisation on the basis of gender.

Embodying and Embedding Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) coined the term intersectionality to illustrate how women of colour who experienced discrimination did so on grounds of both race and gender. This concept of the intersectional location offers a framework within which to highlight the experiences of those who do not fit the white heteronormative male paradigm (so often centred upon in criminology). Taking a broader approach to intersectionality involves recognising that people embody a range of identities and as such may be variously affected by sexism, racism, or discrimination based on factors such as disability, class, age, sexual orientation and so forth, in complex and simultaneous ways. These issues are often repackaged within a neutralised discourse of 'diversity' in a manner which individualises their differences and obscures the historic power relations informing the systematic factors underpinning them. Ahmed (2004) has illustrated how institutions may seemingly embrace discussions on 'diversity' yet avoid engaging in meaningful actions towards truly establishing diversity. Furthermore, these discursive moves fail to recognise or give serious consideration to 'the comprehensive range of literature and research, as well as discourse, from anti-racist, gender equity or critical and feminist pedagogy' (Blackmore, 2013: 146).

However, despite the (slow) growth in non-traditional voices gaining greater prominence, criminology as an academic discipline remains dominated by white western scholarship, as is often reflected in the androcentric course content (Stockdale & Sweeney, 2019). Illustrating this, several participants indicated that their institutions took a siloed approach whereby topics considered of a 'special interest' were annexed or situated separately from the main degree content on demarcated weeks or in stand-alone gender or race modules:

> *[W]e will do all the teaching and then we will have a week where we talk about gender … Or we have a week where we talk about race, but of course we won't connect that to gender or disability or sexuality or indeed the core topics. … And it's really not the way that the world works*. (Irene)

Such separation efforts belie how experiences of structural, institutional, and interpersonal discrimination and/or disadvantage overlap and inform one another while impeding the ability for curricula to be fully representative and inclusive of different experiences, identities, and ideas. Instead, programmes often 'lump everything about race and difference into one section', if indeed such issues are covered at all (hooks, 1994: 38). This also contributes to people associating gender with women (but not men), or race being synonymous with Black, Asian or minoritised ethnicities (but not white). Several of the online survey respondents indicated how they overcame this in their pedagogic practice:

> *I try to incorporate gendered elements in individual lecture content, rather than having a standalone lecture on it*.

> *Many of our students seek a career in the police service. I devote a whole session to the experiences of women in the police service, and spend some time on intersectionality (black women officers)*.

A central component of feminist pedagogy is the engagement in reflexivity for meaningful personal (learner) development, not just for performative or dynamic assessment purposes (Koster, 2011) but as a method of helping learners engage with the material on an interpersonal level. Participants noted the methods of integrating intersectional content and approaches to highlight wider social structures and fallacies around disciplinary objectivity. These included taking advantage of opportunities as they arose throughout the course, and providing vague module descriptors:

> *I like to include student-led elements in modules and I see this as informed by feminist pedagogy. Exploring issues of power and inequality is important to all of the modules*. (Survey respondent)

> *[A]lthough I don't force it, whenever something occurs to me that has a kind of gender angle, I do raise it*. (Harriot)

Underpinning this was a recognition of the importance of taking such action for students' learning:

> *I think it's also important to embed those critical ideas … maybe less formally, more informally. And I think for me it's because inherently the systems that we're teaching about are classed, raced, gendered, ableist, colonial. You know, all of those things are present all of the time, and so the idea that you can teach about them without mentioning that to me seems bizarre*. (Irene)

> *I think definitely there is a kind of openness to and an enthusiasm for looking at things like in a more intersectional way … I think it feels more real for them, more like that's something they can understand and they can see, rather than it like just being someone having a bee in their bonnet about women being treated badly*. (Pauline)

Those determined to undertake this work highlighted concerns around time pressures and time constraints, particularly with respect to being able to effectively design and deliver critical pedagogic content:

> *I try and show my students that intellectual engagement and acumen do not require being egotistical, or competitive and, conversely, that a more empathetic, holistic approach to intellectual engagement and academic work is not antithetical to interesting, rigorous contributions (even though it may be more arduous and take longer)*. (Survey respondent)

> *If you're wanting to … rewrite part of your lectures to have a greater focus on feminism or intersectionality or on critical race … you don't get the time for that*. (Coretta)

Unsurprisingly, these sacrifices were largely ignored by interviewees' institutions. Nonetheless, they continued to undertake this additional work as its ongoing importance and relevance was evident to them as feminists. For Sylvia, her commitment to taking the time to ensure an intersectional approach paid dividends when she saw this reflected in her

students' assessments. Francis recalled how, despite her university's failure to engage with intersectionality in the curriculum (focusing solely on gender in gender-related modules only), the university's diverse student population meant they were likely to be "*more personally affected by some of the issues that intersectionality would draw out*." In other words, the students' lived identities and experiences meant intersectionality was on the table, whether or not the University wanted to acknowledge it.

Reflective Practice as Praxis

An important part of feminist pedagogic praxis is conscious reflection, coupled with efforts to be as inclusive and representative of others' voices as possible (Bignell, 1996). Several participants recognised that their feminist identities shaped their teaching and how they interacted with students. Gloria noted that sharing a minoritized racial identity with some of her students may have played a positive role in their engagement with both her and the material:

> *I think for a lot of BME students … partly it's the content of what we are teaching them, but partly it's also because I am probably their only BME tutor, sometimes for the entire duration of their degree life. So it might be that they're responding more positively to me for that reason. But there are students who really appreciate, um, sometimes students from BME working class backgrounds as well, who are suddenly able to make sense of things because we include that in the syllabus, right?* (Gloria)

However, discussing issues such as race proved trickier for some; indeed, the race has been noted as 'especially challenging to teach in classrooms that have little diversity and/or where the instructor is a member of a socially privileged group' (Hernandez & Ten Eyck, 2015: 9). One participant, Pauline, described feeling conscious of occupying a hierarchical position beyond that of a tutor, and the bearing this may have had on the information she was imparting:

> *I think the only place where I do tend to sometimes feel a bit uncomfortable is when I am talking … about issues that don't really affect me … And then I am more conscious of kind of, 'Am I doing this justice?'* (Pauline)

Pauline indicated that this was particularly important given that she was a white woman often teaching about marginalisation and discrimination. Speaking about one particular class focused on highlighting Black women's experiences from the perspective of Black women writers, she elaborated on her reflexive and representative learning techniques:

> *I used to give a lecture that was specifically on intersectionality and I would, like, use quite a lot of images in the slides, so I'd have, like, an image of Kimberlé Crenshaw stood at a podium talking about it, or a bit of a video clip of her. I'd have images of book covers from, like, bell hooks and Kimberlé Crenshaw*. (Pauline)

Her intentions were to ensure students were aware of the origins of the content as well as how it might resonate directly with those in the room. Several participants outlined how it is in these spaces that students' intersectional identities can shape their levels of engagement with the material being presented:

> *Women and students who have other minority identities also tend to be more receptive*. (Survey respondent)

> *What I find quite interesting was that women were more receptive to the feminism and the criminal law content, and then I had BAME* [Black, Asian, and Minoritized Ethnicity] *students that seemed more receptive to the race and miscarriages of justice material. … it's their own experiences that shape whether or not they are receptive to some ideas*. (Coretta)

Participants sought to make material resonate with and for students through classroom collaboration, experiential learning, and consciousness-raising:

> *I use radical pedagogic approaches that aim to decenter power and make the learning space more shared and collaborative. This includes co-designing the*

> *assessment criteria with students, letting students have some say in what topics we cover, and making sure the readings we use are not just from old white men.* (Survey respondent)

> *I think it's about making these things come alive for students and using their own experiences or the experiences of people that they know, to show the importance of these things*. (Jane)

The statistics on racial, religious, gendered, domestic, sexual or other forms of interpersonal violence indicate that in any given group of students, one or more of these issues will have some form of personal relevance (Shorey et al., 2011). As Murphy-Geiss (2008: 385) notes, teaching topics like domestic violence requires an approach that goes beyond 'traditional' models of reading and lectures and pays attention to 'multiple pedagogies' that highlight emotionally engaging methods and realistic situations. This was relevant to participants who reflected on students having disclosed personal experiences of domestic abuse—particularly coercive control—during class. Thelma recalled a class on domestic homicide where the students had been struggling to understand why a domestic abuse victim wouldn't just leave the abuser. Among them was a student who Thelma knew to have experienced coercive control. Thelma described how the student's decision to disclose this during the discussion not only provided a level of insight that went above and beyond anything the literature could impart, it also challenged the other students' preconceptions:

> *[B]ringing in the experience of my kind of co-teacher, who was willing to share that experience, and … give them a kind of real-life example that it's not always possible, even with people who you might think had … the means and the education … to be able to* [leave]. (Thelma)

Such opportunities allow the class dynamics to fundamentally shift in terms of who is considered the 'expert' or 'tutor' in a given moment. The "*co-teacher*" terminology used by Thelma indicates the philosophy underpinning critical and feminist approaches to teaching whereby lived experiences are considered authentic and equitable to learned material

(Soleil, 2000). This may involve using uncomfortable classroom experiences to facilitate students' learning. As do Mar Pereira (2012: 132) outlines, transformative feminist teaching is cognisant of the potential for transforming feelings of discomfort—both students' and tutors'—into 'generative learning tools'. As an example of this, Irene indicated that over the past few decades of teaching she had witnessed an increasing level of "*explicit resistance around race and class*", particularly in terms of students' approaches to racial stereotypes or profiling, which had manifested in students making problematic comments in class. Irene's decision to use these comments as a basis for critical engagement and discussion rather than admonishing students paid dividends:

> *[B]ecause of our location, we have very few Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic students. Some of them came up to me afterwards and we had a really good discussion about their discomfort and my discomfort in what was being said. And on the whole they were kind of complimentary about the way it had been handled, but it was profoundly uncomfortable for all of us, and I really wanted to check that they were okay.* (Irene)

Recognising the conditions under which power and privilege operate, Boler and Zembylas (2003) argue that there are no 'safe' classroom spaces, therefore labouring under this misapprehension may obscure the groundwork necessary to create spaces for critical engagement. In other words, such efforts may involve doing 'extra work' in a manner that other tutors or modules may not require:

> *I try to break down hierarchies in the classroom at the start of each term … about respect, working together, get class to engage with materials critically.* (Survey respondent)

> *I do quite a lot of work on the seminars that I run, … a lot of preamble and stuff about how to have difficult conversations. How to disagree effectively and respectfully, and all those kinds of things.* (Betty)

Contrastingly, Harriot indicated that she employed avoidance strategies due to not being comfortable or confident to address such topics when they emerged spontaneously:

> *I want to challenge it, I want to be anti-racist, I want to be a good ally and I want to set an example to students in the room, but also I don't want to discourage them from speaking out, I don't want to embarrass them and I don't want to stifle opinions that are different to mine just because they're different to mine you know?* (Harriot)

Participants acknowledged that some students could disengage if they felt certain identities were being challenged on the grounds of privilege, or if they are being asked to consider how some might benefit from structural factors that disadvantage others:

> *some hostility from the white males when they hear me banging on about structural violence again and patriarchal subjectivity but I try to pre-empt that by discussing intersectionality and variations in the white male experience too.* (Survey respondent)

> *when exploring male to female violence and the prevalence and nature of the violence - males (and at times females) struggle with this or challenge me at least*. (Survey respondent)

While they were acutely aware of how this critical approach might be having the opposite effect on some students' engagement, participants recognised that it was impossible to talk about subjugation without acknowledging power:

> *some of us have experiences of oppression and some of us have experiences of oppressing, and I think it's important that that doesn't get lost*. (Pauline)

Francis outlined how this was a necessary exercise with her students, many of whom she described as having "*super-privileged backgrounds*":

> *when you're talking intersectionality and feminist issues you end up talking about legal structures and power dynamics, and that can be really eye-opening for students, and it can kind of get them to check themselves a bit. But I actually think that students have a much harder time identifying their privilege in comparison to identifying their disadvantage. … I'm just not sure about students checking their own privilege. … I think teaching them about*

> [feminist and intersectional] *approaches is really good to get them to look at the system and think about patterns, but I think when you ask them about privilege, their own privilege … we should probably do that more*. (Francis)

> *[A] question that I always go back to is: What makes you say that?* (Jane)

Sylvia was keen to highlight that students should be made aware that addressing their privilege need not be uncomfortable if done correctly. Asserting the importance of "*recognising that privilege isn't a negative thing*" she suggested that often students would be "*reluctant to recognise their own privilege*" if it is considered a negative endeavour rather than a realisation that people are born into different types of advantage and disadvantage. Therefore, tutors' efforts to foreground issues of privilege—for example through experiential exercises where students visibly respond to privilege-based questions—may feel like a stand-alone task (Sgoutas, 2013) or incur resistance from sceptical students (Siliman & Kearns, 2020; Stern, 2018).

Making Learning Relevant

Bignell (1996) examines how the goals of feminist pedagogy—namely, to focus on students' experiences as valuable resources for learning—can be extended from theory to an informed practice. Concentrating on the reciprocal nature of learning, Bignell highlights how the incorporation of students' experiences not only helps shed light on the 'ruptures and gaps in liberating discourses', but how 'the fear of exposing any shortcomings within the development of feminist pedagogy should not impede the progress which can arise from a better understanding' of these gaps (1996: 324). In as much as we think we are the ones teaching our students, we are also constantly learning from them. Several participants commented positively about the impact on their *own* personal and professional development through providing students with the space, confidence and encouragement to challenge the ideas being presented:

> *I give them permission to disagree with me. I just say, please … be able to express that respectfully and try and have a good reason for why you are disagreeing, or talk to me if you disagree but you can't quite work out why you're disagreeing. Try and articulate that to me so we can talk about it. So … I encourage critical thinking just because it's a fundamentally important skill. And also, I worry that I personally get dead set in my views and my ways and I kind of welcome the challenge, so I also frame it in that kind of sense saying that I want you to interrogate this stuff and work out what you think, but I also want you to keep me thinking and keep me on my toes.* (Betty)

> *I'm glad that they feel empowered to disagree with me in the classroom.* (Harriot)

Tutors who are invested in promoting meaningful development among learners understand this, recognising that educational establishments 'are not separate from society, but constitute a key site in which democratic citizenship is understood and practiced' (Blackmore, 2013: 148). Reflecting on this, Stockdale and Sweeney (2019: 86) note the importance of keeping in mind the potential for critical pedagogies to produce more equitable outcomes in wider society:

> *If criminology students are potentially not being encouraged to consider certain sources or viewpoints when learning or writing about an area of criminology, then it is unlikely that the knowledge construction of criminological topics will develop in a way shaped by authentic and/or diverse voices. Thus, the power of such voices will continue to be reduced and be largely incapable of informing criminological thinking.*

Critical pedagogies 'aim to provide space for critical engagement with divergent perspectives in order to support students from disenfranchised populations to understand the impact of capitalism, gender, race and homophobia on their lives' (McCusker, 2017: 447). To do this requires a diversity of voices, as outlined above, but this will be influenced by who is designing reading lists or lecture content. Where such voices are muted or excluded, finding alternative means of learning and understanding become crucial exercises in representation. Several participants indicated

the alternative ways they employed to bring varied perspectives into the classroom:

> *I try to break down power dynamics as far as possible in the classroom. I also try to be aware of the gender representations on reading lists, and the amount of time given to students in the classroom to avoid having a discussion dominated by one gender*. (Survey respondent)
>
> *I tend to use the obiter dicta of judges in cases concerning Articles 8 and 14 ECHR (chiefly) as a means to raise student awareness of the (judicial) politics of the law on feminist issues; on class, race, sexuality, gender, etc*. (Survey respondent)

Gloria outlined the efforts she took to engage students of colour and/or from working-class backgrounds through adding an intersectional approach to the feminist content already being taught:

> *I was sort of able to take that further and say, 'Well, actually, but the queer feminists have said' or, you know, … 'What if you're a gay woman, for example, who doesn't want to be outed to family?' 'Or what if you're a BME woman or a foreign national whose visa status is linked to the perpetrator, he is their employer or he is their spouse?' … I discuss the whole thing, and then we have like fifteen minutes at the end of the two-hour lecture where I bring in the 'law in action' kind of points*. (Gloria)

As a result, she had seen positive responses from students:

> *I have, of course, seen that some of my BME students respond quite – so they respond more when we are talking about race, or when we are talking about intersectional feminism. And within that, actually, BME women, I think, respond more than BME men do*. (Gloria)

This type of response was also noted by several of our online survey respondents who taught cohorts of students with diverse demographical backgrounds:

> *Student base is BME, so they love it*.

students know that mine is the only module where they will be exposed to this - feedback on module is always excellent for this reason

Our study findings indicate that feminist socio-legal tutors are actively engaged in enhancing the relevance of curriculum content by incorporating lived and learned gendered and intersectional perspectives, issues and experiences. While our small sample means these findings are not representative or generalisable to the wider feminist socio-legal scholar base, they do shed important insight into the nature and impact of transformative criminal justice pedagogies.

Conclusion

The presentation of views or ideas which are representative of ideological paradigm shifts may cause uncertainty among those exposed to them, but for change to happen educators must persevere with creating these challenging spaces (hooks, 1994). Doing so assists with embedding the relevance of such ideas to the mainstream. This is important as seeing certain topics or issues as only relevant to 'feminist' interests reinforces the idea of their subordinate importance in comparison to 'real' (i.e., mainstream) criminological concerns. This not only does a great disservice to all students who engage with the criminal justice system as practitioners (or victims or offenders) but puts an additional layer of responsibility on feminist academics to ensure that this work is done.

Perceiving certain topics as more related to feminism than others obscures the point that the *entirety* of the criminal justice system operates in a way that demarcates advantage or disadvantage along hierarchical identity lines. It also serves to indeterminate the specific advantages bestowed on those in powerful positions, or whose identities constitute the standard against which others are measured. Recognising that the justice system is gendered, androcentric, white privileged and one that it operates in the interests of the economically privileged is vital for an authentic understanding of how it functions. As our participants have demonstrated, using the classroom as an example and space to show and

explore how these wider dynamics manifest is also an integral part of learning and growth.

Feminist tutors often demonstrate some level of personal responsibility around the eliciting of this authenticity, particularly when it involves exposing students to distressing or uncomfortable content. In terms of gendered violence, this can mean addressing issues that have personal resonance with students in the class, while recognising that teaching about sensitive topics will affect students in different ways. Carving out the space to manage this demonstrated their commitment to both the students and the issues covered, despite academia remaining a precarious space for many, particularly those at the earlier stages of their career. The kinds of influences feminist teaching *could* be having on students may not be evident until much later on, and for many in the neoliberal academy, this kind of impact may not be prioritised, acknowledged or supported. Therefore, it is vital that feminist tutors remind themselves about what *they* consider to constitute success in their teaching.

Top Tips: Teaching Criminal Justice as Feminist Practice

- Seek to employ a range of alternative and diverse sources of knowledge, information and insights, produced by people with varied backgrounds and identities to showcase a wider breadth and depth of experiences, such as independent media outlets, poetry, music, podcasts, documentaries, paintings, pictures, blogs, etc.
- Indicate to students if they are invited to act as 'co-teachers' to theorise their own identities or experiences in a safe and exploratory manner, either in class or in assessments.
- Aim to adopt a 'reasonable adjustments' mindset to assessments (where relevant) if addressing sensitive or traumatic content in course material. Explore how the learning outcomes can be met without recourse to particularly harrowing content.

- Persevere with your endeavours as educators. It's important to recognise that the value and impact of your teaching may not be immediately visible to you or the student, but may resonate with them later on, potentially in significant circumstances.
- Link in with other feminist scholars for support, guidance and insight as necessary within your department, institution, or through wider networks. Good places to start include the British Society of Criminology's *Women, Crime and Criminal Justice Network*, the Socio-Legal Studies Association and the Women in Academia Support Network (Facebook group).

References

Ahmed, S. (2004). The nonperformativity of antiracism. *Meridians, 7*(1), 104–126.

Bignell, K. C. (1996). Building feminist praxis out of feminist pedagogy: The importance of students' perspectives. *Women's Studies International Forum, 19*(3), 315–325.

Blackmore, J. (2013). A feminist critical perspecive on educational leadership. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 16*(2), 139–154.

Boler, M., & Zembylas, M. (2003). Discomforting truths: The emotional terrain of understanding difference. In P. Trifonas (Ed.), *Pedagogies of Difference*. Routledge Falmer.

Bright, C. (1987). Teaching feminist pedagogy: An undergraduate course. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 15*(3/4), Feminist Pedagogy (Fall - Winter, 1987), pp. 96–100.

Clark, V., Nelson Garner, S., Higonnet, M. & Katrak, K. (1996) Eds. *Antifeminism in the academy*. Routledge.

Clarke, J. (2002). Deconstructing domestication: Women's experience and the goals of critical pedagogy. In R. Harrison, F. Reeve, A. Hanson, & J. Clarke (Eds.), *Supporting lifelong learning volume 1: Perspectives on learning* (pp. 62–77). Routledge/Falmer and Open University.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.

De Welde, K., Foote, N., Hayford, M., & Rosenthal, M. (2013). Team teaching "gender perspectives": A reflection on feminist pedagogy in the interdisciplinary classroom. *Feminist Teacher, 23*(2), 105–120.

do Mar Pereira, M. (2012). Uncomfortable classrooms: Rethinking the role of student discomfort in feminist teaching. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 19*(1), 128–135.

Hernandez, P., & Ten Eyck, T. (2015). The social construction of a monster: A lesson from a lecture on race. In R. Hayes, K. Luther, & S. Caringella (Eds.), *Teaching Criminology at the Intersection: A how-to Guide for Teaching about Gender, Race and Sexuality*. Routledge.

hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom.* Routledge.

Koster, S. (2011). The self-managed heart: Teaching gender and doing emotional labour in a higher education institution. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 19*(1), 61–77.

Lawrence, E. (2016). Feminist pedagogy [online]. Accessed 03.01.2021. http://www.genderandeducation.com/resources-2/pedagogies/feminist-pedagogy-2/

McCusker, G. (2017). A feminist teacher's account of her attempts to achieve the goals of feminist pedagogy. *Gender and Education, 29*(4), 445–460.

Morley, L. (1998). All you need is love: Feminist pedagogy for empowerment and emotional labour in the academy. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 2*(1), 15–27.

Murphy-Geiss, G. (2008). Bringing the facts to life: Facilitating student engagement with the issue of domestic violence. *Teaching Sociology., 36*(4), 378–388.

Sgoutas, A. (2013). Teaching note: Teaching about privilege and feminist research ethics. *Feminist Teacher, 23*(3), 248–253.

Shackelford, J. (1992). 'Feminist pedagogy: A means for bringing critical thinking and creativity to the economics classroom', American Economic Review, *American Economic Association, 82*(2), 570–576.

Shorey, R., Stuart, G., & Cornelius, T. (2011). Dating violence and substance use in college students: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior., 16*, 541–550.

Shrewsbury, C. M. (1997). What is feminist pedagogy? *Women's Studies Quarterly, 25*(1/2), 166–173.

Siliman, S., & Kearns, K. (2020). Intersectional approaches to teaching about privileges. *Radical Teacher: A Socialist, Feminist, and Anti-Racist Journal on the Theory and Practice of Teaching, 116*(Winter 2020), 47–54.

Soleil, N. (2000). Toward a pedagogy of reflective learning: Lived experience in research and practice. *Journal of College Reading and Learning, 31*(1), 73–83.

Stern, D. (2018). Privileged pedagogy, vulnerable voice: Opening feminist doors in the communication classroom. *Journal of Communication Pedagogy, 1*(1), 40–51.

Stockdale, K., & Sweeney, R. (2019). Exploring the criminology curriculum. *Papers from the British Criminology Conference., 19*, 84–105.

Thwaites, R., & Pressland, A. (Eds.). (2016). *Being an early career academic: Global perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan.

4

Teaching 'Race' in the Criminology Classroom: Towards an Anti-Racist Pedagogy

Lisa Long

Introduction

This chapter will make the argument for race as a threshold concept (Meyer & Land, 2003) in criminology. Within criminal justice institutions, which are the object of study for criminologists, ethnic disproportionality is stark. In the UK and across Europe, in the US, Australia, New Zealand and in South American countries, such as Brazil, Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC) are disproportionally represented in police statistics-including stop and search, arrest, use of force and deaths in police custody and carceral systems including prisons, youth justice and immigration detention facilities (see French, 2013; Long, 2018; Open Society Justice Initiative, 2009). Despite the overwhelming focus on racialised minorities within criminal justice institutions, criminology operates in a 'racial vacuum' (Glover, 2009: 3) and fails to engage in an

L. Long (✉)
Leeds Trinity University, Leeds, UK
e-mail: l.long@leedstrinity.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_4

analysis of the operation of race within explanations for crime and criminalisation and/or the operation of criminal justice agencies. Grounded in a Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework, the chapter argues that a pedagogical reconstruction (see, Young & Greene, 1995) of the criminology curriculum is necessary to address this racial vacuum and, to integrate the perspectives of racially minoritized communities. It situates teaching and learning about race within principles of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970, 1994), including identifying oppression, dialogic learning and learning to praxis, to present strategies for teaching about race. It utilises pedagogies of discomfort (Boler, 1999) and critical hope (Applebaum, 2017) to address the barriers to discussing race and racism, in particular privilege and oppression and the operationalisation of White fragility (DiAngelo, 2011), and offers reflections on teaching strategies that challenge racism and racial dynamics in the classroom. The chapter concludes that there is no comfortable way to discuss race and racism. Discomfort must be embraced and utilised to facilitate an anti-racist classroom and to enable transformative learning.

Race as a Threshold Concept in Criminology

Criminological explanations for the relationship between race, crime and justice often focus on race and ethnicity as variables that demonstrate elevated offending by some racially minoritized and under-class groups (Phillips & Bowling, 2003; Phillips et al., 2020). Further, statistical modelling lies as there is a failure to adequately conceptualise race in the use of racial data (Zuberi, 2001). Therefore, it makes links between criminality and race, rather than racism and the effects of living in a racially stratified society. Like other academic disciplines, explanatory frameworks within criminology take a colour-blind approach (Webster, 2012) and fail to address the structural oppressions that create the conditions for crime, victimisation and discriminatory criminal justice outcomes. Within a racially predicated society, Whiteness is the norm and non-Whites are othered to maintain the system of White supremacy (Mills, 1997). Race constructs the image of the suspect and the ideal and non-ideal victim (Long, 2018, 2021). Resultantly, crime is not just racialised,

but the race is also criminalised. As explained by Carbado and Roithmayr (2014: 152), 'This dialectical relationship between race and crime (crime → black, and black → crime) leads to the idea that being black is a crime in itself'. Nevertheless, criminology as a discipline 'exists in a racial vacuum' (Glover, 2009: 3). It is obsessed with race, whilst failing to engage in an analysis of its operation (Glover, 2009; Phillips et al., 2020), thus, reproducing the discursive links between race and crime.

When race is taught as part of criminology and criminal justice courses it is an add on or optional topic, often delivered by racially minoritized or critical scholars who are also on the margins of the discipline (Phillips et al., 2020). This is inadequate for a discipline so heavily implicated in the control of the Other (Agozino, 2003). Race scholars have long demanded the inclusion of minority perspectives (see, Phillips & Bowling, 2003), including calls for a specifically Black criminology (Brown, 2019; Russell, 1992), a counter-colonial criminology (Agozino, 2003), and the need to interrogate the Whiteness inherent in the discipline (Smith, 2014). Phillips et al. (2020: 437) argue for a,

> *reinvigoration of the criminological field',* one that, *demands an historical analysis which takes into account the variegated logics of racial domination and violence in colonial and postcolonial times*.

These calls for the inclusion of minority perspectives, can be addressed through a Critical Race Theory (CRT) approach. This approach was developed by Black scholars in North America, in the field of jurisprudence (notably Bell, 1991, 1992; Crenshaw, 1989, 1995; Delgado, 1994; Matsuda, 1987, 1989). More recently it has emerged as a research framework in the UK context, in the field of education (e.g., Gillborn et al., 2012); sport (see, Hylton, 2008) and criminology (Glynn, 2013; Long, 2018). A CRT approach draws from the experiential knowledge of racialized participants and centres race and racism in its analysis of power and inequalities (see, Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). From this perspective, race is understood as an 'endemic' and 'deeply ingrained' (Tate, 1997: 234) system of inequality, upon which systems of White power are constructed. As argued by Mills (1997: 1) 'White supremacy is

the unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today'. Race, therefore, must be understood as a key organising principle within society (Omi & Winant, 1993: 5), which constructs Whiteness as the referential norm and the non-White as the Other (Yancy, 2008, 2012).Through a CRT framework, the reinvigoration of the field that Phillips et al. (2020) call for requires rethinking threshold concepts within disciplinary contexts, to include a historical analysis of race-making and its contemporary continuities.

Race must become a threshold concept in criminology teaching and learning. According to Meyer and Land a threshold concept is,

> *akin to a portal, opening up a new and previously inaccessible way of thinking about something. It represents a transformed way of understanding, or interpreting, or viewing something without which the learner cannot progress* (2003: 1)

It is argued here, that within a discipline predicated upon the control of the Other, race centred analysis is a threshold to critical knowledge, that without the learner cannot progress. A race centred analysis, when compared with mainstream criminology, reveals the racist logic inherent in the foundational teachings of the discipline (see, Glover, 2009). However, as Audre Lorde (1982, cited in Colley & Patterson, 2022: 22) argued, 'there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle as we do not live single issue lives'. Focusing on race alone does not capture the entirety of the experience of the racially minoritized. A CRT analysis demands consideration to race at its intersection with other oppressions (Crenshaw, 1991), such as gender, class and poverty, migrant status and citizenship, mixedness, disability and queerness. The organisation of these intersections along the 'matrix of domination' (Collins, 2000) captures the interconnectedness of all forms of oppression, whilst reflecting the historically and geographically specific (local/global) organisation of power. This is a useful paradigm for a discipline such as criminology which operates in different social and legal contexts, both at the local and global level. To address the racial vacuum within which the discipline operates, and consequently teaching and learning, requires

pedagogical reconstruction (Younge & Greene, 1995) to integrate an analysis of the operation of race, and the work of race scholars, within the curriculum.

Pedagogical Reconstruction and Preparing to Teach About Race

The student-led call to decolonise the curriculum has gathered momentum in recent times. Notwithstanding the legitimate concern that the popularity of the decolonising agenda has created a 'decolonial bandwagon' (Moosavi, 2020: 332), the principles and practices that have grown from this intellectual decolonisation facilitate reflexivity around what, and how, content is taught in order to be inclusive. *Why is my Curriculum White?* (#Whitecurriculum) highlights the colonial continuities within the curriculum (see Peters, 2018); course content is not diverse or inclusive and the established canon, irrespective of discipline, is predominantly centred on the work of (often dead) White men. The accepted systems of knowledge production are colonised and built upon 'epistemologies of ignorance' (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007). This makes racially minoritized learners (and staff) feel like 'bodies out of place' within White institutions of higher education (Puwar, 2004). The Open University's *Innovating Pedagogy* report (Ferguson et al., 2019), identifies decolonising as a key issue for education in the coming decade. Decolonising requires a pedagogical reconstruction (Young & Greene, 1995) that integrates historical and contemporary works on race and crime, and the work of previously excluded scholars of colour, into the criminology canon. Doing so, reconstructs decades of neglect and misinformation and facilitates a challenge to the White 'Eurocentrically bound master script' (Swartz, 1992: 341). Further, as argued by Begum & Saini, 2019: 198), it 'acknowledges the inherent power relations in the production and dissemination of knowledge, and seeks to destabilise these, allowing new forms of knowledge which represent marginalised groups … to propagate'.

Criminology is a racist discipline; from its inception it has been 'heavily implicated in racial projects' (Earl, 2017: 116). Cesare Lombroso

is lauded as one of the founding fathers of the discipline. His 1876 work, *Criminal Man*, developed the idea that the criminal is born and can be identified by virtue of their physical characteristics. The born criminal was a throwback to an earlier evolutionary stage and compared with the modern savage of colonial relations- a racist notion that justifies the racial categorisation of the colonised and the coloniser with reference to biological superiority and inferiority. Lombroso, in 1893, also wrote the first book on women and crime, *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute and the Normal Woman* (Lombroso & Ferrero, 2004). In both of Lombroso's foundational texts, the so-called 'European races' are considered the most highly evolved and therefore more civilised and less criminogenic. Whilst a large proportion of earlier biological criminology is now discredited, its legacy is strong. Earl (2017: 124) argues that substitute discourses, such as ethnicity and culture, serve to sanitise race from its connections to 'genetic purity, holocaust and history'. The Other is no longer biological. In post-race criminology, ethnicity and culture have become the 'new alibis' for racist discourses (ibid). To facilitate an anti-racist criminology classroom, educators must seek to develop a counter-narrative to the historical and contemporary legacies of a racist criminology through the pedagogical reconstruction of disciplinary knowledge(s).

The pedagogical reconstruction of disciplinary knowledge necessitates a review of programme content, disciplinary traditions and research expertise and accepted authoritative sources/recognised scholars. This can be done at the course and module level and should include all members of a subject group, not just scholars of race or racially minoritized scholars who often carry the burden of doing diversity work within university spaces (Ahmed, 2018). There are several helpful resources to guide faculty through the process of curriculum review at course and module level.[1] However, this must go beyond a review of module reading lists, which simply removes White scholars and replaces them with scholars of colour. Rather, this process requires that previously excluded sources are integrated into the curriculum through dialogue with established scholars of the disciplinary canon. This has been put into practice by the author, through the development of a new level seven *Decolonizing Criminology* module. The aim of the module is to develop learner's

intellectual capacity to challenge the dominant criminological understandings of race and crime, and its intersection with other oppressions (e.g., gender and class), and develop social justice solutions to racialised inequalities within criminal justice institutions. The module is underpinned by the work of Black and scholars of colour and utilises bodies of work within critical race theory (CRT), post/neo-colonial theory, critical whiteness studies and Black and critical feminism, to explain crime, criminalisation and the racialised operation of criminal justice in both the UK and globally. From the outset of the module, previously excluded scholars are centred. A key example (pertinent to both criminology and sociology) is the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, a Black, American scholar of the late eighteen and early nineteen hundreds, whose work has been excluded from the criminological cannon, despite his innovative methodology and pioneering research into understanding Black criminality and criminal justice responses (see, Gabbidon, 1996, 2001, 2019).

W.E.B. Du Bois's work was inherently sociological, at a time when biological criminology was at its zenith. His first book, *The Philadelphia Negro* was published in 1899, closely followed by his most infamous work, *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903. However, the sociological study of crime is attributed to the early work of the Chicago School of criminology; Cressey (1979: 458) claims that 'sociological criminology took a great leap forward in the early 1930s, when Shaw and McKay published their ecological studies of delinquency'. The body of work that it termed 'social disorganisation theory' locates crime within specific neighbourhoods and attributes the zone of transition as the most criminogenic, by virtue of a transient community and social disorganisation within this zone (Shaw & McKay, 1942). However, forty-three years prior, writing in *The Philadelphia Negro,* DuBois says:

> *Crime is a phenomenon of organised social life and is the open rebellion of an individual against his social environment. Naturally then, if men are suddenly transported from one environment into another; the result is a lack of harmony with the new conditions; lack of harmony with the new physical surroundings leading to disease and death or modification of physique; lack of harmony with social surroundings leading to crime*. (DuBois, 1996: 235)

The Philadelphia Negro, is an important text which can be placed alongside the traditionally recognised 'canonical' scholars, including Lombroso's *Criminal Man* and Shaw and McKay (1942), to engage learners in critical analysis of the foundations of the discipline and its colonial legacies, which have contemporary continuities through the exclusion of racially minoritized scholars, global south context and the racial vacuum in which criminology operates. Several scholars have made a plea for the inclusion of Du Bois's work in the criminological cannon (Gabbidon, 1996; Young & Greene, 1995). This plea is re-iterated here. The pedagogical reconstruction of foundational knowledge does not require the development of new modules focused entirely on decolonising or anti-racist criminology. However, it does require the integration of race scholars into the White, Malestream cannon. In criminology, the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, along with other race scholars of the early 1900s (see Young & Greene, 1995), is essential to understanding the operation of race within the analysis of crime.

Pedagogical reconstruction also requires that our curriculum represents truly global perspectives. Faraldo-Cabana and Lamela (2019) find that the top ten international criminology and criminal justice journals, are not as international as they lay claim to be (except for the European Journal of Criminology). Within the publication space, the US and the UK are positioned as the centre and other nations as the margin, in what the authors refer to as a 'centre-margin imaginary' (ibid; 169); they speak out towards the global community, rather than collaborating with them. Unsurprisingly, there is an anglophone bias which reflects primarily US, UK, Canada and Australian scholars. The work of pedagogical reconstruction, therefore, requires the integration of the work of international scholars from a diversity of global perspectives into criminology modules.[2] This includes scholars of colour from outside the global south across all modules, not just modules with content pertaining to race and crime. Race educators have a responsibility to diversify the library catalogue, through book and journal subscription requests that offer minoritized global perspectives from beyond the anglosphere (e.g., the African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies; Indian Journal of Criminology). Further, in the context of research-led teaching, learners are directed towards the scholars that are cited by the staff in their

university, school or faculty; the (White) canon is reproduced through citation practices that centre dead White men and exclude Black, Indigenous, People of Colour, LGBTQ+, women and members of multiply marginalised groups (Itchuaqiyaq et al., 2020). Therefore, educators who are also research active, must be conscious of the politics of citation (Ahmed, 2015) and engage in critically evaluative citation practice, that consciously rejects mainstreamed bodies and inserts marginalised Others, to reconfigure the boundaries of what is considered legitimate knowledge, and transform the knowledge that learners have access to. These actions have implications for transforming understandings of what counts as international or global knowledge and serves to include racially minoritized scholars, and global scholars from geographical locations that have been historically nations that are excluded from mainstream paradigms, thus, resisting the Whiteness of the discipline.

There is some debate surrounding who should teach about race and racism and the importance of personal experience for connecting with learners. Housee (2008), argues that it does not matter who teaches about race, what matters is adopting 'critical pedagogical teaching strategies that question patriarchy and Whitearchy' (240). Race and racism as topics in the classroom have the capacity to cause pain and, if not well understood and facilitated, risk reifying racialised discourses surrounding race and crime. It is therefore necessary for educators, particularly racially privileged (White) educators, to engage in an analysis of their own knowledge and skills before developing content or teaching about race (Greene, 2015; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). This process of self-analysis must include reflexivity on their own experiences, beliefs about race, positionality, privileges and oppressions. Greene (2015: 72) advocates four questions to aid self-reflection- *what is your social location?; what is your teaching philosophy (learner or teacher centred)?; what is your perspective on race and crime? and what experiences of crime and victimisation have you had?* It is also essential to be familiar with who the learners are, in terms of their social location. However, to understand their own, and their learner's, location and positionality in relation to systems of power, race educators must develop 'racial literacy'- a term coined by Winndance-Twine (2010) to refer to a deep knowledge and understanding of the ways in which race operates within society. The

acquisition of racial literacy requires that White people 'immerse themselves in a transracial world that demands an emotional, cultural or political investment' (ibid: 92) and, in doing so, acquire a critical awareness of the ways in which racism and racial ideologies structure social relations. A key element towards developing racial literacy is engaging in race learning, research and engaging with key race scholars. The development of this knowledge an essential part of preparing to teach about race (Greene, 2015). However, like the learners in the criminology classroom, educators will only develop an understanding of lived experiences of racism, through engagement with those who have experienced it, within an environment that facilitates dialogic learning through 'experiential authenticity' (Young & Tullo, 2020).

Teaching About Race: Facilitating an Anti-Racist Classroom

The practice of critical pedagogy, introduced in Freire's (1970) canonical text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, is instructive to educators who seek to develop critically engaged learners with the capacity to resist and challenge dominant narratives, and the[racist] power structures upon which they rely to perpetuate existing oppressions. The banking concept of education, whereby the teacher imparts knowledge to the ignorant subject (student) and expects them to bank the information, is said to project an ignorance that is characteristic of the ideology of oppression; this approach 'negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry' (Freire, 1970: 72). Instead, Freire (1970) advocates for a problem-posing education, that has liberatory potential. Key to a problem-posing approach to learning, in the anti-racist classroom, is conversation and critical dialogue about race, racism and the systems of White supremacy that uphold the system of racially predicated criminal (in)justice, to identify solutions. These are 'difficult conversations' (Watt, 2017) and both White learners and racially minoritized learners can find it uncomfortable to discuss race and racism (Baptist, 2015; Zuba, 2016).

There are several reasons why learners are ill-equipped to discuss race, most significantly that they buy into the post-race myth, or they are

afraid of talking about race in case they appear racist (Zuba, 2016: 356). López (2003: 69) argues that 'racism is perceived as an individual and irrational act in a world that is otherwise neutral, rational, and just'. Furthermore, this colour-blindness to the function of race as an organising system within society, locates racism within individual actions and ignores the systemic nature of racism within (ibid). Additionally, challenges are posed by a lack of diversity amongst the learners and/or when the educator is from a racially privileged background; this scenario poses challenges for teaching issues of race and crime, for both the educator and the learners. As observed by Baptist (2015: 46):

> *whenever we dredge up the past [in the classroom], we find that the rusty old chains we rake from the bottom are connected to some people's present-day pains and others contemporary privilege.*

It is both racist pain and racial privilege that create silences around race in the classroom. Therefore, the first task for educators in facilitating an anti-racist classroom is to develop some principles or ground rules for working together. The ground rules should be mutually agreed through dialogue and discussion that explores and acknowledges both the educators and the learner's social location and positionality, prior learning experiences and perspectives, and secures a commitment to learning collectively through critical but respectful conversation and sharing of experience. This can be facilitated following the suggestions in Brookfield and Preskill (2005). First, divide the class into small groups of 4–5 and ask them to reflect upon their prior experience of learning environments and identify conditions that were conducive to their learning and conditions that were detrimental. The second element of this task is for the group to identify a list of ground rules that draw from their collective experience. These can be collated by the group facilitator and discussed and agreed collectively. This lays the groundwork for a community of trust within the classroom, which is essential to establishing an environment conducive to dialogic learning (Freire, 1970) and, can minimise the extent to which the power relations inherent in wider society are reflected in classroom dynamics (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005).

Being attuned to and having the skills to challenge racialised dynamics and micro-aggressions is an essential skill set for educators. Displays of 'White fragility' (DiAngelo, 2011) in the classroom are common form of micro-aggression, which impact negatively upon racially minoritized learners. White fragility can be understood as intolerance towards racial stress which triggers a defensive response when confronted with evidence of racial or ethnic inequality (ibid). This can manifest through silence and a refusal to engage and/or defensiveness. A compelling example of this occurred in the authors classroom during a group discussion of the police use of force towards Black men in the UK. Most of the learners in the cohort were White, as is often the case in the criminology classroom in the UK. The learners were shown a short video pertaining to an instance of police use of force that led to the death of a (Black) 'suspect'. Following the video, the group failed to respond to the educator's questions about the case study. However, when a White learner interjected with a personal story about their experiences of racism from a Black detainee at their workplace, several of the group responded with expressions of reassurance or disgust for this so-called racism. Expressions of disgust and support for the White learner were made by both White learners and a learner of colour. This White emotionality is a political act, serving to protect White racial advantage by redirecting sympathy from the Black man in the case study, to the White interlocutor (see, Leonardo, 2016) and easing the discomfort of White fragility when confronted with the reality of their privilege in the context of police contact. It is unsurprising that a learner of colour also expressed support for the White learner. Displays of White fragility place pressure on racialised minorities to pacify White discomfort, to remain safe and avoid appearing illogical (Leonardo & Porter, 2010). It is imperative that these narratives, which reinscribe White perspectives as dominant, are challenged in the classroom. There is no comfortable way to challenge racist narratives. Discussions cause discomfort for both educators and learners. The educator's response to reluctance or resistance to engage in the classroom can have a significant impact on learning and responding with frustration to perceived inappropriate questions or responses or to learner apathy can impact upon learner's willingness to engage with critical perspectives on race and racism (Hernandez & Ten

Eyck, 2015). However, educators must also be cautious not to respond with comfort to such displays of White fragility by offering platitudes and/or empathising with White learner's emotional discomfort, defensiveness or denial, thus, reinscribing White invulnerability which harms racially minoritized learners (Applebaum, 2017).

Instead of comfort, Applebaum advocates a pedagogy of critical hope through which learners are encouraged to stay with their discomfort; this enables learners to 'broaden their frame of intelligibility' (Applebaum, 2017: 872) through being vulnerable. In the example described above, the facilitator thanked the learner for sharing their experience, and acknowledged that what they had experienced was verbal abuse. However, the claim that they had experienced racism was challenged through probing questions, starting with a refresher question- *how is race understood, within the CRT framework that we have been working with?* The learners were then asked to reflect upon the concept of reverse racism[3] with reference to their discussion of race as a socially constructed system of power. The probing and discussion that followed led to a transformative moment in the module, where, through dialogue, the perception that the victim is White, the Interlocuter is Black, therefore slurs directed at the Whiteness of the victim are racist, was disrupted. The learner cannot be blamed for perceiving the verbal abuse they had experienced as racism. The predominant legal framework for challenging racially motivated incidents (in the UK context) facilitates the prosecution of racially minoritized people for racist incidents or crimes. Further, in the anti-racist classroom, learners should not be blamed for the mistruths that permeate in a racially predicated society. However, this example shows that by engaging the learner's vulnerability, and the discomfort that comes with this, racist perspectives can be challenged, and new, anti-racist knowledge developed.

From a Freirean perspective, the oppressed are co-creators of knowledge (Freire, 1994); therefore, experiential knowledge of racially minoritized people should be privileged within the anti-racist classroom. These forms of knowledge may be represented in critical empirical research and in the work of race scholars, and this should be sought out for module reading lists; however, as argued by Collins (1989: 759), 'individuals who have lived through the experiences about which they claim to be

experts are more believable and credible than those who have merely read and thought about such experience'. Therefore, introducing learners to difficult topics, through the lens of those who have experienced racism and injustice, engenders a respect for the knowledge created through lived experience (Freire, 1994: 9). One way to re-conceptualise what is positioned as knowledge in the classroom, towards critical dialogue, is through inviting guest speakers from voluntary and charitable organisations and activist campaigns. Further, there are lots of resources available via the internet, which reflect racially minoritized people's experiences of criminal justice systems, including stop and search, incarceration, police brutality and deaths in custody. Case studies that give a voice to families and victims of racialised criminal justice practices are available through the work of charitable organisations and research bodies, such as Inquest, the Institute for Race relations and StopWatch and campaign groups such as UFFC (United Family and Friends Campaign) and Jengba (Joint Enterprise Not Guilty by Association).

Social media content can also be a useful tool, for example, hashtags pertaining to contemporary issues (E.g., #BlackLivesMatter in the wake of the police killing George Floyd in 2020). Educators have a responsibility to choose these materials carefully and with consideration to how racialised bodies are represented within the examples chosen. Poorly chosen imagery can reinforce racialised stereotypes. Further, learners should be well prepared for course content that may either re-traumatise them or conversely bring a new awareness to how they are positioned in the context of racially structured society. One option is to invite learners to contribute content or case studies in advance of a class. Further, potentially traumatising material should be prefaced with a content warning, and learners given the option to leave, switch off or use a safe-word or sound, which may be as simple as STOP, to pause content or a conversation. This empowers racially minoritized learners to control what they are exposed to and how issues that they may identify with are subsequently discussed, in the spirit of co-creation of knowledge (Freire, 1994; Hooks, 2003).

Some learners will be confronted by their racialised identification, through the White gaze (Fanon, 1986; Yancy, 2008), for the first time within the context of higher education (HE). This may be particularly

pertinent for international learners of colour, and/or racially minoritized learners from wealth-privileged backgrounds. Kobayashi (1999: 180) argues,

> *Many learners of color have been relatively protected from racism for most of their lives, particularly if they have been sheltered by the privileges of class-sent to the best schools, exposed to the most enlightened segments of society. Their understanding of racism is relatively recent, and often their most difficult experiences have occurred after leaving home to enter university.*

This may be the case in elite universities and those that attract international learners in high numbers, and this will vary between location and institution. For some racialised learners, engaging in 'difficult conversations' (Watt, 2017) about racial injustice will be traumatising or re-traumatising, whilst other learners may be willing to discuss their experiences of racism. Privileging the experiences of racially minoritized learners can be a powerful way of challenging racist perspectives (Housee, 2008) and White fragility, particularly denial. Learner engagement with issues that they do not have experience of (i.e., racism) can be improved through learning with, and from, co-learners who have lived experience of the topics pertaining to the course material (Young & Tullo, 2020). Further, having their story heard and acknowledged can create a space of belonging for racially minoritized learners (Watt, 2017). However, where racially minoritized learners are a significant minority in the classroom, they may be reluctant to participate in discussions around race because it is painful or because they are concerned about the impact on their relationship with the wider group (Watt, 2017). Therefore, it is essential that, in a majority White classroom, racially minoritized learners are not expected, or asked, to speak about, or to explain, racism (Baptist, 2015), or to carry the 'black persons burden [of representation]' (Hall, 1996: 263). It is necessary that a plurality of experiences and cultural perspectives are included in course content to create an inclusive classroom and empower learners. By including materials that are culturally relevant to the learners, they can be held to 'create meaning and understand the world' (Ladson Billings, 1992: 106), from a safer place of belonging.

Ultimately, there is no comfortable way to discuss race. Discussions cause discomfort for both educators and learners. As argued by Leonardo (2016: xv) 'safe dialogue around race is misguided because its centrepiece is an unsafe topic'. However, educators can redirect the emotions accompanying discussions about race and racism towards developing knowledge and understanding. A classroom that is centred around a critical pedagogy of hope (Freire, 1970, 1994; Hooks, 2003) can utilise this discomfort (Boler, 1999) to challenge dominant, oppressive narratives. Uncomfortable and, at times, negative emotions (e.g., anger, distress, and sadness) can be transformative (Boler, 1999; Kobyashi, 1999). For example, in Connelly and Joseph-Salisbury's (2019) analysis of the role of emotions in teaching about the Grenfell tower disaster, negative emotions are found to facilitate deep-learning when they are both foregrounded in, and supported through, engaged and critical pedagogies. The authors argue that, 'when directed by sociological criticality, emotions can and should be productive in teaching for social change' (Connelly & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019: 1027). Therefore, critical educators should not seek to avoid or allay emotional discomfort amongst racially privileged learners but use it to engage in a critical re-reading of the world as a route to its transformation (Freire, 1994: 33). However, transformation does not occur in the classroom alone. Connelly and Joseph-Salisbury (2019) suggest that learners could be directed to local social justice campaigns or projects that they can be involved with. That is one way in which critical pedagogies in the classroom can lead to critical praxis; according to Freire (1994: 36) praxis requires both reflection and action in order to transform society.

Conclusion

Along with racial hierarchy, dominant forms of power are produced through the marginalisation along class and gender lines. Hooks (2003: xiii) uses the term 'imperialist White supremacist capitalist patriarchy' to highlight how intersecting systems of oppression work together to uphold the system of White domination (see also, Mills, 1997). White supremacist practices uphold all forms of power and domination. In

undoing the racist classroom, it becomes a space for marginalised voices to be heard, and for the privileged to learn from them to develop racial literacy and an ethics of reflexive practice. This can improve the experience of learners from all marginalised backgrounds and broaden the world view of racially privileged learners, towards racial literacy. However, this does not imply that they will, or should, be happy about what or how they learn all the time. Anti-racist teaching will confront their world view (and the educators along with them). The critical pedagogical approach advocated throughout this chapter, that utilises critical dialogue and discomfort, is at odds with the marketised education system. Within the current system, learners are positioned as consumers, and, as such the current narrative and metrics (such as NSS-in the UK) discourage educators from causing learners discomfort so that they remain satisfied and do not complain. However, as this chapter has shown, discomfort is necessary within a critically informed pedagogy that strives to challenge oppressive practices in the context of 'dialogic learning' (Freire, 1970). As Hooks (2015: 103) reminds us, when learners have an experience that is challenging, or even threatening, they will not find it enjoyable and may even view the teacher negatively; however, these learning experiences prepare them to 'live and act more fully in the world'. A critically informed, anti-racist pedagogy makes it possible to facilitate an anti-racist classroom and enables learners to confront and develop their world view, even in the context of an inherently racist discipline.

Top Tips: Teaching About 'Race'

- Prepare to teach about race by engaging in learning about race and racism; this could be through reading, discussing with colleagues, attending classes or engaging in academic seminars.
- Undertake a review of course/module content and reflect upon what assumptions are made about learners and whose voices are included and excluded.
- Prepare learners well for learning about race. Set mutually agreed ground rules, include learners' suggestions for examples/case studies,

provide content warnings for racially traumatising content and avoid placing the onus on racially minoritized learners to explain racism.
- Include formerly delegitimized forms of knowledge-for example, guest speakers from social justice campaigns.
- Expect discomfort and be prepared to challenge racist perspectives, denial of racism or displays of White fragility.

Notes

1. Decolonising SOAS Learning and Teaching Toolkit for Programme and Module Convenors is a detailed and comprehensive guide https://blogs.soas.ac.uk/decolonisingsoas/files/2018/10/Decolonising-SOAS-Learning-and-Teaching-Toolkit-AB.pdf.
2. Global Social Theory is an excellent resource https://globalsocialtheory.org/resources/reading-lists/.
3. Reverse racism refers to the perception that Whites can experience racism from racially minoritized people. However, even if they feel 'aggrieved. (Harriott, 2018) states 'racism has nothing to do with feelings. It is a measurable reality that white people are not subject to, regardless of their income or status'.

References

Agozino, B. (2003). *Counter colonial criminology: A critique of imperialist reason.* Pluto.

Ahmed, S. (2015). "Feminist Shelters" Feministkilljoys. https://feministkilljoys.com/2015/12/30/feminist-shelters/ [accessed January12 2021].

Ahmed, S. (2018). Rocking the boat: Women of colour as diversity workers. In J. Arday, & H. S. Mirza (Eds.), *Dismantling Race in Higher Education: Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy* (pp. 331–348). Palgrave.

Applebaum, B. (2017). Comforting discomfort as complicity: White fragility and the pursuit of invulnerability. *Hypatia, 32*(4), 862–875. https://doi.org/10.1111/hypa.12352

Baptist, E. E. (2015). Teaching slavery to reluctant listeners. *The New York Times Magazine,* September 11 2015 [accessed 08 January 2021].

Begumn, N., & Saini, W. (2019). Decolonising the curriculum. *Political Studies Review, 17*(2), 196–201.

Bell, D. (1991). Racial realism. *Connecticut Law Review, 24*, 363–379.

Bell, D. A. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. Basic Books.

Boler, M. (Ed.). (1999). *Feeling power: Emotions and education*. Routledge.

Brookfield, S. D., & Preskill, S. (2005). *Discussion as a way of teaching: Tools and techniques for democratic classrooms* (2nd ed.). Jossey Bass.

Brown, K. (2019). Black criminology in the 21st century. In J. D. Unnever, S. L. Gabbidon, & C. Chouhy (Eds.), *Building a black criminology: Race, theory* (pp. 101–126). Routledge.

Carbado, D. W., & Roithmayr, D. (2014). Critical race theory meets social science. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 10*, 149–167.

Colley, L., & Patterson, T. M. (2022). We don't live single issue lives: Examining black herstories in digital lesson plans. *Multicultural Perspectives, 24*(1), 22–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/15210960.2022.2028155

Collins, P. H. (1989). The social construction of black feminist thought. *Signs, 14*(4), 745–773.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.

Connelly, L., & Joseph-Salisbury, R. (2019). Teaching grenfell: the role of emotions in teaching and learning for social change. *Sociology, 53*(6), 1026–1042. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038519841826

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1*, 139–167.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/122903

Crenshaw, K. (1995). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement*. The New Press.

Cressey, D. R. (1979). Fifty years of criminology: From sociological theory to political control. *Pacific Sociological Review, 22*(4), 457–480.

Delgado, R. (1994). Rodrigo's eighth chronicle: Black crime, white fears–on the social construction of threat. *Virginia Law Review, 80*.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). NYU Press.

DiAngelo, R. (2011). White fragility. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy, 3*(3), 54–70.

Du Bois, W. E. B., Andersonn, E., & Eaton, I. (1996). *The Philadelphia Negro: A social study*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Earl, R. (2017). Anti racist criminology. In A. Amatrudo (ed.), *Social censure and critical criminology: After sumner* (pp. 115–138). Palgrave.

Fanon, F. (1986). *Black skin, white masks*. Pluto Press.

Faraldo-Cabana, P., & Lamela, C. (2019). How international are the top international journals of criminology and criminal justice? *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-019-09426-2

Ferguson, R., Coughlan, T., Egelandsdal, K., Gaved, M., Herodotou, C., Hillaire, G., Jones, D., Jowers, I., Kukulska-Hulme, A., McAndrew, P., Misiejuk, K., Ness, I. J., Rienties, B., Scanlon, E., Sharples, M., Wasson, B., Weller, M., & Whitelock, D. (2019). *Innovating Pedagogy 2019: Open University Innovation Report 7*. The Open University.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Penguin.

Freire, P. (1994). *Pedagogy of hope: Reliving pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.

French, J. (2013). Rethinking police violence in Brazil: Unmasking the public secret of race. *Latin American Politics and Society, 55*(4), 161–181.

Gabbidon, S. (1996). An argument for including W.E.B. DuBois in the criminology/criminal justice literature. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education, 7*(1), 99–112. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511259600083621

Gabbidon, S. (2001). W.E.B. Du Bois: Pioneering American Criminologist. *Journal of Black Studies, 31*(5), 581–599. Retrieved February 11, 2021, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2668077

Gabbidon, S. L. (2019). Pioneering black criminology: W.E.B Du Bois and the Philadelphia Negro. In J. D. Unnever, S. L. Gabbidon, & C. Chouhy (Eds.), *Building a black criminology: Race, theory, and crime. Advances in criminological theory* (Vol. 24). Routledge.

Gillborn, D., Rollock, N., Vincent, C., & Ball, S. (2012). 'You got a pass, so what more do you want?': Race, class and gender intersections in the educational experiences of the black middle class. *Special Issue: Critical Race Theory in England, Race Ethnicity & Education, 15*(1), 121–139.

Glover, K. (2009). *Racial profiling: Research, racism, and resistance*. Rowman and Littlefield.
Glynn, M. (2013). *Black men, invisibility and crime: Towards a critical race theory of desistance*. Routledge.
Greene, H. T. (2015). Still at the periphery: Teaching race, ethnicity, crime and justice. In R. Hayes, K. Luther, & S. Caringella (Eds.), *Teaching Criminology at the Intersection* (pp. 65–81). Routledge.
Hall, S. (1996). Cultural studies and its theoretical legacies. In D. Morley & K. H. Chen (Eds.), *Stuart hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies* (pp. 261–274). Routledge.
Harriott, M. (2018). Reverse racism explained. *The Root*. Accessed 19 December 2020.
Hernandez, P., & Ten Eyck, T. A. (2015). The social construction of a monster: A lesson from a lecture on race. In R. Hayes, K. Luther & S. Caringella (Eds.), *Teaching Criminology at the Intersection* (pp. 9–27). Routledge.
Hooks, B. (2003). *Teaching community: A pedagogy of hope*. Routledge.
Hooks, B. (2015). *Talking back: Thinking feminist, thinking black* (2nd ed). Routledge.
Housee, S. (2008). Should ethnicity matter when teaching about 'race' and racism in the classroom? *Race Ethnicity and Education, 11*(4), 415–428.
Hylton, K. (2008). *Race and sport: Critical race theory*. Taylor & Francis.
Itchuaqiyaq, C. U., Litts, B., Suarez, M. I., Taylor, C., & Glass, C. M. (2020). "Citation as a critical practice": Intersections on inclusion. *Critical Conversations about the Academy*. https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/inter_inclusion/1
Joseph-Salisbury, R. (2020). *Race and racism in English secondary schools*. Runnymede.
Kobayashi, A. (1999). "Race" and racism in the classroom: Some thoughts on unexpected moments. *Journal of Geography, 98*(4), 179–182.
Ladson-Billings, G. (1992). Culturally relevant teaching: The key to making multicultural education work. In C. A. Grant (Ed.), *Research and multicultural education* (pp. 106–121). Falmer Press.
Leonardo, Z. (2016). The color of supremacy. In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn, & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.), *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (2nd ed., pp. 265–277). Routledge.
Leonardo, Z., & Porter, R. (2010). Pedagogy of fear: Toward a Fanonian theory of "safety" in race dialogue. *Race, Ethnicity and Education, 13*(2), 139–157.
Long, L. J. (2018). *Perpetual suspects: A critical race theory of black and mixed-race experiences of policing*. Palgrave.

Lombroso, C., & Guglielmo, F. (2004). *Criminal woman, the prostitute, and the normal woman*. Duke University Press.

Long, L. J. (2021). The ideal victim: A critical race theory (CRT) approach. *International Review of Victimology, 27*(3), 344–362. https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758021993339

López, G. R. (2003). The (racially neutral) politics of education: A critical race theory perspective. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 39*(1), 68–94.

Matsuda, M. J. (1987). Looking to the bottom: Critical legal studies and reparations. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review, 22*, 323.

Matsuda, M. J. (1989). When the first quail calls: Multiple consciousness as jurisprudential method. *Women's Rights Law Reporter, 11*, 7–10.

Meyer, J., & Land, R. (2003). *Threshold concepts and troublesome knowledge: Linkages to ways of thinking and practising within the disciplines*. ETL Project, Occasional Report 4. Accessed 5 September 2020.

Mills, C. W. (1997). *The racial contract*. Cornell University Press.

Moosavi, L. (2020). The decolonial bandwagon and the dangers of intellectual decolonisation. *International Review of Sociology, 30*(2), 332–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2020.1776919

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1993). On the theoretical status of the concept of race. In C. McCarthy, & W. Crichlow (Eds.), *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*. Routledge.

Open Society Justice Initiative. (2009). Ethnic profiling in the European Union: pervasive, ineffective and discriminatory. *Open Society Justice Initiative*.

Phillips, C., & Bowling, B. (2003). Racism, ethnicity and criminology: Developing minority perspectives. *British Journal of Criminology, 43*(2), 269–290. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/43.2.269

Peters, M. A. (2018). Why is my curriculum white: A brief genealogy of resistance. In J. Arday, & H. S. Mirza (Eds.), *Dismantling race in higher education: Racism, whiteness and decolonising the academy* (pp. 253–270). Palgrave.

Phillips, C., Earle, R., Parmar, A., & Smith, D. (2020). Dear British criminology: Where has all the race and racism gone? *Theoretical Criminology, 24*(3), 427–446.

Puwar, N. (2004). *Space invaders: Race, gender and bodies out of place*. Berg.

Russell, K. K. (1992). Development of a black criminology and the role of the black criminologist. *Justice Quarterly, 9*, 667–683.

Shaw, C., & McKay, H. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas: A study of rates of delinquency in relation to differential characteristics of local communities in American cities*. University of Chicago Press.

Smith, J. M. (2014). Interrogating whiteness within criminology. *Sociology Compass, 8*(2), 107–118.

Sullivan, S., & Tuana, N. (2007). *Epistemologies of ignorance*. University of New York Press.

Swartz, E. (1992). Emancipatory narratives: Rewriting the master script in the school curriculum. *The Journal of Negro Education, 61*(3), 341–355.

Tate, W. I. V. (1997). Critical race theory and education: History, theory, and implications. *Review of Research in Education, 22*, 195–247.

Watt, D. (2017). Dealing with difficult conversations: Anti-racism in youth & community work training. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 20*(3), 401–413. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1260235

Webster, C. (2012). The discourse on 'race' in criminological theory. In S. Hall, & S. Winlow (Eds.), *New directions in criminological theory*. Routledge.

Winddance-Twine, F. (2010). *A white side of black Britain: Interracial intimacy and racial literacy*. Duke University Press.

Yancy, G. (2008). *Black bodies, white gazes: The continuing significance of race*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Yancy, G. (2012). *Look, a white!* Temple.

Young, V. D., & Greene, H. (1995). Pedagogical reconstruction: Incorporating African-American perspectives into the curriculum. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education, 6*(1), 85–104.

Young, S., & Tullo, E. (2020). From criminology to gerontology: Case studies of experiential authenticity in higher education. *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice., 8*(1), 127–134.

Zuba, C. (2016). Monstrosity and the majority: Defamiliarizing race in the university classroom. *Pedagogy, 16*(2), 356–367.

Zuberi, T. (2001). *Thicker than blood: How racial statistics Lie*. University of Minnesota Press.

5

Promoting Success for All in Criminology: Widening Participation and Recognising Difference

Richard Peake

Introduction

Criminology, as with most social science subjects, is an undergraduate discipline that is popular, accessible and attracts several diverse student types from quite varied backgrounds—sometimes with an eclectic mix of qualifications, life experiences and ambitions. This should generally be viewed as positive, although it is a mix that can cause problems in the transition to Higher Education (HE) and potentially once the programme has commenced. The emerging popularity of criminology has resulted in high course numbers at many institutions (see Young, 2022) which further increases the diversity of the cohort. The response has been for students from a Widening Participation (WP) or 'non-traditional' A-level routes of entry encouraged to apply, mainly

R. Peake (✉)
University of Leeds, Leeds, UK
e-mail: r.peake@leeds.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_5

by universities seeking to address diversification and increase their percentage of WP students, improving their inclusivity.

This chapter challenges the notion that everyone starts equally and suggests that the playing field is far from level. Often considerations focus upon their qualification with additional factors being part of the welcome for new students. The chapter explores the diversity on criminology degree programmes and considers how such a range of backgrounds and experiences can be best utilised, whilst ensuring a safe environment whereby students can achieve their full potential.

There is little doubt that this diverse mix of students enriches the teaching environment, but the classroom needs to be managed to ensure everyone benefits, and enable students to attain the best results for them during a positive holistic student experience. Harding's chapter in this edited collection has further discussed teaching sensitive topics, alongside the diversity of student types in the classroom environment, identifying the challenges that currently exist.

The challenge for criminology and the social sciences is how we can cope with this diversity and ease the transition to HE, enabling students from non-traditional A-level routes to fit in and assimilate into this level of study quickly. This is part of creating an equitable classroom, whereby all students can achieve their full potential. This chapter will explore these issues as a series of deficits: A *skills deficit*, where students from vocational and other backgrounds may be unfamiliar with academic study and academic writing and may not have a required level of basic skills; A *social deficit*, where students may find it difficult to assimilate into their new surroundings, living away from home for the first time and a *cultural deficit*, where international students and students, from mainly working-class backgrounds and non-traditional routes of entry may find it difficult to mix, leading to an overwhelming experience, more recently labelled as acculturation. Literature from Shields and Masardo, (2015) is framed in the lack of knowledge about expectations at degree-level study and identifies the lack of inappropriate or even misguided preparation in approaching the transition to HE. This chapter discusses the effect of such deficits and how they can be addressed both at the point of entry, during the transitional period and subsequently in the classroom.

Promoting Success for All in Criminology: The Widening Participation Strategy

From experience, many academic staff, including academic personal tutors, believe that on arrival at university to begin a degree programme, everyone starts equally, regardless of previous qualifications, social background, or life experiences, with everything starting afresh from this point. This is largely a myth, as although it sounds very reassuring, it can also be perceived as a barrier for some students from non-traditional backgrounds, considering how they assimilate into university life. Background, entry qualifications and to an extent, your social status, define who you are and if you feel you do not 'fit in' this can make the transition to university both daunting and challenging.

Adopting this stance results in an acknowledged series of deficits, each presenting its own challenge for assimilation and the transition to degree studies. A *skills deficit*, caused by not having the required skills for degree-level studies; a *social deficit* as the student struggles to find their place in new and unfamiliar surroundings and make friends with peers; a *cultural deficit*, or acculturation, caused by coming from a non-traditional, A-level background or from a lower socio-economic background and having difficulty 'fitting in. Therefore, the idea of WP is positive and laudable, but the challenges posed are complex.

In addition to the 'traditional' A-level student intake, criminology programmes also attract mature students and international students, as well as students from varied backgrounds, including practitioners (and those looking to become practitioners) in the uniformed public services and/or the wider criminal justice system (for example magistrates, Police, Probation or Prison Officers). Some students are looking to use their experience of the criminal justice system to move forward to education, with the social sciences (criminology in particular) tending to attract a small, but substantial number of ex-offenders and ex-prisoners. These students are seeking to turn their often-negative experience of incarceration and/or probation supervision into something more positive, seen as rehabilitation through education.

The qualifications that students enter criminology courses with are understandably varied. They include vocational qualifications, such as

the BTEC (Business and Technology Education Council) and general National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) being represented in most degree programmes. The BTEC National (Pearson Education) is aimed at the workplace, specifically not academic study at degree level, but the qualification is awarded equivalent UCAS (University and Colleges Admissions Service) points and has therefore a legitimate route to university. The T-Level (Technical level) introduced in 2020, albeit currently with a reduced range of subjects, will further add to that mix. The T-level is like the BTEC National, but with more in-work placement time (20%). This new qualification will also have A-level equivalency, UCAS points and therefore, as with the BTEC, opens a new pathway to HE, when the qualification is aimed primarily at the workplace and not the academic route (www.tlevels.co.uk). Most criminology programmes accept students from foundation and access courses, programmes which tend to give students good practical academic skills and prepare them well for the rigours of a degree programme.

WP has become a strategic priority for many universities in recent years, with great credence given to the 'percentage' of students accepted onto degree programmes from this route. However, in addition to differing qualifications, this initiative will also see more students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. It could be argued that although this 'percentage' can make a good headline and universities regularly promote this in prospectuses, if these students gain a lower classification than more traditional students, or suffer significantly higher attrition rates than A-level entrants, then it becomes a meaningless statistic. If equality of access to university is encouraged and promoted via WP, then students must be actively and fully supported, not just left alone to see how they fare, in effect, this would potentially set students up to fail.

The basic aim of WP is to encourage those from non-traditional backgrounds or with non-traditional qualifications (the A-level route being viewed as the 'traditional' qualification) to consider taking a degree course. It is looking to address the discrepancies in participation from 'under-represented' groups and break down barriers to access (Connell-Smith & Hubble, 2018). For example, this could be due to low socio-economic status or poor educational engagement and/or attainment to this point. It has not only become an extremely popular

initiative in colleges and universities, but has spawned a wider industry, seeing the introduction of a plethora of qualifying vocational courses to enable students to move directly to degree-level studies. Over the past two decades, we have seen an increase in foundation programmes and vocational courses to encourage higher participation at the degree level.

The Office for Students (2019) indicated that whilst numbers on Access courses had declined in the period 2012–2013 and 2017–2018 from just under 37,000–30,000 (a fall of approximately 18%), foundation programmes were in the ascendancy, with numbers increasing quite dramatically in the same period from just over 10,000–30,000 (Office for Students, 2019: 3). Access courses (diplomas) are usually taught at further education colleges, whereas foundation programmes are usually taught at universities with a link to a future degree programme at that university (e.g., a 'one plus three' arrangement, covering four years of study) and tend to be subject specific, thus arguably making them both more attractive and secure.

A study of BTEC Nationals by Mackay (2016) found that BTEC/vocational students were more likely to come from lower socio-economic backgrounds (twice as likely as A-level students) and be the first in their family to go to university. The study also found that these students are drawn to subjects such as Art and Design, and Business Management, with few looking to study 'elite' subjects, such as Law or Medicine and around 7% applying to the social sciences generally, with only a minority making applications to the higher ranking/higher tariff UK universities (Mackay, 2016). The Office for Students conducted a consultation in 2018 on how this inequality would be addressed and recommended seven proposals to be in place to reduce the levels of inequality across student recruitment. Some of these were to equal opportunities in the longer term, with the proposition of an initial five-year plan to start to put changes in place. Proposals included how institutions intended to reduce the gaps in access, success, and provision' of non-traditional students. Providers were required to complete a self-assessment of progress and submit returns (Office for Students, 2018: 9–10). The response from UCAS was incredibly supportive of these measures to increase entry and participation for the groups least likely to apply to HE and to progress to ensure that 'everyone who can

benefit from higher education (HE) can do so—and go on to succeed once enrolled' (UCAS, 2019).

The origins of this move to encourage higher participation in HE can be traced back to 1997 with the newly-elected Prime Minister Tony Blair (New Labour), who declared the importance of gaining a degree and encouraged higher numbers to attend university for all who have the ability and wish to attend, regardless of socio-economic background. Setting an ambitious target of 50% of 18–30-year-olds going to university, but this was not achieved in reality, with less than 40% of that group studying at university during the tenure of Blair's premiership. Although that target was abandoned in the late 2000s, the idea of more people going to university remained firmly on the agenda and led to an ideological education policy, which was accepted across the political divide (Gill, 2008).

From 2010 to 2015, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government and subsequent Conservative governments continued with this strategy, under the guise of 'social mobility', with a target set to double the numbers of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds moving to degree studies 'to increase by 20% the numbers of students from black and minority ethnic (BME) backgrounds entering HE', and to increase the numbers of students with a disability. The key to the strategy is that a degree is seen as a driver of upward social mobility (cited in Connell-Smith & Hubble, 2018: 3), which is remarkably like the original New Labour strategy of promoting inclusivity and participation in HE.

Social and Cultural Deficits

In looking at the issues as a series of deficits, the social deficit is about personality and socialisation. Some individuals find it naturally difficult to adapt and assimilate into new surroundings, particularly having left the home environment for the first time as many new students have.

Leese (2010) constructed a 'new student'—a more contemporary student, often part time, now more likely to not have A-levels and to arrive from a variety of social backgrounds. Leese suggests that these students struggle to 'fit in', both academically and socially (Leese, 2010:

242). Most simply do not have the academic skills required, particularly the need to be an independent thinker and learner, but also socially, as they struggle to come to terms with their new environment, suggesting that approximately one in five students have problems settling in academically and socially and that this requires attention to enable them to negotiate the transition (Leese, 2010). Such students will be required to 'mind the gap' (Lowe & Cook, 2003: 53) and address these deficits caused by being unprepared for the rigours of degree-level study. It is more than simply inequality, there is in fact a detrimental 'false equivalence', but the problems persist and will become more critical as the number of vocational students who enter HE potentially continues to rise as projected (Shields & Masardo, 2017: 16).

With such a variety of backgrounds and qualification routes, it is important to challenge the assumption that everyone arrives equal. I have experienced this way of thinking both as an academic and as a student; the idea that everyone, regardless of background, age, qualifications, and experience is starting out on the course as 'equals', and that none of the potential differences or deficits will be an issue going forward. It could be argued that 'equity' is required here, not simply well-intentioned soundbites of equality, welcome as that may be and reassuring as it can sound to a student who is trying to settle into unfamiliar surroundings. Attention must be paid to difference, otherwise these students can become outsiders and it is apparent that students are most certainly not equal on arrival in freshers' week. These deficits can cause anxiety, problems of assimilation with peers and a feeling of not fitting in or experiencing imposter syndrome, where lesser-qualified students or students from lower socio-economic groups may feel that they are not worthy of their university place, becoming outsiders looking in. Some may be confused by their success and surprised at gaining a place at an established university with their 'less important' vocational qualification, where many peers will have high grades at A-level. This was noted by Clance and Imes (1978) who identified 'imposter phenomenon', initially thought to affect mainly women and being linked to 'sex-role stereotyping' (Clance & Imes, 1978: 241). Later research found that gender was in fact just one

driver of this phenomenon, and that other issues, including low self-esteem, could cause this feeling of raised anxiety and insecurity in new and unfamiliar surroundings (Langford & Clance, 1993).

Mallman (2016) explains that as well as vocational and part time issues, there can be a basic class distinction at play, suggesting that working-class students in particular struggle to fit in and adapt, using the legal term 'inherent vice' (a phrase borrowed from commercial law) as a useful phrase. This term proposes that such students may be 'inferior' in some way (Mallman, 2016: 1), or may lack confidence and see themselves as undeserving of a place at such middle-class institutions, viewing their new-found status as a 'privilege, not an entitlement' (Leathwood & O'Connell, 2003: 610). Kelly (2017) points out that BTEC students come predominantly from 'disadvantaged' and lower socio-economic backgrounds. According to UCAS figures for 2012–2013, almost one fifth come from areas of the lowest university applications and approximately 40% from homes where this was the first member of the family to go to university. This is markedly different from the traditional A-level student (Kelly, 2017: 12; Rouncefield-Swales, 2017).

Whilst many may proudly draw on their working-class upbringing as a source of inspiration or motivation, some may experience an initial struggle, however many will eventually conquer or suppress such negative feelings (Lehman, 2009; Mallman, 2016). It could be minor issues, such as how they speak (regional accents), poor articulation or feeling they cannot contribute to the discussion (Aries & Seider, 2005: 426–427) or there could be a 'dislocation' between their past and the present increasing anxiety (Aries & Seider, 2005: 419). Addressing this dislocation from your past to your present is particularly difficult for vocational students, and may result in low confidence and reduced aspiration (Jetton et al., 2007: 868), and could logically be applied to those students coming from an offending background. Mallman's psychosocial study looks at life-stories of 29 working-class students in Australia, who, because of gaining a degree qualification, went on to live middle-class lifestyles. Participants talked repeatedly about anxiety, about being surrounded by people who were not like them and immersed in an unfamiliar place, feeling like a 'fraud' - one participant said that, coming out

as gay was less stressful than being at university and the stark realisation of 'rich and poor' and 'privilege and non-privilege' (Mallman, 2016: 11).

Bathmaker et al. (2013) suggest that a contemporary aim of going to HE is upward social mobility and their study looks at how students from different class backgrounds adapt and cope. They suggest that those with better knowledge of both 'knowing' and 'playing the game' have more chance of success (Bathmaker et al., 2013: 730), and that situation was generally better understood by those with the most capital, causing working-class students to be disadvantaged. Bourdieu's understanding is that those good players involved in the game will adapt and learn how to progress, such as taking internships or other extra-curricular activities (Bathmaker et al., 2013; Bourdieu, 1999). It has also been suggested that HE institutions (particularly pre-1992) may look at vocational entry students through a particularly 'pompous, prejudicial lens' based on social class, a state that will not see the situation improve (Hyland, 2002: 288). Indeed, there is a belief that unless universities actively do something, the structural issues that non-traditional students face will continue and therefore it is important and necessary for universities to decide what they should do about dealing with this gap in both skills and social status (Leese, 2010; Peake, 2018).

Bourdieu (1984) and Goffman (1959) are commonly cited authors in many articles on this theme, with the Bourdieusian theory of social capital discussing social mobility and expectations deeply engrained in discussion. Many writers refer to Goffman's classic 'presentation of the self in everyday life' the enduring 'dramaturgical' theory that we adapt our persona, appearance, and interactions to suit a specific environment (Goffman, 1959). Although quite dated, both theories have something to say regarding this transition to university.

In striving for improved social status and mobility, working-class students need to negotiate a series of challenges and preconceptions in making the transition to HE, having to overcome the 'natural superiority' of those from middle-class backgrounds (Mallman, 2016: 3). Bourdieu suggests that vocational student have a predetermined set of cards, mostly detrimental and emanating from their low socio-economic standing and are dealt equally poor cards on arrival at university (Bourdieu, 1984). In my own research, whereby I undertook a focus group of

criminology students from the BTEC route, it was clear that the students felt that they were less deserving of their place and that those from more traditional routes would fare better. They perceived that BTEC students and courses were seen as inferior and this adds to the challenges of the transition (Peake, 2018).

Bourdieu's idea of social and cultural capital and social mobility are grounded in social reproduction and to an extent, symbolic power. This work emphasises structural inequalities and restricted access to HE institutions is a major barrier to upward mobility, but these issues continue to perpetuate unless addressed, particularly in areas of gender, ethnicity and of course, social class (Bourdieu, 1984). Reay et al. (2009) align with Bourdieusian theory and recognise the 'fish out of water' scenario that non-traditional students face. The 'insecurity and uncertainty' encountered on arrival that becomes confusing and results in an unsuitable or maybe 'working-class' habitus, suggesting it should be no surprise that lower class students would struggle and there needs to be some form of intervention (Reay et al., 2009: 1105, 2010).

The Skills Deficit and the 'Ideal' Student

From experience, lecturers expect students to be prepared, to have appropriate skills for degree level on arrival and then to engage with learning. They promote attendance at lectures and seminars and instil a desire in the student to be challenged academically. Many will recognise this idealistic student profile but will also realise that in most universities it is unrealistic and less common than staff would believe. Wong and Chiu (2018) discuss the 'ideal student' and how we need to understand the changes to students coming to university, suggesting that the 'traditional' student may well be a fading phenomenon. They rightly point out that this could be a 'contentious' concept and are not suggesting it is describing the best performing or 'perfect' student academically, but more about the expectations of the teaching staff (Wong & Chiu, 2018: 2).

Wong and Chiu (2018) argue that lecturers have constructed this profile themselves and it succinctly sums up the findings from their

insightful research interviews with 30 social science lecturers from two post-92 universities in the London area. Issues such as 'personal skillsets', 'preparation' and 'engagement' became prevalent themes. Critical thought and analysis were also seen as important, particularly as studies progress, certainly by the final year. Surprisingly, several lecturers interviewed did not believe attainment/grades were the most important outcome (Wong & Chiu, 2018: 6). Bloom et al. (2013) further examines how the student learning experience is affected by staff expectations and introduces the concept of 'appreciative education', where more traditional issues such as attrition and successful outcomes are not considered the most important aspects of teaching in the classroom. The aim should be to help students achieve and realise their full potential through positive learning and teaching interactions, with staff and students working together to 'challenge each other' (Bloom et al., 2013: 5).

Whilst not linked to the demographics of students, Francis and McDonald (2009) provide a further insight into the issues with part time students studying law, the difficulty of transitioning, but also continuing frustrations throughout the degree due to their part time status, leading to a lack of 'equivalency', suggesting that equality may not be the preferred aim, but equity may be a more just outcome. Entry qualifications may be equivalent on paper, but the educational experiences and practices to this point may have been very different and non-traditional students are vulnerable to the workload and standard of this level of study (Francis & McDonald, 2009: 220). In sum, there is no 'ideal' student, each person who arrives is an individual and for those from non-A-level backgrounds, the transition may be more difficult, any deficits may need to be overcome, but it is achievable.

How students are received at university is key in the transition process. Hultberg et al. (2008) draw attention to this and suggest that universities, including academic staff, need to pay attention to the needs of non-A-level students right from the start, take note of any differences in prior learning and that the lack of academic skills (particularly from vocational entry students) becomes 'terrifyingly apparent' soon after arrival and inhibits the settling in phase (Hultberg et al., 2008: 49). Briggs et al. (2012) suggest that BTEC students struggle not only due to a lack of preparation for HE, but also a lack of suitable advice on what to expect

and the skills required to succeed. They also suggest that students from BAME minority backgrounds may also have issues with the transition to HE, in trying to overcome the 'grave social displacement' that such a notable change in lifestyle and environment may cause (Briggs et al., 2012: 3). Following a decade of innovative research and writing on transitions, this was probably the first noted study suggesting that there needs to be some form of positive intervention to smooth the transition from FE vocational studies to HE.

The message from academic literature is that students from vocational training routes attain lower degree outcomes as they struggle with the basic academic skills required to study at this higher level (Peake, 2018; Shields & Masardo, 2015). Vocational programmes of study are (quite properly) preparing students for the workplace and not for academic study, that is the point of such work-based programmes. Most vocational course designs and syllabuses reflect this. This is not the fault of the student, who takes the vocational qualification as it is taught at a Further Education (FE) college with a view to employment on completion, but this can become problematic if the student subsequently decides to change direction and apply to go to university, rather than move to the career destination in the workplace. Unintentionally, due to the change of progression, the student now has a skills deficit and is not prepared for the rigours of academic study. Indeed, some vocational students lack quite basic academic skills, such as essay writing and independent learning.

Hatt and Baxter (2003) highlighted that transition to university from the vocational route was fraught with difficulty, predominantly caused by a mismatch of skills and as more recent research has confirmed, the final degree classification was significantly lower than that of A-level students, with vocational students feeling 'poorly prepared' (Hatt & Baxter, 2003: 27). It was recognised that in further education colleges, vocational students were usually taught in large groups, with some assessments taken as group projects, with peer feedback playing a large part, a much more informal process. Because of the dominance of group work and classroom work, there was also not much independent study, something the degree student really needs to master as soon as the programme commences. Critical thinking and critical writing were not part of the

BTEC assessment process and there was little or no use of academic evidence or analysis in essays. Neither was there any referencing and therefore, the students were unprepared for the academic rigours of degree-level essay writing. Access and foundation students were much better prepared, learning most of the appropriate academic skills on their programme, including essay writing, analysis, and critical thought (Hatt & Baxter, 2003).

Deficits and Links to Attrition

Kelly (2017) in a report for the Higher Education Policy Institute (HEPI) discusses the poor attrition rate for BTEC students generally, pointing to the fact according to the Universities and Colleges Admission Service (UCAS) data for 2013, approximately one third of BTEC entry students did not complete their programme of study, in comparison the failure rate for A-level students was lower than 10%. This suggests that BTEC students are not sufficiently prepared for the rigours of degree courses and this 'limit progression' (Kelly, 2017: 7; Rouncefield-Swales, 2017), an early indication that deficits can inhibit progress.

In looking at non-A-level routes into degree-level criminology programmes, a report from the Higher Education Academy (HEA) (Shields & Masardo, 2015) noted that by measures of final classification and levels of attrition, students from non-traditional routes of entry fare less well at degree level than A-level students. When using the classification of upper second class (2:1) an arbitrary gauge of a successful outcome or suggested 'benchmark' of success, the difference in attainment measured by final degree classification was significantly and consistently lower for non-A-level entrants.

In a study at the University of Leeds (Peake, 2018), almost all BTEC entry students graduating from the Criminal Justice and Criminology programme in 2015 and 2016 gained a 2–2 classification or lower, some gained an ordinary/unclassified degree. Additionally, some spent periods as external students retaking assessments, and some left the programme altogether. If it is simply accepted that such students will naturally do less well than traditional A-level students, find it difficult to assimilate and

struggle with their studies, leading to a lower degree classification, then these poorer outcomes will occur and perpetuate year on year. Alternatively, some quite simple practical measures can be put in place to target help and improve outcomes (Peake, 2018). It could be argued of course, that a student who struggled with secondary education, managed to get a place at a college on a vocational or access course, then gains any classification of degree, has still attained a successful outcome. Success here may be relative.

Completion rates and achievement were measured, although the sample was small and not representative, the results were startling with only 48% of students with vocational qualifications (NVQ/BTEC) completing their degree programme, the figure rose to 61% for access students and 73% for A-level students. Only 23% of vocational students gained a 'good' degree (Hatt & Baxter, 2003: 25). Shields & Masardo point to a link between vocational education and social class, namely the 'low socio-economic standing' for BTEC students. For working-class students, vocational training is probably a natural attraction, with the expectation of good quality, paid employment as the goal and a university place not seen as beneficial or achievable (Shields & Masardo, 2017: 4).

Addressing Social, Cultural and Skills Deficits

It is recommended that both academic personal tutors and university departments be made fully aware of routes of entry and the background of students on arrival. The more information is shared then the earlier the conversation can begin, with more being put in place to smooth the transition to degree studies, raise aspiration, reduce attrition, and improve outcomes (Peake, 2018).

Regular meetings and an open-door policy can be particularly useful, as can mentoring schemes. Traditional peer mentoring schemes are tried and tested, they encourage a solid relationship and can give a struggling student an outlet to ask for help away from the worry of approaching staff. Mentoring with a staff-student pairing is hierarchical and can be difficult to develop unless the mentee is particularly comfortable

with approaching the staff mentor (Morris, 2017). More innovative schemes, such as 'reverse mentoring' can further help to firm that relationship and make it more open and accessible. Reverse mentoring looks to change the traditional tutor-tutee dynamics by reversing the role, with students finding out more about their tutor in the reciprocal information exchange. This is particularly useful with a diverse student body, including the ever-increasing number of international students (O'Connor, 2022). This makes the process much more informal and accessible to the mentee, who should feel the relationship becomes less of a power dynamic (Morris, 2017) and much more of a partnership.

Following the study of BTEC students in the School of Law, University of Leeds, a toolkit was put in place to assist transition, help with the settling in process and check the progress of these students academically (Peake, 2018: 92). It advocates pre-arrival communication with the students (email/video) to help reassure them and reduce anxiety, this could involve a summer school if desired, and if this were felt appropriate. On arrival at university in an induction week, an early meeting with an academic personal tutor needs to take place, to start the dialogue needed to build the relationship, so the student feels comfortable asking for help. Building a good rapport means that help can be requested expediently and be targeted to maximise the impact. The toolkit suggests more frequent tutor meetings with these students, as often as weekly in the first year, and additional sessions to discuss skills training as required. If these stages are not implemented at the start the relationship may not be effective, or may not materialise at all, and the problems for the student exacerbate and could be one of the main reasons students may leave their programme of study.

Since implementing the toolkit in my criminology department in 2017 (School of Law, University of Leeds), I am responsible for tutoring all students from the BTEC route and the first meeting is a group meeting (in induction week). At this meeting, my research on raising the achievement of BTEC entry students is shared and the potential deficits explained. This gives the students a clear understanding of the issues they may face and explains how we can help alleviate this and make the transition easier. Having that positive contact from day one, can make the students more comfortable, the positive rapport encourages

the student to ask for help if they need it, rather than not engage. For example, a student who is having issues academically, can raise concerns with the academic personal tutor, who can help personally or suggest where that help can be obtained. Many will argue that this should happen anyway (and I would agree), but personal experience tells me that students who are struggling to assimilate and then find they have an issue with academic skills are far less likely to seek that support. This clear line of communication, a more informal relationship and more frequent meetings can really help.

The toolkit may appear straightforward, and some parts may even seem too obvious or simplistic, but that relationship building from the start is absolutely the key. Bridging the 'skills gap' is equally important, if the skills deficit is not identified and addressed, it may cause problems in the first year and may well continue into subsequent years of study. Without this early intervention, and a good relationship with staff, it may not even get that far, attrition rates are the highest for BTEC students in the first year of university, as many struggle to transition and adapt (Peake, 2018: 92). Students from non-traditional routes of entry who may have some of these deficits are invited to meetings more frequently (ideally monthly, or as required) and skills training put in place where appropriate.

Since implementing the toolkit in my department in 2016, attrition rates have fallen to almost zero for BTEC entrants and there is no longer an academic 'ceiling' of a 2–2 classification. All the BTEC entrants (between 5 and 10 each year) have attained 2–1 on the BA (Hons) programme and three students have attained a first-class degree, not something achieved on our degree programme by this student type prior to 2016. Several have gone on to enrol on postgraduate programmes. The idea may be simple, the toolkit straightforward, but the results have been incredibly positive in raising both achievement and ambition in students from non-A-level routes.

Alongside the role of academic tutors and mentor, other strategies to recognise diversity and enhance inclusion can be developed in the teaching spaces. There are localised versions of education guides to teaching seminars and coping in the classroom; they usually involve setting out ground rules, giving way and allowing others to speak,

tempering language, and offering time-outs if things become heated or difficult. Most guides do include 'recognising diversity' but do not really give clear guidance of how that would work in practice, this becomes more difficult if the seminar leader is inadequately trained or inexperienced in the classroom. The Derek Bok Centre for Teaching and Learning at Harvard University call this 'managing hot moments in the classroom' and remind us that seminars should not become chaotic situations or battles, they ought to be facilitated and managed by the seminar leader/convenor. There can be a short-term solution (pause) and a longer-term solution (reflection) to inappropriate behaviours (Derek Bok Center, 1975).

Students bring their experiences with them to groups and this often proves to be a valuable start of discussion and can sometimes be controversial. This should not be viewed as negative in the context of these learning environments where discussion is promoted. However, students with experience of imprisonment or offending need to be tempered, for example, listening in a seminar to a former prisoner recall how much a 'cellmate' suffered with his mental health and consequently, openly self-harmed regularly with a blade until he bled profusely is an interesting insight, but if it causes distress to any of the group, it may be a little too graphic. From experience, ex-prisoners and criminal justice practitioners are often heard to interject with 'from experience….', which can be a useful discussion starter and insightful for other members of the group but should not distract from the main topic under discussion. Elsewhere in this edited collection, Sercombe et al. discuss the importance of students having the opportunity to hear these experiences, and the transformative learning experience they can offer.

Former prisoners are welcome at most universities, although some might feel slightly aggrieved at having to make declarations of their offence in some circumstances (not all universities require this). This would undoubtedly make the transition to university difficult, and traumatic for some, but a research study in the USA by Binnall et al. (2021) not only acknowledges this difficult transition, but goes further, looking at the inclusion of ex-prisoners from the perspective of the fellow students in the classroom. It was found that these students and other campus stakeholders may benefit from having ex-prisoners in their

classes and on their programme. Fellow students may develop a sense of understanding of the ex-offender's situation and their personal experience of criminal behaviour, subsequent incarceration, and re-entry into society via education and as a corollary, see progress in their personal development (Binnall et al., 2021: 2).

Conclusion

A thread running through this chapter is the notion that a point often made to students on entering a degree programme is that everyone is 'equal' and all start at the same point. For many, this is somehow reassuring, and it could be argued that it is a laudable aim to treat everyone as equal, regardless of background, gender, ethnicity, or route of entry. However, whilst it may promote *equality*, it is clearly not *equitable* and the two are quite different, being more equitable would attend to the needs of the individual (Peake, 2018). As students come from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds, have varied social skills, and have different academic qualifications, students are clearly not equal on arrival and that inequality can compound as their studies progress. In addition to the many different routes of entry, in the discipline of criminology, there is often a mix of former offenders and former or potential criminal justice practitioners.

The literature clearly demonstrates that the problem is not new, but there has been insufficient action taken to address some inequalities, with the issue of route of entry not identified until quite recently. It needs to be recognised as being just as influential as other forms of diversity that are recognised, such as gender, ethnicity, or disability. It could be argued that a small amount of attrition or poorer performance is often seen as acceptable, a natural consequence of how applied students become during their studies. WP schemes are a shining light, allowing many to go to university who otherwise may not, but this can be compromised if ongoing support is not provided. If attrition rates are high and attainment is lower than average, then success could certainly be viewed as limited, although may be seen as a positive initiative, but unless those

students make positive progress and the necessary support is put in place, it can have the opposite effect (Peake, 2018).

In the spirit of WP, an essential aim is to welcome all students from a variety of backgrounds and routes of entry, but in doing so, tutors need to appreciate that the skillset and previous experiences of education. This may require staff to be more involved in assisting students to settle in to this new and challenging environment, and to ensure the basic academic skills required for success are taught on arrival (Peake, 2018). Helping with this sometimes uncertain and difficult transition, and knowing as much as you can about your students is the key to promoting success, raising self-esteem, and reducing attrition.

In trying to solve the social and cultural deficits, universities first need to recognise the varied student types and the effect their diversity may have on transitioning to HE. Supportive and inclusive induction programmes, including social events are a useful starting point. Close rapport with staff, particularly the academic personal tutor, is vital. Closing the gap will only happen if that initial welcome promotes inclusivity and part of that needs to be a recognition of the route of entry and background of the student. Only with such interventions, will such a diverse body of learners settle into higher-level university studies, be productive in the classroom and achieve their full potential.

Top Tips: Promoting Inclusion in Criminology Cohorts

- As an academic personal tutor, find out about your students, talk with them, discuss their background, qualifications, etc. Reassure them they are a valued member of the cohort.
- As a seminar leader, be aware who is in your class and offer to speak with any student who feels anxious for a particular reason, such as being a victim of crime or a former prisoner (trigger point).
- In group teaching and discussion, use the diverse mix of students to your advantage, see diversity as a positive dynamic.

- Use a toolkit to monitor the progress of students from non-traditional backgrounds, so help can be targeted around skills and personal development.
- Make induction week inclusive, and encourage students to mix and support each other, in and out of the classroom.

References

Aries, E., & Seider, M. (2005). The interactive relationship between class identity and the college experience: The case of lower income students. *Qualitative Sociology, 28*(4), 419–443.

Bathmaker, A.-M., Ingram, N., & Waller, R. (2013). Higher education, social class and the mobilisation of capitals: Recognising and playing the game. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 34*(5–6), 723–743.

Binnal, J. M., Scott-Hayward, C., Petersen, N., & Gonzalez, R. M. (2021). Taking roll: College students' views of their formerly incarcerated classmates. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511253.2021.1962932

Bloom, J., Hutson, B., & He, Y. (2013). Appreciative education. *New Directions for Student Services*. https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.2055

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (Ed.). (1999). *Weight of the world: Social suffering in contemporary society*. Polity.

Briggs, A., Clark, J., & Hall, I. (2012). Building bridges: Understanding student transition to university. *Quality in Higher Education, 18*(1), 3–21.

Clance, P. R., & Imes, S. A., (1978). The imposter phenomenon in high achieving women: Dynamics and therapeutic intervention. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research & Practice, 15*(3), 241–247.

Connell-Smith, A., & Hubble, S. (2018). *Widening participation strategy in Higher Education in England*. House of Commons Briefing Paper Number 8204.

Derek Bok Center. (1975). Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning at Harvard University. www.bokcenter.harvard.edu [accessed 22 February 2021].

Francis, A., & McDonald, I. (2009). After dark and out in the cold: Part-time law students and the myth of equivalency. *Journal of Law and Society, 36*(2), 220–247.

Gill, J. (2008, 17 April). Labour concededs it won't deliver its 50% target on time. *Times Higher Education.*

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of the self in everyday life*. Doubleday.

Hatt, S., & Baxter, A. (2003). A comparison of students entering higher education with academic and vocational qualifications. *Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning, 5*(2), 18–29.

Hultberg, J., Plos, K., Hendry, G., & Kjellgren, K. (2008). Scaffolding students transition to higher education: Parallel introductory courses for students and teachers. *Journal of Further and Higher Education,* 32(1), 47–57.

Hyland, T. (2002). On the upgrading of vocational studies: Analysing prejudice and subordination in English education. *Educational Review, 58*(3), 287–296.

Jetton, T., Iyer, A., Tsivrikos, D., & Young, B. (2007. When is individual mobility costly? The role of individual and social identity factors. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 38*(5), 866–879. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.471

Jenkins, C., Canaan, J., Filpakkou, O., & Strudwick, K. (2011). The troubling concept of class: Reflecting on our 'failure' to encourage sociology students to re-cognise their classed locations using autobiographical methods. *EliSS, 3*(3), 2–30.

Kelly, S. (2017). Reforming BTECs: Applied general qualifications as a route to higher education. HEPI Report 94.

Langford, J., & Clance, P. R. (1993). The impostor phenomenon: Recent research findings regarding dynamics and family patterns and their implications for treatment. *Psychotherapy, 30*(3), 495–501.

Leathwood, C., & O'Connell, P. (2003). "It's a struggle": The construction of the "new student" in higher education. *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(6), 597–615.

Leese, M. (2010). Bridging the gap: Supporting student transitions into higher education. *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 34*(2), 239–251.

Lehman, W. (2009). Becoming middle class: How working class university students draw and transgress moral boundaries. *Sociology, 43*(4), 631–647. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038509105412

Lowe, A., & Cook, H. (2003). Mind the gap: Are students prepared for higher education? *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 27*(1), 53–76.

Mackay, D. (2016). Qualifications reform: The review of BTEC Nationals, presentation at Annual Admissions Conference, Aston University, 7 January 2016. https://www2.aston.ac.uk/migrated-assets/applicationpdf/study/266700-Vocational%20reform,%20changes%20to%20BTEC%20&%20other%20vocational%20qualifications%20from%202016.pdf [accessed 9 August 2016].

Mallman, M. (2016). The perceived inherent vice of working-class university students. *The Sociological Review, 65*(2), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12422

Morris, L. V. (2017). Reverse mentoring: Untapped resource in the Academy? *Innovation in Higher Education, 42*(4), 285–287.

O'Connor, R. (2022). It makes me feel empowered and that we can make a difference: Reverse mentoring between international students and staff in legal education. *European Journal of Legal Education, 3*(1), 95–126.

Office for Students. (2018). *A new approach to regulating access and participation in English higher education: Consultation outcomes*. Office for Students. https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/media/546d1a52-5ba7-4d70-8ce7-c7a936aa3997/ofs2018_53.pdf

Office for Students. (2019). *Preparing for degree study*. Office for Students. https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/publications/preparing-for-degree-study/

Peake, R. (2018). 'We are not all equal' Raising achievement and aspiration by improving the transition from the BTEC to higher education. *Learning and Teaching. International Journal of Higher Education in the Social Sciences (LATISS), 2*(3), 80–95.

Reay, D., Crozier, G., & Clayton, J. (2009). 'Strangers in paradise'? Working-class students in elite universities. *Sociology, 43*(6), 1103–1121.

Reay, D., Crozier, G., & Clayton, J. (2010). 'Fitting in' or 'standing out': Working class students in UK higher education. *British Educational Research Journal, 36*(1), 107–124.

Rouncefield-Swales, A. (2017). *Vocational Progression to Selecting Universities: Comparisons and Trends 2010–2013*. Western vocational Progression Consortium.

Shields, R., & Masardo, A. (2015). *Changing patterns in vocational entry qualifications, student support and outcomes in undergraduate degree programmes.* Higher Education Academy.

Shields, R., & Masardo, A. (2017). False equivalence? Differences in the post-16 qualifications market and outcomes in higher education. *Educational Review, 70*(2). https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911,2017.1293614

UCAS. (2019). UCAS' response to the Office for Students' consultation. A new approach to regulating access and participation in English higher education. https://ucas.com/file/190436/download?token=GesftGU_

Wong, B., & Chiu, Y.-L. (2019). 'Swallow your pride and fear': The educational strategies of high-achieving non-traditional university students. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 40*(7), 868–882.

Wong, B., & Chiu, Y.-L. (2018). University Lecturers' construction of the 'ideal' undergraduate student. *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 44*(1), 54–68. www.tlevels.co.uk Government site explaining T-levels [accessed 20 February 2021].

Young, S. (2022). *Transitions through university: Exploring expectations and motivations of undergraduate students*. Leeds Institute for Teaching Excellence Project Snapshot. https://teachingexcellence.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/89/2022/01/Suzanne-Young-Project-Snapshot.pdf [Accessed March 2022].

Part II

The Challenges of Creating Authentic Learning Environments

6

Putting the Cyber into Cybercrime Teaching

Ruth McAlister and Fabian Campbell-West

Introduction

Criminology is a broad subject area that intersects with numerous others in the social science arena including sociology, psychology, law, economics and political science. As a discipline, it is concerned with advancing knowledge on crime, deviance, its control, and prevention (Chan & Bennett Moses, 2015). Generally, the theoretical knowledge base of the subject reflects changes in society, for the purpose of this chapter we reflect specifically on technological changes. The subject is also responsive to how it adapts in terms of advancing knowledge, so that learning and teaching is contemporary and of an applied nature to

R. McAlister (✉)
Ulster University, Belfast, UK
e-mail: r.mcalister@ulster.ac.uk

F. Campbell-West
Queen's University Belfast, Belfast, UK

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_6

enhance the student learning experience, whilst also developing digital employability skills, such as being conversant in dealing with large-scale data sets, analysing and inferring from data and understanding the challenges in dealing with data.

Undoubtedly the expansion of the Internet and connected devices, particularly in the twenty-first century, has provided vast opportunities and benefits for education, business and for networking and socialising online, the significance of which has been heightened during the global COVID-19 pandemic in 2020–2021. Whilst this technology is arguably a force for good, it also offers unprecedented opportunities to cause harm. Those intent on causing harm are navigating the same online spaces searching for opportunities (Bossler & Berenblum, 2019; CEPOL, 2017). Abusing this technology has opened new avenues for cyber criminals to cause damage to individuals, businesses and governments remote to them. Given the impact of technology on our everyday lives, and on crime, it is clear to see why cybercrime is becoming increasingly integrated into the criminology curriculum at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. The difficulty comes not with *including* cybercrime-related material, but how best to frame this for social science students, so that they can understand it and apply it, with the majority having a non-technical background. It is also important to consider the role of the educator and their background too when including technological elements in a social science subject. We propose here that by effectively integrating greater technological understanding to the criminology curriculum, is not only important for the study of crime, deviance and criminal justice processes today, but also for students in the future, who may consider a potential career into the burgeoning sphere of cyber security that previously would have been discounted due to a belief that they lack the requisite technical knowledge and skills.

This chapter explores a range of measures and teaching practices that can assist with how better to integrate technology in a truly interdisciplinary way to the criminology cybercrime curriculum. It will begin with a discussion around criminology and cybercrime, tracing the history and challenges of its inclusion within the broader subject area. Next, we embrace pedagogical issues regarding the delivery of interdisciplinary teaching, before considering a specific discussion around pedagogy and

digital criminology and how integrating computer science expertise can add value to this approach. From this scene setting we then introduce the substantive element of the chapter where we outline how to integrate a socio-technical project into a cybercrime curriculum which considers the pedagogical issues previously outlined. The conclusion summarises key aspects of the discussion and proposes scholars continue to develop this socio-technical journey.

Criminology and Cybercrime

Attempting to provide a sound definition of what cybercrime is, and importantly what it is not, has plagued scholars for many years. The early days of cybercrime scholarship saw much debate about how best to define the governing of concepts in the field. As such, it was common to draw a distinction between cybercrime and computer crime (Furnell, 2003). Yar (2013) preferred to refer to cybercrime not as a single phenomenon, but rather a range of illicit activities where the common 'denominator' is the use of ICT networks in the commission of a crime. Later, in 2015 Wall provides a useful matrix identifying crime types and crime opportunities. Referring to the former this relates to crimes against machines (cyber trespass for example), crimes using the machine (cyber deception) and crimes in the machine (cyber violence and cyber obscenity). Today, there is still an absence of a consistent definition and whilst arguments regarding what is and what is not cybercrime have diminished a little, it is important to explore the complexities of this technological crime type.

Cybercrime now incorporates a multitude of different offences and offender profiles ranging from cyber-enabled crimes such as online fraud, the sharing of intimate abuse images, identity theft and child sexual exploitation; right through to cyber dependent crimes such as hacking and phishing. It is perpetrated by committed and motivated cyber criminals along with the aid of bots, viruses, phishing malware and ransomware that are designed to infect, and acquire information stored on personal computers (Yar & Steinmetz, 2019). Cybercrimes can be executed almost anywhere in the world with perpetrators not constrained by geographical borders like they are in the physical world.

How these criminals communicate, network and exchange knowledge can take place on hidden forums, they can also exchange stolen goods using cryptocurrencies. The range of threat actors can range from 'script kiddies' to organised criminal networks from different regions and with varying interests who use the Internet to propagandistically showcase and promote their activities (Patton et al., 2013).

As a subject, cybercrime has been described as something of a teenager, the study of the subject is no longer in its infancy, but it has not yet begun to assert its adult confidence and independence (Payne & Hadzhidimova, 2020). Jaishankar (2007), for example, observed that criminologists were almost late to the party in terms of researching cybercrime, yet counterparts in the field of computer science and engineering adapted quicker to change and created new fields such as information security and digital forensics. This may seem an unjust criticism given (for example) the influential work of David Wall who has been publishing scholarly research on cybercrime since the late 1990s. It is however fair to say that cybercrime has only recently become mainstream within the broader criminology curriculum. Now there is a healthy array of cybercrime research that has been undertaken by criminologists on the surface, or open web (the web we use every day with standard search engines), but also on the dark web, first introduced in 2000 where content is not available via standard search engines (Baravalle et al., 2017). Topics addressed by cybercrime scholars have remained fairly consistent over the last decade which includes crimes such as; hacking, financial theft and identity fraud, illicit online networks, child sexual exploitation, stalking and issues regarding surveillance and privacy (Alnabulsi & Islam, 2018; Bancroft, 2020; Cubitt et al., 2020; Etzioni & Rice, 2015; Levi & Soudijn, 2020; Martin, 2014; McAlister & Monaghan, 2020; Musotto & Wall, 2020; Pastrana et al., 2018; Wall, 2000, 2004, 2011; Yar, 2013). Whilst criminologists have developed expertise in these areas, it has been argued that others have remained largely neglected and outside of the criminological gaze. Stratton et al. (2016) for example, have drawn attention to how digital networks enable social harm has been under-researched, together with rapidly emerging issues such as 'digilantism' or digital vigilantism, open source policing, social network surveillance and the role and impact

of social network movements. Smith et al. (2017) suggest that one explanation for what may be described as a 'siloed' cyber criminological focus lies in critiques of the discipline more broadly; namely, that criminology itself has become increasingly insular and self-referential, losing some of its fundamental and dynamic origins as the multidisciplinary study of crime, deviance and justice. This also echoes earlier criticism from Jaishankar (2010) where he described cyber criminology as compartmentalised and of no use. Evidence does suggest that true and meaningful engagement with computer science and cybercrime has been largely insular and lacking full interdisciplinary engagement which is according to Stratton et al. (2016) particularly detrimental to advancing a new generation of digital criminological scholarship concerned with technology, crime and deviance.

Interdisciplinary Cybercrime Pedagogy

Interdisciplinary study is described as an important teaching strategy that enables learners to make connections across disciplines and enables them to apply that knowledge in real-life situations (Casey, 2009; Nikita & Mansilla, 2003). It has been argued that learners can apply a broader theoretical and conceptual framework than that of a single discipline with integration of knowledge from differing perspectives beneficial to solve complex problems (Fortuin & Bush, 2010). That said, defining interdisciplinarity is a challenge in itself, partly due to inconsistency in the use of related terms such as multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinary (Lattuca et al., 2013). These terms are often used interchangeably in the literature indicating a lack of consensus on the differences. For those that distinguish among them, integration seems to be key (Hammons et al., 2020). One of the most widely quoted definitions of interdisciplinarity comes from Klein and Newell (1998: 393–394) who describe it as:

> *A process of answering a question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline or profession … and draws upon disciplinary perspectives and integrates their insights through construction of a more comprehensive perspective.*

Whilst there is no evidence yet of a paradigmatic shift within criminology, there is evidence of greater interdisciplinarity with other subject areas such as computer science and software engineering. Indeed, it was noted in the introduction that criminology has historically been interdisciplinary as a subject, therefore it seems a natural shift to also integrate it with technical disciplines such as computer science, especially given the growing 'relationship' that crime has with technology. Chan and Bennett Moses (2016) also highlight some engagement with big data research with projects investigating social media data analysis; and an increasing uptake of computer modelling/algorithms as a predictive tool in police and criminal justice decision-making. Whilst this is welcoming, they suggest that 'criminologists and, indeed, social scientists more broadly must increasingly "share the podium" and collaborate with technical experts to further progress this field' (Chan & Bennett Moses, 2015: 25).

Of course, academic disciplines benefit from interdisciplinary work as many exciting advances in scholarship come from combining research efforts. However, Payne (2016) makes the important point that interdisciplinary approaches are not possible without having disciplinary approaches initially. Criminology as mentioned earlier has burgeoned out of a range of disciplines and grown stronger as a result of these other disciplines. The benefits of interdisciplinary research cannot be underplayed, not only for those in education, but all for society. Problems in society are better addressed through different approaches and considerations, whether this is regarding health and technology, city planning and technology, or indeed crime and technology as is the focus here. It can help to broaden perspectives (Oehlberg et al., 2012), interdisciplinary thinking (Lattuca et al., 2017), awareness and importance of team dynamics, communication and leadership (Coso et al., 2010).

Criminology as a discipline is well placed to respond to changes in criminal opportunities and crime prevention, but enhanced collaborations and greater interdisciplinary partnerships are urgently required to help ameliorate current epistemological and methodological gaps particularly around large-scale research and how we can work with such a plethora of data. In addition, a lot of crime sites are now termed to be

in 'cyberspace' which requires alternative ways of conceptualising criminal motivations and impact on victims. An example, that is expanded on in this chapter, is the analysis of online forums to look for indicators of deviance. As the size of the forum increases it is intractable for traditional manual qualitative analysis by a criminologist. Using automated tools, the number of posts that need to be reviewed can be reduced from millions to hundreds. To ensure the study of cybercrime is truly interdisciplinary, criminology pedagogy needs to embrace and incorporate computational methods training and its students, educators and practitioners must become more digitally informed and algorithmically literate. Criminology educators working with other technical disciplines such as those from computer science or engineering could work more closely together ensuring that cybercrime is truly interdisciplinary. Research undertaken by Payne and Hadzhidimova (2020) examines whether cybercrime is treated as a disciplinary, or multidisciplinary subject, because exploring how cybercrime is studied by criminologists will provide guidance to advance the interdisciplinary and global scholarship of the subject. Their work identified that interdisciplinary cybercrime studies are rare, yet where there is increasing collaboration, it is between computer science and criminology scholars. To increase true interdisciplinary work, it is suggested that digital criminologists bridge the disciplinary and methodological divides in their future efforts (Payne & Hadzhidimova, 2020).

Criminology scholars now have an incredible opportunity to really strengthen the discipline by incorporating greater technical education. Technology impacts on every facet of daily life for most people and almost every aspect of crime, so now more than ever the field ought to extend its disciplinary gaze. Therefore, rather than positioning technology as existing separately to society more broadly, we need to consider the 'digital society' as a concept that recognises such technologies are an embedded part of the larger social entity (Lupton, 2014). Criminology as a discipline is slowly transforming to take cognisance of this online crime 'site', not only through the foregrounding of digital technologies and data as key parts of everyday life, but also in terms of how they are being investigated and treated by wider agencies in the criminal justice process. The role of teaching what can be addressed as a 'digital' criminology which

considers the potential impact of digital technologies across a broader range of criminal justice practices may provide a fruitful platform from which to expand the boundaries of contemporary criminological theory and research.

Pedagogy and Digital Criminology

In recent years debates around developing methodological and technical expertise in managing large-scale data sets, or 'big data', have emerged along with issues around Internet-based research and how crime is increasingly manifesting in online environments, or 'cybercrime' as mentioned in the introduction. It is therefore of paramount importance that we all adopt better digital hygiene and do our best to prevent cyber criminals from ruining lives. As explained in cyber security literature this is akin to washing our hands during the Covid-19 pandemic. Digital hygiene is our crucial first line of defence against new and evolving digital threats, such as malicious emails, social engineering, phishing, cyber harassment, hacking accounts and devices and stealing private data (Lewis, 2020). One of the most effective methods of prevention is through education, as mentioned above, with the integration of cybercrime modules into the discipline of criminology. However, technology and cybercrime evolve quickly therefore whilst it is important to include core concepts that are needed to understand the 'problem' of cybercrime, those teaching the subject should be aware of what feels like constant changes in the nature of the cybercrime landscape. This can be anything from threat actors, crime types and evolving threats, along with changes to legislation and policies that being created and revised to better deal with cybercrime.

Criminology pedagogy encourages students to think critically (Serrano et al., 2018). This encourages students to recognise, assess and counteract narratives relating to class, gender and race hierarchies, which influence social problems by promoting the marginalisation of voices (Barton et al., 2010). Critical thinking too should be applied to cybercrime, we need to better understand digital criminality for example. Criminological topics themselves may be theoretically focussed, taught

in a traditional format of lectures, small group teaching, reading and policy reviews. It is important though that technology and technological skills are also integrated into the cybercrime curriculum. Conversely, Computer Science is a highly practical subject, so teachers must be proficient in both theory and practical application. Teaching typically requires a blend of presented material in a classroom environment, alongside a practical session where students complete assessed practical assignments (Giannakos et al., 2014). These can include not only computer programming, but also critical thinking and evaluation. As a taught subject Computer Science is highly integrated with technology and effective teaching requires the teacher to understand pedagogical approaches to best support learners (Tucker et al., 2011). The practical elements of which must be learned as much as taught, so engaging with students and encouraging self-learning are important. What we advocate is the 'integration' mentioned earlier. It is not necessary to abandon traditional criminological pedagogy, rather computer science elements can be integrated to ensure the teaching is truly interdisciplinary.

In terms of the learning and teaching experience, educators know that individuals will learn and retain information differently. It is therefore important that when cybercrime modules are developed that they are designed to incorporate various learning styles. Discussions about preferred learning styles have been around for many years and have continued to be revised. Pintrich et al. (1987) created a course to teach students how to learn, including several different teaching modes. Pintrich and De Groot (1990) researched different teaching modes regarding self-regulated learning. Pintrich et al. (1987), and Reed and Bolstad (1991) compared teaching modes of methods versus examples and research using video as a teaching method. VARK (visual, auditory, read/write and kinaesthetic) modalities were made popular by Fleming and Mills (1992) and have been applied to fields such as programming, nursing education, and online learning, and they have been used to investigate learners' levels of acceptance of different educational technologies, (Liew et al., 2015; Truong, 2016). However, opponents of VARK refer to the learning styles 'myth' which suggests that the learning style will only reaffirm individual preferences and should not be used as a learning preference (Kirschener & van Merrienboer, 2013).

In more recent times the technological pedagogical content knowledge (TPACK) framework, an extension of the pedagogical content knowledge framework proposed by Shulman (1986, 1987), has been developed as a method to incorporate modern technologies into the classroom. According to Sumba-Nacipucha et al. (2021) the TPACK model points to seven points of knowledge that an educator must possess, out of which three are called primary knowledge and the remaining four resulting from intersections of primary knowledge types. It is important to be aware that the TPACK may be accused of contributing to 'technostress' which can be referred to as the perceived overuse of technology when it is not necessary (Tarafdar et al., 2010), therefore, striking a balance is very much central.

It is suggested that 'doing' digital criminology requires a holistic approach when developing a cybercrime curriculum. As well as technical elements, including technological tools, there will be a blend of social science subjects and law. Blended academics who could act as a singular person to teach all aspects of the subject, who have an appreciation of both social science, technical skills and appreciation of technological applications, including software development are still quite rare, given that most criminology educators emanate from alternative disciplines. Therefore, incorporating technical expertise from the field of computer science can really add value to exploring cybercrime, or wider digital criminology. Computer science researchers are experienced in applying structured rigorous analysis methodologies to large data sets. They can also help with all stages of a project, adding automation to repetitive jobs and creating scripts to conduct reliable and consistent processing of data. Undoubtedly, failure to adapt the discipline to the digital environments will impinge on the quality of contribution that criminology can offer to crime, deviance and justice processes in the digital age. The assessment recommended in the next section blends technical methods with traditional criminological analysis to highlight the need and use for interdisciplinary skills.

Applied Socio-Technical Project

A practical application of the ideas suggested in this chapter can be combined into a project designed and tailored around a real-world cybercrime investigation. The following is a description of a project that is flexible and extensible, designed to be used for a range of class sizes, experience levels and technical ability. The project is structured as an intelligence gathering and analysis task on a website forum related to hacking. It is split into a series of phases based on how a multidisciplinary team would tackle such a problem in the real world. Each phase can be tuned independently, giving the lecturer scope to tailor the work for the topic and class.

For a criminology student the main benefits of this approach are:

- Demystifying data analysis and removing psychological barriers to entry.
- Broaden awareness of what's involved in practical cybercrime work, including where the challenges are.
- Provide multiple ways for engagement between the technology and social elements.
- Encourage students to develop skills themselves and be self-sufficient.
- Upskill of the discipline and increased employability.

For the lecturer the main benefits of this approach are:

- Standardised assessment with adjustable difficulty based on the student ability
- Can be used for any size of class by adjusting the scope with group size
- Can be modified every time the course is run to minimise plagiarism
- Teaching modern best practice in data analysis along with modern criminology.

Pastrana et al. (2018) noted that only a few members of the thousands frequenting cybercrime forums commit serious crime. However, the role of forums is significant in terms of exposure and dissemination. Forums

are a useful target for digital criminology research but require some technical skills to make analysis feasible. For these reasons using a cybercrime forum as the subject for a practical assignment gives students an opportunity to learn valuable transferrable skills. Computer science methods for automated analysis, such as natural language processing, can be directed towards these sights to help identify data for review and reduce the overall manual effort required for a criminologist.

A web forum is a structured collection of conversations between named users. There is a hierarchy of topics, often referred to as subforums, with conversation threads containing posts by individual authors. Examples are shown in Figs. 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

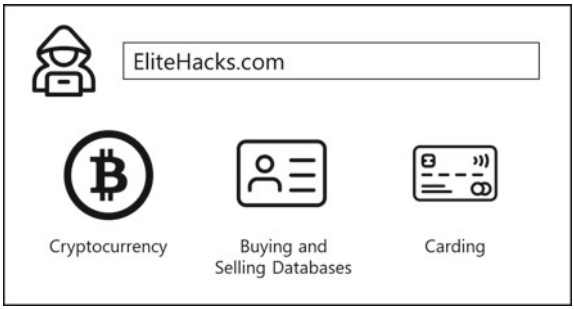

Fig. 6.1 Mock-up of a replica forum called "Elite Hacks" with three subforums: cryptocurrency, buying and selling databases and carding

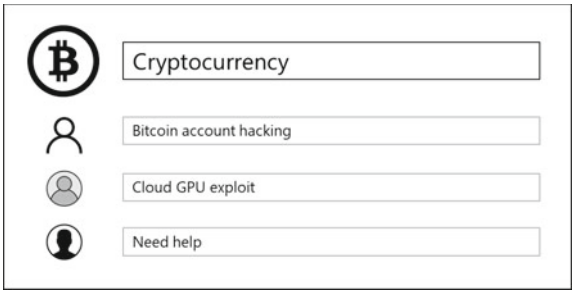

Fig. 6.2 Mock-up of the cryptocurrency subforum with three threads

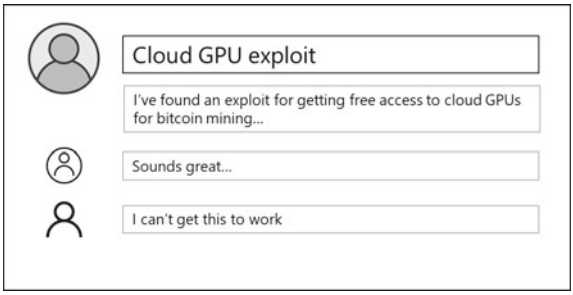

Fig. 6.3 Mock-up of a thread with two other posts from different authors

The replica site is controlled by the lecturer and it is not accessible outside of the student cohort. The lecturer can embed target information in the forum and the project task is for the students to recover this information and reach the correct conclusion. The replica forum is populated with threads and posts based on a real-world hacking forum, making the project task highly realistic. This can be direct and quantitative or open-ended and qualitative with customisable difficulty. Examples are:

- 'How many users are on the forum?'
- 'Who is the most influential user?'
- 'How would you characterise the engagement on the forum?'
- 'Is there any evidence of illegal activity?'

The forum is populated with several thousand or more posts to discourage manual analysis and demonstrate the practical reason for the project phases. To create the replica forum a publicly available dump of an existing forum can be used as a seed, for example AZSecure (https://www.azsecure-data.org). A criminology lecturer may need assistance from computer science colleagues in setting up the replica site in the first instance, but later modifications and management should be straightforward. Working closely in this way in the initial stages helps to foster the interdisciplinary relationship.

The schematic in Fig. 6.4 illustrates the key components of the project. The lecturer uses their domain knowledge to modify the Master Site Record, which is the database behind the forum that contains the

information the students must work with. The students can browse the forum through a web browser like a regular forum. Students may be provided with a pre-prepared copy of the web forum in an unstructured or structured format. An example of an unstructured format in this example would be a copy of every thread in the forum in an individual file. An example of a structured format would be a spreadsheet containing a row for every post with columns containing metadata such as date, author, post text, etc. The student uses this information to work through the project and presents their results in an oral or written format.

The project work phases, in Table 6.1, are based on an authentic workflow a criminologist would use in the real world to do this type of analysis work. Each phase has suggested levels and learning outcomes. Level 1 is the simplest version of the project, aimed at students with limited experience. Level 3 represents the tasks required of a professional criminologist conducting this project in academia, industry and government. It is common for subject experts to work in teams and highly skilled criminologists will add more value and find communication and teamwork easier. Each phase can be adjusted independently, for example if the subject matter lends itself more to a particular phase the others can be simplified.

Phases 1, 7 and 9 are common to any criminology study. The other phases are an opportunity to bring in techniques common to computer science. There are a growing number of programmes in Criminology and Criminal Justice that have a statistical focus, and students in these programmes will be comfortable. For others, the rigorous and methodical analysis may seem too technical, but the exposure will help normalise and demystify the concepts. Each of the phases can be simplified or made more challenging to suit the exact requirements of the module. It is recommended to keep the phase structure to ensure students appreciate all the phases involved in a real-world project. In particular, Phase 4: Data Cleaning is often overlooked in this type of project work, but it is an extremely important part of data analysis. In real-world projects data is often incomplete and contains awkward sections that need to be handled. By dedicating a phase of the project to this task reinforces in the students' minds that it is an opportunity to really understand the data and learn more about the problem. Some taught programmes include

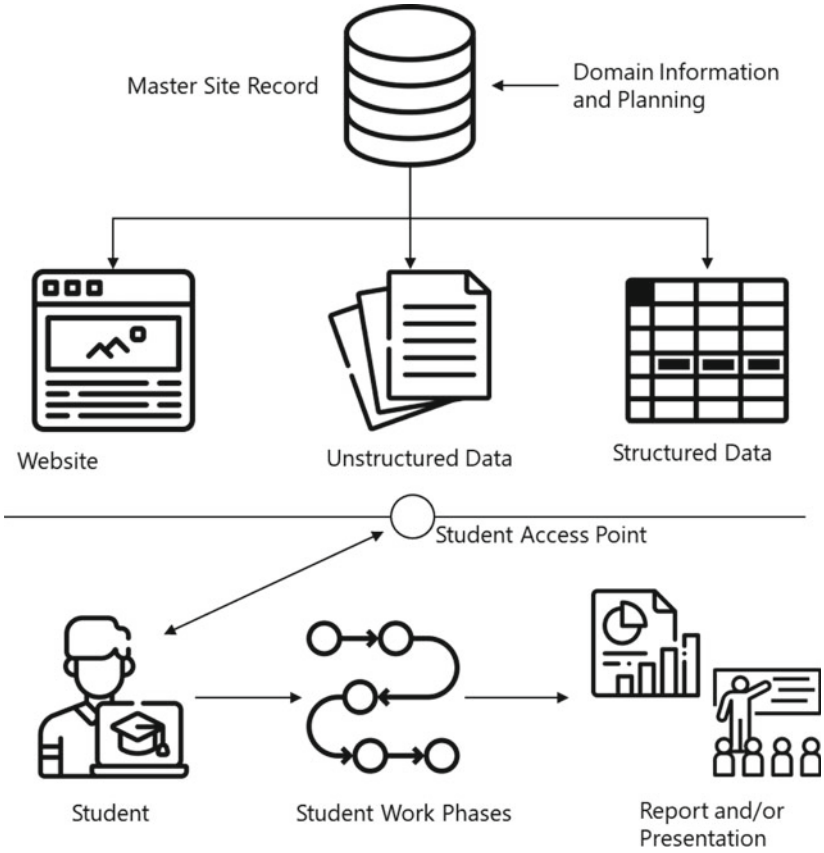

Fig. 6.4 Project schematic illustrating different levels of information the students can access

qualitative research modules, but this is dependent on the availability of appropriate lecturers.

This project structure encourages a practical application of material learned through the course. It promotes communication and interdisciplinary work. It demystifies some technical aspects and promotes a reflective approach suitable for work post-study. It is based on a recent real-world study conducted by the authors, and as such is highly relevant to modern criminology. In the context of TPACK this project covers

Table 6.1 Project work phases

Phase	Tasks and suggested levels	Learning outcomes
1 Project Planning Enable students to consider why tasks are important	Read the project brief and identify the key tasks involved Determine success criteria 1.Project plan is already provided by the lecturer, with clear qualitative/quantitative questions to answer 2.Some guidance is given but students are still given choices in the process 3.Students are given autonomy to design the process with guidance available if needed	Planning, organising and scheduling tasks. Designing Phases of work with potentially incomplete information. Assess the feasibility of the project goal with the information available and the given timescales
2. Identify Data Sources A criminologist must critically evaluate where the information is coming from, if it is authentic and if it potentially satisfies the overall project requirements	Identify suitable sources to gather data from Check access to the data Is the data sufficient? 1.Data sources are explicitly provided and the student is directed 2.Data sources are provided but the student must choose between them, evaluating pros and cons 3.Student must correctly identify the data sources and evaluate their relative value	Critical evaluation of information in the context of a larger goal. Consideration of practical, ethical and legal constraints regarding data access

Phase	Tasks and suggested levels	Learning outcomes
3. Data Gathering Creating a safe place for student to learn about different data gathering tools, such as web scrapers, the project can introduce layers of complexity. This Phase also gives the student an appreciation and awareness of the effort and time required to acquire data for analysis. This is a practical complement of Phase 2	Manually or otherwise obtain the data and store it in a suitable format 1.Data is provided in the format required for analysis, e.g. a spreadsheet 2.Data is provided in one or more formats, but students must manipulate it for analysis, e.g. structured and unstructured files 3.Data must be gathered by the student themselves, e.g. they have access to the replica website and nothing more	Increased awareness of data volume and the consequences of having large data sets, including transmission, storage, sorting and reviewing. Exposure to different data storage formats (file formats, databases)
4. Data Cleaning Data cleaning is often overlooked and is often seen as a less glamorous side of data analysis. Common examples when processing web forums are date and time formats, unusual characters in usernames, and dealing with long posts	Review the data and determine its quality. Is there data missing? Is any data badly formatted or corrupted? 1.Data is already cleaned and ready for analysis 2.Data is partially cleaned, perhaps some is missing or corrupted; or some invalid or irrelevant data is present 3.Data is unmodified from its original source	Understanding that good outputs require good inputs. The need to reduce the amount of data for manual review by removing bad samples and preparing good samples for filtering

(continued)

Table 6.1 (continued)

Phase	Tasks and suggested levels	Learning outcomes
5. Exploratory Data Analysis A traditional data analytical approach can reduce and filter data, but the quantitative view will help understand what data is relevant. In other words, one can use quantitative analysis to filter and sort data, but it is often the qualitative analysis that indicates what good data looks like	Use a mixture of statistical and analytical methods to find patterns and structure in the data Identify metrics for extracting key information Identify methods for filtering to reduce the data volume Begin to gauge if the data is suitable for answering the project questions 1.Explicit instructions are given on what analysis to apply and how 2.Some guidance is given as to good and bad ideas 3.Student is expected to analyse the data independently	Review of basic quantitative analysis techniques and application to a real-world problem. Demonstrating ability to judge data based on measurements and take appropriate conclusions. Critical analysis and adjustment of the approach based on incremental experimentation

Phase	Tasks and suggested levels	Learning outcomes
6. Design, develop and test processes This Phase is an excellent opportunity for criminology students to learn more complex data management skills. From basic analysis, e.g. using Pivot tables in a spreadsheet, to more complex forms. Increased awareness of methods helps communication in an interdisciplinary team	Use findings from Phase 5 to develop automated analysis tools Demonstrate correct operation and usage 1.Use of general-purpose software such as Microsoft Excel to filter, sort and analyse data 2.Bespoke analysis in any available tools 3.Student is encouraged to find and use tools for advanced analysis. Some programming may be used to provide specific analysis function	Familiarity and advanced use of general-purpose software such as spreadsheet and other statistical software packages. For more advanced students programming languages, such as Python, can be used to filter complex data sets
7. Review and analysis This Phase brings together all the data and seeks to address how well the overall objective has been met. In a team environment the criminologist, as the domain expert, will be relied upon to give insight into whether the data is sufficiently detailed and reliable	Core critical thinking component and application of criminology experience Use theoretical and practical domain knowledge to link facts and inform next steps 1.Basic analysis and commentary on the process. Critical analysis of results and drawing basic conclusions 2.Critical analysis of the process and the results. Conclusions and future work planned 3.Full analysis and critique of all stages	Ability to interpolate and extrapolate, where appropriate, to make decisions. Use of knowledge gained during the course and application to an unfamiliar context. Demonstration of mastery of the subject matter
8. Retrospective and repeat This Phase teaches students that retrospective analysis of the process and modification is both "okay" and necessary. This Phase may involve returning to any of the previous phases to modify the process and repeat the work	Critically evaluate the process, identify missing information or flaws in work Return to any prior Phase to update and continue work 1.Commentary on the process, what worked well and what could be done better 2.Evidence of modification of the process based on retrospective analysis 3.Demonstrated learning from the process with evidence of repeated analysis and updated conclusions	Reflection on the performance of the process and separation of results from effort. Ability to identify weaknesses and problems and implement remedial actions. Resilience to negative results and/or feedback and demonstrated perseverance

(continued)

Table 6.1 (continued)

Phase	Tasks and suggested levels	Learning outcomes
9. Conclusion and reporting Reflective analysis of all stages, what worked well, challenges. How things could be improved. What would be done differently next time? What extra training is required? Where should the student focus additional effort?	Draw final conclusions with supporting evidence Present answers to questions in written and/or presentation formats 1.Group discussion and feedback chaired by the lecturer 2.Students present their methods and findings to the class 3.Written project report	Demonstrated ability to present complex information in oral and written formats. Where appropriate the ability to work as a team and play an appropriate role

many different learning activity types including role-playing, interpretation, application and evaluation (Doukakis & Papalaskari, 2019).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the importance of interdisciplinary teaching to advance the study of cybercrime or digital criminology. We argue that such integrative strategies enable learners to make connections across disciplines which allows them to see how such knowledge can be applied in real-world situations. With online spaces becoming almost ubiquitous crime sites, a digital criminology approach allows criminologists to refine pedagogical, methodological and theoretical approaches. Learning and adopting rigorous and methodical techniques from computer science allows criminologists to experiment with new ideas for obtaining insights into online offending behaviour and how best the criminal justice agencies can best respond. Consequently, students benefit from learning from how relevant elements of what might seem a far-off subject area can be applied to their field of study. Essentially, we believe that exploiting the innovative capabilities of digital technology for generating new forms of knowledge is essential to advance the cybercrime curriculum, in order it can shed its 'teenage' image and embrace a new stage of development deemed more confident and mature. Whilst we acknowledge that this chapter offers a small contribution in this process, it nevertheless provides an illustration of how integrating computer science techniques to cybercrime is valuable and important. Our intention is to foster a conversation within criminology to further embrace this interdisciplinary socio-technical scholarship. Embracing this journey will inspire new pedagogical dimensions, advance scholarship and enhance digital skills for criminology students.

Top Tips: Teaching Cybercrime

- To raise awareness**.** Cybercrime as a subject area is growing with multiple crime sites online. Effective cybercrime research is required that is intertwined with computer science and related fields, such as artificial intelligence.
- To promote relevance**.** Practical applications of combatting cybercrime require a combination of social science and technical skills. Teaching students interdisciplinary material during their degree programme empowers them in their future career.
- Encourage collaborative work. Computer science researchers are increasingly using cybercrime domains for their research but would benefit from a socio-technical perspective that professional criminologists can provide.
- Be hands-on. By using applied practical coursework with perspectives from computer science, criminology students can take a hands-on approach to a real-world problem. The coursework can be tailored to the ability of the group or the scope of the project, with most elements able to be simplified independently.
- Reuse and expand over time. Once the curriculum and module design has been setup initially it can be re-used with little effort on the part of the lecturer and can be efficiently assessed.

References

Alnabulsi, H., & Islam, R. (2018). Identification of illegal forum activities inside the dark net. *International Conference on Machine Learning and Data Engineering (iCMLDE)* (pp. 22–29). https://doi.org/10.1109/iCMLDE.2018.00015

Bancroft, A. (2020). *The darknet and smarter crime*. Palgrave.

Baravalle, A., Sanchez Lopez, M., & Wee Lee, S. (2017). Mining the dark web: Drugs and fake IDs. *2016 IEEE 16th International Conference on Data Mining Workshops (ICDMW) Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE).* https://doi.org/10.1109/ICDMW.2016.0056

Barton, A., Corteen, K., Davies, J., & Hobson, A. (2010). Reading the word and reading the world: The impact of a critical pedagogical approach to the teaching of criminology in higher education. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education, 21*(1), 24–41.

Bossler, A. M., & Berenblum, T. (2019). Introduction: New directions in cybercrime research. *Journal of Crime and Criminal Justice, 42*(5), 495–499. https://doi.org/10.1080/0735648X.2019.1692426

Casey, J. (2009). Interdisciplinary approach—advantages, disadvantages, and the future benefits of interdisciplinary studies. *ESSAI, 7*, 26.

CEPOL. (2017). Crime in the age of technology. https://www.cepol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/924156-v7-Crime_in_the_age_of_technology_.pdf. Accessed 24 September 2021.

Chan, J., & Bennet Moses, L. (2015). Is big data challenging criminology. *Theoretical Criminology, 20*(1), 21–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480615586614

Coso, A. E., Bailey, R. R., & Minzenmayer, E. (2010). How to approach an interdisciplinary engineering problem: Characterizing undergraduate engineering students' perceptions. 2010 IEEE Frontiers in Education Conference (FIE) Washington, DC: F2G-1-F2G-6.

Cubitt, T. I. C., Wooden, K. R., & Roberts, K. A. (2020). A machine learning analysis of serious misconduct among Australian police. *Crime Science, 9*(22), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40163-020-00133-6

Doukakis, S., & Papalaskari, M. A. (2019). Scaffolding Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (TPACK) in Computer Science Education through Learning Activity Creation. Conference: 2019 4th South-East Europe Design Automation, Computer Engineering, Computer Networks and Social Media Conference (SEEDA-CECNSM). https://doi.org/10.1109/SEEDA-CECNSM.2019.8908467

Etzoni, A., & Rice, C. J. (2015). *Privacy in a cyber age*. Palgrave.

Fleming, N. D., & Mills, C. (1992). Helping students understand how they learn. *The teaching professor* (Vol. 7, No. 4). Magma Publications.

Fortuin, K. P., & Bush, S. R. (2010). Educating students to cross boundaries between disciplines and cultures and between theory and practice. *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education, 11*(1), 19–35.

Furnell, S. (2003). Cybercrime: Vandalizing the Information Society. In: Lovelle, J.M.C., Rodríguez, B.M.G., Gayo, J.E.L., del Puerto Paule Ruiz, M., Aguilar, L.J. (eds) Web Engineering. ICWE 2003. *Lecture Notes in Computer Science,* vol 2722. https://doi.org/10.1007/3-540-45068-8_2

Giannakos, M. N., Doukakis, S., Crompton, H., Chrisochoides, N. Adamopoulos, N., & Giannopoulou, P. (2014). Examining and mapping CS teachers' technological, pedagogical and content knowledge (TPACK)min K-12 schools, in 2014 IEEE Frontiers in Education Conference(FIE) Proceedings (pp. 1–7).

Hammons, A. J., Fiese, B., Koester, B., Garcia, G. L., Parker, L., & Teegarden, D. (2020). Increasing undergraduate interdisciplinary exposure through an interdisciplinary web-based video series. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International, 57*(3), 317–327. https://doi.org/10.1080/14703297.2019.1635902

Jaishankar, K. (2007). Cyber criminology: Evolving a novel discipline with a new journal. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology, 1*(1), 1–6.

Jaishankar, K. (2010). The future of cyber criminology: Challenges and opportunities. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology, 4*(1 and 2), 26–31.

Kirschner, P. A., & van Merrienboer, J. J. G. (2013). Do learners really know best? *Urban Legends in Education, 48*(3), 169–183. https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2013.804395

Klein, J., & Newell, W. (1998). Advancing interdisciplinary studies. In W. Newell (Ed.), *Interdisciplinarity: Essays from the Literature* New York: College Entrance. Examination Board (pp. 393–394).

Lattuca, L. R., Knight, D. B., & Bergom, I. (2013). Developing a measure of interdisciplinary competence. *International Journal of Engineering Education, 29*(3), 726–739.

Lattuca, L. R., Knight, D. B., Ro, H. K., & Novoselich, B. J. (2017). Supporting the development of engineers' interdisciplinary competence. *Journal of Engineering Education, 10*(6), 71–97.

Lewis, J. (2020). *Five digital hygiene tips to start fresh in the new year*. https://www.cira.ca/blog/cybersecurity/5-digital-hygiene-tips

Levi, M., & Soudijn, M. (2020). Understanding the laundering of organized crime money. *Crime and Justice, 49*, 579–631.

Liew, S. C., Sidhu, J., & Baura, A. (2015). The relationship between learning preferences (styles and approaches) and learning outcomes among pre-clinical undergraduate medical students. *BMC Medical Education, 15*(4). https://bmcmededuc.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12909-015-0327-0. Accessed 20 September 2021.

Lupton, D. (2014). *Digital sociology*. Routledge.

Martin, J. (2014). Lost on silk road. Online drug distribution and the 'cryptomarket'. *Criminology and Criminal Justice, 14*(3), 351–367. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895813505234

McAlister, R., & Monaghan, R. (2020). Digital extremisms: Readings. In M. Littler, & B. Lee (Eds.), *Violence, radicalisation and extremism in the online space* (pp. 133–156). Macmillan.

Musotto, R., & Wall, D. S. (2020). More Amazon than Mafia: Analysing a DDoS stresser service as organised cybercrime. *Trends in Organized Crime, 25*, 173–191. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-020-09397-5

Nikitina, S., & Mansilla, V. B. (2003). *Interdisciplinary studies project, project zero. Harvard Graduate School of Education Three Strategies for Interdisciplinary Math and Science Teaching: A Case of the Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy*.

Oehlberg, L., Leighton, I., Agogino, A., & Hartmann, B. (2012). Teaching human-centered design innovation across engineering, humanities and social sciences. *International Journal of Engineering Education, 28*(2), 484–491.

Patton, D. U., Eschmann, R. D., & Butler, D. A. (2013). Internet banging: New trends in social media, gang violence, masculinity and hip hop. *Computers in Human Behavior, 29*, A54–A59.

Payne, B. K. (2016). Expanding the Boundaries of Criminal Justice: Emphasizing the "s" in the criminal justice sciences through Interdisciplinary efforts. *Justice Quarterly, 33*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2015.1068837

Payne, B. K., & Hadzhidimova, L. (2020). Disciplinary and interdisciplinary trends in cybercrime research. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology, 14*(1), 81–105. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3741131

Pastrana, S., Hutchings, A., Caines, A., & Buttery, P. (2018). Characterizing eve: Analysing cybercrime actors in a large underground forum. *Research in Attacks, Intrusions, and Defences*, (RAID) (pp. 207–277).

Pintrich, P. R., Mckeachie, N. J., & Lin, Y. G. (1987). Teaching a course in learning to learn. *Teaching of Psychology, 14*(2), 81–86.

Pintrich, P. R., & de Groot, E. V. (1990). Motivational and self-regulated learning components of classroom academic performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 82*(1), 33–40.

Reed, S. K., & Bolstad, C. A. (1991). Use of examples and procedures in problem solving. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition, 17*(4), 753–766. https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.17.4.753

Shulman, L. S. (1986). Those who understand: Knowledge growth in teaching. *Educational Researcher, 15*(2), 4–14. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X015002004

Shulman, L. S. (1987). Knowledge and teaching: Foundations of the new reform. *Harvard Educational Review, 57*(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.57.1.j463w79r56455411

Smith, G. J. D., Bennett Moses, L., & Chan, J. (2017). The challenges of doing criminology in the big data era: towards a digital and data driven approach. *British Journal of Criminology, 57*(2), 259–274. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azw096

Serrano, M., O'Brien, M., Roberts, K., & Whyte, D. (2018). Critical pedagogy and assessment in higher education: The ideal of 'authenticity' in learning. *Active Learning in Higher Education, 19*(1), 9–21.

Stratton, G., Powell, A., & Cameron, R. (2016). Crime and justice in digital society: Towards a digital criminology. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy, 6*(2), 17–33. https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v6i2.355

Sumba-Nacipucha, N., Estrada-Cueva, J., Lorenzo-Conde, E. (2021). *Reflections on the role of the professor from the TPACK model perspective during covid-19*. IEEE World Conference on Engineering and Education. https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/document/9429097. Accessed 20 September 2021.

Tarafdar, M., Tu, Q., & Ragu-Nathan, T. S. (2010). Impact of technostress on end-user satisfaction and performance. *Journal of Management Information Systems, 27*(3), 303–334. https://doi.org/10.2753/mis0742-1222270311

Tucker, A., Seehorn, D., Carey, S., Moix, D., Fuschetto, B., Lee, I., O'Grady-Cuniff, D., Stephenson, C., Verno, A. (2011). CSTA K-12 computer science standards. CSTA Standards Task Force (revised). http://csta.acm.org/Curriculum/sub/CurrFiles/CSTA_K-12_CSS.pdf

Truong, H. M. (2016). Integrating learning styles and adaptive e-learning system: Current developments, problems and opportunities. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *55*(Part B), 1185–1193. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.02.014

Wall, D. S. (2000). Introduction cybercrimes, cyberspeech and cyberliberties. *International Review of Law, Computers and Technology, 14*(1), 5–9.

Wall, D. S. (2004). Digital realism and the governance of spam as cybercrime. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 10*(4), 309–335.

Wall, D. S. (2011). Cyber criminology exploring internet crimes and criminal behaviour foreword. *Cyber Criminology: Exploring Internet crimes and human behaviour* (pp. XI–XI).

Yar, M., & Ste, K. F. (2019). *Cybercrime and society*. Sage.

Yar, M. (2013). *Cybercrime and Society*. Sage

7

Visualising Injustice with Undergraduate Smartphone Photography

Phil Johnson

Introduction

The creation of appropriate assessments for current criminology undergraduates is a complex task, combining opportunities for academic disciplinary knowledge and skills development, to meet wide-ranging expectations for meeting employability demands. Both of these are difficult fields for educators to navigate, ensuring their assessments comply with internal and external quality assurance requirements. Internal matters vary according to a course's assessment strategy and validation documents; with external issues imposed throughout the higher education sector by the Quality Assurance Agency and the Subject Benchmark Statement for Criminology (https://www.qaa.ac.uk/quality-code/subject-benchmark-statements/criminology). Therefore, the burdens on assessment practice, has additional weight considering the rising numbers of students in criminology courses (see Young, 2022).

P. Johnson (✉)
Blackburn College, University Centre Blackburn College, Blackburn, UK
e-mail: philip.johnson@blackburn.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_7

An expectation for assessments in contemporary higher education, is the development of digital abilities, through authentic tasks appropriate for the modern world. With the integration of technology and digital enhanced approaches into the assessment process, if done effectively, 'involves the nexus of the three interdependent knowledge areas: content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and technological knowledge' (Lock et al., 2018: 10). This presents a challenge for institutions to ensure the staff responsible for their assessments are supported to develop expertise in all three of these areas. Such amendments were revealed in the transition to more digitally enabled assessments in response to limitations with social distancing during COVID-19, with blended learning and the replacement of in-person exams with online assessments developed for HE assessments.

This chapter discusses these broader issues with assessment practice utilising two criminal justice modules as examples which use smartphone photography as part of their assessments. The chapter consists of three parts; the challenges in creating authentic assessments, the pedagogical benefits of visual criminology and a short review of the impact from over ten years experience of assessing undergraduate work in this manner.

Challenges in Creating Authentic Assessments

The integration of the students' phones in assessments adds a mobile dimension where learning spaces and experiences can take place beyond the conventional boundaries of libraries and campus buildings. This small innovation enables authentic and innovative methods of assessments, where students can investigate matters of crime and injustice in their own worlds. The benefits of such authentic assessments have been espoused for several decades (Birenbaum, 2003; Clegg & Bryan, 2006; Gulikers et al., 2004; Wiggins, 1998) resulting in authenticity being recognised as a central premise for assessment to achieve its potential for supporting learning (Brown, 2019). Often being seen through an employability lens, authentic assessments enable lecturers to be creative and test the application of academic knowledge and skills, through

tasks that are relevant and meaningful to the students. These pedagogical benefits mean the immersion of smartphones into the curriculum can overcome concerns that education's digital age means technology is taking priority over pedagogy (Beetham & Sharpe, 2019). Their incorporation into the curriculum means lecturers can set work that:

> [L]ets the learner express themselves in ways which feel natural to them… [and] also encourages the learner to integrate knowledge and skills, and act on knowledge. It develops deeper, more integrative personal learning and knowing. (JISC, 2020: 9)

The setting of this kind of assessment can seem beyond the reach of contemporary criminology lecturers, likely employed on courses high in student numbers but poor in the resources, for ensuring their undergraduates receive this kind of learning experience. For assessments to reach these standards, might also be seen as unrealistic for lecturers working at institutions that blithely suggest staff 'do more with less' and prioritise quality assurance over quality enhancement; where '[t]he dominant culture is conservative and defensive rather than bold' (Gibbs, 2006: 19).

The pedagogical aspirations of authentic assessment, can be frustrated by bias in courses' assessment strategies towards conventional methods, such as academic essays and exam questions. These preferences for traditional assessments mean opportunities are missed for engaging students in authentic tasks that connect their undergraduate learning to their lives. It is therefore suggested that such barriers can be overcome by using smartphone photography, as it provides students with opportunities for self-expression and brings new dimensions to their assessments that are not restricted to libraries and lecture theatres. Their inclusion as part of a criminal justice assessment, gives rise to concerns over subjectivity and aesthetics; but such fears have been successfully challenged by the assessment method of academic posters that became commonly accepted on undergraduate courses in the first decade of this century (D'Angelo, 2012). These concerns are also overcome by working closely with students so they understand the marking criteria; an issue that is considered in the third part of this chapter.

Using photographs was originally utilised in a first-year criminal justice module, where the learning outcomes required 'critical assessment of the underlying principles behind the work of the criminal justice system'. Once receiving institutional approval this assessment format gave the students the option to produce one photograph and deliver a ten-minute presentation on how it answered the set question. The assessment was designed as an alternative to the traditional 1250 word written answer, and required a critical analysis of the rule of law principle and the disparities in the ways comparable types of behaviour are responded to. Since this first deployment, the module's learning outcomes have changed slightly, primarily to recognise the increasing influence of zemiology (Canning & Tombs, 2021). The legal bias has been countered by broadening the learning outcome to recognising the alternative view of a social harm perspective for criminal justice. Visual assessment has been maintained with the only change in the verbal presentations replaced by a written component of 750 words. This written part has to have an Appendix, that details what the students did for taking their photographs; plus, when, where and why they did it.

Setting the Scene for Smartphone Photography

The original idea of students taking photographs on their smartphones, came from the "What is Crime?" photography competition held in 2009, by the Centre for Criminal Justice Studies, hosted by King's College London. It was sponsored by the Independent newspaper and sought photographs of non-traditional examples of crime and justice; with support resulting in national publicity for its alternative visions, with 38 shortlisted entries still available online today (Walker, 2011). It was open to both professional and amateur photographers, judged on their photographs expressing levels of understanding of the initiative's themes; rather than questions of aesthetics and photographic excellence. This inclusivity encouraged 'amateur' snapshots on a mobile phone in timing that coincided with the 'birth' of the iPhone. The popularity of these devices meant even then no student reported a lack of access to this

kind of resource (Johnson, 2011). A decade later, the mass ownership of smartphones has been described as 'the smartphone society' where it is claimed the technology helps individuals and groups contest systemic exploitation (Aschoff, 2020). Up to date scale of smartphone ownership is difficult to find, but 2021 figures from Deloitte and Statista, showed that 90% of people in the UK aged 16–55 have a smartphone; with ownership from the younger people in this range being at almost 100%. Such figures therefore may offer confidence for the accessibility of online learning, although experiences from the COVID-19 lockdowns show this may diminish when students' households have limitations on their data allowances (BBC News, 2021).

A slightly different view of the impact of the prevalence of smartphone technology is also adopted in this chapter; arguing that learning, teaching and assessment opportunities have evolved from incorporating cameras into a module learning support mechanism. Now that almost all of today's students have access to a camera, a lecturer's toolkit can be expanded to include these popular resources. Their use can tackle the challenge of creating the immersive opportunities offered by technology-enhanced learning as identified by Young and Nichols (2017). Such prospects enable lecturers to apply additional, more innovative ways to engage with their students, through requiring familiar resources to be utilised in new ways within learning. The incorporation of smartphone cameras, further enables practitioners to set assessments that meet the need for greater flexibility, and enable more control for students in a method that is a feasible alternative to the immersive methods used by Nir and Musial (2020). These methods have resulted in experiences that were accredited for sparking interest and enhancing understanding of criminal court processes, but also provide learning opportunities which may have administrative costs for lecturers and accessibility issues for students (see Fig. 6). In sum, the immersion of smartphones' camera function into criminal justice teaching, has enabled students to adopt a position to effectively document their studies whilst going about their everyday lives.

Such use as a form of assessment has now developed into the visual statement method. This assessment is in a level 5 (second year) criminal justice module and requires students to produce a small portfolio of

photographs, supported by written justifications that effectively combine to answer the question. Its higher level requires a theoretical aspect, to be addressed, such as Rawlsian ideals of liberty and equality. With conventional lectures and seminars on issues, such as the 'original position' and 'veil of ignorance' (Rawls, 1971); the students are required to produce their own representations of injustice according to the standards applied in the module. Such approaches challenge the students to accurately follow the question's brief for their portfolio; which needs to incorporate written reasoning and images in its work that does not merely illustrate contemporary injustice, but considers its potential causes and means of improvement.

Legal and Ethical Challenges

There can be concerns from the students about the legality and ethics of taking photographs in public places, so guidance needs to be provided on these positions. Photography in public places can be presumed as lawful conduct; as shown in the axiom, 'if you can see it you can photograph it', however such freedoms do not exist within a 'prohibited place' as defined by the Official Secrets Act 1911; or in courtrooms and parts of court buildings, thanks to the Criminal Justice Act 1925. The ethical position therefore requires much more time; as shown by the concerns raised by the work of Arthur Fellig (better known by his pseudonym Weegee) whose content is a standard bearer of unethical practice (Fellig, 1945). It requires an appreciation of photography's role for 'making misery itself an object of pleasure' (Benjamin, 1934: 5); plus, the weaponisation of images in Eamonn Carrabine's studies of prisoners in the Iraq War and World War 2 (2011, 2014).

Such fears do not have to thwart this assessment method, as students can be advised on the ethical considerations as part of the teaching, exploring the importance of this in all forms of research (not to harm research subjects and to protect their privacy) as well as recognising the need to protect the identity of research subjects (people and locations). Students are advised not to have identifiable people in their photographs and where necessary, take additional safeguards such as pixelating faces

and other potential identifiers like car registration numbers. Smartphone photography may indeed raise initial ethical concerns, but with preparations included as part of the teaching means students can show their enhanced sensitivity for the interests of others and high-level ethical engagement. The International Visual Sociology Association Code of Research Ethics and Guidelines is also used to support this position, as it requires visual researchers to respect the rights and dignity of all people in serving the public good (Papademas, 2009).

Pedagogical Benefits of Visual Criminology

Visual criminology has now developed into a key area of inquiry as exemplified by the relatively recent publications of two extensive pieces of work in *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Crime, Media and Popular Culture* (Rafter & Brown, 2018) and *The Routledge International Handbook of Visual Criminology* (Brown & Carrabine, 2017). The first of these substantial texts, focuses primarily on the relationships between crime and the media, with the second investigating visual criminology as a form of research and scholarship and its formative concepts of visuality and counter visuality. The notion of visuality explains how state power can be naturalised through the production and dissemination of visual images; processes that can make issues invisible and others similarly hidden by an abundance of images rendering the issue impenetrable.

Visual tasks that use students' smartphones, may face critiques for oversimplifying the formal assessment process, but in reality, they test high-order academic abilities for expanding knowledge through visual criminology. They also rebut concerns over appropriate academic rigour, by incorporating complex issues such as aesthetics and ethics, into criminal justice modules. It is this pedagogical approach that develops applies aesthetic understanding in learners, and is a feature for understanding the transmission of ideas and meanings in the modern visually oriented world (Grushka, 2010). As a learning approach it is influenced by critical pedagogy and its concept of conscientisation, where teaching develops critical consciousness in students (Freire, 1970). Visual teaching methods can realise this aspiration through a focus on counter visuality, with

teaching providing the conditions for students to use their knowledge to critique the world, and to intervene via their production of alternative images of crime and injustice. The reliance on visual images arguably opens up new possibilities for the students, allowing lecturers to set tasks where students can express themselves differently; and designing assessments that enable them to contribute to visual criminology's body of knowledge with non-standard images. The use of these images further critiques the justice system response to crime and injustice and illustrates where and how critical pedagogy can be applied as a way of helping students challenge official knowledge and established authority. As Giroux (2018: 31) notes for:

> [E]ncouraging students to take risks, act on their sense of social responsibility, and engage the world as an object of both critical analysis and hopeful transformation. In this paradigm, pedagogy cannot be reduced only to learning critical skills or theoretical traditions but must also be infused with the possibility of using interpretation as a mode of intervention, as a potentially energising practice that gets students to both think and act differently.

Using such methods of assessment seeks to develop the students' levels of visual literacy, helping them think more critically about the images they encounter, enhancing critical thinking skills and developing deeper levels of thought through the messages conveyed by images. Academic literature on visual literacy also supports these beliefs, by enhancing students' memory and developing greater subject understanding (Kędra & Zakeviciute, 2019). Educators adopting these methods in their practice requires an appreciation of what can be gained from actively seeing images, as opposed to merely looking at them, but does not substantially change the teaching and learning content, meaning a visual dimension can be applied to established concepts such as newsworthiness (see Chibnall, 1977; Jewkes, 2015).

Engaging Images for Research, Pedagogy, and Practice (Kelly & Kortegast, 2018), is a collection of essays on the use of visual methods within higher education-based pedagogy. It reviews practices used in the

sector, such as digital visualisation, emphasising the technological assistance students might need whilst undertaking visual-based projects. It also details the use of photo elicitation and photovoice, the former is a method of interviewing that uses researcher-or participant-generated photographs or other images, to elicit information from respondents, with photovoice extends this by using participant-generated photographs to create dialogue for the participant's own voice and perspective. Such methods have been used in health research since the 1990s (Wang, 1997); and deployed in criminological research (Fitzgibbon & Healy, 2019), but the difference between the two approaches is slight. Both methods have shown how talking about photographs, or taking them, can facilitate new insights into social phenomena that written and verbal data cannot provide. Many of the examples in Kelly and Kortegast (2018) do concur with the pedagogical benefits from smartphone photography in criminal justice modules because:

> Through the process of engaging with images and visuals outside of the classroom, students have the opportunity to reflect on their own and others' meaning-making of the image. Engaging students in the process of producing and reflecting upon images can promote important learning outcomes that can enhance what they learn in the classroom. (Kelly & Kortegast, 2018: 7)

The implementation of visual pedagogy by White and Murray (2016) found that images could generate discussions on relationships between the disadvantages of poverty and educational achievement. They found it more productive than written information for acquiring contributions from the student teachers in their research. This has also been built upon by other research and scholarship, with the argument that as visual language is a language itself it needs its own pedagogy (Lane, 2020). This is a pedagogy that helps the students understand:

> [W]hy and how images are rhetorical, motivates them to intervene... and pushes them to create, document and present their resulting work via multi-media platforms (Hovet, 2020: 46).

A Case Study for the Visual Assessment?

This chapter's final section is written from the perspective of a teaching practitioner rather than a detached researcher, so provides a review of the benefits of using visual assessment. The opportunity to submit photographs is often a novel experience for criminal justice students are accustomed to studying words and numbers, meaning initial consternation for how their work will be marked, is not uncommon. These worries are assuaged by a transparent marking process that suppresses concerns for excessive subjectivity and challenges from students over awarded grades. Fears from students those marks for smartphone photography would not be as accepted as those for written assessments, did not materialise, with the transparency of the marking process being conveyed through an accessible quality assurance (the Visual Marking Guidance see Table 7.1). This grid is adapted for different modules and is used for recording dialogue with the students about their images in pre-assessment workshops.

The shift of assessment methods from the conventional written form to an alternative visual one, has been driven by a desire to diversify the assessment process, by making use of smartphone technology. It developed the belief in the impact the resources can have on the world, aided by the familiarity that students have with their smartphones, often offering confidence that innovative and authentic methods can be used in practice as one means to evaluate knowledge and understanding of visual criminology and visual research. The aim for maximising the learning potential of assessments has also been inspired by initiatives such as TESTA (Transforming the Experience of Students through Assessment: www.testa.ac.uk); with assessments being set that reflect real-life contexts, including "mirroring practice in the profession or discipline by casting students as inquirers and problem solvers *for an audience*" (Pokorny, 2021: 84, emphasis added). Smartphone connectivity means digitally skilled students can produce and share their images, so the usual audience for undergraduate work can be extended beyond the lecturer–student. According to one of TESTA's Best Practice Guides for lecturers and feedback, this kind of dissemination can lead to extraordinary increases in the student's sense of ownership and pride in their work.

Table 7.1 Visual marking guidance

Grade	Assessment criteria	Lecturer comments	Student comments
A (first)	The images display an excellent level of knowledge and understanding for the learning outcomes. They are supported by effective thought and justifications The messages in the images display excellent creativity and originality. They show high-level critical analysis of issues affecting the contemporary use of images; such as: • immediacy • standard representations of groups and issues • ethical obligations • other/s		
B (2:1)	The images display a good level of knowledge and understanding for the learning outcomes. They are supported with justifications The messages in the images display creativity and originality. They show critical analysis of issues affecting the contemporary use of images; such as: • immediacy • standard representations of groups and issues • ethical obligations • other/s		
C (2:2)	The images display a satisfactory level of knowledge and understanding for the learning outcomes. They are supported with some justifications The messages in the images display attempts at creativity and originality. They show some critical analysis of issues affecting the contemporary use of images; such as: • immediacy • standard representations of groups and issues • ethical obligations • other/s		

(continued)

Table 7.1 (continued)

Grade	Assessment criteria	Lecturer comments	Student comments
D (3rd)	The images occasionally show a satisfactory level of knowledge and understanding for the learning outcomes. They are infrequently justified The messages in the images display occasional creativity and originality. They show limited analysis of issues affecting the contemporary use of images; such as: • immediacy • standard representations of groups and issues • ethical obligations • other/s		
F (fail)	This grade will be awarded when the above criteria have been met unsatisfactorily		

The use of smartphones can generate personal and powerful visualisations of injustice, and the students have options to share their work online; with popular choices being platforms like *pressbooks*, *prezi*, *slideshare* and *flickr*. Such dissemination reinforces the importance of ethical considerations as students must act in accordance with the consent given by the identifiable people in their photographs; the presumption against having such people, prevents this being an issue. This openness has resulted in the students' work being displayed on various online sites, such as the collections of photographs in two YouTube videos, 'What is Crime?' and 'What is Zemiology', that together have been watched over 11,000 times. Their respective links: https://tinyurl.com/ybnp98p7 and https://tinyurl.com/u36f6ew also go to the module's YouTube playlist. These are helpful resources for showing potential students what studying criminology and criminal justice can involve; as well as for reassuring students about to experience this kind of teaching for the first time.

Discussing some examples of student photos shows there have been many powerful individual examples of injustice, shown in the photographs submitted. For example, a photo taken to illustrate the disregard for disabled peoples' access to a local magistrates' court showed a broken wheelchair lift with a large protective covering that made its emergency assistance button beyond the reach of anyone in a wheelchair. Another equally compelling image and one with real impact, is 'Social Inequality', another level 5 criminal justice student. This was divided in half, with one a long-range image of a hairdressing salon and the other a close up of a sign in its window, that stated, 'Please Note Travellers, Gypsies, Romanians *NOT* welcome'. When the student asked the salon owner for permission to take the photograph, they had a conversation about her assessment that resulted in the sign being removed, 'now that the impact of the sign on other people has been realised'.

Such snapshots have shown the students' willingness to use their communities as places for applying their knowledge of criminal justice theories. They have enabled them to make observations on public and private spaces and apply them to the debates in the module on issues of liberty and equality. The photographs do not have to be taken outside, so if there are accessibility issues or public health lockdowns, the students

have reacted by focusing on indoor examples such as the harms in household products and advertising for things such as debt and gambling. The ability to visualise crime and injustice differently to the standard view of community safety, sees injustice in low level crime and antisocial behaviour; at the expense of these other, potentially more harmful dangers.

It enhances their levels of visual literacy, which have developed a critical understanding of the power of images, and students' abilities for creating them. The popularity of camera phones has meant that opportunities for practice and reflection are plentiful, with the mobility of these devices opening up numerous possibilities for application of learning. It further increases students' ownership over the work and moves them from a conventional passive role in the learning process, to a more active and independent one, as in the student as producer approach to higher education (Neary, 2020). Their familiarity with the phone's camera means assessments can be set that test the students whilst they are going about their everyday lives. These tasks allow them to use advanced cognitive skills, which according to Pearl and Mackenzie (2018), begin with observing (e.g., seeing the injustice) then move to do (taking the photograph) and conclude with imagining (e.g., why is their image 'alternative'?). Smartphones can enhance these skills and further support for the students is given in the advice for doing the research in their criminology degree as a 'creative disruptor' (Case et al., 2021). This means they maximise the resources available to them and research in imaginative ways that challenge the established presumptions in their area of study. Their smartphones can be instrumental for this, as they provide new ways of showing what they have learnt from their criminology degree.

Concluding Comments

The increasing relevance of visual criminology and ubiquitous smartphone ownership in the undergraduate population, has provided engaging teaching and learning methods to be adopted in criminal justice modules. They are based on approaches that transform the students from a previous role as a consumer of visual images, to one that produces

them, allowing smartphone photography to be incorporated into criminal justice teaching and learning, in ways that directly involve the students. Their ethical and legal position can be addressed by establishing the teaching's imperatives for the standards that must be followed by the students in their representations of crime and injustice. These safeguards enable assessments that test the students' independence and creativity, through producing work that can be an asset for the students and have an impact in their communities.

Top Tips: Visual Learning and Teaching

- The current profile of visual criminology should overcome institutional or external concerns about the academic rigour in using visual teaching and learning methods. The inevitable questions about ethics can be answered by embedding the required safeguards and standards into a proposed module outline, such as the seminars for discussion of work and ideas, before any dissemination takes place.
- For lecturers delivering modules through visual teaching and learning, it is advisable to teach the students early about the processes in the visual research methods, like photovoice and photo elicitation. This can reassure students about the similarities between these practices and conventional research methods.
- One of the most beneficial OERs for this kind of teaching and learning is the revised edition of Rawls' A Theory of Justice, it is available for download from the Regionella Campanella at: http://www.consiglio.regione.campania.it/cms/CM_PORTALE_CRC/servlet/Docs?dir=docs_biblio&file=BiblioContenuto_3641.pdf.
- Flickr can be a useful photography site for the students when they go to https://www.flickr.com/search and at the drop-down menu for 'Any license', they select 'All creative commons'. This is where they can begin their search which can be refined to include photographs, people, groups and discussion forums. Alternative sites with appropriate licences that permit the reuse of images are: https://pixabay.com; https://unsplash.com and https://www.photosforclass.com.

- The students are advised to save their photographs as jpeg files as this means they can easily be converted into other formats such as PowerPoint and video; if a professional standard is required then tiff files are recommended. This flexibility encourages the use of presentation sites such as SlideShare where the students can disseminate their work; with some also using free movie-making software or free screen recording services to share their original work.

References

Alstone, P., Gershenson, D., & Kammen, D. M. (2015). Decentralized energy systems for clean electricity access. *Nature Climate Change, 5*(4), 305–314. https://doi.org/10.1038/nclimate2512

Aschoff, N. (2020). *The smartphone society: Technology, power, and resistance in the new gilded age*. Beacon Press.

BBC News. (2021). *Online schooling: Calls to cut data fees during COVID lockdowns*. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-55544196

Beetham, H., & Sharpe, R. (Eds.). (2019). *Rethinking pedagogy for a digital age: Designing and delivery e-learning* (3rd ed.). Routledge.

Benjamin W. (1934). "The author as producer" [translated by John Heckman]. *New Left Review*, I/62, July/August 1970, 1–9.

Birenbaum, M. (2003). New insights into learning and teaching and their implications for assessment. In M. Segers, F. Dochy, & E. Cascallar (Eds.), *Optimising new modes of assessment: In search of qualities and standards* (pp. 13–36). Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Brown, S. (2019). Using assessment and feedback to empower students and enhance their learning. In C. Bryan & K. Clegg (Eds.), *Innovative assessment in higher education: A handbook for academic practitioners* (3rd ed., pp. 50–63). Routledge.

Brown, M., & Carrabine, E. (Eds.). (2017). *Routledge international handbook of visual criminology*. Routledge.

Canning, V., & Tombs, S. (2021). *From social harm to zemiology: A critical introduction (new directions in critical criminology)*. Routledge.

Carrabine, E. (2014). Seeing things: Violence, voyeurism and the camera. *Theoretical Criminology, 18*(2), 134–158.

Carrabine, E. (2011). Images of torture: Culture, politics and power. *Crime Media Culture, 7*(1), 5–30.
Case, S., Johnson, P., Manlow, D., Smith, R., & Williams, K. (2021). *The Oxford textbook of criminology* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.
Chibnall, S. (1977). *Law-and-order news*. Tavistock.
Clegg, K., & Bryan, C. (2006). Reflections, rationales and realities. In C. Bryan & K. Clegg (Eds.), *Innovative assessment in higher education* (pp. 216–227). Routledge.
D'Angelo, L. (2012). From posters to e-posters: The evolution of a genre. In L. J. O'Brien, and D. S. Giannoni (Eds.), *University of reading language studies working papers* (Vol. 4, pp. 46–54).
Fellig, ("Weegee"), A. (1945). *Naked city*. Da Capo Press.
Fitzgibbon, W., & Healy, D. (2019). Lives and spaces: Photovoice and offender supervision in Ireland and England. *Criminology & Criminal Justice, 19*(1), 3–25.
Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. Ramos, Trans). Herder and Herder.
Gibbs, G. (2006). Why assessment is changing. In C. Bryan & K. Clegg (Eds.), *Innovative assessment in higher education* (pp. 11–22). Routledge.
Giroux, H. (2018). Higher education and the politics of the radical imagination, *PRISM: Casting New Light on Learning*. *Theory and Practice, 2*(1), 23–43.
Gulikers, J. T. M., Bastiaens, T. J., & Kirschner, P. A. (2004). A five-dimensional framework for authentic assessment. *Educational Technology Research and Development, 52*, 67. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02504676
Grushka, K. (2010). Conceptualising visual learning as an embodied and performative pedagogy for all classrooms. *Encounters in Theory and History of Education, 11*, 13–23.
Hovet, T. (2020). Reimagining research: Visual literacies and visual pedagogy. In J. Lane (Ed.), *Tracing behind the image: An interdisciplinary exploration of visual literacy* (pp. 46–58). Brill Rodopi.
Jewkes, Y. (2015). *Media and crime* (3rd ed.). Sage.
JISC. (2020). *The future of assessment: Five principles, five targets for 2025*. https://repository.jisc.ac.uk/7733/1/the-future-of-assessment-report.pdf
Johnson, P. (2011). Reframing assessments for the university of the future. *Enhancing Learning in the Social Sciences, 3*(3), 1–27.
Kędra, J., & Zakeviciute, R. (2019). Visual literacy practices in higher education: What, why and how? *Journal of Visual Literacy, 38*(1–2), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1080/1051144X.2019.1580438

Kelly, B. T., & Kortegast, C. A. (2018). Introduction. In C. A. Kortegast & B. T. Kelly (Eds.), *Engaging images for research, pedagogy, and practice: Utilizing methods to understand and promote college student development* (pp. 1–10). Stylus.

Kortegast, C. A., & Kelly, B. T. (Eds.). (2018). *Engaging images for research, pedagogy, and practice: Utilizing methods to understand and promote college student development*. Stylus.

Lane, J. (2020). Introduction: The visual envelope. In J. Lane (Ed.), *Tracing behind the image: An interdisciplinary exploration of visual literacy* (pp. 1–5). Koninklijke Brill.

Lock, J., Kim, B., Koh, K., & Wilcox, G. (2018). Navigating the tensions of innovative assessment and pedagogy in higher education. *The Canadian Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, *9*(1). https://doi.org/10.5206/cjsotl-rcacea.2018.1.8

Neary, M. (2020). *Student as producer: How do revolutionary teachers teach?* Zero Books.

Nir, E., & Musial, J. (2020). The power of experiential learning in emotional courtroom spaces. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education, 31*(4), 542–562. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511253.2020.1817515

Papademas, D. (2009). IVSA code of research ethics and guidelines. *Visual Studies, 24*(3), 250–257. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725860903309187

Pearl, J., & Mackenzie, D. (2018). *The book of why: The new science of cause and effect*. Basic Books.

Pokorny, H. (2021). Assessment for learning. In H. Pokorny and D. Warren (Eds.), *Enhancing teaching practice in higher education* (2nd ed., pp. 79–106). Sage.

Quality Assurance Agency. https://www.qaa.ac.uk/quality-code/subject-benchmark-statements/criminology

Rafter, N., & Brown, M. (Eds.). (2018). *The Oxford encyclopaedia of crime, media, and popular culture*. Oxford University Press.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice*. Harvard University Press.

Walker, T. (2011) *Caught on camera: Britain's best crime photography*. https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/caught-camera-britain-s-best-crime-photography-1696256.html

Wang, C. (1997). Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of Women's Health, 8*, 185–192.

White, M. L., & Murray, J. (2016). Seeing disadvantage in schools: Exploring student teachers' perceptions of poverty and disadvantage using visual pedagogy. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 42*(4), 500–515.

Wiggins, G. (1998). *Educative assessment: Designing assessments to inform and improve student performance*. Joey-Bass Publishers.

Young, S. (2022). *Transitions through university: Exploring expectations and motivations of undergraduate students* (Project Snapshot). Leeds Institute for Teaching Excellence, University of Leeds. https://teachingexcellence.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/89/2022/01/Suzanne-Young-Project-Snapshot.pdf

Young, S., & Nichols, H. (2017). A reflexive evaluation of technology-enhanced learning. *Research in Learning Technology, 25*. https://doi.org/10.25304/rlt.v25.1998

8

Transforming Criminology: Strategies for Embedding 'Employability' Across the Criminology Undergraduate Curricula

Deborah Jones

Introduction

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the role of Higher Education (HE) in the United Kingdom has been transforming. Once tasked with the production of world leading research and teaching of the highest quality, Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are now also expected to meet the demands of employers, by upskilling students with the necessary higher-level attributes required for the workplace. However, whilst *employability* is recognised in UK subject benchmarks (see Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), 2019), it might be argued that criminology has been slow to adapt programmes of study to embrace the employability agenda.

This chapter reflects on the curriculum enhancement strategies adopted by one UK-based criminology degree provider (Swansea University) over a ten-year period from 2011 to 2021. Specifically, the chapter

D. Jones (✉)
Swansea University, Swansea, UK
e-mail: deborah.a.jones@swansea.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_8

discusses the value of understanding the career aspirations of undergraduate students to inform curriculum development; negotiating the tensions between the competing demands of the research–teaching nexus; and the development of a strategic employability framework. Conclusions from this reflective account suggest that embracing the employability agenda can have positive benefits. It supports students' career aspirations, as well as enhancing the wider student experience, through the development of innovations in teaching design that provides a stimulating core curriculum alongside of extra curricula activities. Importantly, this body of work provides an enabling platform for staff to develop their pedagogical practice by embedding employability. The chapter begins with a brief discussion on the term employability and provides the sector context in relation to the employability agenda across HE in England and Wales.

Defining Employability

Whilst there is no agreed definition of the term employability (Bates & Hayes, 2017), its use has become increasingly common within discussions on the role and function of the delivery of HE in recent years. In developing the embedding of employability, the department adopted the working definition offered by York,

> a set of achievements – skills, understandings and personal attributes – that make graduates more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations, which benefits themselves, the workforce, the community and the economy. (Yorke, 2006: 8)

However, it is acknowledged that this definition of employability is problematic. For example, it makes no attempt to explain what skills and attributes are, it fails to consider that enhancing the skills set of students does not necessarily lead to employment because of external factors outside of the control of the university. Despite such limitations, the definition is useful in that it reflects the onus upon universities to help

students to develop skills for the greater good and reflects upon broader understandings of employability as a form of human capital.

In their four stages 'embedding employability framework' Advance HE (no date), highlights the importance of defining employability, and developing policies and practice as a collective endeavour between, the institution, stakeholders such as employers and students. They recognise the importance of ensuring that any employability curriculum enhancements are conducted at a programme level to reflect the disciplinary requirements. Adopting an inclusive, flexible approach that centres on meeting the needs of students through evidence-informed policy development and co-designed learning with students, offers wider opportunities to provide enhanced student experience. This approach provided the foundations for the transformations that took place within the undergraduate criminology curriculum at Swansea.

HE and Work Ready Graduates

In recent decades there has been a rapid shift in seeing the role of HE as, primarily the providers of knowledge and scholarly activity, to one that ensures the skills development of students is of equal priority (Glennester, 2001; Yorke & Knight, 2006). Indeed, this shifting of emphasis was noted in 1997 in the Dearing report. Although Dearing reported widely on teaching, learning, scholarship and the contribution of research agendas of HEIs, he also highlighted the value of HE in delivering work prepared graduates within a framework of improved social and human capital (Dearing, 1997). Therefore, following the recommendations of Dearing and New Labours 1997 commitment to 'Education, Education, Education' to reduce social exclusion by widening participation and build a knowledge-economy, the prospects for HE and, in turn, the employability of graduates looked promising (Glennester, 2001).

Whilst this emerging agenda began to take hold, HEIs also became consumed within the spending reviews initiated by the Coalition government through the *Deficit Reduction Programme* (Her Majesties Government, 2010). The most significant for HE, was the 2009, *Browne Review* which removed the cap on student numbers and proposed a new system

of loans for the funding of HE in England, shifting the burden of paying for HE—moving away from the state to students (BIS, 2010). With Wales following suite, with the *Diamond Review* in 2016 introducing lower tuition fees than England (Welsh Government, 2016). This watershed moment resulted in HE across England and Wales increasingly becoming scrutinised on their ability as HEIs to produce students who were 'work ready', with students who were paying to study towards employability and by employers' who seek skilled graduates (Hills et al., 2003; Thomas & Jones, 2007; Wilson, 2012). Moreover, with student outcomes aligned to government funding of HE (Jameson et al., 2012), the emphasis on 'employability' can be clearly seen as part of a flurry of measurements and national league tables which seek to assess the delivery of learning and student experience of specific degree programme and/or institutions.

Currently, employability in UK HEIs is measured by the Graduate Outcomes Survey which is administered by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA). This survey, and its predecessor the Destination of Leavers in Higher Education (DLHE), seeks to survey students at certain points post-graduation (currently fifteen months). As others have noted, these surveys and others, such as the National Student Survey (NSS) which gathers the views of final year undergraduate students in publicly funded institutions across England, Wales and Northern Ireland are problematic (Jameson et al., 2012; Maisuria & Cole, 2017). For example, Jameson et al. (2012) argue that measures, such as DLHE and Graduate Outcomes Survey, should consider post-graduate study as a positive outcome, thus favouring those institutions with post-graduate choices whilst considering less, the skills acquired by students during completion of their undergraduate degree or in fact the regional differences on fluctuating employment opportunities. Maisuria and Cole (2017), note that such measures mark a shift to the reliance on external measures which, despite critique about the reliability of the data as indicators of 'excellence', are utilised by institutions within a neoliberal framework to attract students.

HE in Wales

HE became a devolved issue in Wales in 1999 with the then-named Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) (now Welsh Government) given responsibility for such matters. With this political shift came a variety of policies, strategic plans and legislative responses that WAG ministers insisted on to differentiate Welsh education policy from England (Rees, 2004). These supposed differential strategies were brought to life in the *For Our Future* strategic plan for Wales (WAG, 2009). However, whilst a clear demarcation from approaches adopted in England was hard to see, the strategy reemphasised a commitment to widening access to HE and also set out a vision that saw HE expand to support the Welsh economy by providing a graduate workforce which is fit for the 'knowledge economy' (Tyres et al., 2006; Welsh Assembly Government, 2009; Higher Education Funding Council for Wales [HEFCW], 2012).

However, in 2009 the Welsh Government called on HEIs in Wales to 'do better' in terms of developing employable graduates who could be economically competitive with the rest of the United Kingdom (National Assembly of Wales, 2009). In setting out their strategy HEIs in Wales were asked to design and implement necessary changes at an institutional/departmental level under the scrutiny of the QAA and the Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (WAG, 2009).

Employability and the Case Study Institution

In line with this changing landscape, Swansea University developed employability policies that recognised its historic and contemporary importance to the contribution to the knowledge economy.

> Swansea University has a proud history of working closely with business, industry, and commerce. What is now referred to as "employability" is therefore intrinsic to the Swansea ethos. (Swansea University)

The university was committed to making sure, students 'learning and experience exists in tandem leading to a successful graduate

career' with Swansea University establishing the Swansea Employability Academy (SEA). SEA offers students careers advice, funded work placements and support to achieve the SEA award (linked to a student's Higher Education Achievement Record). The academy was also tasked with working with colleges/departments to ensure those seeking to enhance the employability agenda were given support that was aligned to the requirements of the discipline. This support helped staff to think about what would work in terms of curriculum design and assisted with the delivery of some of the teaching. However, the overall embedding of employability into the curriculum remained a college/departmental responsibility.

Criminology has been taught at Swansea since the 1990s. In recent years the popularity of the course has increased substantially with undergraduate and post-graduate taught student numbers almost doubling from 2015 to 2019. At the time of writing, the department sat within a School of Law and was a combination of staff on both teaching and research pathways. However, regardless of their pathway staff were encouraged to take an equal role in both research and teaching matters. This provided a culture of equality within the team as a starting point for the development of this piece of work.

The department offers several single and joint honours programmes, designed on a taught modular curriculum, providing variety and choice to students. Modules are heavily weighted towards research-led teaching and theoretical explanations of crime and the criminal justice system, but prior to 2011, the programmes had no specific focus on enhancing graduate skills. Instead, there was an intuitive belief amongst staff that students' skills were enhanced through their development of subject matter knowledge and critical thought. In recognising the growing importance of the employability agenda to criminology, as some other institutions did (see for example, University of Lincoln student as producer model [Jameson & Strudwick, 2010]) the department began work to transform the undergraduate curriculum by embedding employability into all aspects of the student life cycle. This approach ensured that students make the most of the 'student experience' opportunities, by taking a holistic, student-centred approach criminology at Swansea.

Criminology at Swansea has been recognised in both the Guardian and Times league tables as a top ten provider in the United Kingdom consistently over the past ten years.

Meeting the Needs of Employers and Students Through Curriculum Enhancement

Understanding what skills and knowledge employers want from graduates and what skills and knowledge students need to secure employment is complex. Some employers are looking for graduates with intellectual ability that is informed by achieving a 'good degree' (BIS, 2015; Yorke & Knight, 2006), whereby, disciplinary knowledge is now simply a 'starting point', with employers seeking for experiential learning experience, gained through internships, placements and volunteering opportunities, enabling students the chance to build transferable skills in real-world work environments (BIS, 2015). There is recognition that a well-designed curriculum can equip students with transferable skills such as teamwork, the ability to communicate, cv development of professional attitudes to work, resilience, creativity and the ability to problem solve and work independently (Tibby & Norton, 2020; York & Knight, 2006).

Yorke and Knight (2006: 569) identify that long-term student success in the workplace requires higher order learning skills resulting from a 'strong liberal education', where employability is intrinsically linked to the values of 'good learning' experiences. Therefore, the development of an employability teaching strategy requires the development of curricula that is framed upon 'complex outcomes of learning'. The features of an effective curriculum should include the progressive building of subject knowledge that enables students to equip themselves for the workforce through modules, with built-in transferable skills that also support students to learn more about themselves and the careers they aspire to (Norton and Dalrymple, 2020; Tibby & Norton, 2020; Trebilcock & Griffiths, 2021).

Whilst some students have already started to develop higher order learning skills prior to attending university, many have not. Therefore, a well-designed curriculum, that is theoretically sound in terms of understanding how people learn, and situated within Kolb's (1984) learning cycle for example, may prove beneficial in helping students to maximise the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) not only in relation to the acquisition of disciplinary knowledge, but also in terms of employability skills development.

Enhancing the Swansea Undergraduate Curriculum

The first attempts to reshape the curriculum at Swansea began in 2011, with the introduction of a level four 'Careers for Criminologists' module. The module was co-designed and delivered by staff from criminology and SEA. Whilst the introduction of the module was well-intentioned, on reflection, it is important to note that it was developed without the input from students (see Jameson & Strudwick, 2010 as an example of student co-developed approaches at that time) or without a thorough review of how employability skills already being developed through teaching strategies aligned to learning outcomes. It might be argued that the 'good learning' values discussed by York (2006) were not evident in its design or delivery. In 2012, one of the first tasks I undertook as the first departmental lead for employability, was to ensure that the employability agenda was clearly embedded into all aspects of the student life cycle, including a review of existing formal learning content within the curriculum, as well as wider 'student experience' initiatives such as guest speaker events.

To achieve this aim, I conducted a skills audit/curriculum mapping exercise identifying where the development of higher-level graduate skills were in module handbooks and where they were aligned to learning outcomes and teaching strategies. Student feedback learning materials and assessment methods for the existing careers module were reviewed, to ensure that the development of a curriculum that aimed to meet student needs. I also conducted a small action research study as part of a PGCE

(PCET). The unpublished project titled, 'Understanding the Needs and Career Aspirations of Criminology Students' sought to inform future curriculum developments and address the following:

- What were the motivations of students in relation to the selection of a criminology degree?
- What are the career aspirations of criminology students and are there links between career aspirations and motivations for choosing to study criminology?
- What skills do students develop whilst at university that equips them for the workplace?

The study adhered to the principles of action research, intended to bring about change through research and action for the benefits of the research participants and stakeholders (Greenwood & Levin, 1998; Zuber-Skerritt, 1996). Accordingly, a qualitative methodology was chosen for a focus group to produce meaningful data (May, 2011; McKie, 2002; Sarantakos, 2005) and to encourage debate and discussion amongst the students about the role of HE in relation to employability.

The purpose of the study was to inform curriculum development and adopting a purposive sampling framework. The convenience sample, suitable for a qualitative method meant there was no necessity to generalise the findings beyond the population involved in the study (Etikan et al., 2016). Participants were selected because they were students on the newly introduced Careers for Criminologists module, and whilst the study presented minimal ethical challenges, consideration was given to protecting the anonymity of the participants in their role as existing undergraduate students.

In total twenty-five second year (level four) students took part in three separate focus groups. All participants were white British, except for one student who was white American; fifteen participants were female and the remaining ten, male.

Limitations of the Sample

Given the absence of students identifying as Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) in the sample, the findings are arguably limited. Any form of curriculum development enhancing graduate outcomes must take into account the student attainment gap. In 2017/2018 HESA Graduate Outcome Survey identified, that fifteen months after graduating from university UK-domiciled graduates from BAME backgrounds are 8% less likely to be in full-time graduate employment than their white peers (54% versus 62%) and BAME graduates were also more likely to be unemployed than white graduates (Binnie, 2020). Reviewing our student profiles over the past five years, we have also identified several students who came from disadvantaged backgrounds, and a significant percentage who are identified as 'mature students'. Therefore, whilst we are proud of our achievements thus far, the attainment gap between BAME students and white students needs to be addressed in future enhancements.

Results

The data was analysed using a coding framework under three themes:

- Decision-making and enrolling for a criminology degree
- Career aspirations and choices
- Recognition of transferable skills.

Decision-Making and Enrolling for a Criminology Degree

As the findings from the study were going to be used for curriculum enhancement, and to support perspective students during open days, participants were asked to discuss their motivations for enrolling in a criminology degree at the Swansea. The responses explained varied motivations with the majority of the traditional route students giving little

thought to what undertaking a degree involved, seeing it as a natural progression from A level, 'I think there is this idea now that if you do well at A level you have to go onto Uni' (Jade).

Whereas widening participation students appeared to have given this much more thought,

> It was a really big decision, I had to think about how I would manage my time and money and whether I was up to it intelligence wise. (Susanne)

When participants were asked to explain why criminology, it was clear, as others have noted (Trebilcock & Griffiths, 2021), that some wished to pursue traditional careers within the Criminal Justice System, whilst others were not founded upon any understanding about the content of the degree or being careers led, 'It seemed more interesting that a business degree' (Ben). 'I thought I like CSI [fictional American crime series] and thought it would be like that….but it's not and I'm not sure I would have taken it if I had known how much theory was involved' (Louise). 'I came and saw the beach and thought wow this is where I want to study and so then I looked for a course' (John).

Given the range of motivations, curriculum development embedding employability might be problematic, as it relied upon strategies to meet the needs of a variety of learners. As Redmond (2006) points out for many students their career choices are not made until the end of their degree, and for those students who have entered HE through the widening participation pathways, the fixation of HE is on successful academic achievement or the 'credential nexus'.

In this study, all ten males and twelve of the female participants had followed traditional routes into university, with the three remaining females accessing university through the widening participation agenda. Interestingly, this study evidences the credential nexus also found in the aspirations of students who had entered through the traditional routes. In this case, this was not restricted to high academic aspirations, but emphasis was placed in their eyes of what employers wanted in terms of a demonstration of academic ability. Whilst Advance HE has in recent years produced frameworks to support HE providers to develop learning

in partnership with a variety of stakeholders, such as employers and students, Hills et al. (2003) point out that often the gap between degree curricula and the transferable skills employers want still exists.

Career Aspirations and Choices

The importance of the worth of transferable skills embedded within a criminology degree was highlighted in 2007 in the QAA benchmark statement. The QAA identified several career destinations suited to a degree in criminology, with roles associated with the prevention, detection of criminal activities such as policing, probation or prison. However, statistics from 2003 to 2005, identified that 36% ($n = 203$) of criminology graduates undertook occupations not linked to their degree (QAA, 2007). Such findings support the need to ensure that students are aware of the variety of career options open to them and to ensuring that the skills they develop are suited to a range of career choices (Trebilcock & Griffiths, 2021).

However, in this case study, most of the participants did not have fixed career aspirations. Some remained focused on a career within the criminal justice system, but they all recognised the challenges with securing employment post-graduation and were happy to consider alternative career options. Some students spoke of a career in forensic psychology, teaching or as a postman, yet, despite identifying problems with securing employment, very few had taken any steps towards securing either paid or voluntary employment that could enhance their employability prospects. The reasons cited for this included lack of knowledge about voluntary work or a lack of clarity regarding the benefits of work placements to both their degree and future employment, 'I didn't realise the university could help me to find employment' (Molly). 'What voluntary organisations are there? But it's not paid is it?' (Jade).

Few of the participants had given much thought to the skills employers required, relying more on a 'good degree' was all they needed—an area criminology staff also believed before we began this programme of change.

Recognition of Transferable Skills

Most of the participants were able to identify transferable skills, such as teamwork, communication and problem solving (BIS, 2015; Yorke & Knight, 2006) yet when asked to identify examples of when they had demonstrated such skills in their studies the majority found this problematic. For example, less than 25% of the participants could provide an example of when they had worked as a team to problem solve. However, once potential examples were presented, they were able to think of other situations where they had utilised these skills within their learning.

There was therefore a disconnect between the skills the course was endeavouring to provide and the identification of these skills by students. However, those that had already experienced employment in some form were much more able to identify the transferable skills within the curriculum. It seemed therefore that the combination of work experience and academic knowledge equipped students to better identify transferable skills.

Overall, this study highlighted several issues which informed the enhancement of the curriculum. Students' motivations for undertaking a criminology degree meant that career aspirations were not always the overriding motivating factor, with career aspirations given more thought towards the end of their studies. It was also clear that, the curriculum did provide students with opportunities to advance their employability prospects, yet, students still required support to help them to identify their own experiences of transferable skills. Such conclusions gave support to our efforts to ensure that employability was embedded throughout the curricula and the student life cycle, as opposed to being something that was seen as an optional extra. However, as a research active department, this agenda also required wholesale buy-in from all staff and this had the potential to present its own challenges. Such tensions and resolutions are discussed below.

Transforming Cultural Norms: The Teaching Versus Research Nexus

To undertake curriculum transformation there needed to be recognition of the tensions for staff to carry out world-leading research as well as excellent teaching. However, whilst such tensions between teaching and research are timeless, reduced governmental funding of HE has encouraged institutions to prioritise securing external funding to support institutional activities, having a negative impact on teaching agendas and the potential to pull staff in often opposing directions (Metzler, 2012; Serow, 2000). Interestingly, rather than being exclusive, the relationship between research and teaching has been identified as the defining features that mark out a university education from that of other forms of lifelong learning (Robertson & Bond, 2005; Taylor, 2007). Boyer (1991) discusses the idea that good teaching must be steeped in the knowledge of the subject matter for it to be at its best, and that the purpose of education should be to transform rather than transmit knowledge. This can be achieved by inspirational teachers who support students, but further their scholarship through meaningful interactions with students, as well as pursuing their research specialities and teaching practice.

According to Taylor (2007) there has been a flurry of research that has sought to explore the relationship of the research/teaching nexus in HE. The findings can be broadly divided into two schools of thought: those that suggest there is a strong symbiotic link, where research informs knowledge delivered through teaching, and those who counter-argue that there is no real relationship in practice between these two key drivers of HE activity (Robertson & Bond, 2005; Taylor, 2007). Therefore, Tight (2016) notes, the experiences of staff in relation to teaching and research activities are best explored at a local level, so that the shaping of the relationship can be supported to address the needs and expectations of students.

Bringing about a cultural shift within the department was the recognition that there might have been a skills deficit amongst departmental staff in relation to employability. By fostering a 'can do' attitude, an away day session discussed the findings of the action research study, embarking

upon several group exercises exploring how staff could integrate transferable skills into their learning outcomes in a bespoke approach to each module. Providing a starting point for colleagues to ask questions and discuss employability in an open environment consensus was reached to develop a strategy to inform all future decisions in relation to employability.

This 'buy-in together' approach enabled staff to develop their teaching practice through embracing the employability agenda in a collegial manner. For example, the existing employability module was co-coordinated by a new junior colleague, who was mentored through the teaching of the level five module as she developed her own style of teaching this module. The curriculum was developed to include two further discrete modules, at level five and six, which incrementally helped students to develop their skills. Two new members of staff were supported to design and develop the modules, supporting and upskilling staff, through a model of co-opted reflection on practice within the criminology team (Schon, 1991).

Importantly, the content of the two new modules were situated within the discipline of criminology and included a strong focus on social justice in the Criminal Justice System and the development of entrepreneurial skills for students that have been identified as key drivers of graduate employment (Bell, 2016). Whilst this fits nicely within the values of 'good learning' and required staff to develop appropriate learning methods that reflect signature pedagogies (York, 2006), others have noted (Jameson, et al., 2012), there are existential tensions that exist within criminology about the purpose of the discipline. The strains between whether the role of criminology is to support state actors, the Criminal Justice System and increasingly the third sector to 'work better' or to stand against the idea that crime and punishment is legitimate in any form (see Jameson et al., 2012) do however, potentially impact on the delivery of employability initiates. The modules at level five and six incorporate critical thinking about the purpose of crime and responses to it to help future leaders and managers develop responses and services that are ethically delivered (Trebilcock & Griffiths, 2021).

Being a research-led department, we looked at ways in which we could incorporate employability into our research endeavours. One way was

by offering volunteering placements within live research projects. For example, on a four-year project that examined higher education students' experiences of working in the sex industry, over eighty students across Wales were offered an experiential learning opportunity that enhanced their subject specific knowledge as well as skills development,

> Working [….] was really fantastic for a multitude of reasons. Firstly, it gave me a much greater insight into the issues surrounding student's involvement in the sex industry. It really helped me understand the current work that has been done on the topic as well as well as emphasizing how much work still needs to be done. Secondly, it provided me with a greater knowledge of how a piece of large-scale research functions and allowed me to work beside professionals in an academic context to discover the rewards and challenges of embarking on a project of the magnitude. Working on the project has also supplied me with a range of new skills and experiences, ranging from improvements in my ability to partake in research using computers, to learning how to approach people and engage them in conversations of an obviously sensitive nature.

Staff also embarked on a summer internship scheme and enabled students to develop externals networks with work placements/research internships with South Wales Police; local schools; local authorities; third sector organisations and the Youth Justice Board were developed. The value in such student experience opportunities helped to enrich the lives of students and recognise the skills being developed during their degree,

> My placement has been a wonderful experience. It has given me a better understanding for the workings of a real-life research project. I believe the skills I have used and gained during my placement to be crucial to my future employability.

The shift away from thinking about teaching and research as unconnected, but seeing them inextricably linked and embedded within the employability agenda, has been transformational in terms of developing opportunities for students and staff. Situating criminology at Swansea firmly within the model of 'Student as Producer' that seeks to diminish the hierarchy of lecturer vs student to one of collaboration has mutual

gains (Strudwick, 2017). Indeed, the commitment of staff to developing research opportunities for students, at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic in the spring/summer of 2020, was still able to offer summer internship schemes to students by adapting their endeavours to online methods.

Discussion: A Discrete and Integrated Approach

This chapter has outlined some of the actions and challenges with supporting students to develop their professional post-graduate skills set. These actions developed a departmental strategy which endeavoured to embed employability through an integrated and discrete model. Adopting this 'flexible' approach has enabled employability to be integrated into the curriculum and student experience in a way which reaches out to students who have a variety of learning styles.

Following the integrated model approach, personal transferable and higher-level skills are acquired whilst students are studying criminology, and are aligned to learning outcomes and teaching strategies such as group work/team building/development of emotional intelligence/communication skills and the development of IT competencies. One of the areas focused upon was enhancing assessments to accommodate skills building, as suggested by Advance HE. In changing assessments, we took every opportunity to discuss ideas with students and co-opt them as producers (Strudwick, 2017) into the design of learning where appropriate. Through an assessment mapping exercise in 2015, it was identified that a module introducing students to policing might be enhanced by a change of assessment to reflect the changes to policing as a 'profession'. Students were consulted about the potential changes and a vlog and briefing paper were introduced to challenge students to develop new skills. As a result, assessments are now aligned to transferable/higher-level skill development and are a fundamental consideration in the design of any new module.

By adopting the discrete model element to the strategy compliments the integrated approaches, personal transferable skills and higher-level

skills from the central basis of teaching and pastoral support. For example, one of the 'quick wins' was the introduction of 'employability events' where speakers from the Criminal Justice System such as the police, probation, youth offending services and third sector, discussed the skills necessary to secure employment in those areas. Relationships with businesses, such as Admiral, enabled students to explore careers such as fraud investigation, whereby we endeavoured to enhance the student experience further by taking learning off campus through visits to organisations such as Swansea prison.

In the early stages of development an employability handbook was designed, completed by students independently and discussed with staff during academic mentoring skills development sessions. We harnessed the use of social media and set up an employability page on Facebook, where internal and external opportunities were posted. The page was also open to Alumni students, with opportunities post-graduation and also upcoming positions in their organisations. We also recognised the achievements of alumni and displayed posters around the college that showcased how their degree enhanced their career prospects.

However, perhaps the most important aspect of curriculum development came through the design of the three modules discussed earlier that focused specifically on employability. These modules provided an employability stream to the curriculum, that sits alongside themes, such as developing research methods and theoretical understandings of crime and the responses of the Criminal Justice System. To bolster this development of curriculum an optional non-credit bearing level six module was also designed for 2020/2021, to provide students with professional development skills associated with securing employment during a global pandemic.

Measuring Success

Whilst measuring the success of teaching and learning strategies is problematic, the changes implemented over the past decade do support students to find employment post-graduation. For example, data for the percentage of students in work using the HESA E1a employment indicator, with an additional comparison of those who are in Graduate Level Employment using the Times metric, clearly shows a trend towards increased levels of students engaged in Graduate Level employment on completion of a criminology degree at Swansea. Rising from graduate level employment of 62.5% in 2014/15 to 70.8% in 2015/16 to 75.6% in 2016/17.

The curriculum developments also enhanced their student experience shown with a quote from a former student who sent an unsolicited email to me in 2018 evidences,

> I was from the Class of Alumni that graduated in 2016. I have been meaning to send this email well over a year ago now. I have been employed since January 2017 at [….] working as an 'Offender Management Unit Case Administrator'. I am thoroughly enjoying my role and I am constantly learning and developing each day. The skills and knowledge that I obtained during my time at University has been invaluable to me in progressing in this position. Thank you for the support that was given to me during my time at University.

Concluding Thoughts

The employability strategy for undergraduate criminology at Swansea is now embedded within all stages of the student life cycle. It is part of our open day presentations and students are offered formal learning opportunities to enhance their skills throughout their degree, with modules on employability and knowledge-based assessments. They are also offered a wealth of opportunities such as internships, volunteering and access

to professional networks to enhance their student experience. Post-graduation we celebrate the successes of our alumni by inviting them back to campus to provide inspirational talks to current students.

This agenda was not without its difficulties and challenges, notably the cultural shift seeing research and teaching as equal activities. By situating the employability agenda as a strategic priority, it is important that employability initiatives are recognised at an institutional level in the professional development review and promotion process, with some efforts being rewarded by university accolades, such as teaching and SEA employability awards and for some, promotion. The embedding of the employability agenda has ensured that employability is at the front end of the delivery of the criminology curriculum and not relegated to the sidelines as an 'add on'. For example, a question on how prospective staff address the professional development needs of students is now included in the interview process for new members of staff something few of us could have envisaged ten years ago.

There have also been substantial shifts within the discipline. For example, recognition by the British Society of Criminology, Learning and Teaching Network sponsored a symposium hosted in 2017 by Derby University ***Criminology at the Cutting Edge of the Curriculum*** **and** in 2021, Swansea University was awarded the British Society of Criminology Learning and Teaching prize for the work described here in relation to curriculum enhancement.

We will keep abreast of the changing profile of career destinations for our graduates. To respond to the changing nature of skills with cyber security we have introduced a module that supports students to develop digital skills for roles such as countering the threat from terrorism, modern slavery and online sexual offending. Therefore, for us, our work continues.

Top Tips: Embedding Employability

- Work with students to understand their career aspirations, by developing an evidence base of knowledge used to benchmark students' career aspirations. Ensuring the topic of employability remains a

standing item on staff student forums, enabling student voice is heard within formal learning, teaching and quality processes.

- Harness and incorporate the value in alumni to develop networks and role model potential future careers. This can also help to develop partnerships to offer student internship opportunities.
- Awareness of the changing employability landscape by developing an industry forum that meets periodically to consider the skills required and works collaboratively with employers to design and deliver learning.
- Review the module content and disciplinary relevance in understanding changes in the sector and ensure the curriculum has currency to meet the needs of employers.
- Provide support to staff at a programme level to develop an embedded employability curriculum. This can be achieved by appointing an academic departmental 'employability lead' to support staff to enhance their own practice. Institutionally, recognise the value of innovations in the context of employability through professional review and promotion processes.

References

Advance, H. E. (no date). *Essential frameworks for enhancing student success: Embedding employability in Higher Education*. https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/system/files/downloads/Framework%20for%20Embedding%20Employability%20in%20Higher%20Education_0.pdf

Advance, H. E. (no date). *Essential frameworks for enhancing student success*: *Transforming assessment in higher education*. Transforming Assessment in Higher Education Framework.pdf (advance-he.ac.uk)

Bates, L., & Hayes, H. (2017). Using the student lifecycle approach to enhance employability: An example from criminology and criminal justice. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Cooperative Education, 1892*(*Special Issue*), 141–151.

Bell, R. (2016). Unpacking the link between entrepreneurialism and employability: An assessment of the relationship between entrepreneurial attitudes

and likelihood of graduate employment in a professional field. *Education + Training*, *58*(1), 2–17.

Binnie, G. (2020). *What are university careers services doing to bridge the outcomes gap between white and BAME graduates?* Higher Education Policy Institute. https://www.hepi.ac.uk/2020/10/28/what-are-university-careers-services-doing-to-bridge-the-outcomes-gap-between-white-and-bame-graduates/

BIS (Department of Business, Innovation and Skills). (2010). *Securing a sustainable future for higher education: An independent review of higher education funding and student finance.* http://publishing.service.gov.uk

BIS (Department of Business, Innovation and Skills). (2015). *Understanding employers' graduate recruitment and selection practices* (Main Report, Research Paper 231). http://publishing.service.gov.uk

Boyer, E. (1991). The scholarship of teaching from: Scholarship reconsidered: Priorities of the professoriate. *College Teaching, 39*(1), 11–13.

Dearing, R. (1997). *National committee enquiry into higher education.* http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/ncihe/

Etikan, I., Abubakar Musa, S., & Alkassim, R. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics, 5*(1), 1–4.

Glennerster, H. (2001). *United Kingdom education 1997–2001.* http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/3983/1/United_Kingdom_education_1997-2001.pdf

Greenwood, D., & Levin, M. (1998). *Introduction to action research: Social research for social change.* Sage Publications.

Her Majesties Government. (2010). *The coalition: Our programme for government*.

Higher Education Funding Council for Wales. (2012). *Funding for higher education for the academic year 2012/2013.* http://www.hefcw.ac.uk/documents/news/press_releases/2012%20Press%20Releases/30%2003%2012%20Funding%20for%20universities%20in%202012%202013%20-%20E.pdf

Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA). (no date). *Graduate activities and characteristics.* HESA.

Hills, J. M., Robertson, G., Walker, R., Adey, M. A., & Nixon, I. (2003). Bridging the gap between degree programme curricula and employability through implementation of work-related learning. *Teaching in Higher Education, 8*(2), 211–231.

Jameson, J., Strudwick, K., Bond-Taylor, S., & Jones, M. (2012). Academic principles versus employability pressures: A modern power struggle or a creative opportunity? *Teaching in Higher Education, 17*(1), 25–27.

Jameson, J., & Strudwick, K. (2010). *Subject interest group case study: criminology in the professions* (Project Report). Centre for Sociology, Anthropology and Politics, Birmingham.

Kolb, D. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as a source of learning and development.* Prentice Hall.

Maisuria, A., & Cole, M. (2017). The neoliberalisation of higher education: An alternative is possible. *Policy Futures in Education, 15*(5), 602–619.

May, T. (2011). *Social research: Issues, methods and process*. McGraw-Hill.

McKie, L. (2002). Engagement and evaluation in qualitative inquiry. In T. May (Eds.), *Qualitative research in action*. Sage Publications.

Metzler, M. W. (2012). Scholarship reconsidered for the professoriate of 2010. *Quest, 46*(4), 440–455.

National Assembly for Wales. (2009). *The enterprise and learning committee: The economic contribution of Higher Education in Wales.* http://www.assemblywales.org/cr-ld7730

Norton, S., & Dalrymple, R. (2020). *Employability: breaking the mould. A case study compendium*. Advance HE.

Quality Assurance Agency (QAA). (2007). *Benchmarks for criminology.* http://www.qaa.ac.uk/Publications/InformationAndGuidance/Documents/criminology07.pdf

Quality Assurance Agency (QAA). (2019). *Benchmarks for criminology.* Subject Benchmark Statement: Criminology. http://qaa.ac.uk

Redmond, P. (2006). Outcasts on the inside: Graduates, employability and widening participation. *Tertiary Education and Management, 12*, 119–135.

Rees, G. (2004). The impacts of parliamentary devolution on education policy in Wales. *Welsh Journal of Education, 14*(1), 8–20.

Robertson, J., & Bond, C. (2005). The research/teaching relation: A view from the edge. *Higher Education, 50*(3), 509–535.

Saratankos, S. (2005). *Social research* (3rd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.

Schon, D. A. (1991). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action.* Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Serow, R. C. (2000). Research and teaching at a research university. *Higher Education, 40*(4), 449–463.

Strudwick, K. (2017). Debating student as producer: Relationships; contexts and challenges for higher education. *PRISM Casting New Light on Learning, Theory and Practice, 1*(1), 73–96.

Swansea University. (no date). *Employability and high-level skills. Equipping students for success*. https://www.swan.ac.uk/media/media,40311,en.pdf

Taylor, J. (2007). The teaching research nexus: A model for institutional management. *Higher Education, 54*(6), 867–884.

Thomas, L., & Jones, R. (2007). *Embedding employability in the context of widening participation: Higher Education Academy-Learning and Employability Series 2.* http://www.heacademy.ac.uk/assets/documents/employability/ESECT_WideningParticipation.pdf

Tibby, M., & Norton, S. (2020). *Essential frameworks for enhancing student success: embedding employability: A guide to the Advance HE Framework.* Advance HE.

Tight, M. (2016). Examining the research/teaching nexus. *European Journal of Higher Education, 6*(4), 293–311.

Trebilcock, J., & Griffiths, C. (2021). Student motivations for studying criminology: A narrative inquiry. *Criminology and Criminal Justice, 22*(3), 480–497.

Tyers, C., Connor, H., Pollard, E., Bates, P., & Hunt, W. (2006). *Welsh graduates and their jobs: Employment and employability in Wales.* Higher Education Funding Council for Wales. http://www.employment-studies.co.uk/pubs/summary.php?id=0806hefcw

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* Harvard University Press.

Welsh Government. (2016). *The review of higher education funding and student finance arrangements in Wales.* Diamond Review. http://gov.wales

Welsh Assembly Government. (2009). *For our future: The 21st century higher education strategy and plan for Wales*. http://wales.gov.uk/docs/dcells/publications/091214hestrategyen.pdf

Wilson Review. (2012). *Review of business: University collaboration.* http://www.wilsonreview.co.uk/

Yorke, M. (2006). Employability and higher education: What it is—What it is n't. *Learning and Employability Series 1.* The Higher Education Academy.

Yorke, M., & Knight, P. T. (2006). Curricula for economic and social gain. *Higher Education, 51*, 565–588.

Zuber-Skerritt, O. (1996). *New directions in action research.* Falmer Press.

Part III

The Challenges of Creating Transformative Conversations

9

Balancing Sympathy and Empathy in an Emotive Discipline

Helen Nichols and Victoria Humphrey

Introduction

Studying Criminology involves an exploration of the nature, causes, and extent of crime, while incorporating a critical examination of responses to criminal activity through the criminal justice process. Navigating through the criminological discipline, students frequently encounter emotive topics including, but not limited to, violence, victimisation, trauma, harm, and vulnerability. However, despite the often-challenging nature of criminological study, topics of a sensitive nature can also be the stimulus for students' desire to learn (Dalton, 2010). Dalton (ibid.) argues that teaching such topics has pedagogical value in raising students' consciousness and promotes an 'enhanced respect for human difference, tolerance, and empathy for the plight of others' (p. 15). Educators in Criminology can encounter polarised student attitudes towards people

H. Nichols (✉) · V. Humphrey
University of Hull, Hull, UK
e-mail: Helen.Nichols@Hull.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_9

who commit crime, ranging from the punitive to the sympathetic. By presenting the ideal of rehabilitation and the principle of punitiveness as two ends of one spectrum, rather than an either/or dichotomy, Tajalli et al. (2013) found in their survey of criminal justice college students in the United States, that students with conservative political values, and those who worried about becoming victims of crime, were more likely to favour a punitive approach towards people who commit crime. As students' progress through their higher education journey, their interaction with critical debate and discussion of criminological research findings can change their attitudes and shift their mindset and position on the punitive spectrum. This observation, combined with being enculturated into the predominantly left-wing university setting (see Bailey & O'Leary, 2017), can sometimes present the development of sympathetic views, including towards people who have committed offences.

This chapter will consider the challenges of balancing sympathy and empathy in the emotive discipline of Criminology. With a focus on the study of prisons, the chapter will consider some of the oppositions between media and academic illustrations of prisons and people who live and work within them. Subsequently, it will incorporate a case study reflecting upon Humphrey's experience of studying a final year undergraduate optional module 'Psychology in Prisons' which contained some emotion-invoking learning materials. Through this reflection, it is argued that accounts from prisoner voice, evidence of prisoner vulnerability and visual sources can be particularly emotive triggers in this area of study, often which require students to engage in a reflective process to successfully redress the sympathy/empathy balance in the pursuit of in-depth, critical, and simultaneously balanced understanding. In doing so, the chapter will highlight the potentially positive implications for student engagement through processes of feeling, reflection, and sense-making to achieve a holistic scholarly experience involving both personal and academic development.

Pedagogies of Empathy

To situate this chapter within the broader pedagogical context, it will address points for consideration contained within 'pedagogies of empathy' literature. This will highlight the importance of empathy development in students, and connect to the wider content of the chapter, which draws upon the teaching of penology to articulate the sympathy/empathy balance.

English (2016) defines empathy as the 'imaginative seeing of situations from the view of another person' (p. 1053). By exploring the work of Dewey, English (2016) points to the connection between imagination and empathy, illustrating that 'empathetic projection' enables us to achieve a view of the world as others see it, explaining that imagination enables us to 'dwell in these spaces of uncertainty as spaces of learning' (English, 2016: 1054). While identifying that empathy requires the ability to view experiences from another's perspective, through the consideration of the existence of other viewpoints in the world, a person is then able to learn from the other. As noted by Leake (2016), those calling for pedagogies of empathy advocate for teaching empathy to find better ways to understand one another 'across our substantial differences'. Batson et al. (2002: 1656) further propose that attitudes can be improved through the development of empathy for members of stigmatised groups, and that it may be 'a potent and valuable technique' for more positive responses to the stigmatised in society. According to English (2016) students dwelling in these spaces enables them to become aware of their 'blind spot' which, when identified, creates an awareness of things beyond everyday experience (English, 2016).

Nussbaum (1998), highlighted the narrative arts as having force in opening the mind through imagination, which leads English to note how autobiographical literature has the capacity to create 'third voice'; a voice not otherwise present in the classroom. This third voice allows us to imaginatively extend our experiences of the present world into a world that is 'hidden from view'. In English's experience of teaching in the classroom, the inclusion of the third voice through literature enabled students to consider the lived experiences of authors, which then extended to the

development of empathetic interest in the social and cultural differences between student peers.

The students in the case study presented in this chapter were broadly socially and culturally homogenous, and thus were primarily focused on collectively delving into the hidden world of 'the other', as opposed to English (2016) who identified her students coming to discuss the ways in which they were culturally similar and different from one another (as well as the differences between them and the authors whose work they were reading). In the case study, engagement was achieved in seminar activities designed to develop empathy by presenting students with scenarios familiar to them personally, drawing upon on core experiential themes to connect them to the people they were endeavouring to understand; people in prison. In this case, students' 'blind spots' were identified through engagement with materials that revealed prisoner voice, such as prisoner-authored poetry presented at the end of each lecture and pieces written and published by serving prisoners which were read by students during their independent study time.

Although the development of empathy for 'the other' is an inherently positive undertaking, Shuman (2005) proposes that empathy rarely changes the circumstances of those who suffer and is more often for those in the privileged position of empathiser rather than empathised. This criticism is supported by Leake (2016) who proposes that this form of empathy resembles pity and can serve the interests of the empathiser by confirming his or her desire to be considered a compassionate individual without changing the circumstances of the person empathised with. Furthermore, Batson et al. (2002) suggest in their proposition of an empathy–attitude–action model that increased positive attitudes towards 'the other' should provide the basis for increased motivation to help.

While the empathy developed in this chapter's case study does not present an opportunity for students to help those experiencing the challenges and difficulties of imprisonment, for some students the development of empathy during study had a direct, evidenced impact on their desire to participate in action to support 'the other' through their graduate employability pursuits. Some former students, who have established careers working directly with people in prison, have since returned to talk to current students about how they have been able to apply their critical

understanding of key topic areas in their working lives, with reference to the importance of developing an empathetic viewpoint as a transferable skill.

As will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, over-exposure to the challenging realities of prison life, through fictional and non-fictional media representations, can serve to desensitise students through the normalisation of such ordinarily distressing images. This desensitisation can result in emotional distancing akin to the compassion fatigue for the suffering of the marginalised described by Seu (2003). In Criminology, which strives to capture the foundational causes of criminality through an appreciation of the impact of social inequality and social injustice, understanding those in the prison setting requires engagement with the challenges of understanding the marginalised and criminalised 'other'. As such, part of the aim of engaging students in developing an understanding of those who are subject to sentences imposed by the criminal justice system, is to create *resensitisation* through the development of a balanced empathetic viewpoint.

The Challenge of Achieving Empathy When Teaching Penology

The focus of this chapter towards a specific case study in practice, considers the challenge of balancing sympathy and empathy in the context of teaching penology, the study of punishment and prisons in theory and practice. Prisons are among the most secure institutions in society, with the primary insights of students prior to study, often being based on carefully edited media representations driven by newsworthy-driven agendas. The public often commute between factual news and entertainment programming (Mason, 2003), creating piecemeal stereotypical perceptions of the reality of criminal justice institutions and those who live and work within them. Jewkes (2015) argues that of the twelve news structures and values that shape crime news media, five apply to the prison in terms of what makes it such a newsworthy topic, one that is especially appealing to audiences. Presentations such as risk, conservative ideology, graphic imagery, violence, and high-status persons (ibid.)

make fictional and non-fictional observations of prisons very attractive to audiences. With the emergence of the Netflix phenomenon, viewers are spoilt for choice with the breadth of films, documentaries, and series that they can watch about prisons. This has resulted in such perceptions being problematic, especially given that the reality of prison life can be heavily dominated by overbearing routine and boredom. While documentaries may resonate with some of the ethnographic work of researchers, they often take a particular angle (Jewkes, 2015). As audience members prior to studying prisons, students' preconceptions of what we might study about these institutions may be located in the extremes of the easy-going holiday camp or the dangerous and violent environment (Coyle, 2005).

Crewe (2007) argues that in contrast to the 'lawless jungle' often portrayed in prison films, academic literature offers a range of lenses through which to view and understand prison life. This can be seen in recent publications that divert away from a fixation on dominant forms of masculinity, which offer a limited picture of the identities presented in the prison setting (see Laws & Lieber, 2020; Maguire, 2019). Exploring their understanding of expressions of care among male prisoners, Laws and Lieber (2020) highlight that prisoners do not always live in a continuous state of fear, and that there is a need to acknowledge the many understated prisoner characteristics including empathy, positive interactions, kindness, and friendship. In teaching practice, it is important to introduce students to such characteristics, to broaden their knowledge on the relevance of them in their role as learners. This, in part, challenges the predominantly aggressive masculine 'argot roles' that Sykes (1958) depicted in his classic work, *The Society of Captives*; work which has endured in the study of prisons. In doing this, students can explore the 'classic' prison sociology literature alongside the contemporary, and engage with opportunities to develop their criticality. As with previously cited academic literature, acts of kindness in prison have demonstrated that prisoners are able to have supportive relationships with one another, as shown in practice through peer support schemes. The Listener Scheme is a peer support service, delivered by the Samaritans, which aims to reduce suicide and self-harm in prisons (Samaritans, 2020). Operating in almost all prisons in England, Scotland, and Wales, volunteers for

the Samaritans select, train, and support prisoners to become Listeners who provide confidential emotional support to their peers who are struggling to cope (ibid.). The Samaritans website offers content, which can be useful to educators, including information, videos, and testimonials. These resources can provide students with materials that enable them to link findings from academic literature to real-life initiatives. Further signposting to evidence of the effectiveness of peer support for prisoners has also been provided online by Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (see GOV.UK, 2020). As well as providing access to summaries concerning evidence of effectiveness and evidence-informed effective practice, this website presents sources for further reading including *Life in Prison: Peer Support* (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2016) and *A systematic review of the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of peer education and peer support in prisons* (Bagnall et al., 2015).

To broaden their understanding of life behind prison walls, several academics have reflected upon their own experiences of conducting research in prisons within their published work (see Crewe, 2014; Jewkes, 2012; Liebling, 1999; Sloan & Wright, 2015). Within such publications, writers have offered reflections on distinct themes concerning research processes and experiences. Liebling (1999) considered the 'dangers and rewards' of doing prison research and the reality of the subjective feelings that researchers experience in the prison space. Further acknowledging the emotional trials that can be involved in research in this environment, Jewkes (2012) presented the 'autoethnographic dimensions' of qualitative enquiry shedding light on the emotional investment involved in studying stigmatised 'others' pulling together the work of other ethnographers while also recounting a personal research encounter of her own. More recently, Sloan and Wright (2015) reflected upon the experiences of 'going in green' as a new researcher and the challenges that are negotiated by those who are new to the prison in a research capacity. By engaging with varied reflective accounts, students have the opportunity to consider that emotion has a role to play, not just in prison research experiences, but also in studying prisons more broadly. This raises key points for debate within teaching and learning, and strikes an important balance between sympathy and

empathy to reveal a much deeper level of understanding about prisons and those who live and work inside them.

Deconstructing Empathy and Sympathy

Critical thinking in learning involves encouraging students to identify and question their own assumptions and engage in developing their worldviews (Howes, 2017). When supporting students with developing their critical thinking, it is important to create a balance to avoid understanding spilling into sympathies, as this may cloud interpretations of wider contexts. Such observations have been significant for students studying prisons and penology in order to facilitate their critical thinking and creativity when presenting balanced arguments in assessed work. It is also integral in the process of redressing the balance with students' explorations of victimised actor models that provide alternative views to rational actor theories of crime and deviance (see Burke, 2019). It is therefore crucial for students to be able to recognise the distinctions between sympathy and empathy, and apply them when working to develop an understanding of some of the emotive issues raised within this topic area.

With reference to media representations that may shape assumptions students may have when joining university (see Bennett, 2006), it is important to understand the role of tabloid media. The framing presents the topic of prisons and prisoners often with a distinctly unsympathetic viewpoint. Therefore, presenting students with academic research can starkly challenge such representations, and deconstruct images providing students with what may be interpreted as an overly liberal 'reality check'. Therefore, it is imperative that students are informed, through academic research, of the realities of prison life and how this can differ from popular media representations. Thus, we must not lose sight of the quest for in-depth understanding of the topic which requires some balancing of the books (see Mackey & Courtright, 2000).

Introducing students to the academic literature on prisons raises a number of key issues. Students have often expressed that they are particularly interested in understanding the challenging nature of prison life,

and the impact that prison experiences can have on the mental well-being of prisoners. However, in creating the necessary balance, consideration needs to be given as to how we interpret this knowledge, while also recognising the role prisons have in keeping the public safe from people who may have a proven capacity to cause harm to others. In teaching, we can begin to unpack our own engagement with the subject matter and contemplate where we can draw the emotional line. For this reason, it is worthwhile to make a distinction between *empathy* and *sympathy*, which has proven itself to be a useful exercise when having discussions with students (as will be noted at the end of this chapter).

While they may have similar connotations, and in some cases be used interchangeably (albeit incorrectly), the distinct nuances in the meanings of *empathy* and *sympathy* need to be recognised and understood. When teaching students about imprisonment, and engaging with academic literature, this can very often place a distinct focus on the negative elements of the prison environment and experience. At the same time, this also requires a consciousness that comes from critical engagement in debates, that being given a prison sentence is a signifier of a serious offence which has caused victimisation in some form.

At its core, sympathy involves a process of sharing the feelings or emotions of another individual. For example, we may experience pain ourselves when learning about the emotional pain of others. If a friend or family member experiences grief through the loss of a loved one, we too may feel a sense of grief through the knowledge that a person we care about is in distress. Empathy however is about understanding and requires us to imagine how another person may be feeling by figuratively putting ourselves in their shoes while maintaining emotional distance. The distinction between sympathy and empathy was captured by Aring (1958) who proposed:

> The act or capacity of entering into or sharing the feelings of another is known as sympathy. Empathy, on the other hand, not only is an identification of sorts but also connotes an awareness of one's separateness from the observed. One of the most difficult tasks put upon a man is reflective commitment to another's problem while maintaining his own identity.

Furthermore, Davis (1983) measured empathy as sensitivity to others, social functioning, emotionality and self-esteem, and intelligence.

When exploring prisoner narratives, we often encounter experiences of victimisation, exclusion, and stigmatisation grounded in stories of personal trauma. At the same time, we also see accounts of imprisoned people who have had supportive upbringings and positive experiences in earlier life. The varied nature of prisoners' backgrounds presents a realistic and well-rounded understanding of the population, which importantly highlights that they are not a homogenous group. However, as previously discussed, the negative often outweighs the positive when it comes to learning more about the lives that people have led before imprisonment. Such realisations can invoke sympathetic responses, which are natural when taking into account some prisoners' particularly traumatic narratives. While it is important for students to maintain an objective viewpoint, where possible, it is also natural and appropriate for emotional responses to be realised when confronted with traumatic human experience.

At this point we are presented with an opportunity to engage students with the 'whose side' debate (see Becker, 1967; Gouldner, 1962; Liebling, 2001) in which the existence of a value-free approach to the social sciences has been contested. Through discussions concerning this debate (see Nichols, 2021), conclusions can be drawn which align with Liebling's work, that we can engage emotionally with such subject matter as a natural human response, and then step back to consider how we translate this into a balanced academic account. In the same way that prison researchers can reflectively neutralise their side being swayed during the research process, students can take a similar reflective approach by ensuring that their reading of the academic literature is sufficiently broad so as not to overly rely on single or small numbers of accounts, thus enabling them to see, and academically discuss, the wider context.

It is important for students to develop the ability to examine prisoner narratives in academic literature from a place of empathy. Putting themselves in the position of another person, whose personal circumstances are often markedly different from their own, enhances their opportunity to develop intellectual ability which is 'logically related to

emotional intelligence' (Busu et al., 2020: 889). This situates students in a position to further enhance their ability to 'become reflective on their actions or thinking towards others' (Busu et al., 2020: 891) and form balanced arguments that do not slip unnecessarily into sympathetic tone. As noted however, sympathy itself is not problematic in academic study or research, especially when learning about people who have victimised others and in many cases been victims themselves. Instead, recognising sympathetic responses should be viewed by students as a trigger for them to question their responses through the wider exploration of academic materials available to them.

The next section of this chapter will present a case study, identifying a sample of learning resources that triggered such responses, and explore how a student (Humphrey) was able to draw on their skills to reflect and make sense of them as a learner.

Achieving Empathy

To provide an example of how students engage with learning materials that have the potential to invoke emotive responses, this case study is about a third year optional Criminology module delivered at the University of Lincoln in 2021; *Psychology in Prisons*. This module examines the psychological and physiological effects of imprisonment on people in prisons. By exploring the pains of imprisonment (Sykes, 1958) through both classic literature and more contemporary adaptations and interpretations (Crewe, 2011; Crewe et al., 2017), students explore the intricacies and complexities of prison life. The module provides an opportunity for students to develop their understanding of different populations in prisons including men, women, young people, older people, people from black, Asian, and minority ethnic backgrounds, and prison staff. Each academic year, the module content is informed by students from the previous cohort following a process of reflection and evaluation at the end of the module.

The case study draws upon a reflective approach examining module materials including written and visual sources. Utilising the Gibbs' (1988) model of reflection, Humphrey examined a letter written by

an inmate discussing the impact of positivity upon prisoners' mental health, an excerpt of a BBC Panorama documentary exploring daily life within a British prison and finally a report from the Prison Reform Trust exploring issues concerning older people within the prison environment. Aspects of the following student-led reflection have been discussed using the first person to effectively evaluate the balance between sympathy and empathy when discussing module materials from a student's perspective.

Throughout this module, letters written to Inside Time (the national newspaper for prisoners and detainees) were explored. When studying the pains of imprisonment, as discussed by Sykes (1958), the letter 'Small things—Star letter of the month' (A, 2020) was used as a topic of discussion within the seminar for that week. This letter, written from an inmate's perspective, explores sensitive topics surrounding the impact of prison life and staff interaction upon prisoner mental health. Throughout this emotive letter it describes the impact that an officer had on the inmate through positive interactions. Through such interaction, the inmate described that they felt like a human being and like they mattered. This description of prison life allowed an insight into the daily routine and showed that when officers in a position of authority treat inmates with respect, this can positively impact behaviour. Through the way that the surroundings of the prison itself were described in this letter, and seeing this through an inmate's perspective, as opposed to that of an academic, this changed the emotive response to such a piece. Discussions within the inmate's letter, around feeling like they were being treated like an animal and the impact of an officer with a positive attitude, created a sympathetic response to the situation they described.

This perspective made me question the overly punitive perspective of punishment, as often seen within the media and public perceptions, due to the influence of media perceptions of inmates built on news values such as violence, where prisoner mental health is often overlooked (Jewkes, 2015). As a student, seminar discussions allowed me to question the sympathy I felt through conversation and the application of theory, such as the rational actor model and concepts surrounding social control. This experience provided a positive opening discussion which expanded my knowledge in critical thinking while exploring sources, and

how to use such feelings of empathy as opposed to sympathy towards such scenarios.

The material surrounding older prisoners, aged 50 or over, was also found to be similarly emotive within my experience. Seminar materials on the growing number of older inmates included a Prison Reform Trust report titled 'Good practice with older people in prison—the views of prison staff' (Cooney & Braggins, 2010). The report was written using surveys of prison staff and raised questions about whether older inmates' care is adequate within prison institutions. Aiming to evaluate and improve care provision it raised discussions around the ethical implications of prisoners ending their life in prison, and the 'double burden' that the care of older prisoners causes within modern-day institutions (Turner et al., 2018). Critically exploring the 'double burden' of older prisoners specifically caused emotional responses, notably when learning that older prisoners are less likely to receive visits from friends and family, which can leave them isolated. Societal projections of older people being more likely to be vulnerable also created feelings of concern linked to me thinking of older people within my life, and how I would personally feel if they were to end their life in such a setting. However, I often found myself forgetting the crimes that inmates may have committed, being aware that high amounts of older inmates are in prison due to sexually related offences, therefore bringing up emotions came as a shock.

Discussions throughout this module with peers on older prisoners were the most dividing, and challenging when keeping an emotional distance. Often arguments held sympathetic undertones of the 'double burden', being met with statistics that showed a significant number of older inmates are in prison due to sexual offences (Turner et al., 2018). This contrast to critically evaluate for and against arguments was further explored through reading the journal 'Ageing and dying in the contemporary neoliberal prison: Exploring the double burden for older prisoners' (Turner et al., 2018). Evaluating and reflecting on the feelings that such sources created, I am now able to effectively balance understanding and emotional distance towards discussions concerning older people in prison.

When discussing researching prisons within the first weeks of the module, a source which I found to be particularly emotive was an

excerpt of a Panorama documentary by the BBC titled 'Behind Bars: Prison Undercover' (von Plomin, 2017). This showed an undercover reporter working as a prison officer within a prison in England, showing body camera footage of their experiences. This documentary highlighted many poignant themes, including how prison officers felt overwhelmed within their role, understaffing and the effects of this on education and work, as well as the impact of privatisation of prison services. However, throughout the video, the overwhelming themes of mental health and intoxication of inmates, through both alcohol and drug use, made this source stand out. Some images created emotional responses unlike those for some of the literature, as it showed the true extent of the issues with illicit substances and mental health within the prison environment, causing a natural sympathetic response.

Through evaluating such feelings towards sources, themes surrounding mental health within the prison environment caused emotive and often sympathetic emotional responses. Watching but being unaware of the crimes committed caused a disconnect with the audience, but also altered the balance between sympathy and empathy. Also, watching and hearing what the prisoners were doing and their feelings, unlike when reading academic materials, further brought to the foreground the 'realness' of the situation. Seminar discussions showed that many other students also found that visual stimulus particularly difficult to watch when keeping an empathetic stance, especially when in relation to mental health. Such emotions felt by the group were evaluated through discussions of available support and schemes currently running within the prison system, which within the source, were not highlighted when faced with the intense emotion shown by inmates. Reflecting on this source specifically, I found this topic leading to the most conflicting emotional response due to popular media perceptions of inmates that often filter into our way of thinking as perpetuated by selected news values, as discussed by Jewkes (2015).

These experiences, aided my critical thinking when evaluating and reflecting upon situations, where balancing sympathy and empathy was particularly difficult. Prior to studying such modules, my emotional response was linked to the portrayal in the media. However, exploring emotions of both sympathy and empathy in the module have been

useful in building a critical standpoint and emotional resilience, which has positive academic impact. Through exploring reflections on those who are seen to be vulnerable within society, such as older inmates or those experiencing a mental health crisis, created the most significant emotional responses, which was further exacerbated when seen visually, heard audibly, and through prisoner voice in written accounts. Through discussions with peers in seminar spaces, topics which were relatable, such as mental health and older people, often created a larger divide in opinion and had undertones of sympathetic and empathetic emotions. Through this reflection, when experiencing such emotional triggers towards materials, I am now more aware of being conscious of sympathetic feelings and would be confident in critically evaluating this in the future.

Conclusion

It was noted at the beginning of this chapter that student attitudes towards people convicted of criminal offences can be polarised, with both punitive and sympathetic attitudes occupying the two extremes of the spectrum. In making a case for the value of establishing an empathetic stance, thus moving away from the potential skew of sympathy, this chapter has drawn upon the student voice to present a case study, from Humphrey's perspective, giving insight into students' approaches to the mechanics of achieving a more balanced view. While this kind of reflective thinking was not captured in students' assessed work, the lack of attaching such activity to credit-bearing work can be beneficial in focusing it in seminar activities which give students the freedom of engaging in reflective processes as a formative basis for the development of critical thinking. Students were given further opportunity to engage in reflective thinking through weekly directed activities which combined 'read, listen, and watch' approaches to learning materials. This gave students choices in the types of materials they wanted to engage with on a weekly basis diversifying their independent learning experiences within the module. By understanding the processes involved in

developing an empathetic rather than sympathetic viewpoint, conclusions can be drawn about the broader value of reflective practice in criminological learning. There may, for example, be positive implications here for student engagement whereby students' psychological investment in their learning (see Lawson & Lawson, 2013) broadens engagement to also involve feelings and sense-making, as well as participation in educational activities (Harper & Quaye, 2009). The development of such skills can contribute to students' development both academically and personally, enabling them to consider their own position in their interaction with the world around them and the people they may encounter in their personal and professional lives in the future.

Encouraging the sympathy/empathy debate in criminological teaching practice can enhance students' ability to think critically and creatively, enabling them to unlock their intellectual potential in ways they may not have done previously. As noted earlier in the chapter, researchers are doing this in the field by openly discussing their emotions when reflecting on research processes and the same practice can be conducted in the classroom. Beyond the case study included in this chapter, student outcomes on the module in question have frequently seen the achievement of higher grades which, in part, could be attributed to the way they are encouraged to scrutinise their own thinking as well as the arguments presented to them in academic literature, which results in criticality and creativity in their assessed work.

To conclude, when studying the emotive criminological topics, students will encounter numerous instances whereby they are faced with the sympathy/empathy challenge. In identifying this, educators should harness this opportunity to openly discuss the challenge with students in a transparent and supportive way to facilitate the enhancement of their creative thought.

Top Tips: Teaching an Emotive Discipline

- Be open with students by discussing your own personal challenges when balancing empathy and sympathy.

- Openly discuss and deconstruct with students the sympathy/empathy balance as a core part of the wider teaching delivery process.
- Encourage students to utilise models of reflection. This will enable them to consider how they are processing and critically analysing learning materials.
- Identify opportunities to bring lived-experience voice into teaching and learning through materials such as letters, blogs, and podcasts.
- Encourage students to confidently acknowledge discomfort when their emotions are challenged during learning.

References

A, S. (2020). *Small things…—Star letter of the month—insidetime and insideinformation*. https://insidetime.org/small-things-star-letter-of-the-month/

Aring, C. (1958). Sympathy and empathy. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 167*, 448–453.

Bagnall, A., South, J., Hulme, C., Woodall, J., Vinall-Collier, K., Raine, G., Kinsella, K., Dixey, R., Harris, L., & Wright, N. (2015) A systematic review of the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of peer education and peer support in prisons. *BMC Public Health, 15*(1).

Bailey, G., & O'Leary, C. (2017). Yes, academics tend to be left wing: But let's not exaggerate it. *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/yes-academics-tend-to-be-left-wing-but-lets-not-exaggerate-it-74093

Batson, C. D., Chang, J., Orr, R., & Rowland, J. (2002). Empathy, attitudes, and action: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group motivate one to help the group? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 1*, 1656–1666.

Becker, H. (1967). Whose side are we on? *Social Problems, 14*(3), 239–247.

Bennett, J. (2006). The good, the bad and the ugly: The media in prison films. *The Howard Journal, 45*(2), 97–115.

Burke, R. H. (2019). *An introduction to criminological theory*. Routledge.

Busu, T. N. Z. T. M., Mohd-Yusof, K., & Rahman, N. F. A. (2020). Empathy enhancement among engineering students through cooperative problem-based learning. In *2020 IEEE international conference on teaching, assessment, and learning for engineering* (pp. 889–894). TALE.

Cooney, F., & Braggins, J. (2010) *Good practice with older people in prison—The views of prison staff*. Prison Reform Trust.
Coyle, A. (2005). *Understanding prisons*. Open University Press.
Crewe, B. (2007). The sociology of imprisonment. In Y. Jewkes (Ed.), *Handbook on prisons*. Willan.
Crewe, B. (2011). Depth, weight and tightness: Revisiting the pains of imprisonment. *Punishment and Society, 13*(5), 509–529.
Crewe, B. (2014). Not looking hard enough: Masculinity, emotion and prison research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(4), 392–403.
Crewe, B., & Bennett, J. (2012). *The prisoner*. Routledge.
Crewe, B., Hulley, S., & Wright, S. (2017). The gendered pains of life imprisonment. *British Journal of Criminology, 6*, 1359.
Dalton, D. (2010). Crime, law and trauma: A personal reflection on the challenges and rewards of teaching sensitive topics to criminology students. *Enhancing Learning in the Social Sciences, 2*(3), 1–18.
Davis, M. H. (1983). Measuring individual differences in empathy: Evidence for a multidimensional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 44*(1), 113–126.
English, A. R. (2016). John Dewey and the role of the teacher in a globalized world: Imagination, empathy, and "third voice." *Educational Philosophy & Theory, 48*(10), 1046–1064.
Gibbs, G. (1988) *Learning by doing: A guide to teaching and learning methods*. Further Education Unit, Oxford Polytechnic.
Gouldner, A. (1962). Anti-Minotaur: The myth of a value-free sociology. *Social Problems, 9*(3), 199–213.
GOV.UK. (2020). *Peer support in prison*. https://www.gov.uk/guidance/peer-support-in-prison
Harper, S. R., & Quaye, S. J. (2009). Beyond sameness, with engagement and outcomes for all. In S. J. Quaye & S. R. Harpers (Eds.), *Student engagement in higher education* (pp. 1–15). Routledge.
HM Inspectorate of Prisons. (2016). *Life in prison: Peer support*. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons.
Howes, L. M. (2017). Critical thinking in criminology: Critical reflections on learning and teaching. *Teaching in Higher Education, 22*(8), 891–907.
Jewkes, Y. (2012). Autoethnography and emotion as intellectual resources: Doing prison research differently. *Qualitative Inquiry, 18*(1), 63–75.
Jewkes, Y. (2015). *Media and crime* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Laws, B., & Lieber, E. (2020). King, warrior, magician, lover: Understanding expressions of care among male prisoners. *European Journal of Criminology, 19*, 469–487.

Lawson, M. A., & Lawson, H. A. (2013). New conceptual frameworks for student engagement research, policy, and practice. *Review of Educational Research, 83*(3), 432–479.

Leake, E. (2016). Writing pedagogies of empathy: As rhetoric and disposition. *Composition Forum, 34*. http://compositionforum.com/issue/34/empathy.php

Liebling, A. (1999). Doing research in prison: Breaking the silence? *Theoretical Criminology, 3*(2), 147–173.

Liebling, A. (2001). Whose side are we on? Theory, practice and allegiances in prisons research. *British Journal of Criminology, 41*(3), 472–484.

Mackey, D. A., & Courtright, K. E. (2000). Assessing punitiveness among college students: A comparison of criminal justice majors with other majors. *Justice Professional, 12*(4), 423.

Maguire, D. (2019). Vulnerable prisoner masculinities in an english prison. *Men and Masculinities, 24*, 501–518.

Mason, P. (Ed.). (2003). *Criminal visions: Media representations of crime and justice*. Willan.

Nichols, H. (2021). *Understanding the educational experiences of imprisoned men: (Re)education*. Routledge.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1998). *Cultivating humanity: A classical defence of reform in liberal education*. Harvard University Press.

Samaritans. (2020). *The listener scheme*. Samaritans. https://www.samaritans.org/how-we-can-help/prisons/listener-scheme/#:~:text=The%20Listener%20scheme%20is%20a%20peer%20support%20service,scheme%20was%20introduced%20at%20HMP%20Swansea%20in%201991

Seu, B. I. (2003). Your stomach makes you feel that you don't want to know anything about it: Desensitization, defence mechanisms and rhetoric in response to human rights abuses. *Journal of Human Rights*, *2*(2), 183–196.

Shuman, A. (2005). *Other people's stories: Entitlement claims and the critique of empathy*. University of Illinois Press.

Sloan, J., & Wright, S. (2015). Going in green: Reflections on the challenges of 'getting in, getting on, and getting out' for doctoral prisons researchers. In D. H. Drake, R. Earle, and J. Sloan (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of prison ethnography: Palgrave studies in prisons and penology*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Sykes, G. (1958). *The society of captives: A study of a maximum security prison*. Princeton University Press.

Tajalli, H., De Soto, W., & Dozier, A. (2013). Determinants of punitive attitudes of college students toward criminal offenders. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education, 24*(3), 339–356.

Turner, M., Peacock, M., Payne, S., Fletcher, A., & Froggatt, K. (2018). Ageing and dying in the contemporary neoliberal prison system: Exploring the "double burden" for older prisoners. *Social Science & Medicine, 212*, 161–167.

von Plomin, J. (2017). *Behind bars: Prison undercover*. Directed by J. von Plomin.

10

Reasonably Uncomfortable: Teaching Sensitive Material Sensitively

Natacha Harding

Introduction

Criminology is a subject that engages with contemporary issues and real-world problems and offers opportunities for students to share their own positions and experiences to develop critical reflection skills (see Hamilton, 2013; Thurgood, 2020). However, criminology is also a subject that addresses content that can be distressing and unsettling due to topics that include discussions of harm, trauma, discrimination and victimisation (Dalton, 2020). This leads to challenges in creating inclusive learning environments, whereby some students may feel uncomfortable discussing sensitive topics. This chapter explores some of the approaches adopted to teaching sensitive material in a criminology programme.

N. Harding (✉)
Faculties of Law, Crime and Justice, University of Winchester, Winchester Hampshire, UK
e-mail: natacha.harding@winchester.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_10

To frame this chapter, I will illustrate some of these challenges and opportunities through my own experience of teaching sensitive materials. Over the course of my academic career so far, I have specialised in delivering modules that either entirely or largely focused on topics areas traditionally considered sensitive, notably modules on sexual offending and victimisation, victimology, domestic abuse and violence, and interpersonal violence and harm (with a focus on violence within the family unit, suicide and euthanasia). These modules have been delivered through a range of different approaches, in large lecture groups to small seminar discussions, and have been created for students from first year undergraduate to postgraduate level.

Starting with the debates surrounding what material is considered sensitive, the discussion will move on to why this poses a particular challenge for the teaching of Criminology as a discipline, and what those particular challenges are. By presenting a focus on establishing techniques to support both students and lecturers/ tutors, this chapter will outline three distinct challenges as key areas of consideration: firstly, how to engage with students' preconceived knowledge of the sensitive topic area, secondly, how to acknowledge students' potential own personal experience; and finally, how to address the potential emotional impact on you as a lecturer in delivering such sensitive topic areas. Throughout this dialogue, I will draw upon a number of the techniques that I have developed, and learned from others, over the course of my time delivering such teaching.

What Is Sensitive Material and Why Does It Matter to Criminology?

The debate concerning the sensitive nature of material is ongoing and complex. Sensitivity, as a definable concept, is culturally, socially, environmentally and discipline specific representing an ever-changing set of concerns. Lowe and Jones (2010: 2) identify the challenge:

> Almost any topic can become sensitive if emotional responses are raised, if there are competing explanations about events, if there are political

differences about what should happen next or challenges about how issues could be resolved.

It is further acknowledged by Ashwin et al. (2020) that students attending university are drawn from a wide range of backgrounds, with a whole breadth of experience and knowledge that they bring with them. This complicates the dilemmas associated with understanding and addressing what is 'sensitive' and what potential impacts the material you are delivering may have on your students. Sardone and Devlin-Scherer (2015) explore the particular challenge of discussing sensitive subjects with adolescents, focusing on genocide, succinctly describing it as 'Social issues involving complex human behaviours are not easy to discuss at any level' (2015: 4). By arguing that the techniques they outline, including engagement with literature, comic books, technological interactions, are applicable to a range of 'uncomfortable topics', they acknowledge that the necessity of engaging with such subjects is that 'students can find their own voices to become informed and engaged members of our civil society and global community' (ibid: 5).

As a lecturer in Criminology, I strongly support this position. Indeed, I teach about genocide in modules on Victimology and Crime & Humanity and have developed a number of approaches which will be discussed later in this chapter. The reality of human suffering on such a scale, and that such atrocities still happen does have an impact on the students I teach and how I engage with my students. In that space, as partners, it is essential to address such challenges and seek to understand what they take from the session(s). In a particularly interesting study on teachers' perspectives with supporting young adult book clubs, Boyd et al. (2021) explore what is considered sensitive, the challenge of self-censorship and supporting the needs of students. The concerns of teachers include a worry around 'a focus on drugs, mental health, or sexual encounters [which] could actually lead students to engage in harmful behaviors or cause personal trauma' (ibid: 129). While a concern about student wellbeing is paramount, exposure for students to such social issues, through a mechanism such as a book club, offers another alternative less formalised route, to explore why the students consider

the subject material sensitive, why the teachers themselves consider it sensitive and the reactions that emerge.

Reflecting on this challenge I consider my experiences with one of my modules *Writings on Crime, Morality and Deviance*. This module takes a similar approach to exploring criminal and social justice issues through a range of literature from religious texts to fairy tales to contemporary crime fiction and true crime narratives. The focus on sensitive subject matters, including sexual offending, violence, race, discrimination and taboo subjects, are engaged through the interplay of the narrative, criminological theory, and the 'reality' of such issues. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section on students' previous knowledge.

The broad definition of what is deemed sensitive is reflected in some institutional HE policies. While my own institution does not have a specific policy on the handling of sensitive topics in teaching, reference is made to the requirement to be aware of such discussions when we record our teaching sessions, and that permission may be sought to exclude sessions deemed 'sensitive' from the recording policy. However, what is not offered is a definition of 'sensitive'. In the case of my own teaching, I have sought permission to not record my module that is based on live claims of a miscarriage of justice in England and Wales. The reason is that I deem the legal documents discussed within the module to be sensitive with such confidentiality needing to be preserved. This rationale for teaching purposes aligns with the ethics policy of my own institution, which has a broad explanation of what may be deemed a sensitive topic for research purposes, (such as race, ethnicity, sex life, criminal offences and convictions). The policy specifically lists terrorism as a particular example of a sensitive subject, but it is integral to understand that these examples of topics are all framed within research purposes. Other institutions do have policies specifically on what is deemed as 'sensitive' in learning and teaching, for example, the University of Sheffield (no date) has a clear policy which offers suggestions of what may be sensitive topics. These are outlined as topics concerning identity, faith, mental health, drug and alcohol misuse or forms of sexual offending. This policy makes it clear that any delivery of such topics should be a balance between not avoiding or 'self-censor[ing]' such topics if 'they are an important part of any programme', and consideration of 'the most

appropriate way for students to engage with [subject material]'. This example sets out 'clear communications to students about the content of modules or programmes and how you expect them to engage with the module or programme'. The breadth of topic areas included in the policy, along with the caveat that it is not an exhaustive list, highlights the challenges of identifying, acknowledging and teaching areas that could be sensitive.

The broad nature of what can be considered 'sensitive' becomes evident when considering the broad, multi-disciplinary, nature of Criminology. The latest Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) subject benchmark for Criminology (QAA, 2022) indicates the prevalence of potentially sensitive topics throughout the discipline. The areas included within what Criminology is 'concerned with' include:

> processes of criminalisation and victimisation…social, legal and cultural meanings of crime, harm, deviance and stigmatised difference including historical, cultural and decolonising perspectives…understanding the interrelationship of crime, harm, deviance and victimisation in relation to class, gender, age, race and ethnicity, disability, religious faith and sexuality. (2022: 4)

This brief summary, signposts the challenges concerning sensitive topic materials as prevalent in Criminology, and that before delving into what are considered the characteristics of a degree in Criminology, detailed lists of the subject matter should be included (2022: 4–5). As a discipline, the development of programmes and the delivery of modules must take the sensitive nature of the topics into account.

There has been some consideration of teaching particularly sensitive areas within Criminology by Scriver and Kennedy (2015). They explore the teaching of sexual violence within social and health sciences while acknowledging the need for teaching such topics, they also acknowledge the 'often present realities in the lives of students and those with whom they will work following their education' (2015: 195). The authors acknowledge the lack of education, prior to HE, that the students will likely have engaged in concerning sexual education, consent, rape, healthy relationships and sexual activity. This, indeed, forms part of

their arguments supporting the considered inclusion of teaching of sensitive topics areas in health and social science courses. This lack of previous education, combined with a contemporary acknowledgement of the prevalence of sexual offending within society, means that students are coming into the classroom with a mix of missing or inaccurate knowledge and/or personal experience of trauma. The Crime Survey for England and Wales reports for the year to March 2020, around 1.8% of adults (773,000 individuals) aged 16–74 years experienced sexual assault, which include offences such as 'rape…assault by penetration, indecent exposure and unwanted sexual touching (Stripe, 2021: 3). This further highlights the need to engage with these topic areas, but in a manner that does not cause further harm to our students.

As previously discussed, one specific area within my own institution that is defined as 'automatically' sensitive is terrorism. Alakoc (2019: 218) considered the challenge of teaching terrorism within the classroom as a 'risky endeavour'. As to why terrorism poses specific challenges, they summarise the issue is 'a value-laden, contentious and provocative topic, which is difficult to define comprehensively, and challenging to discuss in an objective and constructive manner' (ibid: 220). However, Alakoc does outline how students engage in the debate with discussions being multi-faceted. Students come into the class with 'strong opinions', which are 'not always the most informed, substantiated, or supported by evidence, but they are nonetheless surprisingly rigid and inflexible, which again adds another layer of difficulty for instructors' (ibid: 220). This is a particular challenge in the teaching of sensitive topic and will be the next area this chapter will address.

Given the challenge of defining sensitive topic areas, our practice as teachers needs to develop in such a manner to ensure that we teach materials that have the potential to be deemed as sensitive in a professional manner. As Heath et al., (2017: 6) argue, as teachers, our 'professional competency requires capacity to address sensitive issues'. In their interdisciplinary discussion, drawing upon law, psychology, midwifery, social work and veterinary science, it is made clear that students need to engage with a range of sensitive materials to allow students to 'be prepared for dealing with such challenging situations in their future professional practice' (ibid: 6). It is further acknowledged that particular subjects may

trigger a stress reaction in students or a 'profound sense of responsibility for the welfare of others facing trauma, cruelty or violence' (ibid: 6) but that this should not be avoided. Instead, it should be handled professionally by those teaching.

Students Prior Knowledge and Engaging Participation

Acknowledging personal experience, diverse backgrounds and personal views on contentious issues of our students are integral in the process of preparing and delivering teaching and learning. The QAA (2022) subject benchmark acknowledges that those delivering programmes in Criminology 'must ensure that students feel a sense of belonging, and a recognition that their experiences will enrich their learning rather than be a barrier to their success' (QAA, 2022: 6). The creation of the sense of 'belonging' is key to a productive learning community and environment. Owens (2007: 37) outlines the traditional sense of knowledge as 'existing independently of the learner' and forms the idea that 'understanding can be transmitted from one person to another…Knowledgeable experts are expected to transmit their knowledge to their students, who…are seen as empty vessels waiting to be filled by the teacher'. Contemporary pedagogical literature from Lea (2015) acknowledges that this is not the case, with Owens considering the role of problem-based learning and how, through a constructivist approach to learning, the development of learning is through 'an assimilation of new knowledge with existing knowledge and consequently a changed perception and understanding of the world by a learner' (Owens, 2007: 31). Lea (2015: 114–115) notes, when considering the 'nature of academic knowledge', work by Barnett and Coate (2005) on the three purposes of higher education, and summarises it as the interplay between being, knowing and acting. Such considerations of knowledge must be at the heart of developing our teaching and learning, as bell hooks (1994), writes in *Teaching to Transgress,* being in the classroom and sharing 'as much as possible the need for critical thinkers to engage multiple locations, to

address diverse standpoints, to allow us to gather knowledge fully and inclusively' (hooks, 1994: 91) developing the metaphor of baking bread, but discovering you have no flour. The flour, while not sufficient alone, becomes important—'[t]his is a way to think about experience in the classroom' (hooks, 1994: 91–92). All the background knowledge and understanding of our students adds to the classroom. However, there are times to challenge and explore it.

I will offer an example of one such challenge of working with existing knowledge and opinions. On starting to deliver a module, that focused solely on sexual offending and victimisation '*Sex Crimes: Criminal Justice and Civil Measures*', it became clear that the challenge was two-pronged. On the one hand, existing opinions and previous trauma and on the other hand experience (considered in the next section). For most students, the challenge did not *appear initially* to be previous personal experience and trauma, but instead it was addressing pre-existing views and opinions that clearly reflected the societal prevalence of myths concerning rape and sexual offending (see Crown Prosecution Service, 2020; Rape Crisis, no date, a) as well as the challenges of attitudes and perceptions of such offending (as considered by Bradbury & Martellozzo, 2021 and Harper et al., 2015). Comments from students indicated not that the students were malicious or intentionally derogatory about sexual offending but, instead, that their understanding at the start of the module was based on the information available to them through peers and family, as well as mainstream media. For example, explaining that there is no defined criminal offence of specifical paedophilia in England and Wales, despite mass media reporting, often comes as a surprise (instead it would come under the *Sexual Offences Act 2003* within offences against children under 13), as well as explaining that paedophilia concerns attraction to children within specific age ranges causing some surprise amongst the students. Exploring the lower prevalence of stranger sexual offending, as opposed to offending often being committed through someone the victim knows, particularly when the victim is defined as a child, is also equally of surprise. It is therefore essential to work critically with the broad range of available research, as well as social/media representations, as a class, unpicking why certain

attitudes and perceptions exist and how they are (often) in conflict with the real experience of those targeted. In sum, engagement is the key to the success of such an approach.

Delivering Engagement

Anyone who has taught in any classroom runs the risk and probably has the experience, of the challenge of engaging students. Where students are concerned about the subject matter, or they are unsure about their own knowledge, engagement can indeed be a challenge. One student, in a class about immigration, challenged me about how they were supposed to engage with the class when it did not acknowledge and support views that sat further towards the right-wing scale of politics. We discussed what they meant by such opinions, explored the prevalence of such debates and what the political outcomes at the time represented in terms of political positioning. We all learned a lot from such engagement, but that highlighted the nature of the material I had set ahead of the session and whether it encompassed a sufficient range of positions and perspectives.

One of the elements of teaching sensitive materials is allowing the students to prepare themselves ahead of the session. Zurbriggen (2011: 224) speaks to the need to prevent secondary traumatisation and speaks to considering the intensity of the material you are choosing to utilise. For example, they state that the nature of the material is important, is it a first-hand account or a journal article based on a study? Is it possible for media material such as videos or films be viewed in a less public space than the classroom? Zurbriggen reasonably argues that 'first-person accounts (guest speakers, personal memoirs, filmed interviews) might be especially symptom-provoking' (Zurbriggen, 2011: 224). However, she goes on to reaffirm that '[t]eaching about trauma to undergraduates…is a worthy goal' (ibid: 227). The teaching of sensitive topic areas in Criminology is a necessity, but it can be handled with care.

There are number of approaches that can be taken with such preparation. In my institution there is a university expectation of posting materials at least 24 hours ahead of a teaching session, as part of the

support for inclusive learning. Given the nature of the modules I have taught, the posting of materials also offers the opportunity for students to explore the content of the session ahead. This allows students to prepare themselves, as well as make informed decisions as to whether, and how, to engage with that particular session. This reflects Zurbriggen's (2011) point about the ability to engage in material in a place that is safe for them. It also offers the students the opportunity to make an informed choice about attending a particular session. Another element of preparation was indicating areas or questions that would be the basis of discussion, to allow students to think about the responses they wish to contribute. This is generally good practice to assist engagement with students who are a little quieter in the classroom setting. By offering questions ahead of the session does not preclude additional or wider questions, but it does offer a framework to aid learning. Heath et al., (2017: 8) support this stating that '[g]iving students the information they need to emotionally prepare for classes, including making the class aware that 'hidden survivors' will be present in class and orienting them toward care for one another can make the class a safer environment for everyone'. By offering preparatory opportunities, all can contribute and be part of the learning environment.

Generating discussion and debate is at the heart of learning and engaging teaching. Students sharing perspectives and opinions on sensitive topics allows for challenging and exploring of positions taken. As previously discussed, hooks (1994) places this engagement at the heart of the learning environment. The preparation suggested previously can provide confidence to students to know what they want to contribute and how to frame their thoughts. Such discussions have the potential for a great learning opportunity, but also the potential for a session to descend into something akin to chaos, without control from the facilitator. There is a fine line here, particularly in terms of sensitive subject areas. As a rule, I will deliver content that offers context and starts to address potential misinformation ahead of a discussion session, to offer some foundation understanding. The aim of the content is not to impose my position or opinion on the students, but to offer knowledge and understanding to support their contributions.

My experience informs me that in every room, there will be students with contentious opinions and positions, and they should participate in discussions. Understanding why individuals take such positions, however, is part of the learning process. How that debate is handled is important. In an era of emphasis on freedom of speech, as seen in recent HE policy decisions (Department for Education, 2021), open discussion is important, and all voices should be heard and explored. Grant and Hewlett (2020) conducted research with HE students and the general public exploring freedom of speech. Overall, the study found that 'students are broadly supportive of freedom of expression…but there is a legitimate and concerning issue around the 'chilling effect, where students holding particular views feel intimidated in raising them on campus' (Grant and Hewlett, 2020: 14). When discussing sensitive topic areas, there may be students in the room who do not feel they have the space to express what are viewed as unpopular opinions, as in my previous experience of the student in *Politics of Crime*. By offering an open discussion space, views can be aired, discussed and understood.

Developing an environment where students could feel comfortable sharing a range of viewpoints on sensitive topics poses a challenge. This is where educational software can be useful (Department for Education, 2019). There is a good range of different platforms, notably Socrative, Kahoot and Padlet, all of which offer different functionality. One of the central functions of such software is that of anonymous contributions, which presents both an opportunity and a challenge. Scales (2017: 113) argues that such technological opportunities can 'improve attention, cognitive activity, engagement and attendance' and that it can assist students to 'be engaging with a topic at a deeper level, rather than passively listening to the lecture'. Conversely, it is acknowledged that anonymity, especially in online forums, has allowed individuals to post deeply offensive material, threaten violence and troll individuals (see Bentley & Cowan, 2021; Howard et al., 2019). This can happen at a classroom level without boundaries. However, experience has also shown, that students will generally be respectful in such a space. Where they have not, it is an opportunity to directly challenge such postings. There is a balance to be had here, and this is one I learned during an exercise on freedom of expression in social media early in my teaching

career. This went slightly sideways in a competitive approach amongst the students to find the most outrageous post they could to post onto a private Padlet. Allowing such a confidential space to share, similar to a discussion session, arguably needs some boundaries. However, educational interactive software, such as those mentioned above, can allow for engagement with some topic areas to start out, and responses offered can be the basis of a debrief and trigger wider conversation, leading students back to the content previously delivered. As Brown (2015: 56) states,

> it is archaic to expect students to sit physically present in the same as the lecturer, passively listening to and noting what is said, and thereby absorbing content…students are making mind-aps on previously pasted-up presentations, Googling unfamiliar words or Tweeting about the subject of the lecture.

If we can utilise the technology that our students have (while being inclusive and allowing for the fact that not everyone will have that technology) to support them engaging in sensitive topic areas, it allows us to build an effective learning environment.

While the challenges of first-person accounts were raised by Zurbriggen (2011) are a valid consideration, utilising case studies in teaching sessions offers a focus for theoretical discussions concerning sensitive topic areas. Drawing upon case studies in the public domain also offers the opportunity to explore how they are represented, as well as humanising the sensitive topic concerned. For example, when delivering the Level 6 module on sexual offending as discussed previously, I utilised the documentary *Sex, Drugs & Murder: Life in the Red Light Zone* (2016) when discussing sex work. This highlighted some of the complexities of those involved in sex work through their own words. When delivering the Level 4 module on victimology, looking at high profile public cases such as Operation Yewtree, the prosecution of Brock Turner and the treatment of victims such as Frances Andrade by the criminal justice system allows for the analysis of challenges in addressing sexual violence and offending. This can be achieved through the experience, without sharing personal experiences (something considered in the

next section). However, there are indeed challenges with the representation of sensitive topics through mass media, including documentaries, with sensationalism and inaccuracies. By utilising a range of case studies, there is the potential for developing a well-rounded module approach, that includes experiences that 'represent and value diversity' and adopts approaches that should be 'encouraged and nurtured' in collaboration with the students themselves (McDuff et al., 2020: 116).

Overall, encouraging constructive engagement with sensitive teaching material is to the benefit of our students and underpins the required topic areas as indicated in the Criminology QAA Benchmark Statement (2022: 6). Teaching these areas offers a chance to explore and challenge social inequality and poor practice within the criminal justice system and wider social systems. However, it is imperative that the pedagogical design of courses considers how the content is discussed:

> Students should be supported to express their ideas and beliefs across a range of sensitive and controversial subject areas within the discipline, in a collaborative, safe and collegiate environment, as well as being supported to reflect on how their own experiences may be shaping their views. (QAA, 2022: 6)

Ensuring Boundaries

Encouraging engagement needs to be balanced with ensuring boundaries. This poses a particular challenge that delivering boundaries can be silencing experience, stopping debate and directly challenging opinions. There are some steps that can be taken to support the building of boundaries, whilst also supporting engagement. One of the first steps can be to agree to a code of conduct, or ground rules, at the start of the module or teaching session. This works best when agreed as a community of learning together, rather than only relying on an institutional wide student conduct charter that may be in place in your institution. Lea (2015) refers to the nature of academic knowledge and how to engage with students in generating different forms of knowledge. He suggests tutors 'begin to draw a knowledge demarcation line' as part of

the way you can 'deal with student contributions, specifically how you deal with unwelcome contributions' (Lea, 2015: 113). This can come in different forms, however, an initial discussion, collectively agreed, can offer a chance to set a starting point of expected behaviour. Examples of expected behaviours were relatively obvious, such as listening when one person is speaking, but also an agreement to challenge an opinion but not the person, avoiding trying to make it too personal. Other elements of the agreement included terms and language that were deemed not acceptable and where those boundaries were. This agreement assisted in bringing the group together at the start of the module while ensuring boundaries from the outset. Engaging with such behaviour setting processes offers the potential for a safe space for the learning community to discuss and debate.

Inaccuracies need to be addressed because that forms part of unpicking misinformation. Pappas (2022) speaks to the challenge of misinformation within the teaching of psychology, identifying that teaching around the debunking of misinformation is central to developing students and is a key skill that they need. They highlight an exercise delivered in the Stanford Graduate School of Education in which a seemingly trustworthy website is considered by students which, in fact, belongs to a group identified by the American College of Paediatricians as a fringe hate group. The exercise speaks to the vulnerability of our students to misinformation. However, as a lecturer there are several ways in which you can challenge and address such misinformation and inaccuracies. There have been situations where I have directly addressed students in terms of the point they have raised. Always in a constructive manner, for example, inaccurate statements over the level of 'false' allegations of sexual offending, usually considered to be much higher than they are, students are referred to research such as Kelly et al. (2005) and Hester and Lilley (2016) exploring the estimated level of allegations along with research concerning victim attrition. However a subtler approach has proven to be more successful. For example, when considering issues around consent, considered to be causes of sexual violence (women's dress, drinking, etc.), one example draws upon a social experiment conducted by the BBC (2015), which presented a video and supporting information on sexual activity between two young people at a party

on which the participants of the experiment were asked whether they believe consent had been given or not. This was a good focus to be able to explore consent from a range of perspectives and to offer some guidance on understanding consent in a scenario which is familiar to them. By looking at the misinformation and inaccuracies from a range of viewpoints, it allows for the development of critical thinking as well as deepening students' understanding of a given topic.

Working with students' previous knowledge and promoting engagement is an important element of our roles as lecturers. Bringing students together to engage in sensitive topic materials allows for the opportunity to add depth and accuracy to existing knowledge. However, one other important element to consider is the role of students' personal experience of trauma.

Working with and Acknowledging Student Experience

As mentioned previously, there is a strong potential for people in your classroom to have been personally affected by sensitive topic matter. My experience was with delivering a session on euthanasia where we considered the role of organisations such as Dignitas, and the session ended with several students in tears over recent bereavement of family members. Klein (2017: 12) speaks to some of the challenges concerning engagement with particular sensitive topics:

> University students exhibit reluctance to discuss controversial topics such as sexual activity, and abusive behaviours. In teaching this type of content, it has been clear that the instructor must take additional steps to ensure that the students are comfortable and feel safe enough to discuss sexual victimisation in a group setting.

Understanding and acknowledging that students, in the room, may have had experience of the sensitive topic area you are discussing is important. Earlier in this chapter, I referred to the latest figures from the Crime Survey of England and Wales, approximately 773,00 individuals had

been a victim of sexual assault in the year to March 2020 (Stripe, 2021). In accordance with statistics from Rape Crime England & Wales (no date, b), 1 in 5 women have been raped or sexually assaulted as an adult, 1 in 6 children have been sexually abused and 1 in 20 men have been raped or sexually assaulted as an adult. According to the ONS, in the year to March 2021, 845,734 domestic abuse crimes were recorded by the police (Elkin, 2021). The prevalence of such offending means that there are likely to be individuals directly or indirectly affected within your classroom. How to address this is a matter of working with your students, but also your academic judgement.

One important consideration would be the support available for those affected by the sensitive topic area. In my experience, support frameworks have formed an important part of delivering teaching on sensitive subject areas. In a recent report from UCAS (2021), it was identified that 3.7% of all UK applicants have declared a mental health condition (2021: 3). In accordance with wider understanding of the decision of students to not declare a mental health condition, it is estimated that 74,000 students with such a condition entered HE (2021: 3). As HE institutions, there is a duty of care to offer support to our students and where we are teaching sensitive topics, this duty of care is evident. Offering support to students ahead and after such teaching can assist, for example, when delivering modules on sexual offending or victimology, the first session included Student Services coming into the session to remind students of the support available. In addition, information on organisations who offer support to those affected by the subject matter are shared at the start of the module, reiterated throughout and included in the VLE. Ensuring that the students know that there is help available has proven to be very important over the period of delivery. The offer of support from the outset can ensure a supportive environment to engage fully in the teaching and learning on sensitive subject areas offered.

The last section of this chapter discusses the support for you as a lecturer. As a lecturer who delivers materials on sensitive topic areas, there is potential for you to become a person that a student may feel comfortable disclosing their own experience to you. Your own knowledge of the

support mechanisms for students allows you to signpost students to available support, which has the opportunity for you to maintain your own boundaries, while supporting the student.

One debated area of preparation and support is the role of trigger warnings (see Dalton, 2020). This can be a tool to acknowledge the background experience of your students with research by Sanson et al. (2019: 778) suggesting that utilising trigger warnings was 'neither meaningful helpful nor harmful'. Jones et al. (2020) argue that 'trigger warnings are not helpful for trauma survivors' and further state that '[u]sing unvetted interventions is irresponsible to victims of trauma' (2020: 915). These are contentious positions given the acknowledgement of mental health and support needs of our student bodies. Kafer (2016) argues that the use of trigger warnings, when engaging with disability studies, offers an entry point to engaging with such theories and discussions, with Bentley (2017) and George and Hovey (2020) summarising the differing sides of the debate, covering perspectives in England and North America respectively. There is a balance to be had between understanding the experience of students and allowing them to make informed choices to address sensitive topic areas. In Criminology the debate concerning trigger warnings, concerns what form they take and when they should be used. For example, if, materials must be posted in advance they can act as a trigger warning, based on inclusive practice policies. Where this is not the case, utilising the virtual learning environment (VLE) to let students know about topics ahead of sessions is generally good practice.

However, part of the debate is on the labelling of a trigger warning, which has the potential to cause anxiety-inducing material. Teaching during my career has the potential to be triggering for individuals to address this, I post materials and preparation on our VLE ahead of time and utilise trigger warnings sparingly, not using that label, when there are first-hand accounts (sometimes written, sometimes in video) which have the potential to cause anxiety (as discussed in Zurbriggen, 2011). This takes the form of a message outlining the week ahead, letting students know where they will find the content of potential concern. Utilising trigger warnings is part academic judgement, part student support and as you deliver modules, when to use such warnings will become clear to

you. This is where talking to colleagues who have potentially delivered a given module before or are delivering similar topics can be of use.

One of the more challenging approaches around addressing student's previous personal experience is the sharing of those personal experiences in classroom and how to develop boundaries in the learning environments. There are arguments for and against students sharing their own experiences of sensitive topic areas (see Bohannon et al., 2019; Carello & Butler, 2015). My dilemma supporting disclosure has two sides. On one hand, once something is shared, it cannot be unshared. Those students making the disclosure is making the experience public. There may be supportive repercussions from this which is positive, however, there is also the potential for the risk of feeling targeted in contentious debate. However, silencing victims has long been the mainstay of the criminal justice system with the sharing of experiences shedding light on previously hidden offending and trauma (see Harding, 2018). If I, as a lecturer, tell someone not to share, then I am possibly reinforcing the denial of their experience. This is a call that needs to be made by you as a lecturer, potentially in conjunction with your community of learning. Personally, I took the decision to not encourage the sharing of personal experience in the classroom setting and, instead, ensured that support networks were visible to students who wished to seek support, either directly or through speaking to me. The balance has never sat truly comfortably with me either way, but this is a judgement you will make based on the knowledge of your own students. However, the important matter is acknowledging the likelihood that students may have experienced the sensitive topics personally that you are teaching.

When discussing sensitive topic areas, it is understandable that debates and discussions have the potential to become heated. Time out and taking scheduled breaks can assist in giving everyone space to reflect. It also allows individuals who are personally affected by the subject matter concerned to give themselves some space. Knowing when to intervene and when to allow the conversation to continue is a call to be made in the room. However, it is important to address the reason(s) the debate became heated and see this as an opportunity to understand the positions being taken by the various perspectives. Race (2020: 251) argues for the

ability to 'legitimise respectful conflict' in group work, which applies to teaching groups and the importance 'to acknowledge that people don't have to agree all of the time', but also to allow for 'agreed processes by which areas of disagreement can be explored' or in the alternative, can be 'agreed to remain areas of disagreement'. This process is important as leaving them unaddressed runs the risk of generating future conflict and/or animosity amongst the students in future teaching sessions.

Self-Care and Protection as a Teacher of Sensitive Topics

The importance of self-care should not be underestimated, especially when teaching sensitive subject areas. Much of the teaching literature focuses on the impact of sensitive materials on the student (Ahearne, 2021; Lowe, 2014; Lowe & Jones, 2010), but there are also challenges around mental health that educators can face (see Boynton, 2021). It has been shown to be prevalent in a sector that has put increased focus on a 'customer' culture as well as the increasingly prevalent issues of mental health amongst the student body (see Berry & Cassidy, 2013, Tunguz, 2020). In a recent report, *Supporting Staff Wellbeing in Higher Education* (Wray & Kinman, 2021: 3), HE employees reported significantly lower levels of mental wellbeing than in population norms, and reported poor 'perceptions of the psychosocial safety climate in UK universities'. Given this environment, we need to take care of ourselves, and it is essential, that as lecturers, we consider the impact on ourselves in those spaces.

I have built professional barriers, and being passionate and committed to teaching materials is as important as the need to take care of myself. It is acceptable to be affected by material, but it is how we deal with it in the classroom that matters. I remember watching a guest lecturer on interviewing of convicted contact sexual abusers of children. In one recording, a participant described, how they had groomed parents before the children to gain access to vulnerable children. I prepared the students with all relevant trigger warning but I had failed to prepare myself in that space. I felt anger so strongly that I struggled to move back into the role of lecturer for the rest of the session, with the sense of uneasiness

staying with me for days afterwards. Now, I would argue, being affected by listening to such an account is human and it is. However, in teaching such materials across a number of modules, self-care is important.

Another dimension to this is that teaching such topics, and being a female academic, I found myself in the role of students approaching me to share their experiences. I am not a trained counsellor or therapist, and the risk of me doing more harm than good was considerable. I cannot emphasise enough the importance of building strong support networks both within and outside of the university. Being able to speak to colleagues, friends, family and support worker of some description is important. Being able to stay attached to something outside of the work that we do as lecturers is important. The ability to give yourself some space is the key.

Conclusion

I have discussed some of the key approaches taken in delivering teaching that has focused on sensitive issues. At the centre must be the understanding of the background of our diverse student body. High-profile cases highlight the issues in other sensitive subject areas, such as systemic racial inequality, challenges concerning socio-economic status alongside inequalities through gender assignment, sexual orientation, religion and disability. Increasingly, students entering our programmes are aware of the issues which underpin much of our discipline-based teaching such as systemic inequality, the impact of social and political processes and the role of activism and outrage. What we offer students, as HE institutions, is the opportunity to learn more, become critical independent thinkers and to be able to effectively express their positions and opinions. This goes hand in hand with our awareness, as lecturers, of the diversity of experience and background of our students in our endeavour to create inclusive learning environments.

A robust support framework is an essential element of university life for students, which becomes especially so when teaching subject materials that have the potential to trigger anxiety or revisit trauma. Ensuring that students have access to relevant services should they choose to speak

to them, the support framework could include optionality in assessment content and the access to materials ahead of sessions, as well as wellbeing support outside of the curriculum. Clear communication of content ahead of sessions, as a content/trigger warning and/or session outlines allows students choice and opportunity to prepare for engagement. The support network needs to extend to yourself as a lecturer as, you need to be prepared for potential student disclosure. The referral to full and professional support is crucial for students who may be disclosing experience for the first time.

Teaching sensitive material is essential in a discipline such as Criminology. However, so is acknowledging the lives of our students and what they bring to the communities of learning they part of. The balance between these two competing requirements is a challenge, but with preparation, a shared sense of purpose in the classroom and the building of trust in a community of learning, it is definitely achievable.

Top Tips: Teaching Sensitive Material in Criminology

- Taking care of yourself and preparing yourself for sessions covering sensitive materials is as important as any student preparation. Try to identify those networks for you.
- Set boundaries through group agreement including considerations on the use of language. Do this at the start of a module or a discrete session and revisit this.
- Allow students to prepare ahead of sessions to help set boundaries and engagement for the session. Provide students with the information to make informed decisions about their participation and that a supportive environment exists in the classroom.
- Acknowledge the potential and probable background and experience of your students. Students have a whole life before they entered university and this needs to be considered when thinking about support mechanisms and approaches to be taken.
- Make good links with relevant support services within your institution to offer support to students.

References

Ahearne, G. (2021). *Online micro-learning can transform the teaching of sensitive topics.* https://www.timeshighereducation.com/campus/online-microlearning-can-transform-teaching-sensitive-topics

Alakoc, B. P. (2019). Terror in the classroom: Teaching terrorism without terrorizing. *Journal of Political Science Education, 15*(2), 218–236. https://doi.org/10.1080/15512169.2018.1470002

Ashwin, P. with Boud, D., Calkins, S., Coate, K., Hallett, F., Light, G., Luckett, K., MacLaren, I., Mårtensson, K., McArthur, J., McCune, V, McLean, M., & Tooher, M. (2020). *Reflective teaching in higher education.* Bloomsbury

Barnett, R., & Coate, K. (2005). *Engaging the curriculum in higher education.* Open University Press.

BBC. (2015). *Do people understand what rape is?* https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-34470205

BBC1. (2016). *Sex, drugs and murder: A year in the red light zone*. BBC1. https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/p04045rz/sex-drugs-murder-life-in-the-red-light-zone-1-welcome-to-holbeck

Bentley, L. A., & Cowan, D. G. (2021). The socially dominant troll: Acceptance attitudes towards trolling. *Personality and Individual Differences*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2021.110628

Bentley, M. (2017). Trigger warnings and the student experience. *Learning and Teaching in Politics and International Studies, 37*(4), 470–485.

Berry, K., & Cassidy, S. (2013). Emotional labour in university lecturers: Considerations for higher education institutions. *Journal of Curriculum and Teaching, 2*(2), 22–36. https://doi.org/10.5430/jct.v2n2p22

Bohannon, L., Clapsaddle, S., & McCollum, D. (2019). Responding to college students who exhibit adverse manifestations of stress and trauma in the college classroom. *Fire: Forum for Research in International Education, 5*(2), 66–78

Boyd, A. S., Rose, S. G., & Darragh, J. J. (2021). Shifting the conversation around teaching sensitive topics: critical colleagueship in a teacher discourse community. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy, 65*(2). 129–137. https://doi.org/10.1002/jaal.1186

Boynton, P. (2021). *Being well in academia: Ways to feel stronger, safer and more connected*. Routledge.

Bradbury, P., & Martellozzo, E. (2021). Lucky boy!: Public perceptions of child sexual offending committed by women. *Journal of Victimology and Victim Justice, 1–19*, 12. https://doi.org/10.1177/25166069211060091

Brown, S. (2015). *Learning, teaching and assessment: Global perspectives.* Palgrave.

Carello, J., & Butler, L. D. (2015). Practicing what we teach: Trauma-informed educational practice. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 35*(3), 262–278. https://doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2015.1030059

Crown Prosecution Service. (2020). *Rape and sexual offences—Annex A: Challenging rape myths and stereotypes.* https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/rape-and-sexual-offences-annex-challenging-rape-myths-and-stereotypes

Dalton, D. (2020). Trigger warnings in criminology teaching contexts: Some reflections based on ten years of teaching a sensitive topic. In D. Palmer (Ed.), *Scholarship of teaching and learning in criminology* (pp. 87–108). Palgrave Macmillan.

Department for Education. (2019). *Realising the potential of technology in education: A strategy for education providers and the technology industry.* https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/791931/DfE-Education_Technology_Strategy.pdf

Department for Education. (2021). *Higher education: Free speech and academic freedom.* https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/higher-education-free-speech-and-academic-freedom

Elkin, M. (2021). *Domestic abuse in England and Wales overview*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/domesticabuseinenglandandwalesoverview/november2021#:~:text=In%20the%20year%20ending%20March%202021%2C%20the%20number%20of%20domestic,decreases%20seen%20in%20recent%20years.

George, E., & Hovey, A. (2020). Deciphering the trigger warning debate: A qualitative analysis of online comments. *Teaching in Higher Education, 25*(7), 825–841. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2019.1603142

Grant, J., & Hewlett, K. (2020) *Student experience of freedom of expression in UK universities*. https://www.kcl.ac.uk/policy-institute/assets/student-experience-freedom-of-expression.pdf

Hamilton, C. (2013). Towards a pedagogy of public criminology. *Enhancing Learning in the Social Sciences, 5*(2), 20–31.

Harding, N. (2018). Participant or spectator? Victim-focused political activity since 2010. *Political Quarterly, 89*(2), 237–245.

Harper, C., Hogue, T. E., & Bartels, R. (2015). Attitudes towards sexual offenders: What do we know, and why are they important? *Aggression and Violent Behaviour, 34*, 201–213. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2017.01.011

Heath, M., Due, C., Hamood, W., Hutchinson, A., Leiman, T., Maxfield, K., & Warland, J. (2017). Teaching sensitive material: A multi-disciplinary perspective. *Ergo, 4*(1), 3–12.

Hester, M., & Lilley, S. J. (2016). Rape investigation and attrition in acquaintance, domestic violence and historical rape cases. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 14*(2), 175–188.

Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom.* Routledge.

Howard, K., Haskard Zolnierek, K., Critz, K., Dailey, S., & Cebellos, N. (2019). An examination of psychosocial factors associated with malicious online trolling behaviors. *Personality and Individual Differences, 149*, 309–314. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.06.020

Jones, P. J., Bellet, B. W., & McNally, R. J. (2020). Helping or harming? The effect of trigger warnings on individuals with trauma histories. *Clinical Psychological Science, 8*(5), 905–917. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167702620921341

Kafer, A. (2016). Un/safe disclosures: Scenes of disability and trauma. *Journal of Literacy & Cultural Disability Studies, 19*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.3828/jlcds.2016.1

Kelly, L., Lovett, L., & Regan, L. (2005) *A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases*. Home Office.

Klein, J. (2017). Learning about the labelled: Teaching a course on sexual offenders while accounting for student who may be abuse survivors. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education.* https://doi.org/10.1080/10511253.2017.1372496

Lea, J. (2015). The nature of academic knowledge. In J. Lea (Ed.), *Enhancing learning and teaching in higher education: Engaging with the dimensions of practice* (pp. 113–131). Open University Press.

Lowe, P., & Jones, H. (2010). Teaching and learning sensitive topics. *Enhancing Learning in the Social Sciences, 2*(3), 1–7.

Lowe, P. (2014). Lessening sensitivity: Student experiences of teaching and learning sensitive issues. *Teaching in Higher Education, 20*(1), 119–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2014.957272

McDuff, N., Hughes, A., & Sharma, S. (2020). *The inclusive curriculum.* In S. Marshall (Ed.), *A handbook for teaching and learning in higher education: Enhancing academic practice* (5th ed., pp. 106–122). Routledge.

Owens, T. (2007). Problem-based learning in higher education. In A. Campbell & L. Norton (Eds.), *Learning, teaching and assessing in higher education: Developing reflective practice* (pp. 31–43). Learning Matters Ltd.

Pappas, S. (2022). *Fighting fake news in the classroom.* https://www.apa.org/monitor/2022/01/career-fake-news

Quality Assurance Agency. (2022). *Subject benchmark statement: Criminology.* https://www.qaa.ac.uk/docs/qaa/sbs/sbs-criminology-22.pdf?sfvrsn=3b3dc81_2

Race, P. (2020) *The lecturer's tolkit: A practical guide to assessment, learning and teaching* (5th ed.). Routledge.

Rape Crisis. (no date, a). *About sexual violence.* https://rapecrisis.org.uk/get-informed/about-sexual-violence/myths-vs-realities/

Rape Crisis. (no date, b). *Statistics about sexual violence and abuse.* https://rapecrisis.org.uk/get-informed/statistics-sexual-violence/

Sanson, M., Strange, D., & Garry, M. (2019). Trigger warnings are trivially helpful at reducing negative affect, intrusive thoughts, and avoidance. *Clinical Psychological Science, 7*(4), 778–793.

Sardone, N. B., & Devlin-Scherer, R. (2015). Exploring sensitive subjects with adolescents: Using media and technology to teach about genocide. *American Secondary Education, 43*(3), 4–17.

Scales, P. (2017). *An introduction to learning and teaching in higher education: Supporting fellowship.* Open University Press

Scriver, S., & Kennedy, K. M. (2015). Delivering education about sexual violence: Reflections on the experience of teaching a sensitive topic in the social and health sciences. *Irish Educational Studies, 35*(2), 195–211. https://doi.org/10.1080/03323315.2016.1146158

Stripe, N. (2021). *Sexual offences prevalence and trends, England and Wales: Year ending March 2020.* https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/sexualoffencesprevalenceandtrendsenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2020#:~:text=1.,attempts)%20in%20the%20last%20year

Thurgood, M. (2020). Transforming pedagogy in criminology. In D. Palmer (Ed.), *Scholarship of teaching and learning in criminology* (pp. 17–36). Palgrave MacMillan.

Tungaz, S. (2020). *Emotional labor in academia: Accommodate if you are female.* https://www.psychologytoday.com/gb/blog/emotional-labor-in-the-workplace/202008/emotional-labor-in-academia-accommodate-if-you-are

UCAS. (2021). *Starting the conversation: UCAS report on student mental health.* https://www.ucas.com/corporate/news-and-key-documents/news/450-increase-student-mental-health-declarations-over-last-decade-progress-still-needed-address

Wray, S., & Kinman, G. (2021). *Supporting staff wellbeing in higher education.* https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/11913/ES_Supporting_Staff_Wellbeing_in_HE_Report/pdf/ES_Supporting_Staff_Wellbeing_in_HE_Report.pdf

Zurbriggen, E. L. (2011). Preventing secondary traumatization in the undergraduate classroom: Lessons from theory and clinical practice. *Psychology Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice and Policy, 3*(3), 223–228.

11

Decolonising the Curriculum: Who is in the Room?

Howard Sercombe, Carly Stanley, Keenan Mundine, and Helen Wolfenden

Introduction

One of the most disturbing realities of modern criminal justice in Australia is the staggering rate of incarceration of Aboriginal people (NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics & Research, 2020). Aboriginal and

H. Sercombe (✉)
UNSW University of New South Wales, Sydney, NSW, Australia
e-mail: h.sercombe@unsw.edu.au

C. Stanley · K. Mundine
Deadly Connections Community and Justice Services, Marrickville, NSW, Australia
e-mail: carly@deadlyconnections.org.au

K. Mundine
e-mail: keenan@deadlyconnections.org.au

H. Wolfenden
Macquarie University, Macquarie, NSW, Australia
e-mail: helen.wolfenden@mq.edu.au

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_11

Torres Strait Islander people reportedly suffer under the highest rate of imprisonment in the world, with 2039 Indigenous people currently imprisoned per 100,000, compared to 163 per 100,000 in the non-Indigenous population (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2018). By comparison, Gramlich (2020) records that the comparable US rate for African American people in 2018 was 1501. The Aboriginal experience is not limited to imprisonment. For many Aboriginal families, the arm of the law reaches preferentially into their households almost on a daily basis, in practices of stop and search, predictive policing, police raids, traffic stops and routine apprehension and questioning.

This chapter is based on an extended conversation between us three and radio/podcast academic Helen Wolfenden, employing knowledge-generation processes integral to Aboriginal knowledge systems, or what Aboriginal people call 'yarning' (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010; Cunneen, 2018; Leeson et al., 2016; Shay, 2021; Yunkaporta, 2019). It is an attempt to include you in the story of our experience, an invitation for you to yarn with us about what happened in *CRIM2031 Indigenous Perspectives in Criminology,* and what could happen a lot more often in other places and with other subjects. To be consistent with Aboriginal knowledge systems, it really should be two-way, a journey we go on together, and for you to share your experience and struggles, and for us to sense what knowledge you are ready for and what will be useful to you. We will have to imagine that, imagine you sitting down with us, talking about how to tell a blackfeller[1] story in that most whitefeller of all places, the university.

Background Context/Setting the Scene

For several years, the criminology department at the University of New South Wales has attempted to educate its students about these realities. In 2018 circumstances brought together Aboriginal justice officer and criminology masters graduate Carly Stanley and ex-prisoner, youth worker and advocate Keenan Mundine with veteran youth worker and academic Howard Sercombe to teach Criminology students (and others)

about how Aboriginal people understood crime, criminals and the social conditions of their production.

Some clever design, and a little horse-trading and generosity on the part of the university, allowed the three of us to co-teach the course. It brought together the academic depth of the discipline with first-hand, up-close familiarity with the NSW criminal justice system and the experience of growing up poor and Aboriginal and, in Keenan's case, orphaned, on the streets of Sydney. The course took students on a journey through the Aboriginal experience of colonisation, institutionalisation and incarceration, informed by Keenan's insightful, emotionally present and sometimes stinging commentary on the world of criminal justice. Carly's initial supporting role quickly expanded to being a pivotal part of the process, bringing her extensive experience from inside and outside the system, and her experience as a First Nations woman, into the conversation.

We had a sense early on that something special was happening in the room. Students began talking to us about how the course was changing them, changing the course of their lives. We wanted to record that, and to put some foundation to our own conversations about the epistemological challenge of doing black and doing white, in the same space, on a university campus.

Who Is Here

In Aboriginal knowledge systems, who we are is important.
In academic knowledge generation, in principle, it should not matter who says something: the knowledge is supported by the data and by the corpus of verified discourse that surrounds it. In the academy, we speak in the third person, and we avoid the personal pronoun, to give the illusion that this knowledge is authorless, that it exists independently of who it is who knows. Scientific discourse is de-subjectified, 'objective' knowledge.

Aboriginal knowledge is relational. Knowledge is understood to inhabit a person as the person is understood to be worthy of the knowledge that inhabits them. Knowledge is instantiated in the person, and

the person instantiated in their people, their community, their Country. We would begin any conversation by talking about who our people are, where we come from, our Country, and by acknowledging you and your people and Country and finding our connections to you (they will nearly always be there). So, we will begin with introductions.

Keenan (KM) is a Biripi/Wakka Wakka man in his mid-thirties, with lines of ancestry to northern New South Wales and southern Queensland. His grandparents moved to Sydney in the great urban migrations of the 1960s and 70s, so he grew up in Redfern, a key foothold for Aboriginal people in inner-city Sydney, and also a place of poverty, drug use and crime. He was orphaned at the age of seven. His mother passed of a drug overdose, and a short time later, his father, who had struggled for years with alcoholism, hanged himself. He and his two brothers were separated, and a series of compromised foster and care arrangements put him on the street as a young teenager.

> KM: I first went in the juvenile justice system at the age of 14; and then in and out for most of my juvenile years. Then I turned 18 in the boys' home; I got released and then went on to adult imprisonment and spent my 18,19, 20, 21st birthdays in prison. Then I was out for six months. Then I spent another two and a half years in, then I was out, I met Carly and I went back in for another two and a half years.

Keenan now runs Deadly Connections[2] with Carly, his wife. Deadly Connections is an Aboriginal run NGO providing support and advocacy to justice-involved Aboriginal people in Sydney.

Carly (CS) grew up in Newtown, just a couple of kilometres from Redfern. She is a Wiradjuri woman, with lines of ancestry back to the western plains of New South Wales. An only child, she was brought up by her single mother and grandmother, but with a large extended family who was well known in Newtown. She had a daughter in her teens, and the responsibility of that took her back to study, finally graduating with a master's degree in criminology. She met Keenan at a party, in one of the brief periods of time in his twenties that he wasn't in prison and saw something in him. He went back to prison, but they kept in touch, and when he came out, they were both ready to do some work. She is a

committed, enormously hard-working advocate for Aboriginal people in contact with the law.

> CS: I just think… you know obviously Keenan and Howard have their own wealth of experience, but they're two men! [laughs] But yeah, you know, having a female perspective is really important. I don't have lived personal experience of going to jail, but I did work for Corrective Services for a number of years in New South Wales, and having family members and a husband who's been involved in the justice system, but then also working in the actual justice system.

Howard (HS) is not Aboriginal. His family migrated from England in the 1960s to work with Aboriginal people in Wangkatha country near Kalgoorlie in central Western Australia, so he was embedded within Aboriginal community as a child and as a teenager (his parents were missionaries, in the evangelical tradition). In his twenties, he worked as a youth worker on the street with Aboriginal boys in social housing estates in Perth before being recruited to teach in one of Australia's first youth and community work degree programmes. After fifteen years as an academic, he went back to work as a youth worker in outback WA, mostly with Aboriginal kids, and then founded an Aboriginal youth service in Kalgoorlie. He returned to academia in 2005, teaching at an Aboriginal university college in Darwin before taking up a Chair in Community Education in Glasgow. He came back to Australia in 2017.

The combination works. The course is about the translation of Aboriginal experience into the criminological categories and back, and all three of us are fortunate to have spent most of our lives trading across the border, code-switching, moving between Aboriginal and European registers, Carly and Keenan from the blackfeller side, Howard from the whitefeller side, fluent in both.

> HS: I think it is remarkable, because before our first week we had spent what? Half an hour? Yeah. It was just like we've been working together for years.

> CS: We had one meeting for a coffee at Redfern and then we taught the next time we saw each other. This year will be four years: after the end of this semester, you'll be known as Uncle Howard (laughter).

Speaking of knowledge, we ought to share the theoretical foundations that we grounded the course in.

In a course like this, we need immediately to confront the question of knowledge. We begin the course by introducing students to the idea of epistemology, and then to the idea of multiple epistemologies, first in their own way of operating in the world and then in other worlds of other peoples. We look at the different 'ways of knowing' that you might use if you wanted to make and test a vaccine, or decide if your lover really loved you, or whether you should buy this house that you have been looking at, or what you think about a piece of music, or whether there is a God (see Sercombe, 2015). And we discover, through talking about how we *know* in these very different situations, that we use all sorts of epistemologies all of the time, running them in parallel, switching between them, trying to fit the right knowledge system to the right kind of situation.

This is, of course, a political problem. Knowledge is power. The ability to establish a monopoly on truth-making, whether that is the fifteenth-century Church or twentieth-century Science, brings with it massive influence and the resources that follow. The capacity to rule on the conditions for the establishment of truth is the key to the kingdom. They are jealously guarded, and competitors and challengers are vociferously seen off. Truth is singular, says the dominant fundamentalism. Other spheres of knowledge, the arts, for example, may be tolerated or even encouraged. But epistemic violence, the attempt to extinguish other knowledges and to silence those who bear them, is common where there are interests in play.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the process of colonisation (Seth, 2009). Colonisers cannot afford for the knowledge of Indigenous peoples to be recognised as truth. So Indigenous knowledge is traduced as superstition or witchcraft or folk tale or myth or nonsense. Or is silenced, passing without recognition: they have no law, no culture, no science, no agriculture. They are creatures of instinct, beasts of the field.

Indigenous Perspectives is an academic programme of study, taught at a university. Universities have long history of establishing the conditions for underwriting knowledge, for credentialling people who know, for creating and testing and validating claims to truth and putting the institutions in place to safeguard it. This has resulted in an enormously powerful intellectual engine, with massive consequences in terms of technology and the capacity to control our environment. The epistemology of the academy is disciplined and powerful and has been incredibly effective.

We don't denigrate the rigours and disciplines of science at all in the programme. This is typical of Aboriginal ways. Even in the processes of colonisation, there were always attempts to accommodate, to make room, to share (see the Uluru Statement from the Heart, 2017). We don't try and tear academic criminology down. It is a perspective, and the truth that it tells is the truth that it tells.

It is also *partial*. If this course is to be taught as *criminology*, as the scientific inquiry into crime and criminals and the social conditions of their production, then the experience of offenders is located within the academic discourse, even if it's an Indigenous person teaching it (Johnson, 2020; Ogbu, 2004). Western Criminology will accept certain objects as being significant, and certain voices as being authoritative. That won't generally include the voices of criminals, especially Aboriginal criminals. Indeed, it won't generally include the voices of Aboriginal people, unless they are accredited by the academic world. Early in the course, we get students to read Frederick Roth's review of Chris Cunneen's *Aboriginal Perspectives on Criminal Justice* (1994). Of course, all the chapters that he likes are written by white criminologists and all the chapters he doesn't like are written by Aboriginal community members and activists. He can't hear the truth of what they say. It's low-status material, it's not worthy, it's not useful.

As a counter-example, in the first week or two of the course, we screen *Prison Songs,* a musical documentary set in Berrimah Gaol, in Darwin. In the production, Aboriginal prisoners tell their stories and work through a series of numbers, some playful, some serious, and some tragic (see https://prisonsongs.com.au/thefilm/). The *truth* of the documentary is patent. In numbers like 'What you learn from your mum and dad'

or 'Doing the white man's time' or 'Living in the middle' Aboriginal prisoners are doing criminology. Working with students with the documentary invites students to read the criminology in this very unacademic form.

What we are wanting to do is introduce students to these other epistemologies, these other knowledges: particularly, the knowledge of Aboriginal people. It recognises that there are Aboriginal epistemological frameworks that make sense of reality in profoundly different ways to that of academic inquiry. Perhaps obviously, given the penetration of the criminal justice system into Aboriginal people's lives, Aboriginal knowledges include knowing about crime and criminals and the social conditions of their production.

This is more than just a confrontation with 'lived experience'. Lived experience does not make sense of itself. It can be a feedstock for a range of epistemologies, including academic ones, and becomes knowledge in the process. Aboriginal offenders have a range of epistemologies available to them to make sense of their experience, and there may be a wide variety in how they and their people do that. But Aboriginal ways of truth-making, Aboriginal epistemologies, will be a part of that. So will the fact that Aboriginal lived experience occurs in the continuing crucible of colonisation.

If students are to understand, then they need to hold the criminology and the knowledge that Aboriginal people have about the Criminal Justice System in parallel with each other. Our experience is that the criminological discourse is limited in terms of changing the world, and in providing a transformative moment for the students. It is in the dialogue between these ways of knowing that students are confronted, are faced with the truth of both of them and face the requirement, under the glare of that truth, to change.

Pedagogically speaking, that's the core of the programme. How it works in the classroom is that often Howard will introduce the material in a fairly orthodox way, with a powerpoint presentation perhaps, often with some audio-visual content. Then Keenan and/or Carly will interrupt or interject, or Howard will say, 'So, Keenan. What do you think about that?' Or 'How does that connect with your experience?'.

KM: I'm decoding that within my sort of language to be able to apply it to my experience and a majority of my people and my community's experience. And I do that on the run.

HS: And that's that is the way it often happens in the space. We use a lot of video and we are lucky in Australia that there's a lot of Aboriginal voice on film and on video. So we will use a variety of sources. We'll use poetry. We'll use fiction. We'll use documentary, or use music. I think one of the key things about the unit is teaching students to hear (and we do this right from the beginning, right?) getting students to hear criminology in a whole range of different kinds of sources and voices.

KM: Yeah, even though Howard in terms of the educational background holds a higher status it's not visible in the classroom. There's that mutual respect for my knowledge and mutual respect for his knowledge and Carly's knowledge and there's no one dominant knowledge in the classroom.

And then the students will get involved in the conversation, sometimes with Aboriginal students sharing their experience or the experience of their families, and we'll drop some other content in, or gather up points and make the theoretical connections. And then we run out of time.

Obstacles

Before we could get started, there were a few challenges that needed to be overcome. The first was that, as far as the university is concerned, Keenan is completely unqualified. He left school at fourteen. The second is that he has a criminal record, which includes violence. When we started, he hadn't been out of jail that long. There were reputational risks to be managed, and vulnerable students to protect. We were able to manage that to the satisfaction of the university because Howard does have a PhD and he and Keenan would always be working together.

The other problem was cost. We needed to have two people in the room—in fact we often had three. That requires that the university pays two salaries where normally they would only pay one. We had to do

some creative accounting: we only taught nine out of the twelve weeks with students doing online independent learning on the others, and one of us would be on a lecturer rate and the other on a demonstrator rate, on alternate weeks. Carly and Keenan unofficially shared a salary and worked out between them who would do what. But the School agreed to it, after some haggling, and we have worked roughly on that formula ever since.

The critical element of that was the advocacy of Phil Wadds, the Undergraduate Director. He negotiated with us, checked the politics and steered it through. When conflict has arisen, as it does from time to time (because those issues have not gone away) his support has been unwavering. It is difficult to see how we could have progressed without someone on the inside relentlessly pushing and pushing back.

The Programme

The curriculum for the course, after the introduction to multiple epistemologies, involves three main elements, and two special features.

The first major element is a confrontation with the history of colonisation in Australia. Most Australians have been brought up with a bleached view of our history, in which Australia was discovered by Captain Cook. Over the next century, settlers arrived and took up land. In the process, the original inhabitants were ('unfortunately') displaced and European diseases took a heavy toll. There were isolated 'clashes' with groups of Aboriginal people in response to the murder of settlers or the slaughter of their livestock, but the intentions of the colonisers were generally benign. Aboriginal people have not adapted well to the changing world, but the change was always coming, so the narrative goes, whether at the hands of the French or the Dutch or the Germans or the British.

It is clear now, and extensively documented, that this is a whitewash. The process was near-genocidal, with groups of settlers supported (and often led) by the police, moving through country shooting every Aboriginal person that they came across, and using hostile or captured Aboriginal people to find home camps and kill every man, woman and child in them. Documentary evidence now indicates over 270 recorded

massacres through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth (the last recorded event was in 1928), and the work of unearthing them is unfinished (Sentance, 2020).

After the resistance was suppressed, a process of institutionalisation and child removal continued the genocide through into the 1960s. Many argue that current rates of child removal, under discourses of child protection, are not much different, and that the genocide continues (Douglas & Walsh, 2013).

The process of colonisation is not over, we argue. Sometimes it is expressed overtly, as in the Northern Territory Intervention (Altman & Russell, 2012). Sometimes the expression is more covert, as in the Suspect Target Management Plan (Bastable & Sentas, 2016). The laws, the police and the courts are all pivotal in this process. Aboriginal urbanisation has been accompanied by their criminalisation, by policing and surveillance.

Some students have come across a little of this material before, in history lessons at school. Most have not. Very few have heard it from Aboriginal people. It is a difficult story to tell, and to hear. But the criminological consequences are clear. For Aboriginal students, you can hear the sigh of relief as the air rushes in to make sense of their extended families' experience with the system. Non-Aboriginal students are often angry that their history has been hidden from them, sometimes ashamed that they have not taken more responsibility for knowing about the origins of their relative wealth and the clear consequences for the first inhabitants of this country.

The second element is an engagement with the very real social issues that Aboriginal communities face, like alcohol and other drug use, violence (including domestic violence), child removal, mental ill-health, school disconnection, poverty, community breakdown. Students learn how it feels to have to find a meal for your younger brothers and sisters, every day, and then get yourself to school. Or the police going through your house in the middle of the night, perhaps repeatedly. Or your dad disappearing into the system for months or years at a time. We discuss the role of the criminal justice system in producing these effects, the way that the police and the courts are mobilised to deal with things like drunkenness and public displays of anger, and the way that these issues

also funnel Aboriginal people into the criminal justice system, attended by another generation of child removal as social workers step in to protect children from their criminal parents.

The third element is a focus on the experience of Aboriginal women both as victims of crime, especially violence, but also as offenders, and of children and young people who are also criminalised early and in large numbers. We explore how the system repeatedly fails women who turn to it for protection, too often by arresting *them* for unpaid fines or disorderly behaviour, and/or by removing their children because the household is unsafe.

The two special features are the viewing of the *Prison Songs* musical documentary mentioned above, along with Keenan's commentary on it, and a walking tour of Redfern, Keenan's home community. Redfern is a now-gentrifying inner suburb of Sydney which was a 'zone of transition' (Burgess, 1923), and a key urban foothold for Aboriginal people in Sydney or for people moving to the city, notably after de-institutionalisation following the citizenship referendum in 1967.

KM: That was a highlight for most of the students, because not many of them would be comfortable to walk through my community.

CS: From the accounts that we've gotten it's been really, really important, a vital component of the unit that we're teaching. I think, you know, just us being a part of that community, and bumping into people along the way as the tour is going on you know. It's really powerful. Just to see like how connected we all are. Sometimes it'll be a handshake, sometimes it'll be a hug, sometimes it'll just be a nod, but there's that as well. That happens every two hundred yards without fail, you know, and every five minutes. If it's not him, it's me, or both of us combined, you know?

KM: They might have manoeuvred through that community in a taxi, or public transport, and just went 'Oh, this is a suburb called Redfern'. But until they went on the walk with me, then they got to see the Aboriginal community of Redfern.

CS: Yeah, and how visible we are, but you're not seeing it unless you're open to seeing it.

The thing about the Redfern experience is that it embodies Aboriginal ways. We are moving through space, through physical geographical space, and we are moving in a blackfeller way through that space. We are on foot. We aren't in the main street: we move through routes that connect Aboriginal spaces and avoid exposure. We cross the road from the railway station, past the unmarked police car that is permanently parked at the threshold of the Block, the Aboriginal quarter where Keenan grew up, past Junkie's Alley, past the boxing club, past the multi-storey with the police station in the top floor, with cameras and telescopes overlooking the Block.

The places on the route that Keenan leads us through are full of remembrances, full of events and full of people. One of the things that we talked about in the unit is the way that Aboriginal epistemologies are much more focused on space than on time. The students start to get a feel for that, for how white people would see the death of this person as now fading because it happened years ago, but as Keenan moves through the space, the death of this person was at that place, and it's vivid now. So, in the physical space of it, students start to get an idea of what an Aboriginal life might be like in the city, outside the 'tribal' way of life.

HS: It is that confrontation, which once they get it they go 'Yeah, of course.' That culture is a living breathing thing. Aboriginal culture now isn't the same as it was in 1788. How could it be? But it is still Aboriginal culture. What Aboriginal culture means now in Redfern becomes visible for them.

KM: I think one of the biggest things for me was a mature age student, reading their reflection and her saying they feel like they've failed because they weren't taught this stuff earlier.

CS: I think it wasn't even a reflection. It was a handwritten note that she'd given to us at the final class. She said like I'm sorry for not… she's apologizing for not either seeking that information out or having that information given to her prior to her 40 -something years

HS: She'd grown up in Redfern, right? I think so. A white woman and she just didn't know that there was this other kind of layer.

The Subaltern Voice: In the Room Where It Happens

An essential part of decolonising the curriculum for us was decolonising the space. That meant re-inhabiting it, moving Aboriginality into the room. As is typical for Aboriginal ways of knowing, that is embodied, incarnate: two Aboriginal bodies in the space, plus usually about half a dozen, four or five, Aboriginal students among the student body. There are things that they say and reflections they make and stories they tell, but the *particularity* of this experience in the context of an academic unit on criminology is powerful.

> CS: I think with any university unit it's always academic focused, you know? I think the difference between other units and the delivery of this unit really is the lived experience of having two Aboriginal people, a man and a woman, … I guess we share many similarities in terms of our experiences of over policing and the way that our community views police. And I guess the way that the criminal justice system is intersected with our life - from babies. In different ways.

> I think a lot of the students would not have access to somebody like Keenan or me in any other scenario, and the fact that they've got us in the classroom where it's a safe space for learning, for asking questions, for gaining knowledge, for passing knowledge on is really unique.

> KM: I think just having Carly and myself in the university is part of decolonizing that space in terms of bringing culture and First Nations people to the forefront of learning about the things that affect us. For me, trying to understand my experience whilst being a part of this course has validated why it was the way it was. Because things were so designed for me to be in that experience. There were parameters outside of me and my family that we had no control over which was structurally designed to keep us in these spaces.

The academic world works on abstractions, on statistical representations of things. The objective in academic practice is for the knowledge to transcend its particularity, to become universal and context free (Wolfenden

et al., 2019). Academics take the data and rework it so it loses its specificity and becomes more than 'just anecdotal'. Individual conflicts are aggregated into new, abstract objects like 'the crime rate'.

The students generally have a reasonable handle on the objective position of Aboriginal people in the Criminal Justice System. They know all the statistics before they come to class. They know about the over-representation of Aboriginal people. They know about over-policing and the rate at which Aboriginal people are given community orders versus detention, compared to the rest of the community. But they don't know Keenan's story, they don't know Carly's story. And the *particularity* of that breaks open the statistics.

> HS: Keenan's contribution to this is profound. Around a third of the prison population is Aboriginal, so there's no shortage of people with experience of poverty and bereavement and incarceration. But what is rare is the capacity to be articulate about that, to talk about that experience in ways that are emotionally present, that connect. There isn't anybody who isn't damaged by that kind of trauma, but Keenan has remained human and connected and expressive about it. When Keenan talks about losing his mum and dad as a seven-year-old, and his dad hanging himself in the little park, the vacant site that he had to pass to go to school: you can see that little kid in the room. There's a little kid here: he's lost his mum and dad, and he's poor, and he's trying to go to school, and being bounced around from family and into institutions. Finally some bigger boys look after him. And they look after him by introducing him to the criminal economy. You can feel that.

For the students, it's shocking. Here are two real live human beings with emotion and with feelings, people who've lost members of their family, and had people close to them killed by police, or died in custody. They are here in front of you. That's not the story of an academic unit. An academic unit can be taught by any qualified academic and the literature is represented in such a way that in principle it doesn't matter who wrote it. But here you have this sharp-edged particularity with the human story *present*.

Confronting Emotion

There is no doubt that the academic context and the practice of depersonalisation limits personal costs. An academic epistemology seeks to eliminate the emotion from the analysis, concentrating on how we think about something, not how we feel about it. Emotional response to the material might happen, but it needs to happen somewhere else. Academics generally can choose to limit their own personal engagement: indeed, some disengagement from the emotional response to the material is more or less required.

In this course, the emotion is in the room. Keenan and Carly have to pay a higher price: the personalisation of knowledge comes at a cost. It takes generosity to be able to be prepared to give that back—and to give that back to the people who have been part of the system that has created those injustices.

> KM: It's a double-edged sword. I have to relive my trauma, but as part of my healing process i need to acknowledge my experience.

> CS: I think also for me, as difficult as it is, we've grown significantly as individuals over the last couple of years, and learned how to take better care of ourselves. When we started we were just all in, and we've felt the effects of not taking care of each other or ourselves as individuals, and it impacts on everything. So we've learned some hard lessons. We're much better at acknowledging that and taking care of ourselves. I think for me the reason I'm happy to do that is because I have heard and understand the impact that it has on the students. We know that they're going to be our future leaders, like they're going to be our future politicians and our future you know whoever, lawyers. Also the reach that we get, like we would never get to the kids that are… There might be you know some underlying bias or racism. We've had that a couple of times, with some students where they've expressed some - but we're able to… they're open to changing their mind and that's what makes the difference, yeah.

> HS: I have been a bit concerned from time to time. I mean Keenan's experience is so distressing: deep injustice and violence and just tragedy. And he is so raw in the way that he tells that story. I have been watchful and

> checking with him, saying, you know, 'Is this okay with you?' I think there's lots of unique and powerful things about the way that Keenan works, but - I don't know if you call it the zen of him - using the disclosure also for healing - so the double edge of that I think has been reassuring. I mean I still do worry from time to time but we do keep an eye on it in the space.

Being emotionally present with the story in the room also has implications for students. There are revelations about the nature of their world and their country that they have never had to deal with before.

> KM: I'm very mindful of it. I equate it to my own experience of having my world ripped open, like when losing my parents or being taken from my family. Some of the stuff that they do learn in here is going to reshape their reality. It's also going to make them a little bit angry and infuriated at the systems that didn't teach them earlier on this stuff.
>
> CS: I think we always pre-empt the unit with self-care: if things are distressing you can leave the room, we always do that, right Howard?
>
> HS: But we also want them to feel.
>
> CS: Yeah, yeah,

We don't want to protect them from the emotional impacts of this. We want them to feel them: because the world view of everyday Australians needs to change around this. We perpetuate a number of national mythologies about ourselves that need to be destroyed. That's painful and the pain is okay. So we also don't want to protect students from feeling and therefore from change. But we need to manage that. We have no interest in perpetuating trauma ourselves.

A growing body of research connects emotional connection with personal and social change (Flam & King, 2007; Jasper, 2011; Lemmings & Brooks, 2014; Nos Aldas & Pinazo, 2013). If the purpose of criminology is to not only interpret the world, but to change it, the opportunity for connection to anger, to shame, to compassion, to grief,

to collective guilt, and also to joy and relief and pride and admiration is critical.

So What Did We Want Students to Learn, in the End?

For every course, there is a list of learning outcomes written down in the course materials. In practice, the process of listening and interacting with students and working with the literature and the other course materials creates its own list, which might tally with the one in the course documents and might not. Each of us had our own take on this. For Keenan, the key learning outcome was that nobody should be written off, but that is precisely what the system does.

> KM: I think, from my point of view, that all the evidence and the research around experiences like mine comes to the conclusion that once an individual is in there they cannot make it back.
>
> But here I am. I show them how even though I'm not a part of that world anymore, it still impacts me every day. That real life human element to what one individual, in terms of those stats, has to go through. And then what they have to go through to come out of it. And then how that impacts his immediate family, his community, everything that I do.
>
> The main thing that I want them to learn is that this system is not broken, it's well designed. Its been deliberately designed. We're throwing billions of dollars at incarceration, and nothing at rehabilitation, or giving people opportunities when they come back into the community to get accommodation, housing. It is so well designed that once you go to prison, when you come out, you're still a part of that system.

For Carly, it is about shifting the fundamentals.

> CS: I think for me it's more about understanding. First, that locking people up doesn't make communities safer, that's a huge one. Then that there are systemic things in play that lead to the over representation.

> We're not locking up people that are bad, we're locking up people that are traumatized, that are poor, that are mentally unwell, and that are black.

For Howard, the key thing is that wants students to learn to *listen*. Academic approaches are so frequently about telling.

> HS: I really want them to learn that the academic stuff is powerful, important, disciplined. It needs to be honoured, but it's partial, it's limited. So being able to see criminology in Redfern Now (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2012) or Charlie's Country (De Heer & Gulpilil, 2013) or some of the brilliant novels that have come out of recent years written by Aboriginal people, you know? To be able to do that intelligent translation and recognition of truth across those sources. To be able to listen.

Student feedback was consistently indicating that we might actually be succeeding. We would like to be able to paste in all the student comments that we have received, but the following two are, for different reasons, representative.

> Student 1: The content of the course was often times hard to hear but was unbelievably important to learn. The course completely shifted my view of the history of Australia and the workings of the criminal justice system. It was an incredibly motivating course and inspired activism and a desire for change in myself. The firsthand stories from Keenan were crucial in this. This course has had the most significant impact on me throughout my time at UNSW.

> Student 2: This course was the most respectful course I have ever done at UNSW and being an Aboriginal woman I felt respected, acknowledged, appreciated and felt safe. They both worked so well and effectively alongside each other. This course should be a compulsory subject, because the way they both teach is real, knowledgeable, respectful and important for people to actually understand, acknowledge and learn about Aboriginal culture and history by such knowledgeable, influential people.

Conclusion

Criminology in Australia, as a discipline, is stridently critical of the treatment of Aboriginal people within the criminal justice system. Study after study, report after report, details in excruciating detail the processes by which Aboriginal people are fast-tracked into justice involvement and ultimately incarceration, with ongoing consequences for their families and communities. Yet the rate of Aboriginal incarceration continues to climb and policies of intervention designed to coerce Aboriginal people into more compliant (and, also, less destructive) ways of living merely provide another set of reasons to arrest and charge and remove the children.

> KM: There is knowledge that the university holds which makes it very cynical for me. They know the problem, but nobody's coming with solutions. I can't comprehend that the smartest minds within our nation just keep telling us problems, not actually using their time and resources to come up with alternatives, to come up with solutions, to come up with processes to combat and to end the mass incarceration of Aboriginal people.

Nothwithstanding the anger of criminologists, and often their committed activism about this, criminology has its own case to answer. Postcolonial theory would argue that academic criminology shares with other branches of scientific endeavour the universal, objective pretensions of colonialist knowledge (Jazeel & McFarlane, 2010), pointing out the epistemological violence involved in the unilateral imposition of Western science, and the way that the university silences voices that are not scientific.

This is not a necessary position for Western science, including criminology, to take. Already, universities are host to multiple epistemological perspectives, even from within their own walls. Nobody believes there is a single valid epistemology anymore. The recognition that there is truth in Aboriginal thinking about crime and criminalisation, and the capacity to stop and listen, not talk over, not talk for Aboriginal people, might open up the conversation and generate new possibilities for change.

> CS: And I guess that's the point, yeah? Academia has been pretty impotent when it comes to driving change, criminology included, or to making a real difference. The studies mount up and the problems roll on, you know? Where change has happened it's because people reached out. And like, were prepared to let other knowledges invade and challenge. Challenge the idea that all the truth is in the stats. Decolonise the academy a bit (laughs). That's when you see change.

This chapter is the story of when a university opened up a little, held its breath about its reputational risk, and was prepared to put a little more money than the minimum into resourcing this learning. It created a space where it was possible to hear the ongoing human, social consequences of colonial dispossession and genocide (Behrendt, 2001; Cunneen, 2009). It helped students see the contemporary expressions of colonial power through the criminalisation of Aboriginal communities as an ongoing colonial project (Altman & Russell, 2012; Cunneen, 2020; Veracini, 2015). But especially, it allowed the colonised to speak back to power (Spivak & Riach, 2016). For the first time for these criminology students, Aboriginal people were leading the conversation in the room where it happens.

Top Tips: Decolonising Learning and Teaching

- Have Aboriginal/subaltern people in the room. A criminal record is a qualification, not a disqualification.
- Doing this well will cost a bit more. But the wealth of universities in the West is built on stolen land, stolen human beings, stolen resources. The case is good: drive the bargain.
- Actively explore epistemological pluralism, including the power and limitation of academic epistemologies and the inclination towards epistemological violence. Practice epistemological equivalence in the way that Aboriginal voices are heard and honoured. Develop skills of epistemological translation.
- If possible, take people out of the classroom into Aboriginal/subaltern spaces.

- Don't be afraid of emotion. Emotion is what changes things.

Notes

1. 'Blackfeller' is often the way that we as Indigenous Australians speak about ourselves.
2. 'Deadly', in Aboriginal English, means 'really good'.

References

Altman, J., & Russell, S. (2012). Too much "dreaming": Evaluations of the northern territory national emergency response intervention 2007–2012. *Evidence Base: A Journal of Evidence Reviews in Key Policy Areas, 3*, 1–28.

Australian Broadcasting Corporation. (2012). *Redfern Now*, produced by Jimmy McGovern, directed by Rachel Perkins, Wayne Blair, Leah Purcell, Catriona McKenzie, Adrian Russell Wills, Beck Cole on ABC Television. Distributed by ABC Content Sales.

Bastable, E., & Sentas, V. (2016). Overpolicing Indigenous youth: The suspect target management plan. *Human Rights Defender, 25*(3), 16–18.

Behrendt, L. (2001). Genocide: The distance between law and life. *Aboriginal History, 25*, 132–147.

Bessarab, D., & Ng'andu, B. (2010). Yarning about yarning as a legitimate method in Indigenous research. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies, 3*(1), 37–50.

Burgess, E. W. (1923). The Growth of the city: An introduction to a research project. *The Publications of the American Sociological Society, 18*, 85–97.

Commission, A. L. R. (2018). *Pathways to justice: Inquiry into the incarceration rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (ALRC Report 133)*. AGPS.

Cunneen, C. (2009). Indigenous incarceration: The violence of colonial law and justice. In P. Scraton & J. McCulloch (Eds.), *The violence of incarceration* (pp. 209–224). Routledge Taylor and Francis.

Cunneen, C. (2018). Indigenous challenges for southern criminology. *The Palgrave handbook of criminology and the global south* (pp. 19–41). Palgrave Macmillan.

Cunneen, C. (2020). *Conflict, politics and crime: Aboriginal communities and the police*. Routledge.

De Heer, R., & Gulpilil, D. (2013). *Charlie's country*. Directed by Rolf de Heer, produced by Rolf de Heer, Peter Djigirr, Nils Erik Nielsen. Production of Adelaide Film Festival, Bula'bula Arts Aboriginal, Screen Australia, The South Australian Film Corporation, Vertigo Productions, distributed by Gem Entertainment.

Douglas, H., & Walsh, T. (2013). Continuing the stolen generations: Child protection interventions and indigenous people. *The International Journal of Children's Rights, 21*, 59–87.

Flam, H., & King, D. (2007). *Emotions and social movements*. Routledge.

Gramlich, J. (2020). *Imprisonment rates have declined across racial and ethnic groups: Especially among black Americans*. Pew Research Centre. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/05/06/share-of-black-white-hispanic-americans-in-prison-2018-vs-2006/ft_20-05-05_imprisonmentrates_1/

Jasper, J. M. (2011). Emotions and social movements: Twenty years of theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology, 37*, 285–303.

Jazeel, T., & McFarlane, C. (2010). The limits of responsibility: A postcolonial politics of academic knowledge production. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 35*(1), 109–124.

Johnson, A. (2020). Throwing our bodies against the white background of academia. *Area, 52*(1), 89–96.

Leeson, S., Smith, C., & Rynne, J. (2016). Yarning and appreciative inquiry: The use of culturally appropriate and respectful research methods when working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in Australian prisons. *Methodological Innovations, 9*, 1–17.

Lemmings, D., & Brooks, A. (2014). *Emotions and social change: Historical and sociological perspectives*. Routledge.

Martin, K. (2015). *Prison Songs*. Directed by Kelrick Martin, produced by Kelrick Martin and Harry Bardwell, music composed by Casey Bennetto and Shellie Morris, production by Spearpoint Productions, Shark Island Productions, Screen Australia, ScreenWest, the Documentary Australia Foundation, and SBS, distributed by the Special Broadcasting Service.

Nos Aldas, E., & Pinazo, D. (2013). Communication and engagement for social justice. *Peace Review, 25*(3), 343–348.

NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. (2020). *Aboriginal over-representation in the NSW Criminal Justice System*. https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar_pages/Aboriginal-over-representation.aspx

Ogbu, J. U. (2004). Collective identity and the burden of "acting White" in Black history, community, and education. *The Urban Review, 36*(1), 1–35.

Roth, F. (1994). International criminal justice review. In C. Cunneen (Ed. and Rev.), *Aboriginal perspectives on criminal justice* (pp. 80–81). Sydney: The Institute of Criminology.

Sercombe, H. (2015). The Watchmaker's Chainsaw: Why new public management is the wrong tool for youth work (and most of the professions). *Journal of Applied Youth Studies 1*, 1. http://cayr.info/jays-v-1n-1/.

Seth, S. (2009). Putting knowledge in its place: Science, colonialism, and the postcolonial. *Postcolonial Studies, 12*(4), 373–388.

Sentance, N. (2020). *Genocide in Australia*. Sydney: Australian Museum. https://australian.museum/learn/first-nations/genocide-in-australia/.

Shay, M. (2021). Extending the yarning yarn: Collaborative yarning methodology for ethical Indigenist education research. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 50*, 62–70.

Spivak, G. C., & Riach, G. (2016). *Can the subaltern speak?* Macat International Limited.

Uluru Statement from the Heart. (2017). *First nations national constitutional convention*. https://ulurustatement.org/the-statement.

Veracini, L. (2015). *The settler colonial present*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Wolfenden, H., Sercombe, H., & Tucker, P. (2019). Making practice publishable: What practice academics need to do to get their work published, and what that tells us about the theory-practice gap. *Social Epistemology, 33*(6), 555–573.

Yunkaporta, T. (2019). *Sand talk: How Indigenous thinking can save the world*. Text Publishing.

12

Conclusion: Pedagogical Principles for Criminology and Criminal Justice

Suzanne Young and Katie Strudwick

Introduction

The changing landscape of higher education (HE), along with the growth of criminology and criminal justice as a field of study, brings with it unique challenges. This edited collection has addressed some of these challenges by reflecting upon the work of educators and learning experiences from the perspectives of students. Considering such challenges through the key themes of the text, this chapter addresses what the future of teaching criminology and criminal justice might hold and how we can continue to address these challenges. Debates around criminology as a

S. Young (✉)
University of Leeds, Leeds, UK
e-mail: s.young@leeds.ac.uk

K. Strudwick
University of Lincoln, Lincoln, UK
e-mail: kstrudwick@lincoln.ac.uk

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6_12

standalone discipline have been well documented (see Carrabine, 2016; Cohen, 1988; Garland, 2011; Hannah-Moffat, 2011). Scholars note that criminology has roots in multiple disciplines, including (but not limited to) sociology, law, psychology, biology, economics, history, and geography, and over the years this has expanded to include health studies and information technology. Whilst many celebrate this expanding interdisciplinary identity, it comes with its own challenges of designing and delivering learning and teaching.

Given the diversity with what is taught on criminology and criminal justice programmes, alongside the amended current benchmarks (QAA, 2022), it would be foolish to suggest a linear one-dimensional criminological pedagogy that would apply to all aspects of a curriculum design, syllabus, and provision. However, by drawing upon the three key themes of this edited collection, we have identified four pedagogical principles that can be applied to addressing some of the challenges faced by educators and students. We argue that these principles should underpin criminology and criminal justice programmes in the design and development stages and through modifications. This chapter will discuss each of these pedagogical principles in turn and address how these can help shape the future of teaching criminology and criminal justice. First, we will discuss the importance of creating pedagogical principles.

Pedagogical Principles for Criminology

Pedagogical principles are essentially those that underpin the practice of teaching criminology and criminal justice. Criminology and criminal justice programmes have unique challenges, whereby they incorporate the academic intellect of multiple disciplines, epistemological pluralism, whilst also dealing with topics often regarded as highly emotive, contentious, and sensitive. The diverse nature of criminology and criminal justice as a discipline is one that is, and should be, celebrated for its timeliness and currency, mapped against historical tenets of justice and morals. As a subject, criminology and criminal justice have also been advantageous in addressing current tensions and challenges in society through its interdisciplinary roots. Meeting some of the drivers

that have emerged from legal, philosophical, moral, and social debates, those that teach or are taught criminology should not shy away from tackling such complex, diverse, and fluid dilemmas of in the triad of criminology (Case et al., 2021: 8).

Such complexity has however led to this field of study being questioned in terms of its purpose and position with academia (Garland, 2011). Contemporary discussions regarding the purpose and future of criminology (Loeber & Welsh, 2012; Sparks, 2020) have not addressed the future of teaching criminology and criminal justice, and yet they call for criminology to become more interdisciplinary and more global. It is therefore crucial we consider how we teach a growing and evolving subject area that has the potential to become more interdisciplinary, and ensure that as criminologists we continue to address the challenges this poses for educators.

The external pressures in the UK in relation to graduate employability and student outcomes (see Department for Education, 2022) further add to these learning and teaching challenges, and it is therefore apparent that we need to consider not only *what* we teach students but *how* we teach them. There has to date been limited scholarship on the teaching and scholarship of criminology in the UK, in comparison to other subjects such as Law, Politics and Sociology (exceptions internationally include Palmer, 2021 and the Journal of Criminal Justice Education). The explanation may be that criminology does not have a discipline specific identity, which comes from the subject being identified as hybrid or a fusion area, whilst being firmly framed within social sciences. We proclaim that, as the subject grows in popularity with students, and the subject broadens its scope, now is the time to consider what makes a criminology course unique and how best to design our learning in teaching.

The chapters in this edited collection have addressed different challenges in relation to transforming the learning environment for students, addressing key themes and topics for both those teaching and those being taught. Drawing upon these discussions, we argue that all criminology and criminal justice programmes should consider the approaches outlined to deliver sensitive, emotive topics, whilst developing key transferable skills all the while to offer an authentic learning experience. We

have identified four pedagogical principles, which are discussed in the remainder of this chapter:

1. Creating authentic learning environments
2. Diversifying the learning opportunities
3. Encouraging difficult conversations
4. Creating opportunities within and beyond the university.

Create Authentic Learning Experiences

The first principle for criminology and criminal justice is authenticity. Creating authentic learning environments that bring students closer to core issues of criminology and criminal justice are key to enhancing their understanding of real-world crime, justice and victimisation. Chapters by Johnson and McAlister and Campbell-West demonstrate the benefits of offering students the opportunity to apply their theoretical understandings to real-world contexts. Creating learning tasks and assessments whereby students can apply conceptual understanding to real-world settings enables students to construct their own learning (Jonassen, 1999; Kolb, 1984), enhance their problem-solving skills (Herrington and Herrington, 2006) and become 'encultured into the discipline' (Lombardi, 2007: 9). When designing assessments and learning tasks we should consider the transferable skills being learnt and in what environments these skills will be most beneficial. Furthermore, applying the content to real-world contexts brings the subject matter alive, ensuring it is relevant and addresses contemporary issues. This in turn can help educators and students practice a more public criminology in the programmes (Hamilton, 2013).

We also ought to, where possible, create authentic learning environments, to ensure flexibility and adaptability, by being responsive and reactive in how we teach criminology. This may mean removing some of the barriers within our practice, both physical and metaphorical. For example, taking students to different settings (such as local communities, courtrooms, or prisons) or bringing people in from different environments (such as guest speakers, practitioners, alumni, and external

learners). By offering and valuing experiential authenticity (Young & Tullo, 2020), it enables students to engage with people beyond their own social spaces, and in turn ensures that criminology and criminal justice are more than academic discussions and become live issues. Discussions presented by Sercombe et al. and Nichols and Humphrey stress the importance of incorporating authentic voices into the learning environment, such as those who have lived experiences of the criminal justice system. In Sercombe et al.'s example we see the move beyond the traditional guest lecture experience to one whereby authentic voices are embedded within the curriculum, and Nichols and Humphrey identify the need to use authentic resources for hard-to-reach voices to be heard. These authentic practices enable students to engage with voices beyond the academy, which in turn creates meaning learning opportunities.

Diversifying the Learning Opportunities

The second principle for criminology and criminal justice is diversification. The chapters in this text, particularly by Long, Stockdale et al. and Sercombe et al., have all evidenced the importance of diversifying the criminological voices, so that students appreciate the benefits from being exposed to different experiences and different knowledge. Decolonisation has become a fundamental strategy across the higher education landscape in Western societies (see Adefila et al., 2022; Liyanage, 2020), with awareness that other knowledge from the likes of Africana (see Agozino et al., 2020) Southern (see Carrington et al., 2016) and Asian Criminology (see Liu, 2021) are imperative to ensure students understand the creation and silencing of different knowledges. In our endeavour in higher education to have global graduates we need to ensure we break down global barriers and educate students on different forms of knowledge. Criminology has its strengths in epistemological pluralism, and moving forward this should be expanded to ensure not just Western epistemologies are applied in learning and teaching. Embedding diverse knowledges can also be taken in different formats, whether that be in the use of reading material (as Stockdale et al. discuss in this text), discussions during teaching (as highlighted by Long in this text) or in the way

the course is taught (such as the approach Sercombe et al. discuss in this text). The challenge that comes with this is that, for many of us who educate, we ourselves have to confront our own knowledge and biases first, before we can begin to help students learn in the same way. This is a pedagogical challenge that will take time, a shift in mindsets, but one that will benefit both educators and students in the long term.

We also have a duty to ensure that students themselves can diversify conversations and debates on a course. Every student who studies criminology and criminal justice brings with them their own individual story, their experiences, their identities, and their cultural beliefs. This highlights the importance of understanding the diversification of the student body and seeking to embrace the widening participation agenda as discussed by Peake's chapter of this text. If learning activities are enhanced by diverse knowledge and a diverse student population, then criminology ought to ensure it increases its own diversity in the classroom. By opening learning environments to understanding such intercultural awareness acknowledges and respects the drive for this diversification of knowledge. In sum, if we can enhance our student's self of belonging, empowering them to have their voices heard and valued though our teaching, we are enriching their lives through learning.

Encourage Difficult and Uncomfortable Conversations

Critical thinking is a skill that is embedded within all social science disciplines and is a key graduate skill for all students studying criminology (QAA, 2022). We suggest criminology can enhance criticality through difficult and uncomfortable conversations. The chapters by Long, Harding, Duggan and Bishop, and Sercombe et al. all expressed the importance of putting students in difficult situations by breaking them out of their comfort zone to engage in challenging conversations. Criminology as a subject must deal with emotive topics such as discrimination, destitution, abuse, and harm, and students can engage in critical thinking if they are exposed to the realities of these issues. Enabling

students to recognise their own positionality, whether that is one of privilege, or disadvantage, and to have open conversations about how these impact upon their knowledge and relationship to society will strengthen their ability to be empathetic, open minded, courageous, and considerate of others.

Boler (1999) calls this a *pedagogy of discomfort* whereby we ought to create safe environments for students to feel uncomfortable and opportunities to reflect on their experiences (see Nichols and Humphreys in this text; Walker & Palacios, 2016). Engaging in difficult conversations is challenging, and some educators may choose to avoid controversial or sensitive topics to protect students from uncomfortable situations. However, criminology and criminal justice have historically focused upon challenging topics that spur debate and controversy, therefore engaging students in these issues enhances their learning. Creating rules and boundaries in our learning and teaching (as discussed by Harding in this text) whereby you can set out the expectations in advance and facilitate conversations in a meaningful way, (as outlined by Long in this text), ensures a safe environment for learning. Uncomfortable learning can indeed be transformative, enabling students to step out of their comfort zone and enhance their self-awareness and emotional intelligence.

Create Opportunities for Students Within and Beyond University

The final principle for criminology and criminal justice is to offer students opportunities beyond the university to apply their knowledge and develop their skills. Jones and Johnson provide examples of students engaging with communities through assessments and employability in their chapter discussions. As educators we need to emphasise the value of embedding such opportunities, through work experience and volunteering, and highlight how these experiences can create opportunities for engaging in public criminology (Hamilton, 2013). By providing students with opportunities beyond the curriculum we open the possibilities for their learning journeys to have the potential to be transformative. Criminology has the remit and purpose to explore the extra curricula aspects of

learning, through partnerships with external stakeholders, and students being the producers of their own knowledge. This can be achieved through models such as Student as Producer (Neary et al., 2014) framed upon values of discovery, collaboration, engagement and production, or Student as Partners, highlighting elements of co-creating, co-producing, co-learning, co-designing, co-developing, and co-researching (Healey et al., 2014: 21) in learning.

It is indeed our responsibility through teaching criminology that we democratise the learning process for our students. This can be achieved by facilitating sustainable practice for opportunities for students to engage in research and teaching communities. We have the purpose as educators to re-connect teaching, learning and research, through our practice, to ensure we are developing active engagement and collaborative relationships as part of the holistic nature of student experience within Higher Education. Such practice also needs to go further to ensure that it is institutionally embedded in core curricula and programme design. Taking this approach gives us the opportunity to re-addresses the relationship between research and teaching, students and teachers, in essence tackle the 'disconnect' between these relationships. This may require a transformative mindset, dare we say a less risk adverse approach to criminology programme design, but it could enable "… *an exploration of the reshaping of core elements of engagement and participation*" (Strudwick, 2017: 82) for students in the teaching of criminology and criminal justice.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the importance of setting out pedagogical principles for criminology and criminal justice programmes based on the key themes covered in the edited collection. We support Thurgood's (2020) proposal for a transformational pedagogical approach in criminology and criminal justice, one that specifically focuses on authenticity, diversity, and criticality. As educators we ought to ensure students are not only given the knowledge of the subject matter of criminology and

criminal justice, but that they can develop the tools to make a difference in the communities and spaces (professional and social) they occupy when they graduate. Taking a student-centred approach to learning and teaching (Friere, 1970; Sadler, 2012) through actively engaging students in diverse knowledges and authentic learning tasks enables students to become more critical reflective learners. To achieve this, we need to be prepared to engage students in uncomfortable conversations and emotive topics, and give them the space to reflect on their own position and the experiences of others. This means that as educators we may also need to step outside our comfort zone to reflect upon our own practices and how we can best embed these pedagogical principles in our courses.

This edited collection has highlighted just some of the contemporary challenges we face in teaching and learning, and offers suggestions on how to overcome and think critically about these challenges. Criminology and criminal justice are fluid subjects, constantly evolving as crime, criminal justice, and victimisation changes. As educators we know the importance of ensuring the content of our courses is relevant and contemporary, but we should also ensure the ways in which we design and deliver learning and teaching continuously evolve too. As an interdisciplinary subject we need to adopt interdisciplinary pedagogies that combine the elements outlined in this chapter, this will ensure that students can contribute meaningfully to their learning journey both within and beyond the university.

References

Adefila, A., Teixeira, R. V., Morini, L., Garcia, M. L. T., Delboni, T. M. Z. G. F., Spolander, G., & Khalil-Babatunde, M. (2022). Higher education decolonisation: #whose voices and their geographical locations? *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 20*(3), 262–276.

Agozino, B., Saleh-Hanna, V., Onyeozili, E., & Dastile, N. P. (2020). *The Routledge handbook on Africana criminologies*. Routledge.

Boler, M. (1999). *Feeling power: Emotions and education*. Routledge.

Carrabine, E. (2016). Changing fortunes: Criminology and the sociological condition. *Sociology, 50*(5), 847–862.

Carrington, K., Hogg, R., & Sozzo, M. (2016). Southern criminology. *British Journal of Criminology, 56*(1), 1–20.

Case, S., Johnson, P., Manlow, D., Smith, R., & Williams, K. (2021). *Criminology*. Oxford University Press.

Cohen, S. (1988). *Against criminology*. Routledge.

Department for Education. (2022). *Higher education policy statement and reform consultation government*. Department for Education. consultation https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1057091/HE_reform_command-paper-web_version.pdf

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Seabury.

Garland, D. (2011). Criminology's place in the academic field. In M. Bosworth & C. Hoyle (Eds.), *What is criminology?* (pp. 298–317). Oxford University Press.

Hannah-Moffat, K. (2011). Criminological cliques: Narrowing dialogues, institutional protectionism, and the next generation. In M. Bosworth & C. Hoyle (Eds.), *What is criminology?* (pp. 440–455). Oxford University Press.

Hamilton, C. (2013). Towards a pedagogy of public criminology. *Enhancing Learning in the Social Sciences, 5*(2), 20–31. https://ssrn.com/abstract=2612051

Healey, M., Flint, A., & Harrington, K. (2014). *Engagements through partnership: Students as partners in learning and teaching in higher education*. The Higher Education Academy. https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/system/files/.../engagement_through_partnership.pdf

Herrington, T., & Herrington, J. (2006). *Authentic learning environments in higher education*. Information Science Publishing.

Jonassen, D. (1999). Designing constructivist learning environments. In C. M. Reigeluth (Ed.), *Instructional-design: Theories and models* (Vol. II, pp. 215–240). Routledge.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Prentice Hall.

Liyanage, M. (2020). *Miseducation: Decolonising curricula, culture and pedagogy in UK universities* (Debate Paper 23). Higher Education Policy Institute. https://www.hepi.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/HEPI_Miseducation_Debate-Paper-23_FINAL.pdf

Loeber, R., & Welsh, B. C. (Eds.). (2012). *The future of criminology*. Oxford University Press.

Lombardi, M. (2007). *Authentic learning for the 21st century: An overview* (ELI Paper 1/2007). EDUCAUSE Learning Initiative. https://net.educause.edu/ir/library/pdf/ELI3009.pdf

Liu, J. (2021). Asian criminology and non-western criminology: Challenges, strategies, and directions. *International Annals of Criminology, 59*(2), 103–118.

Neary, M., Saunders, G., Hagyard, A., & Derricott, D. (2014). *Student as producer research-engaged teaching, an institutional strategy.* The Higher Education Academy.

Palmer, D. (Ed.). (2021). *Scholarship of teaching and learning in criminology*. Palgrave Macmillan.

QAA. (2022). *Subject benchmarks statement: Criminology*. QAA. https://www.qaa.ac.uk/quality-code/subject-benchmark-statements/criminology

Sadler, I. (2012). The challenges for new academics in adopting student-centred approaches to teaching. *Studies in Higher Education, 37*(6), 731–745.

Sparks, R. (2020). Crime and justice research: The current landscape and future possibilities. *Criminology and Criminal Justice, 20*(4), 471–482.

Strudwick, K. (2017). Debating student as producer: Relationships; contexts and challenges for higher education. *PRISM Casting New Light on Learning, Theory and Practice, 1*(1), 73–96.

Thurgood, M. (2020). Transforming Pedagogy in Criminology. In D. Palmer (Ed.), *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Criminology* (pp. 17–36). Palgrave MacMillan.

Walker, J., & Palacios, C. (2016). A pedagogy of emotion in teaching about social movement learning. *Teaching in Higher Education, 21*(2), 175–190.

Young, S., & Tullo, E. (2020). From criminology to gerontology: Case studies of experiential authenticity in higher education. *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice 8*(1): 127–134.

Index

S. Young and K. Strudwick (eds.), *Teaching Criminology and Criminal Justice*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14899-6