

How has the British Press performed its *Fourth Estate*
role in covering the Mark Duggan Case?

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Date of Submission: May 2014

Vorrei ringraziare i miei genitori, senza i loro sacrifici e il loro supporto tutto questo non sarebbe stato possibile.

I would like to thank my parents, without their help and support all of this would have not been possible.

DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY

I confirm that this dissertation is all of my own work, that all material from other sources has been fully referenced and acknowledged and that none of the dissertation has been submitted in whole or in part in any previous assessment at this university or elsewhere.

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ABSTRACT

The object of this dissertation is to study how the British Press has performed its Fourth Estate role in covering the Mark Duggan case. Mark Duggan was shot dead by a police officer in an 'hard-stop' operation in August 2011. His killing was, some argue, what sparked the riots which turned some deprived neighbourhood across the country in battlefields. To analyse how has the press performed its *Fourth Estate* role in reporting this case, the coverage has been analysed with the concepts of *primary* and *secondary* definers elaborated by Hall et al. in their ground-breaking book *Policing the Crisis* (1978). The analysis of the coverage revealed a fundamental bias of the majority of the British press towards the police, this was done through a marked use of anonymous police sources and through a "framing" of the image of Duggan, which was already evident soon after his death and did not change in the three years since. This study is significant because the Mark Duggan case is a vehicle through which it is possible to see how the press does not offer a fair representation to members of the ethnic minority communities in the press, especially if they have minor criminal convictions as in the case of Mr Duggan. Furthermore, it represents a failure of the idea of the press as a Fourth Estate, because throughout the coverage it is clear how the press never questioned or challenged a powerful institution of our society like the police, despite the contradictions which emerged during the inquest into Mr Duggan's death. Despite the thirty-six years since its publication, *Policing the Crisis*, still proves to be correct in its finding of the press as reinforcing instead of challenging the status quo therefore not fulfilling its *Fourth Estate* role.

INTRODUCTION

The scope of this dissertation is to analyse how the British press has performed its Fourth Estate role in covering the killing of Mark Duggan

The killing of Marc Duggan in what the police called a 'hard-stop', its aftermath, and the mishandled and miscommunication of the situation by the Metropolitan Police (MPS) and the Independent Police Complaint Commission (IPCC) were the main reasons for the anger of the family against the police service in the capital.

The protest by Duggan's relatives and friends in front of Tottenham police to complain about the failures in communicating the killing to the family was some argue the spark of what went on to become the worst riots in British history since the Brixton riots in 1981. In the days and nights following the protest, the riots spread in several deprived areas across the country from Birmingham to Bristol.

It is because of the killing of Mark Duggan inscribed in the public conscience as what sparks the riots that it is interesting to study how the press covered this case in the three years from the death of Mr Duggan in August 2011 to the verdict of the inquest into his killing in January 2014. During this thesis it will also be important to analyse the context in which this killing took place, both in terms of the relation between the black community and the police, and in the fundamental role played by the press in relation to the police.

The main question which this dissertation is set to answer is: how has the press performed its Fourth Estate and watchdog role covering the Mark Duggan case?

The idea of the press as a *Fourth Estate* is based on the assumption that the press, and the media in general operate outside and are independent from the main institutions of power and this position allows them to hold the powers to account (Curran and Seaton, 2009).

In *The Elements of Journalism*, Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) outlines a series of principles which every journalist should follow in order to perform effectively their watchdog role which sits at the heart of *the liberal theory of the press*. For the purpose of this paper the coverage of the Mark Duggan case will be tested against the fundamental “pillars” on which the press built its watchdog role. These are *verification*: the ‘beating heart of credible journalism’ *independence* from those they cover (regardless of their class, economic and race status); *a fair and balanced reporting* (based on seeking out all available evidence and utilising all available sources) *and the idea of monitoring power* (epitomised by investigative journalism) (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2007, p. 80).

This traditional liberal view of the press is contrasted by a Marxist view of the press, in which the Fourth Estate is not independent from the powers which they should hold to account and whenever necessary, criticise but are instead part of the same establishment (Schlesinger and Tumber, 1994). This Marxist view has been expressed and expanded in a series of media and sociological studies, from Althusser and his idea of the media as part of the ‘Ideological State Apparatus’

(Althusser, 1971) to Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model' (Herman and Chomsky, 2002).

Here in Britain, this Marxist view of the media was at the core of *Policing the Crisis* a groundbreaking text written by Stuart Hall *et al.* concerned in the chapter entitled '*Social Production of the News*' with the ideological role of the media:

"It is this structured relationship – between the media and its 'powerful' sources – which begins to open up the neglected question of the ideological role of the media. It is this which begins to give substance and specificity to Marx's basic proposition that 'the ruling idea of any age are the ideas of the ruling classes'. Marx's contention is that this dominance of 'ruling ideas' operates primarily because, in addition to its ownership and control of the means of material production, this class also owns and controls the means of 'mental production'.

Hall et al, 1978, p. 59

Using the '*Social Production of News*' as the main theoretical pillar, this paper will try to analyse whether the press on this occasion performed its role as a *Fourth Estate* in holding to account the police which, can be said to be a powerful institution with the task of defending the "state's legitimate monopoly on violence and symbolic capital" (Manning, 2003, p. 64). Or if, on the other hand, they act as a lapdog for the powerful institutions in society, as in this case the police.

The '*Social Production of News*' is based on the concept of *primary* and *secondary* definers. The concept was elaborated starting from two notions in relation to how the media work: firstly they need to reduce the time and economic pressure on the news production circle (Murdock, quoted in Hall et al. 1978) and secondly they need to be seen as underpinning their work with the notions of 'impartiality', 'balance' and 'objectivity' in order to achieve the distinction

between 'fact' and 'opinion' (Hall et al, 1978). The media achieves these two objects by constantly turning to accredited sources from major social institutions which have power or interests in the events they are describing (Hall et al, 2013, p. 61). By doing so, the media allows these accredited sources to become the *primary definers* of a certain event that means creating a framework for the subsequent debate; those sources define as *secondary* by Hall et al. will only have the opportunity to respond to this framework already in place rather than creating one of themselves.

By recurring and using the same authoritative sources such as politicians, the police, etc., Hall et al. advance the concept of the media as reinforcing instead of challenging the status quo.

In order to assess the performance of the press in the Mark Duggan case, a samples of articles will be taken from several newspapers of different political leanings and types from broadsheets to tabloids. This sample has been chosen in order to have a broad view of the press and how they performed their *Fourth Estate* role in respect to the Mark Duggan case.

The analysis of these papers will be focused on two periods which are significant in the Mark Duggan case or are strictly interconnected with it. Firstly his killing and the aftermath and secondly the inquest into his killing held between September 2013 and January 2014. As said above, the '*Social Production of News*' will be the main pillar of this paper, therefore analysing if the press in reporting this case was only consulting what Hall et al. call

'authoritative' sources or if, instead they were also using several producers of what Hall et al. call 'counter definitions'.

The main objective of this paper therefore is to test how the press performs its watchdog and fourth estate role particularly as the victim and his friends and family were from ethnic minority backgrounds therefore not part of what Hall et al. call 'powerful sources'.

1 METHODOLOGY

In order to conduct the research a representative sample of articles will be taken in two significant periods of the Mark Duggan case. The first period is from August 2011 to December 2011, to analyse and evaluate the press coverage of his killing and his aftermath. The second period is from August 2013 to January 2014 to cover the inquest into his killing.

The articles have been retrieved using *Lexis/Nexis* database, which offers the opportunity of retrieving newspaper articles on a specific date or period using a key word or a series of key words. For both periods the key words are “Mark Duggan” and they have been searched only when it was a “major mention”. Through this selection retrieving articles in which the terms are in the headline, lead paragraph or indexing. This criteria has been applied in order to avoid all minor articles in which Duggan was only mentioned as the “spark of the riots” and not as the subject of the article itself.

As said in the introduction, the newspapers selected for the analysis are a representative sample of all the “voices” present in the market taking also into consideration different types of newspapers: from broadsheet through to middle-market to the tabloid press. From the centre-left of *The Guardian*, its sister Sunday paper *The Observer*, and the popular tabloids *The Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror*, to the centre right of the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Mail on Sunday* and *The Sun*; the sample takes into consideration a wide range of political and world views available in the British press.

Having decided the period and the newspapers from which the articles which will form the representative sample have been taken, the second step in the research will be to distinguish in each period the primary and secondary definers of the Mark Duggan's case following the concept elaborated by Hall et al., therefore dividing the sources along the lines of "who the newspapers go to define this event?" and "who the newspapers go to respond to the definition and the framework given by the primary definers?". The definition of who constitutes primary and secondary definers may well vary between the first and the second period taken into consideration.

Having established the primary and secondary definers of this case, the research will be conducted using both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The quantitative analysis will be used to collect empirical data on the number of sources used by each newspaper divided by category. For example "police source" or "anonymous police source" and so on. Because the prominence of the coverage has been different depending on the newspaper that we look at it has been necessary to calculate in percentage how many times each source has been used by each specific newspaper in a determinate period. This has been obtained by dividing the number of times a source has been used in a specific period by the sum of all the sources used by each newspapers in the period analysed.

Along with the quantitative analysis, this research will also make significant use of qualitative analysis. The reason is that a qualitative analysis presents an opportunity to analyse the meaning behind the text, therefore using the same

approach that Hall *et al.* conducted in *Policing the Crisis* (1978). In the book, the authors divided their qualitative analysis in three sections: news, editorials and features. This was done in order to have a much broader picture of a 'whole news process' (Hall et al, 2013, p. 84). For the purpose of this paper however, the analysis will be focused on the news pages, because it is in the news pages that the media claim of being factually driven, leaving the comments and personal views in features and editorial comment, in a modern application of the famous motto by the late *The Guardian* editor C.P. Scott: 'comment is free but facts are sacred' (Scott, 1921). It is therefore in the news articles where the voice and opinions of the journalists should not be included. Otherwise it becomes what can be called "news-comment".

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to assess how has the press perform its fourth estate role in the Mark Duggan case it is necessary to look at media studies which have been conducted on how the media manage and select their sources and on how the media related to powerful institutions in society.

Before looking at *Policing the Crisis* and at the context in which it was developed, it is worth analyse briefly the role of sources in news production and what can this tell us in relation to how the media relate to them and their role of supplying legitimacy to the news produced by the media (Franklin & Carson, 2013 pp 1-4). This mutual relationship is beneficial for both side of the “agreement”, in fact while the sources supply legitimacy and authority to the news articles present in the media, the media “exchange” this legitimacy with the possibility for the sources of having a platform from which his/her views could be heard and become influent. This was at the same time, the starting point of Hall *et al.* in studying how the media select their sources and on how they end up reproducing the definitions of the powerful (Hall et al. 1978)

Policing the Crisis was develop as a result of a joint project of several authors at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at Birmingham University. The Centre was founded by the academic Richard Hoggart in 1964 with the at the time revolutionary aim of ‘carry out group research on areas of popular culture such as chart music, television programmes and advertising. This approach went profoundly against the grain of conventional academic practice’

(About CCCS: history and project, 2014). In the preface for the second edition of *Policing the Crisis*, published in 2013, the authors spoke of the trans-disciplinary approach of the CCCS, and how this facilitated different authors bringing different perspective and concerns into the research (Hall et al, 2013, p. x).

Along with this preference for popular culture over “high brow culture”, another fundamental element of the studies done by the CCCS was the importance of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, and how his idea of cultural hegemony was applied in the study of the media and in the ideological role of the media. In fact, David Marsh, in an article for *Cultural Studies* recognises the importance of Gramsci for the CCCS in the 1970s and 1980s and how they helped to make him “popular” or fashionable in those years:

The CSSS under Hall, and later Richard Johnson, was strongly influenced by the work of Gramsci, indeed they were very important in stimulating the growing interest in Gramsci’s work in the UK during the late 1970s and the 1980s.

Marsh, *Cultural Studies*, 2005, 3: 389

This Marxist and Gramscian idea of the state as an ideological and powerful institution was confirmed in an article for *Crime, Media, Culture* by Tony Jefferson, one of the authors who co-wrote *Policing the Crisis*, explained what was the context and background of their study:

we were interested in understanding how it was that the relatively autonomous institutions of the state – the police, the judiciary and the media (understood then, following Althusser (1971), as an ideological state apparatus) – contributed to the panic independently (i.e. in line with their own institutional goals, demands, protocols), but also in a way that operated collectively to reproduce the ideas of the powerful, ideas that advantaged the ruling class alliance: the dominant ideology. This entailed a detailed look at the workings of the police, the judiciary and the media, before and during the moral panic.

Jefferson, *Crime Media Culture* 2008 4: 114

In the same article cited above, Jefferson confirmed how, the starting point of Policing the Crisis was the concept of *Moral Panic*, developed by Stanley Cohen in his classic *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1973): 'Stan Cohen's coining of the notion [of moral panic] in his classic *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1973), ... was absolutely central to our thinking' (Jefferson, *Crime Media Culture* 2008 4: 114). In fact, the concept of *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* was a fundamental part, if not the cornerstone on which Policing the Crisis was built around: the object of Hall *et al.* was to study and analyse the idea of moral panic "in practice" by analysing how the 'mugging scare' at the beginning of the 1970s was just another example of the theory elaborated by Cohen in his study of the Mods and Rockers scare in the 1960s and how the media were creating and reinforcing this scare. Chas Critcher, one of the authors of Policing the crisis in *Journalism and Moral Panics* explains how, in our modern societies, the only way for a moral panic to succeed is through the media which can instigate a moral panic themselves, or at least play an active role in its realisation. (Critcher, 2005, p. 179)

In order to understand how Hall *et al.* see the media and their role in creating moral panics, it is necessary to look at how they see the media in our society and in how this differs from the pluralistic view of it. These different views of the media have been explained by Philip Schlesinger and Howard Tumber in their *Reporting Crime: The Media Politics of Criminal Justice* in which they explain how the Marxist view of the media differ from the pluralistic view in how they see the media and their relation with the structure of modern capitalistic society:

In the pluralistic image of a society ... the media are seen as so many contending voices in a market-place of ideas and as articulating a range of distinctive ways. By contrast, in the neo-Marxist vision, heavily centred

upon the role of class domination in capitalist society, the media are viewed as subordinate to political and economic interests of the dominant class or classes, and, in general, as reproducing their dominant ideological perspectives.

Schlesinger and Tumber, 1994, p. 14

It should also be noted that, despite starting from a Marxist view of the media the authors of *Policing the Crisis* had a different approach from the one advanced by radical political economists such as Herman and Chomsky. In fact while for the former the ideological role of the media was a result of their use and selection of sources and their role in setting agendas. For the latter the ideological role of the media was a result of the power sources owning of the media and their advertising in news outlets and through this becoming the primary definers of the news.

For Hall et al. the media were reproducing rather than challenging the status quo and to explain how they were performing this role they develop the concept of *primary* and *secondary* definers. The concept of *primary* and *secondary* definers is based on the idea that the media 'reproduce the definitions of the powerful, without being, in a simple sense, in their pay.' (Hall et al., 1978, p. 56).

There are two reasons in Hall *et al.*'s opinion that led to journalists interviewing and recurring often to accredited and authoritative sources. The first reason is taken from Graham Murdock's *Mass Communication and the Construction of Meaning*, in which the author speaks of the 'internal pressures of news production' as one of the main reason why journalists rely heavily on those subjects which pre-schedule their events, therefore making the news-production

circle easier to organise. The second reason is connected as said above with the idea of the press underpinning their reporting with what Hall et al. call 'professional ideological rules': the notions of 'impartiality', 'balance' and 'objectivity' (Hall et al., 1978). Only those in powerful and privileged institutions are able to "fulfil" these two requirements of the media. In fact, they often "pre-scheduled" their activities giving to the journalist the opportunity of organising a news production circle which is time and cost effecting. At the same time, the same sources which "pre-scheduled" their activities are often, if not always those in society considered to be to able to give 'authoritative' and 'objective' statements, following the concept elaborated by Becker of the 'hierarchy of credibility' (Becker, 1972 quoted in Hall et al., 1978 p.57). Therefore they are consulted to produce articles which follow the 'professional ideological rules' outline above (Hall et al., 1978). This routine creates a structured *over-accessing* of this section of society to the media making them the *primary definers* of the news. Because these accredited sources as said before, are from powerful institutions or classes in society, the media end up shaping and sustaining a consensual view of society, in the words of Hall *et al.* 'The media thus tend, faithfully and impartially, to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society's institutional order.' (Hall et al., 1978, p. 57)

As a result of this, those who offers a counter-definition or simply a different one of the same problem end up being the *secondary definers* which respond with their own definition to a problem *already* 'framed' by the primary definers. In the opinion of Hall et al. once the definition has been established by the primary

definers it is 'extremely difficult to alter fundamentally once established' (Hall et al, 1978, p. 57)

It is in this role played by the media in reinforcing instead of challenging the status-quo that lies the 'ideological role' of the media which reproduce the ruling classes consensus, in the words of Hall et al.

In producing their definition of social reality, and the place of 'ordinary people' within it, they construct a particular image of society which represents particular class interests as the interests of all members of society. Because of their control over material and mental resources, and their domination of the major institutions of society, this class's definitions of the social world provide the basic rationale for those institutions which protect and reproduce their 'way of life'.

Hall et al. 1978, 59

Authors such as David Miller, Philip Schlesinger and Howard Tumber have criticise the concept of primary and secondary definers elaborated by Hall et al. for being too simplistic and not recognising the internal divisions within powerful institutions. In an article for *Media, Culture and Society* in 1993, Miller studying the example of the behaviour of the press in reporting the Troubles in Northern Ireland, he explained what he thought were the main problems with the Social Production of News:

First it assumes that state organizations and government departments are not internally divided. Second, there is no room for negotiation over definition prior to engagement with the media. That is, definition occurs at the centre of political power in a form unmodified by other organizations or factors. Third, the model implies that 'the structure of access necessarily secures strategic advantages' for official sources and conversely that 'counter definition can *never dislodge* the primary definition' (Schlesinger, 1990:66, emphasis in original). Fourth, the subordination of the media to be 'primary definers' fails to account for variation within and between media. ... Lastly, questions about the role of the media in contributing to the definitional battle ... are ruled out.

Miller, *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 15, 1993 p. 386-387

Schlesinger and Tumber extended the points above with the concept of 'off the record briefing' in which primary definers do not appear as such because they remain anonymous. (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994, p. 18). Along with the 'off the record briefing' Schlesinger and Tumber also found that the concept elaborated by Hall et al. does not deal with how the structures of power change over time changing as a consequence the access to the media a source has in a particular moment in time. In the opinion of Schlesinger and Tumber, Hall et al. consider the media too passive and not taking into consideration the differences between different news outlets (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994, p. 19).

This is why, going back to the Mark Duggan case, studying which sources the newspapers used and who were their primary and secondary definers can help us to understand how accurate the reporting of this case was and how they have performed their *Fourth Estate* role.

3 BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE POLICE

Before analysing the killing of Mark Duggan and its coverage by the British press, it is necessary to look and study briefly the background and “surroundings” in which this killing took place and how this background may have had an impact on how the press portrayed the killing.

The first important area to study briefly before analysing the coverage offered by the British press, is the relationship between the black (or to be more specifically the ethnic minorities) community and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). This relationship will be analysed in the period between the Brixton Riots in 1981 and the riots in the summer of 2011 and their aftermath.

Throughout this period, the stop and search powers of the police have been a constant source of anger and lack of trust between the black community and the MPS. The most widely used by the police is under the section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) which accounts for over a million stops every year (Parliament. House of Commons, 2014). The stop and search are carried out in public places to find stolen goods, offensive weapons and controlled drugs. The stop and search powers can only be used if justified by a ‘reasonable suspicion’ that those articles will be found. But under Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, this ‘reasonable suspicion’ can be forfeited by a senior officer who can authorise stop and search in a particular area if they believe that serious violence may take place

It is from the powers under Section 60 that most of the anger of the black community is borne out of. Because the areas targeted by the police are often deprived areas where large part of the ethnic minorities community lives, they feel in a way targeted by the police.

And the feeling of being targeted by the police simply because of the colour of their skin is a thread which connects all the inquiries commissioned by successive governments into inner-city riots or mishandled of investigations by the police. From Lord Scarman in 1981, who found that one of the main causes of the riots in Brixton was to be attributed to a fundamental mistrust and loss of confidence towards the police (BBC NEWS, 2004), right up to the watershed moment represented by the conclusion reached by Lord Macpherson in the 1999 landmark inquiry into the handling of the investigation by the police into the killing of the young black teenager Stephen Lawrence which found the police of being 'institutionally racist' (*The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*, 1999, chapter 46).

Despite the acknowledgement that came with these watershed moments, issues such as stop and search and death in custody are still open scars which continue to create mistrust between the police and the black community, as found by Ben Bowling and Coretta Philips in their academic article *Policing Ethnic Minorities* (Bowling and Philips, 2003, pp. 528-555). This was confirmed by The Ministry of Justice publication *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2012* (Ministry of Justice 2013, quoted in Parliament, House of Commons, 2014) which

studied the ethnicity of people stopped and searched by the police and found that

Per 1,000 of the population, Black persons 6.0 times more likely to be stopped and searched compared with White persons. Asian persons and those from a Mixed ethnic group were just over two times more likely to be stopped and searched than White persons.

This further increases on the black population under 60s were black people are 29 times more likely to be stopped and searched than white people (Parliament. House of Commons, 2014)

The feeling of being targeted further increase if the sentenced for drug-related offences are taken into consideration. In fact, in *Black and White: Ethnic Disparities in the Policing and Prosecution of Drug Offences*, a combine study by the London School of Economics and the charity Release the authors found an increase of the number of stops and searches in the ten years between 2001 and 2010, a disproportionality of treatment which is not only restricted to stops and searches but also includes the sentences for drug-related offences as explain by Niamh Eastwood, one of the authors of the report, which results in

‘Black people are more likely to get a criminal record than white people, are more likely to be taken to court and are more likely to be fined or imprisoned for drug offences because of the way in which they are policed, rather than because they are more likely to use drugs.

Release and London School of Economics, 2013

4 THE POLICE

4.1 POLICE BY CONSENT

The second point to consider before focusing on how the press performed its Fourth Estate role in the coverage of the Mark Duggan case is to analyse briefly the consent by which the police operates and the role played by the media in establishing, supporting or diminishing this consent.

Since the creation of what has been called the 'modern police' with the establishment of the Metropolitan Police by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, in Britain the idea of policing has always been based on and associated with the idea of police by consent.

'Policing by consent' and the use of force as a last resource are premised on the public perceiving the police as a legitimate authority and trusting police officers to act righteously, fairly, and with their best interests at heart"

Reiner 2010 and Tyler 2006 quoted in Kohl, 2012

Robert Reiner in his *The Politics of the Police*, explains how the police was able to achieve this consent by a set of eight principles established by Peel and Rowan and Mayne (the first two joint commissioners of the MPS) which created a police which was less confrontational, with a legalistic stance and more in general low-profile (Reiner, 2010, pp.70-77)

But this consent, built thanks to the so called Peelian-Principles has been slowly eradicated from the end of the 1950s by a politicization of the police force, a deterioration in the relation between the black community and the police and an increasing militancy industrial conflict (Reiner, 2010, pp. 94-95)

4.2 THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN CONSTRUCTING OR DE-CONSTRUCTING THIS CONSENT

In this in the context of what Reiner called a 'fragile re-legitimation' (Reiner, 2010, 110) that the press operates, and its role is fundamental in constructing or de-constructing the consent by which the police operates.

In our modern societies, the experience of the police changes in relation to what social class you belong to (Reiner, 2010, 177). In fact while the police activity is concentrated and focus on a specific segment of our society (normally young males from a disadvantaged background), the political decisions which determine the power, resources and rules by which the police operates are decided by the upper classes which acquire their information about the police largely from our mass media (Reiner, 2010, 177).

The importance and fundamental role of the press in informing the public on the activity of the police is confirmed by the survey *Policing for London* (Policing for London, quoted in Reiner, 2010, p. 178) in which 80 per cent of the interviewees said that mass media were their principal source of information of the police and only 20 per cent talking of "direct experience". From this survey we can see how important the media are for the police, both in constructing the consent by which the police operates or by simply keep the public informed on its activities.

There are two opposing view in relation to the media presentation of the police. In a simplistic way, the first sees the media as sensationalist and eager to portray police failures in order to enhance the number of copies sold. The second view, instead, sees the media as reinforcing and legitimatising those institutions of social order which the police is entrusted to protect and upheld (Reiner, 2010)

Policing the Crisis, by Stuart Hall *et al.* which, as said before will be one the main academic texts used in the analysis of the press coverage of the killing of Mark Duggan sees the media with the second view outline above, in which the media reinforce those institutions of social order, or as they called 'social control' (Hall, 1978)

It is therefore interesting, to study how the relationship between the media and the police take place and how it can increase or diminish what Peter K Manning calls 'the symbolic capital of the police': meaning the collective belief in their ability and the goodwill and resources they are able to mobilize (Manning, 2003, p. 64)

Because this legitimacy has to be continuously "contracted" and "gained" with the public on a daily basis, the police sees the media as the main mean or the main obstacle through which they can achieve the support needed by the public in order to operate. In fact, when the media publishes stories on the misconduct of the police, being it a disregard of the law, a different application of it depending on the offenders, or by committing an abuse of power, the police suffer a damaging blow because it is perceived by the public to commit the same sins which it is appointed to prosecute (Mawby, 2002, p. 61).

Mawby also highlights the difficulties of policing a multicultural society: 'In a multi-cultural, socially and economically diverse society different attitudes towards policing exist and to maintain legitimacy the police need to identify

common ground and shared values with the different groups.’ (Mawby, 2002, p.187)

This role makes the media as the de-facto “broker” of this legitimacy deal and with their stories they can make or break the authority that comes from this legitimacy, as found by Peter K. Manning, in his *Police Contingencies*, where he analyses how the press is fundamental in establishing and maintaining its authority: ‘The media both glorify policing and seek to demystify and erode its authority by depicting it as brutal, violent, inept, or incompetent.’ (Manning, 2003, p. 65)

5 THE MARK DUGGAN CASE

5.1 OUTLINE OF THE CASE

After having analysed both the relation between the black community and the police, and the one between the police and the press which are the background and context of the Mark Duggan case, our attention now will be on the Mark Duggan case in itself.

A brief outline of the case will be presented with the most important moments of the case outlined here while a most detailed timeline of the events will be presented in Appendix 1.

Mark Duggan, was shot dead by police officers on Thursday, the 4th of August 2011, after a so-called hard stop during a police operation conducted by officers from Operation Trident, the unit of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) set up to deal with gun crimes in the African and Caribbean communities.

As said in the introduction, the aftermath of the killing, with the lack of communication between the MPS, the Independent Police Complaint Commission (IPCC) and the family on what happened are the reasons for the anger of the family, which organised a protest outside Tottenham police station on Saturday the 6th of August 2011. The protest later degenerated into violence, which spread in several deprived areas across the country.

Between September and October 2012, at Snaresbrook Crown Court the trial of Kevin Hutchinson-Foster, accused of supplying the gun to Mark Duggan 15

minutes before he was shot dead, takes place. After a retrial, Hutchinson-Foster is found guilty in January 2013 and later jailed for 11 years for supplying the gun to Duggan. The verdict on the trial of Hutchinson Foster allowed a date for the public inquest into the killing of Mark Duggan to be set.

During the inquest which lasted from September 2013 to January 2014, the jury heard contrasting testimonies on Duggan's background and on the circumstances leading up to, and subsequent to his killing by the police. The jury finally reached its conclusion that he was 'lawfully killed' on the 8th of January 2014. The verdict caused uproar in Duggan's camp because they saw the verdict as inconsistent with what the jury heard during the inquest and the fact that they ruled that Duggan was not armed when shot by the police officers. Despite this finding is contrary to the account of the police officers who killed Duggan (which in the trial had the codename V53), the jury found the killing lawful

As said before, a detailed timeline can be found in the Appendix 1, but this short outline of the case was necessary in order to understanding why the research has been conducted only in two specific periods.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST PERIOD: FROM AUGUST 2011 TO DECEMBER 2011

5.2.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

As said in the methodology chapter, the representative sample for this first period has been assembled using *Nexis / Lexis* database which gives the opportunity of retrieving articles using a key word or a series of key words, for this period from August 2011 to December 2011, the key words were "Mark Duggan" searched as "Major Mentions" as to avoid including in the

representative sample all those articles in which the key words were only presented as “what cause the riots” and not as the main subject of the articles. The newspapers from which the articles have been retrieved are a representative sample of all the type of newspapers and of all political leanings present in the newsstands up and down the country. By using the criteria outline above the sample for the first period will be formed by forty-nine articles taken from *The Guardian* and its sister paper *The Observer*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail* and the *Mail on Sunday*, *The Daily Telegraph* and finally *The Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Mirror*. Chart 1 shows the forty-nine articles retrieved by Lexis/Nexis divided by the various news outlets which published them.

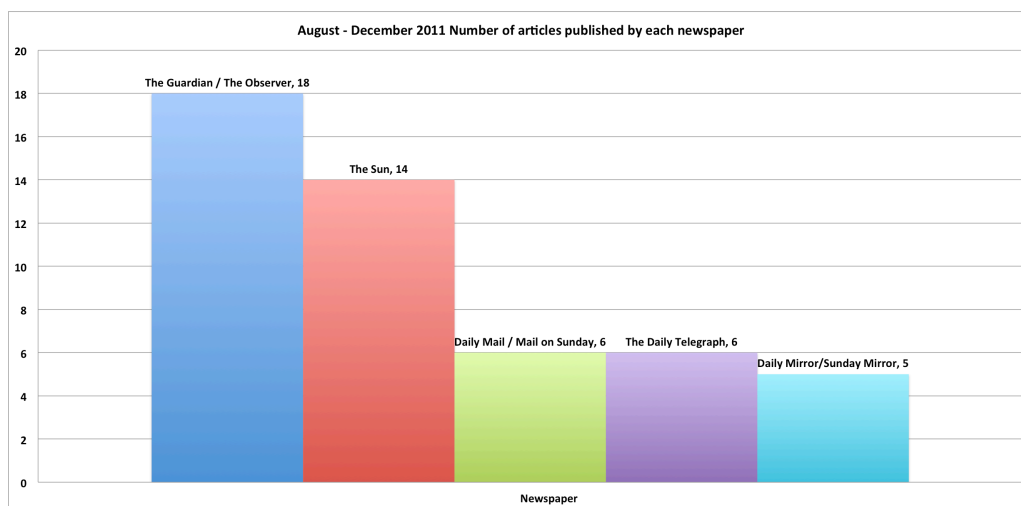


Chart 1: Number of articles published by each newspaper of the sample

Having retrieved the articles, the second phase of the analysis conducted into the coverage of the Mark Duggan case between August and December 2011 was to understand from the articles who were the *primary definers*, meaning those who were putting in place the framework utilised by the journalists to report the case and who were the *secondary definers* which were responding to it.

Through an analysis of the sources used by the news outlets which form our representative sample it is clear that by asking the question “who do the newspapers go to define this event?” the response is mainly the police, both in the case of named officials and spokespersons and with unnamed police sources. Along with the police sources, there are two other primary definers of the case: the first is the Independent Police Complaint Commission (IPCC) which was in charge of the investigation into the killing of Mr Duggan so the “go to option” for all the journalists to know more about the facts of the investigation itself and finally the named and unnamed sources which were sustaining and re-affirming the framework put in place by police sources soon after the killing. In terms of secondary definers, there are two main groups of people which produced what Hall et al. (1978) call ‘counter definitions’ in contrast with the framework established by the primary definers, the first are the friends and relatives of Mr Duggan, the second are the community leaders of Tottenham, where Mr Duggan was born and grew up. Before going into a detailed analysis of the image of Mark Duggan constructed by the primary definers, Chart 2 has been made to show the frequency and prominence of primary or secondary definers in the newspapers taken into consideration for the research.

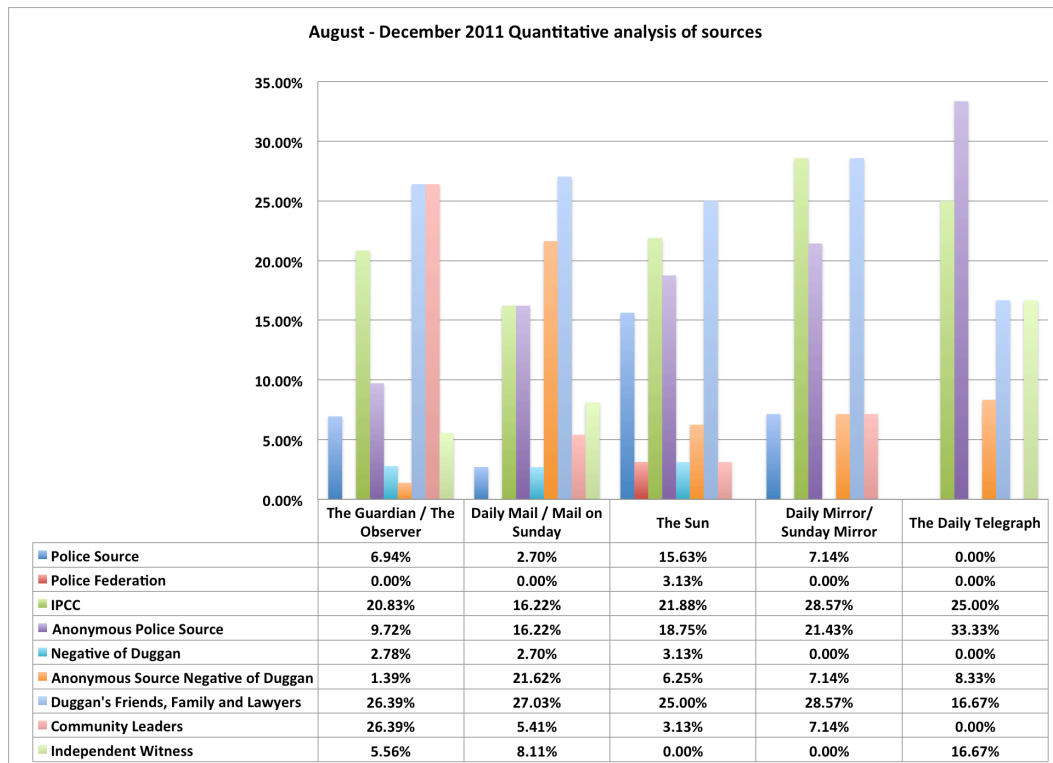


Chart 2: Quantitative Analysis of Sources August - December 2011

From Chart 2 it is possible to see how, a quantitative analysis does not offer conclusive evidences on the way in which Mark Duggan was portrayed in the British press in the aftermath of his killing.

5.2.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

To have a much broader picture of how Mr Duggan was portrayed it is necessary to conduct a simple qualitative analysis to understand what was the picture that was emerging of Mr Duggan from the articles which form the representative sample. So the analysis will be conducted in order to understand the framework that the primary definers were trying to put in place and how the press respond to it. It will be significant to the aim of this paper to analyse briefly how the press performed when contradicting accounts emerged both on the events that led to Mr Duggan's death and on his background.

Primary Definers

By reading the articles on the Duggan case in first few days after the shooting there are two things which emerged and “build” the image of Duggan: the first is that Mr Duggan was armed and died as a result of a shootout in which he fired at the police officers who were trying to arrest him and the police officer responded to the fire and killed him in an act of self-defence. The second pillar which constructed the image of Duggan was the fact that he was a member of a gang operating in north London. It is interesting to note how, the first account of the shooting was reported by all of the newspapers in our representative sample, but only *The Guardian*, reported clearly and at the beginning of the article where the information was coming from (*The Guardian*, 6/8/11), in fact while an IPCC spokesman was the origin of this information, in all the other newspapers the source of the account was not reported or it was in one of the last paragraphs of the article (*The Sun*, 6/8/11). When the IPCC confirmed on the 8th of August that Duggan did not in fact fire at the police, this information was reported by all the newspapers in our sample but received a marked different prominence depending on which newspaper we look at, in fact, while for *The Guardian* it was the object of a fairly long news story written by four of its criminal correspondents (*The Guardian*, 8/8/11), in all the other newspapers the story received less prominence or it was only cited as a fuel for the anger of the people rioting in the streets. This different prominence in how the newspaper reported the contradicting accounts on the death of Mr Duggan was even starker when the IPCC apologised for having ‘inadvertently’ suggested to the reporters that the victim had fired at the police. While for *The Guardian* this was the object of a fairly long news article explaining how the information came out and which

newspapers reported the inaccurate information, all the other newspaper in our representative sample did not report this news (*The Sun*, and *The Daily Mail*) or reported it in brief (*The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Mirror*). From the analysis conducted into the reporting of the conflicting accounts into Mr Duggan's death, it is possible to ascertain how of all the newspapers taken into consideration *The Guardian* was the only one which gave large coverage to the conflicting accounts of Mr Duggan's death and on the "misleading" communications given by the IPCC, while for all the other newspapers in our sample this conflicting account did not represent something which should have received more coverage and prominence. Furthermore *The Guardian* was the only newspaper to underline the conflicts between the Metropolitan Police and the IPCC on the handling of the case and of the communication between these two organisations and the family of the deceased.

The second pillar of the image of Duggan put in place by the primary definers, and one which is a constant theme in the two periods which are at the centre of our analysis is the image of Duggan as a dangerous member of a gang in north London. This portrait was mainly given by anonymous police sources who, described him as a 'major player in Tottenham criminality' (*The Daily Mail*, 9 August 2011), this was reinforced by: the use of anonymous sources which were confirming the account given by the anonymous police sources and accusing him of being a drug dealer (e.g. *The Daily Mail*, 8/8/2011) or connecting him with criminal families in Manchester (*The Sun*, 12/8/11 and *The Daily Mail* 13/12/2011).

Secondary Definers

As said in the introduction to this chapter, looking at the coverage in the months between August and December 2011 two groups emerged as the clear secondary definers of the case: the first are the friends and relatives of Mr Duggan, the second are members of the community where Duggan was from and its leaders. As Chart 2 shows, all the newspapers in our sample have consulted the family and the use of them has been equal across the five newspapers which form our representative sample and they convey the same type of messages about Mr Duggan: for instance 'He was a good dad' (*The Sun*, 6/8/11) or 'Mark was known to police but he had never been sent down for anything before' (*The Daily Mail*, 8/8/11). It is interesting to note how, the percentage of the use of community members dramatically change between the newspapers in our sample, in fact only *The Guardian* gives space and possibility to members of the community of expressing themselves and their view. This is particularly evident in two articles published respectively on the 13th of August with the headline 'Tottenham: Calls for calm ahead of wake for man whose shooting sparked first trouble' and on the 6th of September with the headline 'Reading the riots: In search of the spark that turned tension in Tottenham into flames'. These articles are particularly significant for two main reasons: the first is that they offer the opportunity of having a second opinion of Mr Duggan and in most cases the member of the community are positive towards him and through the use of community members emerges an image of Duggan which is in direct contrast with the one portray by the primary definers and this counter-definitions is also much stronger as the community members are not formally connected to the family and therefore can be considered to be less biased towards Duggan, but still offer

a positive image of him or they explain the difficulties of growing up in a tough neighbourhood like Tottenham. It is also worth noting how, of all the newspapers that form the representative sample, *The Guardian* is the only one which does not use the council estate where Mr Duggan was from as a way of reinforcing his image of dangerous gangster; for instance while *The Daily Mail* talks of 'his upbringing on the notorious Broadwater Farm estate' (*The Daily Mail*, 10/9/11) *The Guardian* talk with a residents which talk of the difficulties of living in a tough area such as Tottenham: 'He wasn't an angel, but if you are brought up in a place like Broadwater Farm , you better not be an angel because you won't survive' (*The Guardian*, 6/9/11).

Before moving to the analysis of the coverage during the inquest into the killing of Mr Duggan, a short analysis is required of the way in which *The Daily Mail*, utilised the secondary definers of this case, in fact, while as Chart 2 shows, the paper gave large space to friends and relatives of Duggan, by reading the articles published by the newspaper there is a strong feeling of the paper trying to undermine or discredit what these sources were saying about Duggan. This was done mainly through the use of comments just after the quote as a way of questioning the veracity of what those sources were saying, for instance, the article under the headline 'Violence, drugs, a fatal stabbing and a most unlikely martyr' (*The Daily Mail*, 8/8/11) in which after quoting Mr Duggan's partner saying how good he was as a dad, the journalist commented 'Maybe he was. Perhaps he did'. And this "undermining" of the secondary definers is evident and widespread throughout *The Daily Mail's* coverage of this period.

5.3 ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND PERIOD

Having analysed the coverage of the killing of Mark Duggan and its aftermath, now the analysis will be focus on the coverage offered by the press to the inquest into his killing which lasted from September 2013 to January 2014. The reason why this period has been chosen is because, while for the first period most of the reporting was based on rumours and anonymous police sources, this period should test if the majority of newspapers continue to use the framework put in place by the primary definers in the previous period or if instead, they use the objective data coming from the inquest.

To understand better the coverage and see if the press has reported on the evidences and contradictions which emerged from the inquest here the findings of the jury will be briefly outlined. After three months of hearings the jury had to answer five questions and rule on the lawfulness of the killing. These were the questions which the jury had to answer :

- In the period between midday on 3 August 2011 and when state amber was called at 6.00 pm on 4 August 2011, did the Metropolitan Police Service and the Serious Organised Crime Agency do the best they realistically could have done to gather and react to intelligence about the possibility of Mr Duggan collecting a gun from Mr Hutchinson-Foster? The jury said a unanimous no.
- Was the stop conducted in a location and in a way which minimised, to the greatest extent possible, recourse to lethal force? Unanimous yes.
- Did Mr Duggan have the gun with him in the taxi immediately before the stop? Unanimous yes
- How did the gun get to the grass area where it was later found? A majority of 9 to 1 said it was thrown.
- When Mr Duggan received a fatal shot, did he have the gun in his hand? A majority of 8 to 2 said no, he did not have a gun in his hand

(Mark Duggan Inquest, BBC News, 8/1/2014)

The jury found the killing to have been lawful because the officer had an honest belief that his life was in danger. The verdict caused uproar and fury on the family and supporters of Mark Duggan, because he was perceived to be unfair as the jury found that he was not armed but still they ruled the killing as lawful.

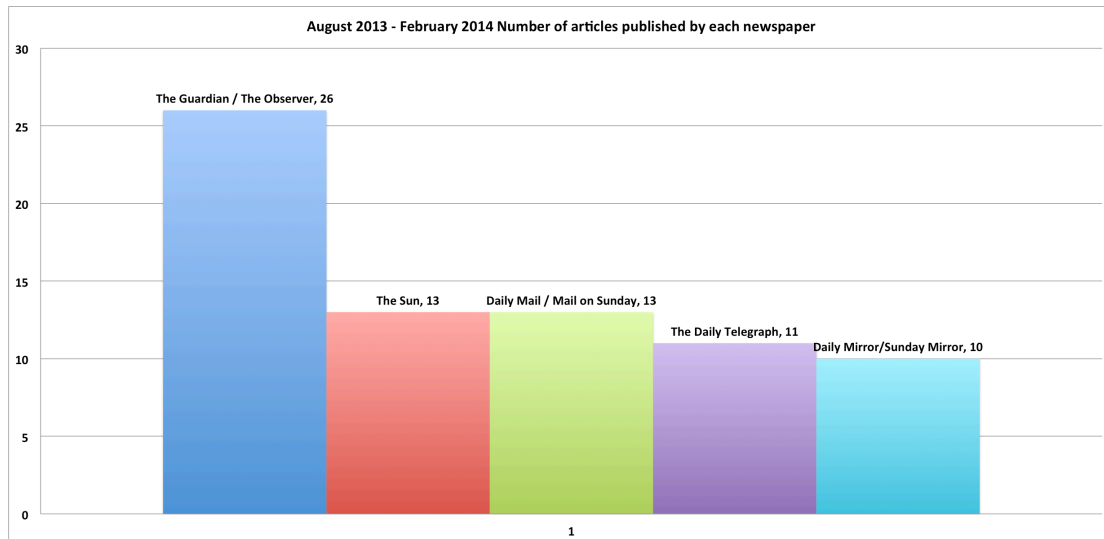


Chart 3 Number of articles published by each newspaper between August 2013 and February 2014

Chart 3 shows the seventy-three articles which will form the representative sample to analyse the coverage during the period of the inquest. The articles have been retrieved from Lexis/Nexis database, using the key words "Mark Duggan". The newspapers selected are the same of the first period and from Chart 3 it is clear how *The Guardian* and its sister paper *The Observer* were the newspapers which offered the major coverage to the inquest with a series of articles covering the inquest and the details and contradictions emerging from the inquest, something which was lacking from the other newspapers in our samples. Reading the articles published by the newspapers in our samples the police emerged again as the primary definers from the articles which are part of our representative sample. In

fact, despite being an inquest with several witnesses called to testify, for the majority of the newspapers the police still remained the biggest source of information. It is also possible to ascertain how, in the second period of the analysis, the family and friends of Mr Duggan still emerged as the secondary definers of the story, with the community leaders and all those witness to the inquest which are not police officers and in most cases offered a different version from the one offered by the police.

5.3.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Having established who are the *primary* and *secondary* definers of the events during the inquiry, the second part of the analysis consists (like in the previous period) of a simple quantitative analysis to ascertain the number of primary and secondary definers used by the newspapers which are part of the representative sample.

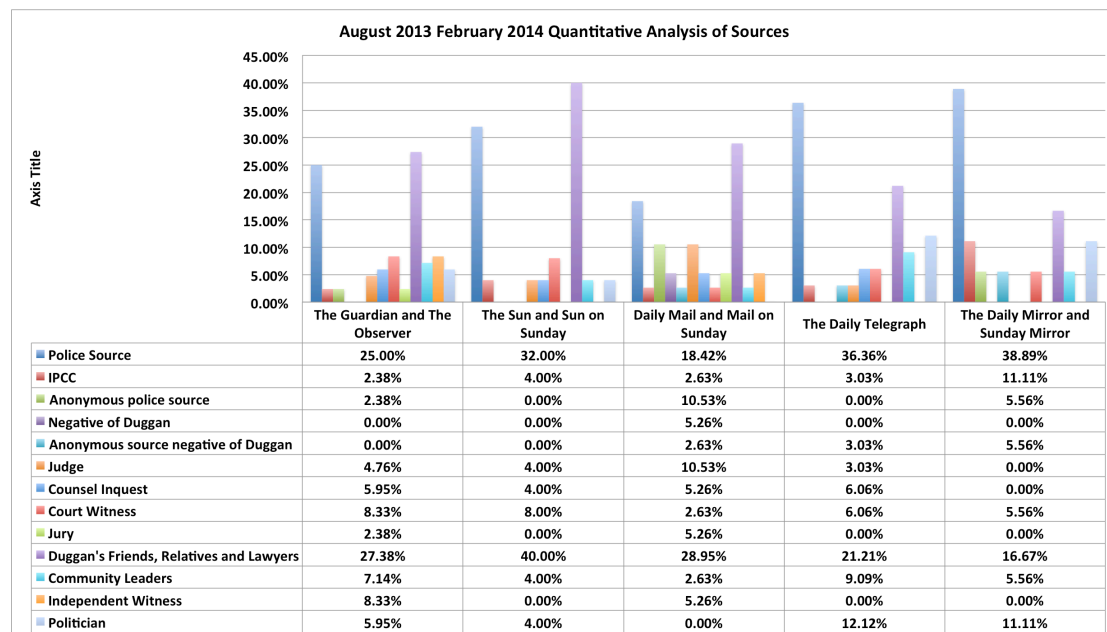


Chart 4: Quantitative Analysis of Sources August 2013 – February 2014

5.3.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND PERIOD

As with the previous period, a quantitative analysis it is necessary in order to have much more conclusive data to evaluate the coverage offered by the British press. As said above, the inquest offers the possibility of analysing the coverage in a much more objective and “clinical” way. In fact, while in the first period, the sources of their articles could have been different, therefore the picture emerging from Duggan would have been different, during the inquest all the newspapers of our sample had access to the same sources which were giving evidence at the Old Bailey. This offers the opportunity of seeing which witnesses the newspapers decide to publish and as a consequence which portrayed of Mr Duggan they are trying to present to the public.

From the analysis of the coverage by the newspapers which are part of our sample it is possible to see how their coverage follows two different and parallel patterns of portraying the inquest. In the first, used by all the newspapers apart from *The Guardian*, the witnesses statements which were contrary to the official account given by the police officers received less prominence in all the newspapers and often, they were not publish altogether. For instance, the statement given by the Home Office pathologist on the 14th of November 2013 which contradicted directly the account given by V53 the officer who shot Duggan, was only reported by two newspapers out of the six of our samples (*The Guardian*, *The Sun*) and even in this case, while in *The Guardian* it received prominence in *The Sun* was the subject of a news story in brief. And this pattern of “non presence” of witnesses’ statements contrary to the official version given by the police is repeated throughout this period and across the majority of the papers in our sample. It is also significant to note how, during the inquest *The*

Daily Mail criticise the judge for having done a moment of silence at the beginning of the inquest in remembrance of Duggan. The newspaper is keen to underline how this practice is 'highly unusual' and 'virtually unprecedented' (*The Daily Mail*, 18/9/13), the paper is the only one in our sample that put the accent on this decision by the judge and continue throughout the coverage of this period to underline how unprecedented and unusual the decision was. The final element which is common for all the newspapers utilising the first approach for covering the inquest is how the papers reported the sentence of 'lawful killing' returned by the jury on the 8th of January 2014; in fact, instead of underlying the significance of the verdict in respect to the fact that the killing was deemed lawful despite the jury finding that Mr Duggan was not armed they focus all the attention on the angry way in which the friends and relatives of Mr Duggan reacted to the verdict, for instance 'Jurors' terror as fury erupts over Duggan verdict' (*The Daily Mail*, 9 January 2014) or 'Angry family slams cops in ugly scenes outside court' (*The Sun*, 9 January 2014).

The second pattern of portraying the inquest was pursued solely by *The Guardian* and consisted in focusing the articles on the contradictions emerging between the witnesses' statements and the official version given by the police (as in the case outline above) or with the article 'Duggan had nothing in his hands' (*The Guardian*, 15/10/2013), or by being the only newspaper in our sample to underline the fact that the account of one of the police officers involved in the shooting changed its account of the events: 'Officer admits his account of Duggan killing change' (*The Guardian* 24 October 2013). In this second pattern of portraying the inquest it is clear how, the focus of the paper was more to test the

version of the police, rather than accepting the official version given by the police officers, this aim was achieved through a scrupulous reporting of all those witness which were directly contrasting with the official version, and by once the killing was deemed lawful by the jury by highlighting the significance of the verdict in the context of policing ethnic minorities in the capital, for instance the article 'Analysis: Not exactly trigger-happy - but police need to work much harder to build trust' (*The Guardian*, 10/1/14).

6 CONCLUSION

6.1 FOURTH ESTATE CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to test how the British Press performed its Fourth Estate role in covering the Mark Duggan case.

The idea of the press as a *Fourth Estate* is based on a set of four principles which the press needs to fulfil in order to be able to hold the powers to account and perform the watchdog role which they so dearly proclaim as their mission (Curran and Seaton 2009, Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2007).

Verification, fair and balanced reporting and the idea of monitoring power (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2007, p. 80) are not only a nice set of principles which the press should proclaim at the every occasion in order to enhance their status as an independent watchdog able to scrutinise the powerful in society but are, most importantly, something that should be embraced in the day to day reporting.

The Mark Duggan case was a vehicle through which it was possible to determine how the press performs its Fourth Estate role when you have the reputation and conduct of a powerful institution of the state such as the police which lies in the balance and has been questioned by some sectors of society which incidentally are part of a ethnic minority group which by all accounts are not considered to be part of the powerful in society. By looking at the principles of the watchdog role of the press outlined above, it is possible to construe how the British press in this particular case has failed in its Fourth Estate role by failing to fulfil the three principles above which denote a lack of verification in the veracity of the

accusation moved by the anonymous police sources. Most importantly still, a complete demise of the idea of fair and balanced reporting in the news articles which in theory should be free of bias and the place of the newspaper where we should not expect to see the presence of comments masquerading as part of the news article itself; this was particularly evident in the case of *The Daily Mail* reporting where throughout the three years of coverage of Mr Duggan and his friends and family the articles were structured as a comment on him without any chance of portray a different opinion of him (as demonstrated by the presence of an article the day after the verdict with the headline 'The man who lived' (*The Daily Mail*, 9/1/2014) which once more was speaking of the criminal connections of Mr Duggan. Finally, the last point in which the majority of the press completely failed the "Fourth Estate test" has been the idea of monitoring power, in fact, the large majority of the newspapers taken into consideration for this paper, did not in the period of Duggan's killing and during the inquest into his death, challenge or question the way in which the police conducted this operation, or its policing methods towards ethnic minorities in general.

There is however, one newspaper which fulfils the three functions which are at the centre of the idea of the *Fourth Estate*, in fact as this research showed, time and time again, *The Guardian*, was the only paper who constantly was a "thorn in the side" of the police, by reporting on the contradictions during the investigation into the killing, the clashes between the IPCC and the Metropolitan Police and finally during the trial, by being the newspaper which followed more closely the proceedings and reported on the witnesses' statements which went against the official version of the police. Therefore, from the analysis conducted

it is possible to ascertain how of the five papers taken into consideration only The Guardian fulfil its Fourth Estate role.

6.2 SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF NEWS CONCLUSION

Looking at the concept of Hall *et al.*'s (1978) of *primary* and *secondary definers*, this paper demonstrated how, although this theory was theorised thirty-six year ago and our modern media landscape is completely different and with a loose structure compared to the one analysed by the authors of *Policing the Crisis*, is still correct in its analysis of how the media works in terms of primary and secondary definers, and this applies especially to the ideas of the role of primary definers in setting a framework for the subsequent debate and by the difficulties of dislodging the framework once put in place by the primary definers (Hall et al. 1978). In fact, in the three years since his death, it has not been possible to dislodge the framework of Mr Duggan as a dangerous gangster established soon after his death by the media.

6.2.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS FOR THE WIDER SOCIETY

With this single case it is possible to see the failures of the press and what this signifies for our society: for the ethnic minority communities, especially for those members which have minor criminal convictions (as in the case of Mr Duggan) there is the knowledge of the press treating them as unfairly as the way in which the police treat them. For our society more in general, the idea of not having a press which is able to investigate, and challenge powerful institutions like the

police goes to the heart of what the press is standing for, and at the same time, does not fulfil the role recognised by Reiner in his *The Politics of the Police* as being the means through which the public get to know and judge the conduct of the police therefore making this powerful institution less accountable to the wider society.

Word Count 10391

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: MARK DUGGAN CASE DETAILED TIMELINE

Thursday 4 August 2011

Mark Duggan, 29, is **shot dead by police** in Ferry Lane, Tottenham, at 18:15 BST. The death happens during an operation where specialist firearm officers and officers from Operation Trident, the unit which deals with gun crime in the African and Caribbean communities, are attempting to carry **out** an arrest.

Saturday 6 August 2011

About 300 people gather outside Tottenham police station after marching from the Broadwater Farm estate. They say they want "justice" for Mr Duggan and his family. Witnesses report that the protest begins peacefully. **The violence begins** as bottles are thrown at two patrol cars which are then set alight.

IPCC commissioner Rachel Cerfontyne **says she is sorry if any members of Mr Duggan's family feel that they are not supported**. She announces that she has set up a community reference group to make sure she is sensitive and responsive to the family.

Tuesday 9 August 2011

The IPCC reveals that there is **no evidence Mr Duggan opened fire at police** before being shot dead by a firearms officer. The police watchdog says ballistic tests showed "**no evidence that the handgun found at the scene was fired**".

Friday 12 August 2011

The IPCC admits it may have **misled journalists** into believing Mr Duggan fired at officers before he was killed.

Wednesday 24 August 2011

Ken Hinds, a local gang mediator and family friend of Mr Duggan's girlfriend Simone Wilson, reveals **he warned police explicitly about the risk of rioting** at a meeting with them at lunchtime on Saturday, 6 August.

Thursday 8 September 2011

Mr Duggan's family say they have "**no faith**" in the IPCC investigation into his death. His brother, Shaun Hall, adds: "I'm not confident at all. If the initial stages of this incident are anything to go by, I've got no trust in them whatsoever."

Friday 9 September 2011

A **private funeral** for Mr Duggan is held with a reception at the Broadwater Farm Community Centre.

5 October 2011

Mr Duggan's family say they will give the IPCC a chance to get the inquiry into his death "right". **25 October 2011**

18 November 2011

The IPCC says it is to probe whether a gun recovered from the scene was used in a crime a week earlier.

Kevin Hutchinson-Foster, 29, is charged with possession of a firearm after allegedly assaulting a man in a hair salon in Hackney on 29 July.

29 February 2012

The IPCC upholds a complaint by Mr Duggan's family that they were not told he had been shot dead by officers. Scotland Yard said it had apologised in September to Mr Duggan's parents for not telling them directly about his death.

29 March 2012

The Met supports calls for changes to the law to allow more details to be revealed in cases where the police have shot people.

Mr Duggan's aunt Carole said she wanted an inquest to be held as she "preferred to know the truth - whether it is good or bad".

18 September 2012 - 17 October 2012

The trial of Hutchinson-Foster, accused of giving Mr Duggan the gun, is held at Snaresbrook Crown Court. The court hears he gave Mr Duggan the gun 15 minutes before he was shot.

Mr Duggan "pulled a gun from his waistband", the court hears, and Mr Duggan and Hutchinson-Foster were in contact via mobile phone calls and text messages minutes before he was shot.

The police officer who shot Mr Duggan, V53, says he is "absolutely 100%" sure he was holding a gun. After a month-long trial, the jury is unable to reach a verdict.

28 January 2013

A date for the public inquest is set for September.

The pre-inquest hearing is told a judge will act as coroner because sensitive material is involved in the case.

31 January 2013

A jury in a retrial finds Hutchinson-Foster guilty of supplying the gun - a BBM Bruni Model 92 handgun - to Mr Duggan. **26 February 2013**

Thirty-year-old Hutchinson-Foster is jailed for 11 years.

18 June 2013

Mr Duggan's family have an application for a **judicial review into police protocol rejected**. They wanted procedures, designed to protect officers collaborating on incident reports, looked at but the High Court ruled it was not appropriate for the court to prescribe such rules.

16 September 2013 - 11 December 2013

The inquest into Mr Duggan's **death begins**. Jurors are told they must decide on whether he was lawfully killed.

Over the next few months, the jury hears Mr Duggan was **"among Europe's most violent criminals"**. However, his mother says her son **"may not have been an angel"** but he should not have been shot dead by police.

A firearms commander says it is **"absolutely outrageous"** to suggest he planted a gun found nearby while the police officer who fired the shots says he saw him **holding the handgun** and believed he was going to shoot.

Speaking via videolink from prison, Hutchinson-Foster tells the inquest he will **appeal against his conviction** once the inquest is completed.

The court is also told Mr Duggan may have **"flicked the gun"** over the fence while a witness says they saw an officer run **"from the scene with an object"** and a different witness says Mr Duggan **"was surrendering"** and holding a phone when he was shot.

11 December 2013 - 7 January 2014

On 11 December 2013, the **jury retires to consider its verdict**, being told it must reach a unanimous conclusion. On 18 December, the jury is by told by the judge that **a majority conclusion will now be acceptable**.

Judge Keith Cutler says the law "allows me to accept a majority decision on any of the determinations or the conclusion of which at least eight out of the 10 of you are agreed".

8 January 2014

The inquest jury concludes **by a majority of 8 to 2 that Mr Duggan was lawfully killed by police**.

(Mark Duggan Death: Timeline of Events, BBC News, 8 January 2014)

Appendix 2

Newspapers Articles which were part of the representative sample from August 2013 to February 2014

The Guardian / The Observer

Date	Headline
06/08/2011	Exchange of fire' heard as police shot cab passenger dead BYLINE: Sandra Laville Crime correspondent
08/08/2011	Front: Police attacked as London burns: Doubts emerge over fatal shooting that sparked rioting and looting
09/08/2011	Front: London riots: Mark Duggan: Differing portraits of man whose death sparked riots across capital
09/08/2011	Front: London riots: Mark Duggan: Shot man had converted handgun
09/08/2011	Front: London riots: Police apologise to Duggan family for failing to keep them informed
09/08/2011	Front: London riots: Tests on handgun
13/08/2011	Front: The riots: Tottenham: Calls for calm ahead of wake for man whose shooting sparked first trouble: Mark Duggan event not political, say organisers Concern over rising police presence on the streets
13/08/2011	Front: The riots: Policing and politics: Watchdog admits it misled media over Duggan: Reporters were led to believe shots were exchanged as police attempted arrest
14/08/2011	We don't trust police complaints board, says family of dead man: THE CATALYST The fiancée of Mark Duggan speaks out: Friends and family of the man whose death sparked the Tottenham riots tell Mark Townsend they won't rest until justice is done
06/09/2011	Front: Reading the riots: In search of the spark that turned tension in Tottenham into flames: Four weeks after unrest flared, Hugh Muir reflects on the lessons learned and questions that still need answering
08/09/2011	Investigation: Pistol found where Duggan died
08/08/2011	We don't condone the riots, but we want justice - and answers,' says Duggan family: Grieving relatives of dead Tottenham man believe police were 'shooting to kill'
09/08/2011	MP hits out at police complaints commission for leaving family 'floundering' after shooting: Tottenham MP speaks on eve of victim's funeral IPCC criticised over failure to communicate clearly
10/09/2011	Mark Duggan funeral: IPCC: Watchdog under fire as it struggles with record workload - and seeks a new leader
10/09/2011	Mark Duggan funeral: 'Battle-weary' community says farewell to man shot by police: Mourners turn out for man whose death sparked riots We reject stigma placed on our community, says cleric
19/11/2011	Front: Revealed: man whose shooting triggered riots was not armed: Duggan investigators find no forensic evidence he was carrying gun when killed
21/11/2011	Community adviser quits Duggan inquiry with attack on 'shoddy investigation': IPCC says now is not the time to pass judgment Shooting was prelude to rioting across England
25/11/2011	Mark Duggan investigation undermined by 'inaccuracies'

The Sun

Date	Headline
06/08/2011	THE FEDS ARE CHASING ME...; Last words of 'gangsta' shot by cops
08/08/2011	Gangster poses of Duggan family lad
09/08/2011	RAP VIDS SHOCK
09/08/2011	Bullet went THROUGH Duggan and hit cop radio; 15 ; SHOOTING 'DOUBTS'
10/08/2011	'Duggan didn't fire'
12/08/2011	DUGGAN AND THE MOBSTER; ANARCHY IN THE UK CRIME LINK TO DEATH THAT LIT FUSE Shot Tottenham man's uncle was gangland chief
16/08/2011	Duggan cheated on finance with 2 other women; TEARS OF LOVER EXPECTING HIS CHILD EXCLUSIVE ANARCHY IN THE UK LIFE SECRET LIFE OF DAD SHOT BY POLICE
17/08/2011	Shot man's fiancée held in drugs raid

10/09/2011 THE funeral cortege for a
17/09/2011 Gun cop film plea
19/11/2011 Probe on cops in Duggan gun trace
21/11/2013 Paper in killing rap
22/11/2011 riot' pal killing rap
13/12/2011 Duggan's gun hurled

Daily Mail / Mail on Sunday

Date	Headline
08/08/2011	VIOLENCE, DRUGS, A FATAL STABBING AND A MOST UNLIKELY MARTYR
08/08/2011	BULLET FIRED AT OFFICER 'BELONGED TO POLICE
09/08/2011	Shooting inquiry: the key questions
13/08/2011	SHOT GANGSTER'S UNCLE WAS A CRIME LORD 'WITH MORE GUNS THAN THE COPS'
10/09/2011	MOURNERS IN BLING AND FAREWELL SALUTES AS MAN WHOSE SHOOTING SPARKED RIOTS IS BURIED
17/12/2011	FIANCE OF GANGSTER WHOSE DEATH LED TO RIOTS IS LET OFF DRUGS CHARGE WITH CAUTION

Daily Telegraph

Date	Headline
05/08/2011	Officer saved by a radio as 'gangster fires'
08/08/2011	Bullet that hit death scene officer 'was police-issue'; Forensic tests
08/08/2011	Dead man was known gangster who lived by gun; Gang links
13/08/2011	Watchdog misled media over shooting; Aftermath of the riots In Brief
10/09/2011	Police victim's funeral
13/12/2011	No evidence Duggan held gun, admits investigator; In Brief

Daily Mirror/Sunday Mirror

Date	Headline
04/08/2013	'No action' on Duggan gun police
18/09/2013	DUGGAN COP: I SHOT HIM IN SELF-DEFENCE; But jury told victim was holding phone
20/09/2013	Gun 'plant' witness for Duggan jury; INQUEST
27/09/2013	Police 'used grass to set up Duggan'
09/01/2014	Court chaos at Duggan 'legal killing' verdict; Scuffle & abuse as inquest jury rule on police shooting
10/09/2014	No more violence; Duggan's aunt in plea for calm amid new riot fear
12/01/2014	DUGGAN, THE GANG BOSS & THE £1M HIT; Court papers show link to alleged contract killer EXCLUSIVE
14/01/2014	DUGGAN COP ON WAY BACK
15/01/2014	Duggan jury reaction was 'provocative'
20/01/2014	Met's deadly stop inaction

Appendix 3

Newspapers Articles which were part of the representative sample from August 2013 to February 2014

The Guardian / The Observer

Date	Headline
03/08/2013	No evidence of criminality in Duggan shooting - IPCC
17/09/2013	Coroner says Duggan jury may face key issue: was his fatal police shooting lawful?
18/09/2013	Duggan died within 10 heartbeats after marksman fired, inquest told:
20/09/2013	uggan inquest to hear claims gun was planted by officer
24/09/2013	Officer tells inquest Duggan had history of crime
26/09/2013	Duggan should have been arrested not shot, says his mother
15/10/2013	Duggan had nothing in his hands, says witness: Evidence contradicts that given by police marksmen
16/10/2013	He raised the weapon': Duggan inquest hears account of officer who shot him: 'V53' said he fired after suspect threatened him: Police deny errors over car colour came from briefing
17/10/2013	Officer took gun out of Duggan cab - witness
24/10/2013	Officer admits his account of Duggan killing changed
25/10/2013	Police: Duggan 'could not have thrown gun from cab' BYLINE: Vikram Dodd
15/11/2013	Duggan marksman 'got it wrong' over account of shooting: Home Office pathologist contradicts evidence: Inquest hears that man was hit in arm - then chest
04/12/2013	Inquest: Duggan hearing told he held phone, not gun
10/12/2013	Inquest: Jury can decide Duggan was unlawfully killed
09/01/2014	Inquest jury answers
09/01/2014	Mark Duggan inquest: Family's fury: 'When they killed Mark it was the same as killing me'
09/01/2014	Mark Duggan inquest : 'Strike, strike, strike.' Seconds later a man lay dying on the pavement:sections of the public to believe the police version of events. Vikram Dodd reports
09/01/2014	Mark Duggan inquest : 'I fear for my children'
09/01/2014	Front: Duggan family fury at 'lawful killing' verdict: Inquest sides with Met over police shooting that sparked summer riots
10/01/2014	Mark Duggan: Analysis: Not exactly trigger-happy - but police need to work much harder to build trust
10/01/2014	Mark Duggan: Family plan vigil at police station in protest at 'perverse' inquest verdict: Community anger remains in Tottenham but talk of fresh rioting is played down
10/01/2014	Front: Stop and search could be curtailed after Duggan verdict
11/01/2014	Met firearms chief: length of Duggan case 'intolerable': Length of Duggan case 'intolerable'
11/01/2014	Labour call for rethink on stop and search: Khan: stubbornly white force won't build trust London move to buy water cannon 'a sign of failure'
13/01/2014	Front: Officer who shot Duggan can return to armed duties
15/01/2014	Watchdog head calls on Duggan police to stop refusing to talk
16/01/2014	Complaints shakeup

The Sun

Date	Headline
04/08/2013	Duggan: Cops OK
17/09/2013	Gun cop shooting brother's 'hate' hell
18/09/2013	DEAD IN TEN HEARTBEATS
26/09/2013	Gang king a 'soft' kid
27/09/2013	50 Cent's 'riots pal'
04/10/2013	Gun PCs 'warned Duggan'
16/10/2013	'Duggan had gun'
15/11/2013	'Duggan cop error'
09/01/2014	LAWFUL ...AWFUL; DEATH THAT SPARKED RIOTS ; Angry family slams cops in ugly scenes outside court
09/01/2014	Kill case cops are cleared

10/01/2014 DUGGAN COP HAD 1/4 OF A SECOND TO MAKE DECISION; Shock verdict examined
12/01/2014 CROWD DEFIANT AT VIGIL
13/01/2014 Duggan cop back

Daily Mail / Mail on Sunday

Date

Headline

18/09/2013 JUDGE LEADS INQUEST IN SILENT TRIBUTE TO GANGSTER' DUGGAN
20/09/2013 POLICE PLANTED WEAPON AFTER THEY GUNNED DOWN DUGGAN'
24/09/2013 DUGGAN WAS ONE OF BRITAIN'S MOST VIOLENT GANGSTERS
25/09/2013 CALM DOWN, JUDGE TELLS LEFT-WING QC MICHAEL MANSFIELD
09/01/2014 THE MAN WHO LIVED
09/01/2014 JURORS' TERROR AS FURY ERUPTS OVER DUGGAN VERDICT
10/09/2014 IS THERE ANY CAUSE TO DOUBT THEIR VERDICT?
10/09/2014 BACKLASH OVER HOUNDING OF DUGGAN JURY
12/01/2014 NOW DUGGAN CORONER INVITES THE FAMILY OF SHOT GANGSTER TO HELP CHANGE POLICE TACTICS
13/01/2014 CORONER ASKS DUGGAN FAMILY FOR VIEWS ON WORK OF ARMED POLICE
15/01/2014 DUGGAN MOB WILL NOT FACE CHARGES OVER INQUEST FURY
18/01/2014 GUN POLICE TO BE BANNED FROM COMPARING NOTES
26/02/2014 JUDGE WHO HELD A SILENCE FOR GANGSTER SHOT

Daily Telegraph

Date

Headline

10/09/2013 Police 'had chance to arrest Duggan before shooting'
18/09/2013 Officer shot Mark Duggan after he 'began to aim gun'; In Brief
16/10/2013 Marksman 'sure Duggan would fire'
04/12/2013 Duggan 'clutching phone when shot', inquest hears
09/01/2014 'No justice, no peace' warns Duggan family after jury clears police
10/01/2014 Respect inquest ruling, Cameron tells family
10/01/2014 Police braced for more violence over Duggan death as family plans vigil;
13/01/2014 Coroner seeks Duggan family advice
14/01/2014 Duggan marksman could be back on duty in weeks; In Brief
15/01/2014 Met attacks critics of Duggan verdict; News Bulletin
25/02/2014 Baroness Lawrence: Duggan shooting not an honest mistake

Daily Mirror/Sunday Mirror

Date

Headline

08/08/2011 'DON'T USE MY BROTHER'S DEATH AS AN EXCUSE FOR VIOLENCE'; LONDON RIOTS GRIEF AND TORMENT
13/08/2011 IPCC: WE MAY HAVE 'MISLED' OVER DUGGAN
14/08/2011 POLICE WARNED OF REVENGE PLOT OVER SHOOTING
10/09/2011 'TOO MUCH BLOOD.... NOW FOR PEACE'
13/12/2011 COP PROBE: NO DUGGAN DNA ON GUN; RIOTS