Workin' it: Women Living through Drugs and Crime by Leon E. Pettiway
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life violence by moral commentators. She offers a more economistic equation of violence with the decline in Britain’s manufacturing base (p. 140). She singles out the media and some academics as feeding fears of depictions of violence and fuelling calls for censorship rather than taking on board her passionately argued points.

The final chapter by Steve Goodman picks up some of the issues raised in earlier chapters—if only because he feels the need to defend Nietzsche against accusations of Nazism—through an investigation of post-Nietzschean philosophical approaches. He notes how these have been censured for espousing violence. These approaches are prepared to countenance the law as violent and not privilege the one over the other. This may range from the romanticized violence of Sorel’s syndicalism to Walter Benjamin’s contention—according to Goodman—that ‘everything in the law is already violence, from its origins to its mode of conflict resolution, since in order to impose its own rule the law is forced to resort to violence, punishment’ (p. 179). The latter should give comfort to those who favour an anarchist ethos for ‘Restorative Justice’ rather than Jack Straw’s coercive version. Goodman critiques his own work in the conclusion, judging it ‘too reactive in that it is positioned against those self-conceived “modernists” who like, broad-brush style, to brand so-called “postmodernists” with the responsibility for all future violent holocausts’ (p. 187). Having witnessed the verbal savaging of Carol Smart in exactly such terms I know what he means but he then closes with a quote from Nietzsche on the need to shatter the law table as it is a ‘sermon urging slavery’ (p. 187).

Perhaps the greatest use of this collection will be to introduce undergraduates to the idea that common sense, ‘apple pie’ notions that violence is obvious and should be censured or that taken-for-granted practices can be censured as violent. To have a greater influence for these types of arguments within criminology would have required more editorial input.

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Leon E. Pettiway’s book describes the lifestyles, attitudes, beliefs and practices of five women living in deprived areas of America. The book is divided into six chapters. The initial chapter presents the author’s introductory comments regarding the aims and purpose of his research, along with a critical examination of the study of women and crime. In the remaining chapters the life histories of Margaret, Charlie, Virginia, Tracy and Laquita are presented in their own words, with no interruption or intervention from the author. All of the women are black, with the exception of Charlie, who is part white and part Puerto Rican. Additionally, while all of the women have had experience of intimate sexual relations with other women, only Virginia and Laquita identify themselves as being lesbian. As the title of the book suggests, the main themes of the book are women, drugs and crime. However it soon emerges that sexism, class, racism, homophobia, death, violence and poverty are integral to the comprehension of the social realities of these women.

In Pettiway’s introductory chapter he states that he wanted to present a non-interpretative work concerning the realities of the five subjects. They were selected on the basis that they best represented the unique and ordinary expressions from a total of 48 respondents interviewed. This
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is clearly a very subjective judgement on his part, with regard to what he considers to be ‘unique and ordinary expressions’ of this population. The implication is not that the life histories presented are unrepresentative, but that caution should be exercised in relation to the overall representativeness of their responses. Leon Pettway goes on to criticize, quite rightly in my view, the inadequacy of academic study of female criminality when compared to the study of male criminality. He also questions the methodological basis upon which such studies are built. The accuracy of the positivist traditions present in criminology are also criticized in relation to how they arrive at verifiable knowledge based upon scientific objectivity. Pettway advocates the recognition of individual differences as opposed to grand and totalizing theories. This would permit researchers to consider their own identities in their investigative pursuits in order to capture and understand the contexts and nuances of the lives of those being studied. Despite any criticisms one may have with Pettway’s methodological standpoint, the life histories presented do provide rich and colourful accounts of the social realities of these women. Usually any such insights are only accessed via Hollywood and media representations. What I find most alarming is Pettway’s criticism of traditional theories of female criminality as being inadequate, especially when he merely compares the ‘findings’ from his research in direct accordance with what they have said. The areas already identified within the dominant discourse need to be criticized and discredited for their lack of imagination and concentration on petty and sexual crime. What is needed is a new analysis that is not shaped by the dominant discourse.

The women depicted in the book are either serious drug abusers or are addicted to their drug of choice. Margaret is an intravenous cocaine user aged 33. Charlier is a heroin user aged 36. Tracy is a former heroin user and a recent crack-cocaine user, aged 33. Finally, Virginia aged 26, like Laquita aged 23, smokes crack-cocaine. Their use of drugs has led to additional problems in personal and family lives that were already inherently deeply problematic. It is apparent that their need for and abuse of drugs regulates a significant proportion of their daily life. In many respects their self-identification is centred on the fact that they are a drug addict/abuser. All of the women express a deep desire to abstain from drugs use for the sake of their children. Unfortunately what they say and want, as opposed to what they do, is another matter. They all take full responsibility for the pathway that they have chosen, and fully accept that it was their choice to use drugs. They are most certainly rational, reflective evaluators of their own lives, the lives of others and of the environment/society in which they live.

Both crime and prostitution are integral to support their drug habits and general subsistence. Pettway highlights the fact that when academics have examined women’s criminal activities, they have tended to focus solely upon their involvement in prostitution. What is permitted here is a much broader description of the different roles and crimes females may become involved in. While Margaret, Charlie and Tracy support their drug use by prostitution, they with Virginia and Laquita are involved in a whole range of different crimes ranging from shoplifting, theft, burglary, robbery, drug dealing to fraud. Their selection/planning of, and role in a crime is largely determined by their skills and knowledge. The recruitment of a man is usually utilized when there is a need for additional physical strength. Therefore the woman provides the intelligence and leadership qualities of the partnership. This is opposed to the common depiction within the academic literature of the man being the instigator and the executor, with the woman merely having a largely subservient role. The idiosyncratic characteristics of female criminality belittle the dominant notions of the general applicability of male crime theories to women. While there appears to be a clear connection between drug use and crime, some of the women did state that their criminal careers pre-dated their drug use. Additionally, they stated that they would continue to commit crime regardless of any abstention from drugs so as to afford desired material

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possessions. Indeed, it is interesting to note that none of the women expressed a desire to abstain from their criminal activities.

I would not recommend this book to anyone who is easily upset and disturbed by the harsh realities of those living on the margins of society. The life histories of the five women are very frank, open and depressing. The level of entry permitted into their lives is largely unrestricted. The common characteristics present in all of their lives appear to be family discord, domestic violence, rape, the murder of siblings/loved ones, drug addiction/abuse, extreme poverty, low self-esteem and a general lack of optimism for the future. Consequently I am positive that the constant immersion into such a reality will prove to be depressing to the more easily upset reader.

Another potential problem with the book for some will be the subjects' dialects, in addition to the reader becoming accustomed to their excessive use of swear words. Pettiway acknowledges this problem and provides suggestions for overcoming them in the initial chapter. He also provides the reader with a brief glossary of the most common phrases used, along with an explanation of their meanings. Nevertheless, mastering the divergent use of dialects will take the reader some time before they can fully comprehend what is being said. While some may find this frustrating, one must remember that it is an American book about American women. To reword the actual words used would seriously undermine the accuracy and realism of the accounts. Finally, the reader must also remember that although they are reading a book, the life histories presented contain only the verbal responses of the woman. Therefore adjustments have to be made regarding the grammatical expectations of the written text.

The book is relevant to those studying crime and criminality, regardless of any singular interest in women. The life histories of the women provide the reader with a deep and personal insight into the intimacies of the socially excluded in America. Any distress caused while reading such accounts only adds impetus to the need to comprehend the realities of such a group, and re-assess the social policy interventions. It is painfully clear that more needs to be done to help improve the quality of life of those living in the severely deprived areas of America. Pettiway's suggested methodological approach is clearly open to criticism. He provides the reader with an interpretative account of his research findings in his initial chapter, which for the most part adheres to the perspectives already defined by the dominant discourse. His attempt to interpret and characterize these women as possessing certain general attributes greatly contradicts his earlier disapproval of such an approach. Finally, while many may not agree with the life choices made by these women, they all explain their rationale for such decisions after evaluating what they consider to be the most relevant factors. This final point needs to be stressed for those who confuse their disapproval of another's lifestyle choices with the fact that for them, given the conditions under which they live, these decisions are not irrational.

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