Criminology

1. Please read the Introduction to Criminology handout and research some of the weblinks – this will give you an insight into the range of crimes that will be featured in the first term of the course including those of either or both a violent or sexual nature.

2. Please complete the following activities on pages 2-4 in preparation for the course starting in September:

a) Page 2 – list examples of summary, either way & indictable offences and try to explain what these offences involve;

b) Page 2 – provide 3 examples of crimes referred to via different media sources, these being TV & radio, internet & social media and newspapers & magazines

d) Page 3 – provide examples of crimes that fit under the following headings: white collar crimes, moral, state, technological & individual crimes

NB This will be the first information you need to collect in preparation for the first controlled assessment which will be later in the autumn term. When researching crimes please be careful regarding the sources you use, particularly websites.

3. For the first controlled assessment you will be asked to produce a campaign for change whereby you would hope to raise awareness or reduce crime in a particular area. For each of the crime categories we examine, we will be looking at:

a) White collar crimes

b) Moral crimes

c) State crimes

d) Technological crimes

e) Individual crimes looking at hate crimes, honour crimes and domestic violence

consider a campaign you would like to develop.

Introduction to Criminology

Name as many different crimes as you can. Of these, state which are:

a) The most serious – **indictable**

b) The least serious – **summary**

c) Those between the two extremes – **either way**

Many people learn about crime via the media but how reliable do you think this is. Give examples from the following media sources of references to crime:

Television & radio

Internet & social media

Newspapers and magazines

AC1.1 Analyse different types of crime.

LO1 Understand how crime reporting affects the public perception of criminality.

You should look at crime with reference to 4 elements:

a) Criminal offences

b) Types of victim & offender

c) Level of public awareness

d) Are the crimes also deviant

Criminal offences

We will be looking at:

a) White collar crimes

b) Moral crimes

c) State crimes

d) Technological crimes

e) Individual crimes looking at hate crimes, honour crimes and domestic violence

Give two examples of crimes that might fit into each category:

a)

b)

c)

d)

e)

Please read and research:

a) White collar crime

 Definition

Crimes committed by people who are in a position of power or authority.

   i)   Criminal offences

These cover a wide range of offences by businesses & professionals including defrauding customers, tax evasion, breaking health and safety laws, polluting the environment and illegally discriminating against employees.

The term 'white collar crime' was associated with Edwin Sutherland, an American criminologist, who challenged society's perception that crime was an activity associated with working class people. He believed that this behaviour could be exhibited by those of a higher social standing.

 Karstedt & Farell refer to these as 'crimes of everyday life'.

 Hazell Croall (2011) discussed how white collar crime differs from other forms. Please read:

https://www.mheducation.co.uk/openup/chapters/0335204279.pdf

 Theft at work

 Bernie Madoff

https://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/bernard-madoff.asp

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K6G3qojCHPU

 Allen Stanford

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/allen-stanford

 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DefhqHUKhh0

White collar crime has changed since the 1930s. The National White Collar Crime Center was created by Congress to help with:

 https://www.nw3c.org

Embezzlement

What is this and why do you think people commit this crime?

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Embezzlement

Fiddling

Examples include overcharging either by increasing the price or reducing the amount supplied or both.

Ditton – part-time crime

Tax evasion

This is the illegal act of evading the payment of taxes, as opposed to tax avoidance which is legally attempting to pay the minmum amount of tax due. Tax evasion involoves the misrepresentation of an individual's or a business income.

Tax evasion actiivites include:

Under-reporting income

Inflating deductions or expenses

Hiding money / interest in offshore accounts

Nick Leeson

https://www.nickleeson.com/biography/

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/the_economy/375259.stm

Other white collar crimes

1. Political & economic corruption

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/10092681/Cash-forquestions-scandal-that-should-have-changed-face-of-British-politics.html

2. **Offences relating to employment**

https://www.tuc.org.uk/blogs/hundreds-companies-are-dodging-minimum-wage-areyou-being-cheated-too

3. **Not following health & safety**

https://www.healthandsafetyatwork.com/grenfell

https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/apr/03/what-do-people-wanthillsborough-safety-officer-is-first-to-be-found-guilty

Tombs (2004)

The Health & Safety Executive recorded over 1600 deaths from asbestos related cancer, in 2000 & 2001/2 it recorded 633 fatal occupational injuries and almost 130,000 injuries, resulting in more than 3 days off work.

White collar crime v corporate crime

The difference is the focus: the individual rather than the organisation.

Corporate manslaughter statistics

https://www.cps.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/publications/disclosure_6_1.pdf

Croall (2001)

Individuals are often seen to be criminals rather than organisations. As a result, organisational crimes are often perceived a less criminal than those of individuals.

Environmental crime

Zhan 1999

'The impacts on life on this planet are far-reaching…Just as Sutherland's white-collar crime expanded our paradigm…environmental crime will change it in the future.'

Types

https://www.europol.europa.eu/crime-areas-and-trends/crime-areas/environmentalcrime

Alphacell Ltd v Woodward [1972] AC 824

The appellant factory owner was convicted of causing polluted matter to enter a river under the Rivers (Prevention of Pollution) Act 1951. The offence related to an underground pipe which had become disconnected due to a blockage. The appellant was unaware of the pollution and it was not alleged that they had been negligent.

Held: As a matter of public policy the offence was one of strict liability and therefore the appeal was dismissed and the conviction upheld.

Lord Salmon:

"If this appeal succeeded and it were held to be the law that no conviction be obtained under the 1951 Act unless the prosecution could discharge the often impossible onus of proving that the pollution was caused intentionally or negligently, a great deal of pollution would go unpunished and undeterred to the relief of many riparian factory owners. As a result, many rivers which are now filthy would become filthier still and many rivers which are now clean would lose their cleanliness. The legislature no doubt recognised that as a matter of public policy this would be most unfortunate. Hence s2(1)(a) which encourages riparian factory owners not only to take reasonable steps to prevent pollution but to do everything possible to ensure that they do not cause it."

Organised crime

Definition

Serious crime planned, co-ordinated & conducted by people working together on a continuing basis usually for financial gain.

The Krays: Ronnie & Reggie

https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2000/aug/27/tonythompson.theobserver

Organised crime today

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/11/police-cuts-organised-crime-nationalcrime-agency

Activity

Research organised crime in one of the following areas:

a) Gang & knife crime

b) Drug gangs

c) Illegal immigration / people trafficking

d) Protection

e) Bootlegging /piracy

f) phishing

You may wish to look at groups such as:

a) **The triads**
   https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/law-crime/article/2067890/brief-history-hongkongs-triad-gangs

b) **The mafia**
   https://people.howstuffworks.com/mafia1.htm

c) **The yakuzza**
   https://people.howstuffworks.com/yakuza.htm

Understanding white collar crime

Levi & Lord 2017

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312938770_WhiteCollar_and_Corporate_Crime

Generally it is thought that relatively few white collar crimes are prosecuted. Read the article below to gain some statistical information:

https://www.ft.com/content/8751e754-6e3e-11e7-bfeb-33fe0c5b7eaa

Often it is seen as an 'elite' crime such as by Weisburd 1991: an 'advantaged older man from a stable home living, in a well-kept community'. However Hazel Croall has investigated the role of gender in white collar crime:

https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/0962725030855 3570.pdf

On the question of whether white collar crime is dealt with more leniently, an interesting example is Conrad Black:

https://www.theguardian.com/business/2019/may/15/conrad-black-trump-pardons-exmedia-mogul

Relatively straight forward fraud cases are the easiest and therefore cheapest to prosecute with juries now removed from the more complex cases:

https://www.lawgazette.co.uk/legal-updates/remove-juries-from-fraud-trials-badidea/5042541.article

96% of all reported crimes go unsolved:

https://www.which.co.uk/news/2018/09/exclusive-more-than-96-of-reported-fraudcases-go-unsolved/

However, Punch argued that we must 'cast our gaze upwards' when thinking about white collar criminals. He suggests a range of variables that explain why some companies turn to deviant solutions and why managers may become involved in illicit practices, these being:

a) Structure eg size, goals, opportunity

b) Culture eg risk taking

c) Personality / identity eg ideology

Look back at Nick Leeson and determine which of these criteria he fits

ii) **Victims**

Levi noted that victims of fraud range from the wealthy to the poor. Fraud & cyber-crime are now the most common in England & Wales:

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/19/fraud-cyber-crime-now-countrys-commonoffences/

 Give examples of frauds that have caused considerable harm to their victims:

1.

2.

3.

There have been 2 attempts to quantify the extent of white collar crime by Sutherland (1983) & Clinard. However Slapper & Tomb point to their limitations: both being focused on large corporation, largely American.

iii) Level of public awareness

Much lower than street crime because: Limited media coverage Under-reporting De-labelling – not really crimes Complexity to prosecute eg fraud Power & respectability off offenders

iv) **White collar crime - Deviant & criminal**

Not only do they break the criminal law they cause harm to victims and act as a betrayal of trust. Sutherland thought that this was more significant with white collar crime because it undermined faith in vital institutions such as health care.

b) **Moral crimes (aka crimes against morality)**

Definition

Acts that go against society's norms or moral code – its accepted values and rules of behaviour.

i) Criminal offences

Examples include prostitution, selling or possessing illegal drugs, begging, vagrancy. Often these involve supplying goods or services to another eg drugs, prostitution. These are often thought as victimless especially when committed against consenting adults. Morality is defined as a descriptive account of social and personal values about the ways people in society should behave.

The **Wolfenden Committee** said the purpose of the criminal law said the Report was:

'to preserve public order & decency, to protect the citizen from what is offensive & injurious and to provide sufficient safeguards against exploitation and corruption of others especially the vulnerable, that is the young, weak in body or mind, inexperienced or those in a state of physical, official or economic dependence. The law should not intervene in the private lives of citizens or seek to enforce any particular pattern of behaviour further than necessary to carry out the above purposes'

Changes in moral perspectives have meant that some areas have seen a growth in law and regulation while others have seen a fall.

https://www.gov.uk/government/news/same-sex-marriage-becomes-law

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1934756/Cannabis-to-be-reclassified-as-a-class-Bdrug.html

https://www.gov.uk/smoking-at-work-the-law

Some groups (utilitarianists) believe that these activities should be decriminalised while others (natural lawyers) would argue that there is no such thing as a victimless crime because of the impact on society.

ii) Offenders

These vary according to the crime. It may be as a source of income eg drug pusher while others may be forced into it through personal circumstances eg prostitution.

R v Gibson and another [1991]

The defendants exhibited at an exhibition in a commercial art gallery, a model's head to which were attached earrings made out of freeze-dried human foetuses. The exhibit was entitled 'Human Earrings'. The gallery was open to, and was visited by, members of the public. The defendants were charged with, and convicted of, outraging public decency contrary to common law.

R v Leach (1969)

The victim had arranged to be crucified on Hampstead Heath. The Ds at his request nailed him to a wooden cross, piercing his hands with 6 inch nails. They were held liable under s.18 OATPA 1861, consent was no defence.

Should Gibson & Leach have been convicted? Should consent of the victim make a difference?

Prostitution

Prostitution in itself is not a crime but many offences are related eg soliciting, running premises for illegal purposes. Often it can be related to a range of social issues such as using illegal drugs, people smuggling & sexual health.

Some statistics on prostitution in the UK are below as presented in the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee Prostitution Third Report of Session 2016–17

https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmhaff/26/26.pdf

Around 11% of British men aged 16–74 have paid for sex on at least one occasion, which equates to 2.3 million individuals.

• The number of sex workers in the UK is estimated to be around 72,800 with about 32,000 working in London.

• Sex workers have an average of 25 clients per week paying an average of £78 per visit.

• In 2014–15, there were 456 prosecutions of sex workers for loitering and soliciting.

• An estimated 152 sex workers were murdered between 1990 and 2015. 49% of sex workers (in one survey) said that they were worried about their safety.

• There were 1,139 victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in 2014, and 248 in April to June 2015 (following implementation of the Modern Slavery Act 2015).

The **main legislation** relating to prostitution is contained in the following Acts:

• Sexual Offences Act 2003

• Policing and Crime Act 2009

• Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 (in relation to placing of advertisements relating to prostitution)

• Modern Slavery Act 2015 (in relation to trafficking for sexual exploitation)

• Serious Crime Act 2015 (in relation to sexual exploitation of children).

Activity

Discuss the following:

1. Do you think the law should regulate prostitution? Explain your reasoning.

2. How do you think the law should be changed? You may wish to consider laws in other countries eg Holland, USA

iii) Level of public awareness

Often there is little public awareness of moral crimes particularly where the victim and offender wish to conceal the offence. In other cases the public may be aware of it but choose not to report to the police eg begging.

iv) Deviant, criminal or both?

These are both criminal and deviant. However there may be disagreement about whether some of these acts should be illegal or a matter of personal choice.

Question

Why do you think society is less aware of moral crimes than some others?

c) **State crime**

Definition (Green & Ward)

Illegal or deviant activities perpetrated by state agencies including crimes by other individuals or groups when carried out with the backing of the state.

i) **Criminal offences**

Examples include:

Genocide – the extermination of entire national, ethnic, racial or religious groups eg WW11, Rwanda, Burma - Mynamar

War crimes eg bombing of civilians

Political corruption eg election rigging, gerrymandering

State terrorism

State supported piracy

State corporate crime

Organized crimes by state agencies eg police brutality

Systematic human rights abuses by the state eg torture

Imprisonment without trial

Activity

Research one of these areas stating who the victims and offenders are, the level of public awareness and why.

Torture

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/26/donald-trump-torture-absolutely-workssays-us-president-in-first-television-interview

https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/8/25/17778146/john-mccain-dies-torturelegacy-waterboarding-enhanced-interrogation-cia

Human Rights Act 1998

Activity

1. Should terrorism be used against terrorism?

2. Explain the main articles of HRA 1988 and explain what it says about torture.

3. Explain what Amnesty does regarding torture.

https://www.amnesty.org.uk/?&gclid=EAIaIQobChMIomH8d_m4gIVypTtCh2nkQTWEAAYASAAEgILffD_BwE

ii) **Victims and offenders**

Either citizens of the state or other states often being part of an ethnic minority or a political opponent of the government. Offenders are state officials such as politicians, civil servants, police or security officers or militias and government supporters acting with the encouragement of the state eg in Rwanda.

https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/rwanda

http://www.oskarschindler.com/

iii) **Level of public awareness**

The scale of state crime in some countries can be huge and therefore the public are likely to be aware if there is sufficient media coverage. States will often try to hide state crime and information may therefore be slow to appear eg Jamal Khashoggi.

https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-45923217

iv) **Deviant, criminal or both**

Clearly these acts are deviant going well beyond behaviour that is widely accepted. States may attempt to describe their activities as non-criminal eg the Nazis passed laws to forcibly sterilise disabled people. However international law clearly outlaws these activities and the International Criminal Court can prosecute for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/mar/11/warcrimes.milosevictrial

d) **Technological crimes**

Definition

Offences involving the use of information & communication technology eg internet, social media, aka cyber-crimes. In the UK more than £190,000 is lost every day through cyber crime. Tech crimes can be defined in 3 ways:

Target – computer or computer network

Tool – using these as a tool

Container – these may contain evidence of a crime

https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-47016671

i) Criminal offences

Financial eg phishing

Cyber-trespass eg hacking

Identity theft

Hate crimes eg online threats

Illegal downloading eg music & films

Publishing / viewing child pornography possibly accessed via the dark web

https://parentinfo.org/article/what-is-the-dark-web

Activities

1. Research the phone hacking scandal.

https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/hacking-trial-judge-revealshow-milly-dowlers-voicemail-was-hacked-as-journalists-jailed9584249.html

2. Explain the difficulties involved in policing the internet.

http://www.police-foundation.org.uk/2016/12/its-time-to-face-up-to-thechallenge-of-policing-in-a-digital-age/

3. How is terrorism using technology to advance their crimes?

https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/06/how-isis-became-the-worldsdeadliest-tech-start-up

4. Research the following types of tech crimes:

Financial eg phishing

Cyber-trespass eg hacking

Identity theft

Hate crimes eg online threats

Illegal downloading eg music & films

ii) **Types of Victims and offenders**

Anyone with access to technology. In terms of offenders, it could be cyberbullies or stalkers or individuals with significant IT knowledge. A survey conducted by youth charity inspired of 2000 14-18 year olds found that 25% had been victims of online abuse. Owners of publishing rights can also be victims.

https://www.channel4.com/news/trolling-online-abuse-one-in-three-youngpeople-affected

Women and girls are more likely to be the victim of cybercrime.

file:///C:/Users/Wxxxx/Downloads/cyber_violence_against_women_and_girls. pdf

iii) **Level of public awareness**

Victims are likely to be aware of being trolled but victims of cyber-fraud may not discover for some time that they have been victimised. The police, business and government have run campaigns to increase awareness.

https://www.cyberaware.gov.uk/

iv) **Deviant or criminal or both**

Many are both eg child pornography. Some are criminal but might not be seen by all as deviant eg illegal downloading. Other activities may be seen as deviant but not criminal eg child pornography, gambling.

e) **Individual crimes**

Most crimes are individual in nature. These can be divided into crimes against persons often involving violence or threats and crimes against property.

Activity

Name 3 crimes against persons and 3 crimes against property. What do each involve?

Persons

1.

2.

3.

Property

1.

2.

3.

The seriousness of the crimes committed is based largely upon the damage / harm to the victim and to what degree the offender realised or foresaw the outcome of their actions. The criminal law generally prosecutes if the offender had either:

Direct intention to commit the offence

Indirect intention to commit the offence

Recklessness to commit the offence

Activity

Find the cases of Mohan, Woollin, Matthews & Alleyne and Cunningham to define each of these terms.

Individual crimes can be divided into:

Hate crimes

Honour crimes

Domestic abuse / violence

Hate crimes (aka a bias-motivated crime or bias crime)

Definition

Crimes where the perpetrator is perceived to be motivated by hatred of the victim due to protected characteristics such as disability, race, religion, gender or sexual orientation. The person perceiving the hatred does not need to be the victim eg witness, police.

Protected characteristics

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hLZ7PFM3loE

Stephen Lawrence

https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-26465916

i) **Criminal offences**

Can include verbal abuse, intimidation, harassment, assault and offences against property eg criminal damage, arson. Hatred or malice is an aggravating factor in sentencing ie it makes the crime more serious. For examples, if an assault is religiously aggravated the maximum sentence rises from 6 months to 2 years. Domestic violence and honour killings could also be hate crimes.

ii) **Types of victims and offenders**

Offenders tend to have prejudiced views eg sexist, racist, hjomophobic. Victims will largely be those with protected characteristics eg the Crime Survey for England & Wales suggests

there are approx. 100,000 hate incidents a year against minority ethnic groups. Levin & McDevitt 2002 said that with hate crime, victims were chosen because of who they are rather than anything they have done. Barbara Perry has extended the definition to include acts directed at all stigmatised & marginalised groups eg the elderly, homeless, gypsies and travellers, sex workers.

iii) **Level of public awareness**

Public awareness has increased due to an increased focus on reporting, investigating & prosecuting hate crime eg the number of convictions for disability hate crime rose from 141 in 2008 to 800 in 2017. There has been increased media interest in social media hate crimes with the CPS tightening guidelines on prosecution. They ran a media campaign called #HateCrimeMatters.

https://www.cps.gov.uk/hate-crime

TellMama

https://tellmamauk.org/

iv) **Deviant or criminal or both**

Clearly both.

Honour crimes (aka honour-based violence)

Definition

Involve violence committed to defend the supposed honour of a family or community eg an individual who has brought shame on the family.

https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-41268745

i) **Criminal offences**

Include threatening behaviour, assault, wounding, abduction, rape and murder. In the UK there are 12 honour killings per year on average. May also involve family or community members in conspiracy to commit or conceal crimes or to protect the perpetrator. Since 2014, forced marriage is also a crime although the conviction rate is low. Many see female genital mutilation as an honour crime as well.

https://worcesterobserver.co.uk/news/six-jailed-for-total-of-78-years-after-home-bargainsacid-attack/

Forced marriage

https://www.gov.uk/government/news/forced-marriage-now-a-crime

https://safeguardinghub.co.uk/forced-marriage-why-is-the-conviction-rate-so-poor/

ii) **Types of victims and offenders**

Usually perpetrated by victim's family, often male dominant. Most victims are female, often young with most victims being from ethnic minorities.

iii) **Level of public awareness**

Relatively low as some members of communities involved may see honour crimes as justified. Since forced marriage was criminalised awareness has risen with over 5000 crimes being reported each year although the police only refer about 5% of cases to the CPS. Cuts to legal aid have not helped victim representation.

https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/nov/07/only-5-of-honour-crimesreported-to-police-are-referred-to-cps

http://ikwro.org.uk/2017/11/violence-criminalisation-marriage/

iv) **Deviant, criminal or both**

Criminal and deviant across the population as a whole but not necessarily in some communities because of gender norms. The CPS states that 'there is no honour or justification for abusing the human rights of others.

Domestic abuse or violence

Definition

The use of violence, abuse or threatening behaviour against a partner, ex-partner or family member. The offence is widely under-reported and until relatively recently the police were reticent to become involved.

https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/mar/07/domestic-abuse-still-under-reported-inengland-says-womens-aid

The UK government definition is 'any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive or threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been, intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass but is not limited to psychological, physical, sexual, financial, emotional.

Activity

What are the latest crime statistics on domestic violence?

https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/domestica buseinenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2018

http://www.safelives.org.uk/

Gilchrist et al 2003 completed research questioning 336 male offenders from six probation areas on types of behaviour by offenders. What did they discover?

https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218141158/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rd s/pdfs2/r217.pdf

i) **Criminal offences**

Types:

Physical and sexual assaults

Financial abuse eg controlling victim's money, running up debt in their name

Emotional or psychological abuse eg intimidation & threats, undermining, creating guilt

2015 onwards – controlling or coercive behaviour – isolating, controlling, exploiting financially, preventing from escape, emotional abuse

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/9/section/76/enacted

https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/controlling-or-coercive-behaviour-intimateor-family-relationship

https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-46347957

Clare's Law (the Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme)

This is a development in memory of Clare Wood to allow individuals to ask the police for information regarding their partner and a possible violent past.

https://www.essex.police.uk/advice/clare-s-law-right-to-ask/

ii) Types of victims and offenders

The majority are male, often being the partner or ex-partner of the victim, although other family members can be perpetrators. Most victims are female and female victims tend to suffer multiple abuse and more severe violence and control. According to the Crime Survey for England & Wales 2017 most at risk were women aged 16-24, separated & divorced, lone parents, those with a disability & those on low incomes. Male victims are less likely to report abuse.

iii) Level of public awareness

Generally low taking place mainly in the home with victims often being afraid or embarrassed to report the crime. Traditionally the police have not seen domestic issues as part of their responsibility however due to feminist campaigners, awareness has risen. The 2017 Crime Survey for England & Wales found that 1.2 million women suffered domestic abuse in that year. Only a small proportion are reported and only 1 in 12 lead to a conviction.

iv) Deviant, criminal or both

Criminal and deviant for the vast majority of people.