# CRIMINALIZATION, REPRESENTATION, REGULATION THINKING DIFFERENTLY REGULATION THINKING DIFFERENTLY

EDITED BY DEBORAH BROCK, .

AMANDA GLASBEEK, AND CARWELA MURDOCCA

## Criminalization, Representation, Regulation

Thinking Differently about Crime

Edited by Deborah Brock, Amanda Glasbeek, and Carmela Murdocca Copyright © University of Toronto Press Incorporated 2014

Higher Education Division

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LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION

Criminalization, representation, regulation : thinking differently about crime / edited by Deborah Brock, Amanda Glasbeek, and Carmela Murdocca.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Issued in print and electronic formats.

ISBN 978-1-4426-0710-1 (pbk.).—ISBN 978-1-4426-0711-8 (pdf).— ISBN 978-1-4426-0713-2 (epub)

1. Crime—Canada. 2. Crime—Social aspects—Canada. 3. Criminal law— Canada. I. Brock, Deborah R. (Deborah Rose), 1956-, author, editor II. Glasbeek, Amanda, 1967-, author, editor III. Murdocca, Carmela, 1975-, author, editor

HV6807.C758 2014

364,971

C2014-902006-6 C2014-902007-4

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North America 5201 Dufferin Street North York, Ontario, Canada, M3H 5T8 Estover Road, Plymouth, PL6 7PY, UK

2250 Military Road Tonawanda, New York, USA, 14150 UK, Ireland, and continental Europe NBN International

ORDERS PHONE: 44 (0) 1752 202301 ORDERS FAX: 44 (0) 1752 202333 ORDERS E-MAIL: enquiries@nbninternational.com

ORDERS PHONE: 1-800-565-9523 ORDERS FAX: 1-800-221-9985

ORDERS E-MAIL: utpbooks@utpress.utoronto.ca

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The University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial support for its publishing activities of the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund.

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#### Acknowledgments

We have dedicated this book to Stuart Hall (1932–2014), whose influence on each of our own scholarly development cannot be measured. From his work on "policing the crisis" (a conjunctural analysis of the rise of the New Right in 1970s England that connected economic and class politics with the racialization of crime) to his later work on the politics of representation and his final work on challenging neoliberalism, Stuart Hall broke conventional boundaries and made scholarly pursuits exciting. He will be missed.

We want to thank the many hundreds of students who have taken our courses in sociolegal studies, criminology, and social, sexual, and moral regulation over the years. They have been our guides in instructing us about what is required to produce scholarship that is relevant, accessible, and useful—and moreover, how to teach it.

Amanda Glasbeek and Carmela Murdocca wish to express their gratitude and thanks to their co-editor, Deborah Brock, for her unflagging support and mentorship, not only on this project but in our professional endeavours generally. She has been an exemplary colleague and we would not have been able to undertake this project without her inspiration.

Carmela would also like to thank her past teaching assistants (without whom teaching a course of 200+ would be impossible) for their commitment to the distinct approach of the course "Sociology of Crime and Social Regulation," which inspired this textbook. In particular, Anke Allspach, Fenn Stewart, and Shaira Vadasaria engaged thoroughly with the course for a number of years. Carmela also extends thanks to her parents for their support and encouragement.

Amanda Glasbeek offers her thanks to the students and teaching assistants in criminology who have taught her many things about justice. Amanda also extends her appreciation to the faculty in the Department of Social Science for their much needed and always respectful collegial support. Finally, Amanda thanks Phil and Sasha, for everything else.

Deborah Brock extends a bouquet of thanks to Carmela and Amanda for being such first-rate collaborators and terrific scholars and teachers. Thanks also go to the Department of Sociology at York University for allowing us the latitude to rethink what it means to do criminology through our courses, particularly the "Sociology of Crime and Social Regulation." Deborah would

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

also like to thank the International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Oñati, Basque Country, Spain, for many wonderful experiences as a visiting scholar, and Artscape Gibralter Point on Toronto Islands for providing a unique oasis in which to research and write. Special thanks go to Gerard de Witt for the "sunflower room" in Utrecht, The Netherlands. Gezellig!

We extend our deep appreciation and many thanks to our production team at the University of Toronto Press, and, in particular, to our editor Anne Brackenbury. Anne has been solidly behind this project since the early stages, and a great source of support and advice. Finally, a big thank-you to Gaye Chan for the striking cover design. The cover image is of a construction hoarding at Hastings and Main Streets in Vancouver's Downtown East Side. Perhaps no other neighbourhood in Canada has been as closely identified with crime as this one; yet when we peel back the layers of representation, we might think differently about crime.

### Introduction Thinking Differently about Crime

DEBORAH BROCK

At some point in time, we all break a law. Usually these transgressions are minor, and we may not even be aware of what we have done, or we may consciously dismiss the transgression with the idea that "everyone does it" or that it was a ridiculous law that deserved to be broken. We typically distance ourselves from "real" crime by associating it with extreme cases such as deliberately taking the life of another—cases that actually constitute a small percentage of the crimes committed. We might also be "suspect" for criminal wrongdoing simply because we inhabit a particular kind of body, or we might be one who implicates certain "others" because of their identity. Criminalization, then, is an intensely social activity that is not as removed from our own actions and our own bodies as we might think.

Criminalization, Representation, Regulation does not situate crime as asocial or atypical phenomena, but rather begins with the recognition that naming what counts as crime, who commits it, and who is implicated in it are social decisions. Our task is to problematize ideas about what crime is and who commits it. Rather than taking crime as an already existing social phenomenon—as a social fact—we explore criminalization as an active social process, focusing in particular on how crime and those who commit crimes are constituted. By constituted we mean the "making up" (or social production) of people, beliefs, and practices through everyday activities, discourses and ideologies, and the flow of power. Each chapter in this volume explores the dynamic interplay between processes of criminalization and the ways that such processes circulate to both reflect and constitute crime and "justice."

It is not our intention to dismiss the incidence and prevalence of crime or to undermine the potential seriousness of many actions that violate the law. Instead, we mean to open up the analyses of crime in the tradition of critical criminology. We aim to expose the complexity of the issues and the debates surrounding crime, processes of criminalization, and the means of regulation. We unpack crime as a social "fact," and as you will read in Chapter Four, "The Politics of Counting Crime," written by Michael Mopas, we turn a critical eye to the explanation, measurement, and administration of crime.

#### Thinking beyond "Crime"

A focus on criminalization is only part of what we do. This textbook was designed to situate criminalization within broader relations of regulation that shape subjectivity and action. The beliefs and practices of people, individually and as members of a group, are infused with power relations that influence our will, our interests, what we can know, and how we can know what we know.

Our task is to make the connections between our own knowledge and experience and "the big picture" of social institutions, processes, and power. We will find that the assumptions we may hold about the distinction between the private life of the self and the broader world of politics and power fall away. Who we are, how we see ourselves, and how we regard others are inseparable from power. How we think, what ideas we advocate, and how we live and act come together to reproduce, challenge, and redeploy power. It is not possible to think about criminalization, representation, and regulation, then, without also considering how power is enacted through these processes.

Regulation is a useful umbrella concept in part because it does not imply any one particular theoretical approach, meaning that the concept of regulation is one that can be understood broadly. Here we will explain how we use it in order to make it less unwieldy to understand and to use as you read the chapters that follow. First, we have adopted an understanding of power and regulation that was introduced by Michel Foucault, which has become foundational to the governmentality approach. As you will learn in Carmela Murdocca's chapter "Michel Foucault: Theories and 'Method" (Chapter One), Foucault productively complicated our understanding of power through his nuanced exploration of the numerous forms that it can take. He identified governmental power as the most pervasive form in contemporary Western liberal democratic societies, but by government he specified a flow of power that extended far beyond the political apparatus of the state. This form of power is not limited to the exercise of authority and control over individuals and populations—it is distinguished by its relational character and by its entanglement with the production of knowledge. For example, the privileging of certain forms of knowledge as "truth" implies that power relations are already present.

At the same time, power is most effective when it is exercised through the shaping of ideas and beliefs, rather than when it is exercised with a fist, handcuffs, or a prison cell. Governmental power is realized in people's capacity to be self-reflective, to judge, and to act. We are governed through the deployment of knowledge that privileges certain ways of knowing and being,

#### Thinking Differently about Crime

and we actively participate in governmental relations through our own government of others and of ourselves. For these reasons, a broadly Foucauldian approach informs what we do in this book. It is an effective theoretical orientation for undertaking contemporary, historical, and materially grounded research. An approach that draws attention to the social basis of law also allows for more comprehensive attention to the processes of regulation that may be, but are not necessarily, state centred. Our approach to regulation shifts analysis away from the top-down exercise of social control so that we may more easily identify regulation as a range of processes that permeate our everyday lives and activities.

The second direction that we will pursue is to centre an analysis of the politics of representation. This is a crucial vantage point for comprehending how meaning is given and how knowledge and power intersect in dominant explanations of crime, as you will find in Ummni Khan's chapter "The Politics of Representation" (Chapter Three). For now, we want you to think about a typical representation of a criminal. Does the image that comes to mind have a gender? What is the colour of her or his skin? How is he or she dressed? What is she or he doing? Is the body being represented similar to or different from your own?

Much of people's knowledge about crime and criminality is derived not from their own experience but from mainstream media and popular culture. We explore representations of crime and criminality in media and popular culture not only to challenge the myths and stereotypes that surround crime, but also to examine the forms of regulation that inform representations of criminalization. In Chapter Seven, "Women Gone Bad? Women, Criminalization, and Representation," Amanda Glasbeek explores how fact and fiction often blur when women are constructed as criminals, especially when they are accused of violent crimes. You will find that Ruthann Lee's contribution, "Gendering Crime: Men and Masculinities" (Chapter Six), devotes particular attention to representations of racialized masculinities in contemporary mainstream film. You will see how South Asian racialized masculinities are variously represented in relation to crime, albeit in a manner that implicates their racial and ethnic origin in some way. Racism occurs when any action by a person is taken as representative of their ethnic or racial group or, where the actions of a racialized person are seen in a positive light, as a departure from the typical characteristics of their racial or ethnic group.

A notable feature of this textbook is its attention to the interconnections between processes of colonialism and racialization. Tracking these processes provides a framework that links criminalization with the emergence of the white nation-state. You will find ample evidence throughout this book of the importance of historical analyses for exploring processes of racialization

and criminalization. In Chapter Two, "History Matters," Amanda Glasbeek explores how the *historicization* of crime can contribute to our critical engagement with processes of representation, criminalization, and regulation. Moreover, given the privileged place of moral reasoning in the formation of law and ethics, in Chapter Two you will learn more about how moral regulation was foundational to the expansion of the Criminal Code from its inception in 1892.

The place of morality in processes of criminalization is not restricted to the past, despite recent efforts in Canadian law to shift from morals-based reasoning to harm-based reasoning. For example, in Chapter Nine, "Crime and Social Classes: Regulating and Representing Public Disorder" Marie-Eve Sylvestre suggests that poverty has been remoralized, pathologized, and de facto criminalized. The treatment of people whose greatest offence was to be born poor is situated in stark contrast to the treatment of corporate crime, which is the topic of Steven Bittle's chapter "Where Are All the Corporate Criminals?" (Chapter Thirteen).

In Chapter Five, "Racialization, Criminalization, Representation," Carmela Murdocca takes aim at uncovering the constitution of race in the history of Canadian nation-building and the formation of Canadian law. You will find that historicizing social processes such as the creation of law grants insight into the patterns of continuity and change and to the dynamics at work in producing what counts as crime. Chapter Five identifies the ongoing significance of these processes for First Nations peoples, for racialized peoples, and for broad sociopolitical relations in which modern states, the international economy, and global culture flourish in ways that marginalize and imperil a significant portion of the world's population.

We have chosen to foreground processes of racialization because of the significance of the invention of "race" for the formation of local and global inequalities. Further, race is pervasive in narratives about crime. Racialization is most fruitfully explored relationally, through its intersections with the constitution of gender, sexualities, class, and citizenship. So, for example, in Chapter Eight, "Sexual Regulation: Sexing Governmentality; Governing Sex," Deborah Brock includes a discussion of the mutual constitution of race and sexuality. We will find here that the simultaneous racialization and sexualization of particular bodies (for example, the Black slave body, the indigenous body, the "oriental" body) has constituted those bodies as sites of governance. We also note the particular ways in which racialized bodies are marked bodies, targeted through surveillance, through racial profiling, and through border policing. These issues are taken up in Chapter Ten, "Profiles and Profiling Technology: Stereotypes, Surveillance, and Governmentality," by Martin French and Simone Browne and in Chapter Eleven, "Wanted by the Canada Border Services Agency," by Anna Pratt.

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What about global human rights? Increasingly, we look to human rights to acknowledge if not to rectify past injustices. You will find in Marcia Oliver's chapter "In the Name of Human Rights: Governing and Representing Non-Western Lives in Post-9/11" (Chapter Twelve) that while few have claimed that human rights are a panacea for global inequalities, their effectiveness in confronting inequalities facing indigenous and racialized peoples are highly questionable. How can we continue to speak of human rights in the context of ongoing state-organized violence, the violation of peoples and their environments, and suffering on a global scale?

Criminalization, Representation, Regulation is a text that explores and challenges mainstream approaches to crime and criminality, and the critical analysis undertaken is motivated by a specific interest in social justice. This textbook encourages the development of critical analytic thought toward the pragmatic consideration of social issues and problems and how to resolve them more effectively. Tia Dafnos's chapter "Social Movements and Critical Resistance: Policing Colonial Capitalist Order" (Chapter Fourteen) was placed as the final chapter of this text to underscore that criminal injustice is a pervasive feature of criminalization, representation, and regulation and to emphasize the need for social action. Chapter Fourteen gives special attention to the criminalization of protest and dissent by focusing on the policing of Aboriginal protests.

#### Overview of the Book

Criminalization, Representation, Regulation is organized into three thematic sections. Part One, "Thinking Differently about Crime," serves as an introduction to the main objectives and issues of the book and establishes the theoretical and methodological context for the chapters that follow. We turn a critical lens on definitions of crime and criminality and reflect on the origins of information, meaning, and interpretation. This section orients readers to practices of reading, observing, and hearing that are filtered through everyday assumptions and directs them toward a more critical interrogation of representations, discourses, and data.

Part Two, "Intersections," explores the broad social intersections through which criminalization processes, as well as the dynamics of representation of crime, can be concretely examined. The bodies of subjects entangled with the law—whether as victims, suspects, or agents of the law—matter when we look at how legal processes unfold and the ways that crime is understood as a social fact. The ways in which race, gender, sexuality, class, and nation-building intersect with one another and with processes of criminalization are the focus of this section. Together they help the reader to grasp the social

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bases for criminalization processes, and they demonstrate the importance of understanding the connections between social bases of inequality and the regulation and representation of "crime."

Part Three, "Emerging Issues in Canada and Beyond: Connecting the Global to the Local," explores the social and legal contexts through which processes of criminalization and regulation can be concretely examined. Each chapter addresses a global contemporary context that includes surveillance, national security and borders, crime in an international context, environmental crime, and social movements. These chapters provide readers with an interdisciplinary and critical framework with which to investigate these contemporary social and political issues.

#### Learning Objectives

This textbook is based on our combined years of experience teaching large and small courses in criminology and sociolegal studies. When thinking about how to develop this book, our students have been our best teachers. We also brought to this project a number of important objectives. The first objective is to encourage students' appreciation of the uses of history and theory for exploring criminalization, representation, and regulation as active social processes. Second, we want students to question taken-for-granted assumptions about crime and criminality and to think about where those assumptions come from. Third, we want to provide students with some tools to become more critical consumers of information. Fourth, we want to encourage students to think together about how to identify and challenge social injustices that are at the root of processes of criminalization.

We hope that the distinctive features of this textbook will provide you with some helpful tools with which to engage with these objectives. These features include the *combined use* of a governmentality approach, the linking of legal regulation to broader forms of social and moral regulation, a focus on the politics of representation, an integration of historical and contemporary research, an engagement with local and global frameworks, and an engagement with the politics of resistance.

It has been our pleasure to work with many hundreds of students who are deeply interested in the issues presented in this book, and whose concern about local and global social inequalities have motivated them to not only produce their own important analyses, but in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, to be part of the change that they wish to see in the world. We are also grateful to have recruited such an impressive collection of contributors who share our enthusiasm for the book and who have provided their expertise and their time toward realizing its objectives.

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# Thinking Differently about Crime

This is a book that asks you to identify and challenge your underlying assumptions about crime and criminality. As you will learn in Part One, "Thinking Differently about Crime," our aim is to expose you to the complexity of the issues and the debates surrounding crime; explore the social processes involved in the criminalization of people, identities, and groups; and understand the relationship between criminalization and the broader processes of regulation.

Part One of *Criminalization, Representation, Regulation* introduces readers to the central themes and issues of the book and establishes the theoretical and methodological context for the chapters that follow. You will turn a critical lens on definitions of *crime* and *criminality* and reflect on the origins of their sources of information, meaning, and interpretation. The chapters in Part One identify practices of reading, observing, and hearing that are shaped by everyday assumptions, suggesting the need for a more critical interrogation of representations, discourses, and data.

We begin by outlining an approach to crime, criminalization, and regulation in which these concepts are more than legal definitions and practices, but active social processes whose historical constitution and contemporary representations must be explored. Given the extent of our critique of mainstream criminal justice, it is incumbent on us to suggest how we might begin to reimagine the social organization of crime. While it is not our objective to provide blueprints for social change, we present readers with

examples of social movement activism that counter mainstream perspectives, policy, and action. The importance of the politics of resistance and reimagining that is the raison d'être of social movement activism (a matter that we will return to in our conclusion to this collection) is stressed. Our general aim in this part opener is to establish the conceptual framework through which the chapters that follow will be presented, provide an overview of the themes and topics that follow, and present the learning objectives for students who are working with this textbook.

In Chapter One, "Michel Foucault: Theories and 'Method," Carmela Murdocca situate the emergence of critical ideas concerning crime, representation, and regulation in the context of Michel Foucault's work on discipline, punishment, and governance. Foucault's key insights have had a significant impact on the related disciplines of criminology and sociolegal studies. You will begin to see how this approach opens up a complex nexus of regulation that inspires many researchers to engage in detailed, localized, and empirically grounded studies. While the Foucauldian approach is commonly associated with poststructuralist theorizing, Criminalization, Representation, Regulation aims to present a materially grounded analysis. Murdocca demonstrates how Foucault's insights can enhance political and economic research and analyses of crime and criminalization. This is particularly the case where research is simultaneously informed by anti-racist, postcolonial, feminist, and queer theories. As such, an intersectional and relational analytic framework is crucial and will be explained in detail.

One of the key features of governmentality scholarship is that it historicizes our assumptions about what crime is (and is not). Chapter Two, "History Matters," by Amanda Glasbeek raises the issue of how the social and geographical character and constitution of crime and criminalization further problematize how they are known. The chapter acquaints students with what it means to undertake a historical and spatial analysis of crime and regulation. It will then identify a key underpinning for definitions of crime and processes of regulation throughout Canadian history—moral regulation—the significance of which is linked to governmentality studies. Finally, moral regulation will be explored in relation to the formation of law, nation-building, and colonialism and their significance for contemporary understandings and practices of crime, representation, and regulation. This chapter will compel you to think more about how a historical perspective can assist us in problematizing the notion of crime and, in particular, grasp the significance of moral regulation for definitions of crime and criminality.

Much of our knowledge of the social world is derived not from our own experience but from myth—"common knowledge," popular media, and the like. Even our perceptions of our own experiences are shaped in some way