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Spectacular Justice. In: The Spectacle of Criminal Justice: Mass
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Introduction: Spectacular Justice

At the London 2012 Olympic Games, Oscar Pistorius nicknamed 'Blade Runner' made history. He became the first amputee athlete to compete in a track event at the Olympics. A double amputee below the knee, Pistorius had previously competed in the 2004 Athens Paralympics, winning gold in the 200 meters. After his successes, he set his sights on competing against able-bodied athletes. Despite eventually being eliminated in the semi-final of the 400 meters, Pistorius had made history and positioned himself not only as one of the greatest athletes in the world but also as a disability icon. Six months after his debut on the Olympic stage, Pistorius was back home in Pretoria, South Africa and on the night of the 13th of February 2013, the story of Oscar Pistorius, and his athletic prowess, changed. According to Pistorius, having woken up in the early hours of Valentine's Day, and realising his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp was no longer in bed beside him, he made his way to the bathroom door, allegedly fearing there was an intruder inside the house. Believing Reeva was inside and potentially being harmed by those who had broken into the property, Pistorius fired four bullets through the locked door. After breaking through the door, it was revealed that Reeva had been fatally wounded, and no intruder was found. "That's the moment that everything changed" (Greene, Smith-Spark, & Smith, 2014). The next day Pistorius was arrested and on the 15th of February he was formally charged with premeditated murder.

Before the trial began in March 2014, just a little over a year after Steenkamp's death, Judge Dunstan Mlambo ruled that media outlets were allowed to film and broadcast parts of the trial to the public. This decision was a landmark one as not only would this become the first-time parts of a criminal trial in South Africa would be televised live, but it was a decision that allowed the case to quickly become known as the "trial of the century" (Smith, 2014). Judge Mlambo ruled that the audio of the trial could be broadcast live in full, and particular sections of the trial including opening arguments, expert evidence, police witnesses and closing arguments could be filmed and televised live also. In South Africa, broadcasters set up dedicated trial channels which focused explicitly on the events of the case, and they televised footage 24 hours a day throughout the weeks that followed. Media coverage, however, was not isolated to South Africa. Given the celebrity status of Pistorius and his recent successes at the London Olympic and Paralympic Games only a couple of years before, the trial became an international public interest story and broadcasters from all corners of the world descended on Pretoria to give their audiences first-hand insight. Both ESPN in the United States and Sky News in the United Kingdom bought the rights to *The Oscar Pistorius Trial* channel content and ran segments on their daily feed to a global audience. The public were hungry for information on the trial and as a result his fall from grace was played out in front of millions of eyes; "the trial – thanks to the media – got the world talking" (Chuma, 2016, p. 324).

In September 2014, Judge Mlambo found Pistorius guilty of culpable homicide but, importantly, ruled he was not guilty of murder. In October of the same year Pistorius was sentenced to five years imprisonment. Only one month later the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) in South Africa disputed both the verdict and the sentence and argued that Pistorius should be charged with murder which would mean, if found guilty, he could be sentenced to a much more substantial prison sentence of at least 15 years. In August 2015, Pistorius was set to be released under house arrest after having spent a total of ten months in

prison. This was, however, placed on hold and after the NPA had submitted their appeal papers in December 2015, the initial verdict of culpable homicide was replaced with murder. Pistorius returned to the High Court in Pretoria. After an appeal by Pistorius was turned down, his new sentencing phase began in June 2016 with unprecedented attempts by both the prosecution and the defence to make their cases heard. In an attempt to show his vulnerability, the defence asked Pistorius to walk across the courtroom on his stumps before the court, which later became known as one of the most profound, emotively charged elements of the trial. After only a matter of weeks Judge Masipa delivered her sentence. Pistorius was found guilty of murder and was sentenced to six years in prison. But the case did not end there. In November 2017, the Supreme Court of Appeals increased Pistorius' six-year sentence to 13 years and 5 months. The earliest point he can apply for parole is 2023 and the case formally closed in 2018.

The violent death of Reeva Steenkamp, the subsequent murder trial of Oscar Pistorius, and their pervasive media coverage were the catalysts for this project. More specifically, I first began exploring the case and its related issues back in 2015 when I embarked upon my doctoral research (Smith, 2018). As such, this book represents the culmination of a six-year research journey and aims to take my doctoral project and develop it further. The Pistorius trial and its visibility within a global, mass media network epitomises the ways in which media technologies have the power to take a criminal case and turn it into a high-profile public drama. It became a sensational production of almost Hollywood grandeur, a story that for many appealed to a public desire to witness a seismic fall from grace and pull the curtain back on a fatal act of violence. Pistorius's trial portrayed him as a "fallen hero() in an age where 'heroes' with staying power are hard to come by" (Chuma, 2016, p. 325). This public thirst meant that the trial was consumed on a mass scale by individuals around the world, who digested the information 24 hours a day through newspapers, television, panel shows, blogs, social media and many more platforms. But while Pistorius' case dominated headlines and was catapulted into the public imagination it is not the first of its kind to do so. The high-profile visibility of criminal justice matters broadly, and murder trials more specifically, has occurred previously. One of the most well-known examples was the murder trial of O.J. Simpson in 1995 where nearly 100 million viewers tuned in to watch, consume, and engage with the events that unfolded in the Los Angeles County Superior courtroom (Garcia-Blanco & Bennett, 2018; Grabe, 2000; Felman, 1997). The Los Angeles trial attracted unprecedented media attention that was "perhaps unparalleled in its intensity and explosive in its effects" (Kellner, 2003, p. 108). In every sense, the O.J. Simpson case was far from a private judicial experience. The barricade, both symbolic and material, preventing the public from watching the events was dismantled in favour of it becoming a 'mega drama'. The public were so greatly invested in the trial that when the verdict was delivered on the 3rd of October 1995, the eyes of the world were watching. It is reported that during this time, in the United States, long distance phone calls reduced by 58%, water usage substantially dropped, and it is estimated the verdict lost the United States around \$480 million in productivity.

Going forward it is hard to imagine the dramatisation of criminal trials waning. In the same week I began to write this book, around early 2020, it was announced that television cameras are allowed to film in Crown Courts in England and Wales for the first time. The Crown Court (Recording and Broadcasting) Order 2020, which came into force in June 2020, permits television filming and broadcasting of sentencing remarks by High Court and Senior

Circuit Judges in Crown Courts (including the Old Bailey) including in serious and high-profile cases such as murder, terrorism, or sexual offences. If all conditions are met, the legislation means that Section 41 of the Criminal Justice Act 1925 and the Contempt of Court Act 1981 do not apply, and the footage can be filmed live and then broadcast with a slight delay. Nevertheless, according to Article 10, it is specifically stated that such broadcasts should not be for the purposes of “light entertainment” (The Crown Court (Recording and Broadcasting) Order, 2020). These recent changes have brought England and Wales more in line with many other countries that have allowed the broadcasting of criminal trials for some time.

Around about the same time, the criminal trial of Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein drew to a close. Weinstein faced five charges including predatory sexual assault and rape and has been sentenced to 23 years imprisonment. After allegations began being made in 2017, and which prompted the global #MeToo movement, for some the Weinstein trial was perhaps one of the most anticipated in decades. Such cases, whether Weinstein, Simpson, or Pistorius, illustrate the infiltration of contemporary life by the mass media and how even the most private, mundane moments have the potential to be made into a public media spectacle (Moore & Moore, 2010; Kellner, 2003; Debord, 2012; Carrabine, 2008; Rafter, 2014; Spierenburg, 1984; Mathiesen, 1997; Brown, 2014; Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002). We are living in a society saturated and defined by media spectacle and the criminal justice system as well as criminal trials are increasingly featuring in this visual world (Reiner, 2002). Visibility in many ways can be seen as a central tenet of justice, indeed, justice must not only be done, it must be seen to be done (Moore, Clayton, & Murphy, 2021). As such, in a time when images, videos, and public life are constantly being “uploaded and downloaded, copied and cross-posted, Flickr-ed, Facebook-ed and Photoshop-ped” (Hayward in Hayward & Presdee, 2010, p. 4), and where “the globe *appears* on the world’s screens” (Silverstone, 2007, p. 10) [emphasis in original], is it any wonder that criminal trials, and justice debates more broadly, are becoming part of this movement?

Spectacular Justice

To make sense of the ever-growing visibility of criminal justice in the mass media, this book presents the concept Spectacular Justice (Smith, 2018) which was first developed during my doctoral research as part of an archival, case study analysis. In presenting the concept and related case study research here, this book builds upon my doctoral thesis and seeks to develop it further. Spectacular justice describes the visibility of criminal justice in the media and public eye. More specifically, the concept speaks to the ways in which the media represents criminal trials, justice matters, and the individuals involved in them. In certain cases, criminal trials are a public spectacle that are designed, orchestrated, and edited to be consumed by the public and sold for entertainment and titillation (see also Jewkes, 2004; Peelo, 2006). According to Moore and Moore the power of the media is substantial and impacts both how the public engage with crime and justice as well as how we interact with the world more generally. For them, “the boundaries between media and everyday life collapse when there is instant, live trial coverage on the scale of the Simpson case” (2010, p. 314). Spectacular justice gives voice to this overlap and the power of the mass media to take a criminal case and turn it into a high-profile public drama in which the private matters of the justice system and its characters are catapulted into the public imagination. The concept prompts us to embrace what Rafter described as a “visual turn of mind” (2014, p. 131) when

studying and researching criminal justice and death matters. In essence, spectacular justice was designed to be a conceptual project that outlines this process of representation in a tangible way. As such, spectacular justice offers a framework to better understand the intersections between criminal justice and the media in future cases. It gives meaning to a system in which the “boundaries between media and court collapse and penetrate each other; they interact. Everyday life becomes intertwined with an image of life in the media” (Moore & Moore, 2010, p. 314). The spectacle of justice is all around us.

Taking a case study approach, the book examines media representations of four murder cases: Charles Lindbergh Jr, James Bulger, Jodi Arias, and Anders Breivik. These four cases, although vastly different in geography and timing, each vividly expose spectacular justice and enable a narrativised exploration of some of its core features. The cases illustrate the spectacle of justice within the United States, United Kingdom, and Norway and allow for a discussion of how the visibility of justice debates and criminal trials has changed historically as they date between 1932 through to the present day¹. Not only are they culturally and historically different, but the details of each case expose variations in how the mass media reports on justice matters. Charles Lindbergh Jr was the son of famous aviator Charles Lindbergh who, aged only 20 months, was kidnapped from his home and later murdered; James Bulger was abducted and violently murdered by two ten-year-old boys, Robert Thompson and Jon Venables, quickly becoming one of the most infamous murder cases in the UK; Jodi Arias was a photographer and waitress who murdered her ex-boyfriend Travis Alexander by shooting, stabbing, and nearly decapitating him in his Arizona (US) home; and finally, Anders Breivik who, in 2011, carried out the Norwegian massacres, killing 77 people in total in a politically inspired attack on the Norwegian labour party.

To examine these four case studies, and investigate their media representations, the book draws upon international media archives² and analyses their discourses. For Steedman, archival research ideally positions the researcher to unearth snapshots into history which are otherwise invisible and unnoticed until “read...used, and narrativized” (1998, p. 67). Using media archives to explore the spectacle of criminal justice allows the book to capture distinct moments in time and embellish these moments with stories and characters. But, they are “not just stories” (Plummer, 2001, p. 221); they are magnifying glasses with which that which was perhaps previously unseen, becomes visible. Media archives give the spectacle of justice shape; they bring it to life.

In summary, the spectacle of the criminal justice system is the conceptual framework around which this book is built. The rest of this chapter will be dedicated to outlining the different features of the concept. It will highlight the uses of the framework for individuals working in both criminology and death related disciplines as well as for readers who are simply interested in the drama, the glitz, and the allure of criminal justice today.

What do we mean by ‘justice’?

Before embarking any further, it is helpful at this early stage to clarify what is meant by ‘justice’ or, more specifically, how ‘justice’ will be approached in the upcoming chapters. Justice will be conceptualised throughout this book as inherently complex and fluid and its

¹ See appendix for further information regarding the laws surrounding filming in courtrooms for each nation.

² Media data is collected from a number of archives including LexisNexis, Nexis, The British Library, The New York Times Archive, and The Breivik Archive.

use here is heavily influenced by David Garland's conceptualisation of justice, laid out in his book *Culture of Control* (2001, see also Garland, 1991). As will be shown in this book, what justice means and how it can be defined is both broad and challenging. To make sense of this definitional ambiguity, and to fully grasp the complexity of crime and crime control in society, Garland advocates for understanding control and justice as being twofold. "The first is formal notions of control and justice, as enforced through the state and governmental agencies" (Smith, 2018, p. 44), for example, that which is manifest in official institutions such as criminal courts, the prison system, and embedded within those that run them and enforce their rules. "The second notion refers to informal notions of control and justice as enacted through the everyday interactions and actions of individuals" (Smith, 2018, p. 44). That is, justice as that which exists within the relationships between social actors, as well as their feelings and emotional responses to matters of criminality (Garland, 2001, p. 8-9).

As such, justice will be approached throughout this book as "a complex social institution and desire that is influenced by both the state and individuals" (Smith, 2018, p. 45). More importantly, the following chapters will demonstrate how notions of spectacle are visible within institutions and spaces of justice such as criminal trials (formal) as well as within the "micro interactions between lay individuals who are both the object of media spectacles and the receivers" (Smith, 2018, p. 45). For example, justice as that which is present in public debate and discourse (informal). With this in mind, while the book examines that which it owes its title, 'Mass Media and the Criminal Trial', the conceptual development of spectacular justice is designed to also illustrate the complexity of these issues and the importance of recognising the co-existence of formal and informal justice, in media orchestrated spectacles of criminality and death. The following section elaborates upon this further.

Conceptual Toolkit

Spectacular justice offers a conceptual toolkit for understanding the often-overlapping interactions between criminal justice matters, the public, and the mass media. The following framework is designed as a structure which the reader may use to make sense of, observe, and examine other instances where criminal justice is played out in the public eye. While spectacular justice speaks to the broad observation that justice and criminal trials feature increasingly within broadcast, print, and social media, by itself, it cannot detail the complete variations in how cases are represented and manufactured into a spectacle. All spectacles of criminal justice are different, and, as such, no two are the same. Variations exist for a myriad of reasons including, but not limited to, the crime that is committed, the location of the crime and justice institutions, cultural scripts, as well as social divisions such as gender, class, sexuality, and ethnicity, to name only a few. All of these factors have the potential to determine what the spectacle of a criminal case looks like and how it is subsequently received by the public.

To examine each of these variations exceeds the remit of this book and would perhaps constitute a lifetime of work. That said, there is a commonality within almost all criminal cases; they involve a combination of human characters and personal stories. Spectacular justice is determined by human stories. As such, the focus of this book is not how specific crimes trigger a media reaction and transforms the case into a public issue. In this way, the book moves beyond eminent studies of criminality such as *Policing the Crisis* (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978) or Cohen's (2011) influential work on *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* that have dominated the criminological canon for so long. Although it is

recognised that typically the “worst crimes produce the biggest headlines” (Peelo & Soothill, 2000, p. 137), in this book human characters and their stories are the focus. Human stories are seen to provoke the spectacle of justice and when these stories and characters collide, we are presented with a kaleidoscope of spectacles with the potential for an infinite number of complex representations.

To harness such a complex, and at times unwieldy, set of media representations, three central characters are identified which it can be argued feature in many, if not all, criminal cases. They represent who Peelo calls “key players” (2006, p. 163). To fully understand spectacular justice and what it means, it is necessary to examine the media representations and discourses of the *Victim*, *Perpetrator*, and the *Expert*. These are the human keystones not only around which this book is structured, but with which spectacular justice is seen to flourish. In their own way, each of these three characters and their media representations and discourses are contributing factors to exciting and maintaining spectacles of criminal justice. The identities and stories of victims, perpetrators, and experts are integral to firstly triggering a media spectacle and secondly in determining the shape and nature such spectacle adopt. Spectacular justice is inherently complex and thus, to grapple with such diverse intricacies, there are a number of sub-categories which have been developed to better understand how, within cases that are turned into high-profile sources of entertainment or drama, victims, perpetrators, and experts are represented. The following diagram outlines spectacular justice and its conceptual framework.

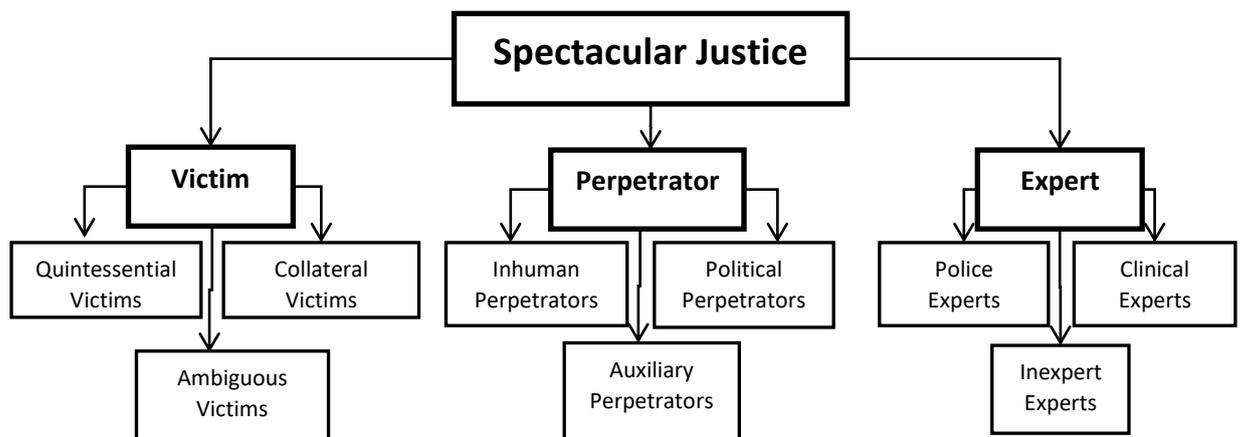


Diagram 1 – Conceptual toolkit (Smith, 2018).

Using archival media data from the four case studies (Lindbergh Jr, Bulger, Arias, Breivik), the book examines three variations in how each character is represented and constructed by media discourses and the function these diversities serve to the spectacularisation of justice process and debate. The following definitions outline the key features of each character:

The Victim

The victim sits at the intersection between crime and justice, and they often emotively embody the social transgressions of the perpetrator. As such, victims are central to the role of the spectacle within justice. The ‘victim’ will be conceptualised in three main ways: *Quintessential Victims*, *Collateral Victims*, and *Ambiguous Victims*. Each sub-category seeks to highlight the spectacle around justice as well as the inherent subjectivities and complexities which surround victims.

Quintessential Victims: Those who are both an ‘ideal victim’ (Christie, 1986) and who are victimised by extreme criminality and/ or violence resulting in graphic bodily destruction (Seltzer, 1998). Existing at the intersection of purity and extreme violence, *Quintessential victims* are exceptionally newsworthy and catapult justice matters and criminal trials into the spotlight.

Collateral Victims: This concept gives meaning to collective displays of mourning, loss, and grief in response to a criminal act. The spectacle of criminal justice thrives when victimisation is experienced at a social, as well as individual, level and *Collateral Victims* highlights how community felt emotions contribute to the spectacularisation of formal criminal trials and informal pursuits of justice. Spectacular justice exists in the hearts and heads of citizens, as much as it does in the bureaucratic spaces and rule books of the state.

Ambiguous Victims: Spectacular justice thrives on ambiguity and the ‘grey areas’ that exist in complex criminal cases. *Ambiguous victims* speak to the individuals and/or social groups who express feelings of victimisation but around whom there are social, cultural, or political questions relating to the validity of their claim to the victim status. Where this contestation exists, we see justice debates and institutions thrust into the public eye.

The Perpetrator

Much like the victim, the perpetrator is an equally important character to consider when exploring media spectacles of criminal justice as the identity of, and discourses surrounding, the perpetrator play a central role in determining the scale and character of the media spectacle. The ‘perpetrator’ is conceptualised in three main ways: *Auxiliary Perpetrators*, *Inhuman Perpetrators*, and *Political Perpetrators*.

Auxiliary Perpetrators: This concept gives meaning to the individuals and/or social groups who feel, or are held, responsible for a criminal act whilst not having committed the act themselves. *Auxiliary perpetrators* are not directly culpable for the criminal act, for example they did not commit the act first-hand, but rather they may be indirectly involved either because of something they did, or perhaps, did not do. This concept casts the definitional net of responsibility beyond the direct perpetrator and demonstrates how spectacular justice is conspicuous when notions of institutional blame and obligation closely follow a criminal act.

Inhuman Perpetrators: Perhaps one of the most self-explanatory concepts, *Inhuman perpetrators* reflects the vilification and social malevolence targeted at some perpetrators following their criminal acts. Where individuals are constructed by the media as criminal creatures or other-worldly beings, we see the spectacle within criminal justice flourish. In cases where there is a clearly defined perpetrator whom society can ‘other’ and ostracise, the public spectacle of justice continues to serve a powerful social function.

Political Perpetrators: Where politics and crime collide, we see spectacles of criminal justice come to life. As such, politically motivated crimes are some of the most influential factors in the volatility of spectacular justice; it is especially conspicuous when ideologies of perpetrators are counter-normative, anti-governmental, and are justified with claims of a legitimate target.

The Expert

Finally, like the victim and the perpetrator, the expert simultaneously orbits the criminal justice process and is a focus of media discourse. Experts investigate, analyse, evaluate, diagnose, and label issues of criminality. The role and representation of expertise within criminal cases exposes the complex relationship between knowledge and power, as well as the privileged place expertise has within media spectacles. The ‘expert’ is conceptualised in three main ways: *Police Experts*, *Clinical Experts*, and *Inexpert Experts*.

Police Experts: This concept gives meaning to the role of the police (both individuals and institutions) as experts in, and gatekeepers of, criminal justice and its institutions. The police play a significant role in framing spectacles of justice and are very often key players in orchestrating what the public can and cannot see. As such, representations of, and discourses on, the police as ‘experts’ can determine the whole character of the high-profile media drama.

Clinical Experts: At various stages throughout the criminal justice process, *Clinical experts*, or those who work within clinical disciplines, in particular medicine, are visible and shape justice stories. They are tasked with elucidating that which is murky and, due to their intellectual capital, they are often used within media discourses as legitimising devices, whether to legitimise moral judgements, political ideologies, or legal processes. *Clinical experts* shape justice spectacle by being seen to provide rigour and seemingly unbiased knowledge.

Inexpert Experts: Compared with the relative formality of the police and clinicians, whose expertise is grounded in training and authority, *Inexpert experts* broadens this definition to include individuals and/or social groups for whom the mass media offers a platform upon which they can exercise their opinions and insights into a criminal case. Criminal cases that incite a profound public reaction often result in the media’s amplification of the public voice and opinions. As such, *Inexpert experts* demonstrate a dialogue between the media, the public, and justice process and where this occurs, spectacular justice blossoms.

The Victim, the Perpetrator, and the Expert and their representations within the media, in different ways, are powerful contributing factors in spectacles of criminal justice and can project a criminal case, its trial, and justice debates into the public spotlight. Importantly, the conceptual framework of spectacular justice that is examined in this book is not designed to be exhaustive. Each category is explored because of its visibility within the data across each of the four case studies, and, as such, the potential for many other variations to be identified is recognised. This framework acts as a toolkit with which readers can unpack and examine media representations of criminal justice, and it is hoped it can act as a springboard for further research into the spectacle of criminal justice.

Aims

The aims of this book are threefold.

Firstly, it seeks to build on existing literature that examines the relationship between justice, specifically criminal trials, and cameras in courtrooms. While the criminal trial is an important site of justice, and therefore to any discussions of judicial spectacle, this book builds on Garland’s (1991; 2001) multidimensional conceptualisation of justice to not only consider the role of the media in cultivating dramatic portrayals of justice institutions and space, but also in fostering spectacles of justice at an informal, and relational, level. This

book will highlight the importance of informal sites and expressions of justice in a media-saturated contemporary world. It will show how understanding justice as experiential, relational, informal, and collective is as valuable to understanding the role of the media in feeding spectacle, as any debate on the ethical or moral implications of planting television cameras in courtrooms. Spectacles of justice are more than just about the visibility of state infrastructure; it is about human stories and how such narratives are represented in discourse and power relations experienced.

Secondly, this book provides a conceptual toolkit that facilitates a deep understanding of the four case studies and illustrates themes within media representations of justice and the human stories upon which they are built. It aims to explore some of the key discourses surrounding the cases and examine how they were constructed and turned into sources of media spectacle. It is not the aim of the book to present the concepts as exhaustive means of describing how criminal trials are represented in the media or consumed by the public, but rather to give the reader the tools with which they can explore and analyse other similar cases. It is driven by the argument that while the spectacle of punishment has largely disappeared from public life, the social need to observe and interact with issues of criminality, death, and justice have not. The public appetite for crime is still observable, but rather than gathering around the wooden scaffold, drinking ale and dancing in the street, we publicly punish, shame, and enact justice in the comfort of our own homes (see also Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson, & Ackerley, 2004). Justice is enacted with the world watching. We are witnessing a shift away from the spectacle of punishment and towards the spectacle of criminal justice; criminal cases, their key cast members, the trial, and public emotions are all too often familiar features and moments of infotainment. It is this sense of reorienting the public relationship with criminality that this book seeks to give meaning to and provide a conceptual framework for understanding what makes a criminal case spectacular.

The final aim of this book is to contribute to the growing scholarly endeavour to bridge the gap between criminology and death studies. Each of the four case studies are murder cases, and discourses of death, dying, and mortal violence define media discourses as well as public and political rhetoric surrounding them. They speak to the prominence of death as a source of entertainment (Penfold-Mounce, 2018; Khapaeva, 2017) and a visible commodity within media industries. By making the intersection between criminality and death a central feature, the book provides the reader with a unique approach to justice matters and institutions, that has received minimal attention from within the academy to date. Some of the most influential authors working within this area include: Penfold-Mounce (2010; 2016; 2018) who examines the interplay between death, crime, and popular culture; Foltyn (2008a; 2008b) whose work focuses on voyeurism, gender, and the “pornography of death” (2008a, p. 164); and Seltzer (1998) who coined the term ‘wound culture’ and highlights a societal attraction to death and gore. To date, death scholars have minimally examined the overlap between criminal justice and death, and likewise, criminological theories of justice and media representation do not recognise the often-central role that death and thanatology play in helping us understand these issues. In response, the book offers the reader a text which speaks to both of these related fields and brings the two disciplines together. It combines research on criminal justice with an awareness of thanatological issues that opens up discussions in ways that are yet to be explored.

The structure and content of the book

After introducing spectacular justice and its conceptual framework, Chapter 1 examines *The Evolution of the Spectacle*. This chapter will provide the reader with historical context and introduce them to the historically changing relationship between the public, media, and justice matters. More specifically, it will discuss how punishment, historically, was a public spectacle with the execution scaffold being a focal point for many communities. It opens with a discussion of the spectacle of punishment in the global North and West and examines this relationship up until the nineteenth century. This timeframe was chosen as it was during the late nineteenth century that industrial and technological developments in communication began to increase. The chapter describes how pre-nineteenth century in this region, punishment was a carnivalesque event designed around revelry. From here, the chapter will examine the changing role of the spectacle of justice and penal matters, in light of the rise of mass media technology. It examines technological developments that have sculpted a media saturated contemporary social world. Drawing on literature such as Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (2012), Kellner's (2003) *Media Spectacle*, and Young's (1996) *Imagining Crime*, this chapter makes the argument that the spectacle is increasingly moving away from physical, public spaces where communities come together in response to acts of transgression. Instead, spectacles are increasingly realised through the lens of a camera or on a computer screen. The spectacle of punishment has faded, and in its place, we find the mediated, dramatised spectacle of criminal justice debates and trials.

Chapter 2 explores the first of the four case studies, the kidnap and murder of Charles Lindbergh Jr in New Jersey (USA), in 1932. The Lindbergh Jr case is used to outline and explore representations of *Collateral Victims*, *Police Experts*, and *Clinical Experts*. In summary, Chapter 2 examines the interrelationships between celebrity status and the spectacle of criminal justice (both formal and informal), to expose how notions of celebrity help cultivate a global media spectacle at every stage of the justice process, from the initial police investigation to the very public implementation of the death penalty. Using print media archives, the chapter examines mass media discourses to better understand how the case, and the trial and public justice debates more specifically, became a global sensation story that was readily consumed by an international audience at a time when media technologies were still very much in their infancy.

Chapter 3 examines the second case study, the kidnap and murder of James Bulger in Liverpool (UK), in 1993. Bulger's death has been discussed at length within academia, especially the social sciences, but as yet its role as a justice spectacle has been comparatively left unexamined. Building on Nils Christie's (1986) theory of the 'ideal victim', as well as Mark Seltzer's (1998) 'wound culture', this chapter bridges the gap between criminological and thanatological studies of murder to explore Bulger's status as a *Quintessential Victim*. From here it discusses how the spectacle of justice prospers in part because of the public and media fascination with *Inhuman Perpetrators*. Drawing on themes of vilification, shame, and transgression the chapter examines representations of Robert Thompson and Jon Venables to better understand the role of age in the spectacle of violent murder. Drawing on archival data, the chapter analyses childhood criminality as a profoundly spectacular event that poses challenging questions about the visibility of justice and its relationship with the public.

Chapter 4 turns its attention to case study number three, Jodi Arias, who was convicted of the murder of her ex-boyfriend Travis Alexander who died in 2008 in Arizona (USA). Broadcast

media discourses reporting on the Arias trial will be examined to outline and explore the role of *Ambiguous Victims* and *Inexpert Expertise* in the spectacle of informal criminal justice and the visibility of criminal trials in the public eye. When the case went to trial, it became an international media spectacle that not only gave the public insight into the workings of the criminal justice system, but also allowed them to spectate and participate directly in discourses related to the case. The mass media facilitated active public engagement with events that are often obscured behind the walls of a private institution and in doing so not only brought justice matters into the public imagination, but representations of death and dying also.

Chapter 5 introduces the final case study; self-proclaimed far-right terrorist, Anders Breivik who carried out the Norwegian massacres in 2011. Breivik's case is used to explore the role of *Political Perpetrators* and *Auxiliary Perpetrators* in the spectacle of criminal justice. Central to this analysis will be themes of masculinity and race, not only to unravel their role in motivating the crime, but more importantly how they impacted on representations of the trial both by the media and the public. The Norwegian massacres were inherently politicised and sparked a global conversation about issues of terrorism and security. Not only did political figures utilise the mass media to disseminate their discourses, but perpetrator Anders Breivik also spoke to the power of the media as a platform for the dissemination of ideologies. In summary, this chapter will examine the role of politics in creating a spectacle of criminal justice, as well as global media response to the events and how the mass media was utilised as a political tool to legitimise existing security structures.

The book concludes in Chapter 6 with a review of the research aims and some key reflections on the contribution of the book and avenues for future research into the study of justice, death, and the media.

I hope that whatever journey led you to this book, that you find it helpful in making sense of a media saturated, crime obsessed social world.