

# General Certificate of Education

# Sociology 6191

SCY6 Crime and Deviance;
Stratification and Differentiation

# Mark Scheme

# 2005 examination - June series

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

# GUIDANCE NOTES IN THE USE OF GENERAL AND QUESTION SPECIFIC MARK SCHEMES FOR UNIT 6.

#### TWO RELATED MARK SCHEMES ARE PROVIDED

Examiners are required to consult and apply the two related mark schemes as follows:

## A General Mark Scheme made up of two sections on:

- (i) Knowledge and Understanding;
- (ii) Identification, Analysis, Interpretation and Evaluation.

#### A Question Specific Mark Scheme made up of one section on:

(i) Knowledge and Understanding. This will enable examiners to assess the knowledge and understanding requirements of particular questions.

#### **Marking**

In the process of marking a particular question, you must follow the procedure detailed below in marking the different Skill Domains:

## (i) Knowledge and Understanding

Refer to the Question Specific Mark Scheme and the General Mark Scheme.

#### (ii) Identification, Analysis, Interpretation and Evaluation

Refer to the General Mark Scheme.

Each answer should be assessed separately for each of the two Skill Domains and the mark for each Skill Domain recorded and totalled to give an overall mark. For example in the case of an answer which was rewarded 6 marks for Knowledge And Understanding and 6 for Identification, Analysis, Interpretation and Evaluation, the total mark for this answer would be 12.

#### GENERAL MARK SCHEME FOR UNIT 6

## **Knowledge and Understanding**

- **0** No relevant knowledge or understanding.
- 1-5 Answers in this band will show a very limited sociological knowledge and understanding. Answers will show little or no knowledge or understanding of the connections between the synoptic and other substantive topic(s), sociological thought or research methods as appropriate.

Lower in the band, knowledge will consist of commonsensical points. Answers will show only minimal understanding of either the question or the material offered in response to it.

Higher in the band, knowledge will consist of a few isolated quasi-sociological points, with omissions and perhaps with significant errors. Understanding both of the question and of material offered in response to it will be very simplistic and perhaps confused.

6-10 Answers in this band will show a somewhat limited sociological knowledge and understanding. Answers will show a limited knowledge and understanding of the connections between the synoptic and other substantive topic(s), sociological thought or research methods as appropriate.

Lower in the band, there will be a shallow knowledge of a limited amount of sociological material, perhaps with errors. Understanding both of the question and the material presented in response to it will be superficial.

Higher in the band, there will be a reasonably accurate but rather shallow and descriptive knowledge of a still limited amount of sociological material, or alternatively a slightly deeper but very narrow knowledge. There may be a generalised understanding of the question, or one which shows a specific understanding of only a very limited aspect of the question.

11-15 Answers in this band will show a reasonably good sociological knowledge and understanding. Answers will show an accurate but undeveloped knowledge and understanding of the connections between the synoptic and other substantive topic(s), sociological thought or research methods as appropriate.

Lower in the band, there will be a reasonably accurate knowledge of a range of sociological material with some limited success in conveying conceptual detail, or alternatively a more conceptually detailed but narrowly based knowledge. Knowledge shown may be either theoretical, empirical or both. Answers will show a specific understanding of some of the demands of the question and of the material offered in response, but other aspects will be neglected or treated in a generalised fashion.

Higher in the band there will be somewhat greater success in conveying conceptual detail, or a slightly greater breadth of knowledge; however, answers will remain somewhat limited in range or depth. Knowledge shown will be both theoretical and empirical. There will be a specific understanding of most of the principal demands or aspects of the question, but some others will be neglected or treated in a generalised fashion.

16-20 Answers in this band will show very good sociological knowledge and understanding. Answers will show a clear and detailed knowledge and understanding of the connections between the synoptic and other substantive topic(s), sociological thought or research methods as appropriate.

Lower in the band, there will be a wide-ranging theoretical and empirical knowledge which will, with only very minor exceptions, be thorough, accurate and conceptually detailed. Accurate and explicit links will be made between some of the theoretical and empirical material. There will be a clear understanding both of the question, including its theoretical context, and of the material offered in response.

Higher in the band, knowledge will be comprehensive and will be thorough, accurate and conceptually detailed throughout. There will be a clear understanding of the theoretical context of the question, and there will be accurate and explicit links between the theoretical and empirical parts of the answer. Answers will show a clear, full and complex understanding of the question and the material offered.

#### GENERAL MARK SCHEME FOR UNIT 6

#### Identification, Analysis, Interpretation and Evaluation

- **0** No relevant identification, analysis, interpretation or evaluation.
- 1-5 Answers in this band will show very limited skills of identification, analysis, interpretation and evaluation.

Lower in the band, answers will show, at best, only a rudimentary ability to demonstrate any of the four skills.

Higher in the band, answers will show an ability to demonstrate one or more of the four skills to only an elementary standard. For example, there may be a very limited identification of a study or perspective. There may be a basic interpretation or analysis of an aspect of the question or of the material offered in answer to it. Evaluation may consist of a single brief critical point.

Throughout this band, there may be numerous significant errors, omissions and confusions in the attempt to demonstrate the relevant skills. Answers are very unlikely to demonstrate more than one or two of the skills, even to a very limited degree.

6-10 Answers in this band will show somewhat limited skills of identification, analysis, interpretation and evaluation.

Lower in the band, answers will show a limited ability to demonstrate any of the four skills. For example, a few features of a study or perspective may be identified, or a couple of brief evaluative points made.

Higher in the band, skills will remain generally undeveloped but either a wider range of skills will be shown to a limited degree, or one or two skills only may show some incomplete development, as for example an interpretation of a study or theory in a way appropriate to the set question.

Throughout this band, there may be some significant errors, omissions and confusions in the attempt to demonstrate the relevant skills. Evidence of all four skills may be present to a limited degree; alternatively, there may be reasonable evidence of one or two skills but no evidence of others.

11 – 15 Answers in this band will show reasonably good skills of identification, analysis, interpretation and evaluation.

Lower in the band, all or most skills will be present with some incomplete development. Alternatively, one or two skills will be explicitly and well developed, with more limited demonstration of others. For example, there may be some explicit but one-sided evaluation and some appropriate analysis of a number of relevant issues.

Higher in the band, there may be a fuller development of one or two skills, for example a thorough, explicit and balanced evaluation, whilst some other skills are present but still incomplete.

Throughout this band, skills will be demonstrated in a generally accurate and relevant way, but there will be some errors, incomplete development or inappropriate aspects.

16-20 Answers will show very good skills of identification, analysis, interpretation and evaluation.

Lower in the band, most skills will be successfully and explicitly demonstrated but not all will be fully developed. For example, evaluation may remain somewhat one-sided.

Higher in the band, all skills will be demonstrated in a thorough, comprehensive and explicit manner throughout, with sensitivity and sophistication and following a clear rationale.

Throughout this band, all four skills will be demonstrated in an accurate, appropriate manner.

#### **QUALITY OF WRITTEN COMMUNICATION**

Where candidates are required to produce extended written material in English, the scheme of assessment must make specific reference to the assessment of the quality of written communication. Candidates must be required to:

- select and use a form and style of writing appropriate to purpose and complex subject matter;
- organise relevant information clearly and coherently, using specialist vocabulary when appropriate;
- ensure text is legible, and spelling, grammar and punctuation are accurate, so that meaning is clear.

The assessment criteria for quality of written communication apply to the assessment of parts (b) and (c) of the questions. The following criteria should be applied in conjunction with the mark schemes (the general mark scheme and the question specific mark scheme).

The quality of written communication bands must be regarded as integral to the appropriate mark scheme band even though they are listed separately in the mark scheme. Examiners should note that, in the assessment of candidates' sociological knowledge and skills, the assessment of the Quality of Written Communication will be judged through the assessment of the clarity and appropriateness of the sociological material presented.

#### Questions 1 (b) and 2 (b)

In the 1-4 band, candidates' answers are likely to be characterised by the poor logical expression of ideas and the use of a limited range of conceptual terms, perhaps often used imprecisely and/or inaccurately. Spelling, punctuation and grammar may show serious deficiencies and frequent errors, perhaps impairing the intelligibility of significant parts of the answer.

In the 5-9 band, candidates' answers are likely to be characterised by the fair to good logical expression of ideas and the competent use of a reasonable range of conceptual terms. Spelling, punctuation and grammar will be of a reasonable standard. Commonly used words and sociological terms will generally be spelt correctly. There may be minor errors of punctuation and grammar, but these will not seriously impair the intelligibility of the answer.

In the 10 - 12 band, candidates' answers are likely to be characterised by the very good to excellent logical expression of ideas and the precise use of a broad range of conceptual terms. Spelling, punctuation and grammar will be of a very good to excellent standard. Commonly and less commonly used words and sociological terms will almost always be spelt correctly. Punctuation and grammar will be used correctly throughout to facilitate the intelligibility of the answer.

#### Questions 1 (c) and 2 (c)

In the 1-5 band, candidates' answers are likely to be characterised by the very poor logical expression of ideas and the use of a very limited range of conceptual terms, perhaps often used imprecisely and/or inaccurately. Spelling, punctuation and grammar may show serious deficiencies and frequent errors, impairing the intelligibility of significant parts of the answer.

In the 6-10 band, candidates' answers are likely to be characterised by the generally fair logical expression of ideas, though perhaps with some occasional flaws, and the use of a somewhat limited range of conceptual terms, perhaps sometimes used imprecisely and/or inaccurately. Spelling, punctuation and grammar will be fair. Commonly used words and sociological terms will mostly be spelt correctly. There may be some errors in punctuation and grammar which impair the intelligibility of some parts of the answer.

In the 11 - 15 band, candidates' answers are likely to be characterised by the reasonable to good logical expression of ideas and the competent use of a reasonable range of conceptual terms. Spelling, punctuation and grammar will be of a good standard. Commonly used words and sociological terms will be spelt correctly. Punctuation and grammar will be of a good standard facilitating a competent expression of ideas.

In the 16 - 20 band, candidates' answers are likely to be characterised by the very good to excellent logical expression of ideas and the precise use of a broad range of conceptual terms. Spelling, punctuation and grammar will be of a very good to excellent standard, with commonly and less commonly used words and sociological terms almost always spelt correctly. Meaning will be clear throughout.

Choose **one** Section and answer **all** parts of the question from that Section.

#### SECTION A - CRIME AND DEVIANCE

1 Total for this Section: 60 marks

(a) Identify and briefly explain **two** disadvantages of using covert participant observation in studying crime and deviance. (8 marks)

This part of the question includes assessment of your understanding of the connections between Crime and Deviance and sociological methods.

Two marks for each of two appropriate disadvantages identified, such as:

- ethics of covert participant observation of deviance;
- danger to the researcher;
- difficulty of getting in;
- difficulty of staying in;
- risk of going native.

A further two marks for each of these satisfactorily explained, such as:

- Ethics of covertly observing (or participating in) immoral/criminal behaviour: the observer should act morally and intervene/report it to the police (or decline to participate), but this will probably destroy the research.
- Danger to the researcher: if cover is blown, deviants may suspect the observer to be a police agent or similar and conduct reprisals.
- Difficulty of getting in: this requires knowledge of the deviant group's norms, roles etc, which may be impossible to obtain given the secretive nature of many deviant groups.

Note: Different types of response should be rewarded as follows:-

#### Marks

- Type 1: Identification of a covert participant observation disadvantage only, with no link to crime and deviance
- **Type 2**: Identification of a covert participant observation disadvantage **linked** to crime and deviance, but not explained, e.g. "covert participant observation is dangerous for the researcher".
- Type 3: Identification of a covert participant observation disadvantage **plus** explanation of it, but with **no link** to crime and deviance, e.g. "covert participant observation is unethical because it involves deception of those being studied".
- 4 Type 4: Identification of a covert participant observation disadvantage plus explanation of it, with link to crime and deviance.
- 4 Type 5: Identification of a covert participant observation disadvantage with link to crime and deviance, and an explanation of it.

(b) Using material from **Item A** and elsewhere, examine some of the ways in which functionalists have tried to explain different types and patterns of crime and deviance.

(12 marks)

This part of the question includes assessment of your understanding of the connections between Crime and Deviance and sociological theory.

- **0** No relevant points.
- 1-4 Answers in this band will show limited knowledge and understanding and will have only limited success in identifying, interpreting, analysing and evaluating material and in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, one or two inconsequential commonsensical points may be made about crime and deviance, with minimal or no elaboration. Higher in the band, one or two relevant, vaguely sociological, undeveloped points may be made, for instance about the working class 'turning to crime'.

5-9 Answers in this band will show a reasonable knowledge and understanding and will have some success in identifying, interpreting, analysing and evaluating material and in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, answers will identify a limited number of points and will tend to list rather than discuss the material presented. Some may focus on describing a specific study/theory, e.g. Merton. Some of the material may not be interpreted appropriately to the demands of the question, e.g. recounting non-functionalist material without linking this clearly.

Higher in the band, answers will show a greater range of material or greater tendency to discuss rather than list points. Most material will be interpreted in ways appropriate to the question. However, some aspects may not be adequately focused. There will be some limited explicit analysis and/or evaluation, e.g. of the usefulness of anomie theory.

10-12 Answers in this band will show a sound knowledge and understanding and will be largely successful in identifying, interpreting, analysing and evaluating material and in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Answers in this band will examine a range of ways in which functionalists have explained types and patterns of crime and deviance. Concepts and issues may include integration, regulation, anomie, egoism etc; Merton's anomic paradigm; integration or pattern maintenance functions; reasons for variations in suicide/crime rates, or in types of crime (property; non-utilitarian; drug use etc) or justice (restorative vs. retributive; re-integrative shaming) or collective deviance (opportunity structures; subcultural variations). Analysis and/or evaluation will be relevant, explicit and well developed, e.g. by locating the discussion within a broader theoretical framework, making links to other theories (e.g. ecological theory, differential association) or offering a critique from the standpoint of a different perspective. Sources may include Durkheim, Erikson, Merton, A.K. Cohen, Cloward & Ohlin, Bell & Vogel, Braithwaite etc.

(c) "Deviance is the result of the social background of the deviant, rather than of the actions of social control agencies." Assess this view.

In your answer, make reference to material from **two or more** of the following areas: families and households; health; mass media; education; wealth, poverty and welfare; work and leisure; power and politics; religion; world sociology. (40 marks)

This part of the question includes assessment of your understanding of the connections between Crime and Deviance and other substantive topic(s) you have studied.

## **Knowledge and Understanding**

20 marks

- No relevant knowledge and understanding.
- 1-5 Answers in this band will show very limited knowledge and understanding and will have only very limited success in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, there will be one or two commonsensical points, e.g. about home background, showing minimal understanding. Higher in the band, there will be one or two isolated, very limited and possibly confused quasi-sociological points, e.g. about poverty and crime, possibly with major errors or omissions.

6-10 Answers in this band will show somewhat limited knowledge and understanding and will have somewhat limited success in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, there will be a shallow and limited knowledge and understanding of some potentially relevant material, e.g. two or three aspects of a study, perhaps with errors.

Higher in the band, knowledge will be somewhat greater and more accurate, but still limited, for example, to a descriptive account of a couple of studies.

In this band, some may rely wholly or very largely on simply recounting material from the specified areas, with minimal material specifically from the sociology of crime and deviance (e.g. material on how labelling at school produces deviance).

11-15 Answers in this band will show reasonably good knowledge and understanding and will be reasonably successful in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, there will be a reasonably accurate knowledge of some theoretical and/or empirical material on social background and/or the actions of control agencies.

- Some may be broader accounts that amass descriptions of studies but with limited conceptual detail, while others may be narrower but more conceptually based answers.
- Some may focus solely on social background rather than control agencies (or vice versa), reflecting a rather partial understanding.
- Some may use material appropriately from the specified areas (e.g. on family structures and socialisation, or the role of teachers, doctors etc in labelling deviance), but with more limited material specifically from the sociology of crime and deviance.

Higher in the band, there will be knowledge of both theoretical and empirical material and slightly more breadth or conceptual detail.

• Answers will begin to consider both social background and the actions of social control agencies.

- Material from different perspectives may also feature, reflecting a wider understanding, though there may be more concern with reporting the findings of studies from such perspectives than with linking the theoretical and empirical aspects of the answer.
- Material from the specified areas will appear, and some of it may be related successfully to issues in the sociology of crime and deviance.
- 16-20 Answers in this band will show very good knowledge and understanding and will successfully meet the synoptic demands of the question.

These answers will show a thorough, conceptually detailed and wide-ranging knowledge and understanding of theoretical and empirical material on the role of social background and social control agencies in the production of deviance. They will show a clear understanding of relevant theoretical debates (e.g. deviance as social fact or social construct) and of how these views inform different studies. Answers will be broad ranging, dealing with issues and concepts such as structure vs. action, socialisation, power, social control, culture/subculture, differential association, patriarchy, institutional racism, ideology, marginalisation, labelling, primary and secondary deviation, identity, master status etc. Material from the specified areas will be successfully integrated into the discussion of relevant issues in the sociology of crime and deviance.

Higher in the band, knowledge will be more comprehensive and detailed, and/or links between theoretical and empirical aspects more explicit and developed, and understanding will become clearer and more complex.

In answering this question, candidates may refer to some of the following sources and/or relevant alternative ones: Durkheim, Parsons, Marx, Box, Becker, Lemert, Young, Szasz, Carlen, Heidensohn, Liversedge & Littlemore, Hall, Murray, Dennis, Piliavin & Briar, Sutherland, A.K. Cohen, Cloward & Ohlin.

#### SECTION B - STRATIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

2 Total for this Section: 60 marks

(a) Identify and briefly explain **two** criticisms made of the Marxist view of stratification. (8 marks)

This part of the question includes assessment of your understanding of the connections between Stratification and Differentiation and sociological theory.

Two marks for each of two appropriate criticisms identified, such as:

- plays down non-class stratification;
- it is economically determinist;
- polarisation has not occurred;
- immiseration thesis is wrong;
- assumes inevitability of classless society;
- it is untestable.

A further two marks for each of these satisfactorily explained, such as:

- Plays down non-class stratification: Marxism assumes that all other forms of inequality/conflict can be reduced to class, but this ignores the importance or specificity of ethnic, gender etc inequalities/conflicts.
- Polarisation has not occurred: Marx wrongly assumed polarisation of the class structure would occur; he failed to foresee the growth of the middle classes.
- Untestability: Marx's predictions are untestable, because the failure of revolution to occur can be explained away indefinitely by concepts such as false consciousness.

(b) Using material from **Item B** and elsewhere, examine the influence of ethnicity upon individuals' life chances in **two or more** of the following areas: families and households; health; mass media; education; wealth, poverty and welfare; work and leisure; power and politics; religion; world sociology.

(12 marks)

This part of the question includes assessment of your understanding of the connections between Stratification and Differentiation and other substantive topic(s) you have studied.

- **0** No relevant points.
- 1-4 Answers in this band will show limited knowledge and understanding and will have only limited success in identifying, interpreting and analysing and evaluating material and in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, one or two inconsequential commonsensical points may be made about ethnic groups with minimal or no elaboration. Higher in the band, one or two relevant, vaguely sociological, undeveloped points may be made, for instance about discrimination.

5-9 Answers in this band will show a reasonable knowledge and understanding and will have some success in identifying, interpreting, analysing and evaluating material and in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, answers will identify accurately a limited number of relevant points, e.g. about educational under-achievement or health chances and ethnicity, and will tend to list descriptively rather than discuss the material presented. Some of the material may not be interpreted appropriately to the demands of the question, e.g. recounting material on class and education/health as a 'proxy' for ethnicity. Some answers may deal with only one area.

Higher in the band, answers will show a greater range of material or greater tendency to discuss rather than list points, and may begin to make use of the Item. They will deal with two or more areas, though perhaps unevenly. Most material will be interpreted in ways appropriate to the question. However, some aspects may not be adequately focused. There will be some limited explicit analysis and/or evaluation, e.g. examining differences between minority groups.

10-12 Answers in this band will show sound knowledge and understanding and will be largely successful in identifying, interpreting, analysing and evaluating material and in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Answers in this band will examine the influence of ethnicity upon individuals' life chances in two or more specified areas and will make use of the Item (e.g. to link to issues of poverty, unemployment or ill health). Concepts and issues such as the following may figure: racism (institutional, individual); discrimination and prejudice; ethnocentrism; cultural and material deprivation; the underclass; labelling; subculture; family structure; social exclusion; ascribed/achieved status. Inequalities in health, education, employment, welfare, political representation, migration etc may feature. Analysis and/or evaluation of the issues raised will be relevant, explicit and well developed.

(c) Assess sociological attempts to measure social mobility and to explain its importance for the class structure. (40 marks)

This part of the question includes assessment of your understanding of the connections between Stratification and Differentiation and sociological methods.

## **Knowledge and Understanding**

20 marks

- **0** No relevant knowledge and understanding.
- 1-5 Answers in this band will show very limited knowledge and understanding and will have only very limited success in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, there will be one or two commonsensical points about class, showing minimal understanding. Higher in the band, there will be one or two isolated, very limited and possibly confused quasi-sociological points, possibly with major errors or omissions.

6-10 Answers in this band will show somewhat limited knowledge and understanding and will have somewhat limited success in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, there will be a shallow and limited knowledge and understanding of some potentially relevant material, e.g. on inter- or intra-generational mobility, perhaps with errors.

Higher in the band, knowledge will be somewhat greater and more accurate, but still limited, for example to a descriptive account of a study of mobility.

11-15 Answers in this band will show a reasonably good knowledge and understanding and will be reasonably successful in meeting the synoptic requirements of the question.

Lower in the band, there will be a reasonably accurate knowledge of some theoretical and/or empirical material.

- Some may be broader accounts that amass descriptions of studies or definitions of mobility etc., but with limited conceptual detail.
- Others may be narrower but more conceptually-based answers.
- Many answers may focus solely on one aspect (e.g. on the measurement of mobility but not on its importance), reflecting a rather partial understanding.

Higher in the band, there will be knowledge of both theoretical and empirical material on social class, and slightly more breadth or conceptual detail. Answers will deal with both the measurement and importance of mobility, though probably unequally. Material from different perspectives may also feature (e.g. Marxist, Weberian, feminist, New Right), reflecting a wider understanding, though there may be more concern with reporting findings of studies from such perspectives than with considering methodological or theoretical issues.

16-20 Answers in this band will show a very good knowledge and understanding and will successfully meet the synoptic demands of the question.

These answers will show a thorough, conceptually detailed and wide-ranging knowledge and understanding of theoretical and empirical material on measuring mobility and explaining its importance.

- Measurement issues may include alternative definitions and types (e.g. class boundary definitions, inter-/intra-generational, subjective and objective, absolute and relative mobility, odds ratios, gender and mobility etc.).
- Explanations of the importance of mobility may include class differential fertility, changes in the occupational structure, issues of class cohesion, consciousness and conflict, elite self-recruitment, meritocracy and achieved vs. ascribed status etc.

They will show a clear understanding of the theoretical debates surrounding the question and of the relationship between the theoretical and methodological issues involved in measuring mobility.

Moving up through the band, knowledge will become more comprehensive and detailed, and/or links between theoretical and empirical aspects more explicit and developed, and understanding will become clearer and more complex.

In answering this question, candidates may refer to some of the following sources and/or relevant alternative ones: Marx, Weber, Westergaard; Westergaard & Resler, Saunders, Dahrendorf, Murray, Field, Goldthorpe & Lockwood, Hartmann, Walby, Barrett & Phillips, Oakley, Pakulski & Waters, Connell.