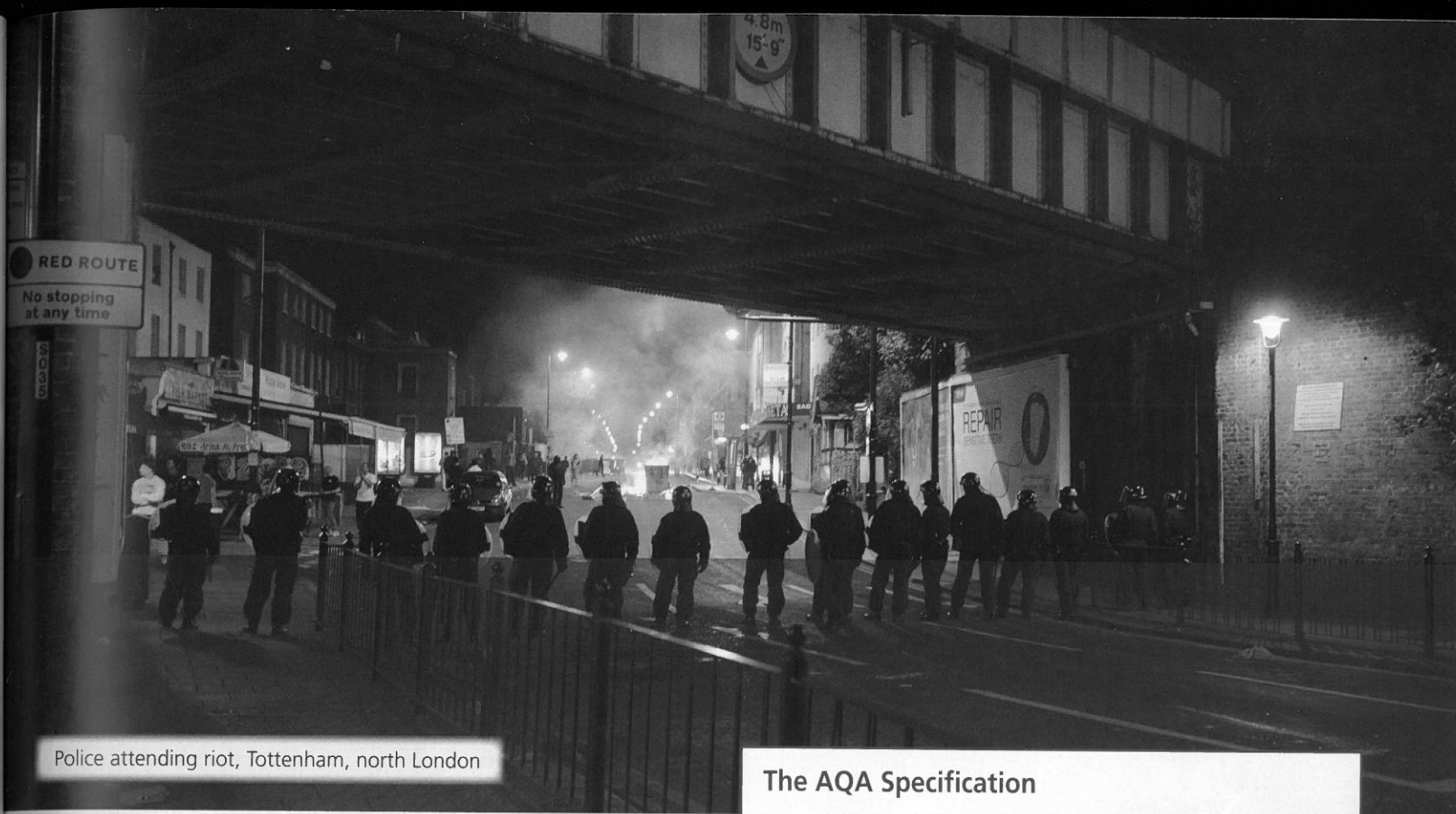


CHAPTER

2

Crime and Deviance

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Police attending riot, Tottenham, north London

Introduction

The sociology of crime and deviance is about rules and rule breaking. For example, sociologists are interested in who breaks rules and why they do so, why some groups of people are more likely to be rule breakers – or more likely to be seen as rule breakers – and who makes and enforces the rules.

Some sociologists look for the causes of crime and deviance in the offender's social background, upbringing or social position. For example, inadequate socialisation or poverty might be responsible for some people being unable or unwilling to conform.

Other sociologists are more interested in the way society reacts to rule breaking, for example by labelling certain people as offenders and treating them differently. For example, members of less powerful groups are more likely to be labelled 'criminal'.

Still others are interested in how and why some acts – but not others – come to be defined as crimes in the first place. For example, those with power to make and enforce the law may criminalise threats to their interests. At the same time, the powerful may be able to avoid punishment for the crimes they commit. They may even be able to avoid defining the harm that they cause as 'crime' in the first place.

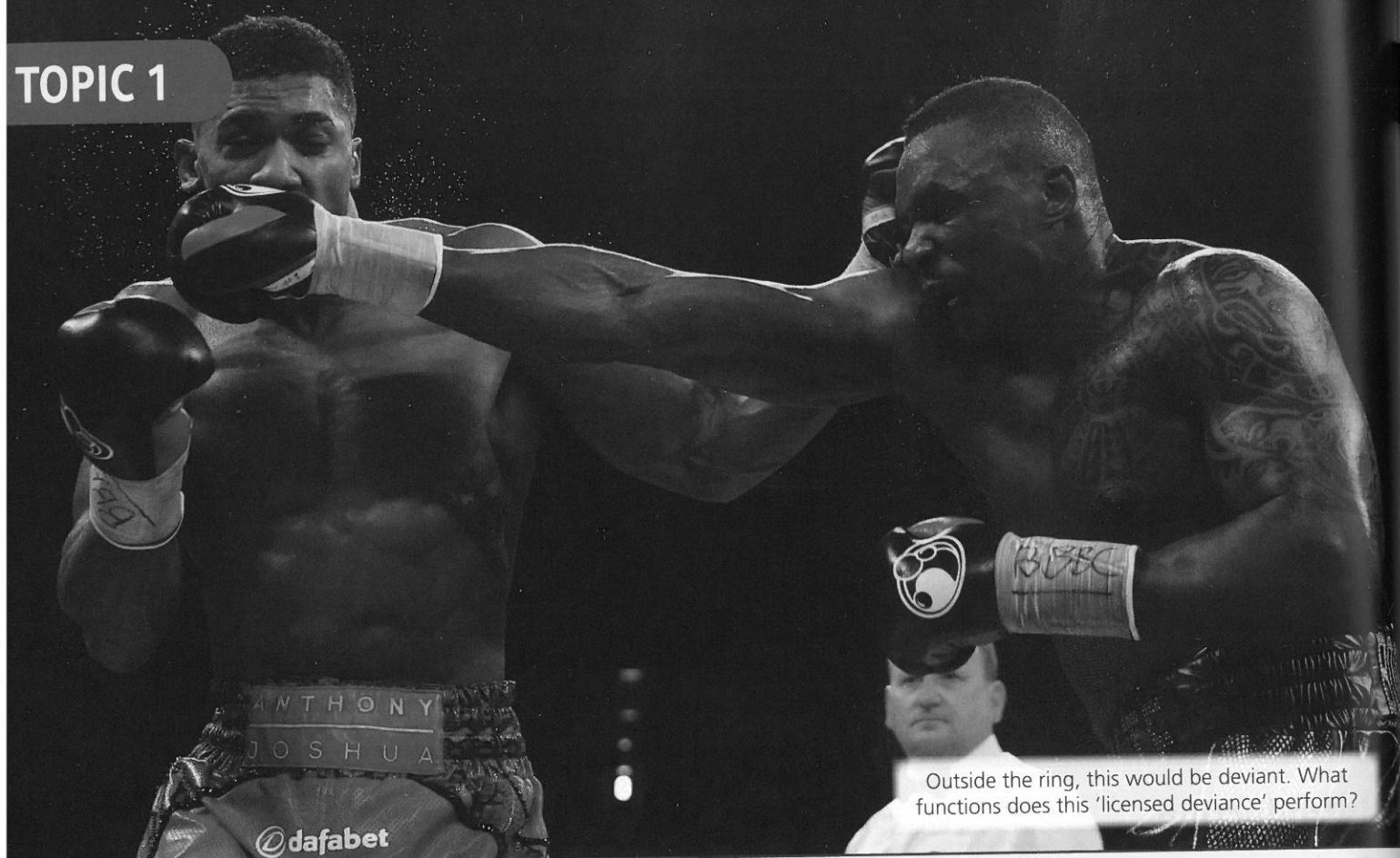
In this chapter, we shall examine some major sociological theories. We shall also look at a range of issues in relation to crime and deviance, such as class, gender and ethnicity; the media; globalisation, the environment and human rights; crime prevention, surveillance, control and victims.

The AQA Specification

The specification is the syllabus produced by the exam board, telling you what you have to study. The AQA specification for Crime and Deviance requires you to examine the following:

- Different theories of crime, deviance, social order and social control.
- The social distribution of crime and deviance by ethnicity, gender and social class, including recent patterns and trends in crime.
- Globalisation and crime in contemporary society; the media and crime; green crime; human rights and state crimes.
- Crime control, surveillance, prevention and punishment, victims, and the role of the criminal justice system and other agencies.

TOPIC 1



Outside the ring, this would be deviant. What functions does this 'licensed deviance' perform?

GETTING STARTED

Working in pairs, discuss and answer the following questions:

- 1 How would you distinguish between crime and deviance? (If you're not sure, you can look the terms up.)
- 2 In what ways, if any, might not owning a television set be seen as deviant?
- 3 'Killing is always deviant'. Do you agree with this statement? Give your reasons.
- 4 Apart from killing, can you think of any acts that would be seen as deviant at all times and in all places?
- 5 Can you think of any acts that used to be regarded as deviant until recently, but which are no longer seen as deviant today?
- 6 Can you think of any acts that were previously regarded as acceptable, but which have recently come to be seen as deviant?
- 7 Sociologists see deviance as relative. Based on your answers so far, explain what this means.
- 8 Can you think of any positive functions that crime or deviance might perform for individuals or society?

Learning objectives

After studying this Topic, you should:

- Understand the functionalist perspective on crime, including the functions of crime.
- Understand the concept of strain and its role in explaining deviance.
- Be able to explain the differences between different strain and subcultural theories.
- Be able to evaluate functionalist, strain and subcultural theories of crime and deviance.

FUNCTIONALIST, STRAIN AND SUBCULTURAL THEORIES

Although functionalists see deviance as disrupting social stability, they regard it as inevitable and even beneficial. They are interested in the causes of deviance, such as

blocked opportunities to achieve. Functionalists also seek to explain deviant subcultures – groups whose values are opposed to those of wider society.

Durkheim's functionalist theory

Functionalism sees society as based on value consensus. That is, it sees members of society as sharing a common culture. A culture is a set of shared norms (rules), values, beliefs and goals. Sharing the same culture produces social solidarity – it binds individuals together, telling them what to strive for and how to conduct themselves.

Functionalists argue that in order to achieve this solidarity, society has two key mechanisms:

- **Socialisation** instils the shared culture into its members. This helps to ensure that individuals internalise the same norms and values, and that they feel it right to act in the ways that society requires.
- **Social control** mechanisms include rewards (or positive sanctions) for conformity, and punishments (negative sanctions) for deviance. These help to ensure that individuals behave in the way society expects.

The inevitability of crime

From the above account, we might expect that functionalists would regard crime and deviance as wholly negative – a threat to social order and even the very existence of society. For example, if each of us chose to 'do our own thing' – whether it be refusing to work or helping ourselves to others' possessions – it is hard to imagine how society could continue to exist.

However, while functionalists see too much crime as destabilising society, they also see crime as inevitable and universal. Every known society has some level of crime and deviance – a crime-free society is a contradiction in terms. For Durkheim (1893), 'crime is normal... an integral part of all healthy societies'.

There are at least two reasons why crime and deviance are found in all societies. Firstly, not everyone is equally effectively socialised into the shared norms and values, so some individuals will be prone to deviate. Secondly, particularly in complex modern societies, there is a diversity of lifestyles and values. Different groups develop their own subcultures with distinctive norms and values, and what the members of the subculture regard as normal, mainstream culture may see as deviant.

In Durkheim's view, modern societies tend towards *anomie* or normlessness – the rules governing behaviour become

weaker and less clear-cut. This is because modern societies have a complex, specialised division of labour, which leads to individuals becoming increasingly different from one another. This weakens the shared culture or *collective conscience* and results in higher levels of deviance. For example, Durkheim sees *anomie* as a cause of suicide.

The positive functions of crime

For Durkheim, not only is crime inevitable; it also fulfils two important positive functions.

1 Boundary maintenance

Crime produces a reaction from society, uniting its members in condemnation of the wrongdoer and reinforcing their commitment to the shared norms and values.

For Durkheim, this explains the function of punishment. This is not to make the wrongdoer suffer or mend his ways, nor is it to remove crime from society. In Durkheim's view, the purpose of punishment is to reaffirm society's shared rules and reinforce social solidarity. (See also Topic 9.)

This may be done through the rituals of the courtroom, which dramatise wrongdoing and publicly shame and stigmatise the offender. This reaffirms the values of the law-abiding majority and discourages others from rule breaking. Similarly, Stanley Cohen (1972) has examined the important role played by the media in this 'dramatisation of evil'. In his view, media coverage of crime and deviance often creates 'folk devils' (see Topic 7).

2 Adaptation and change

For Durkheim, all change starts with an act of deviance. Individuals with new ideas, values and ways of living must not be completely stifled by the weight of social control. There must be some scope for them to challenge and change existing norms and values, and in the first instance this will inevitably appear as deviance. For example, the authorities often persecute religious visionaries who espouse a new 'message' or value-system. However, in the long run their values may give rise to a new culture and morality. If those with new ideas are suppressed, society will stagnate and be unable to make necessary adaptive changes.

Thus, for Durkheim, neither a very high nor a very low level of crime is desirable. Each of these signals some malfunctioning of the social system:

- Too much crime threatens to tear the bonds of society apart.
- Too little means that society is repressing and controlling its members too much, stifling individual freedom and preventing change.

Other functions of crime

Others have developed Durkheim's idea that deviance can have positive functions. For example, Kingsley Davis (1937; 1961) argues that prostitution acts as a *safety valve* for the release of men's sexual frustrations without threatening the monogamous nuclear family. Similarly, Ned Polsky (1967) argues that pornography safely 'channels' a variety of sexual desires away from alternatives such as adultery, which would pose a much greater threat to the family.

Albert Cohen identifies another function of deviance: a *warning* that an institution is not functioning properly. For example, high rates of truancy may tell us that there are problems with the education system and that policy-makers need to make appropriate changes to it.

Functionalists have also developed Durkheim's idea of the normality or inevitability of deviance. For example, Kai Erikson (1966) argues that if deviance performs positive social functions, then perhaps it means society is actually organised so as to *promote* deviance. He suggests that the true function of agencies of social control such as the police may actually be to sustain a certain level of crime rather than to rid society of it. The idea that agencies of social control actually produce rather than prevent crime has been developed further by labelling theory (see Topic 2).

Societies sometimes also manage and regulate deviance rather than seeking to eliminate it entirely. For example, demonstrations, carnivals, festivals, sport and student rag weeks all license misbehaviour that in other contexts might be punished. Similarly, the young may be given leeway to

'sow their wild oats'. From a functionalist perspective, this may be to offer them a way of coping with the strains of the transition from childhood to adulthood.

Functionalism is useful in showing the ways in which deviance is integral to society. It provides an important and interesting analysis that directs attention to the ways in which deviance can have hidden or latent functions for society – i.e. not everything that is bad, is bad for society!

Activity Research

The positive functions of crime

...go to www.sociology.uk.net



Criticisms

For Durkheim, society requires a certain amount of deviance to function successfully, but he offers no way of knowing how much is the right amount.

Functionalists explain the existence of crime in terms of its supposed function – for example, to strengthen solidarity. But this doesn't mean society actually creates crime in *advance* with the *intention* of strengthening solidarity. In other words, just because crime does these things is not necessarily why it exists in the first place.

Functionalism looks at what functions crime serves for society as a whole and ignores how it might affect different groups or individuals within society. For example, seeing a murderer punished for his crime might be functional in reinforcing solidarity among the rest of society, but it obviously isn't 'functional' for the victim. Functionalism misses this because it fails to ask, 'functional for whom?'

Crime doesn't always promote solidarity. It may have the opposite effect, leading to people becoming more isolated, for example forcing women to stay indoors for fear of attack. On the other hand, some crimes do reinforce collective sentiments, for example uniting the community in condemnation of a brutal attack.

Merton's strain theory

Strain theories argue that people engage in deviant behaviour when they are unable to achieve socially approved goals by legitimate means. For example, they may become frustrated and resort to criminal means of getting what they want, or lash out at others in anger, or find comfort for their failure in drug use.

The first strain theory was that developed by the functionalist Robert K. Merton (1938), who adapted

Durkheim's concept of anomie to explain deviance. Merton's explanation combines two elements:

- **Structural factors** – society's unequal opportunity structure.
- **Cultural factors** – the strong emphasis on success goals and the weaker emphasis on using legitimate means to achieve them.



▲ The Wall Street Crash, New York 1929. The mismatch between aspiration and reality was central to the development of Merton's strain theory in depression-era America.

For Merton, deviance is the result of a strain between two things:

- The goals that a culture *encourages* individuals to achieve.
- What the institutional structure of society *allows* them to achieve legitimately.

For example, American culture values 'money success' – individual material wealth and the high status that goes with it.

The American Dream

Americans are expected to pursue this goal by legitimate means: self-discipline, study, educational qualifications, and hard work in a career. The ideology of the 'American Dream' tells Americans that their society is a meritocratic one where anyone who makes the effort can get ahead – there are opportunities for all.

However, the reality is different: many disadvantaged groups are denied opportunities to achieve legitimately. For example, poverty, inadequate schools and discrimination in the job market may block opportunities for many ethnic minorities and the lower classes.

The resulting strain between the cultural goal of money success and the lack of legitimate opportunities to achieve it produces frustration, and this in turn creates a pressure to resort to illegitimate means such as crime and deviance. Merton calls this pressure to deviate, *the strain to anomie*.

According to Merton, the pressure to deviate is further increased by the fact that American culture puts more emphasis on achieving success at any price than upon doing so by legitimate means. Winning the game becomes more important than playing by the rules.

To summarise, the goal creates a desire to succeed, and lack of opportunity creates a pressure to adopt illegitimate means, while the norms are not strong enough to prevent some from succumbing to this temptation.

Deviant adaptations to strain

Merton uses strain theory to explain some of the patterns of deviance found in society. He argues that an individual's position in the social structure affects the way they adapt or respond to the strain to anomie. Logically, there are five different types of adaptation, depending on whether an individual accepts, rejects or replaces approved cultural goals and the legitimate means of achieving them. These are summarised in Table 2A.

Table 2A Types of adaptation to the strain to anomie

Response	Goal	Means
Conformity	+	+
Innovation	+	-
Ritualism	-	+
Retreatism	-	-
Rebellion	-/+	-/+

Key: (+) acceptance (-) rejection (-/+) rejection of mainstream values and replacement with new ones

Conformity Individuals accept the culturally approved goals and strive to achieve them legitimately. This is most likely among middle-class individuals who have good opportunities to achieve, but Merton sees it as the typical response of most Americans.

Innovation Individuals accept the goal of money success but use 'new', illegitimate means such as theft or fraud to achieve it. As we have seen, those at the lower end of the class structure are under greatest pressure to innovate.

Ritualism Individuals give up on trying to achieve the goals, but have internalised the legitimate means and so they follow the rules for their own sake. This is typical of lower-middle class office workers in dead-end, routine jobs.

Retreatism Individuals reject both the goals and the legitimate means and become dropouts. Merton includes 'psychotics, outcasts, vagrants, tramps, chronic drunkards and drug addicts' as examples.

Rebellion Individuals reject the existing society's goals and means, but they replace them with new ones in a desire to bring about revolutionary change and create a new kind of society. Rebels include political radicals and counter-cultures such as hippies.

Evaluation of Merton

Merton shows how both normal and deviant behaviour can arise from the same mainstream goals. Both conformists and innovators are pursuing money success – one legitimately, the other illegitimately.

He explains the patterns shown in official crime statistics:

- Most crime is property crime, because American society values material wealth so highly.
• Lower-class crime rates are higher, because they have least opportunity to obtain wealth legitimately.

However, the theory is criticised on several grounds:

- It takes official crime statistics at face value. These over-represent working-class crime, so Merton sees crime as a mainly working-class phenomenon.
• Marxists argue that it ignores the power of the ruling

- class to make and enforce the laws in ways that criminalise the poor but not the rich.
• It assumes there is a value consensus – that everyone strives for 'money success' – and ignores the possibility that many may not share this goal.
• It only accounts for utilitarian crime for monetary gain, and not crimes of violence, vandalism etc.
• It explains how deviance results from individuals adapting to the strain to anomie but ignores the role of group deviance, such as delinquent subcultures.

Activity Media Why do people commit crime? ...go to www.sociology.uk.net

Subcultural strain theories

Subcultural strain theories see deviance as the product of a delinquent subculture with different values from those of mainstream society. They see subcultures as providing an alternative opportunity structure for those who are denied the chance to achieve by legitimate means – mainly those in the working class.

class world leaves them at the bottom of the official status hierarchy.

As a result of being unable to achieve status by legitimate means (education), the boys suffer status frustration. They face a problem of adjustment to the low status they are given by mainstream society. In Cohen's view, they resolve their frustration by rejecting mainstream middle-class values and they turn instead to other boys in the same situation, forming or joining a delinquent subculture.

A.K. Cohen: status frustration

Albert K. Cohen (1955) agrees with Merton that deviance is largely a lower-class phenomenon. It results from the inability of those in the lower classes to achieve mainstream success goals by legitimate means such as educational achievement. However, Cohen criticises Merton's explanation of deviance on two grounds:

- 1 Merton sees deviance as an individual response to strain, ignoring the fact that much deviance is committed in or by groups, especially among the young.
2 Merton focuses on utilitarian crime committed for material gain, such as theft or fraud. He largely ignores crimes such as assault and vandalism, which may have no economic motive.

Cohen focuses on deviance among working-class boys. He argues that they face anomie in the middle-class dominated school system. They suffer from cultural deprivation and lack the skills to achieve. Their inability to succeed in this middle-

Alternative status hierarchy

According to Cohen, the subculture's values are spite, malice, hostility and contempt for those outside it. The delinquent subculture inverts the values of mainstream society – turns them upside down. What society condemns, the subculture praises and vice versa. For example, society upholds regular school attendance and respect for property, whereas in the subculture, boys gain status from vandalising property and truanting.

For Cohen, the subculture's function is that it offers the boys an alternative status hierarchy in which they can achieve. Having failed in the legitimate opportunity structure, the boys create their own illegitimate opportunity structure in which they can win status from their peers through their delinquent actions.

One strength of Cohen's theory is that it offers an explanation of non-utilitarian deviance. Unlike Merton, whose concept of innovation only accounts for crime with

a profit motive, Cohen's ideas of status frustration, value inversion and alternative status hierarchy help to explain non-economic delinquency such as vandalism and truancy.

However, like Merton, Cohen assumes that working-class boys start off sharing middle-class success goals, only to reject these when they fail. He ignores the possibility that they didn't share these goals in the first place and so never saw themselves as failures.

Cloward and Ohlin: three subcultures

Like Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (1960) take Merton's ideas as their starting point. They agree that working-class youths are denied legitimate opportunities to achieve 'money success', and that their deviance stems from the way they respond to this situation.

Cloward and Ohlin note that not everyone in this situation adapts to it by turning to 'innovation' – utilitarian crimes such as theft. Different subcultures respond in different ways to the lack of legitimate opportunities. For example, the subculture described by Cohen resorts to violence and vandalism, not economic crime or illegal drug use.

Cloward and Ohlin attempt to explain why different subcultural responses occur. In their view, the key reason is not only unequal access to the legitimate opportunity structure, as Merton and Cohen recognise – but unequal access to illegitimate opportunity structures.

For example, not everyone who fails by legitimate means, such as schooling, then has an equal chance of becoming a successful safecracker. Just like the apprentice plumber, the would-be safecracker needs the opportunity to learn their trade and the chance to practise it.

Drawing on the ideas of the Chicago School (see Box 2.1), Cloward and Ohlin argue that different neighbourhoods provide different illegitimate opportunities for young people to learn criminal skills and develop criminal careers. They identify three types of deviant subcultures that result:

Criminal subcultures provide youths with an apprenticeship for a career in utilitarian crime. They arise only in neighbourhoods with a longstanding and stable criminal culture with an established hierarchy of professional adult crime. This allows the young to associate with adult criminals, who can select those with the right aptitudes and abilities and provide them with training and role models as well as opportunities for employment on the criminal career ladder.

Conflict subcultures arise in areas of high population turnover. This results in high levels of social disorganisation and prevents a stable professional criminal network developing. Its absence means that the only illegitimate opportunities available are within loosely organised gangs. In these, violence provides a release for young men's frustration at their blocked

opportunities, as well as an alternative source of status that they can earn by winning 'turf' (territory) from rival gangs. This subculture is closest to that described by Cohen.

Retreatist subcultures In any neighbourhood, not everyone who aspires to be a professional criminal or a gang leader actually succeeds – just as in the legitimate opportunity structure, where not everyone gets a well-paid job. What becomes of these 'double failures' – those who fail in both the legitimate and the illegitimate opportunity structures? According to Cloward and Ohlin, many turn to a retreatist subculture based on illegal drug use.

Analysis and Evaluation What similarities and differences are there between retreatist subcultures and Merton's idea of a retreatist adaptation?

Box 2.1 The Chicago School

The University of Chicago sociology department was the first of its kind to be established in the United States, in 1892, and it remained extremely influential, notably in the study of crime and deviance. Among its contributions were:

Cultural transmission theory (Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay, 1942). They noted how some neighbourhoods develop a criminal tradition or culture that is transmitted from generation to generation, while other neighbourhoods remain relatively crime-free over the same period.

Differential association theory (Edwin Sutherland, 1939). Sutherland was interested in the processes by which people become deviant. He argued that deviance was behaviour learned through social interaction with others who are deviant. This includes learning both criminal values and criminal skills.

Social disorganisation theory (Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, 1925). They argued that deviance is the product of social disorganisation. Changes such as rapid population turnover and migration create instability, disrupting family and community structures. These become unable to exercise social control over individuals, resulting in deviance.

Evaluation of Cloward and Ohlin

They agree with Merton and Cohen that most crime is working-class, thus ignoring crimes of the wealthy. Similarly, their theory over-predicts the amount of working-class crime. Like Merton and Cohen, they too ignore the wider power structure, including who makes and enforces the law.

While they agree with Cohen that delinquent subcultures are the source of much deviance, unlike Cohen they provide an explanation for different types of working-class deviance in terms of different subcultures.

However, they draw the boundaries too sharply between these. For example, South (2014) found that the drug

trade is a mixture of both 'disorganised' crime, like the conflict subculture, and professional 'mafia' style criminal subcultures. Likewise, some supposedly 'retreatist' users are also professional dealers making a living from this utilitarian crime. In Cloward and Ohlin's theory, it would not be possible to belong to more than one of these subcultures.

Strain theories have been called *reactive* theories because they explain subcultures as forming in reaction to the failure to achieve mainstream goals. They have been criticised for assuming that everyone starts off sharing the same mainstream success goal.

By contrast, Walter B. Miller (1962) argues that the lower class has its own *independent* subculture separate from mainstream culture, with its own values. This subculture does not value success in the first place, so its members are not frustrated by failure.

Although Miller agrees deviance is widespread in the lower class, he argues that this arises out of an attempt to achieve their *own* goals, not mainstream ones.

David Matza (1964) claims that most delinquents are not strongly committed to their subculture, as strain theories suggest, but merely drift in and out of delinquency.

Strain theory has had a major influence both on later theories of crime and on government policy. For example, Merton's ideas play an important part in left realist explanations of crime (see Topic 4). Similarly, in the 1960s Ohlin was appointed to help develop crime policy in the USA under President Kennedy.

Recent strain theories

Recent strain theorists have argued that young people may pursue a variety of goals other than money success. These include popularity with peers, autonomy from adults, or the desire of some young males to be treated like 'real men'.

Like earlier strain theorists, they argue that failure to achieve these goals may result in delinquency. They also argue that middle-class juveniles too may have problems achieving such goals, thus offering an explanation for middle-class delinquency.

Institutional anomie theory

Like Merton's theory, Messner and Rosenfeld's (2001) institutional anomie theory focuses on the American Dream. They argue that its obsession with money success and its 'winner-takes-all' mentality, exert 'pressures towards

crime by encouraging an anomic cultural environment in which people are encouraged to adopt an 'anything goes' mentality in pursuit of wealth.

In America (and arguably the UK), economic goals are valued above all, and this undermines other institutions. For example, schools become geared to preparing pupils for the labour market at the expense of inculcating values such as respect for others. Messner and Rosenfeld conclude that in societies based on free-market capitalism and lacking adequate welfare provision, such as the USA, high crime rates are inevitable.

Downes and Hansen (2006) offer evidence for this view. In a survey of crime rates and welfare spending in 18 countries, they found societies that spent more on welfare had lower rates of imprisonment. This backs up Messner and Rosenfeld's claim that societies that protect the poor from the worst excesses of the free market have less crime.

Similarly, Savelsberg (1995) applies strain theory to post-communist societies in Eastern Europe, which saw a rapid rise in crime after the fall of communism in 1989. He attributes this rise to communism's collective values being replaced by new western capitalist goals of individual 'money success'.

Topic summary

For functionalists, society is based on value consensus, which deviance threatens, but it also performs positive functions such as reinforcing solidarity and adapting to change.

Strain theories argue that deviance occurs when people cannot achieve society's goals by legitimate means. Merton argues that this produces a 'strain to anomie' that may result in innovation, ritualism, retreatism or rebellion.

Subcultural theories see much deviance as a collective rather than individual response. A.K. Cohen argues that subcultural deviance results from status frustration and takes a non-utilitarian form. Cloward and Ohlin see three different deviant subcultures (criminal, conflict and retreatist) arising from differences in access to illegitimate opportunity structures.

Recent strain theories argue that capitalist economies generate greater strain to crime.

EXAMINING FUNCTIONALIST, STRAIN AND SUBCULTURAL THEORIES

QuickCheck Questions

Check your answers at www.sociology.uk.net

- 1 Why does Durkheim regard crime as inevitable in all societies?
- 2 Identify two ways in which crime and deviance may have positive functions.
- 3 Explain the difference between goals and means.
- 4 Explain the difference between ritualism and retreatism.
- 5 In what sense is Merton's theory deterministic?
- 6 What is meant by non-utilitarian crime?
- 7 What is meant by 'status frustration'?
- 8 In Cloward and Ohlin's view, why are there different types of deviant subculture?
- 9 Identify two features of American society that Messner and Rosenfeld claim produce high crime rates.

Questions to try

Item A Many people see deviance as being dysfunctional and negative for society because it represents the potential for social breakdown. However, some sociologists suggest that deviance might actually be functional for society and act as a warning.

For example, imprisonment, fines and so on are not simply there to punish offenders; they convey other messages as well. Society's values are also not fixed and new ideas sometimes emerge to challenge existing values.

Item B Strain theories focus on the ways in which people may resort to crime or deviance when they are unable to achieve socially approved goals by legitimate means. For example, Merton argues that American culture emphasises achieving success, but an unequal structure limits some individuals' opportunity to do so legitimately. This may induce frustration in the individuals concerned.

Some strain theorists see the response to this situation as a group reaction, in which individuals create or join deviant subcultures.

- 1 Outline two reasons why functionalists see crime as inevitable. (4 marks)
- 2 Applying material from Item A, analyse two functions of deviance. (10 marks)
- 3 Applying material from Item B and your knowledge, evaluate the contribution of strain theories to our understanding of crime and deviance. (30 marks)

The Examiner's Advice

Q2 Spend about 15 minutes on this question. Divide your time fairly equally between the two functions. You don't need a separate introduction; just start on your first function. To answer this question, it's essential that you take two points from the Item and show through a chain of reasoning (see Box 4.1 in chapter 4) how each can perform a function. (It is a very good idea to quote from the Item when doing so.)

You could use the idea that deviance may be a sign of new ideas that society must accommodate, that it is a warning that an institution is malfunctioning, or that punishment conveys a message to society. For example, public punishment of deviants highlights unacceptable behaviour and allows the public to condemn it. This reaffirms society's boundaries to everyone and reinforces the collective conscience.

Use concepts and issues such as socialisation, social control, value consensus, boundary maintenance, the dramatisation of evil, media coverage of deviance, adaptation, safety valve, social change and latent functions. You could offer some brief evaluation, for example by pointing out that it is unclear at what level deviance becomes dysfunctional rather than functional.

Q3 Spend about 45 minutes on this. Consider the different strain theories, focusing most of your attention on Merton's strain theory and the subcultural strain theories of A.K. Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin, but mention recent strain theories too. Locate these within a functionalist approach to deviance.

Examine Merton's idea of the 'strain to anomie' and his typology of adaptations to strain. Use his focus on individual and utilitarian adaptations to lead into subcultural strain theories, explaining how they criticise and build on his ideas. Evaluate by using South, Miller and Matza's criticisms, and issues such as determinism, neglect of power and who makes the law, and reliance on official statistics. Use Messner and Rosenfeld, Downes and Hansen, or Savelsberg for positive evaluation.

Use the concepts, issues and studies referred to above, plus structural and cultural factors, the American Dream, legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures, conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, rebellion, non-utilitarian crime, status frustration, inversion of values, alternative status hierarchy, different types of subculture, reactive versus independent subcultures, institutional anomie theory and capitalism.