

Crime and Deviance

Revision Notes

Moral_Panic
Labelling
Strain
Gender
Victimology
Globalisation
Realism
Crime
Zemiology
Consensus
Deviance
Corporate-Crime
Racism

For A Level Sociology

AQA Paper 23 (7192-3)

An Overview of Crime and Deviance

These revision notes are organized into the following sub-topics

Crime and Deviance – List of sub topics

1. Consensus based theories part 1 – Functionalism; Social control' theory; Strain theory
2. Consensus based theories part 2 - Sub cultural theories
3. The Traditional Marxist and Neo-Marxist perspective on crime
4. Labeling Theory
5. Left- Realist and Right-Realist Criminology (including situational, environmental and community crime prevention)
6. Post-Modernism, Late-Modernism and Crime (Social change and crime)
7. Sociological Perspectives on controlling crime – the role of the community and policing in preventing crime
8. Sociological Perspectives on Surveillance
9. Sociological Perspectives on Punishment
10. Social Class and Crime
11. Ethnicity and Crime
12. Gender and crime (including Girl gangs and Rape and domestic violence)
13. Victimology – Why are some people more likely to be criminals than others
14. Global crime, State crime and Environmental crime (Green crime)
15. The Media and Crime, including moral panics

Crime and Deviance Topic 1: Functionalist and Strain Theories of Crime and Deviance

Closely related to: Subcultural theories, Positivism and Functionalism in Theory and Methods and can be applied to crime control topics. Also link to Families and Education.

Introduction/ the Basics

- Consensus Theory – Social Institutions generally work, social control is good, crime is dysfunctional (bad)
- Closely related to Subcultural Theories
- Historical Period: 1890 -1940s

Durkheim's Functionalist Theory

- Crime is natural and inevitable, society needs crime.
- There are three positive functions of crime - social integration/ social regulation/ social change

Hirschi's Social Control/ Bonds of Attachment Theory

- Crime is most common amongst individuals who are detached from society
- Four types of attachment – Commitment, Involvement, Attachment, Belief
- Correlation between truancy, single parent households, unemployment and crime

Merton's Strain Theory

- There is a strain between society's cultural value system (valuing money) and the social structure which fails to provide opportunities for everyone to achieve these goals legitimately.
- In times of strain, there are five adaptations
- Three of these are deviant – innovation, retreatism and rebellion.

Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT)

- Merton's Strain Theory on steroids.
- The cultural value system of achieving monetary success has now the core value taught in every institution – The media, and education especially.

Overall Evaluations of Functionalist and Strain Theories of Crime

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Generally – recognise the relationship between social structure and crime• Durkheim – Crime does exist in every society• Durkheim – Recognises that a crime-free society is an unrealistic goal• Hirschi – Official Statistics support• Merton – Explains different types of deviance• IAT – Recognises recent social changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">X – Can't explain hidden crimes such as Domestic ViolenceX – Durkheim - Fails to ask 'Functional for whom' – ignores victims (Left Realism)X – Can't explain elite crimes, elites are attached (Marxism)X – Ignores Power and Labelling, doesn't recognise that crime stats are socially constructed and elite crimes happen but generally aren't recorded. (Interactionism)X – Can't explain recent decrease in crime.

Crime and Deviance Topic 2: Subcultural Theories of Crime and Deviance

Closely related to: Functionalist and Strain Theories and the New Right. NB – There is a lot more interesting material on contemporary subcultures, but this dull old material is what the specification says you MUST know.

Introduction/ the Basics

- Historical Period: The 1940s- 60s, Underclass Theory – 1980s
- Subcultural Theory explains deviance in terms of a deviant group, split apart from the rest of the society which encourages deviance

Albert Cohen: Status Frustration

- Working class boys try to gain status within school and fail, thus suffer status frustration
- Some such boys find each-other and form a subculture
- Status is gained within the subculture by breaking mainstream rules.

Cloward and Ohlin: Illegitimate Opportunity Structure (IOS)

- A combination of strain theory and subcultural theory
- The type of subculture an individual joins depends on existing subcultures (which form an IOS)
- There are three types of subculture: Criminal (working class areas/ organised petit crime), Conflict (less table populations), and Retreatist (e.g. drug subcultures) which C and O saw as being formed by people who lacked the skills to join the former two).

Walter Miller: Focal Concerns

- Saw the lower working class as a subculture with its own set of unique values
- Working class culture emphasised six focal concerns (or core values) which encouraged criminal behaviour amongst working class youth.
- Three examples of these focal concerns where toughness (physical prowess), excitement (risk-taking) and smartness (being street-smart)

Charles Murray: Underclass Theory - *By the 1980s an Underclass had emerged in Britain.*

- Key features = long term unemployment, high rates of teen pregnancies and single parent households
- Means children are not socialised into mainstream norms and values and have become NEETS
- The underclass is 20 times more criminal than the rest of society.

Overall Evaluations of Subcultural Theories of Crime

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ Unlike Bonds of Attachment Theory recognises that much crime is done in groups, not lone individuals✓ Unlike Functionalism does not see crime as functional.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">X – Contemporary research shows gang (subculture) membership is more fluid than the above research suggestsX – Recent research shows that the underclass doesn't really exist and working class culture is more complexX – There is a much wider variety of subcultures todayX – Ignores the role of agents of social control labelling in subculture formationX – Underclass Theory is ideological – based on moral panicsX – Marxism: ignores the crimes of the elite.

Crime and Deviance Topic 3 - Marxism and Neo Marxism

Marxism is a structural conflict theory – It analyses crime in terms of inequalities between social classes

Introduction/ the Basics

- Traditional Marxist theories explain crime in relation to power inequalities created by the capitalist system
- The inequalities and injustices within Capitalism generate crime.
- Class based analysis – both classes commit crime, the crimes of the elite are more harmful
- The Bourgeoisie have economic power and because of this control the criminal justice system – they defined their own harmful acts as legal and are less likely to be prosecuted for the crimes they commit.
- Historical Period (for Marxist Criminology) – Mostly the 1970s

Crimogenic Capitalism

- Crime is a consequence of the economic structure of capitalism
- Capitalism is harsh, exploitative and breeds inequality, materialism and selfishness, which combined make crime in Capitalist societies inevitable.
- See David Gordon's work on the 'Dog eat Dog' society

The Elite Make the Law in Their Own Interests

- William Chambliss: At the heart of the capitalist system lies the protection of private property
- Laureen Snider – Many nation states are reluctant to pass laws which restrict the freedom of Transnational Corporations to make profit
- There is unequal access to the law – the more money you have, the better lawyer you can get
- Harmful and exploitative acts in capitalist systems are not formally labelled criminal if these harmful activities make a profit – e.g. Colonialism/ Numerous Wars/ Pollution.

All Classes Commit Crime and the Crimes of the Powerful are of particular interest to Marxist Criminologists

- White Collar Crime = Individual middle class/ elite crime within a company , Corporate = Institutional crime
- Typical examples include various types of fraud and negligence regarding health and safety at work.
- The economic costs of Corporate Crime are greater than street crime (Laureen Snider/ Corporate Watch.
- High profile Corporate Crimes = Bernie Madhoff, the Enron \$100bn fraud and the 20 000 dead people as a result of Union Carbide's corporate negligence in Bhopal, India.
- Despite being more costly to society, the crimes of the elite tend to go unpunished – As research by Tombs and Whyte suggests

The ideological functions of selective law enforcement - According to Gordon 'selective law enforcement' benefits the Capitalist system in three major ways:

- It means people ignore the failings of the system that lead to the conditions of inequality which generate crime.
- The imprisonment of selected members of the lower classes neutralises opposition to the system.
- It sweeps out of sight the 'worst jetsam of Capitalist society' such that we cannot see it.

Overall Evaluations of Marxist Theories of Crime

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Dog eat Dog explains both WC and Elite crime ✓ TTIP is good supporting evidence for point 2 not lone individuals ✓ Lots of case studies and stats support the view that Corporate Crimes are harmful – Bhopal! ✓ Tombs and Whyte's research – strongly supports point 3 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> X – Crime has been decreasing in the UK in the last 20 years, yet we're increasingly 'neoliberal' X – Crime existed before Capitalism and in Communist societies X – Recent research shows that the underclass doesn't really exist and working class culture is more complex X – Consensus theories argue most people today have private property, so most people are protected by the law X – It's unfair to compare corporate crime such as Fraud to street crime, the later has a more emotional toll. X – Some Corporate Crimals are punished (e.g. Madhoff)

The Neo-Marxist Explanation of Crime

- Neo Marxism/ aka The New Criminology fuses Marxism and Interactionism.
- Criminals are really the victims of an unjust system – they are the unfortunates who have been left at the bottom – and they are kicking back against it.
- See criminals as 'oppressed heroes'

To Understand Crime We Need to Look At:

- The Crimogenic Capitalist system and cyclical economic crises within Capitalism
- The role of the state in oppressing and marginalising certain groups
- The media's power to create 'folk devils'
- How the public and the police respond to the creation of folk devils (the societal reaction)
- How the 'criminalised' respond to being labelled

Key Study – Stuart Hall's 'Policing the Crisis'

- Stuart Hall's classic book (1978) applied the 'fully social theory of deviance' to understand a rise in street robberies by African Caribbean Youths in London in the mid 1970s.
- Argued that a moral panic over black criminality at the time created a diversion away from the wider economic crisis – 'black youths out of control' being the headlines rather than 'Capitalism in Crisis'

Criticisms

- Romantices Criminals – When in reality many criminals are not engaged in a political struggle against their oppressors, they are just thugs.
- Critical Criminology offers us no realistic solution to the problem of crime – if it is Capitalism and the state that are the problems – then a revolution is the only answer.
- They ignore the impact street crimes can have on Victims – Left Realism (next lesson) in particular gets back to a 'victim centred' approach to crime

Crime and Deviance Topic 4 – The Labelling Theory of Crime

Labelling theory is a major part of Social Action Theory/ Interactionism. Unlike structuralist theories such as Marxism, social action theories explain human action by focusing on micro-level interactions between individuals and how people interpret each other's actions.

Introduction/ the Basics

- People do not become criminals because of their social background, crime emerges because of labelling by authorities.
- Crime is the product of interactions between certain individuals and authorities, mainly the police.
- Historical Period = 1960s/ 70s.

Crime is Sociology Constructed

- There is no such thing as an inherently deviance act
- Howard Becker (1963) "Deviancy is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'."
- Becker – The Outsiders – Malinowski – Incest example
- Applies to drugs – compare illegal 'legal' highs UK to legal weed in Colorado

Not everyone who is deviant gets labelled as such

- Whether an actor is labelled as deviant depends on: their interactions with the police, their background/ appearance, the circumstances of the offence.
- Negative labels (deviant/ criminal) are generally given to the powerless by the powerful.
- Cicourel – first stage – working class kids more likely to be labelled as deviant by police; second stage – more likely to be prosecuted by courts, most of this is based on appearance and language, not the deviant act.

Labelling has real consequences – it can lead to deviancy amplification, the self-fulfilling prophecy and deviant careers

- Lemert – primary and secondary deviance
- Becker – labelling, the deviant career and the master status
- Labelling theory applied to education – the self-fulfilling prophecy
- Moral panics, folk devils and deviancy amplification

Labelling theory should promote policies that prevent labelling minor acts as deviant

- Decriminalisation (of drugs for example)
- Reintegrative shaming to label the act, not the criminal.

Evaluations

Positive	Negative
<p data-bbox="81 215 683 286"><i>Labelling theory emphasises the following:</i></p> <ul data-bbox="81 322 683 786" style="list-style-type: none">- That the law is not 'set in stone' – it is actively constructed and changes over time- That law enforcement is often discriminatory- That we cannot trust crime statistics- That attempts to control crime can backfire and may make the situation worse- That agents of social control may actually be one of the major causes of crime, so we should think twice about giving them more power.	<ul data-bbox="687 250 1511 786" style="list-style-type: none">- It tends to be deterministic, not everyone accepts their labels- It assumes offenders are just passive – it doesn't recognise the role of personal choice in committing crime- It gives the offender a 'victim status' – Realists argue that this perspective actually ignores the actual victims of crime.- It tends to emphasise the negative sides of labelling rather than the positive side- It fails to explain why acts of primary deviance exist, focussing mainly on secondary deviance.- Structural sociologists argue that there are deeper, structural explanations of crime, it isn't all just a product of labelling and interactions.

Crime and Deviance Topic 5 – Realist Theories of Crime and Deviance

Right Realism is associated with the right wing neoliberal government of Margaret Thatcher which came to power in 1979, although most of the governments which followed have adopted more right realist policies.

Left Realism is more left wing and argue that inequality is the main cause of crime and we need more community interventions to reduce crime.

Introduction: differences between previous theories and realist theories

- Realist theories abandon 'grand theories' such as Marxism. They are not interested in looking at the 'deep structural causes' such as capitalism – it is not criminologists' job to get rid of capitalism so it is pointless focussing on it.
- Realist theories are more 'pragmatic'. They ask how governments can reduce crime here and now, and work within the constraints of the social system.
- Realist theories take more of a victim- centred approach to crime, putting victims and the public's concern about crime at the centre of theorising and policy making.

Right Realism: Causes of Crime

Right Realists Reject the idea put forward by Marxists that deeper structural or economic factors such as poverty are the causes of crime – they mainly hold that the individual is responsible for crime – although they do accept that high levels of 'social disorder' and low levels of 'social control' are associated with higher crime rates.

- **Rational Choice Theory** – if individuals think the rewards from committing crime outweigh the likely punishment and the risks of getting caught, they will commit crime.
- **Broken Windows Theory** – crime is highest in areas where there are high levels of 'social disorder' – such as anti-social behaviour. In such areas, there is low social control and minor acts of deviance can quickly escalate into more serious crimes as less serious 'disorder' offences go unpunished.
- **Cohen and Felson: Routine Activities** - Most crime is opportunistic, rather than planned in advance. If individuals motivated to commit crimes encountered easy opportunities to commit them in the routine activities of their daily lives then crime was more likely to occur.
- Also see topic 2: Charles Murray and the Underclass

Right Realism – Crime Control Strategies

Because Right Realises tend to see the individual as being responsible for crime, their solutions are simple - focussing on making crime harder to commit and increasing punishment.

- **Situational Crime Prevention** - stems directly from Rational Choice Theory and involve either reducing the opportunity for people to commit crime or increasing the risk of getting caught when committing a crime. Examples include **increasing surveillance** of the population (monitoring their behaviour and making them aware of the fact they are being monitored) and **target hardening** (making buildings, objects and people harder to steal or kidnap or damage).
- **Zero Tolerance Policing** - involves strictly enforcing penalties for relatively minor crimes or anti-social behaviour such as begging, drug possession, public drinking.

Selected Evaluations of Right Realist Theories of Crime and Solutions to Crime

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rational Choice Theory holds criminals responsible for their actions, unlike labelling theory. - Solutions are relatively cost effective compared to left realist policies - There is evidence that situational crime prevention works - The Port Authority Bus Terminal Building is an example and Newburn (2013) points to an obvious link between improved car security measures and reduced car crime. - The New York 'Zero Tolerance' study suggests that zero tolerance policies work to reduce crime. <i>HOWEVER, Levitt and Dubner in Freakonomics found that this correlation was coincidental – other factors were responsible for the decline in crime.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situational Crime Prevention ignores factors such as inequality and deprivation as causes of crime (Garland 2001). • Ignores the role of emotion and thrill as a cause of crime (Lyng 1990) • Only tackles opportunistic street crime – won't work for DV, white collar crime, or state crime. • It leads to crime displacement. • It creates divided 'Fortress cities' (Bauman), • Reiner (2015) argues that the police would be better deployed focusing on more serious crime hot spots rather than clamping down on minor forms of anti-social behaviour. • From an Interactionist perspective, giving more power to the police will just lead to more labelling and more criminal careers

Left Realism – Introduction/ the Basics

- Left realism developed as a left wing response to the increasing influence of Right Realism in the 1980s. However, it is also critical of Marxism, pointing out that the **victims** working class street crime are most likely to be the working class, and it is these types of 'ordinary crime' that worry working class people.
- Left realists believe there are three major causes of (working class street): **relative deprivation, marginalisation and subcultures.**
- Solutions to crime should focus on **social and community crime prevention** and **improving relations between the police and local communities**

Left Realism – Causes of Crime

*Left realists explain this using the three concepts of **relative deprivation, marginalisation and subculture** to explain rising crime rates during a period of economic growth and increasing affluence.*

- **Relative deprivation** - refers to how someone feels in relation to others, or compared with their own expectations. Although people are better off today, they have a greater feeling of relative deprivation because the media has raised everyone's expectations for material possessions – we are wealthier, but we feel poorer, and thus there is more pressure to get more stuff to keep up with everyone else, which generates historically high crime rates.
- **Subculture** – Left Realists see subcultures as a collective response to the situation of relative deprivation, and they draw on Cohen's theory of status frustration to explain how they emerge.
- **Marginalisation** - where people lack the power or resources to fully participate in society. According to Left Realists marginalised groups lack both clear goals and organisations to represent their interests. Unemployed youth are marginalised – they have no specific organisation to represent them and no clear sense of goals – which results in feelings of resentment and frustration. Having no access to legitimate political means to pursue their goals, frustration can become expressed through violence.

Left Realism: Solutions to Crime

Left realists emphasise **social and community crime prevention strategies** as solutions to crime. The focus here involves changing the social context which encourages offenders to commit crime. There are three broad approaches:

- **Intervention**, identifying groups at risk of committing crime and taking action to limit their offending. One of the best-known **intervention programmes** aimed at reducing criminality is the Perry pre-school project for disadvantaged black children which took place in Michigan, USA. IN this programme a group of 3-4 olds were offered a two-year intellectual enrichment programme, during which time the children received weekly home-visits.
- **Community** based approaches– involving the local community in combating crime. Young and Matthews (1992) argue that improving leisure facilities for the young, reducing income inequalities, improving housing estates, raising the living standards of poorer families, reducing unemployment and creating jobs with prospects, will all help to cut crime.
- **Improving Policing** – moving away from ‘militaristic style’ policing to more community oriented policing. Left Realists argue that over 90% of crimes are cleared up by the police as a result of information from the public, however research suggests that public confidence in the police has declined. Left Realists argue that if this relationship breaks down, the flow of information from the victims of crime will dry up.

Selected evaluations of Left Realist solutions to crime

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They are more pragmatic than Marxist solutions to crime. - They address some of the structural causes of crime, unlike Right Realism - If done properly, community prevention measures can save hundreds of thousands of pounds, by 'turning' a potential criminal into an employed taxpayer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Left Realist policies are more expensive and take a longer time to be effective than Right Realist policies. - They require long-term financial commitments, which successive governments may not stick to. - Marxists argue that these policies may tackle deprivation but they do not tackle the underlying structural inequality in the Capitalist system which is the root cause. - Such approaches target working class, inner city communities and do not tackle elite crime. - Michel Foucault and David Garland interpret these strategies as being about surveillance and control rather than real social change which prevents crime.

Crime and Deviance Topic 6 – Postmodernism and Crime, including Surveillance

Post/ Late Modern theories of crime try to explain how and why the nature and extent of crime has changed with the onset of 'postmodernity' since the 1970s.

Introduction – Post/ Late Modern Society and changing crime

- Post-Modern society refers to society since about the 1970s
- Numerous social changes mean that both the nature of crime and the causes of crime are more complex

Some of the key social changes:

- The rise of the consumer society – the norm of high consumption
- globalisation, de-industrialisation and increasing instability and uncertainty
- The fact that we live in a media-saturated society which celebrates celebrity-culture
- The increase in individual-freedom (individualisation) and cultural diversity
- Various technological changes, especially the increasing centrality of ICT.

Jock Young – Late Modernity, Exclusion and Crime

- The 1950s was a 'golden age' of full employment, cultural inclusion and low crime
- Today, de-industrialisation has resulted in low-employment, instability, insecurity, uncertainty, social-fragmentation and high crime rates
- Economic exclusion combined with the pressure to consume and be a celebrity result in anomie
- Crime is a means of coping with this anomie – it offers us a ways not necessarily to get rich (like Merton says), but to 'be somebody', vent our frustrations, or simply escape.
- As a result, crime gets more diverse, more spread out in society, and nastier

Cultural Criminology – Edgework

- Developed by Katz and Lyng in the 1980s and 1990s
- Criticises Rational Choice Theory – crime is not always rational, it is done for emotional reasons
- Crime is increasingly about 'edgework' – flirting with the boundaries of the acceptable because it's exciting, or thrilling.
- This is very much part of living in a risk-society (Ulrich Beck)

Simon Winlow – Violent Night

- Researched young working class men in Northern cities who regularly engaged in binge-drinking and violence at the weekends.
- Found that their jobs were low-status and insecure, they offered them no sense of identity
- Binge-drinking was a way to escape the boredom and low-status of work.
- Fighting meant numerous things – it was about status, but also simply thrilling and exciting.
- Offers broad support for both the theories above.

Evaluations of Post/ Late Modern Theories of Crime

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Recognises that there's been an increase in 'relative deprivation'- Applies to many different types of deviance/ crimes the riots/ hate crime/ antisocial behaviour/ binge drinking	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Hate crime may not actually be increasing – we may just be more sensitive to it.- Doesn't explain 'non-status crimes' very well – Rape/ DV- Can't explain why crime has been falling in recent years.- It doesn't apply to all crimes – burglary, theft, drug dealing, all have rational motives (the profit motive)- It can't explain why binge drinking/ drug use are in decline

Crime and Deviance Topic 7 – Sociological Perspectives on Crime Control

This topic focuses on three broad strategies of crime control – changing the immediate situation in which crime occurs (situational crime prevention), changing the broader area or environment in which crime occurs (environmental crime prevention), and changing the underlying social relationships in the communities in which offenders live (social and community crime prevention)

Situational Crime Prevention

- Includes strategies which focus on the specific point at which potential victims and criminals come together, making it harder for the criminal to commit crime.
- Examples include 'target hardening' – shutters, window locks, anti-climb paint and also CCTV and security guards. Also 'designing out' features which encourage criminality – e.g. sloping seats at bus stops.
- Based on rational choice theory and Cohen and Felson's 'Routine Activities' theory which state that much crime is opportunistic, and if you reduce the opportunities to commit crime, you reduce the crime rate.
- Appealed to policy makers because target hardening is cheap and simple.

Evaluations of Situational Crime Prevention

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Port Authority Bus Terminal Building is an example where this worked. - Newburn (2013) points to an obvious link between improved car security measures and reduced car crime. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ignores factors such as inequality and deprivation as causes of crime (Garland 2001). - Ignores the role of emotion and thrill as a cause of crime (Lyng 1990) - Only tackles opportunistic street crime – won't work for DV, white collar, or state crime. - It creates divided 'Fortress cities' (Bauman) - It leads to crime displacement.

Environmental Crime Prevention

- Includes formal and informal social control measures which try to clamp down on anti-social behaviour and prevent an area from deteriorating.
- Emphasises the role of formal control measures (the police) much more than situational crime prevention theory.
- Examples include Zero Tolerance Policing, ASBOs, curfews, street drinking bans, dispersal orders and the three strikes rule in America.
- Based on Wilson and Kelling's Broken Windows Theory – signs of physical disorder give off the message that there is low informal social control which attracts criminals and increases the crime rate.

Evaluations of Environmental Crime Prevention

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The New York 'Zero Tolerance' study suggests that zero tolerance policies work to reduce crime. - HOWEVER, Levitt and Dubner in Freakonomics found that this correlation was coincidental – other factors were responsible for the decline in crime. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More expensive than situational crime prevention – it takes a lot of police to patrol an area and clamp down on anti-social behaviour. - Reiner (2015) argues the police would be better deployed focusing on more serious crimes. - From an Interactionist perspective, giving more power to the police leads to more labelling

Social and Community Crime Prevention

- Focus on individual offenders and the social context which encourages them to commit crime.
- There are two broad approaches – Intervention, identifying groups and risk of committing crime and taking action to limit their offending, and Community – involving the local community in combating crime.
- Farrington's (1995) longitudinal research comparing offenders and non-offenders found various 'risk factors' which correlated with crime – such as low education and parental conflict.
- Intervention programmes based on the above have included pre-school programmes to help with attainment and parenting classes.
- Examples of this working include the Perry School Project (USA) and the Troubled Families Initiative (UK).

Evaluations of social and community crime reduction

Positive	Negative
- if done properly, community prevention measures can save hundreds of thousands of pounds, by 'turning' a potential criminal into an employed tax-payer.	- If done effectively, these are the most costly of all crime prevention measures. - Marxists argue that these policies may tackle deprivation but they do not tackle the underlying structural inequalities in the Capitalist system, which are the root cause. - Such approaches target working class, inner city communities and do not tackle elite crime. - Michel Foucault and David Garland interpret these strategies as being about surveillance and control rather than real social change which prevents crime.

Michel Foucault – The Birth of the Prison and the rise of Surveillance

- Punishment used to be violent, carried out on the body and it used to be done in public, now punishment is psychological, it expects people to change the way they think, and it is carried out in prisons, behind closed doors.
- This reflects a shift from sovereign power to disciplinary power.
- Sovereign power involved controlling people through the threat of force – people were punished severely and other people obeyed because they were afraid of the same punishment.
- Disciplinary power now involves controlling people through surveillance and expecting people to change their own behaviour – prisoners are locked away and monitored, and change their own behaviour because they know they are being watched.
- This logic of control now extends to everyone – even non-criminals - surveillance is now everywhere in society – it is not just criminals who are under surveillance by agents of social control, we are under surveillance from cradle to grave – school, work, pregnancy, child-birth, on the streets and roads, our health data.
- Most people now obey the rules because they know they are being watched – they regulate their own behaviour for fear of becoming the wrong kind of person – a failing student, an unproductive worker, a bad mother, an obese-person, for example.
- *NB – This is quintessentially sociological – it is only in very recent human history that we have become so obsessed with monitoring every aspect of our daily-lives, and one of Foucault's points is that this constant surveillance doesn't necessarily improve our lives – there are both winners and losers.*

Synoptic Surveillance

- Thomas Mathiesen (1997) argues that control through surveillance has developed beyond Foucault's panopticon model. The panopticon allows the few to monitor the many, but today the media increasingly allow the many to monitor the few.
- Mathiesen argues that in late modernity, there is a significant increase in surveillance from below, which he calls the 'synotopicon' – where everybody watches everybody.
- Thompson (2000) argues that powerful groups such as politicians fear the media's surveillance of them may uncover damaging information about them, and this acts as a form of social control over their activities.
- Another example of synoptic surveillance is where the public monitor each other, as with video cameras mounted on dash boards or cycle helmets to collect evidence in the event of accidents.

The New Actuarialism

- Feely and Simon (1994) argue that a new 'technology of power' is emerging throughout the justice system which uses calculations of risk or 'actuarial analysis'.
- Feely and Simon argue that this actuarial approach is increasingly used in crime control – airports for example screen passengers before they come to an airport – passengers are awarded points based on gender, age, ethnicity, criminal convictions, and the more points, the more likely you are to be stopped at customs.
- David Lyon (2012) argues that the purpose of sorting is to be able to categorise people so they can be treated differently on the basis of risk. This subjects people to 'categorical suspicion' – they become suspects simply because they are a particular age or ethnicity (or combination of factors).

Crime and Deviance Topic 9: Sociological Perspectives on Punishment

This topic focuses on the role of prison as a form of punishment, and applies sociological perspectives to this issue. NB for the sake of the exam, you should also think about other forms of punishment covered elsewhere in the syllabus (ASBOs for example)

Introduction: three justifications for Punishment

- **Deterrence** – publicly punishing offenders should encourage potential offenders to think twice before committing crime. Assumes offenders think rationally.
- **Incapacitation** – Involves physically preventing prisoners from committing crime – this can take many forms – imprisonment is the most obvious, but it also mean restricting access to the internet for cyber-criminals, or more drastic measures such as chemical castration or death
- **Rehabilitation** – means trying to prevent further offending by changing attitudes, values and behaviour – prison an provide an opportunity to rehabilitate offenders through providing counselling and educational programmes

The Functionalist Perspective on Punishment

- The law is a reflection of public morality, and punishment an expression of 'collective sentiments'
- When acts are punished publicly they perform the functions of social integration and social regulation (Durkheim) – thus Terrance is one of the major functions.
- Durkheim also argued that the nature of punishment evolves as society changes - today punishment is less severe than in traditional societies
- In traditional (tribal) societies 'retributive justice' was the norm – punishment was emotional, public, cruel and sever.
- In larger, more complex industrial society, 'restitutive justice is the norm – punishment is about compensating wronged individuals and maintaining social equilibrium – it is more rational and less emotional.

Marxist Perspectives on the Law and Punishment

- The law and punishment are not products of 'collective morality, but of ruling class interests
- The law works to mainly protect private property – most criminals commit property crimes.
- The elite are generally not punished for their crimes – expect for a select few to maintain the illusion of neutrality.
- David Gordon – the three functions of prison – neutralisation of opposition, sweeping away the poor, ideological control.
- Rushe and Kircheimer – note how the nature of prison changes as economic systems change from the middle ages to the birth of capitalism. Prison only emerges when the bourgeoisie need to control workers and when there is a limited supply of workers.

Michel Foucault – the Shift to control through Surveillance

- Punishment has changed from being a violent public spectacle (such as hanging) to being hidden away, behind closed doors.
- It has also changed from being swift and physical, done on the body, to being more drawn out and psychological - punishment today is typically about changing the mind and the soul.
- This reflects a change in how power is exercised in society – we have moved away from 'sovereign power' – which is control through the threat of force, to 'disciplinary power' – which is control through monitoring and surveillance of populations
- Disciplinary power first became apparent in Bentham's panopticon
- Foucault argues that the use of disciplinary power has extend everywhere in society – not only in prisons and punishment, but also in workplaces and schools
- New technologies such as CCTV and the internet play a crucial role in this shift.

David Garland – The Punitive State and the Culture of Control

- Garland argues that control of crime has moved on since Foucault.
- Since the 1950s individual freedoms have increased, while social bonds have weakened, life is more uncertain and less predictable.
- As a result, in terms of crime control we have moved into an era of a 'punitive state' which enforces a 'culture of control' – the state no longer cares about rehabilitation of prisoners, all it cares about is creating an impression that it is controlling crime (very postmodern this!).
- To create this impression of control governments do two things -
- they increasingly identify potential groups who are at risk of offending at a young age and take early interventions.
- they lock increasing amounts of people up, Garland argues we have entered the era of 'mass incarceration' and 'transcarceration'.
- This is a rather cynical theory – Garland seems to be saying that politicians today simply use their 'tough on crime' approach to get votes and maintain power, rather than trying to do anything which will really address the underlying causes of crime.

The easiest way to analyse the relationship between social class and crime is to apply various sociological perspectives to the topic.

Consensus Theories, Social Class and Crime

- Consensus theories generally accepted the fact that crime rates were higher among the lower social classes and set out to explain why – two theories which explicitly focused on the differences between working class culture and crime were Strain theory and Status Frustration theory.
- Robert Merton argued that crime was higher among the working classes because they had fewer opportunities to achieve material success through legitimate means and were thus more likely to adopt innovative cultural responses in order to achieve material success through criminal means – through burglary or drug dealing, for example.
- Albert Cohen put more emphasis on cultural factors (values and status) rather than material factors in explaining working class crime. Cohen argued that working class boys strove to emulate middle-class values and aspirations, but lacked the means to achieve success. This led to status frustration: a sense of personal failure and inadequacy. In Cohen's view they resolved their frustration by rejecting socially acceptable values and patterns of acceptable behaviour. Because there were several boys going through the same experiences, they end up banding together and forming delinquent subcultures.

Interactionism, Social Class and Crime

- Aaron Cicourel argued that it was the meanings held by police officers and juvenile officers that explained why most delinquents come from working class backgrounds - when middle class delinquents are arrested they are less likely to be charged with the offence as they do not fit the picture of a 'typical delinquent'.
- Middle class parents are more able to present themselves as respectable and reasonable people from a nice neighbourhood and co-operate fully with the juvenile officers, assuring them that their child is truly remorseful. As a result, the middle class delinquent is more likely to be defined as ill rather than criminal, as having accidentally strayed from the path of righteousness just the once and having a real chance of reforming.

Marxist Theories, Social Class and Crime

- Marxists argue that while working class crime does exist, it is a rational response to crimogenic capitalism. Moreover, all class commit crime, and the crimes of the elite are more harmful than street crime, but less likely to be punished.
- David Gordon said that Capitalist societies are 'dog eat dog societies' in which each individual company and each individual is encouraged to look out for their own interests before the interests of others, before the interests of the community, and before the protection of the environment. If we look at the Capitalist system, what we find is that not only does it recommend that we engage in the self-interested pursuit of profit is good, we learn that it is acceptable to harm others and the environment in the process.
- The Crimes of the elite are more costly than street crime - Marxists argue that although they are hidden from view, the crimes of the elite exert a greater economic toll on society than the crimes of the 'ordinary people'. Laureen Snider (1993) points out that the cost of White Collar Crime and Corporate Crime to the economy far outweighs the cost of street crime by 'typical' criminals.

Right Realism/ Underclass Theory

- Right Realists disagree with Marxists - Right Realists point to the underclass as being responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime in society.
- Charles Murray and the Underclass - Murray argued that changes to family structure was responsible for much of the increase in crime in the 1970s and 80s – he largely attributed the growth of crime to a growing underclass or 'new rabble' defined by their deviant behaviour and fail to socialise their children properly. The children of the underclass fail to learn self-control and also fail to learn the difference between right and wrong.

Left Realism, Social Class and Crime

- Left Realists Lea and Young conclude that they can explain this using the concepts of relative deprivation, marginalisation and subculture.
- Relative deprivation - refers to how someone feels in relation to others, or compared with their own expectations. Although people are better off today, they have a greater feeling of relative deprivation because of the media and advertising have raised everyone's expectations for material possessions – we are wealthier, but we feel poorer, and thus there is more pressure to get more stuff to keep up with everyone else, which generates historically high crime rates.
- Marginalisation - where people lack the power or resources to fully participate in society. According to Left Realists marginalised groups lack both clear goals and organisations to represent their interests. Unemployed youth are marginalised – which results in feelings of resentment and frustration. Having no access to legitimate political means to pursue their goals, frustration can become expressed through violence.
- Subculture - Left Realists see subcultures as a group's collective response to the situation of relative deprivation, and they draw on Cohen's theory of status frustration to explain how they emerge. There are many different subcultural adaptations to blocked opportunities, and not all result in crime – but those subcultures which still subscribe to the mainstream values of material wealth but lack legitimate opportunities to achieve those goals.

Evaluations

- For specific evaluation of each theory of the relationship between social class and crime please refer to the previous topics on the perspectives.
- As an overall evaluation, Feminists might criticise the focus on this topic by arguing there is a stronger correlation between gender and crime compared to social class and crime.

Crime and Deviance Topic 11 - Ethnicity and Crime

Official statistics on offending, sentencing and punishment show that there are significant variations by ethnicity – most notably the fact that both Black and Asian people are more likely to be stopped and searched than Whites, and Black people are three times as likely to be sent to prison compared to Whites. Self-report studies, however, reveal that Whites report the highest overall levels of offending compared to all other ethnic minority groups.

Patterns in Crime by Ethnicity – A Very Brief Summary

- Stop and Search and Prison Statistics show that black people are 6 times more likely to be both stopped and searched than white people, and there are also 6 times more black people than white people in jail.
- Graham and Bowling (1995) Found that blacks (43%) and whites (44%) had similar and almost identical rates of crime, but Asians actually had lower rates (Indians- 30%, Pakistanis-28% and Bangladeshi-13%).
- The British Crime Survey indicated that 44 per cent of victims were able to say something about the offender who was involved in offences against them. Among these, 85 per cent of offenders were said by victims to be 'white', 5 per cent 'black', 3 per cent 'Asian' and 4 per cent 'mixed'.
- Prosecution and trial - Ethnic minority cases are more likely to be dropped than whites, and blacks and Asians are less likely to be found guilty than whites. In 2006/7 60% of whites were found guilty, against only 52% of blacks, and 44% of Asians.
- Sentencing and prison - Jail sentences are more likely to be given to Blacks (68%) compared to Whites (55%) or Asians (59%), whereas Whites and Asians were more likely to receive community services. Hood (1992) found that even when the seriousness of an offence and previous convictions were taken into account Black men were 5x more likely to be jailed and given a sentence which is 3 months (Asians 9 months) longer than whites.

Interactionist Explanations

- Labelling theory – higher reporting by the public and higher stop and search stats explain higher rates of ethnic minorities in jail.
- Types of Police Racism – Reflection of society, canteen culture, institutional racism
- Evidence of a racist criminal justice system – Self report studies, Stop and search stats, Lee Jasper – Sentencing in the riots, Stephen Lawrence, The Secret Policeman Covert Research.
- Limitations of the above evidence – Waddington et al.

Theories emphasising the role of cultural factors in explaining ethnic differences in offending

Some theorists focus on the role in which cultural differences between ethnic groups might play in explaining these differences in crime rates – such as family structure and differing value systems (this overlaps with the education and families modules from year one).

- **Consensus Theory** – Here you can apply bonds of attachment theory (single parent HH), and subcultural theory – gang culture
- **Left Realism** – Explains ethnic differences in offending through the different amounts of relative deprivation and marginalisation experienced by different ethnic groups.
- **Anti-Racism** – Paul Gilroy goes further than left realism, arguing that there is a myth of black criminality, and that what crime there is a response to Racism in wider society and the oppressive history of colonialism.
- **Neo-Marxism** – Suggest that the media and the authorities exaggerate crimes of ethnic minorities in order to create scapegoats for social problems which are really caused by the failings of the Capitalist system.
- The final two theories suggest that the criminal justice system (the police and the courts) is racist – and so are really a combination of structural and action theories.

The main subtopics are:

1. What are the gender differences in patterns of offending?
2. Why do women commit less crime than men?
3. Explaining Male Crime – What is the relationship between ‘masculinity’ and crime?
4. Gender bias in the criminal justice system. Are men and women treated differently?

Gender patterns in crime

According to *‘Statistics on Women and the Criminal Justice System 2013*

- Females making up only 23 per cent of those given out of court disposals, 18 per cent of arrests, 25 per cent of convictions and five per cent of the prison population.
- Most female defendants go through magistrates’ courts, as the offences they commit are predominantly low-level summary offences and therefore not serious enough to be tried at the Crown Court.
- The main indictable offence group that female convictions tend to fall into is theft, accounting for nearly a quarter of female indictable convictions in 2013’.

Why do women commit less crime and men more crime?

- Biological Theories – biological differences account for gendered differences in patterns of offending
- Sex Role Theory – norms and values associated with traditional gender roles explain the different patterns of offending
- Control Theory – women are more controlled than men and so lack opportunities to commit crime (related to, but different to above)
- The Chivalry Thesis – the actual rates of male/ female offending are similar but women are less likely to be labelled as criminals.

Masculinity and Crime

- The idea of “doing gender” was introduced by West and Zimmerman in 1987. Instead of seeing masculinity as something that just happens to men or is done to men, masculinity is seen as something that men do.
- When “doing gender”, in order to achieve manhood status, there are certain qualities that are commonly regarded as masculine and manly that a man needs to display. These include but are not limited to marriage, having dependents, providing for the family, and proclaiming an aura of physical and mental strength and dominance. Successfully expressing a masculine identity is also consistent with aggressiveness, visible proof of achievement and being a tough and courageous person.
- Traditional outlets of successful masculinity include success in school as well as both marriage and children. Perhaps the most well-known indicator of masculine success is that of occupational
- Robert Connell (1995) hypothesizes that criminal behaviour can be used as a resource when other resources are not available for accomplishing masculinity. For example, if a person does not have a steady, reliable job, a stable family life, or other traditional indicators of successful masculinity, violent behaviour may be considered an acceptable way to convey the “toughness” that is linked with masculine traits. In many cases, the pressure to ‘prove you are masculine’ matters more than obeying the law.

Gender bias in the criminal justice system

- Some Feminist Researchers, such as Carol Smart, see women as victims of a sexist criminal justice system which often fails to prosecute the typically male criminals responsible for Domestic Violence and Rape.
- Feminist Criminologists have long noted that reporting rates are very low for these crimes and that men are thus very likely to escape prosecution. It has also been proven in that rape cases tended to be 'cuffed' by police. 'Data supplied to BBC News shows the proportion of rapes dismissed by the police as "no crime" varies between 2% and 30%'. (www.bbc.co.uk).
- Furthermore, with rape cases, the character of the female victims of rape is often 'put on trial' as the defence exposes her sexual history to try and get the male rapist off the rape charge. Jessica Valenti argues that if a woman is not a virgin or is seen to be wearing provocative clothes, then according to the court room, they were 'asking for it'.

Victimology is the study of who the victims of crime are, why they are victims, and what we can do about this.

Patterns of Victimization

The risk of being a victim of crime varies by social groups.

- **Social Class** – The poorest groups are actually more likely to be victims of crime. The Crime Survey of England and Wales shows us that crime rates are higher in areas of high unemployment and deprivation.
- **Age** – Younger people are more at risk of victimisation – those most at risk of being murdered are infants under one (infanticide), while teenagers are more vulnerable than adults to assault, sexual harassment, theft and abuse. While older people might be abused in care homes, this is something of a media stereotype, in general the risk of victimisation declines with age.
- **Ethnicity** – minority ethnic groups are at greater risk than whites of being victims of crime, as well as of racially motivated crimes. In relation to the police, ethnic minorities, the young and the homeless are more likely to report feeling under-protected and over controlled.
- **Gender** – Males are at greater risk of being victims of violent attacks, about 70% of homicide victims are male. However, women are more likely to victims of domestic violence than me, sexual violence, people trafficking and rape as a weapon of war.
- **Repeat Victimization** – There are a few people who are unfortunate enough to be a victim of crime many times over. According to the Crime Survey of England and Wales, a mere 4% of people are victims of 44% of all crimes in any one year. In contrast, 60% of people experience no crime in any given year.

Evaluation – Where do these statistics come from?

The most representative **Victim Survey** is **The Crime Survey of England and Wales**. This covers approximately 35 000 adults in England and Wales in private households. The survey asks about crime the individuals have been victims of within the last year, and asks whether they reported these crimes to the police.

A problem with this survey is that certain aspects of victimisation are absent:

- Some people are missing from it – such as children and the homeless
- Some crimes are not asked about – e.g. corporate crimes
- Some crimes even if asked about might still be under-reported (e.g. domestic violence because of the setting)

Sociological Perspectives applied to Victimology

Positivist Victimology

- Mier's (1989) defines Positivist victimology as having three main features:
 1. It aims to identify the factors that produce the above patterns in victimisation
 2. It focuses on interpersonal crimes of violence
 3. It aims to identify how victims have contributed to their own victimisation
- Earlier Positivist studies focussed on the idea of 'victim proneness', seeking to identify the social and psychological characteristics of victims that make them different from and more vulnerable than non-victims. For example, Von Hentig (1948) identified 13 characteristics of victims, such as that they are more likely to be females, elderly and 'mentally subnormal'. The implication is that the victims in some sense 'invite' victimisation because of who they are.
- An example of positivist victimology is Marvin Wolfgang's (1958) study of 588 homicides in Philadelphia. He found that 26% involved victim precipitation – the victim triggered the events leading to the homicide, for instance, being the first to use violence.

Evaluations of Positivist Victimology

1. *It is easy to tip over into 'victim blaming' – The same as saying that rape victims 'ask for it'.*
2. *Positivism tends to focus on 'traditional crime's – it doesn't look at green crime and corporate crime for example.*
3. *It ignores wider structural factors such as poverty and powerlessness which make some people more likely to be victims than others.*

Critical Victimology

- Critical victimology is based on conflict theories such as Marxism and Feminism. From a critical point of view the powerless are most likely to be victimised and yet the least likely to have this acknowledged by the state (*this is known as the 'hierarchy of victimisation'*).
- **Critical Criminology focuses on two elements: the role of structural factors in explaining patterns of victimisation and power of the state to deny certain victims victim status.**
- **Structural factors are important in explaining why some people are more likely to be victims of crime than others.** Factors such as poverty and patriarchy make some people more likely to be victims of crime than others.
- Structural factors are important, because from a Marxist perspective because poverty and inequality breed crime and thus living in a poor area means that you are more likely to be both a criminal **and a victim of crime** while Feminists emphasise that the **structure of Patriarchy** perpetuates crimes against women such as sex-trafficking and domestic violence, meaning that women are far more likely to be victims of sex-crimes than men.
- At another level, global power structures mean that many people are the victims of harms done by Western Corporations and State Crimes carried out by Western World Governments (Bhopal and the Drone Wars are two good examples) and yet victims in faraway places are highly unlikely to see justice.

- Criminologists who focus on ethnicity and crime would also suggest that Structural Racism means it more likely that ethnic minorities are going to face not only racial crime from the general public, but also discrimination at the hands of the police. Refer to the ethnicity and crime material for more details!
- To overcome this, critical criminologists suggest that criminologists should focus on 'Zemiology' (the study of harm) rather than the study of crime, to pick up on the true nature and extent of victimisation in the world today.
- **The state's power to apply or deny the label of victim** can distort the actual extent of victimisation. From a critical criminological perspective, the state often sides with the powerful, and does not define their exploitative and harmful acts as crimes. Tombs and Whyte (2007) for example showed that employers' violations of health and safety law which lead to thousands of deaths of workers in the UK each year are typically explained away as industrial accidents, thus leaving no one to blame and leaving the injured and dead workers as non-victims.
- From a Feminist point of view sexism within the CJS means that most women who are victims of DV and rape fail to come forward, and those who are do are often treated as the guilty party themselves in court, and so are often denied formal victim status and justice.
- Tombs and White note that there is an ideological function of this 'failure to label' or 'de-labelling' – by concealing the true extent of victimisation and its real causes, it hides the crimes of the powerful and denies the victims any justice.

Evaluations of Critical Victimology

- *It disregards the role victims may play in bringing crime on themselves (e.g. not making their home secure).*
- *Realists argue that it isn't the job of criminologists to criticise governments and the police, this isn't the most effective way to reduce crime and thus help victims of 'ordinary crimes' such as street violence and burglary.*

Introduction

- Globalisation is where societies across the globe become more interconnected. There are economic, cultural and political aspects to Globalisation. A global crime is one which transcends national boundaries.
- The global criminal economy is part of Globalisation - One of the downsides of the increasing interconnectedness between societies is the increase in global crime – Manuel Castells (1998) argues that there is now a global criminal economy worth over one trillion per annum. Four of the major forms of global crime which he recognises include:
 - The drugs trade
 - People Trafficking
 - Cyber crimes
 - International Terrorism

Understanding How Globalisation Generates Crime

Global Inequality and Crime

- Global inequality is one of the major causes of International Crime. Wealth in the developed world increases demand for global goods and services, and poverty in the developing world creates supply of criminal products and services.
- On the demand side – In developed countries most people want to get products and services as cheaply as possible, and getting hold of things through the global black market is often the cheapest way to keep up with consumerist pressure – illegally imported cigarettes and alcohol are cheaper than their taxed legal alternatives, and sleeping with a trafficked prostitute in Estonia is cheaper than paying for one in the UK.
- On the supply side – In poorer, developing countries, providing illegal goods for shipment to wealthier people can be more lucrative than producing something legally. In Columbia for example it is estimated that 20% of the population depend on the Cocaine trade, which is more profitable than growing coffee.

The role of Global Organised Crime

- Organised crime accounts for 15% of global gross domestic product – (Misha Glenny, (2008) *McMafia: Crime without Frontiers*).
- Glenny suggests that organised criminal gangs become especially influential in those areas of the world where there is weak rule of law (i.e. failed and transitional states), distrust of the state (i.e. Italy, and Mexico), Inaccessible terrain (i.e. Peru and Colombia), high levels of corruption, easy access to weapons and access to Transnational networks.
- One of the most significant criminal networks which influences Europe operates from Bulgaria – a country which is a 'Hub' between the rich and poor parts of the world, and where the Mafia have held considerable power since the collapse of Communism in the late 1980s.

Evaluation of Glenny

Dick Hobbs and Colin Dunningham their 1990s ethnographic study examined how organised crime has expanded on the back of globalisation. They suggest that criminal organisations like the Mafia are not dominant, but most global crime operates through a glocal system

Globalisation, Capitalism and Crime

- Ian Taylor, writing from a socialist perspective, argues that economic globalisation (basically the spread of Capitalism) has led to more crimes being committed by elites – crimes which go unnoticed in the West
- In 'The Political Economy of Crime' (1998) Ian Taylor wrote about important changes in the world economy in recent years: multinational corporations had shifted activities from country to country simply in search for greater profitability. One of the reasons they do this is because poorer countries tend to have fewer environmental regulations, and so corporations can pollute more freely in those countries. Not having to clean up your mess is good for profits.
- A further effect of TNCs being mobile is that they have reduced job security of full time staff and this increases the amount of part time, temporary and insecure employment, which in turn breeds the conditions for criminality.

Introduction: What is State Crime?

- Green and Ward (2005) define state crime as 'illegal or deviant activities perpetrated by the state, or with the complicity of state agencies'. State crimes are committed by, or on behalf of nation states in order to achieve their policies.
- Types of State Crime - Mcloughlin identifies four categories of state crime:
 - Crimes by security – e.g. genocide, torture, imprisonment without trial.
 - Political Crimes – e.g. censorship or corruption
 - Economic crimes – e.g. violation of health and safety laws
 - Social and cultural crimes – e.g. institutional racism

The Scale of State Crime

- The fact that Nation State's maintain power and control over large territories and populations mean that they have the potential to engage in large scale crimes which victimise extremely large numbers of people – for example the Cambodian Genocide in the 1970s is estimated to have wiped out 25% of the population.

Examples of State Crime

- **Crimes of Security – Genocide** - Genocide means any act committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as Killing members of the group; Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction, Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group or Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (Source – teaching genocide).
- **Political Crimes** – Corruption - Political corruption can take various forms, but the most common examples appear to be politicians siphoning public money off to their private bank accounts, unfairly granting government contracts in return for bribes and electoral fraud (vote rigging).
- **Social and Cultural Crimes** - Institutional racism is a form of racism expressed in the practice of social and political institutions, as distinct from racism by individuals or informal social groups. Following the Macpherson Enquiry into the failure of the MET to adequately investigate teenager Stephen Lawrence's death, the Metropolitan Police were found to be institutionally racist, which is a problem which remains to this day according to both the MET commissioner (speaking in 2015) and David Cameron (speaking in 2016).

The link between Poverty, Ethnic Conflict, Failed States and Crimes against Humanity

- If you look at Transparency International's Corruption Index and you'll see there is clear link between poverty and corruption, and war and conflict. Many of these countries are caught in a vicious cycle of poverty, ethnic conflict, corruption and war which reinforce each other, and many of the worst state-crimes are done by nation states in times of civil-war.
- According to Paul Collier, the problem starts with the fact that political leaders in developing countries don't see politics in the same way that politicians in developed countries see politics – political office isn't about public service – it is about getting as much money for yourself and the people that got you elected as possible.
- In many cases, corruption will simply mean siphoning off public funds into private bank accounts, but the pursuit of profit by unethical governments can also mean harming citizens of countries – as with the Nigerian government allowing Shell to get away with polluting the Ogoni people's lands in the Niger Delta.

Evaluation

- The problem with this view is that although there is a link between underdevelopment and state crime, some developed, or rapidly development nation states do appear very low down the corruption index – most notably Russia and China, two of the BRIC nations.

A Dependency Theorist Perspective on State Crime

- From a Dependency point of view state crimes are not limited to developing countries. For a start, two of the greatest crimes in the history of humanity – Colonialism, which was basically the organised theft of resources through violence conquest, and slavery, were both a key part of the development of Capitalism in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.
- The sheer brutality and death toll inflicted on the peoples of North and South America, Asia and Africa by the European colonisers was far worse than the suffering in the two World Wars or any war since.
- Today, it is also clear that it isn't just poor states which engage in state-crime - Take the USA for example – In 2003 it went to war in Iraq against UN conventions, and today it maintains Guantanamo Bay where it holds prisoners without trial. This view is explored in John Pilger's excellent film 'War on Democracy' in which he points out that the USA, since the end of WW2 has been involved militarily in more than 50 countries, all of these illegal interventions. By international standards, the USA is one of the worst abusers of human rights in world history.
- A further point here is that Western countries are happy to accept other states abusing human rights if they are either powerful or support Western interests (or both) – so we say nothing about the Saudi Arabia's treatment of women or its public flogging of criminals, and nothing of China preventing freedom of speech.

Evaluation of the Dependency View

- Functionalists argue that the laws put in place by Nation States represent the collective morality of the people, and that when the agents of the state (the police and the courts) police and punish criminal behaviour, this reinforces the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. Thus Nation States and their agents of social control are the 'good guys', working to maintain law and order and punish those criminals who would disrupt this.
- Moreover, Nation States with functioning governments are a crucial part of modern societies. In the SCLY3 Global Development Module we found that nearly all wealthy nations have massive public sectors where governments provides universal goods such as health care and education and to provide the infrastructure required for economic growth.
- In short, Functionalism stresses that despite the history of Colonialism, the role of America in war crimes today, and the existence of some state crime in developed countries (the expenses scandal and institutionalised police racism in the UK for example) the average citizen comes to less harm with a stable state rather than without it and state crime isn't really a significant problem in developed countries.

Introduction – Getting your head around green crime!

- **Green Crime** – A simple definition of Green Crime is ‘crimes committed against the environment’.
- **Types of Green Crime – Nigel South (2008)** classifies green crimes into two distinct types, **primary** and **secondary**.
- **Primary green crimes** are those crimes which constitute harm inflicted on the environment (and, by extension, those that inflict harm on people because of damage to the environment – our classic ‘environmental victims’ who suffer health or other problems when the land, water or air they interact with is polluted, damaged or destroyed).
- **There are four main categories of primary green crimes** – Crimes of air pollution, Crimes of deforestation, Crimes of species decline and animal rights, Crimes of water pollution.
- **Secondary, or “symbiotic green crime** is crime that grows out of the flouting of rules that seek to regulate environmental disasters” (Carrabine et al. 2004: 318). South provides two examples of secondary crime: **State violence against oppositional groups**, **‘hazardous waste and organised crime’**

Criminology – Disagreements over the concept of Green Crime

- *Criminologists disagree over the appropriate subject matter of ‘green criminology’.*
- **Traditional criminology** argues that ‘green crime’ should be defined in a narrow sense – thus ‘green crime’ is defined as any activity which breaches a law which protects the environment.
- **Green criminology**, on the other hand, argues that criminologists should study environmental harms whether or not there is legislation in place and whether or not criminal or other laws are actually broken. *Green Criminology takes an ecocentric (environment centred) approach to crime, and criticises traditional criminology for being too anthropocentric (human-centred).*
- **White’s (2008) three important principles of green criminology** – based on environmental rights and environmental justice; it’s ecocentric – rather than based on human domination over nature; It should include Animal rights and species justice
- Green Criminology is thus a type of **‘transgressive criminology’** – it breaks the boundaries of traditional criminology and focuses on the concept of ‘harm’ rather than the concept of ‘crime’.
- **Advantages of a green criminological perspective** - Green Criminology thus follows in the footsteps of radical or critical criminology – Marxism and Interactionism. It is more interested in the question of why some harmful acts (pollution) are not labelled as criminal, while other less-harmful acts are.
- **Problems with Green Criminology** is that its subject matter is not clearly defined – where do we draw the line about what constitutes harming the environment? Where does it all end, and who decides?
- **Key Term – ‘Zemiology’** – *the study of social harms. Green Criminology is Zemiological.*

The Late Modern Perspective on Green Crime – Ulrich Beck (1992) – The Risk Society

- Beck explains green crime/environmental damage as part 'the risk society', whereby modern industrial societies create many new risks – largely manufactured through modern technologies – that were unknown in earlier days.
- New technologies are generating risks that are of a quite different order from those found throughout earlier human history.
- The most obvious type of 'new risky technology' is that of nuclear power, which generates small, but hugely toxic (radioactive) forms of waste which stay radioactive for thousands of years.
- Ulrich Beck's (1986) argument is that environmental problems are truly global – he argues that '**Smog is democratic**', which suggests that traditional social divisions — class, ethnicity and gender — may be relatively unimportant when considering the impact of many environmental problems.
- The future demands innovative political responses to the new environmental challenges we face. Beck doesn't offer any solutions to how we might tackle green crime, he just points out that the emergence of the problem is new, and that it's going to be difficult to tackle it in an uncertain, postmodern age.

A broadly Green Criminological/ Marxist Perspective on Green Crime

- According to Marxists, the single biggest cause of Environmental Crimes according to Marxists (and most of the Green Movement) is Industrial Capitalism
- Given that the primary aim of most governments is achieving economic growth, and the means whereby we achieve this is through producing and consuming stuff, Marxists would not expect any significant global agreement safeguarding the environment until Capitalism is either eradicated or severely controlled. As it stands, companies are all too often given the green light by governments to extract and pollute.
- Marxists offer an alternative analysis of the consequences of Green Crime to that of Ulrich Beck. Marxists argue that current social divisions are actually reinforced in the face of environmental harms, with poor people bearing the brunt of harms.
- An important part of a Marxist analysis of green crime is to explore who the victims of green crime are, and the victims of pollution tend to be the poorest in society. We have already explored things like the Bhopal Tragedy and the many victims in the developing world of Corporate extraction, but another interesting line of analysis here is that of '**eco-racism**'

Media representations of Crime

Sociologists generally agree that the media distorts crime in the following ways

- The media exaggerates the extent of Violent and personal crime.
- Robert Reiner (2006) conducted content analysis of crime reporting in the UK press and found that of all crime reported in the media – 75% was personal crime and 25% was property crime – in reality, the proportions are the inverse; 30% of all crime reported is homicide, despite this making up only 0.007% of all crimes.
- The media exaggerates the extent of youth crime and deviance,
- The media over-represents working class street crime rather than middle class and Corporate Crime
- Analysis of crime and deviance in the news and documentaries tends to be very simplistic

Moral Panics

- A Moral Panic is an exaggerated outburst of public concern over the morality or behaviour of a group in society.” Moral Panics create ‘Folk Devils’ out of the group that is the target of the moral panic. The Mass Media has a crucial role to play in creating moral panics through exaggerating the extent to which certain groups are a threat to social order.
- The term ‘moral panic’ was first used in Britain by Stan Cohen in a classic study of two youth subcultures of the 1960s – ‘mods’ and ‘rockers’. Cohen showed how the media, for lack of other stories, built up these two groups into folk devils – that is, groups who were seen as troublemakers.
- The effect of the media coverage was to make the young people categorise themselves as either mods or rockers which actually helped to create the violence that took place between them, which further helped to confirm them as violent in the eyes of the general public. ps in society are deviant and threatening to social order.
- In order for a moral panic to break out, the public need to believe what they see in the media, and respond disproportionately, which could be expressed in heightened levels of concern in opinion polls or pressure groups springing up that campaign for action against the deviants. The final part of a moral panic is when the authorities respond to the public’s fear, which will normally involve tougher laws, initiatives and sentencing designed to prevent and punish the deviant group question.

The Media and Public Fear of Crime

- Readers of ‘popular’ newspapers are more likely to think that crime is increasing nationally than readers of proper newspapers
- Research by Women in Journalism suggests that, as a result of the negative press, 80 per cent of young people felt adults were more wary of them now than they had been a year ago.