Activity answers

Chapter 3: Crime and deviance

Unit 1: The nature of crime, deviance and social control

Activity 1 (pages 127–128)

1 Look at the pictures. Which (if any) would you see as examples of vandalism? Give reasons for your answer.

Whether or not you view particular forms of behaviour as 'vandalism' (a simple definition of which involves the idea that it represents 'the wilful or malicious destruction or damage of property') depends on how you interpret both the term (what constitutes 'wilful' or 'malicious' damage, for example – and does everyone define this in exactly the same way?) and the behaviour (the destruction or damage of property may or may not be seen as deviant or criminal damage). In terms of the items, therefore, it is possible to make a case for and against seeing each as vandalism.

Item A: If the company that produced this billboard either owned the site or had permission from the site owner for the billboard, then, legally, this is not an example of vandalism. However, without such ownership or permission, the billboard painting is, in legal terms, graffiti and hence vandalism. On the other hand, even where the billboard has been legally displayed it might be interpreted as a form of 'environmental vandalism' since the painting may be considered so striking and distracting to motorists that it represents a public danger – and hence vandalism. On balance, however, the billboard is more likely to be interpreted as a form of art or advertising (depending on the context of its production) rather than vandalism.

Item B: If the company discharging this waste is acting within the law (i.e. it is legally allowed to dump it) then this is not an example of vandalism. However, it could equally be seen as vandalism in two ways: firstly, if the dumping is not being done according to the law, and, secondly, regardless of whether this behaviour is actually legal, it could be seen as an example of environmental vandalism.

Item C: As with Item B it may be perfectly legal for oil companies to allow the area covered by an oilfield to become polluted with oil. However, this behaviour could equally be seen as an example of environmental vandalism.

Item D: While this kind of extraction or construction work is perfectly legal it could be seen as an example of environmental vandalism.

Item E: Graffiti has, at different times and in different places, been seen as both vandalism (it is against the law to 'deface' someone's property without their permission) and art.

Item F: Of all the items this is the most likely to be seen as vandalism, since there seems to be no legal justification for smashing someone's car in this way. However, if it was the person's own car they were destroying the act would, of course, not be classed as vandalism.

2 Using examples from this activity, briefly discuss the problems of defining crime and deviance.

There are two main problems with defining crime and deviance: **1** The definition itself is important since how widely or narrowly it is drawn will determine how we categorise people's behaviour. Although, in the case of **crime**, it is possible to draw the definition tightly (such as in 'law-breaking behaviour'), decisions still have to be made about laws themselves – about what forms of behaviour should or should not be considered illegal, for example. In the case of **deviance** the picture is slightly more complicated because although we can produce a sociological definition ('behaviour which goes against conventional norms and generally accepted values'), it doesn't necessarily follow that we can clearly define 'conventional norms' or 'accepted values'. In addition, different groups may define these terms differently – what is conventional and accepted in one group or in one social context may be considered unconventional and unacceptable in another.

For example, Items B, C and D illustrate behaviour that is not 'criminal' in the sense of being illegal, yet the damage it causes to the environment might be considered, by some, to be deviant (or, indeed, 'criminal' in the widest sense of the term). On the other hand, the behaviour in Item E – while legally defined as criminal damage to property – may cause no actual concern to people and may, in consequence, not be considered particularly deviant. On the contrary, such behaviour may be interpreted as something that actually enhances the lives of the people living in a particular area. A further consideration here is the social context of the behaviour. If the graffiti artist has the permission of the property owner or relevant legal authority then this behaviour is neither criminal nor deviant.

2 More important, perhaps, is how we interpret behaviour. As the items show, it is possible to interpret the concept of 'vandalism' very widely, even when we have a relatively precise (legal) definition against which to measure people's behaviour. Each of the items, for example, could be said to involve 'the wilful or malicious destruction or damage of property' – yet Item D would not normally be legally classed as vandalism, whereas Items B, C and E arguably might. Of all the items only Item F is likely to be considered as 'vandalism' by the majority of people.

Activity 2 (pages 129–130)

1 Use information from Items A and B to illustrate the point that deviance is relative to time and place.

Both items illustrate the argument that concepts of crime and deviance are relative in space and time – that is, the same behaviour may be considered criminal or deviant in one society but not in another, or in the same society at different times.

Item A, for example, illustrates this idea in that whether the same behaviour (smoking in a restaurant) is considered criminal/deviant is relative in time: in New York on 29 March 2003 it was perfectly legal (non-criminal) to engage in this behaviour, whereas the following day it was illegal (criminal). The item also illustrates the space dimension to deviance. Whereas this behaviour is now illegal in New York, it is not illegal in some other American states or, indeed, in other countries around the world. In addition, it is also possible to argue that although smoking in a public place, such as a restaurant, was not criminal in New York prior to 30 March 2003 it may well have been considered deviant by some individuals and groups (a consideration, perhaps, that eventually led to it being declared a crime).

Item B further illustrates the idea of the relativity of deviance. At one time in American society it was perfectly acceptable for film stars (such as John Wayne) to advertise cigarettes. In present-day American society a film star endorsing and advertising cigarettes would be considered deviant.

2 Look at Item B. Why would it be unlikely for a film star today to endorse cigarettes?

A film star would be unlikely to endorse cigarettes today because attitudes to smoking in America have changed in recent years. Where it was once considered perfectly acceptable to smoke in private and in public this behaviour has generally come to be seen as deviant – at least in public if not necessarily always in private (although this is, of course, arguable).

Using Plummer's distinction we can suggest that smoking is generally seen as societally deviant (and in some instances criminally deviant) – hence it is unlikely that any modern film star would endorse such public behaviour – whereas it is not always seen as situationally deviant. Film stars such as Robert de Niro and Danny de Vito may smoke in private, but even so they do not publicly endorse such behaviour because it is arguably seen as societally deviant.

Activity 3 (pages 131–132)

1 Which of the items are examples of a) formal social control and b) informal social control?

Items A and D are examples of formal social control.

Items B and C are examples of informal social control.

2 Briefly suggest how each item may help to enforce social control.

Formal methods of social control refer to institutions specifically set up to enforce social control, and in modern industrial societies this mainly involves those which enforce the law.

Item A, for example, is an example of an institution (the police) which is able to use force to control behaviour. In this instance this may involve physical force – such as arresting or subduing someone – or the 'threat of force' in the sense of the potential to make someone do something against their will if they fail to comply with a legal request from a police officer. The police, therefore, help to enforce social control by policing 'the law' – if you break the law then you are aware of the possibility of being arrested and criminalised.

Item D reflects a slightly different aspect of formal control in that imprisonment is designed to punish or rehabilitate someone who has been convicted of breaking the law (a formal, legal norm). This is achieved both by physically removing them from 'normal society' and by removing certain rights enjoyed by the non-criminal (such as freedom of movement).

Both the threat and the fact of imprisonment may help to enforce social control: the former because individuals are aware of possible punishment and consciously avoid law-breaking behaviour; the latter because having experienced imprisonment either the offender decides they do not want to repeat the experience, or they are reformed by their experience and hence do not repeat their offending behaviour.

Informal methods of social control involve institutions and social groups which are not directly concerned with enforcing social control and upholding the law. Item B, for example, represents the family group – an important institution in our society – which exercises informal social control over the behaviour of its members. This involves primary socialisation, whereby individuals are taught the norms and values of the wider society, and control is usually enforced through a system of rewards for conformity and punishments for deviance. Family members, as with the friendship group illustrated in Item C, can be significant others to the individual – these represent people whose opinions we value, and we are generally concerned about how they see us and our behaviour. Such concern is a powerful form of social control because it means we will tend to act in ways that meet with their approval (a reward for conformity), and we will avoid acting in ways that hurt them in some way or meet with their disapproval.

Unit 2: Crime statistics

Activity 4 (page 134)

Police recorded crime statistics present an incomplete picture of crime. They seriously underestimate certain types of crime. They fail to indicate the significance of certain types of crime.

What support do Items A and B provide for these views?

The **underestimation** of crime is supported in Item A by evidence about the way both victims and the police fail to report or carry through to prosecution instances of domestic assault: **1** According to the British Crime Survey, only one in three victims of domestic violence report the incident to the police. **2** Of those people who do make an initial complaint to the police, around half subsequently withdraw the complaint. **3** In situations where a woman, for example, is repeatedly assaulted over a period of time the police only record the most serious incident. **4** The police on occasions fail to record incidents of domestic assault. For example, for 465 incidents of domestic violence to which the police were called there should have been 260 crime reports, but only 118 incidents were actually recorded.

The underestimation of crime is further supported by Item B in a number of ways: **1** Fraud is a difficult crime to define and, consequently, some types of fraudulent behaviour may not be defined or recognised as such by either the victims or the police. **2** Fraud is difficult to detect which means that the cases actually uncovered are probably only the tip of the iceberg. **3** Some types of fraud may involve a large number of fraudulent acts, but individuals are prosecuted on the basis of one or two 'sample' offences. **4** Many types of fraud are dealt with by agencies other than the police (such as the Inland Revenue), who may decide not to prosecute if the money is returned, and so the offences never appear in recorded crime statistics.

A failure to indicate the **significance** of certain types of crime is supported in Item A by the fact that this form of crime is both underreported and not always treated 'as a crime' by the police (who only recorded 118 incidents out of 260, for example). In addition, the fact that they recorded only the 'most serious' incident in a possible long line of incidents suggests domestic violence is not taken seriously by the police until a certain threshold of violence is crossed.

In relation to Item B, recorded crime statistics seriously underestimate the significance of fraud in a number of ways: **1** Only a minority of those who commit fraud are detected – and the amount of money involved in 'undetected fraudulent behaviour' is enormous. Deloitte and Touche, for example, estimate the cost of 'tax dodging' between 1976 and 1996 at £2000 billion – the equivalent of six years of government expenditure. **2** Where fraud is detected only a proportion of the fraudulent behaviour is actually recorded (one or two 'sample' offences). **3** Fraudulent behaviour in some areas of the economy (such as tax, social security and VAT) is not treated by the relevant authorities (such as the Inland Revenue) as a police matter. It is dealt with administratively. The Inland Revenue, for example, rarely prosecutes detected offenders, despite the enormous sums involved – which means that a wide range of fraudulent behaviour involving vast sums of money is never brought to the attention of the police or public.

Activity 5 (pages 136–137)

1a) Briefly summarise the differences between the police and BCS figures in Item A.

There are three main points we can note about the differences between the police and BCS figures: **1** Overall, BCS statistics indicate there is a greater amount of crime in our society than police recorded crime (PRC) statistics suggest. **2** Only around a half of all crimes identified in the BCS are actually reported to the police (although there are some forms of crime that buck this trend, such as the reporting of thefts of vehicles). **3** Nearly 30 per cent of all crimes identified in the BCS and reported to the police go unrecorded and so do not feature in PRC statistics.

b) Why are some crimes more likely to be reported to the police than others?

There are four main reasons why some crimes are more likely to be reported to the police: **1** The increase in valuable goods in the home and wider car ownership mean that burglaries and thefts may be more likely to be reported because the victim has lost things of substantial value. **2** Related to this is the growth in home contents insurance (a voluntary decision) and car insurance (a legal requirement). To claim on a policy, insurance companies require a police crime number – and to get this the victim must report the crime to the police. This requirement goes a long way to explaining why such a high percentage of thefts of vehicles are reported to the police. **3** People may be more aware of – and less willing to tolerate – certain types of crime. This would include crimes of violence generally and homicides specifically. Where police attitudes to rape victims have softened and become more understanding and supportive, the number of rapes reported to the police has increased. **4** The break-up of traditional, close-knit communities means that people are more likely to bring in an 'outside agency' (the police) to deal with criminal behaviour, rather than sorting things out for themselves using informal mechanisms of social control (Maguire, 2002).

c) Why are some crimes reported to the police more likely to be recorded than others?

We can identify a range of possible reasons for this situation: **1** Statistical changes made to the recording process, such as a requirement to record crimes that in the past did not need to be recorded, can affect whether particular types of crime are recorded. For example, in 1977 the decision was made to include offences of criminal damage of £20 or less in the crime statistics for the first time. **2** Changes in definitions may also produce greater recording of crime in a particular

category. In 1998, for example, the 'violent crime' category was widened to include offences such as common assault. Crimes that previously would not have been recorded as 'violent' were subsequently recorded as such (giving the impression of a major increase in violent crime). **3** In 2002 the introduction of a new National Crime Recording Standard reduced police discretion over whether or not to officially record a reported crime, leading to increased recording of some types of crime which were often not recorded in the past. **4** Changes to the way crimes are dealt with (such as the increased use of formal cautions in the 1970s) also serve to increase the number of crimes recorded by the police. **5** Pressure from politicians or the public may lead to the police 'clamping down' on certain sorts of offence (e.g. prostitution or drug use), resulting in a greater chance of the police recording such offences.

2a) Briefly summarise the trends shown in Items B and C.

Item B: The long-term trend in crimes recorded by the police is upward. However, we can also note that, until new recording rules were introduced in 2002, recorded crime had peaked in the early 1990s and was falling throughout the rest of the decade.

Item C: British Crime Survey estimates show crime rising from the early 1980s (when the first BCS was conducted), peaking in 1995 and gradually falling over the subsequent decade.

b) Suggest reasons for any differences in recent trends between police recorded crime and BCS estimates.

Although the absolute numbers are different (the British Crime Survey estimates are two or three times higher than police recorded crimes), the general recent trends are similar (a peak in crime in the mid-1990s and a subsequent decline to the present), once we allow for recent changes in the way some forms of crime are defined and recorded. The change in police recorded crime after 2002 is a good example here. Although, under the new counting rules, crime increased, once these rules had worked their way through the system recorded crime started to decline once more.

On a more general level, differences in recent trends may be the result of differences in the way crimes are recorded by each type of survey. In particular the BCS excludes certain types and categories of crime – victimless crimes, fraud, and offences against non-domestic targets such as businesses, for example – which are included in police recorded crime. Furthermore, it omits most offences against people under 16 (since only people of 16 or over are interviewed) and against people who do not live in private homes (the sample is taken exclusively from private addresses). These technical differences in the recording process may, therefore, account for some differences in recent trends. Differences could also be caused by differences in rates of reporting.

Activity 6 (page 141)

1a) How many of these offences have you committed?

b) Add up the maximum penalties which you could have received.

c) Compare your answers to a) and b) with those of other students.

Student exercise.

2 What do your answers to Question 1 suggest about a) the accuracy of official statistics?

Your answers to Question 1 are likely to show that you have committed at least one (and possibly more) of the offences on the list and since it is unlikely you have been arrested for – or convicted of – the offence it will not have been reported to or recorded by the police. If this is the case, the accuracy of official statistics can be called into question – especially in light of the fact that many millions of individuals may have committed similar offences which, just as in your case, have not been recorded. This suggests, therefore, that official statistics are not particularly accurate when it comes to recording the total volume of crime in our society.

b) the picture of the 'typical criminal' drawn from official statistics?

If official crime statistics are incomplete, in the sense that they don't include all crimes committed by all members of a society, it is difficult to argue that the picture of a 'typical criminal' we draw from these statistics is an accurate one. As your answers to Question 1 demonstrate, large numbers of people in our society commit crimes without ever being caught or processed by the criminal justice system, and self-report studies generally tell us that there is no easy distinction to be made between the 'criminal' and the 'non-criminal' in our society. Indeed, if the vast majority of people have broken the law at one time or another, then criminals cannot be seen as an untypical group with distinctive characteristics. This being the case, therefore, any picture of a typical criminal we create on the basis of official statistics may not be particularly valid.

Unit 3: Media representations of crime

Activity 7 (pages 143–144)

1 In what ways are the crime reports in Item A and the images in Item B typical of newspaper representations of crime?

The reports in Item A are broadly typical of newspaper representations of crime in a range of ways. **1** In terms of **types of crime**, for example, there is generally greater coverage of violent and sexual crimes than their actual incidence in our society. Similarly, the newspaper preoccupation with murder and violence against the person is not reflected in actual crime statistics (these

types of offence are relatively low in terms of overall crime numbers). **2** In terms of the **social characteristics of offenders** crime news portrays offenders as overwhelmingly male, older and of higher social status (they are more likely to be middle class). The reports, in this respect, are broadly typical in terms of sex (all are male, although a female was implicated for her involvement in one of the crimes) and age (all are generally older). In terms of social class the match is not so clear-cut – the drug addict and builder are not middle class, whereas the financial adviser may possibly be classified in this way. **3** Crime news tends to focus on actual **incidents rather than the causes of crime** and this is clearly reflected in the reports. Each of the reports focuses on the incident itself (the characteristics of the offender and the victim, details of the crime and the punishments given to the offenders). As with crime reporting generally there is no attempt to understand the motives of the offenders or to locate these crimes in any wider social context. Where analysis of the crime is offered this is generally in terms of contrasting victim vulnerability with the personal, social and psychological characteristics of the offender. The savage drug addict is portrayed as motivated by the need to finance his addiction, and the financial adviser appears motivated by personal debt and the desire to maintain a certain lifestyle. Speculation about the motivation of the builder is given in terms of his violent sexual fantasies. **4** In terms of the reports' portrayal of the **criminal justice system** this too is broadly in line with typical newspaper representations – each of the offenders was caught and punished for their crime.

2 Judging by Item C, how does crime fiction picture crime?

Item C portrays crime in a number of ways: **1** It involves action and excitement ('The Transporter', 'Mafia'). **2** Criminals can be tracked logically and methodically ('CSI'), with the implication being that by using these techniques a crime can invariably be solved (in crime fiction, the police usually 'get their man', but according to official statistics they usually don't). 'CSI', in particular, portrays police work in terms of 'problems' (i.e. crimes) that always have a solution. The solution to solving crimes is to use forensic technology, police intuition, experience and so on to arrive at an inevitable and inescapable conclusion of guilt. This particular title presents police work in a very positive light – not only is the process of detection portrayed as interesting and exciting, but it is seen to produce results and suggests an important role of the police is to protect the public from harm. **3** Crime is organised, hierarchical and big business (e.g. the Mafia) with the focus on murder and violent crimes. **4** Crime is a masculine pursuit. **5** Crime can be fun (e.g. 'CSI' and the Mafia game).

3 How do the representations of crime in Items A, B and C differ from those presented by official statistics, victim studies and self-report studies?

The picture we get from official statistics, victim studies and self-report studies is necessarily complicated by the fact that each source is measuring slightly different aspects of crime and criminality. However, the general picture we get is that, in terms of **social characteristics** like age, class, gender and ethnicity, crime is overwhelmingly committed by young (under 25), working class men, with a disproportionate amount of crime (given their numbers in the general population) committed by minority ethnic groups, particularly African Caribbean minorities (although self-report studies suggest there is actually little difference between this group and Whites). As Maguire (2002) puts it, the picture presented by official sources of the social characteristics of offenders suggests 'There are many more males, young people, Black people, poor people, poorly-educated people, and people with disturbed childhoods than one would find in a random sample.' One of the offenders in Item A is both middle-aged and middle class, which is not typical of the majority of offenders convicted of crime.

In terms of **type**, the vast majority of crimes in our society are generally minor (in economic terms) and do not involve high levels of physical or sexual violence. This contrasts with the items where there is a far higher proportion of crime portrayed as both serious (Item A and murder, for example) and violent (Items A and B). Finally, in terms of the success – or otherwise – of the police in catching offenders and clearing up crimes, official statistics, victim studies and self-report studies suggest they are relatively unsuccessful in their efforts (only around 3 per cent of crimes result in a conviction or caution). The picture presented in the items, however, casts the police in a more positive light. In Item A, for example, each of the offenders was caught, whereas in Item B police work is given a positive spin in TV programmes like 'CSI'.

Activity 8 (page 146)

1 What news values are reflected in Item A?

Item A reflects the following news values: **1 Novelty, freshness and surprise** – the robbers performed a daring attack on the rich and famous. **2 Drama and excitement** – the story features an 'armed gang' who 'held a hunting knife to the throat of Miss Black's youngest son'. They had previously attacked the home of Lord Levy where he and his wife were 'handcuffed to chairs and beaten' by three masked men. **3 Titillation** – the story not only takes readers into a world that is not often on show (how the rich and famous live) but it also shows these people in a way (suffering horrific attacks) that titillates the reader by inviting them to share in the experience of being attacked and robbed – albeit at a safe distance. **4 A focus on personalities**: the gang responsible for the robbery at the home of Cilla Black had previously robbed Lord Levy, a friend of the then Prime Minister Tony Blair. These robberies – given they were but two among many that occur each year – were singled out for media attention because they involved famous, easily identified, individuals in our society.

2 What impression might readers form from the newspaper report in Item B?

Three impressions might reasonably be formed from Item B: **1** Violent crime is not only rising, it is doing so at a very fast rate (20 per cent a year). **2** Government attempts to stop rising violent crime have failed. **3** Violent crime involves thugs with guns.

3a) Briefly summarise the table in Item C.

1 Worries of tabloid and broadsheet readers about crime are significantly different (the former are generally more worried). **2** Around 80 per cent of tabloid readers and 90 per cent of broadsheet readers are *not* worried about these types of crime. **3** A similar percentage from each newspaper group (around 16–18 per cent of tabloid readers and 6–9 per cent of broadsheet readers) are worried about burglary, mugging, physical attack and rape.

b) Suggest explanations for the apparent link between newspaper readership and concern with crime.

There are two basic explanations for the link: **1** Tabloid readers tend to be working class and broadsheet readers middle class. The former, living in high-crime areas (inner-cities and council estates for example), are particularly concerned about and affected by crime. They are, for example, more likely than their middle-class counterparts to have experience of violent crime. In this respect tabloid newspapers may simply reflect the experiences of a readership for whom both crime – and the fear of crime – are likely to be much greater than they are for their middle-class counterparts. **2** A second explanation is that because tabloids are more likely to report violent and sexual crimes than broadsheets this leads to the readership believing these types of crime are rising and, in consequence, they are more concerned about becoming a victim of such crime.

Unit 4: Explaining crime and deviance: functionalism, strain theory and subcultural theory

Activity 9 (pages 147–148)

1 The criminal types identified by Victorian criminologists were little different from popular stereotypes of the day. Discuss with reference to Items A, B and C.

Popular stereotypes of criminals in Victorian Britain centred around four general beliefs: **1** Criminals were different from non-criminals. Each of the items, in slightly different ways, reflects this idea. In Item A the difference is biological, in Item B social (professors of dancing giving lessons to criminals), and in Item C physiological (criminals have certain physical characteristics that mark them apart).

2 The criminal was seen as abnormal in a normal population. Items A and C reflect this idea in that a criminal minority were seen as having different biological and physiological characteristics from the non-criminal majority

in society, through which they could be scientifically identified.

3 The differences between criminals and non-criminals, the abnormal and the normal, were to be found in two areas: firstly, the hereditary characteristics of criminals (the inheritance of particular genes which predispose individuals to criminal behaviour); and, secondly, people's experiences, particularly those in childhood, which predispose them to crime. Items A and C relate to ideas about hereditary differences while Item B refers to social differences (the cartoon mocks the idea that criminals could be 'reformed' through exposure to 'civilising influences' – an idea that reflected popular Victorian ideas about different social classes).

4 In both cases – hereditary characteristics or socialisation – there was a belief that some people were predisposed to be criminals. This is reflected in each item in terms of biological (Item A), social (Item B) and physiological (Item C) influences. In each case the predisposition was seen as something present, fixed and unchanging in the criminal.

2 What similarities and differences are evident in Lombroso's and Eysenck's explanations of criminal behaviour? (Items A and D)

We can identify four general **similarities** between the work of Lombroso and Eysenck: **1** Both claim to explain crime scientifically. **2** Both claim that 'criminality' is based on some form of inherited characteristics (biological in the case of Lombroso, genetic in the case of Eysenck). **3** Both identify 'outward manifestations' of criminality – for Lombroso this involved a range of physical features, while for Eysenck these are behavioural traits such as 'extraversion'. **4** Both studied the behaviour of offenders – prisoners in the case of Lombroso, young repeat offenders in Eysenck's case.

There are, however, important **differences** between the explanations: **1** Lombroso's explanation is entirely based on inherited biological characteristics that are not modified in any way by cultural environment (someone is, in this respect, a 'born criminal'). For Eysenck the relationship between inherited characteristics, such as an 'extravert personality', and a propensity to criminal behaviour is more complex: extravert personalities, for example, are more prone to react to particular environmental factors with criminal behaviour – but this is not the same as saying they are 'inherently criminal'. **2** For Lombroso a person's cultural environment has no effect on their inclination – or otherwise – to criminal behaviour. For Eysenck the relationship between personality and environment is very important since it is the interaction between the two that determines whether someone will engage in criminal behaviour. **3** Criminal behaviour, for Lombroso, is a function of individual inheritance – the 'born criminal' cannot be changed or reformed. For Eysenck, however, even those most prone to criminality (highly extravert personalities) may respond to social controls.

Activity 10 (pages 149–150)

Suggest how the activities in Items A, B and C can be seen as functional for society.

The activities can be seen as functional for society in three main ways: **1** Through degradation ceremonies such as criminal trials and public punishment (Item A) people are reminded of their shared norms and values. Public condemnation of those who have broken significant rules – for example, murderers – serves to reaffirm certain norms and values. It also serves to specify certain behavioural boundaries and limits while simultaneously uniting the 'law-abiding majority' against those who have 'broken the rules'. **2** Prostitution (Item B) can, Davis (1961) argued, act as a 'safety valve' for the individual, the family group and society in that it provides male sexual satisfaction without threatening the family as an institution. Prostitution, in other words, provides satisfaction of male sexual needs that are not being fulfilled within the family, in a way that doesn't threaten to break up family relationships. **3** Riots are functional because they perform a 'warning function' for society. Clinard (1974), for example, suggests such behaviour may serve as 'a signal or warning that there is some defect in the social organisation' that society must address – which may result in 'changes that enhance efficiency and morale'.

Activity 11 (pages 152–153)

Read Items A and B and look at the pictures.

Explain the behaviour of Hispanic gangs in terms of a) Merton's strain theory.

Strain theory as an explanation for the behaviour of Hispanic gangs begins with the observation that American culture attaches great importance to success, largely **measured** in terms of money and material possessions. This culture also specifies the legitimate means for achieving success – such as gaining certain skills and qualifications. Great (structural) pressure is placed on individuals to achieve material success, and deviance results when people reject the legitimate means for reaching this goal. In the case of Hispanic gangs, they clearly accept the goal of material success. Item A, for example, notes how 'Many gang members deal in drugs. At the age of 15, former gang member Luis Rivera was earning $1000 dollars a day … "I had my first car at the age of 16. I had no shortage of money."' However, they reject the legitimate means to achieve it and pursue illegitimate means instead. One reason for this is that gang members 'feel the strain to anomie': that is, their position at the bottom of the American class structure makes it difficult, if not impossible, for them to acquire the skills and qualifications needed to reach the top. In terms of strain theory, they become innovators – people who accept the goal of success but have little access to conventional and legitimate means for becoming successful. As a result, they innovate by turning

to illegitimate means (such as the drug dealing in Item A, backed up by a willingness to resort to violence).

b) Cohen's subcultural theory.

Subcultural theory begins, like strain theory, with the idea that 'success' is a mainstream value of American society – one that creates problems for young working class males in particular because they generally fail to acquire the skills and qualifications needed for success. Cohen (1955) argues that their failure in the education system means many working-class adolescents experience status frustration. They are frustrated with their low status as 'losers' and are given little or no respect by others in society. Gangs are a subcultural solution to status frustration because they create a setting – one involving norms and values that differ from those of mainstream society – where individual gang members can find a level of status for the various (subcultural) skills they possess. Thus, the kinds of anti-social and criminal behaviours outlined in Items A and B are valued by gang subcultures and are a source of status within the subcultural group. Gang members, by succeeding in terms of the norms and values of the delinquent subculture (by killing rivals, successful drug-dealing and so on), gain respect and admiration from their peers – they achieve, in other words, the status they desire that has been denied to them by wider society. Furthermore, some (though not all) aspects of gang behaviour are non-utilitarian – they have no obvious material benefit. For example, the tattoos and initiation ceremonies that are features of these gangs bring no material rewards, and indeed cause pain, but they cement gang identity and increase a sense of belonging to the subculture.

c) Cloward and Ohlin's opportunity structure theory.

Opportunity structure theory as an explanation for the behaviour of Hispanic gangs begins with the observation that, as with the previous theories, 'success' is a mainstream value of American society and there are legitimate means towards its achievement (through work, for example), However, this theory suggests that when legitimate opportunity structures are blocked or closed (as is frequently the case with young, working class males), people turn to illegitimate opportunity structures (such as the drug-dealing in Item A).

In this particular instance Hispanic gangs represent a conflict subculture. In the absence of a clear criminal subculture within which to move, gangs operate in a conflict subculture which lacks both clear legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures – extreme inter-gang violence is characteristic of this type of subculture (as Item A notes, most of the murders in LA are gang-related) because it provides opportunities for gang members to gain status and respect from their peers. However, it is also possible to suggest that Hispanic gangs may also operate within a criminal subculture of their own creation – gangs have initiation ceremonies (Item A) and identity markers (Item B) with members taking on nicknames and adopting the dress

codes of the gang. Involvement in organised drug-dealing (Item A) also suggests such gangs can be considered, at least in part, a criminal subculture since drug-dealing is an organised criminal activity with high potential rewards.

Activity 12 (pages 157–158)

1 The consequences of corporate crime can be extremely serious. Discuss with reference to Item A.

The fraudulent behaviour by company executives at Enron had serious consequences for investors, employees and creditors. **1** The shares held by investors became virtually worthless once the massive scale of the fraud was revealed and the company was forced to file for bankruptcy. **2** 19,000 employees lost both their jobs and their life savings invested in a retirement plan based on the value of Enron shares. **3** 20,000 creditors were owed around $67 billion by the company for goods and services for which they had not been paid. Following Enron's bankruptcy creditors received around one-fifth of the money owed.

2 Would you describe the Piper Alpha disaster (Item B) as a crime? Give reasons for your answer.

The answer to this question revolves around a personal interpretation of 'crime'. Although Occidental was found guilty of inadequate maintenance and safety procedures at a public inquiry, no criminal charges were brought against the company. However, the disaster could be interpreted as a crime for two reasons: **1** The disaster was not 'an accident' in the sense of there being little or nothing the company could have done to prevent it. **2** The causes of the disaster were traced to company and management decisions (inadequate risk assessment) and behaviours (a failure to put right known system deficiencies, neglect of safety standards and regulations). These individual and collective failures eventually led to the deaths of 167 workers. The company's failure to heed and act on warnings and problems means that the Piper Alpha disaster could be seen as a crime rather than as an accident.

However, it is also possible to argue that the disaster **was not a crime**: **1** The offences for which the company was found guilty were minor breaches of health and safety rules. **2** The disaster was an accident in the sense that it was not possible for the company and its management to foresee a series of events that, in combination, would have disastrous consequences. **3** It was not possible to identify individuals who could be held responsible for directly causing the disaster by their actions or inaction. In other words, the disaster arose as a consequence of a complex chain of actions and reactions, none of which, in themselves, represented criminal behaviour.

3 How does Item C illustrate the difference between the way many corporate offences and 'ordinary crimes' are seen?

The item illustrates three differences between the ways many corporate offences and 'ordinary crimes' are seen. **1** Many corporate offences are dealt with by regulatory bodies rather than the criminal justice system. In other words they are not seen by the authorities as being criminal offences. This difference in classification leads to clear differences in treatment. Companies are more likely than individuals to be issued with 'official warning notices' to put a matter right, rather than being arrested and prosecuted, as would be the case with 'ordinary crimes'. **2** In some instances evidence of 'misconduct' is dealt with by professional associations – something that involves the self-regulation of members rather than criminal prosecution. **3** Many corporate offences are classified as regulatory issues rather than criminal offences, and are therefore treated differently (an offender may be required to repay money – with a financial penalty – rather than being criminally prosecuted). **4** There is a clear difference in 'punishment' between the two types of offence and this, in turn, reflects differences in how the two are seen. Corporate offences rarely, if ever, involve prison sentences for offenders, whereas a prison sentence for a burglar is highly likely.

Unit 5: Interactionalism and labelling theory

Activity 13 (page 161)

1 Which act or acts in Item A might be defined as deviant? Give reasons for your answer.

In Item A the act of self-injecting a drug whose use is controlled (assuming that the drug in the item is something like heroin) is deviant. The act of injecting (or being injected with) a drug legally administered by a medical professional is not deviant (in some circumstances *not* to accept the injection would be considered deviant if this behaviour helped to spread a harmful, infectious disease). For Becker (1963) there is nothing inherently deviant in either of the acts depicted in the item. What makes one – self-injecting heroin – deviant, is that it is behaviour 'not publicly defined as proper'.

2 If there was trouble at a soccer match, which of the people in Item B would the police be more likely to question and arrest? Give reasons for your answer.

The group in the lower picture (Item B) are more likely to be questioned and arrested by the police. This follows because of the way the police both label certain acts as deviant and categorise the people who are 'most likely' to be involved in deviant behaviour. In Cicourel's (1976) terms the police hold a picture of a 'typical football hooligan' and people who fit this picture are more likely to be arrested and charged. In this respect there are two main reasons to support the idea that the group in the lower picture are more likely to be questioned and arrested: **1** The top group includes people (for example, Trevor Francis, an ex-England footballer and television pundit) who can be generally categorised as both respectable and non-hooligan. Those in the lower group, on the other hand, generally fit the police

profile of 'potential hooligans' (young, working class men).
2 The actions of the second group (giving Nazi salutes) are indicative of how (some) football hooligans behave. In other words their actions are likely to be interpreted as those of 'hooligans' whereas the actions of the top group are likely to be interpreted as those of legitimate football fans. It is this combination of appearance and behaviour that gives police clues as to 'potential hooligans' and makes it more likely the second group will attract the hooligan label.

3 How might the police activity in Item C lead to secondary deviance?

Lemert (1972) argues that secondary deviance refers to acts which have been publicly labelled as deviant and, most significantly, to the further deviant behaviour generated by this labelling. This follows because the act of public labelling may have a dramatic effect on the labelled individual's status and identity, such that they change from seeing themselves as essentially law-abiding and non-deviant to seeing themselves as someone who has been defined as deviant. When this happens the labelled individual is likely to engage in further deviant acts as a way of supporting their new sense of self and identity. In other words, by drawing public attention to primary (and possibly relatively harmless and isolated) acts of deviance, control agencies such as the police may unwittingly contribute to an increase in the deviant behaviour they are trying to prevent.

In Item C, the actions of the police – 'stopping and searching' an individual (assuming for the sake of argument they have committed an act of primary deviance) – may lead to secondary deviance because of their public reaction to primary deviance. In other words, the police action brings primary deviance out into the open – into the public domain – where there is a requirement to show that 'something is being done' (such as arresting and charging the individual). Secondary deviance (where the individual commits further acts of deviance) becomes more likely because of the fact that the individual's primary deviance has been criminalised and this can affect their self-concept.

Activity 14 (page 163)

1 To what extent does the societal reaction in Items B to E fit the process outlined in Item A?

The societal reaction in Items B to E fits the process outlined in Item A in the following way. **1 Identification of a problem**: In the context of the items 'football hooliganism' is identified as a social problem. **2 Identification of a subversive minority**: Item D identifies a distinctive group of supporters – those who 'spoil it for everyone', or the 'yobs' who are 'plotting war' of Item B. **3 Simplification of cause**: This is implicit in a couple of ways. Item B, for example, suggests the deviants can be characterised as 'yobs' which, in turn, suggests their behaviour is motivated by a range of personal and social characteristics associated with 'yobbishness'. This item also suggests two further

explanations for the behaviour: firstly, that 'hooligans' from different countries are attempting to outdo each other in order to reach the top of a mythical, media-generated 'European Hooligan League Table'; and secondly that hooligan behaviour is motivated by international hooligan rivalries (reflected in the idea of 'World War III' and 'Yobs Plot War'). In Item D the causes of hooliganism are located in inter-club fan rivalries (such as that between Liverpool and Juventus). **4 Stigmatisation of those involved**: Item B labels these supporters 'yobs', partly as a way of distinguishing them from 'real fans' and partly to suggest their behaviour can only be explained in terms of their personal characteristics 'as yobs'. **5 Stirring of public indignation** is indicated in Item C where the behaviour of hooligans is characterised as 'a blot on our reputation'. This item also includes a call for action – those 'caught and convicted' should be 'given a severe sentence as an example to others'. Item B's over-dramatisation of hooligan clashes as being analogous to 'war' also serves to stir public indignation at this outrageous behaviour. **6 Stamping down hard**: In addition to calls from politicians for 'severe sentences' (Item C) the police have responded to the 'problem' (Item E) in a variety of ways – some of which reflect the 'war' theme portrayed in the media (undercover spying operations, identity cards, an Intelligence Unit and so on). **7 More authoritarian forms of control**: Item E shows a range of police responses to the 'hooligan menace' (from crowd surveillance to placing supporters in spiked pens) that reflect an authoritarian response.

2 How might societal reaction generate further and more serious deviance? Refer to Item F in your answer.

For labelling theorists the importance of societal reaction is not simply an academic issue (in the sense of defining deviance in terms of how others react to particular types of behaviour) – it is also a practical one. This is because the way that control groups, such as the police, react to deviant behaviour goes some way to determining how deviants are likely to 'react to the police reaction'. In other words, the reaction of society, in the shape of the police, may have a dramatic effect on individual and group status and identity and may lead to further deviant acts. This follows for two main reasons:

1 Labelling people as deviant marks them out as 'different' and, by so doing, may give members of a group a sense of individual and group identity 'as football hooligans'. In other words, the label given to such people becomes a source of identity, pride and motivation, rather than the intended deterrent. **2** The behaviour of the group changes to meet the challenges presented by the societal reaction, as evidenced in Item F. Here the rapid police response to potential hooliganism raised the stakes for hooligans. As the respondent suggests, '… because the policing has got so good, we've got to the point where we have to inflict the greatest possible damage in the least amount of time, and the knife is the most efficient instrument for a quick injury'. In other words, because the police response has closed

down the time available for both ritual (shouting abuse at rivals, for example) and skirmishing (clashes between fans that may involve fists and feet but not weapons), the stakes have been raised to the extent that fans attack each other with weapons because they have little time to do anything more before the police intervene to stop the clashes. The respondent suggests knifings are symbolic because they represent 'an important victory to the side that has done the knifing', and indicates how societal reaction can generate further and more serious deviance, concluding that, 'If the policing was not so good, I'm sure the knifings would stop.'

Unit 6: Marxism and radical criminology

Activity 15 (page 165)

1 Using a Marxist perspective, briefly comment on the cartoons in Item A.

Marxists understand crime and deviance in terms of capitalism and the class struggle, ideas that are reflected in the two cartoons. The bank robber cartoon, for example, expresses the idea that the structure of capitalist society is systematically biased in favour of the rich and powerful – those at the top of the class structure always gain the most. The cartoon also reflects Marxist attitudes to law and criminality – while the robbers set out to make money by stealing from a bank the end result of their efforts is they owe the bank money. In this respect they have been 'legally robbed' through a combination of bank costs and service/handling charges. The point being made here is that while the lower classes are forced into crime their higher class counterparts are able to achieve the same ends quite legally since the capitalist system is effectively rigged in their favour.

The second cartoon suggests why this might be the case in terms of portraying a class structure with the lifestyles of the rich at the top being supported by the work done by those at the bottom. Standing between these two extremes are agencies of social control – the police at the lower level and the armed forces and judiciary at a higher level. For Marxists, therefore, laws and the legal system reflect the interests of the dominant capitalist class. An example here might be the many laws protecting private property which have appeared on the statute books over the past 200 years. The position of the police above the working class but below the middle and upper classes also symbolises Marxist perspectives on law and order – control agencies such as the police are invariably 'looking down' at the behaviour of the lower classes and they rarely 'look upward' at the behaviour of the upper classes.

2 Read Item B. Suggest reasons for the different treatment of tax fraud and welfare fraud.

There are a range of reasons we can suggest for the differential treatment: **1** Welfare fraud is generally committed by the poor and powerless. Tax fraud is generally committed by the rich and powerful. **2** Working class behaviour is generally policed more forcefully and effectively than upper class behaviour. **3** The courts deal more forcefully with lower class behaviour. **4** The upper classes are able to employ middle class professionals (such as accountants and lawyers) to protect their interests in ways that are not available to lower class welfare fraudsters. **5** The behaviour of the rich and powerful is more likely to be regulated (and in many cases self-regulated) rather than criminalised. Punishments for transgression are similarly different, with fines being the main punishment for those who are 'very unlucky, very stupid and very crooked'.

Unit 7: Right realism, social order and social control

Activity 16 (page 171)

1 In what ways does Item A reflect the right realist approach?

The right realist approach is reflected in a number of ways by Item A:

1 Economic factors such as poverty or unemployment are *not* the cause of this form of deviance. This is reflected in Marsland's argument that capitalism, poverty and unemployment are not causes of street begging, an assertion he supports using both cross-cultural evidence ('Begging on any scale is unheard of in some of the richest countries in the world … and some of the poorest') and historical evidence ('The current scale of begging was unheard of in the Britain of the 1930s, when unemployment was at much higher levels and much crueller in its impact').

2 Young men are 'temperamentally aggressive'. This aggression is partly biologically based and makes them prone to crime. The item reflects this by reference to 'the aggressive hassling of men, women, and children' by street beggars.

3 How people are socialised in the family, school and wider community has an important effect on their behaviour and lack of discipline in these areas means individuals fail to learn and follow society's norms and values. It also means they fail to develop self-control. Marsland's argument reflects this idea when he claims that beggars have an 'arrogant contempt for the values of most decent, ordinary people – honesty, hard work, and civility'. The idea that they choose to beg also reflects an inability to develop the self-control and discipline required to find and keep paid employment.

4 The growth of a culture that emphasises immediate gratification has produced a class of people with fewer restraints on their behaviour. This idea is reflected in Marsland's claim that beggars are aggressive and fail to conform to mainstream norms and values relating to honesty and hard work (the article suggests beggars are dishonestly

claiming they have no alternative but to beg when cross-cultural and historic evidence suggests otherwise). Rather than work for a living, beggars take the 'easy route' of trying to live off the labour of others.

5 Right realists advocate a cost/benefit analysis of crime and deviance which is reflected in the item through the idea that where the benefits of begging (essentially, money for doing nothing) outweigh the costs (begging is not only tolerated and supported by people giving money, beggars also take 'possessive occupation ... of the most celebrated and attractive streets and squares') there will be an increase in crime and deviance.

6 Many right realists argue that an underclass is emerging in modern Western societies which is characterised by how it behaves (an unwillingness to do paid work) – an idea reflected in the item by begging as an alternative to hard work. One reason suggested for this is 'welfare dependency': overgenerous welfare benefits mean the underclass have become dependent on the state which has funded their unproductive lifestyles. For writers like Murray, the solution to this problem is a reduction or withdrawal of welfare benefits to force people to take responsibility for their own lives. Marsland offers a similar analysis and solution with his reference to the Victorian Poor Laws and workhouses – a return to which would instil values of 'hard work, self reliance and respectability'. Right realists believe that people make rational choices about how to behave. If society, according to Marsland, does not make begging a difficult and unattractive option for people then they will continue to choose this behaviour.

7 Wilson and Kelling (2003) argue that ignoring 'anti-social behaviour' (such as aggressive street begging) sends the wrong type of message to people – both the law-abiding majority and the underclass. The role of the police is to prevent an area from deteriorating by clamping down on the first signs of disorderly behaviour. These ideas are reflected in the item by Marsland's characterisation of beggars as being 'like fungus spreading in a damp cellar' and 'locusts swarming on the harvest'.

2 How do the pictures in Item B illustrate right realist views on crime control?

The right realist concern with practical measures to reduce crime and maintain social order is based on the ideas of rational choice and a cost/benefit analysis of criminal and conforming behaviour. In other words, people are rational beings and their choices of behaviour are influenced by whether or not the costs of criminal behaviour outweigh the likely benefits. If crime involves low costs (there is little risk of being caught, for example) and high benefits (getting something for nothing, for example) then the rational choice is to commit crime.

For a community, therefore, the way to lower crime levels is to increase the costs of crime and raise the benefits of conformity. For right realists this can be achieved in two

main ways, reflected in Item B: **1 Target hardening** involves reducing the physical opportunities for offending. The gated community in the item is an example here. **2 Surveillance** involves watching areas where crime is likely to occur. CCTV (closed circuit television), for example, can be used to automatically and systematically watch areas, such as railway stations, as in the item. This increases the cost of crime because any criminal behaviour will be filmed and the offenders run a high risk of being identified. A second form of surveillance illustrated in the item is the neighbourhood watch scheme, in which the law-abiding majority in the community act together with the police (as their 'eyes and ears', for example) to detect and report criminal behaviour. The involvement of citizens in these schemes increases the amount of informal social control as well since participants can monitor and discourage minor infringements of social norms as well as reporting more serious criminal offences to the police.

Unit 8: Left realism, social order and social control

Activity 17 (page 174)

1 In what way does Item A illustrate Young's view of the bulimic society?

Young's (2002) concept of a bulimic society involves the idea that although the lower working classes are constantly exposed to expensive material goods, they cannot afford to buy them. They experience *cultural inclusion* through the media – just like everyone who watches television they can see the goods being displayed and advertised – but *structural exclusion* through their lack of purchasing power. Item A illustrates this idea in the sense that while children from poor African-American families are familiar with adult luxury goods through watching television (cultural inclusion), their poverty means they are unable to buy such goods (structural exclusion).

2 How does Item B indicate that those at the bottom share the values of mainstream society?

The item indicates that those at the bottom of society share a number of mainstream values: **1** Just like most people in society, they want material success ('their piece of the pie'). **2** They aggressively pursue careers as private entrepreneurs. **3** They take risks, work hard and pray for good luck as a means of achieving success.

3 Use the concept of relative deprivation to explain the behaviour outlined in Items B and C.

Relative deprivation is based on the idea that people see themselves as deprived in comparison to others – such as their own or different class/ethnic groups – and this leads to 'discontent' which can be expressed in many different ways. In terms of Item B, for example, the Puerto Rican immigrants in East Harlem wanted the same kinds of things that their more affluent peers took for granted – material success and

a certain standard of living. Their solution to feelings of relative deprivation was to use illegal means (drug-dealing) to achieve their desires. In Item C relative deprivation is expressed in the idea that while affluent societies have fostered expectations about how people should live (and the possessions they should have), not everyone can acquire these things through legitimate means (such as paid work). When this occurs people express their feelings of relative deprivation through alternative means, such as crime.

4 How can Item D be seen as the ultimate form of exclusion?

Item D can be seen as the ultimate form of exclusion because these people have been taken out of mainstream society. Their exclusion is not only *symbolic* (where people see, but cannot afford, the consumer goods that many parts of mainstream society take for granted), but also *physical* – they are literally separated from mainstream society by being imprisoned.

Unit 9: Globalisation and crime

Activity 18 (pages 177–178)

1 What are the common features of organised crime suggested by Items A and B?

The common features of organised crime suggested by the items are: **1** It is an 'alien organisation' in the sense of being created and dominated by foreigners – in the case of Item A, the Mafia is Italian in origin (although it flourished in America) and Blofeld is of Eastern European origin. **2** It has a strong, centralised, organisational structure (the Mafia, in Item B, is sometimes called 'The Family' and Brando, in Item A, played the Godfather – the head of the Mafia family), and this is reflected in the holding of annual meetings (Item B) where policies are agreed for the control and correlation of criminal enterprises. **3** It is 'organised' in the way that legitimate commercial businesses are organised: criminal organisations mirror the structures, if not always the behaviour, of legitimate business organisations. **4** It is hierarchical: both Blofeld and the Godfather (Item A) are at the head of their respective organisations. **4** It is national (and perhaps international) in scope. **5** It pursues a ruthless criminal agenda, controlled by gangsters such as those portrayed in *The Sopranos* (Item A), which 'undermines the principles of American ideals of law enforcement'.

2 In what ways may these items provide a misleading image of transnational organised crime?

The items provide a misleading image in four ways: **1** The type of organisational structure portrayed in films and television (Item A) as being characteristic of organised crime – monolithic, hierarchically structured, inflexible and headed by a single, all-powerful individual – is misleading. Real forms of organised crime may simply involve a loose-knit network of people who come together for a specific criminal purpose. Once that purpose has been satisfied the 'organisation' effectively disbands. **2** Item B reflects a belief that organised crime involves a 'group of outsiders' coming in to a society with a criminal intent that perverts that society (the classic example here being the Mafia in America). Levi (2007) suggests this is misleading – 'organised crime in America is best viewed as a set of shifting coalitions between groups of gangsters, business people, politicians, and union leaders'. **3** Organised crime is not necessarily based around clearly identifiable ethnicities (such as Italians in the items). **4** Transnational organised crime is not typically committed by large centrally organised, global organisations of the kind symbolised by Blofeld in the Bond films (Item A). Rather, according to Hobbs and Dunningham (1998), it operates in largely local contexts that have, on occasions, global connections.

Activity 19 (page 179)

1 How do Items A and B suggest that there is a thin line separating legitimate and illegitimate corporate practices?

The extent to which the items suggest there is a thin line separating legitimate and illegitimate corporate practices can be considered from two viewpoints.

On the one hand there is clear evidence, in each item, of criminal activity. In Item A, for example, Madoff confessed to running an elaborate global fraud on a vast scale, and Blagojevich was arrested on suspicion of attempting to sell a Senate seat to the highest bidder – an illegal act under American law. In Item B, BCCI had been involved in a range of illicit, criminal, activities which came to light when the bank collapsed. In this respect, simply because the offenders were business organisations and politicians rather than 'known criminals' makes no difference to the line between legitimate and illegitimate corporate practices – they were engaged in criminal activities 'under the cover' of legitimate business dealings.

On the other hand, it could be argued that some of the individuals and organisations described in the items did not necessarily set out to involve themselves in criminal activities (unlike, for example, organised crime families or gangs). Rather, during the course of normal business or political behaviour the line between 'what is unethical and what is illegal in politics, and what is reckless and what is fraudulent in finance, has become increasingly blurred'. In other words, the behaviour outlined in the items reflects a blurring of the distinction between right and wrong in finance and politics in American society. Madoff, for example, began with a legitimate business enterprise that edged into fraudulent behaviour when the economic returns he was able to generate could no longer meet the expectations of his clients – an idea that represents a further blurring of the line in that it could be argued that Madoff was not acting criminally for his own personal financial gain but was effectively 'forced' to engage in fraudulent activity because of the huge pressure of expectations generated by

his clients. Unlike 'normal criminal activity' where there is usually (but not always) a clear distinction between victim and offender, there may be no such easy distinction to make in this context.

2 How do they indicate that financial fraud is often transnational?

Both the Madoff and the BCCI cases illustrate the idea that financial fraud is often transnational in two ways:
1 Investors on the scale of Madoff and BCCI do not simply invest in one country – their investments are spread around the world, in many countries and many markets. Taylor (1997), for example, notes that transnational corporations (TNCs) operate in different countries and increasingly move their businesses from country to country in search of profits. Where legitimate businesses operate in this global fashion so too do illegitimate businesses. **2** Where 'financial institutions move enormous sums of money ... around the international stock exchange in the search for increasingly competitive advantage' (Taylor, 1997) it is not surprising to find that huge, sophisticated frauds of the type carried out by Madoff and BCCI reflect this movement of capital. As Item A suggests, 'The opportunity for, and magnitude of, such frauds are multiplied in a global economic system.'

Activity 20 (page 181)

How do Items A and B illustrate the problems of combating green crime?

The items illustrate a number of problems that can be broadly categorised as: **government behaviour** and the **activities of control agencies**.

In terms of behaviour at the level of **governments**, a range of problems may occur: **1** National governments have to agree to proposals for combating green crimes. **2** Where governments are part of wider political and economic blocs – such as the EU – the agreement of a large number of national governments may be required in order to both define 'green crime' and agree actions to be taken against offenders. As Item A notes, European Commission proposals to combat environmental crime – from casual fly-tipping by individuals to crimes committed by nation-states – met initial resistance from member states. **3** Once agreed, governments then have to act on international agreements by catching and prosecuting offenders. The fact that the EC 'wants more prosecutions for green crimes, higher fines and more prison sentences' (Item A) suggests that European governments have been slow to identify and prosecute green offenders. In the UK, for example, the Environment Agency says it is 'rare for councils to prosecute' and prison sentences are 'very rare'. **4** Governments in countries such as Brazil are not always in full control of their territory and may be powerless to halt the criminal activities of organised offenders. As Item B notes, 'environmental activists attempting to protect the rainforest have been killed by gunmen employed by the loggers, farmers and ranchers

who are rapidly deforesting the Amazon'. **5** Governments themselves may either be involved in the activity they are supposed to police and prosecute, or they may turn a blind eye to the activities of companies involved in green crimes.

Similarly, **control agencies** may face a range of problems when trying to combat green crimes: **1** Where prosecutions are considered it may be difficult for the police to identify exactly who is criminally responsible – where transnational companies are involved, for example, it may be extremely difficult to discover exactly who has committed a crime. In addition, the question of whether companies should be held responsible for the activities of individual employees can also make prosecution difficult. **2** Behaviour that is illegal in one country may not be illegal in another. For example, a ban on dumping toxic waste in Western countries may be circumvented by shipping the waste to poor countries that do not have such tight regulations and need the foreign currency. **3** Where green crimes cross national borders it may be difficult for control agencies to coordinate cross-national policing between different forces with different languages, procedures and so on.

Activity 21 (page 184)

1 On the basis of Jimmy Carter's statement, is Israel guilty of state human rights crimes in Gaza?

The question of 'state human rights crimes' turns on how we define such a term and, as such, it is difficult to say objectively whether some form of behaviour is or is not criminal. While this is sometimes used as a defence for 'state crimes' – what from one viewpoint may be classed as 'legitimate self-defence' may be seen as 'terrorism' from another – this type of argument could equally be applied to any form of criminalised behaviour (since, although from the viewpoint of control agencies a crime has been committed, the offender might claim to see things differently). In this respect, therefore, one way of viewing 'state human rights crimes' is in the context of international agreements which states enter into and by which they should abide.

In terms of Carter's statement, therefore, Israel is guilty because its behaviour in Gaza, as described by Carter, shows evidence of state human rights crimes: these include collective punishments ('An entire population is being brutally punished') for wrongs committed by individuals, and the bombing of civilians. Each of these acts is banned under international law. In addition, by denying those in Gaza access to the outside world, the entire population is effectively being imprisoned.

2 Are Hamas militants guilty of human rights crimes for firing rockets into Israel?

Although Hamas militants may be considered guilty of a crime by firing rockets into Israel the question of whether or not this makes them guilty of 'human rights' crimes is more difficult to decide. This follows for two reasons:
1 The definition of 'human rights crime' is not clear, precise

and unambiguous. In its widest interpretation the majority of crime – from murder to theft – could be considered an offence against an individual's human rights (such as the 'human right' not to be murdered). A narrower interpretation involves the idea that only governments can commit 'human rights crimes'. **2** If the militants were acting individually and independent of their elected government then it is possible to argue that their criminal behaviour should be punished in the conventional way – through arrest and prosecution via the (international) courts. However, if the militants were acting with the support of their elected government then a case could be made for them being guilty of human rights crimes.

Unit 10: Ethnicity and crime

Activity 22 (page 188)

1 Summarise the trends in Item A.

There are two major trends in Item A: **1** Blacks, followed by Asians and then Whites, are most likely to be stopped and searched by the police. **2** For Blacks and Asians the trend is for a fall in the numbers stopped and searched until around 2000, when the numbers started to increase. The trend for Whites over the same period was for a slight fall (but from a much lower starting point than Blacks – around 20 per 1,000 as opposed to 140 per 1,000).

2 Read Item B. What are the likely effects of being regularly stopped and searched?

In terms of Item B there are a number of identifiable effects: **1** A feeling of being stigmatised by the police as a criminal. **2** A certain defensiveness and lack of cooperation with the police on the part of those being stopped and searched. **3** The adoption of strategies ('I try to stay off the streets as much as possible') to avoid being stopped. **4** Possible injury ('I got my shoulder busted and went unconscious for a short while after I was stopped and searched') through a failure to cooperate fully with the police. **5** A suspicion of the police by Black youths who have been 'criminalised' by stop and search procedures.

Unit 11: Gender and crime

Activity 23 (page 192)

1 Summarise the data in the table.

There are a range of observations we can make based on the data in the table: **1** Overall, males commit more crime than females. **2** Males in every age group commit more crimes than females. **3** The peak age of offending for both males and females is 16–24. **4** The lowest rate of offending is in the 35+ age group for both males and females. **5** Although males and females commit every type of crime (with the exception of sexual offences), males commit more crimes

in each category than females. **6** The majority of crimes committed by both sexes are against property (theft etc.) rather than people (violence against the person).

2 Briefly outline the problems with official crime statistics.

We can identify a number of problems with official crime statistics, related to their comparability, reliability and validity:

1 More crime is now reported by the public than in the past, a change that may not necessarily be caused by more crime – there may be other reasons, such as higher levels of home insurance, lower tolerance levels for violent crime and so on. The fact that more crimes are reported should not necessarily be taken to mean more crimes are committed. **2** As societies change, so too do trends in crime. For example, new types of crime (such as fraud using credit cards, which are a relatively recent development) may evolve which distort comparative crime statistics. Where we are not comparing 'like with like' in the statistics their reliability is open to doubt. **3** A further comparability/ reliability problem occurs where definitions of crime change or new crimes are created. **4** Changes in recording rules, such as allowing the police greater or lesser discretion in whether to record an event as 'a crime', also create reliability problems. **5** In terms of validity, official statistics measure recorded crime, not actual crime. Changes to the way crime is recorded by the police may affect the validity of crime statistics. **6** Official crime statistics may reflect the consequences of police priorities rather than give a reliable picture of crime. For example, if a police force decides to target street robberies they will discover more crime and arrest more robbers; however, once the targeting ceases, numbers will slip back to their previous levels. This makes the reliability of statistics doubtful but, ironically, it may increase their validity at certain times because we gain a more accurate measurement of the actual crimes that take place.

Activity 24 (page 196)

1 How do Items A and B illustrate subordinated masculinities?

Where hegemonic masculinity is the 'idealised' form of masculinity that most men seek to accomplish, subordinated masculinities represent alternatives to this dominant form. Item A, for example, illustrates a form of Black masculinity focused around an aggressive toughness that celebrates violence (Tupac Shakur often posed with guns), reputation, revenge and extreme forms of patriarchal relations with women (often disparagingly referred to as 'hoes' (whores) and bitches). Forms of work associated with this type of subordinated masculinity focus around crime and criminality (pimping, hustling, dealing in dope).

Item B, on the other hand, illustrates a slightly different form of subordinated masculinity – albeit one that has superficial

similarities with Item A. The hyper-masculinity of Item B is focused around a range of characteristics – toughness, autonomy ('being your own man'), power, dominance, reputation, respect, honour, pride, and violence (or at least the threat of violence).

Both items illustrate subordinated masculinities in the sense that the forms of masculinity they show are not the idealised form of hegemonic masculinity in either American (Item A) or British (Item B) society. The majority of men in these societies do not aspire to these types of masculinity.

2 Suggest reasons why these masculinities are developed by men from particular social groups.

It is possible to argue that both types of subordinated masculinity have developed as a response to cultural background and pressures. The subordinated masculinity of Item B, for example, derives from the type of work the bouncer performs: the exaggerated form of masculinity they present is tailored to the mental and physical toughness required to project a necessary image of control in their work. Thus, things like body size and shape, how bouncers stand and walk, what they wear, facial expression and general demeanour are tailored towards the impression they need to present as part and parcel of their working life. In other words, for a bouncer to perform their work role properly they must present an intimidating image – both physically and mentally – to other men. A bouncer who, for whatever reason, fails to reflect the stereotypical characteristics required by the profession is unlikely to find employment.

In Item A the subordinated masculinity can be interpreted differently in the sense of it reflecting a crisis of masculinity. Social and economic changes in late modern societies have been unsettling for men who, in the past, were able to express their masculinity through physical labour. Unemployment and intermittent employment mean some men can no longer express their masculinity in a 'traditional way' – through full-time work and supporting their families. One response to this 'denial of hegemonic masculinity' is the creation of machismo subcultures that glorify an exaggerated form of masculinity – toughness, aggression, sexual prowess and respect for manhood, backed up by physical strength and, in some cases, guns. These subordinated masculinities attempt to earn respect by a willingness to defend their reputation with violence.

Unit 12: Age and crime

Activity 25 (page 200)

1 What does the bar chart show?

The chart shows two things: **1** The age-crime curve. **2** Both male and female conviction rates follow the curve.

2 Why is this pattern called the age-crime curve?

This pattern – which is consistent across different Western societies, historical periods and social groups – is called the age-crime curve because offending behaviour rises steeply from the age of 10 to 18, declines sharply to around age 24 and is then followed by a long, slow decline through the remaining age groups.

Unit 13: Location

Activity 26 (page 205)

1 Briefly summarise the data in the bar chart.

We can summarise the data in the following way: **1** Vehicle-related crime is the most common type of crime in all neighbourhoods. **2** Burglary and violent crime have roughly similar levels in each category. **3** The highest levels of crime in all three categories are found in Rising and Striving neighbourhoods. **4** The lowest levels of crime are found in Thriving and Expanding neighbourhoods.

2 Suggest reasons why different types of neighbourhood have different offence rates.

Different types of neighbourhood have different offence rates for a range of reasons: **1 Opportunity theory** suggests that crimes are higher in neighbourhoods where there are attractive, accessible targets. Although this might suggest crime should be highest in affluent neighbourhoods we need to remember that the more affluent the area the more likely it will be to have measures in place (secure locks, burglar alarms and so on) that make crime more difficult and less attractive. **2 Routine activities theory** suggests that crime is related to the behaviour of three groups of people – criminals, their victims and possible witnesses. In the case of criminals different rates of crime in different neighbourhoods are partly explained by their 'routine activities' – the majority tend to operate in areas with which they are familiar and reasonably comfortable. Their choice of target is further influenced by routine considerations – the likely benefits of the crime weighed against the possible costs, the attractiveness of the target and so on. In basic terms, therefore, higher crime neighbourhoods are likely to be those where criminals live or which are close to where criminals live. **3** A further refinement of this theory involves the idea of **cognitive maps** – the knowledge about an area we carry around in our head. This explanation suggests that criminals tend to operate in areas with which they are familiar. **4 Social disorganisation** explanations focus on the characteristics of a particular area and the impact these have on individual behaviour. Thus, inner city neighbourhoods tend to have higher levels of crime than rural areas because they have a frequent and rapid population turnover (people moving into and out of the inner city looking for entertainment, fun and so on) and they generally involve a mix of class and ethnic cultures. The resulting 'social disorganisation' involves weak (informal) social controls and

high levels of crime. **5** A development of this theory – one that focuses on the way people interact with and are affected by their physical environment – is Wilson and Kelling's (2003) '**broken windows**'. This involves the idea that if the physical environment is allowed to fall into disrepair it sends a message to potential criminals that residents 'don't care' about their area – broken windows, in effect, become an invitation to criminals. Again, this theory accounts for higher crime rates in lower class neighbourhoods, with some 'criminal overspill' accounting for crime in more affluent areas close to run-down estates and neighbourhoods. **6** Skogan's (1990) concept of **spiral decay** can be seen as a further development of this idea – that crime is more likely to occur in areas that have a combination of physical disorder ('broken windows') and social disorder (such as prostitution).

Unit 14: Social control, crime reduction and social policy

Activity 27 (page 209)

1 In what ways might gated communities reduce crime?

There are four ways in which gated communities may reduce crime: **1** Access to an area/community is restricted to those who are invited or who can prove they have some business being in the area. **2** Potential criminals cannot move freely and anonymously around a community – a burglar, for example, cannot easily check out potential targets. **3** Where entrance to and exit from an area is restricted it becomes difficult for a potential criminal both to get into an area to commit a crime and, most importantly, to escape easily once the crime has been committed. **4** Residents feel safer and the sense of living in a common area with secure boundaries helps to develop a sense of community – and when this happens various informal social controls kick in. Strangers, for example, can be easily identified and required to justify their presence within the community.

2 Use the idea of informal social control to explain the results of the decoy vehicle initiative in Item B.

The decoy vehicle initiative is an example of how formal control agencies (such as the police) can work in combination with a community to strengthen and enhance the operation of effective informal social controls. This initiative shows how this might work. The first use of the decoy vehicles involved little or no publicity, and although a number of offenders were caught, this represented only a slight reduction in vehicle theft. In effect, the car thief did not realise they had attempted to steal a decoy vehicle until they actually tried to steal it. While such formal controls 'worked' they were not very successful in deterring crime, as opposed to catching the thief once they had committed a theft.

The second phase of decoy vehicle 'use' involved widespread publicity being given to the initiative, even though the decoy vehicles were withdrawn and were no longer actually on the streets. The subsequent reduction in vehicle theft was much greater – and this can be explained by the operation of informal social controls. Potential offenders were alerted to the 'fact' that decoy vehicles were being used by the police (knowledge that may have spread informally around the community through word-of-mouth) and, in consequence, were led to believe that *any* vehicle was potentially a decoy vehicle. In other words, potential car thieves were given information that led them to modify their behaviour – they exercised a form of self-control (not trying to steal a vehicle) that was influenced by the belief that their behaviour was potentially being monitored by the police.

Activity 28 (page 213)

1 Critically assess Tony Blair's claim in Item A.

Blair's claim is a restatement of **right realist** ideas about crime – if communities allow criminals to 'gain a foothold' (by committing crimes that create a sense of disorder) there will follow an inevitable spiral of decay and decline in that area, each step in the downward spiral making it easier for criminals to operate with impunity (the benefits of their behaviour will increasingly outweigh any likely costs). And it reflects a possible solution in the form of **zero-tolerance policing**. That is, by not tolerating relatively minor crimes (such as vandalism and graffiti) a community is effectively creating a physical and social environment where more serious and dangerous forms of crime (drug-dealing and violence) cannot gain a foothold. There are three related criticisms we can make here:

1 Empirical evidence about the effectiveness of zero-tolerance policing is mixed. Although crime fell in New York after its introduction, it also fell in those American cities that did not introduce this style of policing. **2** Even where a fall in the rate of crime correlates with the use of zero-tolerance policing it may not be caused by this policy. Young (1999), for example, notes that the trend in New York was for a falling crime rate before the introduction of zero-tolerance policing. **3** There are alternative explanations for crime rates which suggest that Blair's claim is unduly pessimistic (the kind of spiral of decay he describes does not necessarily follow from his initial argument), over-deterministic (this type of spiral may occur in some areas, under certain conditions, but not in others under different conditions) and too easily dismissive of other possible explanations. The analysis of long-term crime trends, for example, suggests a strong relationship between crime rates and economic change: when an economy is strong, crime falls, and when it goes into recession, crime rises. At the time Blair was advocating zero-tolerance policing the British and American economies were booming and crime rates were falling. This suggests that the coincidence of zero-tolerance policing and

falling crime rates is just that, a coincidence. Wider and larger economic changes arguably have a far greater impact on crime rates than localised policing initiatives.

2 One of the main problems with developing policies to fight crime is that governments know very little about the majority of lawbreakers. Discuss with reference to Item B.

One of the problems sociologists (and indeed governments) have with developing explanations and policies about crime is that we actually don't know that much about the identity of offenders. While we know a great deal about crime trends, the broad sweep of offending and the general social characteristics of convicted criminals, we know very little about the vast number of offenders who are never caught. Thus, while we may know a great deal about offenders who are caught and processed through the courts (a relatively small percentage of total offenders), the question here is whether or not this is a sufficient basis for developing policies to fight crime.

One reason for our lack of knowledge about 'lawbreakers' (as opposed to convicted offenders) is that the reliability and validity of crime statistics are questionable. While there are some offences (such as murder) where we know a great deal about the social and psychological characteristics of offenders (because a high proportion of murderers are caught), the same is not true for crimes such as theft, robbery or sexual offences. This leads to a further problem in that any measurement of the effectiveness of crime reduction strategies is difficult (as we have seen with zero-tolerance policing strategies, we don't know if crime fell because of the strategy or because of some other reason). This example illustrates yet another problem, namely that crime rates are affected by many possible factors. This makes it difficult to isolate a particular social policy or initiative and say with any degree of certainty that it alone is responsible for a reduction in crime.

Thus, when Blair (Item A) talks with great certainty and precision about our knowledge of offenders we need to be aware that he is talking about *known offenders* – those who have been caught and convicted. The problem here, as Young suggests, is twofold: **1** This ignores 'the fact that a large proportion of young people commit crime, that only a few are caught, and that generalisation about their background from these few is grossly unreliable'. **2** We cannot say with any degree of certainty that the social and psychological characteristics of known offenders are the same as those of 'unknown offenders' (those who offend but are not caught). While we can speculate that a percentage of known offenders will have committed crimes for which they were not convicted this is not a sufficiently strong basis for the kind of claims made by Blair. They are, as Young suggests, 'as hypothetical as they are politically convenient'. At best, therefore, Young argues, 'for four million uncleared offences we do not have the faintest idea of the identity of the offenders'. Governments therefore know very little about the majority of lawbreakers – a situation which arguably makes it very difficult to develop policies to fight crime.

Unit 15: Suicide

Activity 29 (pages 216–217)

1a) Match each of the pictures in Item A with one of Durkheim's four types of suicide:

altruistic: A Japanese servant, pretending to be his master, cuts out his entrails and throws them at the enemy, so allowing his master to escape.
egoistic: Death from poison – living alone in a one-room attic.
fatalistic: Haitians kill themselves and their children to escape from the cruelty of their Spanish masters.
anomic: A Baltimore banker who has lost all his money in a recession blows himself up.

b) Give reasons for your answers.

1 'Death from poison …' is **egoistic suicide** because it results from too little integration into society or social groups. The individual 'stands alone' and has little or no commitment to wider social groups. Their isolation and possible unhappiness puts them at risk of this type of suicidal behaviour.

2 'A Baltimore banker …' is an example of **anomic suicide** because it results from a lack of regulation of people's desires and expectations. When an individual – such as the banker in the item – who has grown used to a certain standard of living, a certain standing in society and a certain level of respect from others has these things taken away by sudden and rapid social changes (such as an economic recession) they experience a state of anomie or normlessness – the norms that once guided their behaviour no longer apply and, in this situation, they are vulnerable to anomic suicide.

3 'A Japanese servant …' is an example of **altruistic suicide** because the servant acted unselfishly – putting the interests and needs of others before his own interests and needs – even though this behaviour was harmful to himself. This type of suicide occurs when individuals are so strongly integrated into a society or social group that they take their own life out of a sense of duty to others.

4 'Haitians kill themselves …' is an example of **fatalistic suicide** because it occurs in a situation where people feel nothing can be done to change things. This type is characteristic of societies where there is too much regulation and control of individuals. In this example, suicide offers a form of escape from an intolerable situation.

2a) How does Item B challenge Durkheim's classification of suicide?

Item B challenges Durkheim's classification of suicide by demonstrating that although each category appears objective – in terms of the criteria that need to be met (anomic suicide

results from a lack of regulation while fatalistic suicide results from over-regulation, for example) – assigning *actual* suicides to each category is, as the item demonstrates, based around subjective decision-making. Are suicide bombers examples of altruism, fatalism, egoism or anomie? The fact that, as the item demonstrates, a good case can be made for including suicide bombers in each, or indeed all, of these categories means that the actual classification of a suicide is not as straightforward or objective as Durkheim's classification would suggest.

b) Choose one of the pictures from Item A and suggest how it might fit into more than one of Durkheim's suicide types.

The picture of 'A Baltimore banker ...' would conventionally be assigned to the **anomic** suicide category for the reasons previously noted. However, a case could equally be made that it represents **egoistic** suicide – the individual is no longer well integrated into society; they stand alone and apart and have little or no commitment to wider social groups. In addition, we could argue that it is an example of **fatalistic** suicide – the banker kills himself through despair at finding himself in an intolerable situation. Having lost all his money he sees no reason to carry on living.

Activity 30 (pages 220–221)

1 Which of Douglas's types of suicide do Items A, B and C illustrate?

Item A: Escape Suicide.
Item B: Self-punishment Suicide.
Item C: Revenge Suicide.

2 How does Item D illustrate 'typical suicide deaths'?

A 'typical suicide death', according to Atkinson, is one that fits into a coroner's concept of how people typically take their own life – through actions such as hanging or a drug overdose. Item D illustrates this idea because the individual 'contemplating suicide' imagines or considers a variety of 'typical suicide methods' – hanging, jumping from a high building, poison, drowning and so on.

3 How does Item E indicate a 'typical suicide biography'?

Taylor (1982) argues that coroners try to reconstruct a 'suicide biography' on the basis of their beliefs about the typical causes of suicide. If the behaviour of the deceased fits into this biography then the death is likely to be classified as suicide. Item E, for example, reflects a suicide biography that generally fits coroners' beliefs – the woman had no family, was homeless, lacked any friends, had no money or means of support and was drunk. Any of these could be interpreted by a coroner as a cause of suicide – taken in terms of the combination presented here they represent an almost conclusive 'suicide biography' (albeit one that is not, perhaps, 'typical').