

MIZAN- TEPI UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Sociology of Deviance - SOCI - 321

Sociology of Deviance SOCI-312

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Module Introduction

This course concerns two fundamental and interrelated issues in sociology, namely, how "society" regulates individual behavior, and what explains behavior that violates those regulations. These issues constitute the topics of the sociology of deviance: the study of social rules (encompassing norms, laws, taboos, rules of etiquette, "unwritten" codes of interpersonal interaction, and other elements of the regulation and routineness of human social life), their sources, their enforcement, their violation, and responses to their violation. To address these issues we will engage three broad topics in this course: the nature of deviance, theories of deviance, and forms of deviance, including mental illness, homicide, drug use, prostitution, corporate misconduct, and others. Generally, it will introduce students with the concept of deviance and its relation to and difference from crime; biological, psychological and sociological theories of deviance; urbanization and deviance; specific types of deviant behaviors. Illustrations are drawn from the Ethiopian reality.

This course discusses about human behaviors in relation to social values and the violation of social norms. It also deals with how theories explain deviant behaviors at different social structures and how deviant behaviors are controlled in society. It explains the deviant behaviors in relation to social norms, social controls and the causes of deviant behaviors. It teaches about the different types of deviant behaviors and crimes.

After the module is completed, you will be able to:

- Understand the conception of deviance and the forms it takes
- Comprehend and apply different theoretical perspectives that explains deviant behaviors
- Identify range of deviant behaviors with the concomitant complexities
- Examine the relationship between urbanization and deviance
- Recognize how "society" regulates individual behavior, and what explains behavior that violates those regulations in a given.

Symbols

Dear learners! To make your learning faster and easier, we have used the following symbols.

	This tells you that there is an introduction of the course, module, unit or overview.
?	This tells you there are questions to answer or think about in the text.
	This tells you there is an activity for you to do.
<u>A</u>	This tells you there is a self-check question/exercise for you to do.

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Unit One

Introduction

This unit deals with an introduction to the basic concepts and central themes in the sociology of deviance. It starts out with the various definitions of deviance, followed by an explanation on the subject matters of sociology of deviance. The unit also contains descriptions of positive and negative deviance as well as an outline of the numerous functions and dysfunctions of deviance in society.

Objectives

After successfully completing this unit, you will be able to:

- define the concept of deviance;
- identify various outlooks on the notion of deviance;
- identify the differences between positive and negative deviance;
- sketch out the major subject matters of sociology of deviance; and
- outline the functions and dysfunctions of deviance in society.

Section 1: The Meaning of Deviance

Dear learners! The term deviance has different definitions as it is seen from the point

of view of different scholars of different fields of studies. It is obvious that a biologist's or a psychologist's definition of deviance could not be one and the same with that of a sociologist's definition of the term. Thus, deviance cannot be uniformly defined throughout the world. Adler (2000) argued that differences in opinion exist regarding the definition of deviance. Under this section, attempt has been made to discus all of the possible definitions of deviance. Being familiar with these definitions will help you understand the context in which the term deviance is used in the rest of the module.

However, before directly proceeding to these specific definitions, it is found worthwhile addressing the general definition of deviance.

1.1. What is Deviance?

?	What do you understand by the term 'deviance'?

Deviance can generally be defined as any behavior, belief, or condition that violates significant social norms in the society or group within which it occurs (Kendall, 2003). Similarly, Macionis (1997) explained that deviance is the recognized violation of cultural norms which are a guideline for virtually all human activities. Thus, the term deviance refers to those behaviors which are not considered normal, at least, by the good majority of a society, community, or social group, irrespective of the direction to where those behaviors deviate from the norm (normal). In other words, deviation from the normal way of behaving may be occurred either to the positive or the negative direction. Those behaviors which deviate from the normal to the negative direction are known as *negative deviance*, whereas those which are positive achievements and positive actions beyond the normal (average) behavior are known as *positive deviance*. Crime, insanity, adultery, theft and other similar behaviors are good examples of negative deviations while those positive deviations are manifested by such behaviors as altruism, charisma, innovation, and so forth.

1.2. Deviance: A Relative Term

?	What do we mean when we say a term is relative?

So far we have seen those different models of defining deviance which define the behavior from only one angle. However, deviance cannot always be treated in this way since it is a relative social behavior which differs in its from one society to others, from social groups to social groups, from time to time, from social situation to social situation, and from one place to the other. Thus, we can see that it is not possible to isolate a certain acts and find them universally condemned by all societies as deviant acts (not even murder and incest). Even within a given society, behavior defined as deviant continuingly undergoes redefinition (Russ Long, 2008). This type of definition of deviance is known as *relative definition*, because it views persons or their behavior as deviant only relative to the way other people react to them.

Relative definition of deviance is the one to which most sociologists are subscribed. For most of the sociologists, deviance is not absolute, universal, statistical, power-based, or labeled; but it is reacted with a particular social audience. As a result, deviance is always defined by some particular social audience. This, in turn, shows that it is advisable to take the society, social structure, social stratification, social norms, social control and social behaviors into consideration when we treat social deviance.

	Act	tivity 1	
	1.	Can you mention some examples with which one could describe deviar as a relative concept?	nce
T			

More surprisingly, the relativity of deviance is also observable even within deviant groups themselves. Deviant groups may have their own norms and values which governs/guides the activities and behaviors of their own members. These norms of deviant groups are totally antagonistic to the norms and values of the mainstream culture. Whatever antagonistic they are, still norms of deviant group govern the deviant members. Those individuals who violate the norms of these deviant groups become a *deviant of a deviant group* (deviant-deviant).

Deviance, furthermore, is relative to time and place, too. It is not possible to find something that is absolutely condemned by all societies of the world. A behavior which is deviant in one society may no be deviant in another. Even within one society, what is deviant today may not be deviant tomorrow (Russ Long, 2008), because perspectives of

social audiences also change across time. Thus, deviance is a dynamic behavior that changes along with the changes of the social structure or the society.

Therefore, the relativity of deviance can be seen across time, society, social group, social situation and place. Now let's see this conditions for the relativity of deviance one by one

1.2.1. The Relativity of Deviance in Terms of Society

Societies are different due to the difference in social norms. Norms, as we know, are standard of behavior to identify what is good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate, suitable or unsuitable, proper or improper, and so forth. However, what is appropriate for one society cannot be appropriate for the other simply because there are norm variations. Thus, what is normal for the Sudanese may not be normal for Ethiopians. For example, taking alcohol drinking is a serious crime in Sudan whereas it is a normal behavior in Ethiopia. This is a good indicator for the relativity of deviance across societies. Another possible example is that abstinence from sex for two years after marriage in the West would be viewed as weird (strange) and grounds for annulment. Such behavior is, however, required for newly weds in the Dani tribes of New Guinea. Sexual activity for the Dani before two years would be viewed as a sexual deviance.

1.2.2. The Relativity of Deviance in Terms of Time

It is obvious that society is dynamic in its nature. It changes across time. Hence, social norms also change along with this societal change. In other words, as far as society changes across time, norms and value (which are basic elements of a given culture) also change. This, in turn, reveals that the change in norms across time brings about the changes in the attitude towards these norms. Thus, deviance varies. For example, termination of marital life (divorce) regardless of adultery was a serious deviant act at some few decades ago in our country; but, today it becomes a normal act that can be ended up without any problem. In addition, Russ Long (2008) argued that people used to be burnt at the stake for engaging in behaviors that most twentieth century people see as normal.

1.2.3. The Relativity of Deviance in Terms of Place

Deviance varies from place to place. This means that the place where an act has been taken place determines whether the act is deviant or normal. For example, killing a person is usually a wrong act. But, it will be renownable if it is taken place at the battle field. Still, it can be a serious crime if it occurs at someone's home for the purpose of revenge. Another more relevant example is that fighting in classroom is absolutely a deviant act; but it is non-deviant if it is happened within the boxing ring.

1.2.4. The Relativity of Deviance in Terms of Social Group

Social groups within a society have their own distinctive norms. For example, having two or more wives is a prescribed deed in those Muslim communities of the world. However, this is a serious and intolerable behavior in those Orthodox Christians of the world. Do you know the reason why? It is due to the fact that the norms and values that govern the behavior of Muslims are directly different from that of the Orthodox Christians. Now, let us take your attention to another example forwarded by Russ Long (2008) which is concerned with the behavior of individuals from poor social group and that of the rich ones: if a poor woman shoplifts a roast, people call her a common criminal. On the other hand, if a rich woman steals a roast, her deviant status is kleptomaniac – a form of mental illness.

1.2.5. The Relativity of Deviance in Terms of Social Situation

Social norms vary from one social situation to the other. So, deviation from those varying social norms also varies across different social situations. The Amharic proverb "Instead of a hyena eats you, let you eat it and then go for salvation" can fully express this view. This indicates that there are conditions in which social norms can be violated for the sake of personal safety. For example, if someone kills a person for self defending purpose, it is both non-deviant and non-criminal act.

Note that although deviance is a relative act or subjective social behavior, which depends on time, place, society, group and situation, there are some acts which are universally regarded as deviant. Examples of such types of deviant acts are: cannibalism, theft of personal property, armed robbery, suicide, rape, corruption, abortion, sexual deviations, delinquency, crime, drug addiction, gambling, mental disorder, burglary, arson, assault, murder, incest, and child-molestation. However, we should be critical of these listed deviant acts when we treat them as universal deviance since there are several exceptions for each of these behaviors in which they cannot be considered as deviant.

1.3. What is Sociology of Deviance?

?	What do you intend to learn from the course sociology of deviance?

Sociology of deviance is the area of sociology that studies the violation of social norms or expectations, and researchers studying it will often use social or interpersonal methods of obtaining data. Among the large variety of theories concerning the source and sociology of deviance, class conflict theory, stemming from Karl Marx, is among the foundational and influential theories of the sociology of deviance. Emile Durkheim, on the other hand, based his theory of social deviance on communal cohesion, especially as it relates to preand post-industrial societies, and this relates to Kai Erikson's theory of boundary maintenance, in which he asserts that the sociology of deviance is centered around constructing boundaries to keep a community intact. Robert Merton's strain theory is also particularly influential, in which he asserts that deviance is a method of coping with social expectations.

Despite the many theories of the sociology of deviance, most hold that the actions that are considered deviant are relative to each specific society. Similar actions may be given different labels in different time periods and cultures, and even within one culture, social responses can change over time and can be affected by historical events. Theories of

social deviance tend to try to develop a model that will explain consistent patterns of deviant behavior throughout different cultures.

Those who research social deviance will often focus on small- and large-scale views of a community. They may interview a small group of individuals personally or perform a survey via many institutions. They may also perform participant observation, in which they spend time in the community they wish to study to gain first-hand knowledge of the social interactions that take place there.

Marx bases all his theory, fundamentally, on class conflict: usually, the more powerful bourgeoisie will pursue its own interests against the proletariat. According to Marx, the criminal justice system, and therefore the laws that define deviant or criminal behavior, exists primarily to protect the upper class and its interests. In addition, a capitalist society will necessarily worsen this division and create deviance because technology will gradually lead to more efficient means of production: those who can keep up with it become economically powerful, while those who cannot are pushed to the edges.

?	What do you think holds members of a society together?

Durkheim held that every society had a collective consciousness of agreed-upon values, and deviance is a normal consequence of a society setting boundaries for itself. In simplistic, pre-industrial societies, social cohesion is greater, but in post-industrial cities, there is more differentiation. As a result, there is more debate regarding deviant behavior, and some behaviors may be considered deviant by some groups while others are not.

Erikson studied the Puritans and the Salem witch trials and developed a theory related to Durkheim's: that a community stays intact by limiting itself to a particular range of activities. Any activities that fall outside this range are condemned as deviant. Each time the community calls individuals to account for this behavior, it is reaffirming those boundaries, but other factors can cause deviant individuals to gain power and shift the boundaries.

Merton's strain theory deals with the different ways people cope with social expectations, and deviant behavior is just part of the different methods. He outlines a major value that society upholds, such as love of money, as well as the ways of achieving it that are labeled as proper. Some, according to Merton, will conform and reach that goal, obtaining monetary success. Innovators will use deviant means of reaching the same goal, whereas ritualists will try to conform, but will not be successful. Rebels are truly deviant in rejecting both the lifestyle and the goal.

Section Two: Types of Deviance

Dear learners! In this section you will learn about the different types of deviance as explained by a number of sociologists. This discussion will be followed by more elaborate definitions of deviance that result from the types of deviance explained in the section.

2.1. Positive Deviance

?	Can you think of a way in which deviance could be explained as positive?

Positive deviance has been variously defined in the literature (Kelly, 2002). Consequently, a classificatory model developed from the examples that have been in the literature on positive deviance is presented (Adler, et. al., 2000). The writers have identified the following ideal types of behaviors as positive deviance: *altruism*, *charisma*, *innovation*, *supra-conformity behaviors*, *innate characteristics and ex-deviant*.

A myriad behavior and/or actions have been advanced as examples of positive deviance. Specifically, the following have been referred as to examples of positive deviance: noble prize winners ... the gifted ... motion picture stars ... supra-star athlete ... pro quarterbacks ... altruists ... congressional medal of winners ... religious leaders ... straight A students ... zealous weight lifters and runners ... innovative or creative people such as Freud and Darwin ... and social idealist (Kelly, et. al., 2002: 23).

People will publicly evaluate those behaviors (considered positive actions) and/or actors in a superior sense; and these behaviors can be categorized under one of the following types:

- a. *Altruism*: includes saints and good neighbours, self-sacrificing heroes, congressional medal of honour winners, etc. It involves an act undertaken voluntarily to assist others persons or other people without any expectations of reward. Scholars, who have addressed positive deviance, identified two types of altruism: *autonomous altruism* which refers to actors such as abolitionists who died exert themselves and sacrifice themselves to a much greater degree, and *acts* such as *donating a small amount of money and doesn't require much effort*. Thus, it can, however, be concluded that autonomous altruism is more descriptive of positive deviance.
- b. *Charisma*: Some of the examples of charismatic individuals include Gandhi, religious leaders in general, Emperor Tewodrous IV, Mandela, etc. Charismatic people have extra-qualities that force followers or other people to be willing to obey their leadership.
- c. *Innovation*: This type of deviance is described by such behaviors as *noble prize* winners, innovative or creative figures (such as Freud, and Darwin), reformers, etc.

Innovation refers to the combination of already existing cultural elements in a novel manner, or the modifying of already existing cultural elements to produce a new one. Note that innovations are fundamental factors for social change in a society.

- d. *Supra-conformity*: Straight A students, zealous weight lifters and runners, and extreme moralists exemplify supra-conformity. It is a behavior which is at the level of the idealized norms within a culture. We know that norms operate at two levels: the *ideal* which most people believe is better but few *achieved* and *the realistic version* which most people can achieve. The negative deviant fail to abide by either level; the 'normal' person operates at the realistic level; but doesn't achieve the idealized level; and the positive deviant is able to attain or behave at the idealized level. Subsequently, it is only few individuals who can reach the realized level.
- e. *Innate characteristics*: Scholars have come to an agreement on the idea that certain actions or actors, that are positive deviance or deviants, are at least partially resulted in innate characteristics. Some examples of this type are extremely beautiful woman she is a beautiful t be alone, superstar athlete, movie stars and intelligent. In addition, these characteristics are culturally defined, for example, intelligence and attractiveness are also culturally defined.
- f. *The Ex-deviant*: The previously stigmatized persons, labeled in a negative fashion that manage to convert to a status of normative person, is essentially a novel way to think of a *positive deviant*. Examples include *destigmatization* (an ex-convict) and *transcendence* (an accomplished person with a physically disability).

To sum up, this typology will hopefully help us clarify the concept of positive deviance. However, in nearly all literatures on deviance, it is the negative deviation that gains more attention, particularly due to its negative impact on the normative standards of the society. As a result, positive deviance has been found given only little attention. Thus, the remaining major portions of this teaching material are totally concerned with the issue of negative deviation alone. All demonological, biological, psychological and sociological

explanations of deviance, addressed under chapter two, are dealt with this issue. Therefore, you are advised to bear in mind that Sociology of Deviance is often focused on those behaviors which deviate from the normal to the negative direction.

2.2. Negative Deviance

Why do you think people usually consider deviance to be a negative force in society?

Deviance can generally be defined on the basis of different perspectives. These different points of view of deviance can be categorized into *absolute model*, *statistical model*, *labeling model*, *power model*, *normative model*, and *the relative model*. However, it is also important to take a reminding note about social norms and values since deviation mostly comes to a scene against the grain of existing standardized guidelines of human behaviors of a given society or social groups within a society.

Several sociologists believed that deviance is the violation of social norms which are behavioral codes or prescriptions that guide people into actions and self- presentations conforming to socially acceptability. They further explain that norms are not expected to be agreed upon by every member of the social group, but a good majority should agree on them. These norms of a society can be classified into three categories: *mores, folkways* and *laws. Folkway* norms are more simple day-to-day standards based on customs, traditions, and etiquette while *mores* are norms established upon broad societal morals. For example, interracial marriage, illegitimate child bearing and so on are the violations of mores of a given society. *Laws*, on the other hand, are the strongest norms since they are supported by codified sanctions. By the same token, the violation of day-to-day norms doesn't create serious outrage, but considered as some odd behavior whereas the infringing of mores is stronger, and they would generate serious social condemnation. Similarly, the breaches of those codified laws leads to arrest and punish. Now, it is time to

come back to those specific definitions of deviance mentioned earlier. Let us begin with the explanation of the *absolute definition* of deviance.

According to the *absolute* model of definition of deviance, social norms and rules are taken to be absolute, uniform, universal, clear and obvious for all in every nook and corner of the world. Hence, deviance is defined as the behavior that totally dead against these absolute norms of the universe. It is not something relative; rather it is eternal and global: if some behavior is judged to have been intrinsically morally wrong in the past, for example, adultery and divorce, it should be recognized as wrong today and forever in the future. Similarly, if something is regarded to be a morally bad in some place of the world, it should also be judged bad everywhere in the universe. This absolute definition of deviance is subscribed to the demonological explanation of human behavior – it is a religious definition of deviance behavior.

Absolutists' definition of deviance has its own limitations. Basically, it ignores cultural differences across the globe. We know that people in the world are different as they have diversified norms and values. Although it is well recognized fact that norms and values are culture universal (found in every culture), they do differ from one society to the other even from one social group to others within a given society.

Deviance can also be defined from *statistical* point of view. This model applies the assumption that 'what the majority is doing is normal behavior whereas those minority acts remain deviant behaviors'. Thus, deviance is seen as the violation of norms and values of the greater part of a society. For this definition, deviance is a question of number; that is why this definition is regarded as statistical definition of deviance. For example, 'chat' chewing in rural areas of Northern Gondar Administrative Zone is a deviant act simply because the large majority of the people in these areas do not engage in the very act of 'chat' chewing. On the contrary, it is a normal and healthy behavior in eastern part of Ethiopia since the mass of the people use it as habitual behavior.

The *labeling model* of definition of deviance, on its behalf, rejects the idea that deviance is absolute or universal. This definition, however, believes that deviance is forged by people and referred by them anew in different times and locations that lead to significant construction and reconstruction of deviance. According to this model, deviance is, therefore, lodged in the eyes of the beholder rather than in the act itself. Hence, deviance is found outside of the act of the deviant person, but it is up to the point of view of the social audience. The proponents of this view further explain that after a person has been labeled (publicly evaluated deviant), people consider them deviant; and then the person himself will accept the label; and later on, he starts to act in accordance with the label tagged to him.

Power definition of deviance is somewhat similar to the labeling model, partly in the idea that social group creates deviance by making the rules and regulations whose infraction constitutes deviance on outsiders. Subsequently, this model argues that deviance is not a quality of an act that a person commits, but rather it is an outcome of the application of rules and regulations by others to sanction an offender. This view also contends that deviance is not natural, but a particular group with power who has set rules and regulations in a society that determines deviant acts. As a result, deviance is the violation of rules and regulations formulated and implemented by a powerful segment of a society. In a given society, as per this definition, the politically, economically, and socially dominant group imposes its definitions on the behavior of the powerless segment; and the behaviors of this powerless majority are always evaluated against those rules and regulations formulated by the dominant class. Therefore, deviance is a presentation of unique power in the society. Here, it is worthwhile noting that the dominant or powerful class of a society can violate the rules and regulations they themselves made without being considered as deviants, because power is in their palms which lets them change the rules and regulations in favour of their own benefits.

The *normative definition* of deviance comes earlier than the relativistic model. For this view, deviance refers to the behavior that violates social norms or to a person who

engages in such behavior. This definition of deviance has been challenged by sociologists who favour the relativistic alternative. The normative definition narrows deviance on persons who engage in norm violating behaviors. It suggests the importance of identifying who breaks norms and explaining why they commit deviant acts.

	Activity 2
	Can you mention some forms of positive and negative deviance in your society?
	A. Positive Deviance ———————————————————————————————————
	B. Negative Deviance
2.3. De	viant Statuses
? What	is a deviant status?

Deviant status, as a social position, can be two types: *achieved* and *ascribed* deviant statuses. People cast into the deviant realm for their behaviors have an achieved status:

they have gained the deviant label through something they have done. People regarded as deviant due to the fact that their conditions often have an ascribed deviant status. It is involuntarily acquired from birth. This category, according to Adler, et. al., (2000), would include having deviant social, economic, cultural and political statuses, such as being a deviant racial status, a congenital physical handicapped, or a height deviants (too tall or too short). People with ascribed deviant status have nothing to become deviant and nothing they can do to repair the deviant status, whereas people with achieved deviant status have done something that exposed them to be seen a deviant.

2.4. Deviance and Crime

?	Do you think there is a difference between deviance and crime?

Deviance is generally referred to as the violation of social norms whereas crime is the infraction from written rules and regulations, especially criminal law of a give society or social group. In most cases, crime involves victims. Criminal acts such as murder, arson, robbery, burglary, and larceny are totally unacceptable and condemnable simply because they involve victims. We label these acts crime, meaning that their violation of the public order is so severe that they must be handled punitively and coercively by social institutions, like the police, the courts, and prisons (Adler, et. al., 2002). Most of these and other unmentioned criminal acts are considered deviant behaviors. However, there are many cases in which criminal acts cannot be taken as deviant behaviors due to several reasons. Thus, the argument 'crime is not always a subset of deviance, is sound. For example, white-collar crimes are commonly regarded as merely aggressive business practices.

In the analysis of the relationship between deviance and crime, we can have the following three possible dimensions: First, the overlap between deviance and crime is extensive with those crimes of violence, crimes of harm, and theft of personal properties. These behaviors, according to Kelly, et. al., (2002), are both illegal and deviant. Secondly, in the actual sense, much deviance is considered non-criminals. Some of the examples of such category include obesity, stuttering, physical handicaps, interracial marriage, unwed pregnancy, and so on. Finally, we can also have another dimension, different from the above two, of the relationship between crime and deviance. Here, we can see that there are some criminal behaviors which do not violate norms and values of a society, for example, white-collar crimes – crimes which need a higher status to be committed – and forms of civil disobedience, where people break laws to protest against them.

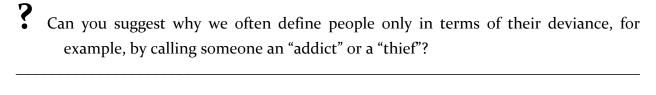
Besides of these dimensions, there is still another area of difference between deviance and crime. As we have tried to mention earlier, deviance includes those deviations from the normal to the positive direction; but crime never include those positive deviant behavior.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that crime is not a subset of deviance. They can be overlapping categories only in a single independent dimension (see the first dimension above).

Section Three: Functions and Dysfunctions of Deviance

Dear learners! This section deals with the significant functions and dysfunctions of deviance in society. Almost all the functions and dysfunctions in the section will mainly presented from a functionalist perspective. Therefore, after completing your reading on this section you are expected to be acquainted with at least the major positive and negative roles of deviance in a society.

3.1. Functions of Deviance



In his pioneering study of deviance, Emile Durkheim (1964a, orig. 1893; 1964b, orig. 1895) made the surprising statement that there is nothing abnormal about deviance. In fact, it performs four essential functions:

1. Deviance affirms cultural values and norms.

As moral creatures, people must prefer some attitudes and behaviors to others. But any definition of virtue rests on an opposing idea of vice: There can be no good without evil and no justice without crime. Deviance is needed to define and support morality.

2. Responding to deviance clarifies moral boundaries.

By defining some individuals as deviant, people draw a boundary between right and wrong. For example, a college marks the line between academic honesty and deviance by disciplining students who cheat on exams.

3. Responding to deviance brings people together.

People typically react to serious deviance with shared outrage. In doing so, Durkheim explained, they reaffirm the moral ties that bind them. For example, after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, people across the United States were joined by a common desire to protect the country and bring the perpetrators to justice.

4. Deviance encourages social change.

Deviant people push a society's moral boundaries, suggesting alternatives to the status quo and encourage change. Today's deviance, declared Durkheim, can become tomorrow's morality (1964b:71, orig.1895).

The major hypothesis in sociological functionalism is that recurrent social processes serve the function of maintaining a social system. With the larger whole (for example, a society or social group) as the unit of analysis, a social pattern is studied in terms of its functions or the positive part it plays in the adaptation and persistence of the system. As in Darwin's biological model in sociology functionalism posits that established social institutions or patterns of behavior would cease to exist if they did not serve some positive function. All social activities therefore are studied with an eye to how they contribute to the maintenance and continuity of the society Or group. For the functionalist, recurrent patterns of both conventional and deviant behavior exist and survive in groups and societies because each serves some useful purpose or need.

Crime as one form of deviance, according to Emile Durkheim, actually helps to maintain a society as a healthy, surviving entity. Thus crime can be accounted for in terms of the functions it performs or the positive contributions it makes to the adaptation and survival of the society. Therefore, the term *functionalist* refers to the theory of Durkheim and those who have built upon it. David Matza has remarked that the principal legacy of the functionalists was to establish and extend "appreciation" for deviance as a natural product of human collectivities. In doing this, functionalism contributed to the elimination of the initial assumption that deviance is a pathological trait of the individual or society that must be "cured."

According to Durkheim, crime contributes for the maintenance of a society by providing its members with targets for collective moral outrage, and *this* creates greater cohesion in the society. Further, when the criminal is tried and punished, crime provides a dramatic opportunity to publicize the rules of the society and all of its members. But criminal activity can also be a catalyst for positive social change. For example, American civil rights demonstrators in the middle of the twentieth century frequently broke the existing segregation laws as a form of protest. In the eyes of the law at that time, those activists were criminals, but their lawbreaking paved the way for a more just, defensible legal order.

3.2. Dysfunctions of Deviance

The disturbing thing about functionalism, and maybe about all sociological analysis, is that there is one crucial thing we don't yet know how to do: devise a sensible, scientifically neutral arithmetic by which we can add up the so-called eufunctions and dysfunctions of any given set of practices and arrive at some meaningful over-all number or symbol which would specify the net extent to which the system under question was being maintained or destroyed. We can and do malce a series of sequential but essentially unconnected statements about the consequences of actions-and some *have* to be "eufunctional" and some *have* to be "dysfunctional"; there is no way out of that.

But an over-all summation of such mixed partial effects is out of our reach now-and may be inherently impossible. Take, as an example, crime. The dysfunctions-their targets and their relative "amounts"-are roughly determinable. And while Durkheimian sophistication is often required to spell out and make convincing the eufunction of crime, simple observation of the persisting recidivism in the normal crime careers of some of our fellow citizens reveals an imposing array of the eufunctions of crime for criminals. Even for those who are caught and punished, crime may be eufunctional, and often is.

Other examples readily come to mind. Every young sociologist learns, for instance, what attention he can command by being sophisticated about the positive functions of prostitution, adultery, premarital sexual intercourse, divorce, and related practices. The interesting thing, of course, is that these claims for the positive functions of practices that are generally morally condemned are absolutely correct, if sensibly specified and limited.

But, on balance, what can one say about the total impact-eupacts and dyspacts (why not coin some terms while we're about it?)-of such practices. On the net balance, are they supportive or destructive of that system; and of which system? And how could one test the truth of any such claim? Notice, for instance, that no single institutional arrangement has enjoyed so much published disputation regarding its positive and negative functions as the phenomenon of social inequality. A number of us have variously taken turns reminding our antagonists of either eufunctions or dysfunctions they have overlooked.

But in the end we come out where we started, namely, with a preference-supported by data, of course, but data that have been weighted and added according

Summary

Deviance can generally be defined as any behavior, belief, or condition that violates significant social norms in the society or group within which it occurs. Deviance is the recognized violation of cultural norms which are a guideline for virtually all human activities. Thus, the term deviance refers to those behaviors which are not considered normal, at least, by the good majority of a society, community, or social group, irrespective of the direction to where those behaviors deviate from the norm (normal). Those behaviors which deviate from the normal to the negative direction are known as negative deviance, whereas those which are positive achievements and positive actions beyond the normal (average) behavior are known as positive deviance. Sociology of deviance is the area of sociology that studies the violation of social norms or expectations, and researchers studying it will often use social or interpersonal methods of obtaining data.

According to the absolute model of definition of deviance, social norms and rules are taken to be absolute, uniform, universal, clear and obvious for all in every nook and corner of the world. Hence, deviance is defined as the behavior

Deviance can also be defined from statistical point of view. This model applies the assumption that 'what the majority is doing is normal behavior whereas those minority acts remain deviant behaviors'.

The labeling model of definition of deviance, on its behalf, rejects the idea that deviance is absolute or universal. This definition, however, believes that deviance is forged by people and referred by them anew in different times and locations that lead to significant construction and reconstruction of deviance. According to this model, deviance is, therefore, lodged in the eyes of the beholder rather than in the act itself.

Power definition of deviance is somewhat similar to the labeling model, partly in the idea that social group creates deviance by making the rules and regulations whose infraction constitutes deviance on outsiders. Subsequently, this model argues that deviance is not a quality of an act that a person commits, but rather it is an outcome of the application of rules and regulations by others to sanction an offender.

The normative definition of deviance comes earlier than the relativistic model. For this view, deviance refers to the behavior that violates social norms or to a person who engages in such behavior. This definition of deviance has been challenged by sociologists who favor the relativistic alternative.

Deviant status, as a social position, can be two types: achieved and ascribed deviant statuses. People cast into the deviant realm for their behaviors have an achieved status: they have gained the deviant label through something they have done.

Deviance is generally referred to as the violation of social norms whereas crime is the infraction from written rules and regulations, especially criminal law of a give society or social group. In most cases, crime involves victims. Criminal acts such as murder, arson, robbery, burglary, and larceny are totally unacceptable and condemnable simply because they involve victims.

Self-Check Exercise 1

Part I: True/False

Instruction: Answer 'True' if the statement is correct and 'False' if the statement is incorrect

1. Sociology of deviance can generally be defined as any behavior, belief, or condition that violates significant social norms in the society or group within which it occurs.

- 2. Those behaviors which deviate from the normal to the negative direction are known as negative deviance, whereas those which are positive achievements and positive actions beyond the normal (average) behavior are known as positive deviance.
- 3. According to the absolute definition of deviance, deviance is not a quality of an act that a person commits, but rather it is an outcome of the application of rules and regulations by others to sanction an offender.
- 4. Deviant status, as a social position, can be two types: achieved and ascribed deviant statuses.
- 5. Deviant people push a society's moral boundaries, suggesting alternatives to the status quo and encourage change.

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Unit Two

Theories of Deviance

This unit deals with theories that have been developed to explain the cause of

deviance. They have tried to explain the reason for the prevalence of deviations from the normal way of behaving in given societies. These theories are different from one another as they are very much influenced by the ideological backgrounds of their proponents. Although there are numerous theories on crime and deviance, as a module for the course sociology of deviance, the unit will to a large extent focus on the social theories of deviance some of which were developed by sociologists you may have been introduced to in your other sociology courses. Some of these important sociological theories of deviance that are going to be addressed under this unit include anomie theories, structural and subcultural theories, social learning theories, labeling and ethnomethodological theories, power theories, ecological theories, conflict theories, control theories, and feminist explanations of deviance.

Objectives

After successfully completing this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the nature and content the various theories of deviance;
- discuss the crucial differences between these theories of deviance;
- identify the strengths and weaknesses of each theory in its explanation of deviance in society; and
- point out the similarities between these theories.

Section One: Anomie Theories of Deviance

?	What is anomie?

Despite the fact that there are several different types of sociological explanations of deviance in this world, all have in common that deviance is always the outcome of a given social structure. However, these different sociological theories of deviance, beyond their common idea, try to see different aspects of the social structure and then their relationships with deviance. This section deals with the anomie theories of deviance.

Both Emile Durkheim and Robert K. Merton are the two most important structural-functional theorists who are related with the analysis of anomie. It is, however, worthwhile keeping in mind that Durkheim's anomie is different from that of Merton's. For Durkheim, anomie is the state of normlessness, a condition occurred within a given society when norms are absent or nonfunctional. On the other hand, Merton defined anomie as a social condition of an individual which occurred due the mismatch between societal goals and socially approved means by which goals are attained.

1.1. Durkheim's Anomie Theory of Deviance

What is the central argument of functionalist theory and how do you relate that to their understanding of anomie?

Emile Durkheim, the founding father of functionalism in sociology, first studied anomie during the late 19th century. The concept generally refers to the state of 'normlessness' visa-vis the accepted norms of the greater society (Martin, 2005). These norms are rules and consensus about the way people should behave in society. As to Durkheim, after social upheavals such as war, ctraditional norms of behavior no longer work, thus causing societal normlessness. Several deviant acts like suicide, crime, and other crises exist in societies that do not develop effective norms. Therefore, anomie, for Durkheim, refers to a broad breakdown of norms in society, or a disconnecting of an individual from the norms of his society's contemporary values (ibid).

According to Durkheim, deviance or crime is inevitable and normal aspect of social life. It is an integral part of all healthy societies. Thus, it is impossible to have a society totally devoid of deviance and/or crime (Williams, 2004). Thus, deviance is inevitable due to the fact that not every member of society can be equally committed to the collective sentiments, the shared values and moral beliefs of society. Since individuals are exposed to different influences and circumstances, it is impossible for all to be alike. Therefore, not everybody shares the same strains about breaking the law (Haralambos, 2005).

Durkheim tried to identify several types of suicide as a deviant act based upon their relationship to the social facts: *integration* and *regulation* (normative and integrative currents). Suicidal people tended to have less to bind and connect themselves to stable social norms and goals. However, those who were well integrated into society and those who were well regulated tended to have the lowest suicide rates. The two dimensions of the social bond – social integration and social regulation – are mostly independent of

individuals. Those who are very much integrated fall under the category of "altruism" and those who are very much unintegrated fall under "egoism". Similarly, those who are much regulated fall under "fatalism" and those who are very much unregulated fall under "anomie".

Durkheim's social strain theory attributed social deviance to the extremes of the dimension of the social bond. *Altruistic suicide* (death for the good of the society), egoistic suicide (death for the recmoval of the self due to or justified by the lack of ties to others.), *anomic suicide* (the death due to the confounding of self interest and societal norms), and fatalistic suicide (death due the prevalence of oppressive rules and regulations of the society) are the four forms of suicide that can happen due to extremes. Likewise, individuals may commit crimes for the good of an individual's group, for the self due to or justified by lack of ties, or because the societal norms that place the individual in check no longer have power due to society's corruption (Kelly, et. al., 2002).

However, Durkheim has focused largely on anomie as the main sources of deviance in a society. As it has been tried to be discussed earlier at the beginning of Durkheim' theory, anomie is the breaking down of normative structure, rules/norms which are weak, unclear and indistinct (Keel, 2008). Under anomic condition, a society has no 'guidance' for the individual – no limitations. Society lacks the regulatory constraints necessary to control the behavior of its members. Anomie is always the product of change which is rapid, uncontrolled and unpredictable – a temporal transition. Thus, it will produce sweeps (flows) across an entire society. This situation becomes a factor to unleash the essence of the individual – passion for unlimited growth, unquenchable thirst – which can only be contained within the boundaries of a stable social system. Therefore, according to Durkheim, without boundaries, limits or norms, individual life (self and others) becomes meaningless – behaviors become uncontrolled; and this implies deviance. For Emile Durkheim, deviance is functional. It originates in society and is fundamental condition for the survival of social organization. He argues that it only becomes dysfunctional when

its rate is unequally high. "- - - provided it [deviance] does not exceed certain levels, the society is healthy." (Williams, 2004: 305).

The function of punishment is not to remove criminals or deviants (negative) in society. Rather, it is to maintain the collective sentiments at their necessary level of strength. Without punishment, collective sentiments would lose their force to control behavior and the crime rate would reach the point where it becomes dysfunctional. Thus, for Durkheim, both crime and punishment are inevitable and functional for a healthy society (Kelly, et.al., 2002). Therefore, crime and deviance are necessary features of every society (Williams, 2004). Durkheim's ideas have had great influence on sociology, continuing well into the modern era (Martin, 2005). His view on anomie was taken and modified by Robert K. Merton in explaining deviant behavior in a society (Kelly, et.al., 2002).

1.2. Robert K. Merton's Strain Theory

?	What is strain according to the functionalist analysis in sociology?

Robert Merton, according professor Andargachew (1988), took up Durkheim's original idea of anomie and used it to explain deviant behavior. He used the concept *anomie* to explain the social state in which individuals fail to attain the societal goals using socially approved means. Thus, Merton's explanation about deviance is based on *goals* and *means*. Where Durkheim stated that anomie is the confounding of social norms, Merton goes further and stated that anomie is a state in which social goals and the legitimate means to achieve these goals do not correspond (Kelly, et.al., 2002; and Williams, 2004).

According to Kendall (2003), strain theory focuses on the idea that people feel strain when they are exposed to cultural goals that they are unable to obtain because they do not have access to culturally approved ways of achieving those goals. Merton posited that

the greater society encourages its members to use acceptable means of achieving acceptable goals. In the United States, acceptable means include hard work, prudent saving, and higher education. Acceptable goals, on the other hand, comprise comfort, leisure time, social status, and wealth (Martin, 2005). However, acceptable means are not evenly distributed among members of the society though societal goals do. In other words, not all members of a society have equal availability of resources to achieve society's recognized goals, thus creating strain for those with less empowered members. "Strain is manifested at the desire to achieve these [socially approved] goals; and one's inability to acquire the legitimate means to achieve them." (ibid: 83). This implies that those without resources may become criminals or delinquents simply because of using illegal means to achieve comfort, leisure, prestige, and wealth. Here, the idea of Merton's individual adaptation comes. Individuals will respond to anomic condition in different ways. In particular, their reaction will be shaped by their status in the social structure (Haralambos, 2005 & Kelly, et.al, 2002).

Can you identify the five modes of adaptation identified by Robert K. Merton?

Merton has outline five possible ways in which members of US society can respond to success goals: *conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism,* and *rebellion*.

a. **Conformity**: is the most common response. Members of the society can form both to success goals and the normative means of reaching them. Conformists strive for success through acceptable channels. A good example for this mode of adaptation is a white-collar employee who holds a job to support a family. Conformity, according to Adler (2000), is very important for societal stability and continuity. "Were this not so, the stability and continuity of society could not be maintained...." (ibid: 62).

Merton saw the remaining four modes of individual adaptation as deviance (Kendall, 2003), because they reject either acceptable goals or means or both.

b. Innovation: This response accepts the goal of the society but pursue them with the means which is regarded as unacceptable (Schaefer, 2003). Merton argues that members of the lower class are most likely to choose this route to success (Haralambos, 2005), because they are less likely to succeed via conventional channels. Thus, there is greater pressure among them to deviate. Educational qualities of lower class people are low, their jobs provide little opportunity for advancement. As a result, their way to progress is so blocked that they innovate other mechanisms – crime or deviance – which promises greater rewards than legitimate ones.

However, Haralambos (20005) has explained, "Merton stresses that membership of the lower strata is not itself sufficient enough to produce deviance." (p: 414). In some more traditional European societies, those at the bottom of the social structure are more likely to accept their status since they have not internalized mainstream success goals. Instead, they have developed distinctive subculture which defines success in terms that differ from those of the wider society. But, in USA, all members share the same success goals which result in the pressure to innovate and operate forcefully on the lower class (ibid, & Kelly, et.al, 2002).

c. Ritualism: This mode of adaptation involves the abandoning or scaling down of the loft cultural goals of greater pecuniary success and rapid social mobility to the point where one's aspiration can be satisfied. It is the opposite of innovation (Kendall, 2003); persons who cannot obtain expensive material possessions or wealth may nevertheless seek to maintain the respect of others by being a 'hard worker' or 'good citizen'. This type of adaptation is fairly frequent in a society which makes one's social status largely dependent upon one's achievements (Adler, 2000). This ceaseless competitive struggle for better achievements produces acute status anxiety. One advice for allying these anxieties is to lower down one's level of aspiration permanently. The syndrome of the social ritualist is both familial and instructive. Their life philosophies include:

"I am not sticking my neck out."

- "I am playing safe."
- "I am satisfied with what I have got."
- Don't aim high and you won't be disappointed."

Ritualism is the prospective of the frightened employee, the zealous conformist bureaucrat in the teller's cage of the private banking enterprise or in the front office of the public works of enterprise (Adler, 2000).

d. **Retreatism**: occurred when people abandoned both the approved goals and approved means of achieving them. This form of adaptation, unlike conformity, remains the least frequent and common. Kendall (2003) argued that Merton included persons such as skidrow, alcoholics and drug addicts in this category; however, not all retreatists are destitute. Some may be middle or upper income individuals who see themselves as rejecting the conventional trappings of success or the means necessary to acquire them (ibid).

Adler (2000) included some adaptive activities of psychotics, autists, pariahs, outcasts, vagrants, vagabonds, tramps, chronic drunkards, and drug addicts into this mode of adaptation. Sociologically, these people constitute the *true alien*, because they do not share the common frame of values and norms. Defeatism, quietism, and resignation are manifested as scape mechanisms which ultimately lead the individual to 'escape' from the requirements of the society.

e. **Rebellion**: It is the rejection of both the success goals and the institutionalized means and their replacement by different goals and means. Those who adopt this alternative have the goal to create a new society (Haralambos, 2005), for example, radicals, terrorists, etc. Merton argued that rebellion is typically members of a rising class rather than the most depressed strata who organized the restful and rebellious into a revolutionary group (ibid). In order to achieve their alternative goals, rebels may use violence (e.g. vandalism and rioting) or non-violent tactics (e.g. civil disobedience) (Kelly, et. al, 2002). The

implications of Merton's research are clear: lack of opportunity and inequality are central causal factors for delinquency and crime. This, in turn, shows that the poor are likely to be deviant.

However, Merton's strain theory has been severely criticized by several scholars. Some of these critiques include:

- 1. It gives too much emphasis on deviance emanating from the poorer class of society (Martin, 2005 & Andargachew, 1990).
- 2. Merton's research depends totally on American society that cannot be generalized for others with different socio-cultural settings (Andargachew, 1998).
- 3. Merton failed to adequately explain why some many youth and adults who suffer from strain do not turn to delinquency or crime (Martin, 2005).
- 4. Criminalities arose not necessarily because of discrepancies between goals and means, but because of all members of that society were led to believe there was equality of opportunity. However, in practice, there were sharp constraints on such assumed quality. Consequently, feelings of unfairness may arise and lead to the use of illegitimate opportunity structure.
- 5. Little effort has been made to determine to what extent all acts of deviance can be accounted for by Merton's five modes of individual adaptation (Schaefer, 2003).
- 6. Merton's theory of deviance fails to answer easily such questions as why do some disadvantaged groups have lower rates of reported crime than others? Why is criminal activity not viewed as a viable alternative by many people in adverse circumstances? (Schaefer, 2003).
- 7. Other critics, like Paul Tappan, argued that American society was not as criminogenic as Merton argued. Tappan further discussed that the rigidity of the class structure in the USA was more acceptable by the lower and lower middle classes, hence, reduced frustration reduced crime rate (Andargachew, 1990).

Ac	tivity 3
1.	Can you mention some examples which can serve to explain one or to Merton's typology of individual modes of adaptation?

1.3. Relative Deprivation Theory

•	What do you understand by relative deprivation?

A significant number of scholars have tried to identify the concept *relative deprivation*. Haralambos (2005) applies the term *reference deprivation* to refer to subjectively perceived deprivation which people actually feel. Schaefer (2003) defined it as the conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and present activities. Kendall (2003), on her behalf, agrees with the idea that relative deprivation is the discontent that people may feel when they compare their achievements

with those of similarly situated persons and find that they have less than they think they deserve. Karl Marx explained the idea of relative deprivation as:

A house may be large or small, as long as the surrounding houses are small; it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But, let a palace arise besides the little houses, and it shrinks from a little house to a hut (cited in Kendall, 2003: 643).

Therefore, a relative deprived person is dissatisfied because he feels down trodden relative to some appropriate reference group (Schafer, 2003). Relative deprivation has been seen as an important cause for some forms of crimes and delinquency, and social movement. Conklin (2004) has revealed this condition (relationship between crime and relative deprivation as follows:

Even more important than poverty of unemployment as a cause of crime may be the poor or unemployed people perceive their situation. Most poor and unemployed people are law-abiding, and the crime rate of the poor in many developing nations are lower than the crime rates of Americans, who have higher absolute standards of living. For instance, blacks in United States have higher incomes, on the average, than black Africans, but black Americans have higher crime rates than black Africans (Conklin, 2004: 147).

Social scientists, especially political scientists and sociologists, have used relative deprivation as a potential cause of social movement and deviance, leading to extreme situation to political violence such as rioting, terrorism and civil wars or social deviance such as crime and delinquency. Individuals engage in some deviant behavior when their institutional means do not match cultural goals.

Runciman has identified four preconditions of relative deprivation of object **X** by **A** as follows:

A does not have X

- A knows other persons that have X
- A wants to have X
- A believes obtaining X is realistic.

Runciman, based on this preconditional analysis, identified between *egoistic relative* deprivation and fraternalistic relative deprivation. Egoistic relative deprivation is caused by unfavourable social position when compared to other better off members of a specific group of which A is the member while a fraternalistic relative deprivation is caused by unfavourable comparison to other better off groups. Egoistic relative deprivation can be seen in the example of a worker who believed he should have been promoted faster and may lead to that person taking actions designed to improve his position within the group; those actions are, however, unlikely to affect many people. Similarly, fraternalistic relative deprivation can be seen in the example of racial discrimination, and are much more likely to result in the creation and growth of large social movement, like the American civil right movement in the 1960s. Another example is an envy teenagers feel towards the wealthy character that are portrayed in movies and on television as being middle class or normal despite wearing expensive clothes, driving expensive cars, and living in mansions.

Several researches have been conducted on the relationship between relative deprivation and the propensity to become deviant and criminal. One best instance in Amnon Levy's investigation on the relationship between relative deprivation and myopic addiction. Levy (2006) found that there was a strong relationship between the consumption of strong, mind-alerting substances and level of relative deprivation based on the assumption that "The myopic user's mind-alerting substance is proposed to be equal to the product of his current level of relative deprivation and substance tolerance." (ibid: 15). The researcher concluded that an initial failure to attain the perceived socioeconomic position makes the individual feel relatively deprived; which generates his addiction – intensified consumption of mind-alerting substance for obtaining immediate relief; which aggravates the individual's addiction, intensifies his engagement in illegal and stigmatized income-

generating activities and depreciates his socioeconomic condition; which hightens his feelings of relative deprivation; and so forth.

According to Conklin (2004), the discrepancy between people's expectations and their capabilities can motivate them to violate the law. Expectations, as per the writer, are the goods and conditions of life to which people think they are rightfully entitled, and capabilities are good and conditions of life they believe they can attain and maintain under the current social system. The prevalence of much discrepancy between the two relative deprivations – is attributed to be the cause for crime which is targeted to deeply held goals such as material success. People also engage in criminal activities when they convinced themselves that there is not other legal alternative means to resolve or reduce their relative deprivation. Crime is not, however, the only reaction to a sense of relative deprivation; relative deprivation can also lead to political action, a social movement, suicide and alcoholism most of which are deviant behaviors – with the exception of social movement. Here, we have to note that it is the only belief that others are getting more than they deserve relative to their efforts that can lead to a sense of inequality that finally motivates people to engage in deviant and criminal acts for personal gain.

Judith and Peter Blau (1982) attempt to summarize the discussion on relative deprivation so far we have seen. Blau saw relative deprivation as a sense of social injustice based on the comparison between the rich and the poor who live in close proximity. This sense of injustice becomes the cause for the occurrence of discontent that leads people to violate laws so as to compensate their discontent and then crime will be escalated. As the result, the rich retreat to *gated communities* due to distrust of society or community. Here, poverty itself is not a cause for the prevalence of deprived condition, but the *proximity of wealth* and *poverty* (Keel, 2008). Judith and Peter Blau's theory explains middle and upper class deviance since deprivation is relative and comes about due *proximity to wealth* and *poverty*. It also explains the idea that crime rates go up during times of affluences.

?	What kind of weaknesses do you see in the relative deprivation theory?

The theory of relative deprivation has faced significant number of critiques. Some are listed below:

- 1. This approach fails to explain why certain feelings of deprivation are transformed into criminal acts and social movement whereas in other similar situations there are no such conditions (Schaefer, 2003).
- 2. Similar to the above points, Conklin (2004) argued that people developed their idea about what they are entitled to not only by comparing their own position to that of others, but also by comparing their own efforts and contributions to those of others. In this case a sense of equity exists. This sense of equity may be there when individuals believe that their own social position is in the same ratio to their efforts as are the social positions and efforts of others. Thus, people may not be motivated to violate for personal gains.
- 3. Relative deprivation theory fails to explain why people do not engage in criminal acts even though they experience the deprived conditions.

Durkheim's, Legacy: Anomie and Relative Deprivation

?	Where do you see Durkheim's contribution to the anomie theories of deviance?

Of all theories which have been influential in explaining the social causation of criminal and deviant behavior, *anomie theory* is paramount. It is the anomie theory which attempt to pinpoint the origin of crime and deviance in the dominant ethos and structure of

society and in the fundamental contradictions which exist within the social order. However, there has been, over the year, a considerable narrowing of its conception, a focus on the explanation of the lower working class crime to the exclusion of crime throughout the structure and the repeated loss of human subjectivity, particularly in those instances where anomie or strain theory, as it has come known, is operationalized and tested against various bases (Blau, 1982).

Durkheim distinguished two forms of anomie, which are termed by Blau, as *anomie of injustice* and *anomie of the advantaged*. Whereas the anomie of injustice refers to the realistic aspirations (in terms of merit) faced with inequitable opportunities, the anomie of the advantaged is concerned with unrealistic and unlimited aspirations. Durkheim criticized a utilitarian morality that encourages unrestrained self-seeking which has neither meaningful endpoint nor any substantial or tangible object.

We are now in a position to summarize the key contributions of Durkheim to the anomie tradition and the substantial theorization which grew out of it:

- 1. The relationship of the economic sphere: He saw sources of discontent both in the forced division of labour and where occupational roles and rewards are not allocated by merit and aptitude, and in the individualistic values themselves generated in the sphere of economy. Market relations are, thus, the causal bases of his analysis.
- 2. The social basis of discontent: Durkheim pinpointed the source of discontent as within both its economic and cultural structure not within the biological tendencies of the individual. It is ironic that a theorist who argued that the biological drives could only fix the limits of organic satiation and that these were strictly demarcated, should be portrayed as locating insatiable aspirations in the sphere of biology. It is the inability of human biology to fix limits and the infinite

flexibility of society to raise them rather than the reverse which is the crux of the matter. For, if biology were paramount, there would, in fact, be little problem of anomie.

- 3. *The content of norms*: He viewed the contradiction between hereditary privilege and opportunity based on merit as a potential source of discontent. The notion of blocked mobility, of lack of opportunities and of unfair condition of competition in the labour market is, therefore, stressed.
- 4. *The form of norms*: He pointed to the individualism engendered by the market as undermining social order and generating discontent in that such value provide no finite and satisfactory end. The effect of culture is thus stressed although the cult of individualism is grounded in the economy.
- 5. The presence of social norms: he indicated that rapid social and economic change created situations where there was no agreement as to the distribution of rewards and a state of sample de-regulation occurred.
- 6. The relative nature of discontent: he was actually aware that feelings of discontent and satisfaction were not related to absolute level of wealth, but were relative to the consensus of opinion as to place of a particular occupation in the hierarchy. But, he adds to this the important proviso that it is not the existence of rules, but rules which are seen as meritocratic that ensure their legitimacy.
- 7. *The conscious actor*: throughout Durkheim's framework he stresses the individual assessing the justice of rules and of his position in the hierarchy. There is no sense of the social actor being a deterministic product of rules or lacks of them, as in sociological positivism.

- 8. The timing of discontent: Durkheim pinpointed times of rapid increasing in prosperity and economic crisis as the occasion where there is the greatest level of anomie. This being said, his critiques of the ethos of individualism and of unmeritocratic society hinges around the need to develop a solidaristic social order. In the absence of such social change anomie would undoubtedly remain and be normal feature of industrial society.
- 9. The distribution of discontent: anomie is seen as occurring both amongst the advantaged and the disadvantaged. Thus, the ethos of individualism is seen to percolate down throughout society although there is a greater disorientation amongst those high in the social order, whilst the anomie of blocked opportunities is, of course, greatest in those without sufficient inherited wealth.
- 10. *Shape of discontent*: although there is no clear linkage between anomie and particular form of deviance, Durkheim, of course, does not limit his discussion to outcomes of instrumental criminal nature. Suicide, rebellion, expressive crimes, and the evidence of excess are all hinted or delineated.

Therefore, this is the Durkheimian legacy. It is a work that attempts to connect the economic conditions of society to its moral climate. It questions both available means and ends in terms of the legitimacy of the system and the crisis of motivation of the social actor within it. It is critical not only of the lack of opportunities within the social structure but of the culture itself. There is evident that the presence of a conscious actor and the beginning of relative deprivation theory. Durkheim's formulation does not restrict themselves to the lower point of the class structure, but anomie is present throughout although to varying degrees. Discontent is present both at times of prosperity and in recession. He would, therefore, not face the conundrum of sociological positivism with regards to middle-class deviancy nor an etiological crisis when confronting crime crises rapidly in times of affluence. He would have discontent occurring, both because of deficit amongst the unsuccessful and arising from ends, which once achieved, are

experienced as deficient by the successful. Of course, there are many omissions. There is no sense of pluralism, the relationship between discontent and particular forms of deviance is not spelt out; various modes of accommodation to inequality are missing and the intermediate situation, gearing between social values and the individual, are absence. Much of this is remedied in later anomie theory and many of these problems are still to be tackled satisfactorily, but the theoretical insights which Durkheim has provided are a rich vein and their recapitulation – a vital necessity if we are to build a fully social structural theory.

Section Two: Structural and Substructural Theories of Deviance

?	How do you think the general structure of society could be used to explain deviance?

A subculture is a distinctive culture subsisting within a culture which differs from the mainstream culture but does not necessarily present a culture deemed deviant by the majority. It is only partly different from parent culture and cannot be totally different from the culture of which it is a part; otherwise it would be termed as contra-culture (Narayan, 2007).

According to Haralambos (2005), structural theories of deviance are similar to Merton's theory. They explain the origin of deviance in terms of the positions of individuals or groups in the social structure. Haralambos added that subcultural theories argued that deviance should be explained in terms of the subculture of the social group. Subculture theorists contend that certain groups develop distinctive norms and values that deviate from the mainstream culture of the society. Often structural and subcultural theories of deviance are combined in Albert Cohen's, Thorsten Sellin's, and Walter Miller's theories of deviance.

2.1. Thorsten Sellin's Culture Conflict Theory of Deviance

?	Do you think conflict and inequalities in society lead to deviance?Why?

Robert Keel (2005) has discussed that rather than conceptualizing deviance as a problem of the stress and strain related to a weakening of social control, the idea rooted in the Marxist image of social inequality and competition, of the social system being constituted by diverse cultural groups with conflicting interests, value and norms emerged. Within the conflict perspective, deviance is conceptualized not as abnormal behavior brought on by faulty socialization of normative ambiguity, but as a normal political progress brought about by inter-group struggle for dominance (Keel, 2005, and Kelly, et. al, 2002). Thorstin Sellin (1938) realized the cultural diversity of modern industrial society. For him, law embodied the normative structure of the dominant cultural of ethnical group.

The criminal law contains the *crime norm*, inappropriate behavior and its punishment, reflecting the value and interest of the groups successful in achieving control of legislative process. The conduct norm of others less powerful groups reflecting their specific social situation and experiences often come into conflict (culture conflict) with the crime norms. This leads to the production of deviant or criminal definition surrounding everyday behavior of individual member of those less powerful groups. Sellin indicated that a society diversified and became more frequent conflict; therefore, deviance would increase (Kelly, et. al, 2002).

Therefore, the main focus of Sellin was directed towards the explanation of the conduct norms which are a unique set of values and behaviors which characterize a minority within a larger society. In order to see this, Sellin developed a major premise, i.e., obedience to the norms of their subculture puts people in conflict with the norms of the dominant culture. According to him, conduct norms are acquired through childhood

socialization, thus, all cultures establish their own conduct norms. This socialization process will be applicable both to the subgroups and to the mainstream norms. When laws are enacted, the will represent the norms, values and interests of the dominant cultural or ethnical group which may produces broader cultural conflict. When the two cultures interact and one seeks to extend its influence into the other, each side is likely to react protectively. If the balance of power is relatively equal, an accommodation will usually be reached. But, if the distribution of power is unequal, everyday behavior of the minority group may be defined as deviant. Therefore, the more diversified and heterogeneous a society becomes, the greater the probability of more frequent conflict as subgroups that live by their own rules break the rules of the other. Hence, as per the idea of Sellin, it can be concluded that crime and deviant are the products of clash of norms.

George Vold (1958) another criminologist, continued to explain this idea. He suggested an understanding of the social nature of crime as a product of conflict between groups within the same culture, rather than attempting to explain crime as an individual law violation. Humans, for Vold, by their very nature, are social beings, forming a group out of shared interests and needs. These interests and needs of the groups interact and produce competition in an increasingly political arena over maintaining and/or expanding one's groups position relative to others in the control of necessary resources (such as money, education, employment, etc). The challenge to all social groups, according to Vold, is to control the state for their own sectional interests. Hence, the group which proves most efficient in the control of political processes obtained the mandate to enact laws that limit the acts of other groups and, in some cases, prevent the fulfillment of minority group needs (Keel, 2005).

Although the theory has some interests, it is limited in its application to the criminal law because it is not so much the law that presents sectional interests, but the way in which it is enforced. For example, the definition of theft might remain constant but the allocation of resources to investigate and prosecute theft may be unequally distributed between blue-collar and white-collar version of the behavior.

Still another scholar called Austin Turk has addressed this issue. Turk draws on Ralf Dahrendorf and develops a general conflict theory of deviance and crime.

2.2. Albert K. Cohen's Delinquent Subculture Theory

?	What is a subculture?	

Albert K. Cohen was the first person who attempted to find out the process of beginning of delinquent subculture. His perspective has been referred to an integrative theory of several sociological theories such as Chicago school, Merton's strain theory, cultural conflict theory, differential association theory, and so on. Among these, Cohen consumed Merton's work very much. He made two major criticisms of Merton's view on working class deviance. First, he argued that delinquency is a collective rather than an individual response. Whereas Merton sees an individual responding to his position in the class structure, Cohen sees individuals joining together in a collective response. Secondly, Cohen argues that Merton failed to account for 'no-utilitarian crime' such as vandalism and joy-riding which do not produce money rewards (Haralambos, 2005).

?	What do you do you understand by cultural deprivation?

Like Merton, Cohen agreed upon the idea that lower working class boys fail to attain cultural goals using appropriate means due largely to educational failure and the deadend jobs which result from this. Cohen supports the idea that *cultural deprivation* accounts for the lack of educational access of members of the lower working class. According to him, many lower working class boys suffer from *status frustration* because they are stuck at the bottom of the stratification system with avenues to success blocked

(Keel, 2005; Haralambos, 2005). These boys are frustrated and classified with their low status in society. They resolve their frustration not by turning to criminal path to success, as Merton argued, but by rejecting the success goal of the mainstream culture. They replace them with alternative sets of norms and values in terms of which they can achieve success and gain prestige (Macionis, 1997). According to Cohen, the result is a delinquent subculture which is a collective solution to the common problems of lower working class adolescents.

?	How do you think deviant subculture will be created in society?

The delinquent subculture rejects the mainstream culture and, at the same time, reverses it. For Cohen, the delinquent subculture takes its norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down. That is why a high value is placed by this subculture on activities such as stealing, vandalism, and truancy which are condemned in the wider society (Haralambos, 2005).

Cohen describes the delinquent subculture in the following way. "Throughout there is a kind of malice apparent, an enjoyment of discomfiture of others, a delight in the defiance of taboos." (cited in Haralambos, 2005).

Cohen demonstrates this with the example of defecating on the teacher's desk. However, the delinquent subculture is more than an act of deviance, a negative reaction to society which has denied opportunity to some of its members. It renders positive rewards. Those who perform successfully, in line with the values of the subculture, gain recognition and prestige in the eyes of their peers. Therefore, stealing becomes, as to Cohen, not so much a means of achieving success in terms of the mainstream goals, but a valued activity to which attaches glory, progress and profound satisfaction.

Cohen argues that in this way lower working class boys solve the problem of *status frustration*. They reject mainstream values which offer them little chance of success and substitute deviant values in terms of which they can be successful – delinquents do not motivated by monetary rewards.

This is a kind of structural explanation in the same way as it was given by Merton. Haralambos explained that there is greater pressure on certain groups within the social structure since there is unequal access to opportunity. However, he departs from Merton's view when he sees some delinquents as being a collective response directly by *subcultural values*.

Cohen's delinquent subculture theory does not escape from criticism. David Bordva argues that Cohen uses the idea of lower class subculture for the purpose of explaining the educational failure of lower working class boys, with the notion of cultural deprivation, but he never uses cultural deprivation to explain delinquency. Thus, whereas cultural deprivation is passed on from generation to generation, this doesn't seem to happen with the delinquent subculture.

2.3. Walter B. Miller's Lower Class Subculture Theory

Which class(es) in society are more likely to be characterized by deviance?Why?

Walter B. Miller was an American anthropologist with specific familiarity in ethnography (Keel, 2005). He was in a different avenue from Merton and Cohen when he was explaining lower class delinquency. First, he rejected Merton's conception that delinquent subculture represents an alternative means of achieving mainstream goals. Secondly, he reject Cohen's argument that delinquent subculture results from the reaction to the

failure to attain mainstream goals. Instead, Miller sees lower class delinquency as simply resulting from lower class subculture.

Having closely studied, as an ethnographer the lower class area of Boston in 1995, Miller came up with his own conclusion and thus his lower class focal concern theory (Macionis, 1997). He used the concept of *focal concern*, and not value, to further describe things that were important to the subculture.

Miller identified six focal concerns to which the lower class gives attention to. These are elements of a 'distinctive cultural system' which may be termed as 'lower class'. Thus, these six focal concerns are major areas of interest and involvement among lower class people. These six local concerns include trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate, and autonomy (Keel, 2005; Macionis, 1997; Haralambos, 2005' and Carlia, 2002).

The concern for *trouble* is a major feature of the lower class. Getting into trouble and staying out of trouble are very important daily preoccupations of the lower class. Trouble can either mean prestige or landing into jail. Trouble arises from frequent conflict with teachers and police. *Toughness*, another concern, further represents a commitment to law-violation and being a problem to others. It involves a concern for masculinity and finds expression in courage in the face of physical threats and rejection of timidity and weakness. In practice, this leads to assault and battery in order to maintain reputation for toughness.

The third focal concern is that of *smartness*. It is the ability to gain something by outsmarting or canning others. Prestige is often a reward for those demonstrating skills. Thus, smartness involves the capacity to outsmart outfox, outwit, dupe, 'take', 'con', another. *Excitement* is another focal concern in which living on the age thrills and doing dangerous things as well as taking risks is a crucial concern. In practice it is found in gambling, sexual adventure and alcohol, all of which combined in a night out of the town.

This heady mixture can result in damage to limb, life and properties. The fifth focal concern is *fate* which is a crucial concern to the lower class. Many believe that their lives are subject to forces outside of their control; and nothing can be done about them. The last focal concern focuses on autonomy which signifies being independent not relaying on others and rejecting authority. It is the resentment of authority and rules (Carlia, 2002 and Keel, 2005).

According to Miller, youth who obey the street rules of lower class life (focal concern) find themselves in conflict with the dominant culture. It results from socialization into a subculture with a distinctive tradition.

Miller presents a picture of member of the lower class living in a world of their own, totally insulated from the rest of the society. They appear to pursue their focal concern with no reference to the mainstream culture (Haralambos, 2005).

However, many sociologists have criticized Miller's theory. They explain that he disregards the fact that many lower class people actually do conform to societal norms, they cannot totally be insulated. David Bordva says that the involvements in lower class culture are so deep and exclusive that contacts with agents of middle class dominated institutions, especially the school have no impact. Unlike Miller, most sociologists who use the concert of subculture to explain deviance, see it as secondary to structural explanations. This theory has also been criticized for its failure to address female delinquents. It has also been criticized for being tautological, for example, it is a tautological discussing the idea that delinquents have focal concerns will result in delinquency.

	Act	ivity 4	
	1.	Do you think one could scientifically label a group as deviant? Exyour answers using examples.	kplain
3			

2.4. The Differential Opportunity Theory: Cloward and Ohlin

?	What do you understand from the term 'differential opportunity'?

In 1960, American sociologists Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin combined and developed many insights of Merton's and Cohen's view points. They proposed a theory of delinquent gang known as differential opportunity theory. They follow Merton in emphasizing cultural goals and the means with which people use to reach such goals (Conklin, 2004). While Merton belied that innovation is the form of deviance occurs when people lack access to the legitimate means to reach currently approved goals band

turn to illegitimate means to achieve those goals, Cloward and Ohlin accept this theory and added to it the idea people's access to both the legitimate and illegitimate means is socially structured. By the same token, they convinced themselves to the idea that there is differential opportunity to attain cultural goals by legitimate means but there is also differential opportunity to use illegitimate means to reach those goals.

Cloward and Ohlin explained that delinquent subculture flourish in the lower class and take a particular forms so that the means for illegitimate success are no more equally distributed than the means for legitimate success. They further explain that there are two kinds of opportunities which are differentially distributed: access to learning structures and access to performance structures. Learning structures are appropriate environments for the acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of a particular role whereas performance structures are opportunities to join with other who share a similar problem of adjustment and opportunities to gain peer approval for one's behavior (Conklin, 2005).

They begin their explanation of working class delinquency, according to Haralambos (2005), from the same point a Merton. There is greater pressure on members of the working class to deviate due to the fact that they have less opportunity to succeed using legitimate means (ibid). Thus, differential opportunity theory assumes that discrepancies between aspirations and legitimate chance of achievement increases as one descends in class structure with lower class youth learning their goals, from the larger culture but unable to revise their aspirations downwards. Hence, their lack of access to legitimate means to reach cultural goals produce intense frustration, and they reach for illegitimate means to achieve cultural goals. Kendall (2003) added to this idea that for deviance to occur, people must have access to illegitimate opportunity structures are circumstances that provide an opportunity for people to acquire through illegitimate activities what they cannot achieve through legitimate channels.

Therefore, those in the working class, according to Cloward and Ohlin, are more likely to deviate because they have less opportunity to succeed using legitimate means. Based on their research in 1960, they identified three basic gang types which emerge on the basis of what type of illegitimate opportunity structure was available in a specific area. These gang types include the criminal subculture, the conflict subculture and the retreatist subculture (Kendall, 2003).

? What is utilitarian crime?

The criminal gang is devoted to *utilitarian crime* – crime which results in financial rewards or gain. It is similar to Merton's *innovators*. A criminal subculture is an environment in which the young are exposed to crimes committed by the adult subculture. It may be devoted to such crimes as theft, extortion, and other illegal means of securing an income. Contrary to the criminal subculture, the conflict gang subculture, similar to Merton's *rebellion*, is a social setting where there is no adult criminal subculture for adolescents to look up to. There is little organized crime, and young criminals are climbing the ladder of illegitimacy to gain success. Members of the conflict gang often join the subculture to gain prestige in their peer groups by fighting over turf and adopting a value system of toughness, courage and other similar qualities (Kendall, 2003).

Unlike the afro mentioned two types of subcultures, members of the retreatist gang are unable to gain success through legitimate means and are willing to do so through illegal ones (ibid). Haralambos (2005), mentioned that members of the retreatist subculture are organized mainly around illegal drug use because they have failed to succeed in both the legitimate and illegitimate means. As failed criminals or failed gang members they retreat, tails between their legs, into retreatist subculture.

Cloward and Ohlin provide one of the most sophisticated analysis of lower class delinquency from a structural and subcultural perspective. Haralambos argued that Cloward and Ohlin presented an explanation for various forms of delinquency by adding the notion of the illegitimate opportunity structure to Merton's scheme and by placing Cohen's views in a wider context.

However, they are criticized for several serious limitations. Conklin (2004) mentioned that both Cloward and Ohlin offer no evidence that lower class gang boys are socialized to want to reach those cultural goals, to which they have been socialized, and no evidence that the discrepancy between goals and legitimate means is greater for lower class members than for other lower class youths. Like Merton, they focused on sociocultural factors such as institutionalized access to opportunities, rather than individual decisions to act. A more complete theory, for Conklin, might also look at the way people seek out or actually use opportunities to engage in crime and delinquency.

Section Three: The Ecology of Deviance: The Chicago School

?	Do you think the ecology of a certain social setting could be used to explain deviance?

During the 1920s, a group of sociologist based in Chicago, which later became known as the Chicago school, developed an ecological approach to the study of social life. Ecology refers to the relationship between organisms and their environments. Member of Chicago school applied this concept to the growth of cities and argued that behavior could be explained in terms of the urban environment.

3.1. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess

?	Do you agree that urban areas are places where there is a higher likely hood for
	deviance?

The sociological research of the Chicago school was mainly inspired by he teaching and theoretical understandings of Park and Burgess, the most influential sociologists at the university of Chicago during the *social disorganization period* (Orcutt, 2003). They introduced an ecological analysis of crime causation. They developed the idea of the nature of urban areas which consisted of the concentric zone which extends out from downtown central business district to the commuter zone at the fringes of the city (Keel, 2001). Each zone has its own structure and organization, characteristics and unique inhabitants. This had been known as *Burgess's Concentric Zone Theory*.

Although the organic models of society and other biological analogies were taken less seriously by Chicago sociologists than they were by the *social pathologists*. Park, particularly, made extensive use of ideas adopted from the biological fields of plant and animal ecology in his theoretical work on the structure and change of urban community. Without denying the importance of social and cultural aspects of urban life, Park argued that community organization was additionally based on nonsocial processes such as the competition for space in urban areas, patterns of land use and the distribution of population in the urban community were shaped by an ecological struggle for survival as well as cultural factors (Orcutt, 2003)

Burgess, Park's close colleague, proposed a systematic application of this general ecological theorizing in his concentric model of urban growth. He used the city of Chicago as a concrete illustration of graphic model. This model divided the city into five concentric zones based on typical patter of land use for commercial or residential

purpose. Zone one, the central business district or loop in Chicago, is restricted to the commercial uses whereas zone three up to five are residential areas, ranging from a zone of workingmen's home to the suburban commuters' zone. Zone two, the zone in transition, is a mixed area where low rent, slum, residents are being replaced by businesses and factories (Orcutt, 2003).

While Burgess's model was, in part, an attempt to describe the typical pattern of urban land use at a give point in time, he believed that it was most useful for understanding the process ecological change in the city. Ecological transition was common in urban areas. As a result of ecological competition for space which originates in zone one, all of the Zones in Burgess's model steadily expand outward every time.

Although the ecological zone suggests by Burgess's model rippled throughout the entire urban area, the impact of ecological competition and change was most marked in zone two, the zone in transition. It was characterized by residential deterioration, rapid social change, and several social disorganization. People from radically different backgrounds lived side by side in this impersonal slum environment. These factors produce an absence of interpersonal relationships and a braking down of informal social controls, the Chicago sociologists viewed it as inevitable that this areas would experience a high degree of social disorganization and high rates of social problems and deviance – crime, delinquency, suicide, mental disorder, divorce, and so forth.

Following Burgess's research, several scholars conducted similar investigations and came up with the findings which were consistent to Burgess's findings. These consistent findings from the ecological research by Chicago school researchers provided the sociology of deviance with its first well-supported empirical generalizations about the environmental characteristics. The most prominent scholars who followed burgess footprint include Shaw and McKay discussed below.

Can you identify the weaknesses of the ecological theories of deviance ?

There are problems regarding the concept of social disorganization and these problems are what contributed to its decline in importance. These problems are:

- It confuses cause and effect. It was locked into a circular argument in their theorizing about the social disorganization and deviance. Why does the deviant behavior occur in the urban slums? Because the slum area is disorganized. But, how do we know the slum area is disorganized? Because it has high rate of deviant behavior. So it goes with no way of distinguishing the cause from its effect (Keel, 2005 & Orcutt, 2003). Thus, "this is the tendency for the theory to be tautological ... saying the same thing twice over in different words." (Haralambos, 2005).
- Social disorganization was rather subjective and judgmental all the while pretending to be objective. Observers failed to free themselves from biases and place their own value judgments on social behavior. The Chicago sociologists still tend to equate the good life of an organized society with a stereotypic image of the stable rural community.
- It tried to explain crime as an almost entirely lower class phenomenon, and no way included middle and upper class deviance and crime rates. Thus, it was biased in that it favoured middle class students. Those in the lower strata were assumed to have higher levels of crime rates because their members lived in the most socially disorganized area of the city.

- Social change was often confused with social disorganization, and little attention was paid to explain why some social changes were disorganized and why others were organized.
- What is disorganized? At some times, things may seem like disorganization but at other times, they may be highly organized systems of competing norms and values. The concept produces a little ambiguity (Keel, 2005).
- Martin (2005 also argued that ecological theory has had over-reliance on social structure to explain delinquency and crime. But, other factors such as anomie or inmigration of criminally inclined people who drive out law-abiding residents can also explain deviance. Thus, it can, however, be concluded that ecology theory fails to consider other factors contributing to the behavior.
- The emphasis on social disorganization tends to underplay the degree of organizations of criminal and delinquent subculture (Haralambos, 2005).
- The ecological theory has also been criticized for the tendency to see man simply reacting to forces outside him and beyond his control. Many sociologists reject the positivist approach which tends to see man simply reacting to the external stimuli. Thus, they see man as active actor within the social system (ibid).

Dear readers, we have found that it is important to address David Matza's Delinquency and *Drift* theory here since he has several critical evaluations about the subcultural and structural theories of deviance.

3.2. Social Learning Theories of Deviance

? Do you think deviance is a learned behavior? Why?

Some theory in criminology believe that criminality is a product of socialization, how individuals have been influenced by their experiences or relationship with family, peer groups, teachers, church, authority figures and other agents of socialization. These are known as learning theories, specifically social learning theories, because criminologist never really embraced the psychological deterministic inherent in most learning psychologies. They are also less concerned with the content of what is learnt (like cultural deviance theories). However, it is not deniable that criminologists are more concerned with explaining the social process by which anyone, regardless of class, race, gender, or caste would have the potential to become a criminal. "You, too, can learn to be a serial killer." (Robert Hale, 1998). Social learning, social control, differential association and labeling theories are all examples of social process theories.

Learning is defined as habits and knowledge that develop as a result of experiences with the environment as opposed to instincts, drives, reflexes and genetic predispositions. The history of learning has a long tradition in human life. Associationism (developed by Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke and Hume) is the oldest learning theory. It was based on the idea that mind organizes sensory experiences in some ways, and is called cognitive psychology today. It is relied upon the idea that mind require a physical response by the body in order to organize sensory associations. Imitation sometimes called *contagion*, is the oldest social learning theory developed by Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904), a sociology who argued that crime begins as fashion and later becomes a custom.

Under social learning theories, theories such as the Law of Imitation (Gabriel Tarde), Differential Association Theory (Edwin Sutherland), Differential Identification Theory (Daniel Glaser), and Differential Reinforcement Theory (Akeres and Burgess) are going to be discussed.

3.2.1. The Law of Imitation: Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904)

The root of the learning theory perspective in sociology can be dated back to the era of

The root of the learning theory perspective in sociology can be dated back to the era of Gabriel Tarde. He gave much more emphasis on the social learning of crime which is the cornerstone of the present-day sociological theories of crime and deviance. The bodies of Tarde's criminological theories are found in two of his works '*La Criminalite Comparee*' in 1886 and *La Philosophie Penale* in 1890. Although Tarde's work on the three basic processes in a society (invention, imitation and opposition), in general, was totally not well received in France due the dominance of Durkheim's views, his work on imitation, in particular, did find relatively ready application in the fields of criminology and sociology.

Tarde was totally dead against the positivist criminology of Cesare Lombroso which held that criminality was inherited and that someone 'borne criminal' could be identified by physical defects (refer to 2.3.1.2 on page 23. Instead, Tarde proposed that the social environment is crucial both in the development of criminal behavior and its control.

Revealing a much more positive response in USA than in Europe, Tarde's work has had a long impact on sociology, criminology, and social psychology fields of study which seek to better understand the social nature of human beings and, thus, to assist the development of healthy societies.

Jean-Gabriel Tarde believed that the discipline that three distinctive, yet interrelated processes characterize human society – *invention*, *imitation* and *opposition*. He observed

that only one percent of people could make creative association in their minds, and can, thus, be regarded as gifted or inventive. According to him, invention is the source of all human progresses. *Opposition*, for Tarde, takes place when two or more inventions come into conflict with one another, or when new and old ideas collide. Opposition may be associated with social groups, like nations, regions, or social classes, or may remain inside the minds of individuals. The outcome of opposition is often an adaptation.

The third process which was very much important for the emergence and development of learning theories of human behavior was *imitation*. Tarde explained that imitation is widespread in society. Most people are not inventive, but only copy what they see from other people. *Imitation*, therefore, refers to the engagement in behavior after the direct or indirect observation of similar behavior by others (Akers and Jensen, 2003). Whether or not the behavior modeled by others will be imitated, is affected by the character of the models, the behavior observed and the observed consequence of the behavior – the behavior can either be prosocial or antisocial (deviant and criminal).

Tarde identified three laws of imitation – the law of close contact, the law of imitation of superiors by inferiors, and the law insertion. Tarde's influence in the area of criminology and sociology of deviance is observable through these three laws of imitation. He formulated a theory of *imitation and suggestion* through which he tried to explain criminal and deviant behaviors. According to him, the origin of deviance is similar to fashions and fads, and that his *three laws of imitation* can explain people engage in crime and deviance. These three laws are explained as follows:

1. The law of close contact: explains that people have a higher inclination to imitate or copy the fashions or behaviors of those around them. Thus, if one is constantly surrounded by deviant behavior, he is more likely to imitate that type of behavior than other, of which that person knows little. This implies that direct contact with deviance fosters more deviance. Tarde convinced himself with the idea that as people becomes denser; they will start to imitate each other more. He suggested that the mass media

played a key role in proliferation crime as criminals copied each other's style which they learn about through the media. Dear readers, what do you think about Ethiopian media pertaining to this issue?

- 2. The law of imitation of the superiors by the inferiors: is Tarde's second law of imitation which explains that the poor or the young or the powerless imitate the rich or the more experienced or the powerful, and that crimes among the poor are in fact their attempts to imitate wealthy, high-status, and powerful people. Here, you can recall the condition exists between contemporary Ethiopians and American rappers and film actors.
- 3. *The law of insertion:* is the third law. It says that new behaviors are superimposed on older ones and subsequently either reinforce or extinguished previous ones. If criminals, for instance, start to use a new type of weapon, then they will intend to use the older one anymore.

Therefore, Tarde's laws of imitation exposes the idea that deviant behaviors are like those normal behaviors which are learned by contacting people. According to him, in order for the deviant act to be imitated or copied, they must be new and owned by superiors. Thus, close contact with these newly created superiors' behaviors accelerates the chance to be copied.

Tarde's three laws of imitation had an enormous impact on the later study of deviance and social control.

3.2.2. Differential Association Theory: Edwin Sutherland

?	How do you relate differential association with a person's likely hood of learning a
	deviant behavior?

Edwin Sutherland, in his work *Principle of Criminology* in 1939/47, developed an important sociological theory known as *Differential Association Theory*. Sutherland is most influential criminologist of the 20th century. His theory is more of social psychological. Differential association theory changes focus from structure to process due to the fact that it is the process of social learning in which criminals/delinquents and lawabiding people learn their behavior from their associations with others.

The main focus of differential theory was all criminal or negative deviant behaviors. It is established upon the premise "people learn to commit crime or to deviate from normal through exposure to antisocial definitions." By the same token, differential association theory states that people have a greater tendency to deviate from societal norms when they frequently associate with individuals who are more favourable towards deviance than conformity (Kendall, 2003). According to this theory people imitate or otherwise internalize the quality of this association. Delinquency and criminality are learned behaviors that are acquired from interaction with others who participate in criminal lifestyle, so that the difference between offenders and non-offenders lines in individual choices ". . . offenders and non-offenders strive for similar goals, but they choose different avenue to achieve these goals. These choices are based on the lesson they take from exposure to certain kinds of life experience. . . . " (Martin, 2005: 84).

Since those structural theories of deviance and crime were severely criticized for their failure to explain all forms of deviance and crime, differential association theory rejected them, and appears as important theory for the 20th century crime causation and

explanation of deviance. Differential association theory is generally constructed upon the following postulates:

- Criminal/deviant behavior is learned: According to Sutherland, criminal behavior is not inherited, as such; also a person who is not already trained in crime does not invent criminal behavior, just as a person does not make mechanical inventions he has had training in mechanics.
- 2. *Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other people in process of communication*: This communication can either be verbal or nonverbal.
- 3. The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups: This shows the claim that crime is learned in face-to-face interaction in small groups. This argument rejects the possibility that such behavior is learned from the media. "Negatively, this means that impersonal agencies of communication . . . movies and newspapers play a relatively unimportant part in the genesis of criminal behavior." (Adler, 2000: 75).
- 4. When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes: a) techniques of committing the crime which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple. b) The specific directions of motives, drives, rationalization, and attitudes. Conklin (2004) further explained this principle when he says that little or no skill is needed to commit some crimes. The murder of spouse requires little skill. However, embezzlers have to learn verbalization that allows them to use their accounting skills for illegal ends, but they do not need to learn specific techniques of embezzlement.
- 5. The specific directions of motives and drives are learned from definitions of the legal code as favourable or unfavourable: this statement assumes that people orient their

actions towards the law. In other words, the law is not irrelevant to any individual who is deciding how to behave. As to Sutherland, some situations are defined as favourable to violation of the law; for example, an unattended bicycle may be seen as an opportunity for theft. However, the same situation can also be defined as unfavourable to violation of the law with the unattended bicycle being seen as a chance to alert the owner to the risk of theft.

- 6. A person becomes delinquent because of an access of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law: Here lays the principle of differential association. It stresses contacts with criminal or noncriminal definitions, but does not require contact with criminal or noncriminal individuals. "People can learn definitions favourable to violation of the law from law-abiding people and they can learn definitions unfavourable to violation of law from criminals." (Conklin, 2004: 213). According to the principle of differential association, an individual holds both definitions favourable and unfavourable to violation of law, and that bit is only when definition favourable to violation of laws exceed definitions unfavourable that a person will turn to crime.
- 7. Differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity: This means that associations with criminal and noncriminal behaviors vary in those respects. Here, what is important is the nature of association, with criminal and noncriminal patterns, rather than the mere fact of those associations. This implies that associations that are more frequent play a higher role in the balance between definitions favourable to violation of laws and definitions unfavourable to violation of laws. Associations that endure over the longest time are the most significant in determining criminal behavior. Likewise, associations that occur earlier in life, in childhood or adolescence, are the most important in forming definition of the law.

- 8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning process: This shows the idea that crime is a form of behavior that is learned in the same way as noncriminal behaviors. The learning of criminal behavior is, thus, not restricted to the process of imitation alone.
- 9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and value, it is not explained by those general needs and values, since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values: Thieves generally steal in order to secure money, but likewise, honest labourers work in order to secure money. Here, Sutherland argues that criminal behavior cannot be explained by the general desire to accumulate property or enhance status among peers because those motives can also lead to noncriminal behaviors. Thus, it will be wise keeping the ideas that only learning through differential association with definitions favourable and unfavourable to violation of the law can explain criminal behavior (Adler, 2000 & Conklin, 2004).

?	What do you think are the weaknesses of the differential association theory?

Differential association theory had been criticized for several reasons. For one thing it is criticized for its stress on the ratio of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law. The theory might be mistaken in looking at definition of the law in general, because individuals violate specific laws. Thus, a person might not need to hold an overall unfavourable view of the law before committing a crime, holding unfavourable definitions of one specific law could be enough.

Sutherland examined the learning process by which people become criminals, but it leave the question 'why people have the association they do?' unexplained. It does not explain how the associations are distributed throughout the social structure.

The theory also has been criticized for overly simplified view of the way that people choose models for their behavior. Differential identification theory proposes that the choice of model does not necessarily involve interaction with other in intimate personal groups instead a person pursues criminal behaviors to extend that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable.

Differential association theory might describe how some people initially become involved in crime better than it explains why people continue in a criminal career. The cause may be the direct rewards of crime.

The theory has also been criticized for being too general and imprecise to test easily or to verify fully. Even if the concepts of the theory could be defined in measurable terms, an enormous movement of data would be needed to test the theory.

Section Four: Interactionist Perspective on Deviance

?	What are the major tenets of the symbolic interaction perspective in sociology?

Intractionist perspectives differ from those points of view on deviance so far we have seen. Haralambos (2005) attributed this difference to two reasons: First, interactionist perspective views deviance from different theoretical points of views. Secondly, it examines aspects of deviance which have been largely ignored by several approaches so far we have discussed. Those explanations addressed till now, emphasized on the motivation pressures and social forces that are expected to influence his behavior.

Instead, interactionist perspective focuses on the importance of the interaction between deviant and those who define him as deviant. The main attention of this perspective is to explain how and why particular groups and individuals are defined as deviant and the effects of such definition upon their future actions.

The interactionist perspective is very much interested in examining the meanings the various actors of the social interaction bring to and develop within the interaction situation. Meanings, as to interactionists, are not fixed and clear cut. They are modified and developed in the process of the interaction (Haralambos, 2005). Thus, the definition of deviance is negotiated in the interaction situation by the actors involved. However, all the approaches to deviance so far dealt, with their focus on the idea that the deviant simply reacting to the forces which are external to himself and largely beyond his control, are closer to positivist positions (ibid).

This perspective has been influenced very much by the idea of Charles Cooley's *looking* glass-self which examines self as a product of our social interaction with others; and Herbert mead's significant others and generalized others.

4.1. The Dramatization of Evil - Frank Tannenbaum

Po you agree that deviance could be considered as something evil?

Frank Tannenbaum discarded all previously seen theories of crime and deviance in 1938 in favour of a broad multidisciplinary approach to these social facts. He was profoundly affected by the time in which he was writing. It was the middle of the Great Depression and society was suffering a lot. These troubled times were reflected in the Dramatization of Evil which states that results from an individual's relationship with society (Davenport, 2004).

Tannenbaum was interested in Herbert Mead's idea upon which he based his concept dramatization of evil. In 1938, Tannenbaum wrote 'Crime and Community'. In this book, he saw that there was a conflict between a delinquent and community. For him, when an act is committed, there exist different definitions of the situation. Tannenbaum explained this idea as:

In the conflict between the young delinquent and the community [,] there develop two opposing definitions of the situation . . . the definition of the situation by the young delinquent may be in the form of play, adventure, excitement, interest, mischief, fun To the community, however, these activities may and do often take on the form of nuisance, evil, delinquency, with the demand for control, admonition, chastisement, punishment, police court, truant school (Tannenbaum, 1938, cited in Kelly, et.al, 2002: 2004).

This conflict over the situation is one that arises out of a divergence of values – there are different emphases over the situation on behalf of the two. As the problem develops, as to Tannenbaum, the situation gradually becomes redefined. The attitude of the community hardens definitely into a demand for suppression – the community defines the actor only one way, but the juvenile defines in other. Then, 'there is a gradual shift from the definition of the specific acts as evil to the definition of the individual as evil, so that all his acts come to be called upon with suspicion.' (ibid: 205).

From the community point of view, the individual who used to do bad and mischievous things has now a bad and unredeemable human being. At the same time the individual believed that there has taken place the same change. "The young delinquent becomes bad because he is defined as bad because he is believed if he is good." (ibid: 205).

Then according to Tannenbaum, everything seems to work to define the youth in negative terms. This definition is built up over time and reinforces through interaction with others. What may have started a simple problem has turned sour, behavior greater than Tannenbaum believes that it is often society or the institutions that are the problem, tying to make everyone fit. Tannenbaum argues:

This boy no more guilty than the other members of his groups, discovers a world of which he knows little For this boy there suddenly appear the police, the patrol wagon, the police station, the other delinquents and criminals found in police lochups, the court with all its agencies He is questioned, examined, tested, investigated The boy, no different from the rest of his gang, suddenly become the center of a major drama in which all start of unexpected characters play important role (Kelly, et. al, 2002: 207).

Thus, the youth turns to a group that offers alternative values, habits, interests, and attitudes: the gangs, Tannenbaum argued. Gangs become the important societal reference point for the youth now. This is, as to Tannenbaum, the process of making the criminal through the process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious. Therefore, Tannenbaum contends that the community's enthusiasm defeats its aim. The harder the community works to reform the evil, the greater the level grows under their hands.

Attempts to mess with the gang only creates more problems because,

- Only one or a few youth are caught when gang does something wrong;
- This singles out one for attention; and
- What use to be just fun, things everybody you hung with did, are now presented to you indifferent light, you are bad.

Therefore, Tannenbaum argues that the dramatization of evil – the first label – is important than any other experience in making the criminal. The youth becomes what he is described as being. He further expressed that it doesn't matter the attention of the label, punishment or help.

Tannenbaum suggests the following two points when we engage in treating criminals and delinquency:

- The way out is through a *refusal to dramatize the evil*. The less said about it is the better. The more said about something else, still better.
- The attack must be on the whole group; for only by changing the attitude, ideas, interests and habits. Punishment must not be for the purpose of retribution, but to change the character.

Tannenbaum rejects all assumptions that would impute crime to the individual – the assumption that crime is caused by any sort of inferiority (physiological or psychological) is here completely and unequivocally repudiated.

Generally, Tannenbaum's argument can be summarized as,

- The social audience creates deviance and deviants by so defining the act and actors that way.
- A process of transference takes place, the label is easily transferred from act to actor.
- The label related to the conduct norms and the behavior but the connection is a very loose one.

Frank Tannenbaum's theory it not without limitations, though few they are. However, the dramatization of evil, better known as labeling theory, is still alive and very popular today (Davenport, 2004). One major criticism lays in its *simplicity*. This theory is based upon the changes that occur within the labeled individual and how these changes cause the

individual to further their criminality. However, tannenbaum and his successors paid no attention to the impact of the label. No attention is given to the changes that were actually occurring in the self, how this might be affected by other individual characteristics.

Another criticism sets upon the tradition of subjective observation and definitions. Scientists have always relied on objective definitions so that experiments could be duplicated. For instance, within a subjective tradition, it would be impossible to measure deviance of the rich and the poor using the same guideline. The method is very controversial.

4.2. Primary and Secondary Deviation – Edwin Lamert

•	Can you guess the various ways in which society could react to deviance?

This is another variety of labeling theory. Lamert emphasizes the importance of societal reaction (the reaction of others to the deviant) in his explanation of deviance. He identified two types of deviations: primary and secondary. Primary deviation comprises of deviant acts before they are publicly labeled. There are a number of causes for it, but it was not as important as those causes of secondary deviation to discuss them due to:

- 1. Samples of deviants are based upon those who have been labeled and are therefore unrepresentative; and
- 2. Many so-called deviants may be so widespread as to be normal in statistical terms. Thus, most males may at some time commit a homosexual act, engage in delinquent activities and so on.

According to Lamert, not only is the research for the causes of primary deviation largely fruitless, but also primary deviation itself is relatively unimportant (Haralambos, 2005). Thus, the old deviant act, for Lamert, has little effect on the individual's self-concept on his status in the community, and does not prevent his from continuing a normal and conventional life (ibid).

Therefore, as to Lamert, the original causes of deviance are almost anything, many, and diverse. As it is cited in Hamlin (2002), Lamert argued, behaviors are not significant sociologically until they are organized subjectively and transformed into active roles and become the social criteria for assigning status (ibid). Lamert said that the important factor in "producing" deviance is societal reaction – the public identification of the deviant and the consequences of this for the individual concerned (Haralambos, 2005). Secondly, deviation is the response of the individual or the group to the societal reaction. Thus, Lamert recommended that studies of deviance should focus on secondary deviation which has major consequences for the individual's self-concept and status in the community today and in the future.

Subsequently, it has been argued that societal reaction can be seen as the major causes of deviation recede and give away to the central importance of the disapproving, degradational and isolation reaction of society. This implies that social control is a dynamic factor or 'cause' of deviance. (Haralambos, 2005) strengthens this idea when he contends that Lamert neatly reverses traditional views of deviance – the blame for deviance lies with the agents of social control rather than with the deviant. Now let us see the process by which society or agents of social control create deviance and crime from the following paragraph.

When an actor commits a crime (primary deviation), though mild, the institution will bring social penalties down on the actor. However, punishment does not necessarily stop deviance, the actor, being forced by the institution, might commit

the same primary deviance again, bringing even harsher reaction for the institutions. At this point the actor will start to resent the institution, while the institution brings harsher and harsher repressions. Eventually, the whole community will stigmatize the actor as a deviant and the actor will not be able to tolerate this, but will ultimately accept his or her role as a deviant, an will commit a criminal acts fit the role of a deviant.

Therefore, according to Lamert, a full-fledged criminal behavior becomes realized after the individual actors have passed through the following steps:

- 1. primary deviation,
- 2. social penalties,
- 3. secondary deviation,
- 4. stronger penalties,
- 5. further deviation with resentment and hostility towards the punishers,
- 6. the general community stigmatizes as a criminal because tolerance threshold passed, and

7. strengthening of deviant conduct because of these stigmatizing penalties => accept the role of deviant (criminal).

Act	ivity 5
1.	Can use examples to explain primary and secondary deviation? A. Primary Deviation
	B. Secondary Deviation

4.3. Labeling Theory – Howard S. Becker

?	Do you think calling a conformist a deviant could actually make him/her a deviant?
	Why?

Howard S. Becker, a prominent interactionist thinker, has developed the labeling theory of deviance. He argues that ". . . social groups create deviance by making the rules whose

infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders." (cited in Adlers, 2000: 78). This idea, as to Becker signifies that deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but the consequence of the application of rules and sanctions to an 'offender' by others.

Accordingly, Becker defined a deviant as one to whom the label deviant has successfully been applied; and deviant behavior is a behavior that people so-label (Adlers, 2000).

Since deviance is a consequence of the response of others to a person's act, according to Becker, we cannot assume that deviants are homogeneous when we conduct a research on people who have already been labeled. He further argued that we cannot assume that those people have actually committed a deviant act or broken some rules, because the process of labeling may not be infallible, some people may be label deviant who, in fact, have not broken a rule. Moreover, we cannot suppose that the category of these labeled deviant will contain all those who actually violated a rule, as many offenders may escape apprehension and thus failed to be included in the population of 'deviants' we study (ibid). This shows that those people labeled deviant cannot have common factors of personality or life situation. The only thing that these labeled people have in common, according to Becker, is the label as well as the experience of being labeled as an outsider.

As a result, Becker becomes interested in the analysis of deviance only based on their similarity – he is concerned with the process by which people come to be thought of an outsider, and their reactions to that judgment.

For him, we cannot say that others will label as though one has committed an infraction of a rule, partly, "because one has not violated a rule does not mean that he may not be treated, in some circumstances, as though he had." (Adlers, 2000: 79). The degree to which other people will respond, as to Becker, varies across:

- i. **Time** (for example, Chat chewing in 1900s and today in Gondar town has no equal weight of being labeled as deviant).
- ii. **Who commits the act** (rules tend to be applied more to some people than others, for example, assume that both the a minister and a street child smoke cigarette nearby you. Whom will you most probably label deviant?).
- iii. Who feels that he/she has been harmed by the act (some rules are enforced only when they result certain consequences. Who is, in Ethiopian case, going to be regarded as deviant, of having illegitimate child? Unmarried woman or unmarried man?)

So far, Becker has discussed that deviance is not a quality that lies in behavior itself, but in interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it. Therefore, Becker become very much interested in the idea that being branded as deviant has important results for one's further social participation and self-image. The most significant consequence is a drastic change in the individual's public identity – involves status change from the kind he was supposed to be labeled a 'fair,' 'dope fiend,' 'nut,' or 'lunatic' and treated accordingly.

In analyzing the consequences of assuming a deviant identity, Becker largely consumed Hughes's distinction between master and auxiliary status traits. For Hughes, people often have the master status traits, but lacks some of the auxiliary, informally expected characteristics (Hughes, 1945; cited from Adlers, 2000). Hughes deals with this phenomenon in regard to statuses that are well thought of, desired and desirable. Becker uses some aspects of this process in the case of deviant and statuses. "Possession of one deviant trait may have a generalized symbolic value, so that people automatically assume that its bearer possesses other undesirable traits allegedly associated with it." (Adlers, 2000: 81). To be labeled a criminal, one needs only commit a single criminal offense. Yet,

the term carries a number of connotations – specifying auxiliary traits. For example, a man who has been convicted for housebreaking and thereby labeled criminal, as to Becker, is presumed to be a person likely to break into other houses. Furthermore, he is considered likely to commit other kinds of crime as well, because he has shown himself to be as person without "respect for the law."

Becker also borrowed Hughes's analysis for the difference between master and subordinate statuses. Hughes believed that some statuses in any society override all other statuses and have a certain priority. Gender is a good example for Ethiopian society. Membership in the *female gender* will override most other status considerations in most other situations – being a doctor or political leader will not protect one from being treated as female first. According to Becker the status of deviance, depending on the kind of deviance, is a kind of master status. Thus, one, after being labeled, will be identified as a deviant first, before other identifications are made (Adlers, 2000).

Becker also explains that after being labeled deviant, the actor may begin to act in accordance with the expectation associated with his label. This process is known as *self-fulfilling prophecy*, in which the person labeled deviant is cut off from others in appropriate way for the type of deviance; and he or she moves into an organized deviant group (Hamlin, 2001).

Why does deviant, once being labeled and engaged in a self-fulfilling prophecy, moves into organized deviant?

Because, being member of an organized deviant group has the following functions for the labeled person, Becker answered:

- Membership provides a base for and solidifies a deviant behavior;
- Membership develops a complicated historical, legal and psychological justifications for their deviant activities;

- Members also learn to continue with their deviant behavior with a minimum amount of trouble; and
- Members learn how to do whatever it is better with the least amount of ditection.

?	Can you identify weaknesses in the labeling theory of deviance?

Many scholars have criticized the social labeling theory as:

- One of the major weaknesses of labeling theory is that it doesn't attempt to explain why people violate social norms for the first time. It doesn't dare to explain the reason for primary deviation (Andagachew, 1990: 224).
- Labeling theory completely externalizes the responsibility for deviant behavior leading to the belief that a society without deviance is possible. This appears to be highly romantic view (ibid: 225).
- The theory leave, the question "How do people overcome the problem of labeling?" unexplained.
- "Why labeling works for some and not for others?" is not explained.
- Labeling theories fail to make clear the condition under which labeling will alter self-concepts, restrict opportunities, hurt social relationships and drive deviants into subculture (organized deviant group).
- The time when a label will be accepted by deviant and when a deviant will reject or disavow a label is not specified by labeling theory.

Labeling theorists believed that deviant or criminal behaviors are produced by social institutions established for social control. However, there is little empirical evidences that labeling by the criminal justice system actually increases crime or delinquency.

4.4. Critical Evaluation of Interactionist View of Deviance

As	s a sociologist how would you criticize the interactionist view of deviance?

The interactionist perspective of deviance has already been criticized by several scholars for several shortcomings. These include the following ones:

- 1. Interactionists fail to explain the origin of deviant behavior. For example, labeling theory fails to explain the behavior of the individual before he was labeled deviant. Moreover, deviant behavior simply created by the label. For instance, why do certain individuals chew 'Khat' in the first place while others do not?
- 2. Interactionist idea that *deviants do not have awareness that his action could be seen as deviant until he is stopped in his track by a label* is criticized. However, many deviants are aware that their behavior is regarded by others as deviants. Thus, they actively make decision to break norms of a society. They are not passive, blinkered creatures, suddenly waked from blissful ignorance as a label is slapped upon them (Haralambos, 2005). Critics furthered their idea that, indeed, many individuals are not only aware of their deviance, but also they are proud of it.
- 3. Jack Gibbs severely criticized the interactionists tendency to give the impression that members of society do not see behavior as deviant until it is officially labeled as such. He further argues that the interactionists tend to lose sight of the fact that

there are social norms that deviance is a behavior that breaks them and that members of society perceive reality in terms of such norms. Thus, social norms also have power to label an act as deviant.

4. It is also argued that the interactionists fail to fully explain societal reaction to deviance. For example, in Cicourl's study, why do the police and juvenile officers have particular meanings and definitions of deviance that lead them to label some individuals and not others? Why some activities regarded as deviant in a particular society and not others? Section Five: Conflict Theories of Deviance

?	Can you recall the major argument presented by the conflict perspective in sociology?

The basic premises underlying conflict perspective is that the life experience of groups are generally shaped by those who have power over them (Kelly, et. al., 2002). Conflict theorists generally see deviance as a result of conflict between individuals and groups. This conflict, according to conflict theorists, is occurred due to the prevalence of unfair distribution of advantages within a social group. Thus, the social-conflict paradigm links deviance to social inequality.

For this school, power and prestige as well as wealth are not evenly distributed among all members of a society. These resources are controlled by few powerful section of the society. This powerful segment of a society has the ability to label the behavior of those disadvantaged segment as deviant. Therefore, the theoretical orientation of this school contributes to *labeling theory* is that it explains those with power create norms and laws, and then label deviants. Thus, deviant behavior, as per conflict theorists, is an action that does not go along with the grain of the social prescribed world view of the powerful, and is often a result of the present social structure preventing the minority groups from

accessing to scarce resources. This condition leads the individuals to conflict with the social institutions. As a result, they will be regarded as deviants.

Here, 'who determines what kind of behaviors is deviant or criminals?' is a central question which has been answered by different branches of conflict theory (Kendall, 2003). One branch of this school gives much more attention to power as the control factor in defining deviance and crime. In other words, people in position of power maintain their advantages by using the law to protect their own interests. Another branch of this school sees the relationship between deviance and a socio-economic system called *capitalism*. Still other branch of the conflict paradigm applies feminist perspective, and focused on the influence of race, class, and gender issues in fabricating of deviance and crime (ibid).

5.1. Deviance and Power Relation

?	How can the study of power relations in society help to explain deviance?

Most thinkers subscribed here focus on power relations in society. They suggest that deviant is a lifestyle defined as illegal by those political and economic elites. According to this perspective, the law formulated and implemented by the powerful defines and controls two distinct categories of people: deviants/criminals and non-deviants or non-criminals.

For this perspective, norms and laws are established for the benefits of the powerful people and do not reflect any absolute standard of right and wrong. Thus, the activities and behaviors of the poor and lower-income individuals are more likely to be defined as criminal than those people from middle and upper-income backgrounds (Macionis, 1995). Moreover, the criminal justice system is more concentrated on, and is less forging of,

deviants and criminals behaviors engaging in by people in specific categories; for example, young, single, urban males are more likely to be perceived as members of the dangerous class and received a stricter sentence in criminal courts (Kendall, 2002).

This wing of conflict theory of deviance shows how power relations in society influence the law and the criminal system often to the detriment of people who are at the bottom of the social structure ladder. Several conflict thinkers have contributed for the development of this perspective. Some are Alexander Liazos, William Chambliss, and Richard Quinney. Now, we have found better discussing the ideas of these thinkers one after the other.

5.2. William Chambliss: the Saints and the Roughnecks

?	Do you think 'conformist' and 'deviant' are the only categories in society in terms of
	an attempt explaining deviance?

William Chambliss addresses several fascinating questions such as "what do other people's reaction to those who deviate from what is expected depend? Do they depend on the nature of th3 deviance itself, or is more involved? If so, what sorts of things?"

Chambliss conducted a research in 1970s on "the Saints and Roughnecks." In this classical study, conducted in Seattle suburbs, the saints are a group of eight white upper middle class boys on the pre-college track in high school, who engage in incredibly large amounts of truancy, a great deal of drinking and driving, quite a bit petty thefts and vandalism, and a lot of cheating in school, but managed to maintain a good image. If these youth are apprehended, the influence of their parents and the social skills of boys

contribute to the interpretation that they are just engaging in youthful highjinks (boys will be boys) (Adlers, 2000 and Henslin, 1997).

According to Chambliss, the local police saw the saints as good boys who were among the leaders of the youth in the community. Rarely, the boys might be stopped in town for speeding or for running a stop sign. When this happened, the boys were always polite, contrite, and pled for mercy. Then they receive the mercy they asked for (Adler, 2000).

The roughnecks are a group of six lower class boys who engage in lots of fighting (mostly among themselves or with other lower class boys) and stealing, who are often arrested, and whose image in the community is terrible. From Chambliss' point of view, although the two gangs of boys were the same age, and both groups engaged in an equal amount of wild-oats sewing, everyone agreed that the not-so-well-dressed, not-so-well managed, not-so-rich boys were leading for trouble (Henslin, 1997).

Here, Chambliss raises two important questions: why did the community, the school, and the police react to saints as though they were good, upstanding, non-delinquent youth with bright futures but to the roughnecks as though they were tough, young criminals who were headed for trouble? Why did the roughnecks and the saints, in fact, have quite different careers after high schools – careers which, by and large, lived up the expectations of the community? (Henslin, 1997 and Adler, 2000). Differential treatment, as to Chambliss, was possible due to the fact that one group of boys was 'more delinquent' than the other, irrespective of the reality. The saints' behavior had at least as much potential for community harm as the behavior of the roughnecks. But, it is the roughnecks who treated as delinquents by the community and the law enforcement agents. The saints were bad when they were sober atrocious when drunk, and their vandalism included moving street assigns to create dangerous situations for motorists and watch the "fun". But, they never go labeled, and they ultimately all went to college,

got degrees, and pursued respectable careers, whereas the opposite is true for the roughnecks. In Chambliss' words:

In sheer number of illegal acts the saints were the more delinquent. They were truant from school for at least part of the day almost everyday of the week. In addition, their drinking and vandalism occurred with surprising regularity. The roughnecks, in contrast, engaged sporadically in delinquent episodes. While these episode were frequent, they certainly did not occur on a detail or even a weekly basis (Chambliss, 1997, cited in Adlers, 2000: 186)

Therefore, Chambliss concluded that even though crime and delinquent occur throughout all social strata, power, in the form of money and influence, is the key factor which determines who gets arrested and who does not (Haralambos, 2005).

Chambliss's study shows:

- 1. The link between social structure and perception of deviance. He argues that crime occurs everywhere in a society. It is found throughout all social strata. The major differences between strata are types of crimes committed and the nature of the law enforcement. He, furthermore, discussed that power, in the form of money and influence, is a key factor which determines who gets arrested and who does not.
- 2. The effect of labeling as a self-fulfillment prophecy. Chambliss believed that the community responded to the roughnecks as boys in trouble, and the boys agreed with that perception. Their pattern of deviance was re-enforced and breaking away from it became increasingly unlike. Once the boys acquire the image of themselves as deviant, they selected new friends who affirmed that self-image. As that self-conception became more firmly entrenched, they also

become willing to try new and more extreme deviances. (for a detail discussion please refer to Adlers, 2000: 178-191, and Henslin, 1997: 246 -260).

5.3. Deviance and Capitalism

Can you identify a link between capitalism as an economic system and the occurrence of deviance?

A second branch of conflict theory – the Marxist/critical theory – views deviance and crime as a function of a capitalist economic system. Although the early economist and social thinkers such as Karl Marx wrote very little about deviance and crime, many of his ideas are found in a critical approach that has emerged from earlier Marxist and radical perspective on criminology (Kendall, 2003: 210). The critical approach, according to the writer, is based on the assumption that the laws and the criminal justice system protect the power and privilege of the capitalist class. Privilege not only includes rights such as life, liberty, and happiness, but also material possessions like money, luxurious items, land and house (ibid). Some of the conflict theorists addressed under this category are William Bonger and Steven Spitzer. However, before directly proceeding to explain the ideas of these thinkers, it is important to treat Karl Marx's idea pertaining to this topic.

Marx based his critique of capitalism on the inherent conflict that he believed existed between the capitalist (bourgeoisie) and the working class (proletariats). As per Marx's idea, in capitalist societies, the superstructures (institutions like law, politics, education, etc) legitimize the existing class inequalities and maintain the capitalists' superior position in the class structure. Thus, he saw capitalism as a social system which produces the *haves* and *have-nots*, who engage in different forms of deviance and crime.

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Summary

Both Emile Durkheim and Robert K. Merton are the two most important structural-functional theorists who are related with the analysis of anomie. It is, however, worthwhile keeping in mind that Durkheim's anomie is different from that of Merton's. For Durkheim, anomie is the state of normlessness, a condition occurred within a given society when norms are absent or nonfunctional. On the other hand, Merton defined anomie as a social condition of an individual which occurred due the mismatch between societal goals and socially approved means by which goals are attained.

Structural theories of deviance are similar to Merton's theory. They explain the origin of deviance in terms of the positions of individuals or groups in the social structure. Haralambos added that subcultural theories argued that deviance should be explained in terms of the subculture of the social group. Subculture theorists contend that certain groups develop distinctive norms and values that deviate from the mainstream culture of the society. Often structural and subcultural theories of deviance are combined in Albert Cohen's, Thorsten Sellin's, and Walter Miller's theories of deviance.

During the 1920s, a group of sociologist based in Chicago, which later became known as the Chicago school, developed an ecological approach to the study of social life. Ecology refers to the relationship between organisms and their environments. Member of Chicago school applied this concept to the growth of cities and argued that behavior could be explained in terms of the urban environment.

Intractionist perspectives differ from those points of view on deviance so far we have seen. Haralambos (2005) attributed this difference to two reasons: First, interactionist perspective views deviance from different theoretical points of views. Secondly, it examines aspects of deviance which have been largely ignored by several approaches so far we have discussed. Those explanations addressed till now, emphasized on the

motivation pressures and social forces that are expected to influence his behavior. Instead, interactionist perspective focuses on the importance of the interaction between deviant and those who define him as deviant. The main attention of this perspective is to explain how and why particular groups and individuals are defined as deviant and the effects of such definition upon their future actions.

The basic premises underlying conflict perspective is that the life experience of groups are generally shaped by those who have power over them (Kelly, et. al., 2002). Conflict theorists generally see deviance as a result of conflict between individuals and groups. This conflict, according to conflict theorists, is occurred due to the prevalence of unfair distribution of advantages within a social group. Thus, the social-conflict paradigm links deviance to social inequality. For this school, power and prestige as well as wealth are not evenly distributed among all members of a society. These resources are controlled by few powerful section of the society. This powerful segment of a society has the ability to label the behavior of those disadvantaged segment as deviant. Therefore, the theoretical orientation of this school contributes to labeling theory is that it explains those with power create norms and laws, and then label deviants. Thus, deviant behavior, as per conflict theorists, is an action that do not go along with the grain of the social prescribed world view of the powerful, and is often a result of the present social structure preventing the minority groups from accessing to scarce resources. This condition leads the individuals to conflict with the social institutions. As a result, they will be regarded as deviants.

Self-Check Exercise 2

Part I: True/False

<u>Instruction</u>: Answer 'True' if the statement is correct and 'False' if the statement is incorrect

- 1. Durkheim has focused largely on anomie as the main sources of deviance in a society.
- 2. Durkheim's social strain theory attributed social deviance to the extremes of the dimension of the social bond.
- 3. Merton used the concept anomie to explain the social state in which individuals fail to attain the societal goals using socially approved means.
- 4. A conformist accepts the goal of the society but pursue them with the means which is regarded as unacceptable
- 5. According to the theory of differential association, poverty itself is not a cause for the prevalence of deprived condition, but the proximity of wealth and poverty
- 6. Thorstin Sellin, law embodied the normative structure of the dominant cultural of ethnical group.
- 7. Cloward and Ohlin explained that delinquent subculture flourish in the lower class.
- 8. The organic models of society and other biological analogies were taken less seriously by Chicago sociologists than they were by the social pathologists.
- 9. Relative deprivation theory is established upon the premise "people learn to commit crime or to deviate from normal through exposure to antisocial definitions."
- 10. Deviant behavior, as per the interactionist perspective, is an action that does not go along with the grain of the social prescribed world view of the powerful, and is often a result of the present social structure preventing the minority groups from accessing to scarce resources.

Unit Three

Urbanization and Deviance

This unit deals with an analysis of the relationships between urbanization and

deviance. The unit is divided into four sections. The first section deals with an introduction to what is meant by urbanization. The second section analyzes the history of urbanization. The third section examines urbanization as a way of life for many people around the world while the fourth and last section provides a deeper look into the correlations between urbanization an deviance.

Objectives

After completing this unit you will be able to:

- define urbanization;
- identify the basic characteristics of urbanization;
- trace the history of globalization in the world;
- explain urbanization as a way of life; and
- analyze the links between urbanization and deviance.

Section One: Urbanization: Defined

?	What is urbanization?

Urbanization has been defined in several ways. It is seen as a process by which rural areas become transformed into urban areas. Thus, urbanization refers to the changes in the proportion of the population of a nation living in urban areas and to the process of

moving to cities or other densely settled areas. The term is also used to describe the changes in social organization that occurs as a consequence of population concentration. Macionis (1995) backed up this idea when defining urbanization as the process of concentration of human population into cities. The writer further explains that this process both redistributes the population with a society and transforms many aspects of social life.

In demographic terms, urbanization refers to an increase in population concentration. This definition of urbanization is concerned with the number of population dwells in urban areas as well as the level of population density in urban areas. For example, 16.2% of Ethiopian population, out of 75,067,000, was urban in 2006 (MoFED, 2007).

A specialized field of sociology called *urban sociology* studies social, economic, political and psychological aspects of the city. According to urban sociologists, a city is *a relatively* dense and permanent settlement of people who secure their livelihood primarily through non-agricultural activities (Kendall, 2003). The influence of urban mode of life, according to Zander Vanden (1990), extends far beyond city's boundaries.

For Kendall (2003), only about 3% of the world's population lived in cities two hundred years ago, as compared with almost 50% of today's. In this contemporary world, estimates suggest that 2 out of 3 people around the world will live in urban areas by 2050 (ibid). Hence, there is a possibility to explain that the process of urbanization continues on a global basis; and the present-day cities are not something that raises like a phoenix from its ashes, rather they have undergoes through a long evolutionary history.

Several sociologists tried to identify other concepts related to urbanization. A densely populated areas containing two or more cities and their suburbs refers to the cluster of cities or *megalopolis*. And urban region classified as megalopolis when it has a density of 500 inhabitants per square mile (and many more of such arbitrary). A type of megalopolis cities oriented to international trade rather than domestic trade and commerce are known as global cities, for example, London, Paris, Zurich, New York, etc.

Suburbs, exurbs, edge city and sprawl are also other some concepts come along with urbanization. Suburbs are settlements which developed around the center city (Mooney, 1997); and are established for different purposes like commercial, industrial, residential and so on. Such suburbs together with the city are called metropolitan. Exurbs on the other hand, are recent phenomena which come after the suburbanization. They are parts of the urban pattern since their inhabitants have the same life style to the residents of the center city. Exurbanites are affluent, well-educated, professionals, urban seeker people who seek to reside in rustic settings. Edge cities encompass offices, dwellings and all sorts of urban resources, without, containing a historical downtown core. They appear as a cluster of urban activities along the highways that circle large cities – which accounts for the edge in the term. Sprawl is unbridled, poorly planned, low-density spread out, auto oriented and dependent residential development that spread out from the center of communities, occurs and usually expands dramatically faster than population growth, common ills include traffic congestion, air pollution and massive destruction of natural environment, common leapfrog commercial and residential development.

Generally, the development of urbanization is a continuous process which has been bringing about several social, economic, psychological, and political consequences. As modern form of life, urbanization is a latent outcome of industrialization. Deviant behaviors have come out along with this change in life as its unexpected product. Deviance, as a social behavior, is directly and/or indirectly correlated with urbanization through its unique characteristics such as the occurrence of subcultures, material-oriented way of life, individualism and the prevalence of slum areas which are a fertile ground for the emergence of deviance. Conklin (2004) explains that the 19th century rural people were generally honest, but the urban poor who were nearer to great wealth and temptation were more prone to crime.

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ı. Can	you mention	some feature	es of urban are	as in your society	7 :

Section Two: Historical Development of Cities

?	Where do you think cities in history first developed?

This subtopic deals with the evolution of urban areas. Cities are relatively recent social phenomena in the history of mankind. They are new inventions when compared with the history of human society. "The earliest human are believed to have emerged anywhere between 40,000 and one million years ago, and permanent human settlements are believed to have begun first about 8000 B. C." (Kendall, 2003: 610). However, scholars do

not come to a consensus on the exact date when the first urban settlement came out. Even though disagreements about the exact date of the emergence of the first city are persistent, it is most likely to be believed that cities began sometimes after human history due to several reasons.

Scholars accepted the argument that cities were possible due to the available of such factors as favorable ecology, advanced technology, and a well developed social organizations. Upon their emergence, several dimensions of people were changed. Therefore, urbanization is a social change accompanies other developments.

Andargachew (1976) argued that social change and development are often accompanied by social problems of various kinds. The social, technological and economic changes that have been going on since the beginning of urbanization have had noticeable effect on the social structure. The gradual shift from subsistence economy to a money economy and the improvement of roads and means of communication have brought changes in the population structure. People from rural areas started pouring into expanding towns and urban areas, for example, rural migration, according to Andargachew (1976), was at its highest between 1935 and 1944 when urbanization was at its powering stage – the trend was noticeable in many parts of the developing world.

Urbanization has various consequences for different section of society. People, young and old, have been being uprooted from the closed static patterns of rural life and are being thrust into uncertain turbulence of the city where every man is a stranger. They are forced to learn survive in an environment that is completely artificial. They do not know how to regain the sense of community they have lost in the transitional process.

The problems the newcomers encountered are limitless. There is lack of employment coupled with marketable skills. There is the problem of unmet physical needs such as housing. People feel loneliness in the middle of a huge crowd. There is the problem of family breakdown because of new situation and strains. All these pressures may eventually boil up into various social illnesses including the problem of youth and

juvenile delinquencies. Young people permanently thrown into the free competition of the labour market eventually end up either on the streets or in unsuitable types of work because of insufficient training. This situation is aggravated by a too quickly gained independence which too often is a stepping stone for the development of a street culture.

Section Three: Urbanism as a Way of Life

•	Do you agree that urban areas force a peculiar type way of life on people? Why?

Sociologist Lous Writh, as it is cited in Schaefer (2003), argued that urbanism is a distinctive pattern of human behavior which is resulted from a relatively large and permanent human settlement. It refers to a distinctive social and psychological patterns of life typically found in the city (Kendall, 2003). It is, thus, the cultural component associated with urbanization. It includes a range of beliefs, values and rules of behavior which are assumed to be associated with the process of urbanization. It reflects the patterns of culture and social interaction resulting from the concentration of large number of population in a relatively small geographical area. It also refers to an organization of society or community in terms of complex division of labour, high level of technology and social mobility. Therefore, it can, however, be said that urbanism is one consequence of urbanization along with its changes in values, norms, customs and mores of behavior of the population.

According to Writh (1928), the size, density and heterogeneity of urban population typically result in an elaborate specialization and spatial segregation of people by race/ethnicity, social class, religion and/or lifestyle. The culture of the people living in the city is often different from those who live in rural areas. In cities, as per the idea of Kendall (2003), primary group ties are largely replaced by secondary relationships; social interaction is fragmented, impersonal and often superficial. As a result, people in cities

have lost all the benefits they could possibly drive out of the forgone primary group relationships.

Louis Wirth further explained that urban dwellers are alienated powerless, and lonely. There is an *obliterated sense of community*; rather it is characterized by the *mass society* (Kendall, 2003). Schaefer (2003) supported this idea as he explained that urban life is not alike; and it would be a mistake if we argue that city life is uniform or similar across residents. For example, sociologist Herbert J. Gans (1991) has distinguished five types of people found in American cities: *cosmopolites*, unmarried and childless people, ethnic villagers, the deprived and the *trapped*. The existence of these categories of people in the cities reminds us that the city represents a dream for certain people and a nightmare for others.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, on their behalves, argued that people in preindustrial, traditional societies were generally tribal beings. The rise of city was the transition from, lower primitive and barbarian culture to modern and civilized cultures. People, then, realize political and economic freedom and productive specialization. According to the writers, social revolution of humans or cultures couldn't be completed until capitalism was overthrown and replaced be socialism. These two thinkers concentrated on economics and problems of inequality and cultural conflict in urban areas where capitalism is absolutely established. This cultural conflict is always occurred between the disadvantaged groups and those of the advantaged due to the persistence of unfair distribution of wealth, power and prestige.

A German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936) contrasted rural and urban ways of lives using his own two concepts: *gemeinschaft and gesellschaft*. Gemeinschaft describes a social setting in which people from what amounts to a single primary group. This is a typical characteristic of rural people. It is not found in modern city. Contrasting this, urbanization fosters gesellschaft which describes a social organization in which dwellers have only very little sense of community or sense of common identity and look to others usually as a means of advancing their own individual goals. Thus, Ferdinand Tonnies was very much interested in disclosing the reality that in urban areas primary social relationships are eroded in favour of the temporary, impersonal ties typically of business (Macionis, 1995).

Alike Tonnies, Emile Durkheim also tries to observe this condition. His *mechanical* and *organic* solidarities equate Tonnies's two concepts. However, Durkheim's method of explaining highlighted patterns of social solidarity – what binds people together. In traditional rural life, as to Durkheim, there is mechanical solidarity – bonds based on shared sentiments. It emphasizes conformity to tradition. This bears a striking similarity with Tonnies's gemeinschaft. Mechanical solidarity, according to Durkheim, is common among prehistoric and pre-agricultural societies and lessen and predominance as modernity or urbanization increases.

Therefore, a type of social solidarity in urbanized society is not similar to rural areas. Modern societies (urbanized societies) are characterized by organic solidarity which emphasizes on higher degree of division of labour, specialization and interdependence among members of a society. This mutual interdependence is the basis for social cohesion. Social cohesion, based upon functional dependence among individuals, is a prominent characteristic of more advanced societies.

It is common among industrial societies as the division of labour increases. Though individuals perform different tasks and often have different values and interests, the order and very survival of society depends on their reliance on each other so as to perform their specific tasks.

Durkheim also revealed the fact that urban society typically offers more individual choice, moral tolerance and personal privacy than people living in rural villages. Subsequently it becomes clear that rural areas are different from urban ones. What about the level of deviant behavior in urban areas as compared with rural areas?

Still several other social thinkers have forwarded their own opinions about urban society's way of life. George Simmel (1858-1918), a German pessimistic micro sociologist, considered the importance of urban experience, i.e., chose to focus on urban life (life within the city), rather than focusing on urbanization (development of urban areas). According to him, a unique trait of modern city is intensification of nervous stimuli with which city dwellers must cope, from rural settings where the rhythm of life are *sensory imagery*, is more slow, habitual, and event, to city with constant bombardment of sights, sounds and smells.

Simmel argued that individual learns to discriminate, becomes rational and calculating, develops a blasé attitude – matter-of-fact, a social reserve, a detachment, respond with head rather than heart, don't care and don't get involved. Besides, urbanites are highly attuned to time. Rationality is always expressed in advanced economic division of labour; and the use of money because of the requirement for a universal means of exchange. In urban areas the there are acknowledged freedoms, transcendence of pettiness of daily routine, new heights of personal and spiritual development but sense of alienation could override this.

Simmel's philosophy of money regarded economic exchange a form of social interaction. This social interaction is realized through the use of money which is common in urban life. When monetary transaction replaced earlier forms of barter, significant changes occurred in the form of interaction between social actors. Money is subject to precise division and manipulation. It permits exact measurement of equivalents. Money is impersonal whereas those objects of barter are/were not. It promotes rational accumulation in human affairs and furthering rationalization characteristics of modern societies. Simmel further argued that money replaces personal ties by impersonal relation that is limited to specific purpose. Thus, urban areas are dominated by abstract calculation which evades areas of social life, for example, kinship relations or realms of esthetic appreciation. There is a shift from qualitative to quantitative appraisals.

Money, according to George Simmel, increases personal freedom and faster social differentiation or stratification; and it is a standard of value and means of exchange in modern world. Above its economic function, money stabilizes and embodies modern spirit of rationalism, calculability and impersonality. Thus, it can be said that money is the major mechanism for the shift from gemeinschaft to gessellschaft.

In his discussion about the *blasé attitude*, Simmel, tried to show the paradox of city life: objectivization leads to greater individualism. What is the implication of this condition related with the occurrence of deviant behaviors?

?	What is an ideal type?		

Max Weber (1864 - 1920) was also another important German sociologist who had tried to address urban life. He defined urban community as an *ideal type*. That required trade or commercial relations such as market, court and law of its own, partial political autonomy, military self-sufficient for self-defense, and forms of associations and social participation whereby individuals engaged in social relationships and organizations.

Weber suggested that cities are linked to larger processes, for example, economic or political orientations, instead of city itself being cause of distinguishing qualities of urban life, i. e., different cultural and historical conditions will result in different types of cities, same as with Marx and Engels who argued that human condition of cities was a result of economic structure.

Generally, urbanism, as a way of life, is the cultural component associated with urbanization. It includes a pattern of beliefs, values, and rules of behavior which are assumed to be associated with the process of spreading of urban areas. This urban way of life is expected to have people who most probably deviate from these cultural norms and values.

Section Four: Links between Urbanism and Deviance

Do you think there is a definite correlation between urbanization and deviance?

From the discussion so far we have already seen that urbanism is a way of life which depends on industry, mass communication, higher mobility, and mass consumers. As cities grew, the persistence of large population within limited amount of place began to present social problems including crime, variety of deviations and so forth (Kornblum and Julian, 1995). Some of these characteristics of urban centers which provides a fertile ground for the emergence and prevalence of deviant and criminal behaviors include the existence of family disorganization, different subcultures, materialism, individualism and impersonality.

Based on these and other possible features of urban life, several scholars came to the decision that urban areas have several times more crime and deviance than rural areas.

For instance, Professor Andargachew (1976) explained that juvenile delinquency is always an urban problem. Other scholars stated that 60% of the crimes are found in urban areas due to numerous reasons. Now, let us see the contribution of different urban features for the emergence and persistence of more crime and deviance in urban areas than in rural ones.

1.	Can you mention some examples that could help explain the rela
	between urbanization and deviance?

4.1. Urbanization, Family Disorganization and Deviance

?	Do you agree that family disorganization occurs more often in urban areas than in
	rural areas? Why?

During urbanization many people migrate to the cities for several reasons. This rural-urban migration forced the migrants to be disintegrated from their respective families. In rural areas family cohesion is still very strong which can prevent members of the community from engaging in some deviant activities, such as juvenile delinquency. But, in urban areas deviant behaviors including delinquents are very common. This is believed to be due to the problem of *broken-down homes*. Family disorganization is mostly common in urban areas typically during the first stage of development of the city where rural-urban migration is at its zenith. Due to urbanization and industrialization, the extended family system which used to take care of orphans, deserted children, the aged, etc., is disintegrating very fast. For example, in a survey research conducted in the 1970s in Addis Ababa, two third of the juvenile delinquents committed to training center and remand home came from broken-down family (Andargachew. 1976)

This characteristic of urban areas is not totally reserved to juvenile delinquents but it is also a cause for adult deviants and criminals, too. This explanation has something to do with the social network breakdown theory of deviance. The more an individual is closely attached to such traditional institutions as family, Boy Scout, churches, kinships, and others, the less the propensity for the individual to deviate from what is considered normal by the majority of the society.

4.2. Urbanization, Subcultures and Deviance

•	What is the relationship between subcultures and deviance in society?

Urban life gives rise to several new social organizations and personality traits that are not common in rural social settings. In fact, excessively rapid change, doesn't offer to all individuals the opportunity to achieve an easy transition to the new culture. It causes many to be hesitant and irresolute in the face of contradictory values, a state of mind

which not only affects their behavior but also their inner lives. They become prone to law breaking or to various psychic and behavioral disturbances by establishing their own subculture as an adaptive mechanism for this problem. Subculture is defined as a cultural pattern that distinguishes some segment of a society's population (Macionis. 1995). Other scholars such as Kendall (2003) also said that a subculture is a category of people who share distinguishing attributes, beliefs, values, and norms that set them apart in some significant manner from the mainstream culture.

Convergence of different types of people to the city has given and continued to give race/ethnicity a special salience, i.e., groups were identifiable & were identified in terms of external traits, for example, race and ethnicity. Subsequently, there will be the possibility of development of such conditions as stereotypes, discrimination, and beliefs. Such states of condition found no where more evident than in urban areas.

Therefore, this condition becomes a suitable circumstance for the stimulation of several subcultures in urban areas. There are numerous reasons for the establishment of subcultures in urban areas. However, the most important cause is the inability of some members to fulfill their needs within the sphere of the mainstream culture. This idea is clearly stated as,

... most delinquent acts were not motivated by economic needs, for example, vandalism . . . most delinquents are motivated by status frustration whereby they feel they are looked down upon by society. They therefore developed distinctive sets of values or a subculture, which provides them with an alternative means of gaining status, and this may lead them into delinquency. For young lower-class men [,] the subculture has two uses: it creates alternative values so they can compete for status among their peers and provides a means of hitting back at society. (www.delinquency.edu/cause/.html).

Thus, when people experience these types of conditions, they hast to form a subculture that can assist them acquiring those unfulfilled wants. However, the newly established culture will not be welcomed by the values and norms of the mainstream culture; it becomes a deviant subculture, immediately after its establishment.

As it has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, urbanism intensified subculture formations. This occurs mostly in those large cities. The process is applicable to all criminal, deviants, delinquents and other deviating behaviors.

Subculture intensification also occurs through multi-group contacts. According to Kornblum and Julian (1995), in a densely populated environment, subcultures are constantly bumping into one another. When one subculture realizes another annoying, threatening or both, it starts to embrace one's own social world all the more firmly. Thus, culture conflict comes to the scene which, in turn, causes the availability of deviance.

Therefore, as a way of life, urbanism is characterized by the prevalence of conflicting norms and values, higher rate of social mobility, absence of informal social control mechanisms and so on. People coming to urban areas with different social, economic, cultural, political and psychological backgrounds remain under value conflicts which, in turn, results in the possibility of blaming one another deviants. Here, we can, therefore, observe the strong positive correlation between the level of urbanization and deviance due to the availability of several antagonistic subcultures.

4.3. Urbanization, Materialism and Deviance

?	What is materialism?		

The correlation between urbanization and deviance is chained by the prevalence of materialist people in the urban areas. Materialism can be seen as a philosophical approach which asserts that how human-produced material goods shape the rest of society (Macionis, 1995). Thus, materialist people give much more focus on material goods than ideas, beliefs, culture, and other abstract things.

Urban life is mostly dominated by this type of attitude. People give a main concern to the external appearance of the material world. This outer appearance may include clothing style, vehicle, hairstyle, building style and so forth. Money and other materials, as it was argued by George Simmel, become predominantly important in urban areas. Urban dwellers are, therefore, engaging in competing for the buildup of more material happiness that helps them lead better life as compared to rural inhabitants.

In urban areas, people always involve in a face-to-face contact due to physical proximity or nearness. People want to be seen as those who have a higher position than anyone else. This condition is always manifested through the material possession of the individual as it is easily visible. However, acquiring these materials cannot be an easy task for everyone on the urban environment since resources are not uniformly distributed. It needs great efforts and devotion to possess them – it will be acquired either legally or illegally.

Therefore, in this materially competitive social setting, there is no doubt that it is only few individuals become capable of achieving their material needs through the application of socially approved and acceptable means. Those people who remain unable to attain their material desires using socially approved mechanisms will be forced to develop other forms of means of acquiring their material demands. Thus, they may most probably have the chance to engage in those actions which are not acceptable. These newly created forms of acquiring their material needs become deviant activities from the point of view of the majority of the society. For example, if once people gave greater emphasis on materials than moral and cultural realms of a society, they would involve in such

activities as corruption, prostitution, gambling, theft, illicit drug dealing, and others so as to get the financial potential that enable them fulfilling their material interests.

Thus, in this and other similar ways the rate of deviance in urban environment becomes higher than rural areas. However, deviance, in this case, is not a direct outcome of urbanization. It is rather a result of other behavior of urban people, such as being more of materialistic.

4.4. Urbanization, Individualism and Deviance

? What is individualism?

Individualism is also another dimension that manifests the relationship between urban areas and deviance. In most urban areas, individuals commonly have a distinctive self-interest and self-importance that let them engage in whatever business they want. Many of the urban dwellers are egoistic: the 'I' replaces the 'we'. Altruism is unthinkable among people residing in urban settings. They always engage in activities, including the immoral ones, without taking others' feeling into consideration.

As we have attempted to explain the materialistic nature of urban inhabitants, it has been mentioned that urban people could engage in those unacceptable acts for the purpose of satisfying only their personal material interests. This is so due to the fact that the moral and emotional aspects of the society in the urban areas have been eroded. Thus, this little attention to the moral and emotional realms of people gives individuals a wide berth to develop an individualistic attitude and behavior. Subsequently, individuals can involve in some illegal acts irrespective of its consequences on others.

In urban areas, emphasis is given to individual satisfaction, not to the group or community satisfaction. Attachment to the group is very low. Even though there is a functional interdependence among members, the level of emotional adherence is almost non-existent. Because, functional integration shows that the relationship is based on a cost-benefit-analysis whereas emotional attachments are the basic sources of altruistic behaviors. Thus, functional interrelationship in urban residences depletes people's interest to take the interests of other in due course of their actions. As a result, deviant behaviors will come to the stage with lesser fear of being labeled and tagged.

4.5. Urbanization, Impersonal Relations and Deviance

?	When do you think is that relations between people are classified as impersonal?	

Most of the relationships in urban areas are impersonal and superficial in their very nature. This is due to the fact that primary contacts are very low. This condition is explained by Louis Wirth as,

... the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts . . . may be face to face, but they are . . . impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. The reserve, the indifference, and the blasé outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may . . . be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others. (Gmelch, et. al., 2002, p: 72).

Therefore, this superficial, anonymous, and transistor character of urban social relations let the individuals to gain a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional control of intimate groups, he/she loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and sense of participation that comes with living

in an integrated society. As a result, deviant act is more likely to come out. Hence, it is possible to say that deviance is very much influenced by the nature, arrangement and structure of social relationships of urban dwellers. The more impersonal the relation is, the less the degree of control over the individuals' behavior in the urban areas, and thus the more the likelihood of the occurrence of deviance and crime.

	tivity 8
1.	Many sociologists agree that urban areas are characterized by imperrelationships between people. Do you agree with this conclusion? Exyour answers using examples.

4.6. Urbanization, Slum Areas and Deviance

?	What kind of neighborhoods do you think could be categorized as slum areas?

Here the ecological school's explanation and Agnew's general strain theory become functional. Slum areas are characterized by social disorganizations. People have not access to qualified services of different kind. Besides, slum areas are the destination places for rural-urban migrants, because migrants prefer this area so as to take the advantage of low cost of living. Thus, slum areas are more prone to the possibility of the occurrence of higher number of deviant acts.

Slum areas also have higher population turnover rate. This population turnover rate prevents the formulation of a stable community and results in *social disorganization*. The indicators of social disorganization include delinquency, prostitution, gambling, illegal drug use, a high consumption of alcohol, violence and broken families. Such behavior can flourish, because in an area of shifting population social controls are weak. Controls such as gossip, public opinions, public surveillance and parental control are not sufficient and strong to prevent the development of deviant norms and values (Haralambos, 2005).

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Summary

Urbanization refers to the changes in the proportion of the population of a nation living in urban areas and to the process of moving to cities or other densely settled areas. The term is also used to describe the changes in social organization that occurs as a consequence of population concentration. In demographic terms, urbanization refers to an increase in population concentration. This definition of urbanization is concerned with the number of population dwells in urban areas as well as the level of population density in urban areas. For example, 16.2% of Ethiopian population, out of 75,067,000, was urban in 2006.

Cities are relatively recent social phenomena in the history of mankind. They are new inventions when compared with the history of human society. "The earliest human are believed to have emerged anywhere between 40,000 and one million years ago, and permanent human settlements are believed to have begun first about 8000 B. C.". However, scholars do not come to a consensus on the exact date when the first urban settlement came out. Even though disagreements about the exact date of the emergence of the first city are persistent, it is most likely to be believed that cities began sometimes after human history due to several reasons.

Urbanism is a distinctive pattern of human behavior which is resulted from a relatively large and permanent human settlement. It refers to a distinctive social and psychological patterns of life typically found in the city (Kendall, 2003). It is, thus, the cultural component associated with urbanization. It includes a range of beliefs, values and rules of behavior which are assumed to be associated with the process of urbanization. It reflects the patterns of culture and social interaction resulting from the concentration of large number of population in a relatively small geographical area.

Urbanism as a way of life depends on industry, mass communication, higher mobility, and mass consumers. As cities grew, the persistence of large population within limited amount of place began to present social problems including crime, variety of deviations

and so forth. Some of these characteristics of urban centers which provides a fertile ground for the emergence and prevalence of deviant and criminal behaviors include the existence of family disorganization, different subcultures, materialism, individualism and impersonality.

Self-Check Exercise 3

Part I: True/False

Instruction: Answer 'True' if the statement is correct and 'False' if the statement is incorrect

- 1. According to urban sociologists, a city is a relatively dense and permanent settlement of people who secure their livelihood primarily through non-agricultural activities.
- 2. Even though disagreements about the exact date of the emergence of the first city are persistent, it is most likely to be believed that cities began at more or less at the same time as the start of human history due to several reasons.
- 3. Urbanization is one consequence Urbanism of along with its changes in values, norms, customs and mores of behavior of the population.
- 4. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued that people in preindustrial, traditional societies were generally tribal beings.
- 5. Gemeinschaft describes a social setting in which people form what amounts to a single primary group. This is a typical characteristic of urban people.
- 6. Several scholars have concluded that urban areas have several times more crime and deviance than rural areas.

Unit Four

Mechanisms of Social Control

This unit deals with the various methods that societies use to control the behavior of

their members. The unit has four sections. They deal with a general introduction to the concept of social control, informal social control, formal social control and an overview of the Ethiopian formal social control system respectively.

Objectives

After completing this unit you will be able to:

- define social control;
- explain the functions of social control in society;
- analyze the characteristics of formal and informal social control;
- identify the differences between formal and informal social control; and
- evaluate formal social control in Ethiopia.

Section One: Social Control: An Overview

?	What is social control?

In its general sense, *social control* refers to the regulation of human behavior. Hence, the sources of social control are often located within the individuals. However, macro sociological conception of social control derived from thinkers, such as Durkheim, refer to the ability of societies and communities to realize common values (Sampson, 1986).

Criminological investigations of macro level social control usually concern legal controls, including official actions and sanctions such as arrest and imprisonment (ibid).

?	What does a society require mechanisms of social control?

Every human society in the world has its own unique culture. Every culture, subculture and social group has distinctive norms governing what it deems appropriate behavior. Laws, dress codes, bylaws of organizations, course requirements and rules of sports and games all express social norms (Schaefer, 2003). Both the formal and informal social controlling mechanisms, thus, emanate out of the societal cultural norms and value. Social controlling mechanisms are very much important part of a society which contributes for the survival of a harmonious society.

The term *social control* according to Schaefer (2003), refers to the techniques and strategies for preventing deviant and criminal human behavior in any society. They occur in all levels of a society. In the family, we are socialized to obey our parents and elder people simply because they are our parents and older than us. The writer has put the way and where we are socialized within our respective society in the following manner:

Peer groups introduce us to informal norms such as dress codes, which govern the behanviour of members. Colleges establish standards they expect of their students. In bureaucratic organizations, workers encounter a formal system of rules and regulations. Finally the government of every society legislates and enforces social norms (ibid: 183).

Most of us respect and accept social norms and assume that others will do the same. Even without thinking, we obey the instructions of police officer, follow the day-to-day rules at our jobs, and move to the rear of toilet when people enter. Such behaviors reflect an effective process of socialization the dominant standards of a culture. At the same time, we are well-aware that individuals, groups and institutions *expect* us to act "properly". This expectation carries with it *sanctions*, *penalties* and *rewards* for conduct concerning social norm. If we fail to live up to the norms, we may face punishments through informal sanctions such as fear and ridicule, or formal sanctions such as jail sentences or fines (ibid).

The challenge to effective social control is that people often receive competing messages about how to behave. While the state or government may clearly define acceptable behavior, friends or fellow employees may encourage quite different behavior patterns.

Functionalists contend that people must respect social norms if any group or society is to survive. In their view, societies literally could not function if massive number of people defied standards of appropriate conducts. By contrast, conflict theorists maintain that "successful functioning" of a society will consistently benefit the powerful and work to the disadvantage of other groups. They point out, for example, that widespread resistance to social norms was necessary to overrun the institution of slavery. United States, to win . . . independence from . . . [colonizers], to secure civil rights, to allow women to vote (Kendall 2003).

Techniques for social control operate on both the group level and the social level. People we think as peers or equals influence us to act in particular ways; the same is true of people who hold authority over us or occupy awe-inspiring positions. There are two concepts related with two conditions. These are *conformity* and *obedience*.

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Conformity is defined as going along peers – individual of our own status, who have no special right to direct our behavior. By contrast, *obedience* is defined as compliance with higher authorities in the hierarchical structure.

Section Two: Informal Social Control

•	What is informal social control?

Our behavior is mostly shaped by our relationship with people around us. The peers, friends, families, neighboring people, co-workers, kinship and so on are very much influential in curving our tendency towards some forms of deviant and/or criminal acts. Conklin (2004) claims that informal social controls are more effective in crime control than formal ones. Let us see how he expressed:

Because only 1 to 2 percent of all serious crimes are reported to the police and leads to arrest, conviction, and imprisonment, the formal sanction of the criminal justice system are probably less important than informal sanctions such as group censure, and bystandard intervention in controlling criminals (P: 319).

Like their formal counterpart, informal controls exist to reward or punish people for acceptable/unacceptable behavior (what sociologists call deviance). Informal controls cover a vast array of possible sanctions and tend to differ from individual to individual, group to group and society to society. Informal controls apply to informal norms of behavior and they include things like ridicule, shame, sarcasm, disapproving looks, punching people in the face and so forth. In extreme cases sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion. This implied social control usually has more effect on individuals because they become internalized and, thus, an aspect of personality.

?	What do you think is/are the role(s) of rewards and punishments in social control?

As with formal controls, informal controls reward or punish acceptable or unacceptable behavior (i.e., deviance). Informal controls are varied and differ from individual to individual, group to group and society to society. For example, at a Women's Institute gathering a disapproving look may be enough to tell you that people think it is not appropriate to flirt with the vicar. Amongst members of a criminal gang, however, it is unlikely that a disapproving look would be used as a means of informal social control should you tell them you intend to inform on their activities to the police (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia).

The sanction used to encourage conformity and obedience – and to discourage violation of social norms – are carried out through informal social control. People will seriously sanction us if we found guilty of violating social norms. They may disapprove, ridicule, marginalize, or discriminate us in a group. Some members will frown on us. As the term implies, people use informal social control casually to enforce norms. Example of informal social control, as to Schaefer, includes smiles, laugher, raising an eyebrow, and ridicule (Kendall, 2003).

Now, you can recall Emile Durkheim's, analysis on types of societies in terms of mechanical and organic solidarities. Traditional societies are organized by more intimate relationships and more social integration than are modern industrialized societies. In primitive and other traditional societies, primary groups such as the family and the peer groups are relatively stronger than they are in complex societies. These simple societies are held together by a unity based on shared values and norms and on similarity of functions performed by every member of a society. Children in these societies are

socialized to the shared values and norms through a face-to-face contact. This learning process is responsible for the prevalence of the collective conscience across generations.

Thus, informal social control mechanisms of deviance and crime are become most effective if and only if a face-to-face interaction is common and the surveillance of behavior is possible. These conditions are very common among those traditional societies and rural areas. The importance of informal social controls is less available in larger urban area than smaller ones.

Section Three: Formal Social Control Mechanisms

? What is formal social control?

While informal social controls are conducted by the any member of the society or by a group of people in the social structure, formal social controls, conversely, are carried out by concerned agents of the government such as police officers, physicians, school administrators, employers, military officers, and managers of different organizations. It can serve as a last resort when socializations and informal sanctions do not bring about desired behavior. An increasing means of formal social control in Ethiopia is to imprison people who are found being culprits (Macionis, 1995).

Therefore, formal social control is always expressed through law as statutes, rules, and regulations against deviant behavior. It is conducted by government and organizations using law enforcement mechanisms and other formal sanctions such as fines and imprisonment. In democratic societies the goals and mechanisms of formal social control are determined through legislation by elected representatives and thus enjoy a measure of support from the population and voluntary compliance.

Control, under formal social control, is based around the idea of formal, legal, norms (or laws) of behavior. That is, rules of behavior that are written down and, in societies such as our own, that apply equally to everyone (not all societies apply formal rules equally). Where laws are involved, it is usual to find a group of people, normally employed by the government, whose job is to enforce the law. In our society, for example, the main agency of formal social control is the police and the judiciary (courts), although the armed forces can, on occasions, be used to perform this role.

Not all formal norms are laws, however. When you are accepted into an organization (such as a school or college for example), you agree to abide by the formal rules governing behavior in this institution. In this example, if you do not attend classes then you will be punished in some way.

In general terms, formal rules and social controls exist to tell everyone within a society or social group what is and is not acceptable in terms of behavior. Such formal controls usually exist where a group is very large and its members are not in day-to-day contact with each other.

Prisons and remand homes are the most common forms of social controlling mechanisms in most contemporary societies. In modern time, the influence of informal social controls becomes low. The action of members of the society is not open to face-to-face contacting of people. Although face-to-face contact of the people in modern time is very high, it is superficial and shallow. Interaction is based on a functional interdependence. People are dependent one another, but this dependency is not based on emotional and deep feeling of sense of belongingness. Rather it is done on the basis of a rational calculation of cost and benefit of the interaction (Zander, 1990).

Therefore, in the absence of informal social controls, formal social controls become very necessary. That is why modern societies have several forms of formal organizations working as social control mechanisms of a society. For example, in our country, the

police, the courts, and the military are the most commonly employed formal social control organizations and institutions.

Activity 9						
1.	. Can you explain the social control mechanisms that exist in your	society?				
	Explain you answers using examples.					

3.1. Functions of Formal Punishments and Prisons

What is the role of prisons in maintaining order in society?

Punishment of people who violated the criminal and other written laws of the nation has immense functions within a given society. Offenders may either be sent to the jail or punished with other forms of punishments. Different countries can have different goals of

stating different types of punishments. There are several points of view regarding criminal control. Crime control perspectives include the following types:

- Rehabilitation perspective,
- Nonintervention perspective,
- Justice perspective,
- Retrospective justice perspective, and
- Due process perspective.

According to Senna and Seigel (2001), a rehabilitation perspective is a model of criminal justice that views its primary purpose as helping to care for people who cannot manage themselves. In this perspective, crime is seen as a manifestation of frustration and danger created by social inequality that can be controlled by giving people the means to improve their lifestyle through conventional endeavours. In countries that are governing by a rehabilitation perspective, the function of punishment is to rehabilitate criminals or to restoring criminals to a law-abiding way of life through treatment. More specifically, "rehabilitation is the result of any planned intervention focused on the offender that reduces criminal behavior, whether that reduction is achieved by changes in personality, abilities, attitudes, values and behaviors." (Conklin, 2004: 397).

A justice philosophy called nonintervention perspective emphasizes the least intrusive treatment possible (Senna and Seigel, 2001). Its central policies are decarceration, division and decriminalization. In other words, as per the idea of writer, less is better while the justice perspective centers on the belief that all people should receive the same treatment under the law. Thus, the purpose of punishment, here, is to make the law just and fair. Retrospective justice perspective is a view that advocates peaceful solutions and mediation rather than coercive punishment. Whereas the due process perspective argues that the greatest concern of the justice system should be providing fair and equitable treatment of those accused of crime (ibid).

Based upon the above angles of looking at, punishment, as one of the crime controlling mechanisms can have such functions as general deterrence, incapacitation, specific deterrence, retribution, rehabilitation and restitution. A crime control policy that depends on the fear of criminal penalty is called *general deterrence*. It measures such as long prison sentences for violent crimes, are aimed at convincing the potential law violators that the pain associated with crime outweigh its benefits.

Incapacitation is the policy of keeping dangerous criminals in confinement to eliminate the risk of repeating their offense in society whilst *specific deterrence* suggests that punishment should be severe enough to convince convicted offenders never to repeat their crime activity. *Retribution*, also known as *just desert*, states that the purpose of criminal process is to punish deserving offenders. In other words offenders are punished simply and solely because they deserve to be disciplined for what they have done – the punishment should fit the crime (Senna & Seigel, 2001; and Conklin, 2004).

The rehabilitation policy of crime control focuses of the view that it may be fairer to offer offenders an opportunity for rehabilitation rather than harsh criminal punishment whereas restitution or equity policy claims that sanctions based on equity seek to compensate individual victims and the general society for their losses due to crime. Here, a convicted criminal must pay back their victims for their loss (ibid).

3.2. The Juvenile Justice System

?	What do you think is the major criteria for distinguishing between a juvenile and an
	adult?

Senna and Seigel (2001) reported that a juvenile justice system is the system of agencies and organization that deal with youths who commit acts of juvenile delinquency (crime

under a given age) and acts of noncriminal behaviors (truancy and incorrigibility). It is a system that particularly concerned with addressing those deviant and criminal acts committed by young offenders and deviants who cannot be treated in the justice system established for the treatment of adult offenders.

The modern practice of legally separating adult and juvenile offenders can be traced to two developments in English custom and law: the development of *poor laws* and the *Chancery courts*. Both were designed to allow the state to take control of the lives of the needy but not necessarily criminal children. They set the precedent for the later American development (Senna and Seigel, 2001: 469).

A person defined by a statute as juveniles and alleged to be delinquent or status offenders will most probably be taken to the court called *juvenile court* which has original jurisdiction over the treatment of offends committed by the juvenile delinquents. Conklin (2004) has presented this issue as follows:

People who violate the law but who are not legally adults – defined as those below the age of eighteen, in many states – can be taken to juvenile court, an institution that is about a century old, and be "adjudged delinquent" rather than convicted of a crime. These delinquents might have committed an act that would be a crime if done by an adult. The designation juvenile delinquent is also applied to those who commit status offenses, acts such as underage drinking, running away from home, or truancy, which are violation only because those who engage in them are below the age of majority (ibid:5).

Section Four: History of Formal Social Control in Ethiopia

Finding more sound and relevant, we have presented the following evidence as we have directly searched out of the internet site addressed *http://www. Ethiopia Crime and*

Punishment ~a *HREF*=-et_oo_oo_html#et_o5_o6.htm. Under this topic, the legal system and the prisons of the country have been dealt with. First, let's begin with the legal system of the country.

4.1. The Legal System

When did Ethiopia adopt its first integrated legal code? And what was it called?

Although Ethiopians have long depended on written laws, the criminal legal system observed at the time of the 1974 revolution was of relatively recent origin. The first integrated legal code, the Fetha Nagast (Law of Kings), was translated from Arabic in the mid-fifteenth century. Attributed to a thirteenth-century Egyptian Coptic scholar, it was inspired by the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament), the New Testament, canons of the Christians' early church councils, Roman civil law, and tenets of Quranic law. However, the Fetha Nagast applied only to Christians. Muslims who became subject to Ethiopian rule through conquest continued to be judged in their own courts according to sharia law. Also, outside the ordinary judicial system, clan and tribal courts exercised unofficial but effective coercive powers, and people rarely appealed their decisions to regular courts.

The Fetha Nagast and customary laws remained the basis of criminal judicial procedure until 1930, when Haile Selassie introduced a penal code, which, although primitive in its application, strove for modernity in its articulation. Unlike the old system, the 1930 penal code set down specific punishments for precisely defined offenses. It was a legal principle that a person who performed an act not prohibited by law committed no crime; nor was acts of omission punishable by law. The code made distinctions among preparatory acts, attempted crimes, and completed offenses. Preparation in itself was not considered criminal, nor was unsuccessful attempts, especially ones in which commission of the

offense was judged to be "absolutely impossible." Courts did not inflict punishment if the accused acted out of superstition or "simplicity of mind."

The penal code was strong on retribution, but the courts determined penalties according to the degree of individual guilt. In addition, the courts took into consideration an offender's background, education, and motives, as well as the offense's gravity and the circumstances of its commission. In theory, the courts meted out the most severe punishments to persons of title and wealth on the premise that such offenders had less reasonable motives for criminal action than did persons of lower station. Among the complaints of ethnic dissidents, however, was the allegation that any offense against an Amhara resulted in more severe punishment than an Amhara's offense against a non-Amhara. The new code abolished mutilation but retained capital punishment and permitted flogging. Although more sophisticated than the Fetha Nagast, from which it ostensibly was derived, the 1930 penal code lacked a comprehensive approach to the disposition and treatment of offenders.

In 1958 a Swiss legal expert drafted a revised penal code to meet the needs of a developing nation. A 1961 criminal procedures code, drafted by a British jurist, augmented the 1930 penal code. The former was based on the Swiss penal code and many secondary sources; the latter reflected the influence of English common law.

For virtually every offense listed in the revised penal code, there were upper and lower limits of punishment. The effect was to stress acceptance of the concept of degrees of culpability, as well as the concept of extenuating and aggravating circumstances. Separate provisions existed for juveniles. Nevertheless, the commission appointed to approve the revision repeatedly expressed the traditional view that "punishment should remain the pillar of Ethiopian criminal law."

Following the 1974 revolution, a normal legal process theoretically was in effect for dealing with criminal offenses. Existing parallel to it was a "revolutionary" system of neighborhood justice. In practice, it was impossible to distinguish between criminal acts

and political offenses according to the definitions adopted in post-1974 revisions of the penal code.

A November 1974 decree introduced martial law, which set up a system of military tribunals empowered to impose the death penalty or long prison terms for a wide range of political offenses. The decree applied the law retroactively to the old regime's officials who had been accused of responsibility for famine deaths, corruption, and maladministration and who had been held without formal charges since earlier in the year. Special three-member military tribunals sat in Addis Ababa and in each of the country's fourteen administrative regions.

In July 1976, the government amended the penal code to institute the death penalty for "antirevolutionary activities" and economic crimes. Investigation of political crimes came under the overall direction of the Revolutionary Operations Coordinating Committee in each awraja. In political cases, the courts waived search warrants required by the criminal procedures code. The government transferred jurisdiction from the military tribunals, which had been inactive for some time, to kebele and peasant association tribunals. Political trials constituted the main business of these tribunals well into 1978.

More generally, the 1976 revision of the penal code empowered association tribunals to deal with criminal offenses but limited their jurisdiction to their urban neighborhood or rural area. Elected magistrates, without formal legal training, conducted criminal trials. Procedures, precedents, and punishments varied widely from tribunal to tribunal, depending on the imperatives of the association involved. Peasant association tribunals accepted appeals at the wereda (district) level. Appellate decisions were final, but decisions disputed between associations could be brought before peasant association courts at the awraja level. In cities, kebele tribunals were similarly organized in a three-tier system. Change of venue was arranged if a defendant committed an offense in another jurisdiction.

The judicial system was designed to be flexible. Magistrates could decide not to hear a case if the defendant pleaded guilty to minor charges and made a public apology. Nonetheless, torture was sometimes used to compel suspects and witnesses to testify. Penalties imposed at the local association level included fines of up to 300 birr, compensation to victims in amounts determined by the tribunal, imprisonment for up to three months, and hard labor for up to fifteen days. Serious criminal cases were held over, depending on their gravity, for association tribunals sitting at the awraja or wereda level, which were qualified to hand down stiffer sentences. In theory, death sentences were reviewed by government officials, but little effort was made to interfere with the administration of local justice. Tribunal decisions were implemented through an association's public safety committee and were enforced by the local People's Protection Brigade. Without effective review of their actions, tribunals were known to order indefinite jailings, during which their suspects sometimes disappeared, as well as summary executions. On rare occasions, the government would condemn association officials for murder and torture committed in the course of dispensing "revolutionary justice."

The 1976 revision of the penal code also created new categories of so-called economic crimes. The list included hoarding, overcharging, and interfering with the distribution of consumer commodities. More serious offenses concerned engaging in sabotage at the work place or of agricultural production, conspiring to confuse work force members, and destroying vehicles and public property. Security sections of the Revolutionary Operations Coordinating Committee investigated economic crimes at the awraja level and enforced land reform provisions through the peasant associations. These committees were empowered to indict suspects and hold them for trial before local tribunals. Penalties could entail confiscation of property, a long prison term, or a death sentence.

In 1981 the Amended Special Penal Code replaced the Special Penal Code. This amended code included offenses against the government and the head of state, such as crimes against the state's independence and territorial integrity, armed uprising, and

commission of "counterrevolutionary" acts (these provisions also were in the earlier Special Penal Code); breach of trust by public officials and economic offenses, including grain hoarding, illegal currency transactions, and corruption; and abuse of authority, including "improper or brutal" treatment of a prisoner, unlawful detention of a prisoner, and creating or failing to control famine.

The Amended Special Penal Code also abolished the Special Military Courts and created new Special Courts to try offenses under the Amended Special Penal Code. Special Courts consisted of three civilian judges and applied the existing criminal and civil procedure codes. Defendants had the right to legal representation and to appeal to a Special Appeal Court.

4.2. Prisons

?	What do you think is/are the role(s) of prisons in maintaining social order in society?

Although the imperial regime achieved some progress in the field of prison reform, most prisons failed to adopt modern penological methods. Government-published figures on prison populations since 1974 were considered incomplete and misleading. Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, and a few individuals who survived detention and escaped from the country have described prison conditions in a critical light.

The administrator of prisons managed the national penal system. Each administrative unit--including kifle hager (region), awraja (subregion), and wereda (district)--had at least one prison. Addis Ababa's Akaki (or Central) Prison, considered Ethiopia's most modern penal facility in 1974, was the central prison for Shewa. Akaki had separate facilities for female political prisoners. The largest number of political prisoners,

approximately 1,500 in 1989, was housed in Akaki's maximum security section. Reportedly, the government had jailed political dissidents at numerous other prisons in Addis Ababa, including Fourth Division headquarters; the Third Police Station, which also served as national police headquarters and an interrogation center; and the Grand (Menelik's) Palace. Asmera, another center for political prisoners, had penal facilities at three locations. Most police stations and army garrisons also had jails. Each kebele and peasant association operated a jail in its jurisdiction. Association headquarters in each wereda and awraja also had prisons.

A prison farm at Robi in Arsi provided facilities for about 850 prisoners. In 1978 the government proposed a plan for deploying large numbers of inmates imprisoned for minor offenses to work on minimum-security state farms as part of the agricultural development plan. A single institution oversaw the rehabilitation of male juvenile criminal offenders. There was no comparable facility for female juvenile offenders, who usually were placed in the custody of their parents or guardians. In exceptional pre-1974 cases, the authorities jailed juveniles in larger prisons. After the emergence of the Marxist regime, a large but unspecified number of youthful political detainees of both genders were held in prisons and association jails. Many were released after a period of "political rehabilitation."

Historically, prison life in Ethiopia was gloomy and for political prisoners extremely brutal. The so-called process of rehabilitation often consisted of severe beatings, exhausting work and calisthenics, and political indoctrination. A public confession normally was proof of rehabilitation; in some cases, a political detainee's willingness to torture fellow prisoners was regarded as an indication of his penitence. Recreational facilities were rare, and no program existed to assist prisoners after their release. Punishment was the major concern of prison officials. Conditions in smaller, more remote prisons were worse than in the prisons of Addis Ababa, and peasant association jails were worse yet. As part of a program in the late 1970s to expand and improve the

Ethiopian prison system, the Cuban government reportedly constructed new prisons that included facilities for solitary confinement.

In its 1978 report on human rights violations in Ethiopia, Amnesty International stated that Ethiopian prisons had failed to abide by UN regulations for the treatment of prisoners. A large number of prisoners might share a common cell. In the Central Prison's maximum security section, for example, Amnesty International reported that as many as fifty prisoners shared cells measuring four meters by four meters. Ad hoc committees-organized in each cell for self- imposed discipline, food distribution, care of the sick and aged, and orientation of new inmates--often communalized food and luxuries, such as tea and tobacco, donated by relatives. Complaints reported to Amnesty International that cells were infested with pests and were unventilated and lacking the most basic sanitary facilities. Medical attention was generally inadequate and not even available at all facilities. Even seriously ill prisoners rarely received hospital treatment, and many died of natural causes aggravated by their imprisonment. Cell mates viewed death as a means of relieving the gross overcrowding typical of facilities housing political prisoners during the late 1970s. The authorities usually informed families of the death of their relatives by telling them "food is no longer necessary."

Although conditions in Addis Ababa's Central Prison improved somewhat by the late 1980s, most prison facilities remained substandard. In 1989 Amnesty International reported that individuals incarcerated in government-operated prisons were held in poor and sometimes harsh conditions. However, the report noted that prisons were subject to formal regulations, and there were few reports of torture.

The human rights organization also indicated that conditions in the Central Prison, which Menelik II had built in the nineteenth century, had improved in the 1980s. The prison's 4,500 inmates were allowed regular family visits, and relatives were permitted to send food, laundry, books, medicine, and other "comfort" items to jailed family members. Although the Central Prison provided basic medical treatment, the authorities authorized

prisoners to see an independent physician or to seek treatment at local hospitals. During daylight hours, prisoners were free to associate with each other. The Central Prison opened a shop where small items were sold; a nursery and a primary school were established for children who stayed with their imprisoned mothers; and a secondary school was created where prisoners taught or studied. Additionally, prisoners were free to open their own recreational and educational facilities. Despite these findings, however, Amnesty International concluded that the Central Prison suffered from "inadequate medical care, poor hygiene, delays in obtaining professional medical or hospital treatment, overcrowding of cells . . . [and] . . . epidemics of cholera and meningitis." In addition, conditions at other

special detention centers were substandard.

Activity 10						
1.	Have you visited a correctional facility in your locality? If so can briefly describe the situation?	n you				

In regional prisons, Amnesty International found prison conditions to be much worse than those in Addis Ababa because of greater overcrowding and poorer hygiene and medical facilities. Prison authorities in Asmera, Mekele, and Harer subjected inmates to harsher restrictions than did authorities in the capital. In Harer and other unstable areas, civilian political prisoners often were held in military custody at military facilities under more severe conditions than were found in other prisons.

Emphasis in larger prisons was placed on work during confinement for criminal offenders, but these activities generally were limited to individuals serving long sentences. Priority was given to production, and there was little effort to provide vocational training. The largest prison industry was weaving, which was usually done on primitive looms. The prison weavers produced cotton material used for making clothes and rugs. Carpentry was a highly developed prison industry, and inmates produced articles of relatively good quality. Other prison industries included blacksmithing, metalworking, jewelry making, basket weaving, flour milling, and baking. Those short-term prisoners not absorbed into established prison industries worked in gardens that provided food for some of the penal institutions.

Income from materials produced by prison labor was applied to the upkeep of penal facilities. Prisoners received about 10 percent of the proceeds derived from the sale of items, but typically most of these funds were dedicated to communal projects intended to improve prison amenities. Although prison industries were not geared to rehabilitation, some inmates acquired useful skills. In certain cases, the government permitted work furloughs for some classes of political prisoners.

Most prison guards were military veterans who had received small plots of land in exchange for temporary duty at a prison. Under this system, the guards changed frequently as the duty rotated among a number of such persons living in the vicinity of a penal institution.

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Summary

Social control refers to the regulation of human behavior. Hence, the sources of social control are often located within the individuals. However, macro sociological conception of social control derived from thinkers, such as Durkheim; refer to the ability of societies and communities to realize common values. The term social control according to Schaefer (2003), refers to the techniques and strategies for preventing deviant and criminal human behavior in any society.

Informal controls cover a vast array of possible sanctions and tend to differ from individual to individual, group to group and society to society. Informal controls apply to informal norms of behavior and they include things like ridicule, shame, sarcasm, disapproving looks, punching people in the face and so forth. In extreme cases sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion.

While informal social controls are conducted by the any member of the society or by a group of people in the social structure, formal social controls, conversely, are carried out by concerned agents of the government such as police officers, physicians, school administrators, employers, military officers, and managers of different organizations. It can serve as a last resort when socializations and informal sanctions do not bring about desired behavior.

A juvenile justice system is the system of agencies and organization that deal with youths who commit acts of juvenile delinquency (crime under a given age) and acts of noncriminal behaviors (truancy and incorrigibility). It is a system that particularly concerned with addressing those deviant and criminal acts committed by young offenders and deviants who cannot be treated in the justice system established for the treatment of adult offenders.

Although Ethiopians have long depended on written laws, the criminal legal system observed at the time of the 1974 revolution was of relatively recent origin. The first

integrated legal code, the Fetha Nagast (Law of Kings), was translated from Arabic in the mid-fifteenth century. Attributed to a thirteenth-century Egyptian Coptic scholar, it was inspired by the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament), the New Testament, canons of the Christians' early church councils, Roman civil law, and tenets of Quranic law.

Following the 1974 revolution, a normal legal process theoretically was in effect for dealing with criminal offenses. Existing parallel to it was a "revolutionary" system of neighborhood justice. In practice, it was impossible to distinguish between criminal acts and political offenses according to the definitions adopted in post-1974 revisions of the penal code.

In July 1976, the government amended the penal code to institute the death penalty for "antirevolutionary activities" and economic crimes. Investigation of political crimes came under the overall direction of the Revolutionary Operations Coordinating Committee in each awraja. In political cases, the courts waived search warrants required by the criminal procedures code.

In 1981 the Amended Special Penal Code replaced the Special Penal Code. This amended code included offenses against the government and the head of state, such as crimes against the state's independence and territorial integrity, armed uprising, and commission of "counterrevolutionary" acts

Although the imperial regime achieved some progress in the field of prison reform, most prisons failed to adopt modern penological methods. Government-published figures on prison populations since 1974 were considered incomplete and misleading.

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Self-Check Exercise 4

Part I: True/False

Instruction: Answer 'True' if the statement is correct and 'False' if the statement is incorrect

- 1. Every culture, subculture and social group has distinctive norms governing what it deems appropriate behavior.
- 2. Both the formal and informal social controlling mechanisms, thus, emanate out of the societal cultural norms and value.
- 3. Like their informal counterpart, formal controls exist to reward or punish people for acceptable/unacceptable behavior.
- 4. While formal social controls are conducted by the any member of the society or by a group of people in the social structure, informal social controls, conversely, are carried out by concerned agents of the government.
- 5. Punishment of people who violated the criminal and other written laws of the nation has immense functions within a given society.
- 6. A rehabilitation perspective is a model of criminal justice that views its primary purpose as helping to care for people who cannot manage themselves.
- 7. The modern practice of legally separating adult and juvenile offenders can be traced to two developments in US custom and law: the development of poor laws and the Chancery courts.
- 8. Although more sophisticated than the Fetha Nagast, from which it ostensibly was derived, the 1930 penal code lacked a comprehensive approach to the disposition and treatment of offenders.
- 9. The 1976 revision of the Ethiopian penal code also created new categories of economic crimes.
- 10. Prison life in Ethiopia has mostly been gloomy and for political prisoners extremely brutal.