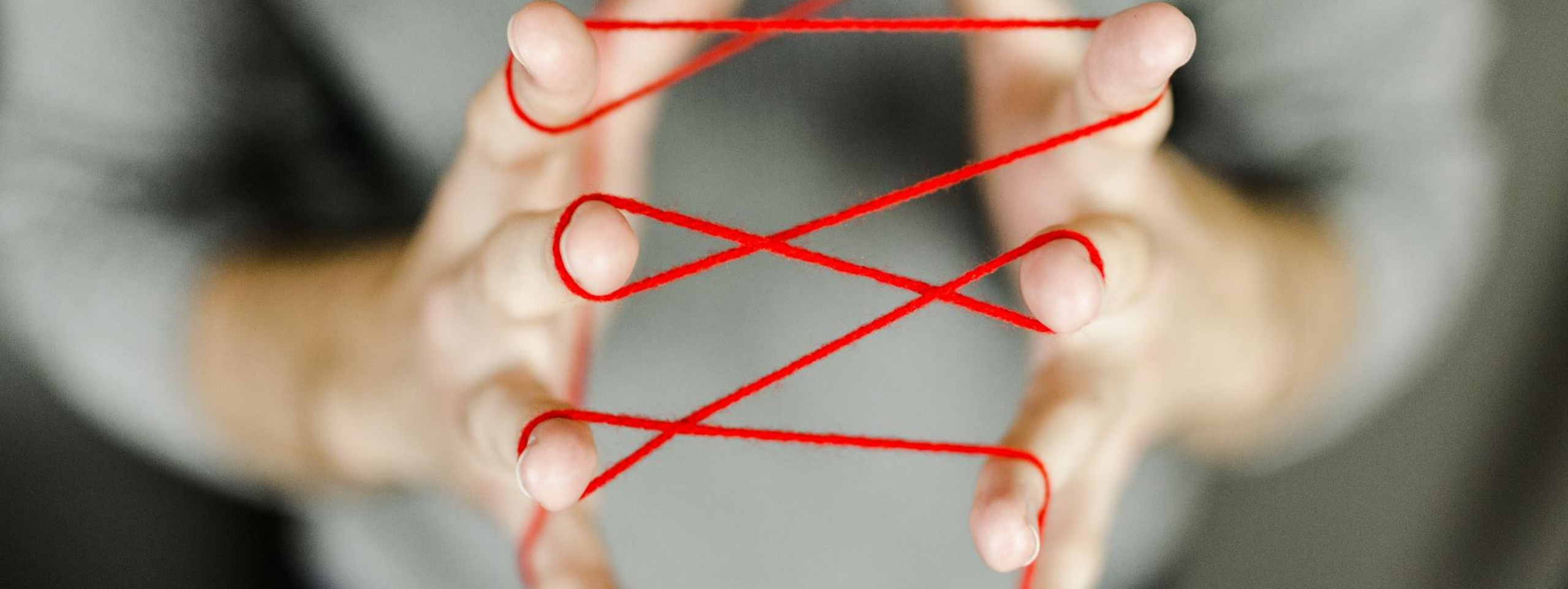




ECSO6002: Deviance & Social Norms

CRIME & DEVIANCE VERSUS
POWER & CONTROL



Functionalist & Subcultural Theory

Emile Durkheim



Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) was the first sociologist to study crime and significantly influenced the functionalist theory that would follow

He saw crime as a particular problem of modernity

- the transformation into an industrialised society

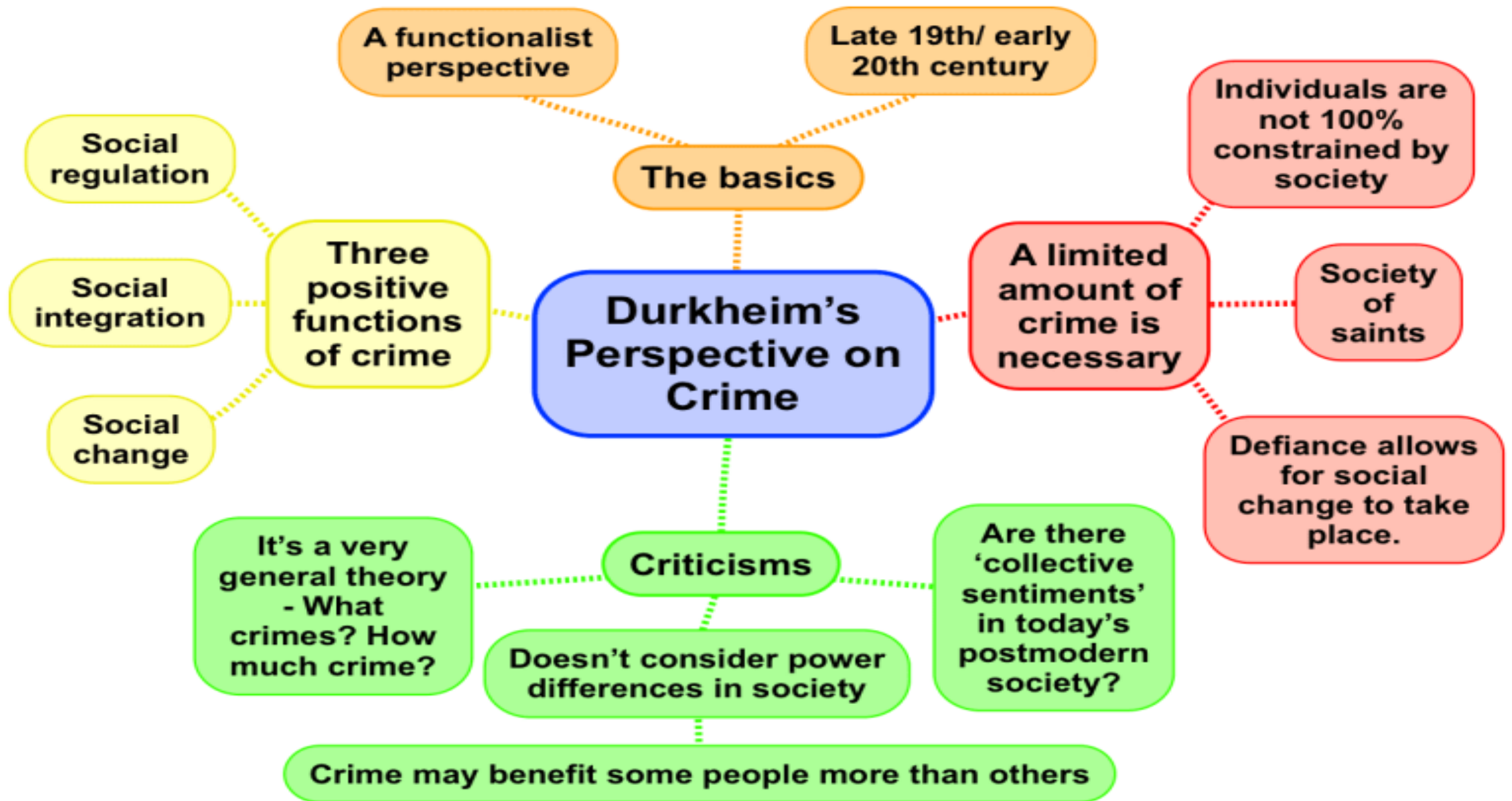
He felt an understanding of crime and deviance

- was essential in order to understand how society functioned

(Lau, 2020)

The Functionalist Perspective on Crime and Deviance





Functionalist Perspective: Emile Durkheim

Three Key Ideas About Crime

1. A limited amount of crime is inevitable and even necessary
2. Crime has positive functions -A certain amount of crime contributes to the well-being of a society.
3. Too much crime is bad for society and can help bring about its collapse
 - hence institutions of social control are necessary to keep the amount of crime in check

(Cohen & Machalek 1994)

Crime is Inevitable: Durkheim

crime is an inevitable and normal aspect of social life and in all societies

crime rate was in fact higher in more advanced, industrial societies

inevitable because

- 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 was 'impossible for them to be all alike'
 - and hence some people would inevitably break the law
- (Cohen & Machalek 1994)

Society of Saints: Durkheim

Society of Saints

- Even if the world was populated by perfect individuals deviance would still exist
- The general standards of behaviour would be so high
 - that the slightest slip would be regarded as a serious offence
- Thus the individual who simply
 - showed bad taste
 - or was merely impolite
- would attract strong disapproval.

Durkheim argues that all

- social change begins with some form of deviance
- In order for changes to occur,
- yesterday's deviance becomes today's norm

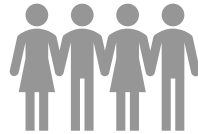
(Cohen & Machalek 1994)

Crime Performs Positive Functions: Durkheim



Social Regulation:

Reaffirming the Boundaries of
Acceptable Behaviour



Social Integration

Social Cohesion



Social Change

Social Regulation: Durkheim

Depends on:

- the level of internalization of norms, values and goals;
- perceived scope of possible actions;
- embeddedness of individual's aspirations

(Durkheim, 2006: 313-328)

Social Regulation Durkheim

Reaffirming the boundaries of acceptable behaviour

- Police arrest a person
- It is clear to the rest of society that the particular action concerned is
- unacceptable

Newspapers also help to perform the publicity function

- with their often-lurid accounts of criminal acts
- In effect, the courts and the media are
- 'broadcasting' the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, warning others not to breach the walls of the law (and therefore society)

(Durkheim, 2006: 313-328).

Social Integration: Durkheim

Society exerted a powerful force on individuals

- People's norms , beliefs, and values
- make up a collective consciousness
- or a shared way of understanding and behaving in the world

Social Integration

- The collective consciousness binds individuals together and creates

(Stark, Doyle & Rushing, 1983).

Types of Social Integration: Durkheim

ORGANIC SOLIDARITY

- It is social cohesion based upon the
 - dependence individuals have
 - on each other in more advanced societies

MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY

It normally operates in

- 'traditional' and small-scale societies

In simpler societies (e.g., tribal), solidarity is usually based on

- kinship ties of familial networks

(Stark, Doyle & Rushing, 1983).

Social Integration

Social Cohesion

- A second function of crime is to
- actually, strengthens social cohesion

For example,

- when particularly horrific crimes have been committed
- the whole community joins together in outrage
- and the sense of belonging to a community is therefore strengthened

(Stark, Doyle & Rushing, 1983).

Social Change:
The Role of
Deviance
Durkheim

Deviance had the
following functions:

- Boundary maintenance
- Social change

(Stark, Doyle & Rushing, 1983)

Social Change: Durkheim

A further action performed by the criminals is to:

- provide a constant test of the boundaries of permitted action

When the law

- is clearly out of step with the feelings and values of the majority
- legal reform is necessary.

Criminals, therefore,

- perform a crucial service in
- helping the law to reflect
- the wishes of the population
- and legitimising social change

(Bernburg, 2002)

Too Much/Too Little Social Order!

Durkheim

Crime only became

- dysfunctional
- when there was too much or too little of it

Too much crime:

- social order would break down

Too little crime:

- and there would not be sufficient capacity for positive social change

(Thorlindsson & Bernburg, 2004).

The Suffragettes:

Where they anticipating the morality of the future?



(Getty Images, n.d.)

Punishment: Durkheim

The Function of Punishment

- NOT to remove crime from society altogether
- because society 'needed' crime

Punishment helped

- control crime
- and to maintain the collective sentiments

Punishment

- 'serves to heal the wounds done to the collective sentiments'

A Healthy Society Requires

- **BOTH** crime and punishment to be in balance and to be able to change

Critique of Durkheim's Functionalist View of Crime

Durkheim talks about crime in very general terms and

- theorizes that 'crime' is necessary and even functional but fails to distinguish between different types of crime
- It could be that some crimes may be so harmful that they will always be dysfunctional rather than functional.

He suggests that criminal justice system

- benefits everyone in society
- by punishing criminals
- By reinforcing the acceptable boundaries of behaviour

Other Theorist's Perspectives

Marxist and Feminist analysis of crime demonstrates that

- not all criminals are punished equally
- thus crime and punishment benefit the powerful more than the powerless

Interactionists would suggest that

- whether or not a crime is functional
- cannot be determined objectively
- surely it depends on an individual's relationship to the crime.

Functionalists assume that society has

- universal norms and values
- that are reinforced by certain crimes being punished in public

Postmodernists argue

- society is so diverse, there is no such thing as 'normal'.

(Denzin, 1992; Arrigo & Milovanovic, 2010; Jewkes & Letherby, 2002).

Durkheim and Anomie: Later Developed further by Merton



- Emile Durkheim developed the term anomie to explain why some people became dysfunctional and turned to crime
- Anomie means being insufficiently integrated into society's norms and values
- Anomie causes society to become less integrated and more individualistic.
- Anomie causes individuals to look out for themselves rather than the community

(Hilbert 1989)

Strain Theory of Deviance: Merton 1940s USA

Crime is a result of

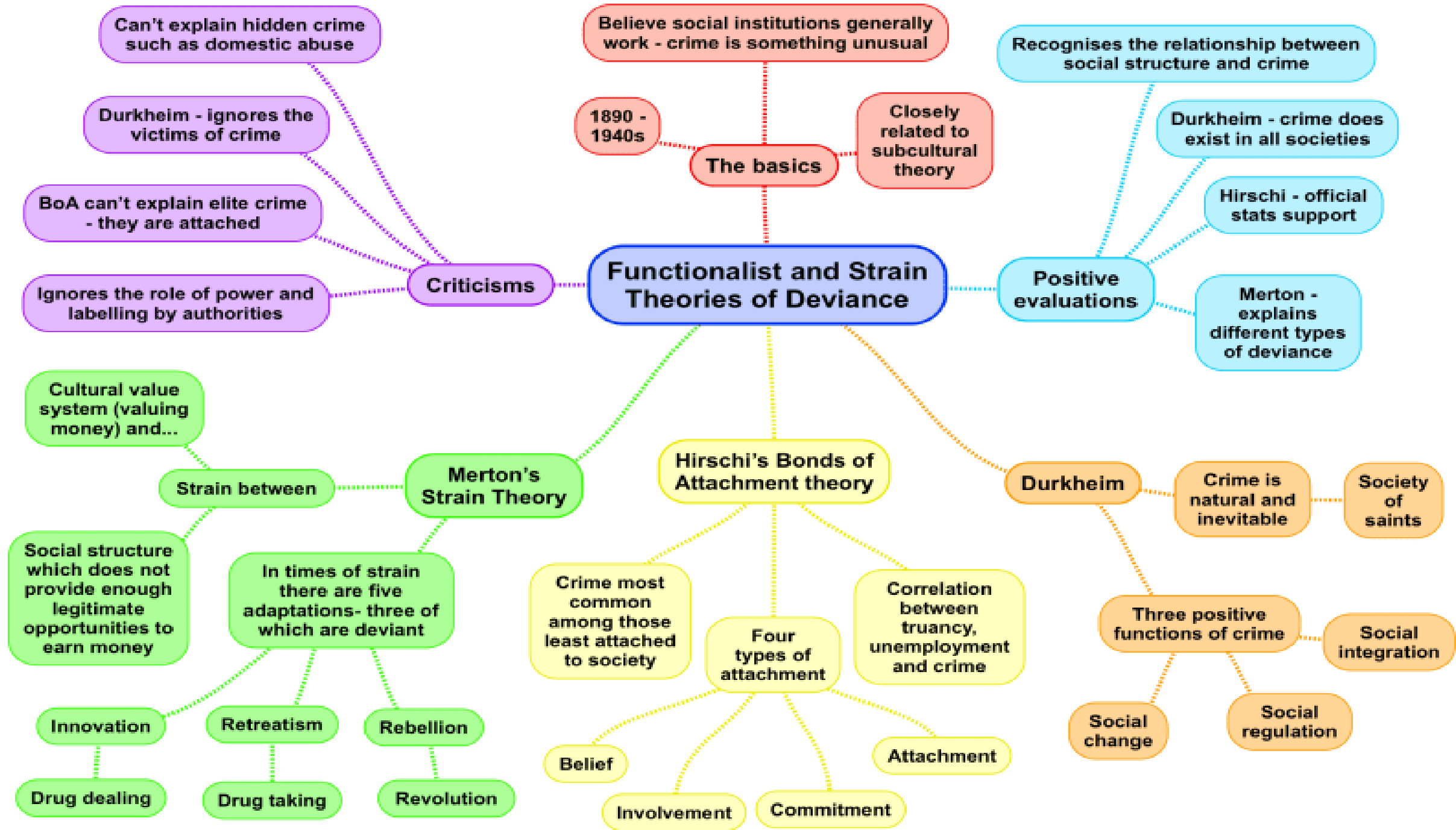
- a 'strain' between legitimate goals
- and lack of opportunities to achieve those goals

Crime occurs when there

- Are not enough legitimate opportunities for people to achieve the normal success goals of a society
- In such a situation there is
- a 'strain' between the goals
- and the means to achieve those goals
- and some people turn to crime in order to achieve success

(Featherston & Deflem, 2003).





Strain Theory: The Basics

Merton

The cultural system of the USA

- built on the 'American Dream'
- a set of meritocratic principles which assured the American public that
- equality of opportunity was available to all,
- regardless of class,
- gender or ethnicity

The 'American Dream'

- encouraged the pursuit of the goal of success
- Success was measured in terms of
 - the acquisition of wealth
 - and material possessions

Strain Theory of Deviance: Success Merton

Pursuit of Success:

- People were expected to pursue this goal
- through legitimate means
- such as education and work

The dominant cultural message was if you are

- ambitious,
- talented
- and work hard,

then

- income
- and wealth should be your rewards.

Strain Theory: Unobtainable Goals

Merton

These goals were

- not attainable by all
- the structural organisation of the USA mean that
- the means to get on were **NOT** fairly distributed
- and it was difficult,
- if not impossible for some to compete and achieve financial success.

Merton developed the concept of ‘

- anomie’ to describe this imbalance between
- cultural goals
- and institutionalised means.
- He argued that such an imbalanced society produces anomie
 - there is a strain or tension between
 - the goals
 - and means which produce unsatisfied aspirations.

5 Adaptations to Strain Theory

Merton

When individuals are faced with a gap between

- their goals (usually finances/money related)
- and their current status,
- strain occurs.

5 Adaptations to Strain Theory

Merton

Conformity:

- pursuing cultural goals through socially approved means

Innovation:

- using socially unapproved or unconventional means to obtain culturally approved goals. Example: dealing drugs or stealing to achieve financial security

Ritualism:

- using the same socially approved means to achieve less elusive goals (more modest and humbler)

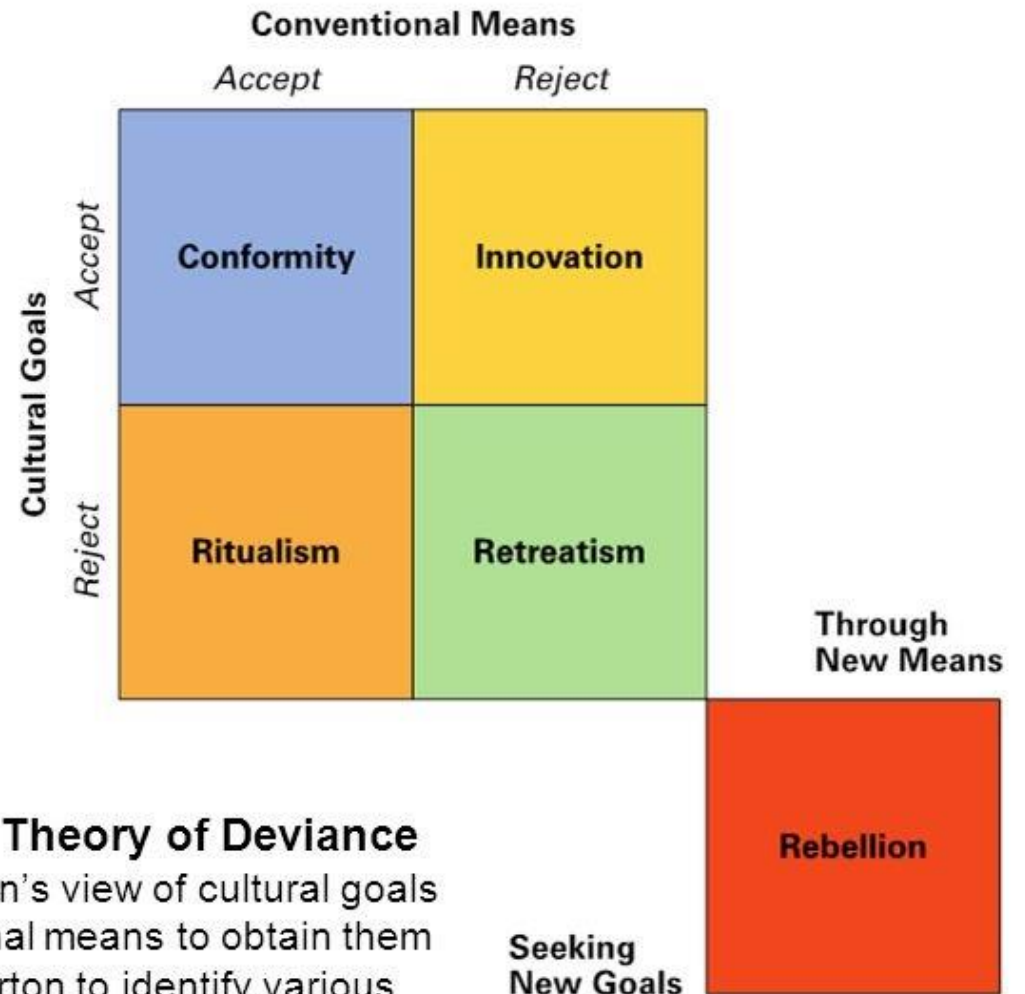
Retreatism:

- to reject both the cultural goals and the means to obtain it, then find a way to escape it

Rebellion:

- to reject the cultural goals and means, then work to replace them

Merton's Strain Theory of Deviance



Merton's Strain Theory of Deviance

Combining a person's view of cultural goals and the conventional means to obtain them allowed Robert Merton to identify various types of deviance.

Source: Merton (1968).

Why do the Lower Classes Offend More Often?

Merton

Use of official statistics:

- that a higher proportion of acquisitive crime is committed
 - by those from unskilled manual backgrounds
 - or 'lower social classes'

In American society promoted material success as:

- 'Legitimate Goal'
 - Material Success
- 'Legitimate Means'
 - encouraged self-discipline
 - hard work

Meritocracy:

- that any individual, irrespective of their background could, with sufficient effort, achieve material success

(Farrington, Loeber & Ttofi, *cited in* Welsh and Farrington, 2011).

Unequal Access to Opportunities

Merton

For those from lower social classes

- This 'dream' had become an ideology

This masked the fact that

- the legitimate opportunities
- are not available to all,

and worse,

- those who failed to achieve success via legitimate means
- were condemned for their apparent lack of effort

This 'dream' pressured people to

- achieve material success
- by illegitimate means
 - acquisitive crime
- to avoid being branded a failure

USA as a Highly Unequal Society

Merton

Unequal Society which promoted

- Unobtainable and unrealistic goals
- that only some of its population could realistically hope to achieve

Many young, working class men

- had internalised the desire to achieve material success
 - they wanted cars and nice clothes for example
- but the only way they could meet these goals
 - was through crime.

Thus, it is not so much

- the individual's flaws that lead them to crime
- but rather 'anomie' in society

The combination of

- the pressure to be materially successful
- and the lack of legitimate opportunities to achieve that success

Current Relevance of Strain Theory

An important contribution to the study of crime and deviance

- in the 1940s it helped to explain why crime continued to exist in countries, such as America, which were experiencing increasing economic growth and wealth

Baumer and Gustafson (2007)

- analysed official data sets in the USA
- They found that instrumental crime rates were higher in areas where there was a
 - 'high commitment to money success' alongside a 'weak commitment to legitimate means'..

It is possible to apply Merton's theory of anomie to explain White Collar Crime

- white collar criminals (those who commit fraud at work, for example)
- might be those who are committed to achieving material success,
- but have had their opportunities for promotion blocked by lack of opportunities
- possible through class, gender or ethnic bias, or possible just by the simple fact that the higher up the career ladder you go, the more competition for promotion there is.

Merton's Strain Theory

Baumer and Gustafson (2007) used

- Merton's strain theory is also used to explain rising crime rates during a period of economic growth in Malaysia,
- suggesting we can apply this theory to developing countries and that a 'general theory of crime' may thus be possible.

Philip Bourgeois (1996) *In Search of Respect*

- Shows us that some of the most despised criminals have actually internalised Merton's success goals

Carl Nightingale (1993) *On the Edge*

- Further developed Merton's Strain Theory, applying it to inner city youths in the 1990s

Criticisms of Strain Theory

Not all working class individuals turn to crime

- we need something else to explain why some of them do
- and some of them do not.

Subcultural theorists argued that

- the role of working-class subcultures plugs this gap in the explanation
- deviant subcultures provide rewards for individuals who commit crime.

Merton's reliance on official statistics means

- he over-estimates the extent of working-class crime
- and underestimates the extent of middle class, or white-collar crime.

Strain theory only really explains

- economic crime,
- it doesn't really explain violent crime.

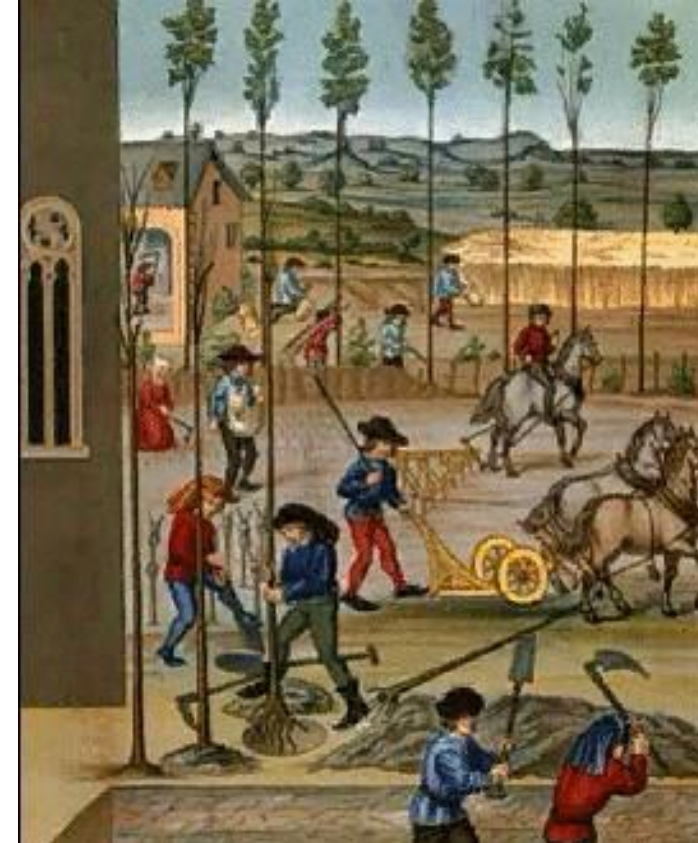
Marxists point out that lack of equality of opportunity is at the heart of the Capitalist system.

- Elites make the system work for them, which disadvantages the lower classes

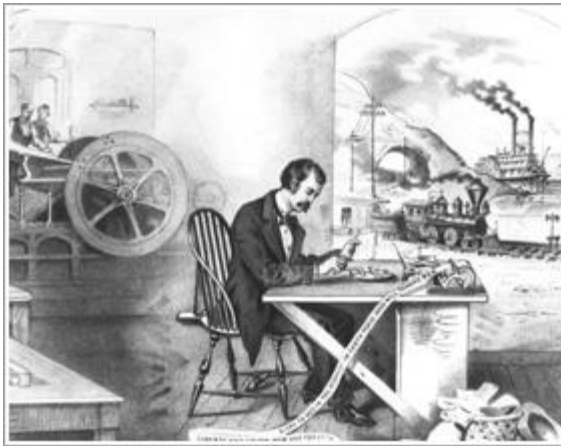
Crime as an Industrial Problem

- Crime and deviance associated with decline of mechanical solidarity Durkheim saw prevalent in pre-industrial societies.
- In such societies crime was not absent altogether but the uniformity of roles, status and values of the close-knit community promoted conformity.

XXXXX



Crime Linked to Social Change



- In times of social change individuals may become unsure of prevailing norms and rules.
- They are consequently more at risk of breaking them.
- There is a weaker collective conscience of shared values to guide actions.
- Durkheim saw Anomie expressed not just through crime, but also by suicide, marital breakdown, and industrial disputes.

XXXXXXX

Crime and Deviance Can be Both Positive and Negative

Durkheim saw

- high levels of crime and deviance
- as very negative for society causing uncertainty and disruption

However, a certain amount of crime could be viewed positively

- As a way of helping to promote change and reinforce values

Crime can be:

- Normal
- Universal
- Functional

Beneficial Social Change from Crime and Deviance



Suffragette:

Votes for Woman and the
Suffragist Movements



Rosa Parkes:

Her refusal to give
up her seat to a
white man on a US
bus



Martin Luther King:
Civil Rights Movement



Nelson Mandela:
Apartheid

Critique of Durkheim

Durkheim's work is important for offering

- a social dimension to crime

He links anomie to

- a deregulated
- more individualistic
- industrial society

But he cannot explain

- why some people are more deviant than others



Robert Merton's: Strain Theory

Robert Merton (1910-2003)

- regarded the concept of 'anomie' as used by Durkheim as too vague,
- so he developed its meaning.

As a functionalist,

- he recognised the importance of shared goals and values of society
- in the USA particularly the 'American Dream'
- But that not everyone has the same opportunity to share these goals and values

He altered anomie to mean

- *a society where there is a disjunction between goals and the means of achieving them.*



Merton Adapted Strain Theory

5 Responses	CULTURAL GOALS	CONVENTIONAL MEANS
Conformity	LEGAL GOALS +	LEGAL MEANS +
Innovation	LEGAL GOALS +	ILLIGEAL MEANS –
Ritualism	NO GOALS	ILLIGEAL MEANS -
Retreatism	ILLEGAL GOALS -	ILLIGEAL MEANS -
Rebellion	ILLEGAL GOALS -	ILLIGEAL MEANS

Merton (Continued)



Merton's theory is 'structural'

- he locates the cause of crime in American society
 - support for the "American Dream".

Being blocked from success leads to

- deviance,
 - as 'innovators'
- they adopt illegitimate means
- to achieve the goals they cannot achieve legitimately

Critique of Merton

He can explain different patterns of deviance

- for example, one person may steal (innovator)
- while another may take drugs (retreatist)

As a functionalist he

- cannot explain where the rules come from in first place

His work became a direct inspiration to

- subcultural theory.

Laurie Taylor described it as the

- “fruit machine theory of crime”



The Rigged Fruit Machine: Laurie Taylor (1973)



Taylor (1973) puts it as "the rigged fruit machine"

- players who are not within the social norm of acceptability
 - for example the well educated or well known,
- Resort to Innovation
 - the use of magnets or foreign coins
- Ritualism
 - mindless play with the hope of success
- Retreatism
 - give up
- Rebellion
 - development of a new game to try and win

Travis Hirschi

- Travis Hirschi influenced by Emile Durkheim concept of anomie
 - He asks the question: why don't more people commit crime than they do?
- To answer this we need to understand what forces maintain conformity for most people in society
- Rather than the factors that drive a minority into deviant behaviour



(Hirschi, 1969).

Hirschi's 'Bonds of Attachment'

He identified four bonds of attachment that help bind society together:

- **Attachment:**
 - The extent to which we care about other people's opinions and desires.
- **Commitment:**
 - The personal investment we put into our lives; in other words, what we have to lose if we turn to crime and get caught.
- **Involvement:**
 - How integrated are we so that we neither have the time nor inclination to behave in a deviant/criminal way.
- **Belief:**
 - How committed are individuals to upholding society's rules and laws?

(Hoffmann & Dufur, 2018).

Subcultural Theory

Subcultural theory assumes that

- those who deviate hold different values to mainstream society

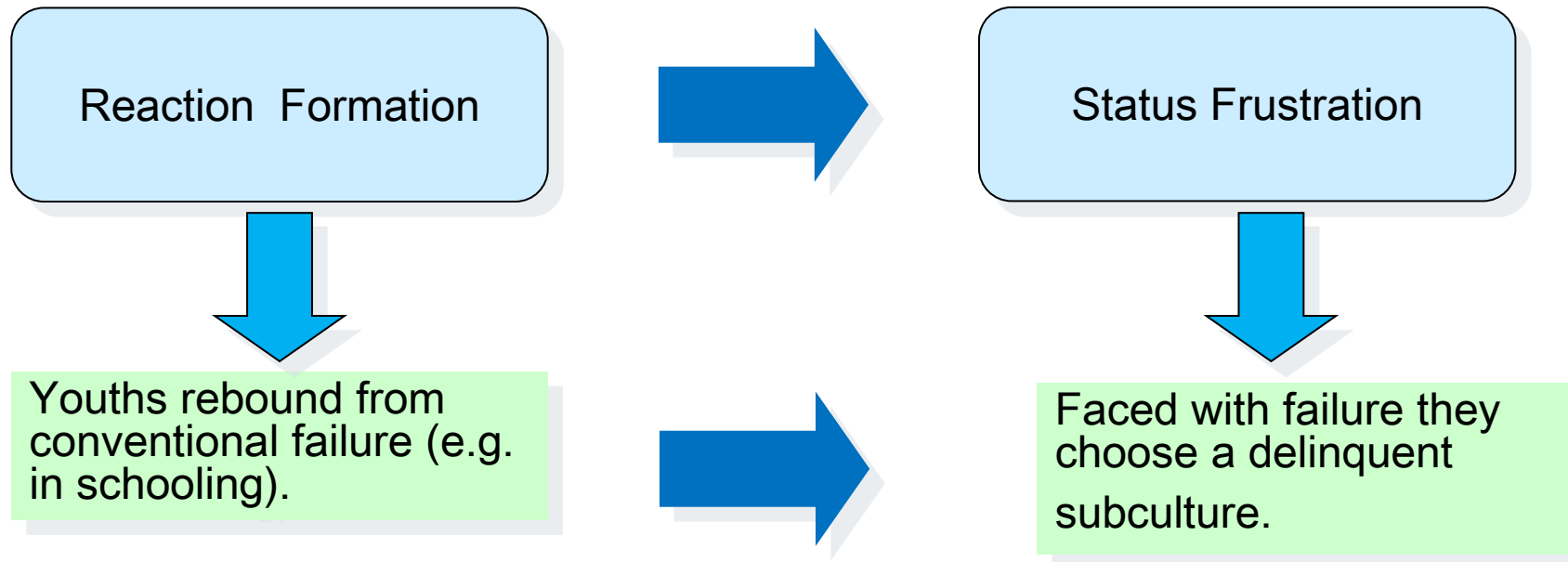
Central to the idea of crime and deviance

- a reaction by a group who reject the majority view and/or feel excluded



(Hoffmann & Dufur, 2018).

Albert Cohen (1955)



(Cohen, 1997 *in* Jenks, 2003)

Cloward and Ohlin

See Class Crime in terms of:

- Goals and Means

They disagree with Merton that:

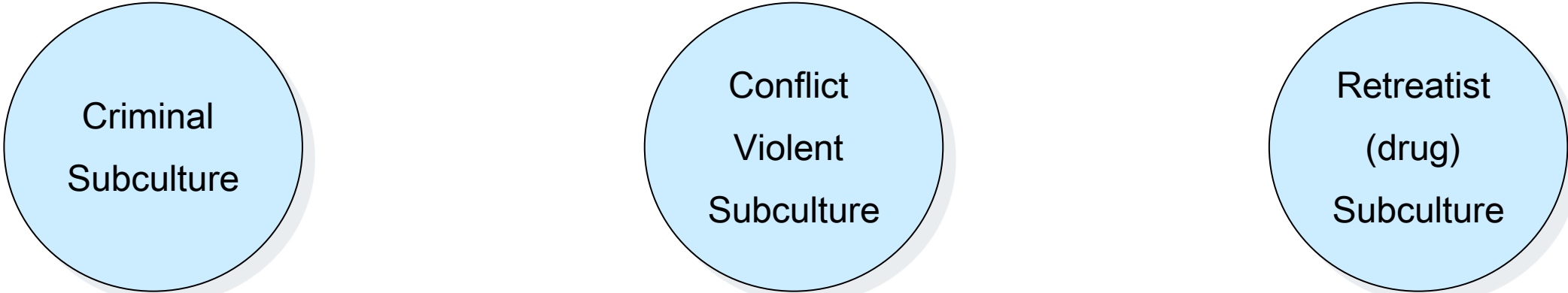
- Delinquents share the same values/goals as the rest of society

Lower working class Delinquents share their own deviant:

- Because of . . .
 - 'blocked opportunities' they cannot get on legitimately
- So . . .
 - They develop an illegitimate career structure

(Cloward and Ohlin, 1960 *cited in* Cullen, 1988).

Cloward and Ohlin (Continued)



Criminal
Subculture

Conflict
Violent
Subculture

Retreatist
(drug)
Subculture

(Cloward and Ohlin, 1960 *cited in* Cullen, 1988).

Critique of Cloward and Ohlin

- Not everyone gets sucked into
 - Illegitimate career structure
- It fails to consider
 - White-collar crime
- Women
 - have more blocked opportunities than men

(Cloward and Ohlin, 1960 *cited in* Cullen, 1988).

Walter B. Miller (1962)

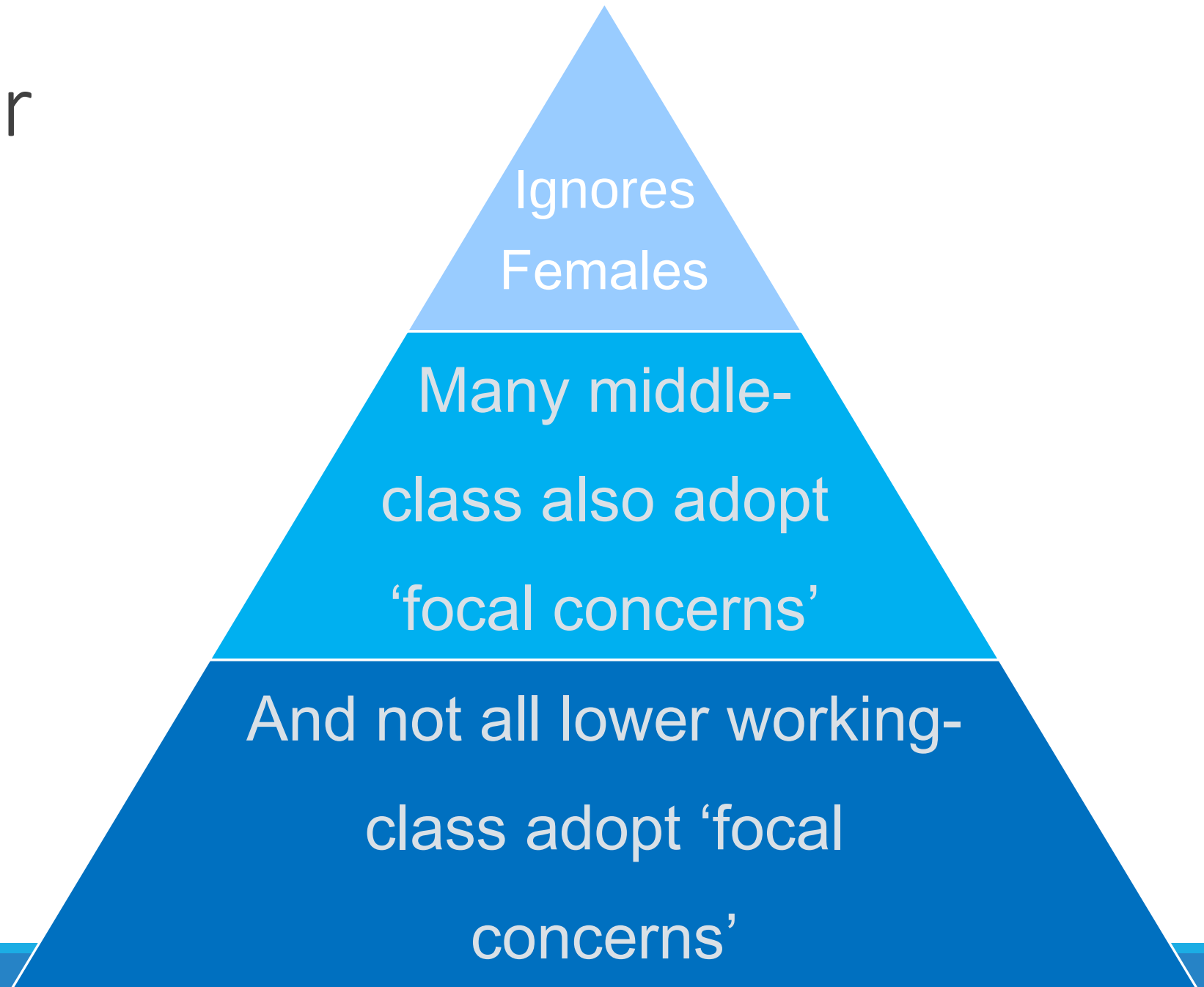
saw the lower

- working-class
- socialised into deviant subcultural values
- he called 'focal concerns'

- (Miller, 1971)



Critique of Walter Miller



(Brownfield, 1996)

Do Subcultures Explain Crime in the UK Today?

HOWARD PARKER 1974

- Found evidence of 'focal concerns' in his study of working-class youth in Liverpool
 - Leisure Values
 - Dissociation

DAVID DOWNES 1966

- Found limited evidence of subcultural values in his study of working-class youth in East London.
 - Instead he found them dissociated from mainstream values of long-term employment, instead focused on leisure and hedonism.

(Brownfield, 1996)

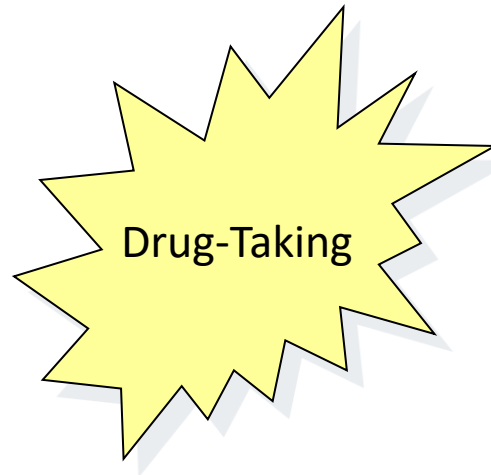
Subterranean Values: David Matza 1964

- He adopts an interactionist critique of subcultural theory
- Young people
 - 'drift' into and out of deviance
 - as part of the normal process of growing up.
- He argues that
 - young people are less skilled in suppressing subterranean values
 - and when these drive deviant behaviour
 - they use techniques of neutralisation to justify them

(Hagan, 1991)

Postmodernism

- Postmodernists argues that
 - subcultural theory
 - falls down (as do most theories) f
 - or looking for a rational explanation of crime and deviance
- Katz (1988) argues that
 - crime is seductive and people engage with it because it is exciting.
- Lyng (1990) sees
 - people driven by 'edgework' attracted by flirting with danger.



(Collison, 1996)

Reference List

Arrigo BA & Milovanovic D (2010) *Postmodernist and Post-Structuralist Theories of Crime*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Baron, SW (2006) 'Street Youth, Strain Theory and Crime', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, Vol. 34., pp. 2009-223.

Baumer, EP & Gustafson R (2007) 'Social Organisation and Instrumental Crime: Assessing the Empirical Validity of Classic and Contemporary Anomie Theories', *Criminology*, Vol.45., No.3., pp. 617-663.

Bernburg, JG (2002) 'Anomie, Social Change and Crime. A Theoretical Examination of Institutional-Anomie Theory', *The British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 42, No. 4, 1 September 2002, Pages 729–742,

Bernburg, JG (2002) 'Anomie, Social Change and Crime: A theoretical examination of institutional-anomie theory, *The British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 42., No. 4., pp. 729-742.

Bourgois, Philippe (1995). *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in E! Barrio*. Cambridge University Press, 40 West 20th Street, New York.

Brownfield, D (1996) *Subcultural Theories of crime and Delinquency*, London: Routledge.

Castiglione, D (2015) 'Introduction the Logic of Social Cooperation for Mutual Advantage – the Democratic Contract', *Political Studies Review*. Vol. 13, No. 2, pp.161–175.

Reference List

- Clark, MT (2015) 'Augustine on Justice'. , in Delgado, T, Doody, J & Paffenroth, K (2015) *Augustine and Social Justice*. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Cohen LE & Machalek R (1994) 'The Normalcy of Crime: From Durkheim to Evolutionary Ecology'. *Rationality and Society*, Vole 6., No.2., pp. 286-308.
- Collison, M (1996) 'In Search of the High Life: Drugs, Crime, Masculinities and Consumption', *The British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 36., No.3., pp. 428-444.
- Cullen, FT (1988) 'Were Cloward and Ohlin Strain Theorists? Delinquency and Opportunity Revisited', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 25., No. 3., pp. 214-241.
- Denzin, NK (1992) *Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Studies: The Politics of Interpretation*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Dogan, K & Ugur, O (2021) *Public Administration and Public Finance Research*, Lyon: Livre de Lyon.
- Durkheim, Emile. 2006. *Samobójstwo*. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa
- Featherston, R, & Deflem, M (2003) Anomie and Strain: Context and Consequences of Merton's Two Theories, *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol. 73, No. 4, November 2003, 471-489.
- Freeman, S (2018) *Liberalism and Distributive Justice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reference List

Gallagher L (19Getty Images (n.d.) *The Suffragettes*, [Online]. Available at: https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/976/cpsprodpb/14D49/production/99912358_compforarticle.jpg (Accessed: 21 December 2021).

Gough, JW (1936) *The Social Contract*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hawdon, J., Ryan, J. & Agnich, L (2010) 'Crime as a Source of Solidarity: A Research Note Testing Durkheim's Assertion', *Deviant Behaviour*, Vol. 31., pp. 679-703.

Hayek, FA (1973) *Law, Legislation and Liberty a New Statement of the Liberal Principles of Justice and Political Economy*: FA Hayek Vol. 1 Rules and Order, London: Routledge and Kegan Pual.

Hilbert, RA (1989) 'Durkheim and Merton on Anomie: An Unexplored Contrast and Its Derivatives', *Social Problems* , Vol. 36, No. 3., pp. 242-250.

Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of Delinquency*. University of California Press.

Hoffmann, JP & Dufur, MJ (2018) 'Family Social Capital, Family Social Bonds and Juvenile Delinquency', *American Behavioural Scientist*, Vol. 62., No. 11, pp. 1525-1544.

Jenks, C (2003) *Culture: critical Concepts in Sociology*, London: Routledge.

Jewkes, J & Letherby, G (2002) *Criminology: A Reader*, London: Sage Publishing Ltd.

Reference List

- Kekes, J (2003). *The Illusions of Egalitarianism*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Kelsen, H (2007). *General Theory of Law And State*. Clare, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange.
- Knox, JB. (1963) 'The Concept of Exchange in Sociological Theory: 1884 and 1961'. *Social Forces*, Vol. 41. No. 4. pp.341–346.
- Korab-Karpowicz, WJ (2010) *A History of Political Philosophy: From Thucydides to Locke*. New York: Global Scholarly Publications.
- Lau, TFT (2020) 'The Concept of Anomie in Explaining Crime'. *The Bellarmine Law Society Review*, Vol. 11., No. 1., pp .2-22.
- Liska AE & Warner BD (1991) 'Functions of Crime: A Paradoxical Process' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 96, No. 6 pp. 1441- 1463.
- Merton RK & Merton RC (1968) *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Miller, W (1971) 'Subculture, Social Reform and the 'Culture of Poverty'', *Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 30., No., 2., pp. 111-125.
- More T (Baker-Smith, D Translator) (2012) *Utopia*, Penguin Classic: Cambridge
- Murphy DS & Robinson MB (2008) 'The Maximizer: Clarifying Merton's Theories of Anomie and Strain', *Theoretical Criminology*, Vol. 12., No. 4., pp. 501-521.

Reference List

- Nightingale CH (1993) *On the Edge: A History of Poor Black Children and Their American Dreams*, New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Simon & Sparks, (2013) 'Introduction – Punishment and Society: The Emergence of an Academic Field', *The Sage Handbook of Punishment and Society* London: Sage.
- Simon J & Sparks R (2013) *The SAGE Handbook of Punishment and Society*, London: Sage.
- Stark, R Doyle, DP & Rushing, JL (1983) 'Beyond Durkheim: Religion and Suicide', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 22., No. 2., pp. 120-131.
- Taylor, I, Walton, P and Young, J '(1973)The early sociologies of crime' in John Rex (ed) *The New Criminology: For a Social Theory of Deviance*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Thorlindsson T and Bernburg JG (2004) 'Durkheim's Theory of Social Order and Deviance: a Multi-level Test', , Vol. 20., No. 4., pp. 271–285.
- Welsh BC & Farrington DP (2011) *The Oxford Handbook of Crime Prevention*, Oxford: OUP.
- Ziyanak, S., & Williams, J. L. (2014). Functionalist perspective on deviance. *Journal of Human Sciences*, Vol. 11., No. 2, pp. 1–9.