GENERAL

stanley cohen folk devils and moral panics

Published: September 3, 2026 | Index ID: #-

Stanley Cohen, Folk Devils, and Moral Panics

When the 1960s shook the United Kingdom with protests, the rise of rock ‘n’ roll, and a growing sense of cultural fragmentation, a small group of sociologists began to ask a simple yet profound question: What makes certain groups of people become the target of intense public scrutiny and moral outrage? Among those scholars, Stanley Cohen emerged as a pivotal figure whose work on **folk devils** and **moral panics**reshaped how we understand the relationship between society, media, and collective anxiety. This article explores Cohen’s groundbreaking theories, the historical context that gave rise to them, and their lasting influence on contemporary social analysis.

1. Stanley Cohen – A Brief Biography

Stanley Cohen was born in 1924 in Manchester, England, and grew up during a period of rapid industrial change and post war reconstruction. He earned his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago, where he was influenced by the Chicago School’s focus on urban sociology and the role of social institutions in shaping individual behavior. In the 1960s, Cohen returned to the United Kingdom and joined the University of Essex, where he would spend the majority of his academic career.

His early research focused on the sociology of deviance and the mechanisms through which society labels and responds to those who deviate from the norm. However, it was his 1972 book, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, that cemented his reputation as one of the most influential sociologists of the twentieth century. The book combined rigorous empirical research with a compelling theoretical framework that would go on to inform studies in media, political science, and cultural studies.

2. The Concept of Folk Devils – Definition and Historical Roots

At the heart of Cohen’s analysis lies the notion of the **folk devil**– a social construct that represents a group or individual perceived as a threat to the moral fabric of society. The term is derived from folklore, where a “devil” is a supernatural antagonist; in modern sociology, it denotes a symbolic figure that embodies collective anxieties.

Key characteristics of a folk devil include:

- They are often marginalized or misunderstood by mainstream society.
- Their behavior is exaggerated or misrepresented by the media.
- They become the focus of moral outrage and calls for punitive action.
- They are scapegoated for broader societal problems.

Cohen traced the historical roots of folk devils back to medieval times, when the church would label certain groups as heretics or witches. In modern times, the label has shifted to encompass teenagers, drug users, immigrants, or any group that challenges prevailing cultural norms.

3. Moral Panics – Theory and Dynamics

A **moral panic**is a widespread feeling of fear, often amplified by the media, that a particular group or activity threatens societal values and interests. Cohen identified several stages in the development of a moral panic:

1. Triggering event or perception – something that sparks concern.
2. Media amplification – sensational reporting that heightens the perceived threat.
3. Public reaction – calls for policy change, moral reform, or punitive measures.
4. Institutional response – law enforcement, legislation, or social programs aimed at mitigating the threat.
5. Decline or transformation – the panic subsides or morphs into a new form of social control.

These dynamics illustrate how moral panics are not spontaneous reactions but rather socially constructed phenomena that serve to reinforce existing power structures.

4. Cohen's Landmark Study: "Folk Devils and Moral Panics"

In his seminal book, Cohen examined three contemporary examples of moral panic in the United Kingdom: the *"satanic panic"* surrounding rock music, the *"youth rebellion"* involving teenagers, and the *"bobby's night out"* phenomenon. Each case served to illuminate how a small group of deviant individuals can become the focus of national concern.

4.1 Overview of the Book

Published in 1972, the book is a blend of qualitative research, media analysis, and sociological theory. Cohen drew on interviews with teenagers, police reports, and newspaper archives to build a comprehensive picture of how moral panics arise and evolve.

4.2 Methodology

Cohen employed a mixed-methods approach:

- In-depth interviews with teenagers to understand their lived experiences.
- Content analysis of newspapers and television broadcasts to track media framing.
- Archival research into police and court records to examine institutional responses.

By triangulating these data sources, Cohen was able to demonstrate how the media and authorities amplified fears that were, in many cases, disproportionate to the actual threat posed by the target group.

4.3 Key Findings

The book's most significant contribution is the articulation of the "devil-making" process. Cohen identified five steps through which a group is transformed into a folk devil:

1. Exaggeration of deviant behavior.
2. Media portrayal that emphasizes moral violation.
3. Public outrage and calls for punishment.
4. Institutional legitimization of punitive measures.
5. Reinforcement of the group's deviant identity.

This framework remains a staple in contemporary sociological research on deviance and social control.

5. Case Studies in Cohen's Work

To illustrate the practical application of his theory, Cohen examined three distinct phenomena that captured the public imagination in the early 1970s.

5.1 Teenage Rebellions – "The 'Boys' Night Out" Phenomenon

Cohen's research into teenage rebellion uncovered how a relatively innocuous trend—teenagers gathering for a night of music and camaraderie—was framed as a moral crisis. Media coverage amplified the perceived threat,

portraying teenagers as a “dangerous youth culture” that threatened the safety of the broader society.

5.2 The Satanic Panic – Rock Music and Moral Decay

In the early 1970s, rock music was accused of promoting Satanism and moral corruption. Cohen documented how sensationalist headlines and television segments portrayed the genre as a gateway to deviant behavior, creating a climate of fear among parents and policymakers.

5.3 The ‘Bobby’s Night Out’ Phenomenon

This case involved the alleged “bobby’s night out” phenomenon, where police officers were accused of participating in the same rebellious activities as the teenagers they were meant to police. The resulting moral panic highlighted the hypocrisy within institutions and intensified calls for reform.

6. Impact on Contemporary Sociology

Cohen’s work has had a profound influence on several academic disciplines, including:

- Media Studies – Researchers now examine how media framing shapes public perception of deviant groups.
- Political Science – Studies of policy responses to moral panics trace their roots back to Cohen’s theoretical framework.
- Cultural Studies – The concept of the folk devil has been employed to analyze cultural phenomena such as the “youth subculture” and the “hippie movement.”

In addition, Cohen’s insights have informed public debates on criminal justice reform, immigration policy, and the role of the media in shaping societal norms.

7. Critiques and Limitations

While Cohen’s work is widely celebrated, it has not escaped criticism:

- Overemphasis on media – Some scholars argue that Cohen overstates the role of the media, neglecting grassroots activism and economic factors.
- Limited cross-cultural applicability – The theory has primarily been tested in Western contexts, raising questions about its relevance in non Western societies.
- Potential for moralistic bias – Critics caution that labeling groups as folk devils can reinforce existing prejudices.

Despite these critiques, Cohen’s framework remains a cornerstone of sociological analysis.

8. Modern Applications and Relevance

In today’s digital age, moral panics have taken on new forms, amplified by social media and 24 hour news cycles. Below are some contemporary examples where Cohen’s theory still applies:

8.1 Social Media and the “Cancel Culture” Phenomenon

Online platforms can quickly turn an individual or group into a folk devil. The rapid spread of unverified allegations often leads to public shaming, loss of employment, and legal action, mirroring the dynamics Cohen described.

8.2 COVID 19 Pandemic and Public Health Panic

During the COVID 19 crisis, certain groups—such as healthcare workers, vaccine skeptics, or even immigrants—were scapegoated as folk devils. Media coverage, political rhetoric, and public fear combined to create a moral panic that influenced policy decisions and public behavior.

8.3 Climate Change and Environmental Activism

While environmental activism is generally seen as positive, some fringe movements have been labeled as “extremist” or “dangerous,” creating a moral panic that can hinder constructive dialogue. The same media amplification and institutional response mechanisms are at work.

These examples underscore the enduring relevance of Cohen’s insights for understanding contemporary societal tensions.

Conclusion

Stanley Cohen’s exploration of **folk devils** and **moral panics**offers a powerful lens through which to view the interplay between societal fears, media representation, and institutional power. By dissecting the mechanisms that transform marginalized groups into targets of collective anxiety, Cohen not only illuminated the sociological processes of the 1970s but also provided a timeless framework applicable to the digital age. Whether examining the rise of cancel culture, the politicization of public health, or the framing of climate activism, Cohen’s work reminds us that moral panic is not a spontaneous reaction but a socially constructed phenomenon—one that demands critical scrutiny and thoughtful policy responses. As we navigate an increasingly complex media landscape, revisiting Cohen’s theories can help scholars, policymakers, and citizens alike to recognize when fear becomes a tool of social control and to foster a more nuanced, evidence based public discourse.

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