

Figure 7.6 The Labeling Process



self-rejecting attitudes (“At times, I think I am no good at all”) that eventually weaken commitment to conventional values and behaviors. In turn, stigmatized individuals may acquire motives to deviate from social norms because they now share a common bond with similarly labeled social outcasts.¹⁰⁸

Retrospective Reading Beyond any immediate results, labels tend to redefine the whole person. For example, the label “ex-con” may evoke in people’s imaginations a whole series of behavior descriptions—tough, mean, dangerous, aggressive, dishonest, sneaky—that may or may not apply to a particular person who has been in prison. People react to the label and its connotations instead of reacting to the actual behavior of the person who bears it. The labeled person’s past is reviewed and reevaluated to fit his or her current status—a process known as **retrospective reading**. For example, boyhood friends of an assassin or serial killer, interviewed by the media, report that the suspect was withdrawn, suspicious, and negativistic as a youth; they were always suspicious but never thought to report their concerns to the authorities. According to this retrospective reading, we can now understand what prompted his current behavior; therefore, the label must be accurate.¹⁰⁹

Labels, then, become the basis of personal identity. As the negative feedback of law enforcement agencies, parents, friends, teachers, and other figures amplifies the force of the original label, stigmatized offenders may begin to reevaluate their own identities (see Figure 7.6). If they are not really evil or bad, they may ask themselves, “Why is everyone making such a fuss?” This process has been referred to as the “dramatization of evil.”¹¹⁰

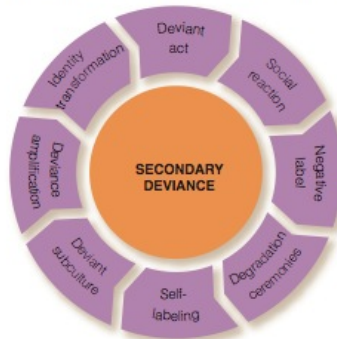
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DEVIANCE

One of the better-known views of the labeling process is Edwin Lemert’s concept of primary deviance and secondary deviance.¹¹¹ According to Lemert, **primary deviance** involves norm violations or crimes that have little influence on the actor

retrospective reading
The reassessment of a person’s past to fit a current generalized label.

primary deviance
A norm violation or crime that has little or no long-term influence on the violator.

Figure 7.7 Secondary Deviance: The Labeling Process



and can be quickly forgotten. For example, a college student successfully steals a textbook at the campus bookstore, gets an A in the course, graduates, is admitted to law school, and later becomes a famous judge. Because his shoplifting goes unnoticed, it is a relatively unimportant event that has little bearing on his future life.

In contrast, **secondary deviance** occurs when a deviant event comes to the attention of significant others or social control agents, who apply a negative label. The newly labeled offender then reorganizes his or her behavior and personality around the consequences of the deviant act. The shoplifting student is caught by a security guard and expelled from college. With his law school dreams dashed and his future cloudy, his options are limited; people say he lacks character, and he begins to share their opinion. He eventually becomes a drug dealer and winds up in prison (see Figure 7.7).

Secondary deviance involves resocialization into a deviant role. The labeled person is transformed into one who, according to Lemert, “employs his behavior or a role based upon it as a means of defense, attack, or adjustment to the overt and covert problems created by the consequent social reaction to him.”¹¹² Secondary deviance produces a **deviance amplification** effect: Offenders feel isolated from the mainstream of society and become locked within their deviant role. They may seek others similarly labeled to form deviant groups. Ever more firmly enmeshed in their deviant role, they are trapped in an escalating cycle of deviance, apprehension, more powerful labels, and identity transformation. Lemert’s concept of secondary deviance expresses the core of social reaction theory: Deviance is a process in which one’s identity is transformed. Efforts to control offenders, whether by treatment or punishment, simply help to lock them in their deviant role.

secondary deviance
A norm violation or crime that comes to the attention of significant others or social control agents, who apply a negative label that has long-term consequences for the violator’s self-identity and social interactions.

deviance amplification
Process whereby secondary deviance pushes offenders out of mainstream society and locks them into an escalating cycle of deviance, apprehension, labeling, and criminal self-identity.

CRIME AND LABELING

Because the process of becoming stigmatized is essentially interactive, labeling theorists blame the establishment of criminal careers on the social agencies originally designed for crime control, such as police, courts, and correctional agencies. These institutions, labeling theorists claim, are inflicting the very stigma that harms the people they are trying to treat or correct. As a result, they actually help to maintain and amplify criminal behavior.

Because crime and deviance are defined by the social audience’s reaction to people and their behavior and by the subsequent effects of that reaction, these institutions form the audience that helps define behavior as evil or wrong, locking people into deviant identities.

DIFFERENTIAL ENFORCEMENT

An important principle of social reaction theory is that the law is differentially applied, benefiting those who hold economic and social power and penalizing the powerless. The probability of being brought under the control of legal authority is a function of a person's race, wealth, gender, and social standing. A core concept of social reaction theory is that police officers are more likely to formally arrest males, minority group members, and those in the lower socioeconomic class, and to use their discretionary powers to give beneficial treatment to more favored groups.¹¹³ Minorities and the poor are more likely to be prosecuted for criminal offenses and to receive harsher punishments when convicted.¹¹⁴ Judges may sympathize with white defendants and help them avoid criminal labels, especially if they seem to come from "good families," whereas minority youths are not afforded that luxury.¹¹⁵ This helps to explain the significant racial and economic differences in the crime rate.

In sum, a major premise of social reaction theory is that the law is differentially constructed and applied, depending on the offender. It favors powerful members of society, who direct its content, and penalizes the powerless, such as minority group members and the poor, who demand equal rights.¹¹⁶

RESEARCH ON SOCIAL REACTION THEORY

Research on social reaction theory can be divided into two distinct categories. The first focuses on the characteristics of those offenders who are chosen for labeling. The theory predicts that they will be relatively powerless people who are unable to defend themselves against the negative labeling. The second type of research attempts to discover the effects of being labeled. Labeling theorists predict that people who are negatively labeled will view themselves as deviant and will commit increasing amounts of crime.

Targets of Labeling There is evidence that, just as predicted by labeling theory, poor and powerless people are victimized by the law and justice system. Labels are not equally distributed across class and racial lines. From the police officer's decision on whom to arrest, to the prosecutor's decision on whom to charge and how many and what kinds of charges to bring, to the court's decision on whom to release or free on bail or personal recognizance, to the grand jury's decision on indictment, to the judge's decision on sentence length—at every step, discretion works to the detriment of minorities.¹¹⁷ The fact that labels are unfairly applied has focused attention on such practices as **racial profiling**, the practice of singling out minority group members for investigation, arrest, and prosecution simply on the basis of their racial characteristics.

Effects of Labeling Empirical evidence shows that negative labels may dramatically influence the self-image of offenders. Considerable evidence indicates that social sanctions lead to self-labeling and deviance amplification.¹¹⁸ For example, children negatively labeled by their parents routinely suffer a variety of problems, including antisocial behavior and school failure.¹¹⁹ This process has been observed in the United States and abroad, indicating that the labeling process is universal, especially in nations in which a brush with the law brings personal dishonor, such as China and Japan.¹²⁰

This labeling process is important because once they are stigmatized as troublemakers, adolescents begin to reassess their self-image. Parents who label their children as troublemakers promote deviance amplification. Labeling alienates parents from their children, and negative labels reduce children's self-image and increase delinquency; this process is referred to as **reflected appraisals**.¹²¹ Parental labeling is extremely damaging because it may cause adolescents to seek deviant peers whose behavior amplifies the effect of the labeling.¹²²

As they mature, children are in danger of undergoing repeated, intensive, official labeling, which has been shown to produce self-labeling and to damage identities.¹²³ Kids who perceive that they have been negatively labeled by significant others, such as peers and teachers, are also more likely to self-report delinquent behavior and to adopt a deviant self-concept.¹²⁴ They are likely to make deviant friends and join gangs, associations that escalate their involvement in criminal activities.¹²⁵ Youngsters

CONNECTIONS

Fear of stigma has prompted efforts to reduce the impact of criminal labels through such programs as pretrial diversion and community treatment. In addition, some criminologists have called for noncoercive, "peacemaking" solutions to interpersonal conflict. This peacemaking or restorative justice movement is reviewed in Chapter 8.

racial profiling

The use of racial and ethnic characteristics by police in their determining whether a person is likely to commit a crime or engage in deviant and/or antisocial activities.

reflected appraisal

When parents are alienated from their children, their negative labeling reduces their children's self-image and increases delinquency.

Concept Summary 7.1 Social Process Theories

Theory	Major Premise	Strengths	Research Focus
Social Learning Theories			
Differential association theory	People learn to commit crime from exposure to antisocial definitions.	Explains onset of criminality. Explains the presence of crime in all elements of social structure. Explains why some people in high-crime areas refrain from criminality. Can apply to adults and juveniles.	Measuring definitions toward crime; influence of deviant peers and parents
Neutralization theory	Youths learn ways of neutralizing moral restraints and periodically drift in and out of criminal behavior patterns.	Explains why many delinquents do not become adult criminals. Explains why youthful law violators can participate in conventional behavior.	Do people who use neutralizations commit more crimes? Beliefs, values, and crime
Social Control Theory			
Hirschi's control theory	A person's bond to society prevents him or her from violating social rules. If the bond weakens, the person is free to commit crime.	Explains the onset of crime. Can apply to both middle- and lower-class crime. Explains its theoretical constructs adequately so they can be measured. Has been empirically tested.	The association among commitment, attachment, involvement, belief, and crime
Social Reaction Theory			
Labeling theory	People enter into law-violating careers when they are labeled and organize their personalities around the labels.	Explains society's role in creating deviance. Explains why some juvenile offenders do not become adult criminals. Develops concepts of criminal careers.	Measuring the association between self-concept and crime; differential application of labels; and the effect of stigma

labeled as troublemakers in school are the most likely to drop out, and dropping out has been linked to delinquent behavior.¹²⁶

Even in adults, the labeling process can take its toll. Male drug users labeled as addicts by social control agencies eventually become self-labeled and increase their drug use.¹²⁷ People arrested in domestic violence cases, especially those with a low stake in conformity (for example, those who are jobless and unmarried), increase their offending after being given official labels.¹²⁸ And once in prison, inmates labeled high-risk are more likely to have disciplinary problems than those who are spared such negative labels.¹²⁹

Empirical evidence supports the view that labeling plays a significant role in persistent offending.¹³⁰ Although labels may not cause adolescents to initiate criminal behaviors, experienced delinquents are significantly more likely to continue offending if they believe their parents and peers view them in a negative light.¹³¹ Labeling, then, may help sustain criminality over time.

IS LABELING THEORY VALID?

Criminologists Raymond Paternoster and Leeann Iovanni have identified features of the labeling perspective that are important contributions to the study of criminality:¹³²

- ▶ The labeling perspective identifies the role played by social control agents in crime causation. Criminal behavior cannot be fully understood if the agencies and individuals empowered to control and treat it are neglected.
- ▶ Labeling theory recognizes that criminality is not a disease or pathological behavior. It focuses attention on the social interactions and reactions that shape individuals and their behavior.
- ▶ Labeling theory distinguishes between criminal acts (primary deviance) and criminal careers (secondary deviance) and shows that these concepts must be interpreted and treated differently.

Labeling theory also contributes to understanding crime by focusing on interaction as well as the situation surrounding the crime. Rather than viewing the criminal as a robot-like creature whose actions are predetermined, it recognizes that crime often results from complex interactions and processes. The decision to commit crime involves actions of a variety of people, including peers, victim, police, and other key characters. Labels may foster crime by dictating the actions of all parties involved in these criminal interactions. Actions deemed innocent when performed by one person are considered provocative when performed by someone who has been labeled deviant. Similarly, labeled people may become quick to judge, take offense, or misinterpret others' behavior because of past experience. ▶ **Checkpoints**

Checkpoints

- ▶ According to labeling theory, stigma helps lock people into deviant careers.
- ▶ Labels amplify deviant behavior rather than deterring people from future criminality.
- ▶ Primary deviants view themselves as good people who have done a bad thing; secondary deviants accept a negative label as an identity.
- ▶ Labels are bestowed in a biased way. The poor and members of minority groups are more likely than others to receive negative labels.

Social Process Theory and Public Policy

Social process theories have had a major influence on public policy since the 1950s. Learning theories have greatly influenced the way criminal offenders are treated. The effect of these theories has been felt mainly by young offenders, who are viewed



According to social process theories, programs that aid children's socialization also help protect them from crime-producing influences in the environment. Here, as part of the ExCite/Head Start program, a retired professor spends time in the classroom with elementary students, teaching them the colors of the rainbow, reading stories, tying dangling shoelaces, and giggling over games.

Head Start is probably the best-known effort to help lower-class youths achieve proper socialization and, in so doing, reduce their potential for future criminality. Head Start programs were instituted in the 1960s as part of President Johnson's War on Poverty. In the beginning, Head Start was a two-month summer program for children who were about to enter a school that was aimed at embracing the "whole child." In embracing the whole child, the school offered comprehensive programming that helped improve physical health, enhance mental processes, and improve social and emotional development, self-image, and interpersonal relationships. Preschoolers were provided with an enriched educational environment to develop their learning and cognitive skills. They

immunizations; medical, dental, and mental health; and nutritional services.

- *Parent involvement.* An essential part of Head Start is the involvement of parents in parent education, program planning, and operating activities.
- *Social services.* Specific services are geared to each family, including community outreach, referrals, family need assessments, recruitment and enrollment of children, and emergency assistance and/or crisis intervention.

Today, with annual funding of more than \$6 billion for more than 1,600 centers that service close to a million students, the Head Start program is administered by the Head Start Bureau, the Administration on Children, Youth,



Policy and Practice in Criminology Head Start

were given the opportunity to use pegs and pegboards, puzzles, toy animals, dolls, letters and numbers, and other materials that middle-class children take for granted. These opportunities gave the children a leg up in the educational process. The program is divided into four segments:

- *Education.* Head Start's educational program is designed to meet the needs of each child and of the community served, needs understood in the context of the community's ethnic and cultural characteristics. Every child receives a variety of learning experiences to foster intellectual, social, and emotional growth.
- *Health.* Head Start emphasizes the importance of the early identification of health problems. Every child is involved in a comprehensive health program, which includes

and Families (ACYF), the Administration for Children and Families (ACF), and the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). Head Start teachers strive to provide a variety of learning experiences appropriate to the child's age and development. These experiences encourage the child to read books, to understand cultural diversity, to express feelings, and to play with and relate to peers in an appropriate way. Students are guided in developing gross and fine motor skills and in achieving self-confidence. Health care is also an issue, and most children enrolled in the program receive comprehensive health screening, physical and dental examinations, and appropriate follow-up. Many programs provide meals and thus help children receive proper nourishment.

Head Start programs now serve parents in addition to their preschoolers. Some programs allow parents to enroll

as being more salvageable than hardened criminals. Advocates of the social learning approach argue that if people become criminal by learning definitions and attitudes favoring criminality, they can unlearn these attitudes by being exposed to definitions favoring conventional behavior.

This philosophy has been applied in numerous treatment facilities modeled in part on two early, pioneering efforts: the Highfields Project in New Jersey and the Silverlake Program in Los Angeles. These residential treatment programs, geared toward young male offenders, used group interaction sessions to attack criminal behavior orientations while promoting conventional modes of behavior. It is common today for residential and nonresidential programs to offer similar treatment, teaching children and adolescents to refuse drugs, to forgo delinquent behavior, and to stay in school. It is even common for celebrities to return to their old neighborhoods to urge young people to stay in school or stay off drugs. If learning did not affect behavior, such exercises would be futile.

Control theories have also influenced criminal justice and other social policies. Programs have been developed to increase people's commitment to conventional lines of action. Some focus on trying to create and strengthen bonds early in life before the onset of criminality. The educational system has hosted numerous programs designed to improve students' basic skills and create an atmosphere in which youths will develop a bond to their schools. See the accompanying Policy and Practice in Criminology feature.

in classes that cover parenting, literacy, nutrition and weight loss, domestic violence prevention, and other social issues. Social services, health, nutrition, and educational services are also available. An Early Head Start (EHS) program has been created for low-income infants, toddlers, pregnant women, and their families. EHS programs enhance children's physical, social, emotional, and intellectual development; help pregnant women to access comprehensive prenatal and postpartum care; support parents' efforts to fulfill their parental roles; and assist parents in moving toward self-sufficiency.

Head Start kids appear to have better health, immunization rates, and nutrition, as well as enhanced emotional characteristics, after leaving the program. Research also shows that the Head Start program can have psychological benefits for the mothers of participants, such as decreasing depression and anxiety and increasing feelings of life satisfaction. The best available evidence suggests several outcomes:

- Head Start is associated with short-term gains in cognitive skills as well as longer-term gains in school completion, and even greater gains are possible if children receive good follow-up in the early grades.
- Although Head Start centers vary in quality, on average they are better than privately run child care centers, have achieved short-term benefits, and would pay for themselves if they produced even a fraction of the long-term benefits associated with model programs.
- A seven-year national evaluation of Early Head Start found that the program promotes learning and the parenting that supports it within the first three years of life. Participating children perform significantly better in cognitive, language, and social-emotional development than their peers who do not participate. The program also had important impacts on many aspects of parenting and the home environment, and it supported parents' progress toward economic self-sufficiency.

If, as many experts believe, school performance, family life, and propensity toward crime are closely linked, programs such as Head Start can help some at-risk youths avoid problems with the law. By implication, their success indicates that programs that help socialize youngsters can be used to combat urban criminality. Although problems have been identified in individual centers, the government has shown its faith in Head Start as a socialization agent. Head Start's mission is to help low-income children start school ready to learn by providing early childhood education, promoting child development, and making available comprehensive health and social services.

Since 1965, local Head Start programs across the country have served more than 21 million children and built strong partnerships with parents and families.

CRITICAL THINKING

1. If crime were a matter of human traits, as some criminologists suggest, would a program such as Head Start help kids avoid criminal careers?
2. Can you suggest any other types of programs that might help parents or children avoid involvement in drugs or crime?
3. Were you in Head Start? If so, did it help you achieve your current academic success?

SOURCES: Head Start statistics can be accessed at the Head Start Bureau website, www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ohs/ (accessed June 8, 2009); Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., "Making a Difference in the Lives of Infants and Toddlers and Their Families: The Impacts of Early Head Start," Vol. I, Final Technical Report, June 2002 (revisions made in January 2004), www.mathematica-mpr.com/publications/pdfs/ehsfinalvol1.pdf (accessed June 9, 2009); Katherine Magnuson, Christopher Ruhm, and Jane Waldfogel, "Does Prekindergarten Improve School Preparation and Performance?" National Bureau of Economic Research working paper, 2004, www.nber.org/digest/mar05/w10452.html.

Control theory's focus on the family has played a key role in programs designed to strengthen the bond between parent and child. Other programs attempt to repair bonds that have been broken and frayed. Examples of this approach are the career, work furlough, and educational opportunity programs being developed in the nation's prisons. These programs are designed to help inmates maintain a stake in society so they will be less willing to resort to criminal activity after their release.

Although labeling theorists caution that too much intervention can be harmful, programs aimed at reconfiguring an offender's self-image may help him or her develop revamped identities and desist from crime. With proper treatment, labeled offenders can cast off their damaged identities and develop new ones. As a result, they develop an improved self-concept that reflects the positive reinforcement they receive while in treatment.¹³³

The influence of labeling theory can also be seen in diversion and restitution programs. **Diversion programs** remove both juvenile and adult offenders from the normal channels of the criminal justice process by placing them in rehabilitation programs. For example, a college student whose drunken driving hurts a pedestrian may, before trial, be placed for six months in an alcohol treatment program. If he successfully completes the program, charges against him will be dismissed; thus he avoids the stigma of a criminal label. Such programs are common throughout the United

diversion programs

Programs of rehabilitation that remove offenders from the normal channels of the criminal justice process, thus enabling them to avoid the stigma of a criminal label.

Thinking Like a Criminologist

The state legislature is considering a bill that requires posting the names of people convicted of certain offenses (such as vandalism, soliciting a prostitute, and nonpayment of child support) in local newspapers under the heading "The Rogues Gallery." Those who favor the bill cite similar practices elsewhere: In Boston, men arrested for soliciting prostitutes are forced to clean streets. In Dallas, shoplifters are made to stand outside stores with signs stating their misdeeds.

Members of the state Civil Liberties Union have opposed the bill, stating, "It's simply needless humiliation of the individual." They argue that public shaming is inhumane and further alienates criminals who already have little stake

in society, further ostracizing them from the mainstream. According to civil liberties attorneys, applying stigma helps criminals acquire a damaged reputation, which locks them more rigidly into criminal behavior patterns.

This "liberal" position is challenged by those who believe that convicted lawbreakers have no right to conceal their crimes from the public. Shaming penalties seem attractive as cost-effective alternatives to imprisonment. These critics ask what could be wrong with requiring a teenage vandal to personally apologize at the school he or she defaced and to wear a shirt with a big "V" on it while cleaning up the mess. If you do something wrong, they argue, you should have to face the consequences.

Writing Assignment

You have been asked to submit a position paper to the legislative committee on the issue of whether shaming could deter crime. What will you say? What are the advantages? What are the possible negative consequences?

States. They frequently offer counseling, medical advice, and vocational, educational, and family services.

Another popular label-avoiding innovation is **restitution**. Rather than face the stigma of a formal trial, an offender is asked either to pay back the victim of the crime for any loss incurred or to do some useful work in the community in lieu of receiving a court-ordered sentence.

Despite their good intentions, stigma-reducing programs have not met with great success. Critics charge that they substitute one kind of stigma for another—for instance, attending a mental health program in lieu of undergoing a criminal trial. In addition, diversion and restitution programs usually screen out violent and repeat offenders. Finally, there is little hard evidence that these alternative programs improve recidivism rates.

Concept Summary 7.1 on page 190 outlines the major concepts of social process theories.

restitution

Permitting an offender to repay the victim or do useful work in the community rather than facing the stigma of a formal trial and a court-ordered sentence.

Summary

1. Be familiar with the concepts of social process and socialization.
Social process theories view criminality as a function of people's interaction with various organizations, institutions, and processes in society. People in all walks of life have the potential to become criminals if they maintain destructive social relationships. Improper socialization is a key component of crime.
2. Be able to discuss the differences among social learning theory, social control theory, and social reaction (labeling) theory.
Social learning theory stresses that people learn how to commit crimes. It suggests that people learn criminal behaviors in much the same way as they learn conventional behavior. Social control theory analyzes the failure of society to control criminal tendencies.

Labeling theory maintains that negative labels produce criminal careers.

3. Discuss the effect of family relationships on crime.
Kids growing up in troubled families are crime-prone. Parental efficacy reduces crime. Divorce can strain families.
4. Understand how the educational setting influences crime.
School failure is linked to delinquency. Dropping out may influence later criminality. School violence and conflict are also a problem.
5. Be aware of the link between peers and delinquency.
Delinquent peers sustain individual offending patterns. Delinquent friends may help kids neutralize the fear

of punishment. Both popular kids and loners can have problems.

6. Be familiar with the association between beliefs and criminality.

People with high moral standards can resist crime. Church attendance is related to low crime rates.

7. Discuss the main types of social learning theory.

Differential association theory was formulated by Edwin Sutherland. It holds that criminality is a result of a person's perceiving an excess of definitions in favor of crime. Gresham Sykes and David Matza formulated the theory of neutralization, which stresses that youths learn mental techniques that enable them to overcome societal values and hence break the law.

8. Be familiar with the principles of social control theory.

Control theory maintains that all people have the potential to become criminals, but their bonds to conventional society prevent them from violating the law. This view suggests that a person's self-concept enhances his or her commitment to conventional action. Travis Hirschi's social control theory describes the social bond as containing elements of attachment,

commitment, involvement, and belief. Weakened bonds allow youths to behave antisocially.

9. Know the basic elements of social reaction (labeling) theory.

Social reaction or labeling theory holds that criminality is promoted by becoming negatively labeled by significant others. Such labels as "criminal," "ex-con," and "junkie" isolate people from society and lock them into lives of crime. Labels create expectations that the labeled person will act in a certain way, and labeled people are always watched and suspected. Eventually these people begin to accept their labels as personal identities, which may lock them irretrievably into lives of crime and deviance. Edwin Lemert suggests that people who accept labels are involved in secondary deviance, while primary deviants are able to maintain an undamaged identity.

10. Link social process theory to crime prevention efforts.

Social process theories have greatly influenced social policy. They have been applied in treatment orientations as well as community action policies. Some programs teach kids conventional attitudes and behaviors. Others are designed to improve the social bond.

Key Terms

social process theory 168
social learning theory 168
social control theory 168
social reaction (labeling) theory 168
socialization 169
parental efficacy 169
differential association theory 174

culture conflict 174
neutralization theory 176
drift 176
neutralization techniques 176
self-control 180
commitment to conformity 180

social bonds 180
moral entrepreneur 185
stigmatize 185
successful degradation ceremony 186
retrospective reading 187
primary deviance 187
secondary deviance 188

deviance amplification 188
racial profiling 189
reflected appraisal 189
diversion programs 193
restitution 194

Critical Thinking Questions

1. If criminal behavior is learned, who taught the first criminal? Have you ever been exposed to pro-crime definitions? How did you handle them? Did they affect your behavior?
2. Children who do well in school are less likely to commit criminal acts than those who are school failures. Which element of Hirschi's theory is supported by the school failure–delinquency link?
3. Have you ever been given a negative label, and, if so, did it cause you social harm? How did you lose the label, or did it become a permanent marker that still troubles you today?
4. If negative labels are damaging, do positive ones help insulate children from crime-producing forces in their environment? Has a positive label ever changed your life?
5. How would a social process theorist explain the fact that many children begin offending at an early age and then desist from crime as they mature? Are you involved in fewer antisocial acts in college than you were in high school? If so, how do you explain your behavioral changes?



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Chapter Outline

Conflict and Crime

Origins of Critical Criminology

Contemporary Critical Criminology

How Critical Criminologists Define Crime

State (Organized) Crime

How Critical Criminologists View the Cause of Crime

CURRENT ISSUES IN CRIME: Torturing Terror Suspects
Globalization

Instrumental vs. Structural Theory

Instrumental Theory
Structural Theory

Research on Critical Criminology

PROFILES IN CRIME: Mumia Abu-Jamal

Critique of Critical Criminology

Left Realism
Crime Protection

Critical Feminist Theory

Patriarchy and Crime
Power-Control Theory

Peacemaking Criminology

Critical Theory and Public Policy

The Concept of Restorative Justice
The Process of Restoration
Restoration Programs

Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ)

The Challenge of Restorative Justice

POLICY AND PRACTICE IN CRIMINOLOGY: Victim Offender Reconciliation in Denver, Colorado