# Theoretical Criminology

Directorate of Distance and Continuing Education

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Compiled

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## Directorate of Distance and Continuing Education
# M.A. Criminology & Police Science
### (Effective from the Academic Year 2016-2017 onwards)

## PAPER 6: THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY

### UNIT-I: EARLY CRIMINOLOGICAL THOUGHT

**Introduction to Theory**

*The theory is a systematic collection of concepts and statements purporting to explain behavior or given conditions according to the discipline.*

*According to Hoover the **theory** is a set of related propositions that suggest why events occur. We can define **theory** as "Statement of a relationship between two or more propositions and concepts. This explains and/or predicts some behavior".*

**Schools of Criminology- Demonology**

The first school of criminology was the school of demonology. This school doesn't have own representatives, but is based upon deterministic ideas that people commit their crimes under influences of demons. Therefore, people aren't responsible for behavior or crimes, because they can't control their behavior. The whole world is actually a place where evil and good forces conflict with each other and all that people can do is to hope that they won't get in their way. These believe existed from early days of human history, and are known as a dualism or animism. Demonology was even present in Christian tradition since early days, and was cherished until second half of 18th century. Events that couldn't be explained by the common sense were contributed to acts of demons and possessions. The word demon originally means: "the one who has the power or powerful one." It was thought that people who had epileptic seizures were possessed by demons.

**Middle Ages (Prior to 1700 A.D.)**
- Deviance attributed to supernatural forces.
- Emphasis on witchcraft, demonic possession.
- Response based on status of perpetrator.
- Extensive use of torture, death penalty.

*Pre-Classical School of Criminology*
During the period of the seventeenth century Europe was characterized by a dominance of religion in state activities.  At this stage, scientific knowledge was yet unknown.  The concept of crime was vague and obscure.  Society was at the time largely unable to explain criminal behavior.  An explanation of criminal conduct was therefore sought through spirits, demons, and

other unknown powers. The principle behind this concept was that a man commits a crime due to the influence of some external power and is not subject to the control or understanding of man. Since the spirit world is not one that is easily understood or discernable, it formed a perfect explanation for crime.

No further attempts were made to probe the real cause of crime. Worship, sacrifices, ordeals by fire and water were usually prescribed to pacify the spirit and relieve the victims of its evil influence. Trial by battle was also used as a method of deciding the fate of the criminal. The criminal was therefore treated as a person who could only be cured through torture and pain. The pre-classical thinking has however withered away with the lapse of time and advancement of knowledge.

*Theories of criminology: There are many "theories" of criminology proposed and tested through application or research(s). It would not be practical to list them all. The history of crime has two point departure as given below A and B.*

## A. The Classical School of Criminology

In 1764, an obscure Italian lawyer published a book that was soon to remove his obscurity and become one of the most influential legal treatises of the 18th century. The author was Cesare Beccaria, and the book was Essays on Crime and Punishment (hereinafter referred to as Essays; Beccaria, 1764/1963). Influenced by the Enlightenment philosophers, Beccaria sought to reform the criminal justice system to make it more humane and fair. He argued for punishments other than corporal punishment (Punishment should fit the crime) and death by embedding punishment in an enlightened legal system. Within 10 years of its publication, the book was translated into all European languages, and Beccaria was celebrated as a profound new legal thinker; the work also influenced the governments of numerous countries, including England and the United States. As early as 1775, John Adams reference; Essay in his justification for accepting the unpopular and politically dangerous task of defending the British soldiers who fired on the citizens of Boston who charged the arms depot atop Bunker Hill. Adams (quoted in McCullough, 2001), in explaining this decision, quoted the following from Beccaria:

Essay challenged the traditional notion that the foundation of the legal system was religion and that the cause of crime was falling from grace (the devil). Instead, Beccaria (1764/1973) offered the notion that crime was a result of choice (the operation of free will) and that crime was selected when the rewards of crime exceeded the pains resulting from the commission of crime. It is obvious that Beccaria, influenced by the moral calculus of Jeremy Bentham (1789), saw crime as a choice, not a compulsion. From this central idea he built a system of justice that specified that punishments should fit the crime (just enough punishment to offset the pleasure of the crime); that punishment was most effective when it was swift and sure but not overly severe; that confessions could not be coerced; and that the death penalty was not warranted, because it was not reversible in the case of error, and no one would agree to the state taking his life if he had a choice. In a series of interrelated chapters, Beccaria described a system of justice that soon became the model for democracies around the world.

As a legal philosopher, Beccaria subscribed to the idea that government exists at the will of the people and that, as such, the laws should restrict freedom only to the degree necessary to guarantee order and freedom. With this foundation, societies establish governments and laws to expand freedom, not to ensure the interests of one group above another. The drafters of the U.S. Constitution were greatly influenced by Beccaria; the sections of the Bill of Rights that address crime and justice in particular reflect his principles and guidelines.

Beccaria also argued that the setting of punishments (the balancing of pleasure and pain) should be done with "geometric precision," suggesting that the emerging ideas of science and the scientific method should be used to structure the justice system. Although he was not educated in science, his work reflected the growing role of science in all aspects of social life. The science of criminal justice was fully anticipated in his approach to structuring a fair system of laws and justice. Finally, Beccaria knew how dangerous it was to write a treatise that challenged the conventional wisdom that law came from God and that rulers were God's representatives on earth. As he sought to mitigate the subversiveness of his arguments, Beccaria noted that he was not challenging the church or church law but was simply offering a model for reform of criminal law and justice that was consistent with teachings of the church and the interests of the state. Beccaria clearly understood the tensions between a science of crime and justice and a system of laws and justice that reflected interests and power. Although he called for the former, he recognized the danger in doing so and sought to avoid the pain that others had suffered who challenged the positions of those in power. So, some refer to Beccaria as the father of the classical school of criminology, the first school of criminological thought. Notice, however, that this approach to defining criminology has as its primary focus the criminal justice system. The theory of criminal behavior in this school is free will, and the definition of crime is behaviors prohibited by the state and punished by the state.

## B. The Causes of Crime

In 1876, another Italian, this time a physician, published a book that was to transform how we think about criminals. Cesare Lombroso wrote Criminal Man, in which he reported on his observations of criminals while working as a doctor at a local prison. In the first edition of this work (only 252 pages in length), he observed that criminals had physical characteristics that more closely resembled animals lower in the evolutionary chain than man. Writing just 17 years after Darwin's (1859) On the Origin of Species, which introduced the notion of evolution into scientific and popular thinking, Lombroso explained crime as the behavior of humans who where "throwbacks" to earlier developmental forms. Their physical appearance signaled their inferior intellectual and moral development. Crime was a product of this inferior development. For 30 years, the biological causes of crime heavily influenced thinking about crime causation. The most forceful rejection of this particular approach to crime causation came with the publication of a large-scale empirical test of it, The English Convict (Goring, 1913/1972). The author, Charles Goring, using the emerging statistical techniques that now form the basis of social science empirical research, tested convicts and non-convicts and demonstrated that the physical differences that Lombroso described did not differentiate between these groups. In fact, by the time this work was published, Lombroso had published the fifth edition of his book, with each edition getting longer and noting other possible explanations of crime (the fifth edition had grown to 1,903 pages and listed hundreds of causes of crime).

*Criminology Emerges as a Named Field of Study*

The 1800s saw the emergence and growth of the science and the establishment of separate disciplines and research areas. Prior to this time, all sciences were included in faculties of philosophy. It was in the early 1800s that sociology was named and textbooks began to emerge (Spencer, 1874; Ward, 1883), and in 1905, the American Society of Sociology was formed. National organizations promoting medicine (1847), history (1884), chemistry (1875), physics (1899), psychology (1892), and economics (1885) emerged in the later part of the 19th century as these new sciences became part of universities and public discourse. Criminology had a longer period of formation. In 1885, Raffaele Garofalo (a student of Lombroso) published Criminology, in which he used the word criminology to refer to the science of explaining crime (Garofalo, 1885/1968).

A series of books written in the late 1800s established criminology as a field of study, but, unlike other social sciences, this did not become reflected in the structure of disciplines in universities; neither did national or international organizations emerge to promote this field of social science. It would not be until the 1940s that these signs of a new science of crime and justice would emerge (the American Society of Criminology was founded as an association of police professors in 1941, and the first American School of Criminology was opened in 1950 at the University of California, Berkeley). What happened during this 50-year period between the time criminology was recognized as a field of study and it became organized professionally and in universities? The answer to this question requires us to explore how explanations of crime developed after Lombroso and how Beccaria became central to the new field of criminology.
Criminology as a science was established in 1879. The term criminology was used for a first time by the French anthropologist Paul Topinard. Before that date, criminology was a part of criminal law study. Paul Topinard (1830-1911) was a French medical doctor and anthropologist. Topinard was a Deputy Director of Laboratory for anthropology and secretary-general of the Anthropological Society in Paris. In 1871, Topinard received his doctorate and in1879 became the first scientist who used the term "criminologie" or criminology. Although he was marginalized by his colleges, because of his political and ideological theses about the development of anthropology, he is regarded and known as a father of criminology in Europe. In 1885 Italian sociologist, Rafael Garofalo (Criminologia) adopted Topinard's term criminology and defined it as a science which studies crimes.

**Classical School of Criminology** (1750 to 1900)

During the middle of the eighteenth century, Beccaria the pioneer of criminology expounded his naturalistic theory of criminality by rejecting the theory propounded by the pre-classical school. He laid greater emphasis on the free will of the individual, arguing that intelligence and rationality as the fundamental characteristics of man and therefore the basis for the explanation of human behavior whether individual or collective thereby became the **father of Criminology**. Thus, intelligence makes man capable of self-direction and any conduct engaged in will be assumed to have been thought of and rationalized by the individual.  Within this frame of reference, crime and criminals are usually viewed from a strictly legal point of view.  I.e. crime is defined as the commission of any action prohibited by criminal law or the omission of any act required by it.  A criminal is defined as a person who commits a crime.  Crime is seen as the

product of the free choice of the individual who assesses the potential benefits of committing the crime against its potential cost. The rational response of society should therefore be to increase the cost and decrease the benefits of crime to the point that individuals will not choose to commit a crime. The task for criminology is seen as designing and testing a system of punishment that would result in the minimum occurrence of crime. Thus, this perspective is concerned with the question of deterrence. The idea of Beccaria and other members of the Classical School that government can be thought of as created by its citizens for certain shared and common ends. "Social contract theory" uses this notion to determine when laws are just or unjust, by arguing that just laws ought to be thought of as promises that everyone in society would realize is in their best interest to make to one another. To examine this argument in more detail, see Beccaria's argument for a social contract!

**The main tenets of the classical school of criminology are as follows:**

1. Man applies his sense of reasoning as a responsible individual
2. It is the act of an individual and not his intent which forms the basis for determining criminality in him. Classical criminologists are therefore concerned with the "act" of the criminal rather than his "intent".
3. The classical criminologists are greatly influenced by hedonism – the pain (cost) and pleasure (benefit) theory. Thus, they accepted punishment as a mode of inflicting pain, humiliation and disgrace on the offender so as to create fear in him and thus control his behavior.
4. The proponents of this school of thought considered crime prevention more important than the punishment for it. They therefore stressed the need for a well-established system of criminal justice.
5. The classical criminologists supported the right of the state to punish offenders in the interest of public security. Keeping in view the hedonistic principle of pain and pleasure they pointed out that individualization was to be the basis of punishment. The punishment was to be meted out keeping in view the pleasure derived by the criminal from the crime and the pain caused to the victim there from. They however advanced the theory of equalization of justice i.e. Equal punishment for the same offence.
6. They further believed that criminal law was primarily based on positive sanctions. They were against arbitrary use of power by judges and abhorred torturous punishments.

The greatest achievement of the classical school is the fact that it shifted emphasis from myths and concentrated on the personality of the offender in order to determine his guilt and punishment. In other words, Beccaria was the first criminologist to shift the emphasis from crime to criminals.

Nonetheless, the classical school has the following shortcomings:
  ➢ Firstly, it proceeded on an abstract presumption of free will and relied solely on the criminal act without devoting any attention to the state of mind of the criminal;
  ➢ It also erred in prescribing equal punishment for similar offences thus making no distinction between first offenders and habitual offenders.

Concept of free will includes beliefs that humans are rational beings capable to make own decisions (indeterminism). Therefore, crime is a possible choice of individual's behavior.

**Cesare Beccaria on Crimes and Punishments**

- Rational approach (utilitarian, practical)
  - People have free will.
  - Crime pays better than non-criminal behaviour.
  - Fear of punishment deters crime.
  - Severe, certain and swift punishments work best.

- "Let the punishment fit the crime".

**Bentham** another co-founder of the classical school proposed that punishment shouldn't be applied when:

1. There is no crime, because a consent or clearance was given,
2. Punishment has no effect on a will of the perpetrator (insane people or juvenile delinquents),
3. Damage made by the punishment could be larger than the damage done trough a crime, and
4. The same goal can be achieved with milder measures.

**Neo-Classical Schools**

The "free-will" theory of the classical school did not survive for long due to the oversights mentioned above. The neo-classists asserted that certain categories of offenders such as minors, idiots, insane or incompetent persons had to be treated leniently irrespective of the similarity of their criminal acts with those of other offenders. This reasoning was based on the argument that such persons are incapable or partially incapable of distinguishing right from wrong.

**The Neo-Classical theory can be summarized as follows:**

1. They approached the study of criminology on scientific lines by recognizing that certain extenuating situations or mental disorders deprive the criminal of his normal capacity to control his conduct. In so doing they represent a reaction against the severity of the classical view of equal punishment for the same offence.
2. They were the first school to point out the distinction between a first offender and a recidivist.
3. They started on the premise and assumption that man acts on reason of intelligence and is therefore responsible for his/her own conduct. But those lacking normal intelligence or suffering some mental depravity are not responsible for their conduct as they do not possess the capacity of distinguishing between good or bad and should therefore be treated differently from other offenders.
4. Although they recommend lenient treatment for irresponsible or mentally deprived criminals on account of their incapacity to resist criminal tendency, they unanimously believed that all criminals whether responsible or irresponsible must be kept away from society.
5. The distinction between responsibility – sanity and insanity as suggested by the neo-classical school paved way for the formation of the different correctional institutions such as parole, probation etc in the criminal justice system. Through this school therefore attention of criminologists was drawn to the facts that all crimes have a cause.

6. This school adopted a subjective approach to criminology and concentrated their attention on conditions under which an individual commits crime.

7. The origin of the jury system and the assessor system is essentially the result of the reaction of the neo-classical approach towards the treatment of offenders.

The main shortcoming of the neo-classical school is that their theory presumes that the criminal whether responsible or irresponsible is a menace to society and therefore needs to be eliminated from it. Their primary concern is therefore to protect society from crime and criminals.

There were two theoretical currents within this school: **Italian school of criminology** and **positivist-sociological school**. The Italian criminology school was represented trough theorists like **Cesare Lombroso**, **Enrico Ferry** and **Rafael Garofalo**. Italian school of criminology based its research interests on the criminal. Italian positivist- anthropological school was founded by Cesare Lombroso. Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) was a social Darwinist, who opposed to Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham.

Neoclassical school of criminology is based on classical postulates of Anselmo Von Feuerbach, Prince Van Hamel, Franz V. Liszt and Filippo Gramatica. Key interest is the criminal policy (anti-delinquent policy) that was established in 1889 as a scientific discipline. Theorists of this school are mainly focused on the efficiency of criminal policy. Neoclassical school of thought is a reaction on the classical school of criminology and positivists. It focuses its research interests on the criminal. Neoclassical school of criminology is the continuation of classical tradition, but criticizes the classical school about the fact that they have disregarded individual differences between perpetrators. Differences between perpetrators will have an impact on the level of guilt and therefore will have an influence on the choice of punishment.

**Their main questions were:**
1. How to make punishment more efficient?
2. How to divert people from crime? and
3. How to reduce a crime rate?

Feuerbach developed the general and special theory of intimidation (general and special deterrence). According to the general intimidation theory, the punishment that is associated with severe suffering of the perpetrator should affect a general population to restrain itself from criminal behaviors. Special theory of intimidation claims that perpetrators who were severely punished, because of their crimes, will contain themselves from committing a crime ever again, if they develop an association: **crime = punishment**.

Italian school of criminology was the first school of criminology that tried to scientifically explain crime causation using scientific methods. Cesare Lombroso was the first one who tried to establish the connection between human physical constitution and criminality using anthropometry and phrenology. Hence, he is called **father of scientific Criminology**. He worked on human physical characteristics (body constitution) don't have anything to do with criminality, because the body constitution is a biologically inherited characteristic and crime is a social phenomenon defined by lawmakers. There is no such thing as a "natural crime" nor there exist

any "natural criminal". Some scientists really believed in charlatan and quasi-scientific ideas of Italian school and tried to implement them into laws.

Lombroso was the most controversial character of Italian school. Lombroso was an Italian medical doctor who conducted roughly about 3000 anthropometric measurements on dead or wounded soldiers. He developed the theory about the "born criminal" and also developed the classifications on other types of criminals. Cesare Lombroso was a phrenologist, who like many other phrenologists thought that they can be the associate criminal behavior and physical constitution. Lombroso was a supporter of biological determinism.

Criminality was according to Lombroso an inherited behavioral characteristic. This was an example of completely wrong scientific approach. Lombroso wrote two books called: "Delinquent (Criminal) man and "Delinquent (Criminal) woman.

**Some Positivist Ideas**
- Physiognomy (Laveter)
    o Study of facial features
- Phrenology (gall)
    o Contours of the skull
- Morphology (Sheldon)
    o Body build
- Atavism (Lombroso)
    o An evolutionary throwback

**Positive School of Criminology**

**Cesare Lombroso- Father of Scientific Criminology (1835-1909)**

This school presumes that man's behavior is determined by factors outside his control.  These factors are either biological or cultural. Those who argue that the factors are biological believe that man's social organization has developed as a result of his biological evolution and hence social evolution is subsequent and not primary.  On the other hand positivists who base their theory on cultural factors; argue that man's behavior despite his identification with the world of biology is always related  to and somehow reflects the characteristics of the social world in which he lives. Positivists thinking thus relies heavily o philosophy, biology, sociology and history among other disciplines.  Criminology is therefore understood as an analysis of criminal behavior through scientific study of the physical, social and cultural characteristics of the criminal.

- **Criminal anthropology (the "born criminal")**
    o Inherited criminal traits impel one to crime
    o Atavistic anomalies are expressed  in physical traits
    o "Degenerate family" provides indirect criminal heredity

Positivist sociological school puts the perpetrators of criminal acts at the center of its interests. This school is created at the time of revolutionary changes in the mid-19th century; the emergence of sociology as a science (1839) and Darwin's theory of evolution. Positivists advocate for determinism and reject the concept of free will. These theorists also advocate for individualized treatment of perpetrators and indeterminate sentences. As part of its deterministic ideas, this school advocates that a man is totally determined by biological, psychological and sociological factors.

Sentences with indefinite durations are ideal for authorities eager for excuses to get rid of undesirable individuals. The state/authority in this case takes the care about a delinquent, and since he is unable to control own behavior, it is totally uncertain how long will the imprisonment treatment/rehabilitation take.

**Cartographic School of Criminology**

Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quételet (a Belgium mathematician) and Andre-Michel Guerre (a French statistician) in Europe during the 1830s and 1840s were the first to do detailed statistical studies of crime. Quételet found strong correlations between rates of crime and such factors as illiteracy, poverty, and similar variables. He also noted that these same variables remained the same as the highest crime rates continued to occur in the same parts of the city through several decades. Some called this school of thought the "Cartographic School" since it used maps to plot crimes within a certain geographic area.

Other late-nineteenth-century developments in criminology included the work of statisticians of the cartographic school, who analyzed data on population and crime. These included Lambert Adolphe Quetelet, (1796– 1874) of France and André 3 Michel Gerry, of Belgium. Both of these researchers compiled detailed, statistical information relating to crime and also attempted to identify the circumstances that predisposed people to commit crimes.

The American Society of Criminology has since attracted thousands of members, including academics, practitioners, and students of the criminal justice system. Studies of criminology include both the theoretical and the pragmatic, and some combine elements of both. Although some aspects of criminology as a science are still considered radical, others have developed as standards in the study of crime and criminal justice.

As geography plays an important role within modern policing. Cartographic School can contribute valuable information to criminal research and crime prevention. One of the most important tools in identifying crime is Crime mapping, which is mapping of crime using a geographic information system to conduct spatial analysis of crime problems and other police-related issues. To this Cartographic School plays an important part. The cartographic school introduced the first spatial and ecological perspectives on crime.

The school stated the distribution of crimes across territorial divisions or departments of France. It found that the greatest numbers of crime against people and property occurred in departments

that were near Rhone, Rhine or Seine Rivers and that the fewest numbers of crimes against people and property occurred in departments in the center of France.

The school found a stronger propensity to crime against property in department near Mediterranean and a stronger propensity to crimes against in departments in the north. In addition to analysing distributions of general crime rates and correlating them with distributions of other conditions, the proponents of this school made special studies of juvenile delinquency and professional crime which are roughly comparable to studies in this century. Significantly it showed that the crime is a necessary expression of social conditions. The basic idea was that crime is caused by the conflicts of values that arise when legal norms do not take into consideration the behavioural norms that are specific to the lower socioeconomic classes as well as to various age groups, religious groups, and interest groups living in certain geographic areas.
In addition to this, it is the mapping of crime that establishes relationship between society and the physical environment. It dominated in 1830-1880 in France and spread to England. The work based on social data of demographic information on population including its density, religion affiliation and wealth.

Crime mapping, as noted at the beginning of this write up, has quite a long history. Researchers have pointed out that "hundreds of spatially oriented studies of crime and delinquency have been written by sociologists and criminologists since about 1830. . ." and recognized three major schools:

- The **cartographic** or **geographic** school dominated between 1830 and 1880, starting in France and spreading to England. This work was based on social data, which governments were beginning to gather. Findings tended to center on the influence of variables such as wealth and population density on levels of crime.

- The **typological** school dominated between the cartographic period and the ecological period that would follow in the 20th century. The typologists focused on the relationship between the mental and physical characteristics of people and crime.

- The **social ecology** school concentrated on geographic variations in social conditions under the assumption that they were related to patterns of crime.

Most likely, the first use of computerized crime mapping in applied crime analysis occurred in the mid-1960s in St. Louis. The latter, in particular, was notable for bridging the gap between academic crime mapping and analysis/applications specifically aimed at crime prevention. Early computer mapping efforts used line printers as their display devices, so their resolution was limited to the physical size of the print characters. This precluded the use of computer maps for the representation of point data, at least until plotters that were able to draw finer lines and point symbols came into more general use. Even as late as 1980, the breakthrough into widespread GIS-style crime mapping was about a decade away. It was necessary to wait for improvements in desktop computer capacity, printer enhancements, and price reductions before desktop mapping could become an everyday, broadly accepted phenomenon.

The type of computing environment that would facilitate the entry of GIS into law enforcement (and elsewhere) permits cartographic principles and practices to be used on a day-to-day basis. Mapping crime has come into its own primarily because of advances in computing that, in turn, have facilitated GIS applications. Apart from all the obvious advantages, a major benefit is that computer mapping allows free rein to experiment, a luxury denied in the old days of manual mapping.

**Biological School of Criminology**

Biological theories of crime causation (biological positivism) are based on the belief that criminals are physiologically different from non-criminals. The cause of crime is biological inferiority. Biological Age Crime is most frequent in second and third decades of life. Gender Males commit more overall and violent crime. They also commit more property crime except shoplifting, which is about equally distributed between the genders. Males appear to be more likely to recidivate. Arousal Measures related to arousal such as heart rate and skin conductance are low among criminals.

Body type Mesomorph or muscular body type is positively correlated with criminality. Hormones Testosterone is positively correlated to criminality. Race, ethnicity, and immigration there is a relationship between race and crime. Many different theories have been proposed for the relationship between race and crime in various countries. Ethnically/racially diverse areas probably have higher crime rates compared to ethnically/racially homogeneous areas. Most studies on immigrants have found higher rates of crime.

Early life Pregnancy Maternal smoking during pregnancy is associated with later criminality. Low birth weight and pre-natal trauma/birth complications may be more prevalent among criminals. Children whose birth results from an unintended pregnancy are more likely to be delinquents or commit crimes. Family Child maltreatment, low parent-child attachment, marital discord/family discord, alcoholism and drug use in the family, and low parental supervision/monitoring are associated with criminality. Larger family size and later birth order are also associated. Bullying is positively related to criminal behavior. School disciplinary problems, truancy, low grade point average, and dropping out of high school are associated with criminality. Adult behavior High alcohol use, alcohol abuse, and alcoholism, as well as high illegal drug use and dependence are positively related to criminality in general.

Having sex- early age of first intercourse and more sexual partners are associated with criminality. Few friends, criminal friends, and gang membership correlate positively with criminality. Religion High religious involvement, high importance of religion in one's life, membership in an organized religion, and orthodox religious beliefs are associated with less criminality. Areas with higher religious membership have lower crime rates. Physical health Criminals probably suffer from more illnesses. Accidental injuries Criminals are more frequently accidentally injured.

**Constitution School of Criminology- William Sheldon**

The crime was co-related with the body type and was established a severe link between the body types, morphology, certain bodily fluid and crime. Sheldon classified body type in to three major group and developed characteristics of such body type. Humans can be divided into three basic body types or somatotypes. These body types in turn are said to correspond to certain innate temperaments. These body type include the following **Body Types.**

**Endomorph** - Excessive body weight and short with muscular body.
**Characteristics** – Described as being "soft" and having an extroverted personality (the stereotype of the "jolly fat man" comes to mind).

**Mesomorph** - Athletically built and muscular.
Characteristics – Described as being active and behaving aggressively. Said to be most likely to be involved in serious criminal activity and to join gangs.

**Ectomorph** - Thin and delicate and having an introverted personality.
Characteristics – They are also said to be loners and hence not likely to engage in crime but may have criminal intent or negative feelings most often.

**Multiple Factors Approach (Theories of Criminal Behaviour)**

Early theories of criminal behaviour have been criticized because they emphasised a single factor as the cause of crime. Factors like inherited physical traits, biological inferiority, feeble-mindedness, emotional disturbances, or poverty were described as the single cause of crime. The multiple-factor approach in criminology grew out of discrepancies in single-factor approach. Its adherents argued that crime should be understood in terms of varied contributions made by a variety of factors. **The assumption was that crime is the product of many factors biological, psychological, economic and social and those different crimes will be the result of different combinations of factors**. Hence, 'proper' approach in criminology is an eclectic one emphasizing identification and analysis of multiple factors. Scholars who believe in this approach are William Healy, Cyril Burt, and Sheldon and Glueck.

On the basis of his study of 1,000 juvenile delinquents, William Healy (The Individual Delinquent, 1915) identified 138 factors and classified them as psychological, biological and social-environmental factors in the causation of delinquency. Influenced by Healy's work in the United States, Cyril Burt (The Young Delinquent, 4th edn.1914) pursued a similar investigation in England in 1925. He found no less than 170 factors which he classified into nine major categories. Sheldon Glueck in his study of 500 delinquents and 500 non-delinquents in 1950 extensively analyzed social background, home-life, physical characteristics, intellectual ability, psychiatric states, emotion and temperament of the respondents and identified socio-cultural, biological, and psychological factors in delinquency.

He concluded that while a host of different factors show associations with delinquency, the major causes of delinquency are "problems in the home" (parental separation, parental

drunkenness, physical or mental ailments, poor home management, lack of child supervision, little show of affection), and so forth. The multiple-factor approach has been criticised by scholars like Albert Cohen and many others. While recognising that the multiple-factor approach made a useful contribution to criminology through the compilation of factors associated with delinquency, Cohen (1955) mainly gave three arguments against it:

(1) The advocates of multiple-factor approach have confused a single theory with single-factor explanations. A single theory does not necessarily explain crime in terms of a single factor. Theories are concerned with 'variables' and 'factors' and a single theory usually incorporates a number of different variables. To explain crime, we need theories which consist of logically related propositions asserting particular relationships among a number of variables.

(2) Cohen objected to a major assumption of the multi-factor approach, namely, that factors have intrinsic crime-producing qualities. Factors found statistically associated with crime are often asserted to cause crime, or to be one cause among others. Each factor is presumed to carry a fixed amount of criminogenic power. But Cohen argues that not only the factors have no intrinsic crime-producing qualities but also they should not be confused with causes. Causal power cannot be assumed on the basis of a discovery that a certain factor, or combination of factors, shows a statistical association with crime.

(3) Many, if not most, multi-factor studies talk of 'evil causes'. The fallacious notion is that evil consequences (crime) must have evil precedents (biological pathologies, low IQ, pathological mental states, poor living conditions).

### Heredity- Criminality as an Inherited Trait

Pretty much discredited within scientific circles, but some still claim there is a "criminal gene". Alive and well today – see section called "Gene Warfare"

- Mostly explained by social and cultural factors
- No such thing as a "born criminal"
- Likewise with the so-called XYY chromosome abnormality (see text)
    - One variation is PMS to explain female crime

Several studies have attempted to determine if criminality is hereditary by studying:

- family trees
- statistics

- identical and fraternal twins
- adopted children

All of these methods fail to prove that criminality is hereditary, because they cannot separate hereditary influences from environmental influences.

Criminal behaviors have also been associated with hormone abnormalities, especially those involving:
- Testosterone (a male sex hormone)
- Progesterone and estrogen (female sex hormones)
- Administering estrogen to male sex offenders has been found to reduce their sexual drives.

**Ecological Theory of Crime- Social Disorganisation**

Social disorganisation theorists were not primarily concerned with the study of crime itself but with the sociological problems of urban living. Criminals and deviants were seen by these theorists as a small minority occupying the margins of society principally because of their 'defective' socialisation, and were depicted as existing in a state of social disorganisation within these marginal areas or culture transmission. Clifford Shaw's and Henry McKay's ecological theory was developed in the 1920s with the emergence of Chicago-based 'ecological' approach to crime. According to this approach, crime rates vary from area to area, neighbourhood to neighbourhood. In their book Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (1942), Shaw and McKay demonstrated that the zone of 'delinquency area' which contains the highest rate of delinquency is characterised by physical deterioration, congested population, economic insecurity, poor housing with cheap rents, low standards of living, family disintegration, cultural heterogeneity, and absence of social controls.

Thus, it is an area of social disorganisation and as such tends to produce disorganised personalities and delinquent careers. Shaw's and McKay's major conclusions may be summarised as follows:

(1) The rates of delinquency vary widely from one neighbourhood to another.
(2) The highest rates tend to be near the central business areas and large industrial areas and decrease from the centre of the city outward.
(3) The areas of high rates have had high rates for a long time.
(4) Like the delinquency rate for the entire population, those of the various nationality groups tend to decrease from the centre of the city outward.
(5). The nationality composition of the population in areas of high rates changed almost completely over a period of several decades, while the relative rate of delinquents in these areas remained virtually unchanged.

In Shaw's opinion, the environmental rather than the personal factors predominate in the causation of crime and delinquency in the 'delinquency area'. The population in the area changes but the high rates persists because they are primarily and functionally related to the environment in which people live. In the absence of social solidarity, crime and delinquency gain a foothold and persist over a period of years. The ecological approach is, however, inadequate because it does not show how the causal factors operate in an individual to produce these problems.
It has been pointed out that crime and certain other conditions, such as poverty, may coexist without being causally related. In fact, many persons living in the transitional zone remain law-abiding citizens throughout their lives.

The social ecologists recognized and classified areas in cities with similar social characteristics. Shaw and McKay (1942) produced a classic analysis on juvenile delinquency in Chicago. This work is generally recognized as the landmark piece of research involving crime mapping in the first half of the 20th century. Shaw and McKay mapped thousands of incidents of juvenile delinquency and analyzed relationships between delinquency and various social conditions.

**The main criticisms against the ecological theory (or 'delinquency area' theory) are**:

(1) The 'delinquency area' concept does not give adequate recognition to the selective migration. Low rents, social obscurity and reduced social controls attract the poor, the unsuccessful, the inefficient, the handicapped, and the defective. These are the people who have already developed delinquent tendencies elsewhere.

(2) It is based on unreliable statistical comparison.

(3) In some cities, especially the smaller ones, the 'delinquency area' is in an isolated part of the town or on the outskirts.

(4) The delinquency area concept does not satisfactorily explain the presence of negative cases, i.e., those people who are not delinquents or criminals, a fact which should have a sobering effect upon extreme environments.

(5) It neglects the psychological and biological factors in criminality.

**Economic Factors- Economic Theory of Criminality**

William A. Bonger's contribution to criminology in explaining the inter-relation of crime and economic conditions deserves a particular mention. He derived his conclusions after an intensive research study of economic conditions prevailing in different socialistic countries in the first half of twentieth century.

He stated that the modern age is a period of capitalistic economy Bonger concluded that capitalism was one of the potential causes of criminality because the system created an atmosphere for promoting selfish tendencies in men. Even the socialist countries such as erstwhile Soviet Russia and China have experienced that the theories of economic equalisation have failed in their practical application.

This is evident from the fact that a few decades ago former Russian Prime Minister Khurschev had to launch several incentive programmes like permitting money-loans etc. for promoting social interests. Going a step further, the former Soviet Union President Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev introduced glasnost (economic freedom) and perestroika (restructuring socialism) in 1987 for ensuring materially better and richer life and greater democratisation of Russian society. Commenting on the co-relationship between economic conditions and crime, W.A. Bonger concluded as follows:

(1) He prepared a statistical data and demonstrated that almost 79 per cent of the criminals belong to non-profitable class. Thus, he tried to establish a co-relationship between poverty and delinquency. In his doctoral thesis entitled Criminality and Economic Conditions, Dr. Bonger made a detailed study of the economic literature of whole Europe and concluded that crimes relating to property such as theft, stealing, robbery, dacoity, house-breaking etc. record an abnormal increase during the periods of depression when the prices are high.

(2) Bonger further observed that the influence of economic conditions on delinquency is essentially due to the capitalistic economy which breeds disparity and leads to unequal distribution of wealth. The capitalist resort to hoarding and monopolistic trends thus creating artificial scarcity and as consequence prices rose. This in turn stops production which ultimately leads to unemployment of labour, as a result of which offences such as alcoholism, vagrancy, beggary, assault, violence, etc. record an upward trend.

(3) In an economic system based on capitalism, economic cycles of inflation and deflation are frequent. Inflation gives rise to bankruptcy and insolvency with the result the persons affected thereby are forced to lead an anti-social life and some of them may even resort to criminality.

(4) Another peculiar feature of capitalistic economy is the competitive tendency among entrepreneurs. Efficiency, low-production cost and better quality of products are some of the admirable results of competitive economy. But when these efforts fail to meet the competition, unlawful devices such as violation of laws relating to trade marks, copyright, patents etc., are committed by the manufacturers. This gives rise to increase in crime rate.

(5) There is yet another danger of the capitalistic economy which contributes to enormous increase in crimes. The employment of children and women furnishes soothing ground for criminality despite effective legislative restriction banning their improper utilization in industrial establishments.

# UNIT-II SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF CRIME I

## Sociological Theories of Crime

Sociological school of criminology was mainly concentrated in France, where the sociology as the science was established trough Auguste Comte in 1839. Sociologists claim that people aren't responsible for own behavior, because they cannot influence on it. Human behavior is a complex result of multiple factors, which are divided into biological, psychological and sociological factors. In 1835, sociology was referred as a social physics. Social theorists considered that social factors are no different than natural factors. Therefore, social complexity was considered to be ruled by natural laws. Later, theorists reconsidered it, and found that the social dynamics is more complex than the natural. Natural events are ruled by simple laws and can be easily predicted, while social dynamics is ruled by natural events and those events that are human caused. In 1870's social conflict theories stated that crime is a response on social inequality. Cause of crime is an unequal distribution of social and economic power in the society. Lower classes are often forced to rebel against upper classes. Therefore, crime is a natural response of lower classes.

## Social Strain Theories

**General strain theory** is a theory of criminology developed by Robert Agnew. Robert Agnew's general strain theory is considered to be a solid theory, and has accumulated a significant amount of empirical evidence, and has also expanded its primary scope by offering explanations of phenomena outside of criminal behavior. Agnew recognized that strain theory originally put forward by Robert King Merton was limited in terms of fully conceptualizing the range of possible sources of strain in society, especially among youth. According to Merton, innovation occurs when society emphasizes socially desirable and approved goals but at the same time provides inadequate opportunity to achieve these goals with the legitimate institutionalized means. In other words those members of society, who find themselves in a position of financial strain yet wish to achieve material success, resort to crime in order to achieve socially desirable goals. Agnew supports this assumption but he also believes dealing with youth there are other factors that incite criminal behaviour. He suggests that negative experiences can lead to stress not only that are financially induced. Agnew described 4 characteristics of strains that are most likely to lead to crime:

1) Strains are seen as unjust,
2) Strains are seen as high in magnitude,
3) Strains are associated with low social control, and
4) Strains create some pressure or incentive to engage in criminal coping.

### *Agnew's 3 categories of strains*

- The inability to achieve positively valued goals
- The removal of, or threat to remove, positively valued stimuli
- To present a threat to one with noxious or negatively valued stimuli

In an attempt to explain the high rate of male delinquency as compared to female delinquency, Agnew and Broidy analyzed the gender differences between the perception of strain and the responses to strain. The first area that was explored was the amount of strain that each gender experiences. According to stress research that Agnew and Broidy complied, females tend to experience as much or more strain than males. Also, females tend to be higher in subjective strain as well. Since females experience more strain and commit less crime, Agnew and Broidy investigated the different types of strain that males and females experience. Their findings are listed below:

**Table 2.1 Agnew Findings**

| Females | Males |
|---|---|
| Concerned with creating and maintaining close bonds and relationships with others – thus lower rates of property and violent crime | Concerned with material success– thus higher rates of property and violent crime |
| Face negative treatment, such as discrimination, high demands from family, and restricted behavior | Face more conflict with peers and are likely to be the victims of crime |
| Failure to achieve goals may lead to self-destructive behavior | Failure to achieve goals may lead to property and violent crime |

Agnew and Broidy next hypothesized that there may be differences not only in the types of strain, but in the emotional response to strain as well:

**Table 2.2 Agnew Findings- Emotional Response**

| Female | Male |
|---|---|
| More likely to respond with depression and anger | More likely to respond with anger |
| Anger is accompanied by fear, guilt, and shame | Anger is followed by moral outrage |
| More likely to blame themselves and worry about the effects of their anger | Quick to blame others and are less concerned about hurting others |
| Depression and guilt may lead to self-destructive behaviors | Moral outrage may led to property and violent crime |

Research indicated that females might lack the confidence and the self-esteem that may be conducive to committing crime and employ escape and avoidance methods to relieve the strain. Females may, however, have stronger relational ties that might help to reduce strain. Males are said to be lower in social control, and they socialize in large groups. Females, on the other hand, form close social bonds in small groups. Therefore, males are more likely to respond to strain with crime.

**Anomie theory**

**Robert Merton: Anomie Theory** (sometimes also termed strain theory or means-ends theory)
In one of the most famous articles in sociology, its first version written in the 1940s, Robert Merton begins by addressing biological explanations of deviance and concludes that biology cannot account for variations from one society to the next in the nature and extent of deviance. His primary interest is not so much why a particular individual deviates, but why the **rates** of deviance differ so dramatically in different societies and for different subgroups within a single society. Merton works within the overall functionalist perspective that we have already addressed, which puts a great deal of emphasis on the role of culture, particularly its unifying aspects, but now Merton adapts a concept he borrows from Durkheim to analyze situations in which culture creates deviance and disunity.

In Durkheim's usage, **anomie** referred to a situation in which cultural norms break down because of rapid change. Anomic suicide, for example, can occur during a major economic depression, when people aren't able to achieve the goals that they have learned to pursue, but it can also occur when the economy experiences a boom and suddenly the sky's the limit--people don't know how to limit their goals and be satisfied with their achievements. Merton changes the concept slightly, to refer to a situation in which there is an apparent lack of fit between the culture's norms about what constitutes success in life (**goals)** and the culture's norms about the appropriate ways to achieve those goals (**means).**

In Merton's formulation, anomie becomes the explanation for high rates of deviant behavior in the U.S. compared with other societies, and also an explanation for the distribution of deviant behavior across groups defined by class, race, ethnicity, and the like. The U.S., in fact, Merton sees as a polar example of a society in which success goals (often defined primarily in monetary terms) are emphasized for everyone in the culture, and people are criticized as being quitters if they scale back their goals. On the other hand, the culture is at best ambivalent in its norms about the appropriate means of being successful. Certainly hard work and ambition, in school and then in the economic marketplace, are the culturally approved means of success, but there's also an element of admiration for the robber baron and the rogue who breaks the rules about appropriate means but achieves success goals by deviant means. In America, in other words, success is probably rated a lot more highly than virtue.

In addition, the U.S. has minority groups whose access to success by conventional means is clearly limited. In the period in which Merton was writing, ours was a clearly racist society. Black Americans, for example, were severely limited in their access to education, but if they overcame those obstacles and obtained a good education, that education would not "buy" them as good a job as it would for a white person. In some societies that emphasize descriptive criteria in allocating power and privilege, the culture sets a very different standard of success. Someone who was born an untouchable in the Indian caste system, for example, would learn not to aspire to the kind of success that might be available to an upper-caste individual. But in the U.S. the same kinds of success goals are held out to all. Thus our very high rates of deviance and crime, compared with other societies, in Merton's analysis can be understood, first as a result of our emphasizing success goals more than we emphasize approved means of achieving those goals,

and second, our emphasizing the same kind of success for everyone even while the race, ethnic, and class stratification of the society limits the opportunities for success by those in the less privileged groups.

How do people respond to this disjunction of goals and means? Merton creates a typology of adaptations. The first symbol designates people's relationship to norms about goals.

**Table 2.3 Mode of Adaptation**

| Adaptation | Goals | Means | Crimes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Conformity | + | + | Law Abiding, Normal citizens |
| Innovation | + | _ | Robbery, Property offenders |
| Ritualistic | _ | + | Religious Fanatics |
| Retreatist | _ | _ | Drug addicts, Hippies, Vagabonds |
| Rebellion | + / - | + /- | Extremists, Naxalites |

***In the above table, a "+" means acceptance, a "-" signifies rejection, and an "x" means rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new ones.***

Although Merton spends some time discussing each of these modes of adaptation, it's probably the second one, "innovation," which most logically follows from his earlier discussion of the relationship between culture and deviance in general and the deviance-producing features of American society in particular. Innovators are people who break the rules (and often the laws) in order to achieve the success goals that are so heavily promoted in the society. At the upper levels, Merton points out, "the pressure toward innovation not infrequently erases the distinction between business-like strivings this side of the approved norms and sharp practices beyond the norms."

But he sees the greatest pressures toward "innovation" operating at the lower levels of the stratification system." Here "incentives for success are provided by the established values of the culture and second, the avenues available for moving toward this goal are largely limited by the class structure to those of deviant behavior. It is the combination of the cultural emphasis and the social structure which produces intense pressure for deviation." "Despite our persisting open-class ideology, advance toward the success-goal is relatively rare and notably difficult for those armed with little formal education and few economic resources." "Within this context, Al Capone represents the triumph of amoral intelligence over morally prescribed "failure," when the channels of vertical mobility are closed or narrowed in a society which places a high premium on economic affluence and social ascent for all its members."

It is worth to notice that Merton's analysis is not ultimately aimed at the individual level-why does this individual deviate and this one not--but at the level of groups and societies as reflected in differing rates of deviance. Merton isn't saying that every individual exposed to these cultural conflicts reacts the same way; on the contrary, his typology is designed to allow for variation at

the individual level. In his concluding remarks, Merton himself highlights the major weaknesses of his analysis. "The essay on the structural sources of deviant behavior remains but a prelude. It has not included a detailed treatment of the structural elements which predispose toward one rather than another of the alternative responses open to individuals living in an ill-balanced social structure. It has largely neglected but not denied the social psychological processes determining the specific incidence of these responses; it has only briefly considered the social functions performed by deviant behavior; ...it has only touched upon rebellious behavior which seeks to refashion the social framework." Unfortunately, as is so often the case with people doing what they label as preliminary or exploratory work, Merton never went on to attempt the additional work that he himself recognized as crucial to a full understanding of the dynamic he describes in this essay.

## Durkheim's Anomie Theory

Crime is necessary; it serves a function in society. Although it is not preferable, with the progression and evolution of modernity and emphasis on monetary success, crime is inevitable because a perfectly stable, uniform, and able society is impossible. As the father of sociology and a functionalist, Emile Durkheim provides a variety of explanations of society's ills, like crime and deviance, and accounts for the punishments and repercussions that follow. He asserts that man is a product of his social environment; thus, socialization begins at birth and continues through language and interaction with other people. The basis of his theory rests on the idea that the "conscience collective of a society varies alongside the division of labor. In less complex and more primitive societies, people tended to do and think alike and there was little tolerance for difference".

According to Durkheim, one of the pivotal points in history in terms of crime and deviance was the industrial revolution. As this revolution evolved, there was a steep increase in immigrant migration into the United States. With this increase in immigration and the evolution toward a more modern society came rising levels of individualism, flexibility, and diversity amongst belief systems. This was the first sign of problems in the new society. Although these immigrants found no protest to their own belief systems, they failed to adapt them to the previously held norms the American people valued. Inevitably, there was a sense of imbalance between the previously held norms and values and the new and evolving ones. This imbalance, Durkheim deemed 'anomie.' According to Durkheim, anomie reflects a sense of normlessness, the lack of any societal norms that spurs the tendency to act in a deviant way. In general terms, Durkheim's theory of anomie proposes that because of industrialization and the need for cheap labor in this newly modern society, the influx of immigrants inherently brought with them their own sets of norms and values. Thus makes a temporary imbalance of norms, anomie, which enhances individual's propensity to commit crime in search for a stable environment. In turn, Durkheim puts forth not just a theory for the social origins of crime, but also he theorizes about the social origins of law and punishment.

Before addressing Durkheim's explanation for crime and deviance, it is necessary to discuss his theory regarding the origins of law and punishment. In its entirety, he describes "the law as a concrete and objective indicator of morality…the law is restitution rather than simply repressive".

From this comes the conclusion that law is a production of the collective society, a myriad of all beliefs of society, an embodiment of everything a society holds to be right, true, and just. This concept of the 'collective conscience' has everything to do with where society's laws, and ills, come from. Initially, Durkheim asserted that crime holds some religious qualities. Because "religion was a reflection of the force of a shared collective conscience…early legal codes were also religious codes," thus providing Durkheim the ability to argue, "Offenses against the gods were offenses against society". Crime became a deeply meaningful thing, very passionate and powerful, that ultimately prompted for very strong emotions, anger and vengeance specifically. Because of this, punishment was less about the offense or the offender and held more weight in regard to restoring the cohesion and core values of society.

So what are these social origins of crime? As previously stated, the fragmentation amongst society from the evolution to a more industrial and modern society, and the anomic division of labor, provide the basis for crime and deviance. This division of labor emerged as a result of the "needs of society which has become larger through an increase in population and a more highly integrated interactive network". Durkheim theorized that there is a bundle of 'social facts,' or empirical facts describing societal tendencies, that determine individual qualities. Drawing on statistics, he drew a correlation between suicide rates and social variables. What he deemed egoistic or anomic suicide were those that described "weak social integration and failed moral regulation" as seen through the conclusion that protestants, intellectuals, and single people had higher suicide rates than religious folk, specifically Catholics and Jews. In other words, the individual and isolated people had a higher tendency for suicide than the collective and densely networked community because of their lack of cohesion and relationship with the collective conscience of society. More rare cases of altruistic and fatalistic suicide were common when an individual was too closely bound to the group. Ultimately, this study concluded that social cohesion, or group solidarity, and the values held to be true by the collective conscience could both prevent and generate deviant activity. Of the two types of solidarity, mechanical and organic, Durkheim concluded that organic solidarity, the more complex of the two, which emphasizes a community's interdependence upon each other, is far stronger than mechanical solidarities in which there are common beliefs within society solely because the individuals are alike. This "solidarity based on the functional interdependence necessitated by and productive of the industrial revolution" would replace the dependence on the conscience collective.

Although there have been a small handful of direct examinations of Durkheim and his theories, there are a few studies that have analyzed more specific aspects of social disorganization and its effects. Theorists Gibbs and Martin, and later Miley and Micklin, focused on suicide and how the social integration enabled or inhibited such behavior. The later developed the research, they theorized that "population and technological development will be directly related to the division of labor…and the division of labor will produce a decrease in status integration which, in turn, will increase suicide rates," furthermore, supporting Durkheim theory. In contrast to Durkheim's emphasis on the division of labor, research and analysis of the U.S. Census Bureau and the Uniform Crime Report done by Webb, found that relationship of population size, density, and proportion of communication, did not decrease the rates of crime.

There are various different perspectives on what anomie is and how it affects deviant behavior. On one hand Durkheim claims that anomie refers to the ill-formulated goals within the culture of an industrial society; whereas, Robert Merton relied on the Marxist explanation of anomie, which claims that there is normlessness due to the inadequate means available to fulfill society's goals. Ultimately, each theory revolves around the weight that the market economy holds in regards to the spirit and atmosphere of the cultural. Rather than the ethos of the culture being dependent on the values set forth by family and education, "the pursuit of self interest, attraction to monetary rewards and competition, become exaggerated relative to the value orientations of these institutions…economic dominance stimulates the emergence of anomie at a cultural value". In regard to crime, the emphasis on competition and materialism combined with anomic ethic, as theorists have termed it, spark a disregard for the moral status of the way in which one achieves goals.

This strain of anomic theory is called "**Institutional Anomie Theory**." This position incorporates the idea that if the market economy is left unregulated by other social institutions it will ultimately be obtrusive to society. According to Merton, this notion of anomie is a result of the "uneven distribution of opportunities in the social structure because it fails to live up to its promise of equal opportunity". Durkheim, on the other hand, claims anomie is more than just one simple thing; anomie is the normlessness of goals in which the "absence of social authority causes our capacity for feeling in itself insatiable and bottomless".  In addition, anomie may also come forth "when socially prescribed goals are practically unattainable…to pursue a goal which is by definition unattainable is to condemn oneself to a state of perpetual unhappiness, ends are not really undefined…they are limitless".

Ultimately, anomie institutional theory uses Merton's definition of anomie but brings attention to the social criticism what Durkheim's definition emphasizes. Merton highlights an imbalance between the components of how a society is made up; however, Durkheim focuses on the social make up itself.

As Durkheim's theory has progressed as a basis of modern theory and policy, it has had to adapt to the values and norms of an immensely modernized and industrialized society. Institutional anomie has become the primary basis to the concept of normlessness and the basis of crime and deviance in accord with the concept of anomie that Durkheim asserted initially. In short, Institutional anomie describes a society in which economic values, like monetary success, penetrate non-economic institutions, like family, education, and policy. From there, community values and social bonds are weakened, ultimately causing social controls over self serving behavior, like deviance and crime, to be vastly reduced. Inherently in its nature, institutional anomie theory has some similarities to Robert Merton and Robert Agnew's strain theory of crime and deviance. Strain theory asserts that there is a discrepancy between culturally defined goals and the means available to achieve these goals. Currently, the culturally defined goals are wealth and material success and that happiness is equivalent to these goals; thus, the institutionalized means to acquire these goals that are hard work and education. Furthermore, it is widely accepted that those who do not succeed are inherently lazy or inept in some way. Through the application of Merton and Agnew's strain theory it is simple to see the trouble that the lower and middle class face. The institutionally defined means of education and hard work are only

attainable by those who are wealthy or financially comfortable enough to access a formal education or well paying occupation. As a result, or consequence, of this inability or unrealistic goal the middle and lower classes are subject to a strain, or anomie. Therefore, this sense of anomie, imbalance, and division of labor justify the modes of adaptation the disadvantaged resort too. The modes of adaptation are, more often than not, criminal, ultimately supporting Durkheim's anomie theory.

## Culture Conflict Theory- Thorsten Selling's Theory

Thorsten Sellin in his published work "Culture Conflict and Crime" (1938) presented an analysis of the role of culture conflict in crime causation. Sellin says that crime is caused by conflicts among norms. He suggests that criminologists should study crime not as 'violation of law' but as 'violation of conduct norms', which are the rules that prohibit persons from acting in a certain specified way in certain circumstances. Such norms are not necessarily embedded in the criminal law, and if they are not, their violation should not be termed crime. According to Sellin, "This extension of the meaning of the term is not desirable. It is wiser to retain the term 'crime' for the offence made punishable by the criminal law and to use the term 'abnormal conduct' for the violation of norms whether legal or not". Sellin has further said that in the study of conduct, it is necessary to think of culture conflict as a conflict of conduct norms. Such conflict may arise as a result of a process of differentiation within a cultural system or area or as a result of contact between norms drawn from different cultural systems or areas. We may study these conflicts either by an investigation of the person in whom the conflict is assumed to be internalized or by a study of violations in groups or areas within which the conflicts are assumed to occur.

Sellin distinguished between 'primary conflict' and 'secondary conflict'. The former is the conflict of culture norms when two different cultures clash, while the latter occurs within the evolution of a single culture. The first is illustrated by a man from Italy who, while living in America killed the man who seduced his adolescent daughter. The father was surprised to be arrested because in his country, such an act by a father was the expected behaviour for the purpose of defending the honour of the family. But in the United States, it was a crime. This is a case of conflict between the norms of two different cultures. The second type of conflict occurs during the normal growth of cultures from homogeneous to heterogeneous. The criticism against this approach is that identification and measurement of such conduct norms is very difficult.

## Sub Culture Theories of Crime

### What is Sub-Culture?
Subculture is a group culture that develops within the main culture. For examples youth culture in city and villages, workplaces culture, family culture and etc.

### Theories
Sub-culture theories build upon the work of Merton. They say that deviance is the result of individuals conforming to the values and norms of a social group to which they belong, if you belong to a social group whose norms differ from those of the main society then you will become a deviant. Sub cultural Theory explains deviance in terms of a deviant group, split apart from the rest of the society which encourages deviance.

**Albert Cohen: Status Frustration**

Cohen said lower-working-class boys want to achieve the success which is valued by mainstream culture. But due to educational failure and the dead-end jobs that result from this they have little chance of achieving these goals. This result in **status frustration**, the boys are at the bottom of the social structure and have little chance of gaining a higher status in society. This is similar to Merton's theory, however Cohen said that instead of turning to crime as Merton said, they reject the norms and values of mainstream society and instead turn to the norms and values of a delinquent subculture. In this subculture the boys can achieve success because the social group has different norms and values from the rest of society. So in this culture a high value is placed upon criminal acts such as stealing and vandalism which are condemned by mainstream society. In these subcultures the individual who lacked respect in mainstream society can gain it by committing crimes such as vandalism and truancy. Because the crimes reward the individual with respect there is not always the need for a monetary value to commit a crime, so the subcultural perspective explains why people commit **non-utilitarian** crimes.

**Postulates:**

- Working class boys try to gain status within school and fail, thus suffer status frustration
- Some such boys find each-other and form a subculture
- Status is gained within the subculture by breaking mainstream rules.

**Cloward and Ohlin: Illegitimate Opportunity Structure (IOS)**

Cloward and Ohlin developed Cohen's theory. They said that there are three different types of subcultures that young people might enter into; criminal subcultures, conflict subcultures and retreatist subcultures are necessarily a combination of strain and sub cultural theory of crime. The type of subculture an individual joins depends on existing subcultures (which form an IOS). There are three types of subculture: Criminal (working class areas/ organised petit crime), Conflict (less table populations), and Retreatist (e.g. drug subcultures) which C and O saw as being formed by people who lacked the skills to join the former two).

**Postulates:**

- **Criminal subcultures** tend to emerge in areas where there is a lot of organised adult crime, here there are criminal role models for young people, and they learn how to commit criminal acts. In these subcultures the young people can climb up the professional criminal ladder by committing more crimes. These subcultures are normally concerned with utilitarian crimes, which yield financial reward.
- **Conflict subcultures** tend to emerge in areas where there is little organised adult crime, so instead of learning how to commit serious monetary crimes the young people instead focus on gaining respect through gang violence.
- **Retreatist subcultures** are for young people who have even failed in the criminal subcultures, these people are 'double failures'. They tend to retreat to drugs and alcohol abuse to deal with the fact that they have been rejected from other subcultures.

**Charles Murray: Underclass Theory**

The 1940s- 60S, Underclass Theory – 1980s

- By the 1980s an Underclass had emerged in Britain.
- Key features - long term unemployment, high rates of teen pregnancies and single parent households
- Means children are not socialised into mainstream norms and values and have become NEETS
- The underclass is 20 times more criminal than the rest of society.

**Wolfgang and Ferracuti: Structural Culture**

Another branch of subcultural theory, developed by Wolfgang and Ferracuti, departs from those already described in that it gives little explanatory power to structural factors in producing patterns of violence. It is considered a pure subcultural theory because it virtually ignores the role of broader structural factors. Wolfgang and Ferracuti interpreted rates of violent crime among groups and collectivities as evidence that the group-for instance, African Americans-holds attitudes that favor violent conduct. Their theory of subcultures bridges racially differentiated patterns of violence with oppositional value orientations, construing social structural factors with a relatively minimal degree of explanatory power.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti stressed that a subculture cannot fully differ from the wider culture. According to this view, societies tend to have a common value pattern to the extent that even subcultures remain within the wider culture. The subculture and wider culture are, in essence, cultures in conflict. Wolfgang and Ferracuti further argued that social groups modulate conduct norms, and for conduct norms or values to be salient they must be situational invariant; if not, they reflect no enduring allegiance. Moreover, normative systems develop around values in that values engender the normative standards relating to proper behavioral responses. Pure subcultural theory, however, allows for values to affect behavior independent of propinquity to like-minded others, unlike strain-based accounts and even those of the Chicago School.

According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, the extent to which people identified with subcultural values is made obvious to the observer in light of their actions. Their theory focuses largely on understanding the cultural foundation underlying "passionate or non-premeditated", acts of homicide. To the perpetrators who commit this category of crimes they impute the subculture of violence. People occupy a subculture of violence by virtue of the fact that they are violent. Many scholars conclude, however, that this approach is tautological. Theorists insist that among groups who display the highest rates of homicide the subculture of violence should be most intense. An actor's integration into the subculture (measured by behavior) reflects his or her degree of adherence to its prescriptions for behavior. Violence does not represent the constant mode of action among subcultural members. Wolfgang and Ferracuti argued that if this were the case, the social system itself would become debilitated. In this regard, their perspective is relatively limited in scope because it illuminates only the value set that translates situations into violence, instead of the entire array of values held by a class position.

With regard to the etiology of subcultural traditions, the pure subcultural theory advocated by Wolfgang and Ferracuti remains intentionally silent. It implies that structural factors may contribute to the genesis of subcultures through the process hypothesized in strain-based accounts.

However, the model suggests that norms favoring violence are perhaps causally related with socioeconomic factors. For instance, it indicates that the concentration of a subcultural orientation among African Americans, as reflected by their involvement in homicide and assaultive crimes, may be a product of the urban deterioration and economic disparities affecting this population. However, they made no consistent and precise statement about the linkage between social structural factors and the subcultural traditional they delineated. It is interesting; however, that the theorists appear to contend that it is structural factors such as poverty and deprivation that account for the generational transmission of the subculture. People who are beleaguered by impoverished conditions become frustrated and aggressive. Parents are hypothesized to pass this experience on to their children, in whom it blossoms fully into a subculture of violence.

## Differential Opportunity Theory of Crime- Cloward and Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin integrated Sutherland's and Merton's theories and developed a new theory of criminal behaviour in 1960. Whereas Sutherland talks of illegitimate means and Merton talks of differentials in legitimate means, Cloward and Ohlin (Delinquency and Opportunity, 1960) talk of differentials in both legitimate and illegitimate means to success-goals. The important elements of this theory are:

(1) An individual occupies position in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures;
(2) Relative availability of illegitimate opportunities affects the resolution of an individual's adjustment problems; and
(3) Faced with limitations on legitimate avenues of access to goals and unable to revise his aspirations downward, he experiences intense frustrations, resulting in the exploration of non-conformist alternatives.

Solving adjustment problems thus depends upon relative access to these systems. If in a given social structure, a person has little or no access to illegal or criminal means, he would not be expected to adopt criminal means to solve his Problems.

**Cloward and Ohlin's theory and gave its four postulates:**
(1) Middle-class goals, especially economic goals, are widespread,
(2) Every organised community provides legitimate opportunities for attaining these goals,
(3) Access to legitimate means varies from class to class, and
(4) Within a given community, illegitimate opportunities may or may not be available.
Cloward and Ohlin have identified three major types of delinquent subcultures: the criminal, the conflict, and the retreatist. A particular one that emerges in any given socio-cultural setting will be a function of the availability of illegitimate opportunities. The first is characterized by illegal money-making activities, the second emphasizes acts of violence and gun-fighting, and the third emphasizes drug use and other 'kicks'.

Criminal subculture tends to arise in lower-class neighbourhood where successful and big-time criminals reside and are also willing to associate with them (juveniles). Juveniles in this social class do not have conventional role models of successful people who have achieved their success through legitimate channels; but they do have access to criminal success models. The child has an opportunity to actually perform illegitimate roles because such activity finds support in his immediate neighbourhood milieu.

The rewards monetary and other of successful learning and performance are immediate and gratifying. Further, in this subculture, integration of conventional and criminal values also exists. Since the youth 'fix' politicians, police officials and law enforcement officials and seek their support, they maintain necessary relationships with these people. As a consequence of the integrative relationships, a new opportunity structure emerges, one which permits and facilitates illegitimate instead of legitimate activities. Conflict subculture is found in areas where there is no alliance between the criminal and the conventional elements. This subculture features violence and/or threat of violence as method of getting status.

In such neighbourhoods, young people tend to organise themselves in a community of gangs contending with one another for 'rap' through a show of violence and toughness. These areas are populated by failures from conventional society as well as failures from the criminal world. Social controls are also weak in these areas. With no organised way to solve their frustrations, the youth in these areas "seize upon the manipulation of violence as a route to status." In the world of violence, all that is needed is guts and the ability to endure pain. Retreats subculture is manifested through or in the use of drugs. It is found in areas where either repressive police measures make street-fighting quite dangerous or where moral and other inhibitions against the use of violence exist. Individuals denied access to 'criminal' and 'conflict' opportunities tends to withdraw into a world of narcotic drugs. Referring to the availability of illegal or criminal means, Cloward and Ohlin have said if there is little or no access to drugs, it is not likely that the retreatist subculture would develop. Similarly, where the means of violence are not available to juveniles, a violence-oriented subculture would most probably not develop.

**Middle Class Measuring Rod- Cohen's Subcultural Theory**

In his book Delinquent Boys (1955) Cohen was concerned to answer a number of questions about delinquency that he felt were not satisfactorily dealt with by Merton's strain theory. These questions sought to investigate:

- Why so much delinquency takes place in gangs or groups - Merton's theory suggests that delinquency occurs as an individual adaptation to strain;
- Why so much delinquency occurs amongst lower working class young males - although Merton suggested delinquency could occur throughout the class structure, Cohen perceived it to be overly dominated by lower working class young males; and
- Why so much delinquency appears to be violent, malicious or apparently without benefit to the offender (such as acts of vandalism with no financial gain) - Merton tends to suggest that acts of delinquency are aimed at acquisitive crime.

The concerns just raised allude to the problem of functionalism, which is evident in Merton's work. As with Durkheim, Merton points to particular underwritten features of social order as providing the source of, and explanation for, deviance. As Durkheim would contend, 'social facts' exist and these need to be appreciated if a full understanding of disorder is to be achieved. For Merton, the 'social fact' that provides the underpinning of his theory of strain is that of consensus with regard to cultural goals, what is constituted by the 'American Dream'. Yet Cohen pointed to expressive forms of deviance and crime that appear to have little to do with self-advancement, acquisition and display of material wealth. Violence, vandalism and criminal damage seemed apparently irrational, given Merton's contention that the objective of deviance was to obtain an improvement in the material wealth. Furthermore, such behaviour might be interpreted as suggesting that not every member of society subscribed to the American Dream. Instead of all members of society subscribing to a consensus as to cultural values, Cohen was aware of what he referred to as subcultural values which, unlike Merton's proposition, were shared and expressed by groups, most notably amongst working class male youth.

Thus Cohen sought to offer an explanation of forms of delinquency that seemingly had little purpose or might appear mindless. Applying Merton's idea that there are strains upon members of society to achieve success, Cohen produced a more refined version of strain theory. Cohen offered a more detailed analysis of 'culture'; as Downes and Rock (2003: 144) write: 'the first systematic use of the concepts of culture and subculture in the explanation of delinquency occurs in the work of Albert Cohen'. Rather than the more generalised cultural values depicted by Merton, Cohen identified what he saw as the principles that underlined a 'dominant' culture. That there exists a dominant culture implies that there exist other cultures or what Cohen referred to as subcultures. Thus in contrast to Merton's suggestion that society is mono-cultural, one where members of society subscribed to the same values, Cohen accounted for the existence of different cultural values.

Even though Cohen contended that more than one culture exists, he suggested that it is a response to the dominant culture that subcultures are motivated. In this sense deviant subcultures are generated as a reaction to the dominant culture. The tension between dominant culture and the stimulation of subcultures, according to Cohen, is most focused in the school since it is here that the values extolled by the dominant culture clash with the structural positions of those from the working class. Merton, as discussed in the previous chapter, suggests that the source of the strain stems from the media which, through advertising, reinforces the materialism of the consumer society and which is exerted generally upon society.

For Cohen, however, strain is most pronounced upon the youth, and more specifically, working class youth. It is at school where the disparity between working class and middle class is brought into focus. According to Cohen, the cultural values and norms that dominate American culture are those from the middle class. Boys are judged in relation to middle class values such as ambition, constructive use of leisure, cultivation of skills, individual responsibility and postponement of immediate gratification for long term gain. These values constitute what Cohen described as the 'middle class measuring rod' and it is this that presents the source of strain for working class boys who are ill prepared to compete on these grounds.

Most boys who have been socialised in lower-class families are inadequately prepared to perform successfully in a middle-class setting...They are less likely to have grown up in an educationally stimulating environment and are thus more likely to have restricted aspiration.

The key variable upon which strain depends for Cohen is not success at achieving material wealth, as Merton suggested, but success at gaining status. Unfortunately, working class values and norms mean that boys coming from this class are at a distinct disadvantage to gain status according to the 'middle class measuring rod'.

As Cohen writes: In the status game, then, the working-class child starts out with a handicap and, to the extent that he cares what the middle-class persons think of him or has internalised the dominant middle-class attitudes toward social class position, he may be expected to feel some 'shame'.

Failing to achieve status, the youths are left with 'status frustration' where they suffer a 'problem of adjustment' caused by failure at school. This problem of adjustment is 'solved' by fellow struggling pupils coming together and upturning the dominant middle class values by subscribing to 'the delinquent subculture', as Cohen called it. Those who failed to succeed against the values bestowed by 'the middle class measuring rod' were able to solve this problem by subscribing to values that countered or subverted them:

Lower-class youths, thrown together in high density urban neighbourhoods and saddled with a common problem, find a common solution in embracing values that provide both the chance to gain status and the psychic satisfaction of rejecting respectable values that lie beyond their reach. It is here, then, where Cohen was able to explain 'expressive' or non-utilitarian forms of delinquency, which appear to be malicious and negativistic, such as violence, vandalism and forms of what today might be referred to as anti-social behaviour. Such behaviour provides the means by which unsuccessful youths could gain their sense of status amongst others who have also experienced failure to achieve status according to middle class values.

Thus: Faced with problems of adjustment caused by school failure, the rejected evolve the delinquent gang solution as a means both to acquire status in a more accessible form and to hit back at the system that has branded them as failures. The gang takes the rules of respectable society and turns them upside down. It is important to point out, as Cohen's quote above alludes, that initially working class boys had 'internalized the dominant middle-class attitudes' and therefore sought to compete according to them to achieve status. Faced with failure, youths experienced a 'reaction formation' which: Describes a situation where the individual who is denied something they desire, reacts by disparaging it to excess. In the context of Cohen's study the denial of status leads some to seek out others who shared the same 'problem of adjustment'; the resultant subculture develops an exaggerated hostility towards middle-class values. In effect, it is contra-culture within which middle-class norms and values are inverted; now an activity is 'right' because mainstream culture says it is 'wrong'.

### *Subcultural Theories and Empirical Validity*
Empirical researchers have found some support for theorists' claims with regard to the class origins of subcultural values; nonetheless, the evidence is ambiguous at this point. For instance,

studies show that middle- and lower-class non-gang and gang members positively value conventional standards, but this same body of findings shows that with a decline in one's social class level the salience of proscriptive norms grows increasingly untenable. Lower-class participants' behavior is also less consistent with their values, suggesting that the degree to which they actually conformed to middle-class standards is weaker than that among their higher status counterparts.

In support of subcultural accounts, qualitative evidence indicates that lower-class boys place greater value on displaying a tough-guy reputation and being skilled at fighting. Other researchers who have used nationally representative data in a quantitative approach have discovered that youth of lower socioeconomic status are more apt to commit violence because they have acquired definitions favorable to violence through interactions with members of their social milieu, especially family. Also, studies have revealed that nonconventional attitudes mediate the pathway between actors' class position and violence. What the latter collection of findings conveys is that, indeed, subcultural systems are structural in origin and produced by key agents of socialization who comprise one's same class position.

**Social Ecology Theories**

In sociology, the social disorganization theory is one of the most important theories developed by the Chicago School, related to ecological theories. The theory directly links crime rates to neighborhood ecological characteristics; a core principle of social disorganization theory is that place matters. One of the key ideas of the social ecology of crime is the fact that high rates of crime and other problems persist within the same neighborhoods over long periods of time regardless of who lives there. Thus there must be something about the places themselves, perhaps something about the neighborhoods, rather than the people per se that produces and perpetuates high crime rates

• One explanation is the Concentric Zone Theory which argues that crime increases toward the inner city area
• Studies of the rates of crime and delinquency, especially by sociologists Henry Shaw and David McKay in Chicago, demonstrated that over an extended period of time, the highest rates were found within the first three zones no matter who lived there. These high rates were strongly correlated with such social problems as mental illness, unemployment, poverty, infant mortality, and many others

**Concentric Zone Theory- Ernest W. Burgess and Park (1886-1966)**

Ernest W. Burgess (1886-1966) along with Park established a distinctive program of urban research in the sociology department at the University of Chicago in the early twentieth century. According to Burgess the rural to urban shift has been more logical and rapid in the USA than in Europe. But how does one explain the expansion process of the cities? Burgess developed a theory of city growth and differentiation based on the social Darwinist principles found in the work of Park. The focus of the work has been devoted to earmarking the 'natural areas' in the city. According to Burgess the expansion of the city is best explained by a series of concentric

circles. The other general assumption that lies at the heart of his work is that the spatial order of the city is a product of and reflects the moral order. However, the diagram he presents is not as neat in real life, as complications were introduced by the lake front, the Chicago River, railroad lines as well as resistance of communities to invasion.

According to Burgess the city continuously grew due to population pressures. As a result of spatial competition new activities are attracted to the centre of the city. This he described as central agglomeration. At the same time, other activities are repelled to the fringe of the city which he described as commercial decentralization. The activities which were located on the fringe were pushed further out from the city. Thus, the city continually grew outward as activities that lost out in the competition for space in the central city were relocated to peripheral areas. In Burgess's theory, the modern city grows up around the market. Therefore, the city would eventually take on the form of a highly concentrated central business district that would dominate the region and be the site for the highest competitive land prices, while the surrounding areas would comprise of four distinct concentric rings.
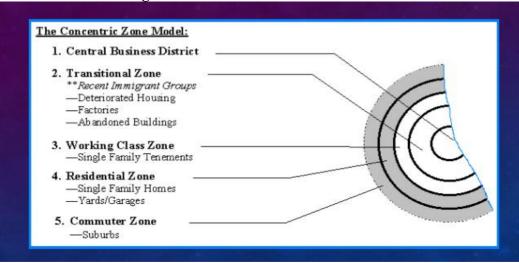
**Figure 2.1 The Concentric Zone Model**



The above figure represents an ideal construction of the tendencies of any town or city to expand radically from its CBD or the loop. Here is found the greatest density and mobility of population. Encircling the downtown area is the zone of transition. It is in this ecological area (composed of warehouses and slums) that vice, poverty, depersonalization, and social disorganization are most pronounced. Beyond the zone of transition is the zone largely populated by the working-class families? This was a primary residential area composed of second-generation immigrants who still found their employment in the centre of the city but had been able to escape from the zone of transition. Still further towards the periphery of the city we find residential zone populated largely by middle-class persons living either in single dwelling or well-maintained apartment buildings. Finally, the suburban zone composed of economically advantaged, geographically stable, upper-class commuters to the city.

According to Burgess the expansion of the city takes place due to the tendency of each inner zone to extend its area by the invasion into the next outer zone. This process is called succession- a term taken from plant ecology. Earlier all zones were located at the circumference of the city and then they moved into concentric circles. Burgess's model explained the shifting of population and activities within the space of the city according to two distinct but related processes: centralization and decentralization. His theory explicitly related social processes to spatial patterns. Burgess explained the pattern of homes, neighbourhoods, and industrial and commercial locations in terms of the ecological theory of competition over 'location'. In short, competition produced a certain social organization in space.

Thus, for Burgess the characteristics of the social organization of the urban population were spatially deployed. The extensive use of mapping is supposed to reveal the spatial distribution of social problems. It was found that individual traits such as mental illness, gang membership, criminal behaviour, and racial background were found to be clustered along the centre/periphery gradient of the city. Using the census data, the Chicago researcher showed that the incidence of social pathology decreased from the central business district to the outskirts, whereas homeownership and the number of nuclear family increased. The inner zones, therefore, were discovered to be the sites of crime, illness, gang warfare, broken homes and many other indicators of social disorganization or problems.

**Why is Crime So High the nearer you get into the inner-city?**

- According to the Concentric Zone view, this is caused by a breakdown of institutional, community-based controls, which in turn is caused by three general factors: industrialization, urbanization, and immigration.
- People living within these areas often lack a sense of community because the local institutions (e.g., schools, families, and churches) are not strong enough to provide nurturing and guidance for the area's children.
- It is important to note that there are important political and economic forces at work here.
- The concentration of human and social problems within these zones is not the inevitable "natural" result of some abstract laws of nature but rather the actions of some of the most powerful groups in a city (urban planners, politicians, wealthy business leaders, and so on).

**Thrasher's Theory of Gangs**

Frederic Thrasher did the first detailed study of gangs in Chicago in the 1920s. He concluded that the control mechanisms of local institutions are revealed by:
- the disintegration of family life
- inefficiency of schools
- formalism and externality of religion
- corruption and indifference in local politics
- low wages and monotony in occupational activities
- Unemployment
- Lack of opportunity for wholesome recreation.

All these factors enter into the picture of the moral and economic frontier. Coupled with deterioration in the housing, sanitation, and other conditions of life in the slum, gives the impression of general disorganization and decay. The gang functions with reference to these conditions in two ways

– It offers a substitute for what society fails to give
– It provides a relief from suppression and distasteful behavior. It fills a gap and affords an escape

## Environmental Criminology- Paul and Patricia Brantingham

Environmental criminology is the study of crime, criminality, and victimization as they relate, first, to particular places, and secondly, to the way that individuals and organizations shape their activities spatially, and in so doing are in turn influenced by place-based or spatial factors. It focuses on criminal patterns within particular built environments and analyzes the impacts of these external variables on people's cognitive behavior. It forms a part of criminology's Positivist School in that it applies the scientific method to examine the society that causes crime.

Environmental criminology is the study of crime, criminality, and victimization as they relate, first, to particular places, and secondly, to the way that individuals and organizations shape their activities spatially, and in so doing are in turn influenced by place-based or spatial factors. The environmental criminology approach was developed in the 1980s by Paul and Patricia Brantingham, putting focus of criminological study on environmental or context factors that can influence criminal activity. These include space (geography), time, law, offender, and target or victim. These five components are a necessary and sufficient condition, for without one, the other four, even together, will not constitute a criminal incident. Despite the obvious multi-faceted nature of crime, scholars and practitioners often attempt to study them separately. For instance, lawyers and political scientists focus on the legal dimension; sociologists, psychologists and civil rights groups generally look to the offenders and victims, while geographers concentrate upon the location of the event. Environmental criminologists examine the place and the time when the crime happened. They are interested in land usage, traffic patterns and street design, and the daily activities and movements of victims and offenders. Environmental criminologists often use maps to look for crime patterns, for example, using metric topology.

### Practical applications
The study of the spatial patterns of crime and criminality has a long history. In the Chicago School, Robert Ezra Park, Ernest Burgess, and other urban sociologists developed the concentric zones model, and considered geographic factors in study of juvenile delinquency. Geography was also considered in law enforcement, through use of large pin maps to show where crime incidents occurred. Mapping and analysis of crime is now entering a new phase with the use of computerized crime mapping systems by the police and researchers, with environmental criminology theories playing an important part in how crime patterns are understood. Other practical applications of environmental criminology theory include geographic profiling, which is premised on the idea that criminals take into account geographic factors in deciding where to commit crimes.

**Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design** (CPTED) is another practical application, based on the idea that situational factors such as the environment (poor lighting) can make crime more likely to occur at a particular time and place. CPTED measures to reduce the likelihood can include added lighting, making the place less conducive for crime. Concentrated areas of high level of crime, known as crime hot spots, may have situational factors that help explain why the particular place is a problem. Could be that the place is poorly supervised, has poor "place management", has poor lighting or other characteristics. Changing some of those situational factors may help reduce levels of crime in that place.

Environmental criminology therefore concentrates on the spatial location of crime and the fear of crime and how individuals' behaviour is influenced by place based factors. It is underpinned by three related crime opportunity theories that provide an alternative perspective from which to consider the issues of permeable urban configurations, mixed-use developments and higher densities and to promote cross-disciplinary dialogue and more informed and consequently, potentially more effective, decision-making. The locations include the home, shopping centres, work/school, sports areas, parks and recreation centres and along the routes that connect these nodes.

Indeed, in Crime and Everyday Life, Felson and Boba observe how daily life is divided into different types of settings, which can generate significant amounts of crime. The riskiest settings are:

- Public routes (especially footpaths, parking facilities and unsupervised transit areas). . Recreational settings (especially bars and some parks).
- Public transport (especially stations and their vicinities).
- Retail stores (especially for shoplifting).
- Educational settings (especially at their edges).
- Offices (especially when entered for theft).
- Human support services (especially hospitals with 24-hour activities).
- Industrial locations (especially warehouses with 'attractive' goods).

**Situational Crime Prevention**

Reduces opportunities for crime Reduces opportunities and motivations for crime Increase the effort Increase the risk Reduce the rewards Reduce provocations Remove excuses Target harden Extend guardianship Conceal targets Reduce frustration and stress Set rules Control access to facilities Assist natural surveillance Remove targets Avoid disputes Post instructions Screen exits Reduce anonymity Identify property Reduce emotional arousal Alert conscience Deflect offenders Utilize place managers Disrupt markets Neutralize peer pressure Assist compliance Control tools/weapons Strengthen formal surveillance Deny benefits Discourage imitation Control drugs and alcohol Source: Adapted from Cornish and Clarke (2003). Furthermore, crime has been suggested as representing an 'externality' of development and a form of pollution (Roman & Farrell, 2002).

**Geography of Crime**

This explanation evaluates crime on the basis of geographical factors like climate, temperature, humidity, etc. It is supported by scholars like Montesquieu, Quetelet, Dexter, Kropotokin, Champneuf, and many others. Montesquieu laid down the law that criminality increases in proportion as one approaches the equator, and drunkenness increases in proportion as one approaches the poles.

About a century later, Quetlet formulated his famous 'thermal law' of delinquency in which he claimed that crimes against person predominated in the south and increased in summers, while crimes against property predominated in the north and increased during the winter time. Champneuf supported this hypothesis of the relationship between the nature of crime and the climate on the basis of his study conducted in France between 1825 and 1830.

He found 181.5 property crimes against every 100 crimes against persons in north France, and 98.8 property crimes against every 100 crimes against persons in south France. On the basis of his study of property crimes conducted between 1825 and 1880, the French scholar Laccasagne also found the highest number of property crimes in December, followed by January, November and February.
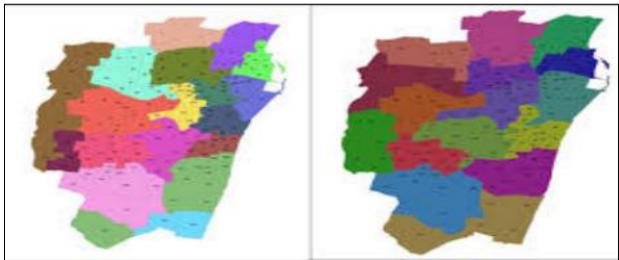
**Figure 2.2 Example of Geographic Design of Crime**



The geographical explanation has been criticised on the ground that geographical factors may affect individual behaviour but the direct relationship between crime and geographical factors cannot be accepted as claimed by these scholars. The geographical theories over-simplify the problem of crime and exaggerate the geographical factors. Had such relationship really existed, the number and nature of crime in a given geographical environment would have been the same at all times, which is not so. Hence, the invalidity of this theory remains question.

They have found them to be useful in guiding our own thoughts and discussions about the problem of crime in Rochester. We hope they are useful to others in both trying to understanding

that problem and in addressing it. Even with this hope, however, we recognize that this is a lengthy set of maps and other data displays. So we want to start with a few general statements from the data that we think will summarize key points that may not be entirely obvious, and that we hope will tempt you to struggle through the rest of the paper. First, it is important to note the trends shown in the data. Reductions in crime are shown for five of the eight categories of Part 1 crimes including murder, rape, robbery, arson, motor vehicle theft and larceny. These types of map with hotspot can be seen police stations across India.

The given map relates to Monroe Crime Analysis Center and the Rochester Police Department. The combined work supports ongoing consideration of these specific issues:

1. Mapping crime over extended periods of time can provide a useful view of the degree to which "hot spots" persist over time.
2. The maps of highest crime concentration areas highlight the importance of small or even micro-environments as possible targets of focused crime reduction strategies.
3. The distribution of violent crime supports the value of geographically focused strategies in efforts to simultaneously affect levels of robbery, aggravated assault and homicide.
4. These distributions also suggest the value of tightly targeted strategies intended to reduce illegal gun carrying.
5. With regard to property crime, the persistence of burglary concentrations also supports the potential value of geographically targeted strategies.
6. The concentrations also support the importance of targeting efforts to address safety concerns and fear of crime, and to promote positive relations between the police and the community in areas where crime concentrations persist.
7. Likewise, the crime patterns reinforce the importance of making community services available to residents living in neighborhoods with concentrations of crime.
8. Consistent with our earlier work, these patterns reinforce the view that it is important to consider the impact of jail and prison re-entry where crime concentrations persist over time.

**Social Disorganization Theory and Delinquency- Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay**

"Poverty is the mother of crime"

…Marcus Aurelius

Social disorganization theory suggest that a person's residential location is more significant than the person's characteristics when predicting criminal activity and the juveniles living in this areas acquire criminality by the cultures approval within the disadvantaged urban neighborhoods. Therefore, location matters when it comes to criminality according to social disorganization theory. In the 1942, two criminology researchers from the "Chicago School" of criminology, Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay developed social disorganization theory through their research. The theory of social disorganization states a person's physical and social environments are primarily responsible for the behavioral choices that a person makes. At the core of social disorganization theory, is that location matters when it comes to predicting illegal activity. Shaw and McKay noted that neighborhoods with the highest crime rates have at least three common problems, physical dilapidation, poverty, and higher level of ethnic and culture mixing. Shaw and McKay claimed that delinquency was not caused at the individual level, but is a normal

response by normal individuals to abnormal conditions. Social disorganization theory is widely used as an important predictor of youth violence and crime. Shaw and McKay discovered that there were four (4) specific assumptions as an explanation of delinquency.

1. The first assumption is the collapse of community based-based controls and people living in these disadvantaged neighborhoods are responding naturally to environmental conditions.
2. The second is the rapid growth of immigration in urban disadvantage neighborhoods.
3. The third is business located closely to the disadvantaged neighborhoods that are influenced by the "ecological approach" of competition and dominance.
4. The fourth and last assumption is disadvantaged urban neighborhoods lead to the development of criminal values that replace normal society values.

Shaw and McKay focus their efforts on describing "the perturbing influence of other variables" in the stuffy of neighborhood variation in delinquency. Specifically, they focus on three classes of variables:

- Physical status,
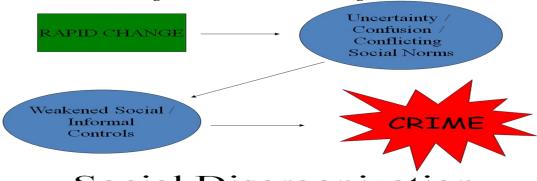- Economic status, and
- Population composition.

**Figure 2.3 Chart of Social Disorganisation**



An example of a physical status effect is that the highest rates of delinquency are found in/around industry and decreasing population is related to increasing industry and this situation is conducive to delinquency. Economic status is seen in areas with the lowest rental which have the highest delinquency rates. Also correlated with delinquency is relief assistance. But they note that the relief does not explain delinquency. Rather, economic factors distinguish areas from each other and low levels relative to other areas seems related to delinquency. For composition effects, Shaw and McKay note that both blacks migrating north and immigrant groups are in the same position of groups of low economic status adjusting to a new environment. Their result showed population compositions in certain neighborhoods changed completely from 1884 to 1930 but that delinquency rates were relatively stable. They note that there is a continuum of delinquency within racial/ethnic groups and that similarly situated blacks and whites (those in

the lowest economic levels in most deteriorated places) both have the highest levels of delinquency.

Shaw and McKay propose that "in the areas of low rates of delinquents there is more or less uniformity, consistency, and universality of conventional values and attitudes with respect to child care, conformity to law, and related matters; whereas in the high-rate areas systems of competing and conflicting moral values have developed". They discuss further that this similarity of values in middle-class areas exists and is expressed through institutions and voluntary associations which are "designed to perpetuate and protect these values" whereas children in lower-class areas are exposed to a variety of values and behavior patterns from strictly conventional to directly oppositional (here they reference Sutherland's differential association).

This is important because they consider delinquency group behavior where similar groups form and are maintained over time, regardless of composition (which is why certain types of delinquency are common to certain areas). They illustrate these delinquent associations through three case studies. As explanations, Shaw and McKay give reasons why differential social organization occurs, citing the ineffectiveness of the family (in several ways), lack of unanimity of opinion and action (the result of poverty, heterogeneity, instability, non-indigenous agencies, lack of vocational opportunities). These problems are exacerbated for blacks because of segregation.

## Cultural Transmission Theory- Anderson

A core tenet of social science theory holds that normative systems, in part, produce the varied patterns of social behavior evident across and within societies. In essence, norms are ideas, and ideas are transmitted in social interaction. The collective manifestation of norms or shared ideas- that assume a semblance of time invariance-is culture. Cultural artifacts figure prominently into the logical framework of theories formulated to explain the uneven representation of violence within American society. The point of departure for these works is that neither violent crime rates nor culture are characterized by a homogeneous pattern. Indeed, cultural theories posit that variation in value systems predicts simultaneous variation in the scope and form of violent actions. Systems of shared values that do not conform to conventional culture, known as subcultures, explain the spatial concentration of serious and lethal violence in disadvantaged urban areas and in the southern region of the United States. Furthermore, the relative spatial permanence of violence is owed largely to the continued transmission over time of the sub-cultural values that sanction such behavior.

The acquisition of values favoring law violation, including violence, occurs through repeated exposure not only to unlawful behavior itself but also to the values underlying it that are entrenched in actors' social milieu. Criminologists stress that agents within an individual's social context, such as peers, the family, and neighborhood residents, convey normative protocols regarding illegal conduct. An actor's reaction to verbal threats, his or her strategy of response to economic distress, and his or her adherence to formal legal mandates are artifacts of the normative complex that blankets the actor's daily life and that is procured through social

interaction. Violence-conducive value orientations are thus effectively transmitted throughout local collectivities over time and sustained spatially.

**The Rise of the Subcultural Perspective**

By the 1950s and 1960s, theorists in criminology identified limitations of the ecological and symbolic interaction variants of subcultural theory. They also sought to overcome what were perceived as the limitations of these models and to expand on their unique strengths. Where the ecological model emphasized structural sources of behavior and offered ideas about the transmission of cultural orientations, the individual-level interaction model largely overlooked structural factors, opting instead to focus more exclusively on the symbolic dimension of crime causation. During this time frame one scholar, Albert Cohen, who was working in the tradition of strain theory (although within a sub-branch known as the reaction-formation perspective), took issue with the fact that strain theory did not focus on the role of the group and that subcultural theories-both the ecological and interactionist brands-neglected to account for the origins of the subculture, in particular its content and its disproportionate presence in the working class.

Cohen argued that the strain model accounts for the perceived limitations of earlier subcultural models in that strain theory implicates the wider conventional culture as the force underlying delinquent behavior. More specifically, he argued that the status configuration of the wider value complex dominates all aspects of American life. By virtue of their socialization into working-class families, youth are poorly equipped to abide by the criteria of a middle-class existence (e.g., self-reliance, worldly asceticism, exercise of forethought, manners and sociability).

The structural deficits of the working class also translate into cultural deficits, because the middle-class cultural standards are used by all to evaluate one's worth. Deficits produce social psychological strain, and a reaction ensues. Similarly situated youth find common ground and ultimately band together to reject middle-class values. They collectively devise an alternative status system that overturns the tenets of the middle-class existence. In the alternative system, respect is conferred by the subculture to those members who excel at fighting, who are physically aggressive, and who display an all-around disregard for middle-class standards. Because of their repudiation of the conventional culture and deep reliance on their own social milieu for status, members of the delinquent subculture develop a strong dependence to their system for identity. This trait helps to uphold its distinct degree of permanence across contexts. Sociological theorists maintain that in the wider culture actors rely on substantial educational achievement, occupational advancement, and the acquisition of rare or expensive material items to demonstrate marked success along conventional lines. Success measured in this sense is a constant across time in American society.

Cohen argued that marked demonstration of aversion to conventional standards becomes a valued end for the lower class in much the same manner as conventional goals for those who are more advantaged: The lower-class value set is made known through what he considers class-based interaction. Relying on the group as the catalyst for behavior-strain-based subcultural models therefore effectively merges the interactive component of earlier models, addressing the atomistic limitation of strain theory. At the same time, the strain-based model pinpoints the

etiology of the contemporary delinquent subculture as a collective and violent reaction formation against conventional culture. It also expands on the work of the Chicago School, positing that the reservoir of identity provided by the subculture incurs its transmission.

Other theorists in the strain-based tradition of subcultural theory, however, take issue with the idea that frustrated individuals reject the American success goals and formulate their own status system. Two theorists, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, questioned the notion of the ubiquity of a violent reaction among the lower class. In contrast, they developed a variant of the strain model, labeled the opportunity theory of subcultures, in which they posited that youth facing strain seek out illegal solutions (e.g., hustling, robbery) in their own social environment that permit them to attain conventional success.

What distinguishes this model from Cohen's subcultural theory is the notion that the circumstances of actors' neighborhood determine the availability of illicit income-generating opportunities and ultimately success by illegitimate means. Thus, norms in favor of success through illegal means are locally situated according to the opportunity model. The transmission of values suggesting crime in an appropriate means is, however, contingent on the extent to which it is an entrenched property in one's neighborhood. So, in this sense, culture is transmitted through social interaction-as others suggest, however, the neighborhood more or less makes available the subcultural protocols. A logical implication implies that as the subcultural complex wanes in intensity over time-if in fact it does-so should the behavior it sanctions.

Conceptual models framed around class position, in the manner as those noted earlier, are often referred to by social scientists as theories of relative deprivation. An alternative branch of subcultural theory, in contrast, claims that a subcultural value complex is the symbolic aspect of a given class structure and does not originate from, nor is consciously propagated by, class differences. Instead, the subculture is simply part of the class itself, and to the extent to which this is true the subculture arises from a person's absolute position in the class structure. To reiterate, a central component of both theories is the actors' structural position, yet they take widely different positions on this point. More specifically, theories of absolute position assert that lower-class delinquents are not motivated to violate the law by a referent value complex, but their actions are dominated by the dictates of their absolute position as members of the lower class, whereas strain-based models assume that delinquency is produced by the awareness of those in the lower class of their lack of access, relative to the affluent, to the means of attaining socially defined ends.

**Lower-Class Subculture: Focal Concerns- Walter B. Miller**

Walter B. Miller said that a deviant subculture doesn't arise from the inability of the members to achieve success; instead he said that crime is a result of the fact that there is a lower-class subculture with different norms and values to the rest of society. He said these different values mean that for members of this culture there are a number of concerns and things people want to achieve, he called these focal concerns and they include as postulates.

**Postulates:**

- **Toughness** – Miller said that people within the lower-class subculture value toughness as an important trait; however this can manifest itself in assault and violence.
- **Smartness** – This culture also value the ability to outfox each other. This will often lead to people trying to con, pickpocket or steal from each other in 'clever' ways.
- **Excitement** – This culture constantly searches for excitement and thrills. This often means gambling, alcohol and sexual adventures.

Miller said this mix of 'focal concerns' can lead to a culture which accepts crime and deviance as normal.

- Saw the lower working class as a subculture with its own set of unique values
- Working class culture emphasised six focal concerns (or core values) which encouraged criminal behaviour amongst working class youth.
- Three examples of these focal concerns where toughness (physical prowess), excitement (risk-taking) and smartness (being street-smart).

Miller explained crime in terms of a distinctive lower-class subculture. He believed that Americans in the lower-class social bracket had developed a subculture which had its own values and traditions separate from those in a higher social bracket. These values and way of life were passed on from generation to generation. The values inherent in the lower-class culture actively encouraged lower-class men to commit crime.

**Miller's view on delinquency and focal concerns**

Miller believed that delinquency was essentially about the acting out of the focal concerns of lower-class subculture (toughness, smartness etc.) Its roots lay in the socialisation into a subculture with 'a distinctive tradition, many centuries old with integrity of its own'. Such a subculture has a life of its own. The reason for its existence is due to a need for a pool of low-skilled labour. These kinds of workers have to be able to tolerate routine, repetitive work as well as periods of unemployment. Lower-class subculture, with its emphasis on excitement and risk-taking activities, allows these workers to endure the monotony of their work. The activities of the subculture relieve them from the boredom of their working lives."

## UNIT-III SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF CRIME II

**Social Learning Theories: Theory of imitation (Tarde)**

Jean-Gabriel Tarde a French criminologist and sociologist, is one of the founding fathers of sociology. He opposed the dominant sociological model of his time, Emile Durkheim's view of society as a collective unity, and instead regarded society as an aggregate of individuals. Based on his view of the importance of the individual, Tarde analyzed human society, particularly human progress, to be the result of individuals engaged in relational behaviors according to each individual's characteristics and generally exemplifying one of three basic processes-"Invention," "Imitation," or "Opposition." For example, invention requires a gifted individual in a supportive social context. Although Tarde's work was generally not well received in France due to the dominance of Durkheim's views, his work on imitation did find relatively ready application in the field of criminology. Arguing against the Positivist criminology of Cesare Lombroso, which held that criminality was inherited, and that someone "born criminal'" could be identified by physical defects, Tarde suggested that the social environment is crucial both in the development of criminal behavior and its control.

Gabriel Tarde believed that three distinctive, yet interrelated processes characterize human society-**Invention, Imitation,** and **Opposition.** He wrote on those processes in his 1898 Les lois sociales (Social Laws).

**Invention,** according to Tarde, is the source of all progress. However, only one percent of people can make creative associations in their minds and can thus be regarded as gifted or inventive. Tarde believed that social factors contribute to inventiveness. For example, more coherent ties and better communication among gifted individuals can lead to mutual stimulation, resulting in greater flow of new ideas. Also, cultural values, like adventurousness or bravery, could lead to new discoveries, as in the time of Spanish explorers in the Golden Age.

**Imitation,** on the other hand, is much more widespread in society. Most people are not inventive, but only copy what they see from other people. Tarde codified his ideas in the "three laws of imitation":

1. the law of close contact,
2. the law of imitation of superiors by inferiors, and
3. the law of insertion.

**Opposition** takes place when two or more inventions come into conflict with each other, or when new and old ideas collide. Oppositions 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.
Tarde was aware of the need to back up his ideas with data, and thus began the collection of information on different social phenomena-from crime rates, strikes, and industrial production, to church attendance, voting, and similar social acts. He believed that by analyzing such data sociologists would be able to trace shifts in public opinion.

Tarde devised a theory of **"imitation and suggestion**," through which he tried to explain criminal behavior. He believed that the origins of deviance were similar to the origins of fads and fashions, and that his "three laws of imitation" can explain why people engage in crime. The first law -**the law of close contact** explains that people have a greater tendency to imitate the fashions or behaviors of those around them. If one is constantly surrounded by deviant behavior, one is more likely to imitate that type of behavior than any other, of which that person knows little. Direct contact with deviance fosters more deviance. Tarde believed that as society becomes denser, people will start to imitate each other more. He suggested that the mass media played a key role in the proliferation of crime, as criminals copied each other's style, which they learned about through the media.

Second law of imitation-**the law of imitation of superiors by inferiors**-explains that the poor or the young imitate the rich or the more experienced, and that crimes among the poor are in fact their attempts to imitate wealthy, high-status people.

The third law-**the law of insertion**-says that new behaviors are superimposed on old ones and subsequently either reinforce or extinguish previous behavior. For example, if criminals start to use a new type of weapon, they will not use the old one anymore.

Imitation is perhaps the least complex of the four dimensions of Akers's social learning theory. Imitation occurs when an individual engages in a behavior that is modeled on or follows his or her observation of another individual's behavior. An individual can observe the behavior of potential models either directly or indirectly (e.g., through the media). Furthermore, the characteristics of the models themselves, the behavior itself, and the observed consequences of the behavior all affect the probability that an individual will imitate the behavior. The process of imitation is often referred to as vicarious reinforcement. Although social learning theory maintains that the process of imitation occurs throughout an individual's life, Akers has argued that imitation is most salient in the initial acquisition and performance of a novel or new behavior. Thus, an individual's decision to engage in crime or deviance after watching a violent television show for the first time or observing his friends attack another peer for the first time provides the key social context in which imitation can occur. Nevertheless, the process of imitation is still assumed to exert an effect in maintaining or desisting from a given behavior.

**Differential Association Theory- Edwin Hardin Sutherland**

Edwin Hardin Sutherland was born August 13, 1883 in Gibbon, Nebraska. He grew up and was educated in Ottawa, Kansas, and Grand Island, Nebraska. After graduation Sutherland taught Latin, Greek, history, and shorthand for two years at Sioux Falls College in South Dakota. During this period he enrolled in a correspondence course in sociology offered by the University of Chicago, thus meeting a requirement set forth to attend graduate school. In 1906, he began the aforementioned graduate program eventually choosing to major in sociology. Sutherland received his Ph.D. degree, in sociology, from the University of Chicago in 1913. He propounded the term "White Collar Crime" and defined it.

 Having been trained in the Chicago school tradition, Sutherland spent most of his time prior to developing his theory of differential association modifying central aspects of the social disorganization perspective.  However, he soon became concerned with expanding the conceptual boundaries of the Chicago school.  Having been influenced by Thorsten Sellin's idea of culture conflict, presented in Culture Conflict and Crime, Sutherland developed the idea of differential social organization. Sutherland related this idea to differential rates of crime between subgroups or subcultures within society in his 1934 textbook Principles of Criminology and was surprised when Henry D. McKay considered it a theory of criminal behavior.  Sutherland realize his emphasis on the process of learning and the need for a new criminological theory focusing on such a topic.

In 1939, Sutherland formally presented his theory of differential association, relying heavily upon the work of Shaw and McKay (1929 and 1969), in the third edition of his textbook Principles of Criminology.  Since the very beginning, Sutherland's theory was readily accepted.  One possible explanation for this is the fact that his ideas coincided with the general perspectives of his fellow sociologists.  It not only explained most of the criminological findings of its day, but it did so from a decisively sociological perspective, rejecting the claims of both the biological and pathological perspectives of deviance.  In other words, the theory of differential association attributes the cause of crime to the social context of individuals rather than the individuals themselves.  A second possible explanation for widespread acceptance of the theory of differential association is the Great Depression. Ultimately, there have been several factors contributing to the development of the theory of differential association.  While Sutherland was an extremely brilliant individual without the influence of Sellin's culture conflict theory (1938) and the comments of Henry McKay (Cohen et al.1956), among others, it is hard to say whether such a theory would ever have been developed.  Regardless, differential association has become extremely popular among criminologists and as luck would have it, Sutherland's work is now the influence behind many criminological studies, a just result for a great theorist.

**Theory of Differential Association**

The theory of differential association was intended as a comprehensive explanation of criminal and some noncriminal behavior.  Unlike previous theories explaining the criminality of groups, including his own theory of differential social organization, Sutherland sought to explain the criminal behavior of individual people.  Such information, Sutherland believed, could then be applied to groups.  By doing so, he hoped to be able to explain variations in the crime rates of groups located within the same community, a phenomenon the popular social disorganization theory had been unable to account for.  Having outlined the social-learning process of crime in his book The Professional Thief (1937), Sutherland applied this emphasis on learning to his previous concerns relating to differential group organization.  The result was a preliminary version of the theory of differential association presented in 1939, which proposed that criminal behavior is, learned (Sutherland 1939).  The final version of differential association theory was presented by Sutherland in the form of nine postulates found in the 4th edition of his textbook Principles of Criminology (1947: 75-77).

These postulates are as follows:

**1. Criminal behavior is learned.**
Sutherland believed that criminal behavior was not inherited or a result of any other biological condition. Additionally, he claimed that a person could not commit crime without first being trained. In other words the individual, without prior influence, is incapable of inventing criminal behavior.

**2. Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.**
Sutherland believed such communication usually involved verbal interaction; however it could also involve the use gestures without words. This postulate coincides with the first by once again claiming that individuals cannot become criminal by themselves.

**3. The principle part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups.**
Sutherland felt that other humans, in the form of intimate personal groups, provided the largest influence on the learning of criminal behavior. Along those lines, he felt impersonal agencies of communication such as newspapers and movies played a relatively unimportant role in the "birth" of criminal behavior.

**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 direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.**

In his book, The Professional Thief Sutherland explains this process by describing the life of a professional thief.

> "…a person can become a professional thief only if he is trained by those who are already professionals. It is ridiculous to imagine an amateur deciding to become a pickpocket, con man, penny-weighter (jewelry thief), or shake man (extortioner) without professional guidance. He knows nothing of the racket, its techniques or operations, and he can't learn these things out of books."

**5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable.**
Sutherland believed that some societies flourished with definitions favorable to the following of the laws governing society whereas others supported the violation of such legal codes. Ultimately he viewed America as having both definitions mixed variously throughout the country, thus experiencing a sort of culture conflict in relation to the legal codes.

**6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law.**
This is the principle of differential association. Individuals become criminal due to repeated contacts with criminal activity and a lack of contact with noncriminal activity.

**7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity.**
According to Sutherland, a precise description of the criminal behavior of a person would present these "modalities" in quantitative form with a mathematical ratio being reached. Unfortunately, as he pointed out, an appropriate formula had yet to be developed due to the sheer difficulty involved.

**8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.**
In this postulate, Sutherland claims that criminal behavior is learned just like every other behavior. In other words, he felt there was nothing "special" or "abnormal" about criminal behavior or criminals for that matter, thus going against the claims of biological and pathological theorists. This is one of the primary reasons why the theory of differential association was so readily accepted by Sutherland's colleagues.

**9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values, since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values.**

The attempts to explain criminal behavior by general drives and values such as the money motive have been futile, according to Sutherland, since they explain lawful behavior as completely as they explain criminal behavior. For example, a thief generally steals in order to obtain monetary wealth. However, such an action is no different from the work of an honest laborer. Once again, Sutherland manages to point out gaps in previous explanations of criminal behavior.

Ultimately Sutherland's theory is based on two core assumptions:
(1) deviance occurs when people define a certain human situation as an appropriate occasion for violating social norms or criminal laws and
(2) definitions of the situation are acquired through an individual's history of past experience. The theory emphasizes the social-psychological processes by which people produce subjective definitions of their situation in life.

Sutherland argued that in considering the social-psychological processes causing individual deviance "it is not necessary…to explain why a person has the associations he has". What is necessary is to examine the normal learning process whereby a person comes to define a particular situation as more or less appropriate for deviant behavior. This requires measuring the frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of associations favoring and not favoring deviance.

**Differential Identification Theory- Glaser**

Glaser built off Sutherland's theory with his introduction of differential identification, which sought to correct the plot holes that Sutherland left open. Glaser believed that the differential association suggested a "mechanistic image" of deviance. He believed associations with deviants were "harmless" unless the individual could identify with those actions and behaviors. The text states that "Glaser's theory may be taken to suggest that it is all right for us to associate with

deviants in real life or in books and movies, as long as we do not take them so seriously that we identify with them, treating them as our heroes. If we do identify with them, we are likely to become deviants ourselves." Summary of this theory: Differential association plus differential identification equals deviant behavior.

Glaser's theory differing from Sutherland's is that there is "some support from empirical data." For instance, Victor Matthews (1968) observed "that high school boys who identified with delinquent friends were likely to become delinquent themselves." The problems at arise are that there is no conclusive evidence that backs this theory and it is feasible that an individual may only identify with a deviant after, instead of before, they commit deviance for themselves. Daniel Glaser (1956)–his theory a reaction to deficiencies in Sutherland's differential association theory

- States that theory of differential association:–Is an overly mechanistic representation of criminality
- Neglects the fact that the individual makes choices
- Theory ignores role of indirect interaction–e.g. the persuasive role of the media

**Differential Opportunity Theory- Cloward and Ohlin**

Cloward and Ohlin integrated Sutherland's and Merton's theories and developed a new theory of criminal behaviour in 1960. Whereas Sutherland talks of illegitimate means and Merton talks of differentials in legitimate means, Cloward and Ohlin (Delinquency and Opportunity, 1960) talk of differentials in both legitimate and illegitimate means to success-goals.

The important elements of this theory are:

(1) an individual occupies position in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures;
(2) relative availability of illegitimate opportunities affects the resolution of an individual's adjustment problems; and
(3) faced with limitations on legitimate avenues of access to goals and unable to revise his aspirations downward, he experiences intense frustrations, resulting in the exploration of non-conformist alternatives.

Solving adjustment problems thus depends upon relative access to these systems. If in a given social structure, a person has little or no access to illegal or criminal means, he would not be expected to adopt criminal means to solve his Problems. Cloward and Ohlin have identified three major types of delinquent subcultures: the criminal, the conflict, and the retreatist. A particular one that emerges in any given socio-cultural setting will be a function of the availability of illegitimate opportunities. The first is characterized by illegal money-making activities, the second emphasizes acts of violence and gun-fighting, and the third emphasizes drug use and other 'kicks'.

Criminal subculture tends to arise in lower-class neighbourhood where successful and big-time criminals reside and are also willing to associate with them (juveniles). Juveniles in this social

class do not have conventional role models of successful people who have achieved their success through legitimate channels; but they do have access to criminal success models. The child has an opportunity to actually perform illegitimate roles because such activity finds support in his immediate neighbourhood milieu.

The rewards monetary and other of successful learning and performance are immediate and gratifying. Further, in this subculture, integration of conventional and criminal values also exists. Since the youth 'fix' politicians, police officials and law enforcement officials and seek their support, they maintain necessary relationships with these people.

As a consequence of the integrative relationships, a new opportunity structure emerges, one which permits and facilitates illegitimate instead of legitimate activities. Conflict subculture is found in areas where there is no alliance between the criminal and the conventional elements. This subculture features violence and/or threat of violence as method of getting status.In such neighbourhoods, young people tend to organise themselves in a community of gangs contending with one another for 'rap' through a show of violence and toughness.

**The important criticisms against Cloward and Ohlin's theory are:**

(1) The main contention of the theory that there are two kinds of opportunities legitimate and illegitimate is not as simple as it seems.
The distinction, although real, is 'analytical' rather than 'concrete', that is, there are not some things that are legitimate opportunities and other things that are illegitimate opportunities, but the same things are always both; for example, notes prepared by students on small pieces of paper when used in examinations become unfair means.
When used a day or two before examinations for remembering important points, these very notes are nothing but legitimate simple means. Similarly, a gun can be used for killing as well as defending oneself.
(2) Cloward and Ohlin maintain that the lower-class youths have two orientations: orientation towards membership in middle-class, called 'lifestyle' orientation, and orientation towards economic improvement, called 'economic' orientation.
Cloward and Ohlin's thesis is that candidates for delinquent subculture are those who wish to retain lower-class membership but aspire to improve their economic status. Gordon, however, says that these two orientations do not exist separately.
(3) Cloward and Ohlin have not specified the initial conditions for the emergence of various types of subculture.
(4) There is class-bias in this theory.
(5) Clarence Schrag has said that the concepts used in the theory cannot be operationalised; for example, 'opportunity structure', 'perception of opportunity', 'denial of legitimacy', 'double failure', etc.
(6) Personality factor has been completely ignored.

## UNIT-IV: SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF CRIME III

**Social Control Theories**

The social control approach to understanding crime is one of the three major sociological perspectives in contemporary criminology. Control theorists believe that conformity to the rules of society is produced by socialization and maintained by ties to people and institutions- to family members, friends, schools, and jobs. Put briefly, crime and delinquency result when the individual's bond to society is weak or broken. As social bonds increase in strength, the costs of crime to the individual increase as well. The intellectual roots of social control theory reach back several centuries, but it was not until the middle of the 20th century that this theory began to generate broad interest among crime researchers. Since then, it has been among the most frequently tested in the scientific literature and has garnered substantial empirical support. Its research and policy implications have generated perhaps the most debate of any modern theory of crime. The influence of social control theory on actual crime control policy has been less impressive. Social control theories do not support expansion of the criminal justice system. They do not favor larger police forces or lengthy incarceration as crime control policies. They favor instead policies designed to establish stronger bonds between individuals and society.

The first task of the control theorist is to identify the important elements of the bond to society. The second task is to say what is meant by society- to locate the persons and institutions important in the control of delinquent and criminal behavior. The following list of elements of the bond- attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief-has proved useful in explaining the logic of the theory and in summarizing relevant research. It has also provided guidelines for evaluation of delinquency prevention programs.

**Drift and Neutralization Theory - Gresham Sykes and David Matza**

The theory of Neutralization and Drift was first introduced by Gresham Sykes and David Matza. Sykes and Matza got together and first theorized about Neutralization during their time working on Differential Association by Sutherland in the 1960's. They said that delinquents aren't actually in opposition to society's norms and values. He said that society has a strong moral hold on them and this prevents them from engaging in delinquent activities for most of the time, he said that the fact that these people often show remorse for their actions later in life support this view. Instead he said these young delinquents are involved in crime only occasionally as part-time law breakers. They said that delinquents convince themselves they are not breaking the law, and this allows them to commit crimes whilst still accepting society's norms and values.

However, they said that within mainstream societies values there are 'subterranean values' which promote the ideas of acting in the spur of the moment for excitement and thrills. Although the subterranean values are within mainstream societies set of values, they could encourage behaviour which breaks the law and are then seen by mainstream society as criminal or deviant. Through this theory of 'delinquency drift' Matza explains how he thinks young people within a subculture can break the values of society without really recognising that they are doing so, and

then later in life drift back into mainstream society as these subterranean values become less important to the individual.

According to Gresham Sykes and David Matza we learn "techniques of neutralization". Cognitive and verbal strategies that allow us to rationalize our "deviant" life to the world is conformity. This "theory" recognizes that deviates live in, and often in-between worlds of conformity and nonconformity. Following is their postulates a criminal justifies for his non-confirmatory behaviour.

1. **Denial of responsibility** - person recognizes that the act is wrong, but denies their responsibility
   - "the devil made me do it"; "it was an accident, I didn't mean it"

2. **Denial of injury** - person admits they did something, but denies that anyone was harmed.
   - Smoking marijuana does not hurt anyone

3. **Denial of Victim** - person admits act is considered "wrong" but feels it was justified; victim seen as deserving
   - vigilante justice; hate crimes

4. **Condemning the condemners** - denying or deflecting blame/guilt by attacking credibility or character of those who accuse or pass judgment.
   - "look who is talking"; "you got no room to judge"; "are there no skeletons in your closet"

5. **Appeal to higher loyalties** - excusing one's behavior by claiming an unselfish motive.
   - Don't to aid others or a larger cause
     - terrorist activities

**Containment Theory- Walter C. Reckless**

Walter Reckless, the propounded of this theory (1967), has said that the important question that must be answered in explaining criminal behaviour is why, given the alternatives of law-abiding and law-violating behaviour, some people turn to one or the other behaviour. He suggests that self-concept is the key factor in explaining the choice among alternatives of behaviour. A favourable self-concept directs an individual towards law-abiding behaviour, and an unfavourable self-concept directs him towards delinquent behaviour.

Reckless has further said that there are two important aspects of control: inner control and outer control, and that depending upon the balance of these control systems; the individual can take either a deviant or a conformist route. His assumption is that strong inner and reinforcing outer containment constitutes isolation against normative deviancy, that is, violation of the socio-legal conduct norms. In 1955, Reckless and Dinitz studied white 'good' boys (who, their teachers thought, would not get into trouble with the law) of sixth grade of about 12 years age, selected from high delinquency areas. The schedule, administered in the boys' homes, contained 50 items

designed to measure self-concept. Likewise, in 1956, they interviewed 101 'bad' boys (who, their teachers thought, would become delinquents) and studied their self-concept.

They concluded, on the basis of this study, that a good self-concept is evidence of favourable socialisation and the development of a 'strong inner self' (self-control, well-developed super-ego, high frustration tolerance, resistance to diversions, ability to find substitute satisfactions, tension-reducing rationalizations, etc.) which directs a person towards middle-class values.

**Figure 4.1 Containments Outer and Inner**



Poor self-concept is indicative of unfavourable socialisation and 'weak inner direction', which in turn does not deflect the boy from bad companions and street corner society, does not enable him to embrace middle-class values, and gives him an awareness of being cut off from upward movement in the legitimate opportunity system.

The evaluation of this theory has pointed out that though this is the only research by sociologists in the area of delinquency which handles variables of personality and self, nevertheless the measure of self-concept has been questioned and the lack of control groups has been noted.

**Social Control Theory of Crime- Travis Hirschi**

The 'Social Control' Theory sees crime as a result of social institutions losing control over individuals. Weak institutions such as certain types of families, the breakdown of local communities, and the breakdown of trust in the government and the police are all linked to higher crime rates.

Travis Hirschi argued that criminal activity occurs when an individual's attachment to society is weakened. This attachment depends on the strength of social bonds that hold people to society. According to Hirschi there are four social bonds that bind us together –
- Attachment;
- Commitment;
- Involvement and
- Belief.

## I. Attachment

Social control theory assumes that people can see the advantages of crime and are capable of inventing and executing all sorts of criminal acts on the spot-without special motivation or prior training. It assumes that the impulse to commit crime is resisted because of the costs associated with such behavior. It assumes further that a primary cost of crime is the disapproval of the people about whom the potential offender cares. To the extent that the potential offender cares about no one, he or she is free to commit the crime in question. Sociologists often explain conformity as the result of such sensitivity. Psychologists as often explain deviation as the result of insensitivity to the concerns of others. Together, they tell us that sensitivity is a continuum and that some people have more than others and some have less than others. This is the position adopted by control theorists. They focus on the extent to which people are sensitive to the opinion of others and predict that this variable will predict rates of crime and delinquency.

Sensitivity suggests feeling or emotion, and this element of the social bond indeed attempts to capture the emotions (or lack thereof) involved in conformity and deviance. The words are many: affection, love, concern, care, and respect, to name only some. Social control theorists use attachment as an abstract summary of these concepts.

The evidence is clear that family attachments are strongly correlated with (non)delinquency. In their famous book Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1950) indicated that, according to their research, affection of the father and the mother for the child were two of the best five predictors of delinquency. They found, too, that in the other direction, the emotional ties of the child to the parent tended to be weaker among delinquents. From this, we may conclude that family attachments play a role in the socialization of the child as well as in maintaining his or her subsequent conformity to the rules of society. Researchers have reported that family attachments may account for the apparent effects of other variables. For example, the item "Do your parents know where you are (and what you are doing) when you are away from home?" has been often found to predict levels of self-reported delinquency. These correlations are of course taken as evidence of the importance of parental supervision. They are better seen as evidence of the importance of communication between parent and child. Scandinavian scholars have shown that parents know where their children are to the extent that their children inform them of their whereabouts. In other words, well-supervised children are those who supervise themselves, those who in effect take their parents with them wherever they happen to go.

Attachment to school is also a well-established predictor of delinquency. Students who report liking school and caring about the opinion of teachers are far less likely to be delinquent regardless of how delinquency is measured. Indeed, it is practically a truism that "delinquents don't like school." The general principle would seem to be that withdrawal of favorable sentiments toward controlling institutions neutralizes their moral force. Rebels and revolutionaries may dispute this principle, but that says nothing about the element of truth it contains (and they prove it by their actions).

## II. Commitment

Everyone seems to understand the paraphrased song lyric that freedom is another way of saying that one has nothing left to lose. Control theory captures this idea in the concept of commitment, the idea that conforming behavior protects and preserves capital, whereas crime and delinquency put it at risk. The potential delinquent calculates the costs and benefits of crime. The more he or

she has to lose, the greater the potential costs of the crime and the less likely it is to be committed. What does one loses or risk losing from crime? The short answer is life, liberty, and property. The long answer, attachments aside, is that it depends on one's assets and prospects, on one's accomplishments and aspirations. For young people in American society, the main arena for the display of accomplishment or achievement is the school. Athletics aside, and however diverse the curriculum, the currency of this realm is academic achievement. Also, truancy aside, of the available measures of school-related activities, grade point average appears to be the best predictor of delinquency. Good students are likely to aspire to further education and are unlikely to commit delinquent acts or to get into difficulties with the police. Grade point average accounts for the correlation between IQ test scores and delinquency. Put another way, IQ affects delinquency through its effect of grades. It has no direct effect on delinquency. This means that the ancient idea that, other things equal, intelligent people are better able to appreciate the consequences of their acts is not supported by the data; instead, the data suggest that the correspondence between achievement and prospects on one side and delinquency on the other is just what one would expect from rational actors, whatever their level of intelligence.

### III. Involvement

In television courtrooms, one task of the prosecutor is to establish that the defendant had the opportunity to commit the crime of which he or she is accused. Crimes are events that take place at a given point in time. Conditions necessary for their accomplishment may or may not be present. Control theorists, like most other theorists, have seized on this fact and tried to incorporate the notion of opportunity into their explanation of crime. They do so through the concept of involvement, which is short for "involvement in conventional activities." The idea is that people doing conventional things-working, playing games, watching sporting events or television, doing homework, engaging in hobbies, or talking to parents-are to that extent unable to commit delinquent acts, whatever their delinquent tendencies may be. Despite its firm place in the common sense of criminology, the idea of involvement/limited opportunity has not fared well when put to the test. More than one researcher has found that adolescents with jobs are more rather than less likely to be delinquent. Also, counts of the hours of the day the adolescent is doing an activity that is inconsistent with delinquent acts have proved disappointing.

There are two problems with the concept of involvement. First, it is based on a misconception of the nature of crime. Most criminal acts, perhaps especially those available to adolescents, require only seconds or minutes for their completion-the pull of the trigger, a swing of the fist, a barked command, a jimmied door, a grab from a rack or showcase. This fact allows the commission of large numbers of criminal acts by a single offender in a short period of time. (It also makes ridiculous attempts to estimate the average number of offenses committed by individual offenders in an extended period of time.) Because opportunities for crimes are ubiquitous, the hope of preventing them by otherwise occupying the potential offender has proved vain. A second problem with this concept is that it neglects the fact that opportunities for crime reside to a large extent in the eye of the beholder. Objective conditions matter, but so do the perceptions of actors. Control theory claims that people differ in the strength of their bonds to society. It therefore predicts that people who are strongly bonded are less likely to engage in activities that provide opportunities for delinquency and are less likely to see them should they arise.

*IV. Belief*

The role of beliefs in the causation of delinquency is a matter of considerable dispute. Some social scientists argue that they are of central importance. Others ignore them, suggesting that they are nothing more than words that reflect (and justify) past behavior but are in no way responsible for it. Control theory rejects the view that beliefs are positive causes of delinquency, that offenders are somehow living up to their beliefs when they commit delinquent acts. Control theory is, however, compatible with the view that some beliefs prevent delinquency while others allow it.

Perhaps the principal benefit of the study of beliefs is that they help us understand how the other bonds work to prevent delinquency. For example, responses to the statement "People who break the law are almost always caught and punished" are related to delinquency in the expected direction. Individuals who disagree are more likely to report delinquent acts. What can be said about the factual accuracy of this belief? Do delinquents know the truth while non-delinquents have been systematically misinformed? The answer appears to be that both delinquents and non-delinquents are correct, at least from their point of view. In the short term, "getting away with it" may well be the rule. In the long term, offenders are typically caught and, in various ways, punished. A short-term orientation reflects a lack of commitment and is therefore conducive to delinquency. A long-term orientation is indicative of commitment and prevents delinquency. All of this teaches two lessons: (1) Manipulating beliefs without changing the reality on which they are based is unlikely to reduce the level of delinquency, and (2) changing actual levels of law enforcement efficiency is unlikely to change the beliefs that allow and disallow criminal conduct. According to this theory one would predict the 'typical delinquent' to be young, single, unemployed and probably male. Conversely, those who are married and in work are less likely to commit crime – those who are involved and part of social institutions are less likely to go astray. Politicians of all persuasions tend to talk in terms of social control theory. Jack Straw from the labour party has argued that 'lads need dads' and David Cameron has made recent speeches about the importance of the family and the problems associated with absent fathers. These views are also popular with the right wing press, which often reminds their (middle class, nuclear family) readers that 'Seventy per cent of young offenders come from lone-parent families; children from broken homes'.

**Supporting evidence for Hirsch's Social Control Theory**

Evidence for Social Control Theory tends to focus on three problem areas that are correlated with higher crime rates. These are: Absentee parents; Truancy; Unemployment. The Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (Faring ton and West 1991). Looked at 411 'working class' males born in 1953 who were studied until their late 30s. Found that offenders were more likely to come from poorer, single parent families with poor parenting and parents who were themselves offenders. This study suggests that good primary socialisation is essential in preventing crime. Martin Glyn has pointed out that many young offenders suffer from what he calls 'parent deficit'. He argues that this is the single most important factor in explaining youth offending. He argues that children need both discipline and love, two things that are often both absent with absent parents.

Research commissioned by NASUWT, a teachers' union, based on reviewing existing literature and in depth studies of two schools in Birmingham and London found that Family breakdown and a lack of father figures could be to blame for pupils joining gangs, Children as young as nine are being drawn into organised crime for protection and to gain a "sense of belonging" because of the lack of positive role models at home, it is claimed. Others are being effectively "born into" gangs as membership is common among older brothers and even parents in some areas. The problem is increasingly threatening some inner-city schools, with teachers claiming that the influence of gang culture has soared over the past three years.

## Criticisms of Social Control Theory

This may be a case of blaming the victim – We need to look at structural factors that lead to family breakdown (poverty, long working hours, and unemployment). Parent deficit does not automatically lead to children becoming criminals. There are also 'pull factors' such as peer group pressure.

## Social Conflict Theories

Social conflict theory argues that individuals and groups (social classes) within society interact on the basis of conflict rather than consensus. Through various forms of conflict, groups will tend to attain differing amounts of material and non-material resources (e.g. the wealthy vs. the poor). More powerful groups will tend to use their power in order to retain power and exploit groups with less power. Conflict theorists view conflict as an engine of change, since conflict produces contradictions which are sometimes resolved, creating new conflicts and contradictions in an ongoing dialectic. In the classic example of historical materialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued that all of human history is the result of conflict between classes, which evolved over time in accordance with changes in society's means of meeting its material needs, i.e. changes in society's mode of production. From a social conflict theorist / Marxism point of view social class and inequality emerges because the social structure is based on conflict and contradictions. Contradictions in interests and conflict over scarce resources between groups are the foundation of social society, according to the social conflict theory.

The higher class will try to maintain their privileges, power, status and social position - and therefore try to influence politics, education, and other institutions to protect and limit access to their forms of capital and resources. Whereas the lower class - in contradiction to the higher class - has very different interests. They do not have specific forms of capital that they need to protect. All they are interesting in is in gaining access to the resources and capital of the higher class. For example, education: the lower class will do everything to gain access to the higher class resources based on democratizing and liberalizing education systems because these forms of capital are thought to be of value for future success. The various institutions of society such as the legal and political system are instruments of ruling class domination and serve to further its interests. Marx believed that western society developed through four main epochs-primitive communalism, ancient society, feudal society and capitalist society. Primitive communism is represented by the societies of pre-history and provides the only example of the classless society.

From then all societies are divided into two major classes-master and slaves in ancient society, lords and serfs in feudal society and capitalist and wage laborers in capitalist society. Weber sees class in economic terms. He argues that classes develop in market economies in which individuals compete for economic gain. He defines a class as a group of individuals who share a similar position in market economy and by virtue of that fact receive similar economic rewards. Thus a person's class situation is basically his market situation. Those who share a similar class situation also share similar life chances. Their economic position will directly affect their chances of obtaining the things defined as desirable in their society.

**Labelling Theory- Edwin Lemert**

In the early 20th century, the Chicago School of sociology transformed the landscape of sociology and set the standard for future criminologists. Two primary lines of inquiry came from this school:

(1) Human ecology and
(2) Symbolic interactionism.

The different assumptions that underlie each of these theoretical models and the different focuses of each (the macro vs. the micro, respectively) would lead each theory to grow in its own directions. Human ecology would be applied to crime almost immediately in the form of social disorganization research, but it would not be until the 1960s that research applying symbolic interaction theory to criminality would occur in the form of the labeling theory. The labeling theoretical model was generated over a large part of the 20th century. The way in which it was constructed, by myriad different sociologists, criminologists, and empirical researchers, has resulted in a fragmented theoretical model, with concepts added here and there or propositions being elaborated upon, here and there. The fragmented tapestry that is the labeling perspective, as well as the inherent attack on offender-oriented criminological theory by labeling theorists, has exposed it to a great deal of criticism and counterattack. The next section explores the primary lines of criticism that have been leveled against the labeling perspective.

The labeling perspective has its origins in the work of Mead and Cooley in the sociological theory of symbolic interactionism. Mead believed that the self arose through social processes, or social experiences, which involved play, game, and the generalized other. A person's self is generated when an individual takes the attitudes of other people in the group around him or her (whom Mead called the generalized other) and superimposes those attitudes upon behavioral patterns; thus, a person will generally behave in a manner that is consistent with the way in which that person believes others view him or her. Mead differentiated between the "me" and the "I," and Cooley referred to this process as the looking-glass self, which is a reference to the socially shaped self.

This process is not a static one; instead, it is a dynamic process of the individual "reacting back against society," which in turn is constantly reacting to the individual. In this way, an individual will behave in a manner that is consistent with others' beliefs and expectations. Human behavior, then, revolves around the meanings of things and situations; the interpretation of these meanings

through interactions with others; and the interpretive process an individual undergoes concerning interactions, both present and past. Mead viewed this role taking as the foundation for social control (formal and informal). This two-way, symbolic interaction between the self and society forms the foundation of labeling theory.

**Labeling Precursors- forerunner**

Although the ideas inherent in symbolic interaction work are at the core of the labeling perspective, it was Tannenbaum (1938) who first suggested their application to criminal behavior. In his discussion of a mostly subcultural theory of crime, Tannenbaum introduced the concept of the "dramatization of evil." As he argued, "The dramatization of the 'evil' which separates the child out of his group for specialized treatment plays a greater role in making the criminal than perhaps any other experience" (p. 19). When a child commits a deviant or criminal act, this child is segregated from other children. A child who has come to the attention of the neighborhood or the criminal justice system has thus been "tagged."

Tannenbaum (1938) provided the following description: The person thus takes on the characteristic of the so-called tag. The "evil" that is trying to be contained by the criminal justice system is then further exacerbated. This was the first call for the deinstitutionalization of certain types of juvenile offenders. As mentioned earlier, though, Tannenbaum (1938) was actually presenting his labeling approach through the framework of a subcultural theory of criminality. Tannenbaum noted that the isolation that ensues from a tag would lead an individual "into companionship with other children similarly defined, and the gang becomes his/her means of escape". Goffman (1963) later argued that people who have a "particular stigma tend to have similar learning experiences . . . a similar moral career". Tannenbaum's policy arguments, based on the dramatization of evil, did not focus on individual offenders but instead attacked whole groups of offenders in an effort to change attitudes and ideals.

**Theory**
Lemert (1967) was the next to explore the intricate web of the self, society, and deviance. He introduced the concepts of societal reaction and primary and secondary deviance. Lemert used the socio-psychological concepts of primary and secondary deviance to "distinguish between original and effective causes of deviant attributes and actions which are associated with physical defects and incapacity, crime, and mental disorders". He argued that primary deviance arose from a variety of social, psychological, cultural, and physiological processes.

**Primary deviance** consists of "initial acts of norm violations or crimes that have very little influence on the actor and can be quickly forgotten". Primary deviants undergo no change in their psychological makeup or in the way they act as members of society. When they are apprehended, however, primary deviants suffer a variety of consequences, many of which focus on the application to them of such labels as sick, criminal, insane, and so on. Thus, secondary deviance is caused by the way in which society reacts to some of the people who engage in primary deviance. Secondary deviance "refers to a special class of socially defined responses which people make to problems created by the social reaction to deviance" (Lemert, 1967).

**Secondary deviance** occurs when the individual reorganizes his or her personality around the consequences of the deviant act and to persistent forms of deviance around which people organize their lives. Secondary deviance is promoted through an internal process of normalization of behavior and a lack of social controls; this process creates, maintains, and intensifies stigmas that include invidious labels, marks, or publicly disseminated information (Goffman, 1963), which are akin to Tannenbaum's (1938) "tags." The drug experimenter becomes an addict; the recreational drinker becomes an alcoholic; the joy rider a car thief. As the society begins to recognize and sanction these behaviors, the application of the labels increases, or amplifies, instead of decreases, the act. Lemert's (1967) concept of secondary deviance goes to the heart of labeling theory: deviance as identity transformation.

In an immediate precursor to Becker's (1963) formulation of the labeling perspective, Kitsuse (1962) proposed a shift in "focus of theory and research from the forms of deviant behavior to the processes by which persons come to be defined as deviants by others" (p. 248). In his examination of homosexuality, Kitsuse collected data that suggested that the critical feature of the "deviant defining process" is not the actual individual's behavior, but rather the interpretations other people have of those behaviors. Kitsuse concluded that criminological theory must contain not only propositions pertaining to behavior but also concepts relating to the reaction to behavior.

**Becker's Labeling Theory**
Tannenbaum, Lemert, and Kitsuse had discussed important concepts in labeling and stigmatization, but the labeling approach was more systematically refined with the work of Becker on societal "outsiders." Becker argued that when a "rule is enforced; the person who is supposed to have broken it may be seen as a special kind of person . . . an outsider". Noticing, as Kitsuse had, that criminologists had focused primarily on deviant characteristics and had largely ignored the role of societal judgment in the study of deviance, Becker (1963) urged for the inclusion of society's reaction to deviant phenomena: This is the central proposition of the labeling perspective. To add to this, Becker (1963) also discussed other concepts of key importance for labeling theorists.

A label, or a stigma contended, will vary because of certain theoretical concepts. First, the type of individuals who are labeled as deviant vary over time; for instance, individuals who were arrested for bootlegging in the Prohibition era would not be arrested today. Second, the degree to which an individual is considered deviant also depends on who commits the act and who has been victimized. A prime example is the treatment of white-collar and street-level offenders: Whereas street-level offenders usually will be processed through the criminal justice system if caught, white-collar criminals may be processed through criminal, administrative, or civil channels. Who commits the act and who is hurt will determine the extent and type of formal intervention and of the label. Finally, the term outsider may apply to the people who create the rules by individuals who are breaking those rules. The rule makers can be outsiders to the so-called "deviant" group.

In his discussion of the labeling perspective, Becker (1963) identified four types of deviants: (1) falsely accused, (2) conformist, (3) pure deviant, and (4) secret deviant. The falsely accused

deviant is the individual who receives a "bum rap," someone who has not broken any rules and yet is labeled. The conformist is someone who does not break rules and is not labeled. The pure deviant is someone who breaks rules and is so labeled. The secret deviant, which is discussed more later in this research paper, is the individual who engages in rule-breaking but is not labeled. Because the idea of labeling is intertwined with the idea of secondary deviance (Lemert, 1967), Becker (1963) also discussed the deviant career, which begins with the commission of a deviant or criminal act. If a label is applied and is internalized by the individual, secondary deviance may ensue. Becker argued that research should focus on individuals who have engaged in at least one criminal act but have failed to become adult criminals as well as those offenders who continue criminality over time.

Becker (1963) later argued that he never thought he had set down the basis for a formal theory in his work, Outsiders; he merely wanted to enlarge the field of study for students of deviance. Becker suggested that secondary deviance should not be the main focus of labeling researchers; instead, the process of action–reaction–counter reaction was the most important aspect of the labeling approach. Becker noted that the labeling perspective was also not as consumed with the label as critics have argued. In a later interview, Becker argued that the inclusion of societal reactions to deviance stemmed from his sociological past: "If we study a hospital . . . we study doctors, patients, nurses, aides, and so on. We may focus on one category of people, but we know that the actions of the others are important as well". Thus, the focus on only the offender in criminological theory is an incomplete picture of the entire criminal event; society's views and opinions must be taken into account.

## Radical Criminology

Radical criminology is a conflict ideology which bases its perspectives on crime and law in the belief that capitalist societies precipitate and **define crime as the owners of the means of production use their power to enact laws that will control the working class and repress threats to the power of the ruling class**.

Radical criminology began to appear on the criminological scene in the 1960s as criminologists began to question traditional criminology in light of political, social, and economic events occurring in the United States. Conflict over racial issues and the Vietnam War resulted in organized opposition to the state, including rioting and other forms of violence. The governmental, along with researchers and academics, sought ways to respond to and control these movements, which eventually led to rapid expansion of the criminal justice system.

Radical criminology may be referred to as Marxist, conflict, or critical criminology. The ideological perspectives defined in the early years of radical criminology continue to serve as a foundation for criminologists interested in anarchist, environmental, feminist, constitutive, cultural, peacemaking, restorative, and other branches of critical criminology. All branches of radical or critical criminology share concepts and principles centered on the distribution of power and ways in which the law protects the interests of the ruling class.

Radical or critical criminologists, many of whom were politically active during the 1960's, generally adhere to Marxist principles. While Marx did not specifically discuss crime, his writings focused on law, power, and social and economic control, each of which is important variables to consider in an examination of crime and justice. Radical criminologists argue that the law serves those with the power to translate their interests into public policy. Rather than accepting the premise of law as a product of consensus, radical criminologists define law as a set of rules defined and enforced by the state. Critical scholars argue that our criminal justice system neutralizes potential opposition to the state by targeting the actions of those who are most oppressed. In addition to controlling opposition, these laws often reproduce hierarchies that serve the interests of those in power.

Radical criminologists challenge mainstream criminology's focus on theoretical explanations of the causes of criminal behavior and the measurement of crime reported in the Uniform Crime Reports. The focus on common crimes and individual responsibility, leading to punishments intended to deter individuals from choosing crime, serves the state's interest in repression. Individual blame also diverts attention from structural models of causation and relieves those in power from accepting responsibility. Radicals argue that the discipline of criminology, the general public, and politicians focus on crime in the streets, allowing those in power to commit far greater criminal acts with little fear of retribution.

**Figure 4.2 Elements of Radical Criminology**



Radical criminologists also examine the processes through which deviance, criminal behavior, and state responses to crime are socially constructed. This examination provides insight into the ways state power is used to define challenges to authority. For example, behaviors that threaten the social, economic, and political order are labeled terrorist as well as criminal. Different responses to criminal acts are facilitated when the state-controlled label of terrorist can be applied. Similarly, the focus on repeat offenders, and long prison terms, has centered on street crime rather than corporate or white-collar crime. This pattern also reinforces the perception that individuals, rather than institutions, are to blame for social problems. In effect, the powerful are able to exert social control on the masses while excluding their own acts and the criminal acts of those who serve powerful interests.

Radical criminology also examines the consequences of crime policies that prevent society from questioning the dehumanizing effects of our social institutions. The justice system is used to create a permanent underclass whose options are limited as a result of contact with the justice system. Thousands of men, particularly men of color, are kept out of the job market or trapped in the secondary market as they move through the seemly endless cycle of crime, prison, and recidivism. At the same time, the justice system creates millions of jobs.

So this the analysis offered by radical criminologists suggest that those with power are able to weave a belief that portrays the poor as posing a threat to public safety whilst the powerful held themselves as the protectors. This thesis holds that the criminal law, the police, the justice system and punishment provides the ruling elite the tools by which to exercise coercion to control those who might challenge inequality and injustice. This power is underpinned the manufacture of consent of the general population thereby lending the ruling elite legitimacy.

In other words an ideological smokescreen is created behind which the powerful are able to maintain their privileged positions. As Rock comments: "Crime control was said to be an oppressive and mystifying process that worked through legislation, law-enforcement, and ideological stereotyping to preserve unequal class relations".

What radical criminologists therefore argue is that there need be fundamental changes to the social economic order which avoids the inequities and harms inherent within capitalism. We can see that radical criminology offers a critical and oppositional approach to commonly accepted beliefs. This is equally the case for conventional definitions of crime and responses to it as it is to the prevailing socio-economic conditions. It extends and develops ideas and principles introduced in more mooted terms by the anti-criminologists considered earlier. Further to what has been discussed we should identify a key principle of radical criminology, criminalisation. Rather radical criminology suggests:

- Crime is a contested concept which is politically and socially constructed.
- The criminal rather than being ill is rationally responding to injustices impinging upon them.
- Society is blighted by conflict and control.
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Radical criminology rejects what they see as the reductionist approach of positivism. The argument is that positivism analyses crime in isolation to the wider contexts in which it occurs, or what they refer to as the political economy.

**Summary of key points:**

- An analysis of the role of ideology
- The law and criminality is analysed in terms of conflict between the classes
- Crime is related to relations of power, social inequality and selective processes of criminalization rather than attributed to the individual
- Takes the side of the oppressed and subjugated

## New Criminology- Taylor, Walton and Young

Despite the important contribution in enabling criminology to escape the grip of positivism the work of those considered in the section on anti-criminology tended to only skim the surface. The sociological approaches in criminology discussed in the section on anti-criminology amounted to "a romantic theory of the noble deviant, expressive and creative, who was bowed under the fetters of state control" (Young 1978:14). It was in other words too liberal. What was now sought was an approach which dug deeper than being content with identifying and exploring diverse deviant cultures, one which reveals the underlying structural conditions connecting these otherwise disparate groups. The New Criminology (1973) written by Taylor, Walton and Young attempted to do just this by employing an analysis of class informed by Karl Marx's political theory. Taylor Walton and Young argued more explicitly than the new deviancy theorists and sociologists of deviance that labelling must be seen as politically determined.

### Young remarks:

"By pointing to power without analysing its class basis and the nature of the state, [the sociologists of deviance and labelling theorists] transformed the actions of the powerful into an arbitrary flexing of moral muscle". In other words labelling processes should be recognised as class biased. Failure to acknowledge this gave the state free rein to control those from the lower classes and counter cultures by labelling them as deviant. What therefore was required was an analysis "of all the processes involved in the evolution of deviant action" (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973:165) including the political and structural dimensions which earlier theories had failed to consider.

The arguments contained in the new criminology were founded upon a Marxist analysis of social relations being based on class. Marx suggested that society was structurally divided between the bourgeoisie who own the land, factories and machines and the proletariat, the wage owning classes. The bourgeoisie are able to exploit the lower classes thereby securing material wealth and power for themselves. Marx's analysis of power and exploitation was applied by the new criminologists to expose the institutional arrangements of capitalist society. By utilising a Marxist analysis of class, the new criminologists offer a grand theory, a theory that is universally applied to an analysis of the law, crime and the state. Indeed they attempt to offer fully social theory of deviance which involves analysing deviant behaviour and its reaction together, placing both within a political economy of crime.

The aim for Marxist inspired criminologists is "to show up the law, in its true colour, as the instrument of the ruling class...that its legitimacy is a sham" Young (1975:89). This application of Marxist theory by the new criminologists suggests that the ruling elite use the law to their advantage, to control those who might otherwise challenge their economically privileged position. The criminal justice system is shown to lend ideological support to capitalism. It conceals the structural inequalities which become institutionalised within the operation of the law and the wider workings of the state. In other words this approach sees crime as the product of socio-political conditions which are influenced by the political interests of those who seek to

maintain their position by drawing the activities of the powerless into focus whilst obscuring their ability to exploit their own privileged position.

Rather than accept state definitions of crime and systems of control the ambition of the new criminologists was: **"To create a society in which the facts of human diversity ... are not subject to the power to criminalize".**

## Marxist Criminology

Marxist criminology is one of the schools of **Criminology**. It parallels the work of the structural functionalism school which focuses on what produces stability and continuity in society but, unlike the functionalists, it adopts a predefined political philosophy.

Marxist theory condemns Western capitalist society as an unjust divide between two classes: the ruling bourgeoisie who own the means of production (the capitalists), and the proletariat, the poor masses with nothing to offer but their own labor.  Because the bourgeoisie control the means of production, they control the political state and thus their position of power over the proletariat is perpetuated.   This system leaves the proletariat oppressed, with no power whatsoever to alleviate their situation.  In the words of Karl Marx, "There must be something rotten in the very core of a social system which increases its wealth without diminishing its misery".  According to Marxist theory, the bourgeoisie will remain in power unjustly oppressing the proletariat until the poor masses cooperate with one another to violently overthrow the capitalist government and economy and replace it with a classless, socialist system.

It is unsurprising then, that the Marxist approach to crime centers on this class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.  Because the capitalists control the political state, they also control the criminal justice system.  The system appears to serve the interests of the proletariat, but it is in reality used against them by the ruling class. Greenberg states that the theme dominating Marxist criminology is the "contention that criminal legislation is determined not by moral consensus or the common interests of the entire society, but by the relative power of groups determined to use the criminal law to advance their own special interests or to impose their moral preferences on others".  For Marxists then, the cause of crime is dictated by social forces, namely capitalism, and thus remains beyond the control of individuals.

Bonger's Criminality and Economic Conditions contends that the competition and profit motive emphasized by capitalistic societies produces "egoistic tendencies" and greed in the individuals within those societies.  However, because the bourgeoisie own the means of production and control the law, they can afford to be greedy and pursue their egoistic desires.  According to Bonger, it is the poor proletariat whose egoistic actions are labeled as criminal because of their lower position in capitalist societies.  Bonger's theory provides a very basic overview of the Marxist theory of crime.

However, because his theory offers only a single-factor explanation of crime, it has largely been discredited.  Others have presented ideas very similar to Bonger, however.  For instance, in their book Crime and the American Dream (1994), Messner and Rosenfeld state that the American economy creates a society "conducive to conflict and crime," (Sims, 1997).   Messner and

Rosenfeld's book maintains that there is a 'dark side' to the American Dream: the obsession with monetary gain and a simultaneous minimization of alternative measures of success. The proletariat who lacks opportunity for success and monetary gain, but yet is still indoctrinated with this "fetishism of money" is thus left with only illegitimate means by which to seek success in a capitalistic society (Sims, 1997). Sims continues this argument saying that all individuals in American society are socialized to embrace this doctrine of material gain and that American society expects that all individuals should achieve, or at least pursue, the American Dream regardless of their status in society (Sims, 1997). Essentially, the proletariat is being set up to fail by the bourgeoisie and punished by the legal system when they do fail.

## Criticism of the Marxist Theory of Criminology

It tends to focus around the fact that much of the theory can really be seen as an "ideological condemnation of Western democracies and a call for revolutionary action to overthrow them," (Akers & Sellers, 2009; 240) and not truly a criminological theory with implications for our criminal justice system. Other critics contest the claim that Marxist criminology "enhances our understanding of crime," (Greenberg, 1993; 21). And perhaps the most crucial criticism of Marxist criminology is the question of whether or not it is scientific. Many critics argue that the statements made by the theory are not empirically testable. However, empirical research has been conducted utilizing principles of the Marxist theory of criminology and is touched upon below.

## Empirical Validity

As a whole, there really is little in the Marxist theory of criminology that is empirically testable. It has been tradition for Marxists to examine history as a way to determine the adequacy of Marxist principles and the socialist societies that they precede. Of the empirical evidence that has been undertaken, results are mixed. For example, Harring, who studied the development of police forces in Buffalo, found:

The forms of police organization, patrolling practices, etc., were to some extent influenced by a desire to control "the labor problems" of those cities in a time of industrial development, rather than to deal with an actual or perceived increase in the rate of serious crime. So it would seem that law enforcement is at least in part influenced by the economy when enforcing the criminal law. In the same vein as Harring's study, much of the research done has focused on criminal justice institutions and social control, but much less has been conducted on actual criminal and deviant behavior. One exception is Greenberg's 1977 study of the age distribution of delinquency. As Sparks discusses, Greenberg was questioning why deviant behavior is so prominent in adolescence and suggested that it is a result of the "desire to participate in social activities with peers, and the absence of legitimate sources of funds to finance that participation". In essence, the adolescent's position in the capitalist society sets them up for an increased probability of criminal behavior.

However, as stated above, many of the principles of Marxist criminology are extremely difficult to test scientifically and the tradition has been to look at historical models of socialist societies

influenced by Marxist principles. However, historically, socialist societies have been totalitarian or authoritarian and "have not progressed to the point of instituting a classless society with a non-repressive system of law and criminal justice," (Akers & Sellers, 2009; 242). Historically, socialist leaders such as Joseph Stalin have created command economies in which is even smaller elite than in capitalist economies controls the means of production. This begs the question: is capitalism truly the cause of crime, and is socialism really the answer?

**Policy Implications**

Rather than focusing on the aspects of individual criminals or their specific environments when approaching the crime problem, Marxist criminology instead demands taking a holistic view of society and its organization. This is because Marxist criminology assumes that the organization of political, legal, and even social institutions shape the patterns of criminal behavior. As Greenberg discusses, Marxists "expect patterns of crime and of social responses toward crime to change as society's economic and political organization change". In its most elementary form, Marxist theory calls for this societal change in the form of the violent overthrow of the capitalist system. However, this radical response is unquestionably not the most appropriate solution for the United States criminal justice system.

Indeed, Marxist theory essentially posits that crime will always be a major issue in capitalist systems, and the need for individuals to commit crime will only subside with the establishment of a socialist system in which the "profit motive would be eliminated, [and] concern for the general social welfare would dominate over selfish privilege and competitiveness". Without this competition driving the need for wealth and success, criminal activity would be reduced to more negligible amounts. If crime results from the labor conditions of capitalist societies, then remove those conditions and crime should decline drastically. The common man will no longer need to steal from the affluent bourgeoisie in order to feed his family because with socialism comes equal ownership of the means of production across all of society. In short, the only solution to the crime problem as defined by Marxist theory involves the complete annihilation of capitalism and the subsequent adoption of socialism.

This unrealistic reliance on a violent revolution to usher out capitalism and all the crime and inequality that comes with it has led to Marxist theory being "dismissed as a utopian realm of thought with no relevant policy implications except revolution," (Lynch & Groves, 1986; 105). More moderate proponents of Marxist theory have instead called for non-revolutionary reforms and policies that are strikingly similar to those of mainstream criminological theories such as increased employment opportunities and community alternatives to incarceration. However, to remain loyal to true Marxist criminology, the only valid solution to the crime problem provoked by the disparities of wealth distribution in capitalist societies would be to completely eradicate the old system and establish a new socialist one.

## UNIT-V: RECENT THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The act of crime is dynamic; hence approaches towards it are more dynamic with refrence to societies of the world. Theoretical basis of understanding crime is change and results in new theories developed and tested across the world.

**The Multiple Factor Approaches to Crime Causation- Ian Healy**

Despite repeated attempts on the part of criminologists propounding different views to formulate a singular theoretical explanation for criminal behaviour, no hypothesis could answer the issue satisfactorily. Eventually, the sociologists made use of 'multiple-factor approach' to explain the causation of crime. The supporters of this view believe that **crime** is a product of a combination of a variety of factors which cannot be narrated in terms of general propositions. This view finds support from the writings of eminent American criminologist William Healy, expressing his views on multiple causation theory, Prof. Healy observed that it is not one or two factors which turn a man delinquent but it is a combination of many more factors-say eight or ten-which cumulatively influence him to follow criminal conduct.

He, however, agreed that all the factors associated with a particular crime may not have equal importance as a cause of that crime. The extent of their influence on crime may be in varying degrees, some exerting greater influence on the crime while the others, the least. But this theory has been vehemently criticised by Albert Cohen on the ground that it offers no single explanation which can explain crime causation. Moreover, it is fallacious to believe that crimes generate only in deplorable surroundings. The greatest shortcoming of the multiple factor approach to crime according to Cohen is that the adherents of this theory confused 'factors' with those of 'causes' of crime. From the foregoing analysis it is evident that sociologists consider crime as a product of environmental deviations and varying social conditions. The inter-relation between criminality and some of these conditions may be discussed under the following heads:

### (1) Mobility

The rapid growth of industrialisation and urbanisation in recent years has led to expansion of means of communication, travel facilities and propagation of views through press and platform. Consequently, human interaction has gone beyond intimate associations with increased chances of mobility. Migration of persons to new places where they are strangers offers them better opportunities for crime as the chances of detection are considerably minimised. Mobility, therefore, serves as a potential cause of social disorganisation which may result in deviant behaviour due to lack of family control. Commenting on the impact of crime reports appearing in newspapers on criminality, Barnes & Teeters observed that it encourages crime and delinquency in two ways. Firstly, those with unstable mind and psychopaths are easily attracted towards such crimes; and secondly, with the frequent reporting of crime-news, people begin to lose faith in law and law-enforcement agencies. That apart, the deviants learn new techniques of crime through crime-news which are published in newspapers or magazines.

*(2) Culture Conflicts*

In a dynamic society social change is an inevitable phenomenon. The impact of modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation in modern dynamic society may sometimes result in social disorganisation and this may lead to culture conflicts between different sections of society. The difference may be between old and new values, local and imported values and traditional values and the government imposed values.

Criminality arising out of cultural conflict theory has been well explained by Shah and McKay through their Cultural Transmission theory of crime which was a dominant criminological theory of the 20th century. The theory simply states that "traditions of delinquency are transmitted through successive generations of the same inhabitation in the same way as language and attitudes are transmitted." The inability of local communities to appreciate the common values of their residents or solve commonly experienced problems causes tension leading to deviant behaviours. This is how criminal traditions get embedded into the functioning of a community and they co-exist alongside conventional values.

The immigration problem which India faced during Indo-Pak partition days in 1947 and Bangladesh partition in 1971 serves as an interesting illustration of cultural conflicts arising out of social disorganisation. The in flood of refugees from Sindh and North-West Frontier region in 1947 completely broke down the traditional social structure of Indian society and resulted into enormous increase in crime. The incidence of murder, arson, looting, kidnapping and rioting were necessarily an outcome of socio-cultural variations in immigrants who had developed highly individualistic tendencies due to disruption of their family life and loss of status. The killing of thousands of people in Sri Lanka since 1986 due to ethnic riots and confrontation between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the militant forces of the government is yet another illustration on this point. The Tamilians in the country are fighting against discrimination and are demanding for integration with Sinhalese population.

*(3) Family Background*

Sutherland holds that out of all the social processes, the family background has perhaps the greatest influence on criminal behaviour of the offender. The reason being that children spend most of their time with their parents and relatives within the family. Children are apt to imbibe criminal tendencies, if they find their parents or members of the family behaving in a similar manner. The institution of family is expected to cater to the basic needs of the children. Therefore, the child should feel that he enjoys a certain privilege and protection in his family and that he is loved and liked by his parents and members of the family. This feeling of security, warmth and reliance makes children to learn the virtues of love, respect and duty towards others. Thus, it is through the institution of family that the child unconsciously learns to adjust himself to the environment and accepts the values of life such as respect for others, faithfulness, trustworthiness and co-operation through his own life experiences. It therefore follows that a child brought up in a broken family is likely to fall an easy prey to criminality. Lack of parental control over children due to death, divorce or desertion of parent or their ignorance or illness may furnish soothing ground for the children to resort to criminal acts. Again, frequent quarrels amongst parents, undue domination of one over the other, step-motherly treatment with children,

frequent births in the family, immorality of parents, misery, poverty or unwholesome family atmosphere and the like may also lead to the neglect of child and finding no adequate outlet for his talents, he/she may tend to become criminal in his/her life. To add to the above list, unemployment, low income or parent's continued long absence from home for the sake of livelihood is some other causes for child delinquencies. With revolutionary changes in socio-economic conditions in India, the family patterns- have radically changed. Excessive outdoor indulgences of modern Indian house-wife and a general tendency on the part of Indian educated women to be after jobs have disrupted the harmony of Indian family life.

After a careful study of the family background of a number of delinquents, Donald Taft' deduced the following generalisations which are significant from the point of view of crime causation:

(1) Mobility among criminals is far greater than those of non-criminals. In other words, delinquents change their place more frequently than the law-abiding persons.
(2) The delinquents usually prefer to stay away from their family, parents and homes.
(3) The homes of delinquents are often ill-maintained, insanitary and display poor standard of living.
(4) The family life of most delinquents is usually disrupted and their parents are either dead, separated or divorced.
(5) Experience has shown that most of the delinquents are subjected to physical punishment by the parents in their childhood. Consequently they hardly show any respect for the members of their family.
(6) A large percentage of criminals is usually hostile and indifferent towards their brothers and sisters.
(7) Delinquents are encouraged to follow criminality in their homes in either of the following ways:

- The parents may not themselves be associated with the criminal act but they might deliberately avoid preventing their children from indulging into criminal acts.
- Children may learn criminal patterns through the process of imitation. They begin to learn similar behaviour from their parents or other members of the family.
- The parents who have embraced criminality as a way of life like those of professional thieves, pickpockets, prostitutes, etc. often train their children for the vocation. It is, however, true that a reverse process may also operate where criminal parents take all steps to ensure that their children do not follow their foot-steps and keep away from criminality.

*(4) Political Ideology:*
It is well known that the Parliamentarians who are law-makers of the country are also politicians. They succeed in mobilising public opinion in the desired way through the media of press and platform and finally enact suitable laws to support their policies. Thus, political ideologies gain strength through legislative process thereby directly influencing the criminal patterns in a given society.

The liberalisation of abortion law, imposition or withdrawal of prohibition laws, anti-dowry, protection of women against domestic violence, prohibition on pre-natal sex-determination,

untouchability laws etc. are some of the examples to show as to how the concept of criminality changes with the changed ideologies of the politicians and the government in power. With the change in ideologies what was unlawful and illegal till yesterday may become lawful and legal today and vice versa. The law-makers justify these changes for the good of the society keeping in view the changing norms of civilisation and culture.

To take a concrete example, live-in relationship between the spouses which considered highly immoral and illegal until a couple of years ago, is now gradually being accepted as a permissible conduct in the society and even the Supreme Court has declined to hold it as illegal holding that it is for the society to take a decision on this issue rather than the law court.

Again, political changes in a country may give rise to new political offences. The excessive interference of politicians in executive functions of the Government weakens the morale of the administrators as well as the police, with the result there is spontaneous growth in crime-rate.

With the coalition governments coming into power during 1990's, instability of the government has become a common phenomenon in India. As a result of this, the anti-defection law instead of being an inhibitor of floor-crossing became an opportunity for elected members to make quick money. This paved way for political corruption which became an acceptable norm for MP's and MLA's who got ready money in toppling or saving the government in power and did not even hesitate to deposit it in bank or keep note bundles under their pillow. As smaller parties emerged, coalition politics became inevitable. Political leaders would tend to maintain their political parties financially sound and at the same time ensure themselves and their families against the uncertainties of future. This led to increasing nexus between politicians and organised criminals. This is followed by political bureaucracy-organised crime nexus. Once politicians get involved, they become vulnerable and there is continuous pressure on them to repeat the process.

### (5) Religion and Crime

The changes in religious ideologies also have a direct bearing on incidence of crime in a particular region. It has been rightly said that morality can best be preserved in a society through the institution of religion. The bond of religion keeps persons within their limits and helps them to keep away from sinful and criminal acts. The declining influence of religion in modern times has tended to leave men free to do as they like without any restraint or fear. Consequently, they do not hesitate to resort to criminality even for petty materialistic gains. Looking to the present day Indian conditions, things seem to be still worse.

Religious places in most parts of India have become dubious centres of vices. Cheating, stealing, exploiting and kidnapping are too common in these places. The so-called champions of the cause of religion, namely, the priests, the Pujaris and Pandas of these religious places are virtually the plunderers who do not hesitate to ransack the innocent pilgrims. They consider themselves to be the agents of God and are in fact more dangerous than the real criminals. It is, therefore, necessary that public opinion should be mobilised against the superstitions which are deep-rooted in Hindu religion and greater stress be laid on the spiritual aspect of Dharma rather than the rituals and formalities insisted upon by the priests. This would help in reducing crimes in pilgrim places in India. It is desired that the government must initiate stringent measures to save

these sacred places from becoming the centres of nefarious activities of anti-social elements. Despite the fact that all religions speak of communal harmony and peaceful co-existence, most wars on this earth are fought in the name of religion. The war between Iran and Iraq for over eight years, the wars in Lebanon, and the continuing fight between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland and even terrorist activities in India are being carried out in the name of hidden religious overtones. These divisive forces contribute considerably to the incidence of murder, mass killing, destruction of public and private properties and other anti-social behaviour.

### (6) Economic Conditions

Economic conditions also influence criminality to a considerable extent. Present day industrial progress, economic growth and urbanisation have paralysed the Indian domestic life. The institution of family has disintegrated to such an extent that control of parents over their wards has weakened thus leaving them without any surveillance. Under the circumstances, those who lack self-control fall an easy prey to criminality. The employment of women and their other outdoor activities have enhanced the opportunities for sex crime. Again crimes such as hoarding, undue profiteering, black-marketing, etc., are essentially an outcome of economic changes.

Now-a-days money is the paramount consideration to assess the social status of a person in society. Crimes in higher circles of society can easily be wiped off through money. Unemployment among the youths is yet another cause of increase in crime rate. If the energies of these young persons are properly channelised, they can surely contribute to the national man-power development.

It has been generally accepted that there is a strong relationship between criminality and economic or income inequality as also between crime and unemployment. Rut poverty per se is not the sole cause of criminality; it is only a major factor in crime causation. It is the social disorganisation which accounts for criminality among the poorest and not their poverty. Undoubtedly, there is close relationship between unemployment and criminality and particularly, accounts for an unprecedented rise in property crimes and a consequential increase in the arrest rate of juveniles and youth. Those who are jobless or have less secure employment such as casual and contract workers, are more likely to be involved in property related crimes.

Analysing the impact of economic conditions on criminality, Prof. Hermann Mannheim observed that if we leave aside traffic offences, three-fourth of the time and energy of the criminal law administrators of the world shall have to be devoted to economic crimes. Focusing on the importance of economic factors in the causation of crime, he pointed out that poverty contributes both directly and indirectly to the commission of crime. However, poverty alone may not be a direct cause of crime because other factors such as frustration, emotional insecurity and non-fulfillment of wants often play a dominant role in giving rise to the criminal tendency.

### (7) Ecology of Crime

Ecology is the study of people and institutions in relation to environment. Topographical conditions also affect the incidence of crime in a particular region or locality. After a series of researches Enrico Ferri, the eminent Italian criminologist analysed the crime index of his country and concluded that in the same country the crime rate varies considerably from one region to

another. Some typical crimes are more peculiar to a particular region than other parts of the country. Similar observations were made by criminologists in France, England and U.S.A. which sufficiently established the influence of ecology on crime. It is well known that violation of customs, excise and drug laws are more common in border areas and coastal regions than in plains. Illegal felling of trees and violation of forest laws is an everyday occurrence in forest regions.

In India, the impact of ecology on crime is apparently to be seen in dacoit-infested forest regions and ravines of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh where opportunities for escape and detection are plenty. Similarly, pilgrim places of India are the breeding ground for all sorts of anti-social activities such as cheating, stealing, exploiting, etc. The cheats operating in the guise of fortune-tellers and Sadhus are often the first rate criminals who carry on their dubious activities right under the nose of the custodians of law in these so called holy places. The proponents of ecological theory attribute social disorganisation as the main cause of criminality. They believe that treating or punishing the individual offenders would do little to alleviate the problem and the solution is to be found in making efforts to stabilise the social organisation and promoting community feeling, particularly among youths. As Durkheim rightly put it, "the overall disorder and disorganisation, social and personal shifts behaviour is directed of crime".

The regional comparisons of crime rate in different parts of the country sufficiently indicate that certain crimes are peculiar to a particular location. It can therefore, be inferred that ecology of crime consists in the study of influences such as neighbourhood, population, topographical factors, etc., on criminals considered from the point of view of location. Commenting on this aspect, Donald Taft observed that "ecology of crime may be studied in terms of location of criminal or residences of delinquents or some supposed influence upon crime which has distribution in terms of space and topography". He further observed that criminals are often mobile and there seems to be a casual relationship between location of delinquency and the criminal. It may, however, be pointed out that ecology of crime need not be confused with the proximity of crime and social conditions. The predominant consideration in the ecology of crime is topographical conditions of different regions and their impact on causation of crime peculiar to those places. Thus, ecology is undoubtedly one of the multiple factors of crime causation.

*(8) Influence of Media*
The importance of mass media in influencing human mind has been repeatedly emphasised by some experts. Experience has shown that television and films have the maximum impact on the viewers due to combined audio-visual impact. Most of serials or films shown on television or cinema halls depict scenes of violence which adversely affect the viewers, particularly the young boys and girls who often tend to imitate the same in their real life situations. The rising incidence of juvenile delinquency is essentially the result of evil effect of violence and vulgarism and undesirable sex exposures depicted in movies or television. Likewise, pornographic literature also has an unwholesome influence on the impressionable minds of the youth which generates criminality among them.

Most criminologists believe that films and television are major contributors to violent behaviour. A survey conducted by the Broadcasting Group of the House of Lords indicated that exposure to

media violence was closely linked with aggressive behaviour. But Hagell and Newbury opposed the view that there was any real link between violent media images and criminality after finding that persistent offenders watch films or television far less than non-criminals. Gillin has also expressed doubt about any real link between media violence and criminality. According to him, films, T.V. and other media teach methods of violence to those who are already susceptible to them but it does not go further than that.

Again, the role of media in helping the mushroom growth of fake and fictitious educational institutions which are duping large number of degree-seekers needs a particular mention in this context. The modus operandi of these institutions is simple; they splash full page advertisements in leading newspapers, collect huge sums from franchises and fat course-fee from students and make a huge profit leaving students to fend for them. This is particularly true with the rotten computer training institutes which have mushroomed all over the country under different impressive names. These 'fly-by-night' computer institutes are taking students for a ride through attractive advertisements and on-line contracts. Therefore, there is urgent need for framing a law to curb malpractices by these institutes through misuse of media and computer net-work. To take a concrete example, Murtaza Mithani owned Wintech Computers; an Information Technology education company was launched with a splash in 1998-99. The company reportedly collected Rs. 10 to 20 lakhs from each franchisee. Similarly, it charged a fee ranging from 15 to 30 thousands for different courses. One fine day, the promoters of Wintech Computers quietly disappeared, leaving thousands of students in a lurch. There is no response from company's headquarters in Delhi. Similar is the case of a Mumbai based Zap Infotech company which duped thousands of students. Thus, it would be seen that in recent years the media has a powerful effect on public perceptions of the dangers posed by particular events, actions or behaviours. The emotive power of the media may, however, sometimes lead to illogical and ill-conceived. At times, it may be noticed that crime depiction in the media is deliberately distorted to suppress reality. Again, there may be occasions when an act committed by an influential person or a politician may not be given coverage or condemnation despite being patently criminal or anti-social.

**Routine Activities Theory- Cohen and Felson**

Routine activities theory is a subsidiary of rational choice theory. Developed by Cohen and Felson (1979), routine activities theory requires three elements be present for a crime to occur: a motivated offender with criminal intentions and the ability to act on these inclinations, a suitable victim or target, and the absence of a capable guardian who can prevent the crime from happening. These three elements must converge in time and space for a crime to occur.

Routine activities theory provides a macro perspective on crime in that it predicts how changes in social and economic conditions influence the overall crime and victimization rate. Felson and Cohen (1980) postulate that criminal activities are a "structurally significant phenomenon," meaning that violations are neither random nor trivial events.

In consequence, it is the routine of activities people partake in over the course of their day and night lives that makes some individuals more susceptible to being viewed as suitable targets by a rationally calculating offender.

Routine activities theory relates the pattern of offending to the everyday patterns of social interaction. Crime is therefore normal and is dependent on available opportunities to offend. If there is an unprotected target and there are sufficient rewards, a motivated offender will commit a crime.
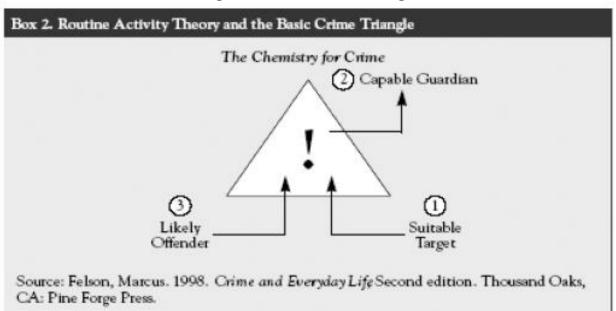
**Figure 5.1Basic Crime Triangle**



Box 2. Routine Activity Theory and the Basic Crime Triangle

The Chemistry for Crime

Source: Felson, Marcus. 1998. *Crime and Everyday Life* Second edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

In terms of suitable targets, the choice is influenced by the offender's perception of the target's vulnerability; the more suitable and accessible the target, the more likely that a crime will occur. The number of motivated criminals in the population also affects crime levels. It is held that offenders are less likely to commit crimes if they can achieve personal goals through legitimate means. This implies that criminal motivations can be reduced if offenders perceive that there are alternatives to crime.

The presence of capable guardians is also held to deter individuals from offending. Guardianship can be the physical presence of a person who is able to act in a protective manner or in the form of more passive mechanical devices such as video surveillance or security systems. These physical security measures help limit an offender's access to suitable targets. The essential aspect of routine activities theory is the interaction of motivation, opportunity and targets. In this way, the presence of guardians will deter most offenders, rendering even attractive targets off limits. Therefore, the presence of opportunity coupled with a lack of guardianship increases criminal motivations and the likelihood of an offence taking place.

Four main elements influence a target's risk of criminal attack, as summed by the acronym VIVA:

- Value
- Inertia
- Visibility
- Access

➢ Offenders will only be interested in targets that they *value*, for whatever reason. Thus the latest popular CD hit will be stolen more from record stores than a Beethoven CD of roughly equal monetary value, since most offenders would like to have the former but not the latter.

➢ *Inertia* is simply the weight of the item. Thus small electronic goods are stolen more than weighty items, unless these latter are wheeled or motorized to overcome their weight.

➢ *Visibility* refers to the exposure of theft targets to offenders, as when someone flashes money in public or puts valuable goods by the window.

➢ *Access* refers to street patterns, placement of goods near the door, or other features of everyday life making it easy for offenders to get to targets.

**Rational Choice Theory- Jack Katz and James Q Wilson**

This theory is based on two annotations of two criminologists.

**Jack Katz -** *Seductions of Crime*
**James Q Wilson**- *Thinking About Crime*

Rational choice theory is based on the fundamental tenets of classical criminology, which hold that people freely choose their behaviour and are motivated by the avoidance of pain and the pursuit of pleasure. Individuals evaluate their choice of actions in accordance with each option's ability to produce advantage, pleasure and happiness. Rational choice provides a micro perspective on why individual offenders decide to commit specific crimes; people choose to engage in crime because it can be rewarding, easy, satisfying and fun. The central premise of this theory is that people are rational beings whose behaviour can be controlled or modified by a fear of punishment. In this way, it is believed offenders can be persuaded to desist from offending by intensifying their fear of punishment. In terms of setting the quantum of punishment, according to this theory, sanctions should be limited to what is necessary to deter people from choosing crime.

Rational choice is premised on a utilitarian belief that actions are based on a conscious evaluation of the utility of acting in a certain way. This perspective assumes that crime is a personal choice, the result of individual decision-making processes. This means that individuals are responsible for their choices and thus individual offenders are subject to blame for their criminality. In terms of offending, rational choice posits that offenders weigh the potential benefits and consequences associated with committing an offence and then make a rational choice on the basis of this evaluation. Therefore, before committing a crime, the reasoning criminal weighs the chances of getting caught, the severity of the expected penalty and the value

to be gained by committing the act. This means that if offenders perceive the costs to be too high, the act to be too risky, or the payoff to be too small, they will choose to not engage in the act.

The tenets of this theory are based on a number of assumptions about the decision-making process and behavioural motivations. It is held that people decide to commit crime after careful consideration of the costs and benefits of behaving in a certain manner. This involves considering both personal factors, which may include a need for money, revenge, or entertainment, and situational factors such as the target/victim's vulnerability and the presence of witnesses, guardians, or the police. Rational choice focuses on the opportunity to commit crime and on how criminal choices are structured by the social environment and situational variables. Rational choice theory (1980) continues the formulation of classical theory. This theory introduces the importance of an economic aspect in crime and formulates that committing of crime includes expected rewards, associated costs and benefits.

**Nullum crimen, sine lege. (No crime, without the law)**
1. Lex scripta means that the law must be in the written form.
2. Lex stricta means that the law must be strict.
3. Lex certa means that the law must be clear and understandable.
4. Lex praevia means that the law cannot be applied on cases, which existed before the law.

Economics plays a huge role in human behavior. That is, people are often motivated by money and the possibility of making a profit, calculating the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do. This way of thinking is called rational choice theory. Rational choice theory was pioneered by sociologist George Homas, who in 1961 laid the basic framework for exchange theory, which he grounded in assumptions drawn from behavioral psychology. During the 1960s and 1970s, other theorists Blau, Coleman, and Cook extended and enlarged his framework and helped to develop a more formal model of rational choice. Over the years, rational choice theorists have become increasingly mathematical. Even Marxists have come to see rational choice theory as the basis of a Marxist theory of class and exploitation.

**Human Actions are Calculated and Individualistic**

Economic theories look at the ways in which the production, distribution, and consumptions of goods and services is organized through money. Rational choice theorists have argued that the same general principles can be used to understand human interactions where time, information, approval, and prestige are the resources being exchanged. According to this theory, individuals are motivated by their personal wants and goals and are driven by personal desires. Since it is not possible for individuals to attain all of the various things that they want, they must make choices related to both their goals and the means for attaining those goals. Individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate which action will be best for them. In the end, rational individuals choose the course of action that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction. One key element in rational choice theory is the belief that all action is fundamentally "rational" in character. This distinguishes it from other forms of theory because it denies the existence of any kinds of action other than the purely rational and calculative. It argues that all social action can be seen as rationally motivated, however much it may appear to

be irrational. Also central to all forms of rational choice theory is the assumption that complex social phenomena can be explained in terms of the individual actions that lead to that phenomenon. This is called methodological individualism, which holds that the elementary unit of social life is individual human action. Thus, if we want to explain social change and social institutions, we simply need to show how they arise as the result of individual action and interactions of the criminals. They are *Expected Utility- a principal of economic theory, Maximize Profits and Minimize Losses*.

## Crime Pattern Theory- Paul J. Brantingham

Crime Prevention Theory or Crime Pattern Theory is a way of explaining why crimes are committed in certain areas. Crime is not random; it is either planned or opportunistic. According to the theory, crime happens when the activity space of a victim or target intersects with the activity space of an offender.

Crime Pattern Theory is a way of explaining why crimes are committed in certain areas. Crime is not random; it is either planned or opportunistic. According to the theory crime happens when the activity space of a victim or target intersects with the activity space of an offender. A person's activity space consists of locations in everyday life, for example home, work, school, shopping areas, entertainment areas etc. These personal locations are also called nodes. The course or route a person takes to and from these nodes are called personal paths. Personal paths connect with various nodes creating a perimeter. This perimeter is a person's awareness space. Crime Pattern Theory claims that a crime involving an offender and a victim or target can only occur when the activity spaces of both cross paths.

Simply put crime will occur if an area provides opportunity for crime and it exists within an offender's awareness space. Consequently, an area that provides shopping, recreation and restaurants such as a shopping mall has a higher rate of crime. This is largely due to the high amount of potential victims and offenders visiting the area and the various targets in the area. It is highly probable that an area like this will have a lot of car theft because of all the traffic in and out of the area. It is also probable that people may fall victim of purse snatching or pick pocketing because victims typically carry cash with them. Therefore, crime pattern theory provides analysts an organized way to explore patterns of behaviour.

Criminals come across new opportunities for crime every day. These opportunities arise as they go to and from personal nodes using personal paths. For example, a victim could enter an offender's awareness space by way of a liquor store parking lot or a new shopping center being built. If the shopping center is being built in an area where crime occurs a couple of miles away, chances are it will exist in some if not all offenders' awareness space. This theory aids law enforcement in figuring out why crime exists in certain areas. It also helps predict where certain crimes may occur.

Ever since Shaw and McKay published their work on persistent concentrations of deviancy in the 1940s, many explanations of differences in neighbourhood crime levels have been proposed. The size of the geographic area of crime is pertinent. Since different theories of crime explain crime

at different levels of analysis, the choice of theory is dependent on the type of problem being mapped. Three levels of analysis have been identified: macro, meso, and micro. Ultimately, the level at which one examines crime is dictated by the questions one asks, which will in turn determine the usefulness of the results. Theories of crime can only be useful in guiding crime mapping if an appropriate theory for the level of analysis is selected. The theories most appropriate for the meso level of analysis are neighbourhood theories of crime.

Meso-level analysis is rooted in the Chicago school and involves the study of crime within the sub-areas of a city or metropolis. These areas represent intermediate levels of spatial aggregation and may range from suburbs and police districts down to individual streets and addresses. Neighbourhood theories such as crime pattern theory (CPT) deal with large areas, including square blocks, communities and census tracts, and are most appropriate for the present study because we examine property crime at the precinct level. Hot spots – that is, neighbourhood concentrations of property crime – are examined in order to discover whether neighbourhoods within Gauteng have significant property crime problems or not. CPT is highly compatible with data visualisation through GIS. Given that our goal is to visualise the relationship between the occurrence of crime and the locations in which they occur, CPT is a useful framework from which to begin. More specifically, CPT seeks to explain neighbourhood level hot spots by investigating the way that offenders seek and find opportunities for crime in the course of their everyday lives.

**This theory combines elements from rational choice and routine activity theory to help explain the distribution of crime across spaces, and argues that it is the interactions of offenders with their physical and social environments that influence their choice of targets.**

Three main concepts are included in CPT: nodes, paths and edges:

> ➢ Nodes refer to where people travel to and from.
> ➢ Paths refer to the actual paths that people take to and from their personal activity nodes such as home, school and entertainment areas, and
> ➢ Edges refer to the boundaries of areas where people live, work, shop, or seek entertainment. In our research we examine 'major nodes' or physical locations that are major points of interest within Gauteng.

We also pull out a subset of this group and examine crime in relation to shopping centers, which are spatially represented as nodes; and we visually inspect the relationship between the occurrence of crime and access via streets, which are visualised as lines. The rationale of CPT is that offenders follow similar spatial-temporal movement patterns to everyone else and operate within their own awareness space – the set of normal paths within the visual range of the offender. While engaging in their routine activities, reasonably rational offenders will note places without guardians and managers.

Crime occurs in areas where the awareness space of the offender transacts with suitable targets. Individuals are likely to commit their initial crimes near their learned paths or the activity nodes of their friendship network, and crimes are likely to cluster near these activity spaces, with a

higher concentration near the activity nodes. Therefore, places with routine activities and situational precipitators, located along the routes offenders travel, will be more likely to be subject to criminal activities. CPT is based on the premise that crimes do not occur randomly or uniformly in time and space. There are patterns to where criminal activity occurs. How targets come to the attention of offenders influences the distribution of crime events over time and space, as well as among targets. Central to the explanation of the concentration of crime at certain locations are the concepts of crime generators and crime attractors. Crime generators are places that attract large numbers of people for reasons unrelated to criminal motivation, such as shopping areas, office buildings or sports stadiums. They can produce crime by creating particular times and places that provide appropriate concentrations of people and other targets, in settings that are conducive to criminal acts. Potential offenders may notice and exploit criminal opportunities as presented.

Crime attractors are places affording criminal opportunities that are well known to offenders. These facilities have potential victims congregate near or inside of them, or may themselves be vulnerable to criminal penetration, such as bars, parking lots, or large shopping malls, particularly those near major public transit exchanges. Offenders with criminal intent are attracted to these places because of the known opportunities for particular types of crime, and they may become activity nodes for repeat offenders. In our research these contexts are largely unknown, and provide us with an opportunity to explore crime occurrence across any number of intersections and with any number of approaches. CPT, have not been assessed to explain property crime in South Africa. Our research is therefore exploratory in the sense that it aims to visualise patterns of crime in relation to potential crime attractors and generators. It is our intention that these exploratory results can begin to contribute to the building of a knowledge base associated with the ecological examination of crime in South Africa.

**Shaming Theory- Braithwaite**

The theory of reintegrative shaming was developed during the 1980s as a response to what was seen as a theoretical malaise in criminology. Criminologists had given up on theory, or so it seemed, long before the postmodernist critique of grand narratives swept the academy. This description of the field no longer seems true, however, because the theory of reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite, 1989) was only one of a number of criminological explanations of a rather general sort that have emerged since the mid-1980s (e.g. Cohen and Machalek, 1988; Colvin and Pauly, 1983; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985).

The theory of reintegrative shaming was not highly original. Essentially it was a way of attempting to salvage and contextualize the explanatory power of a number of long-standing theoretical traditions, none of which enjoyed consistent empirical confirmation in the literature or widespread support from criminologists, but all of which had some claim to a degree of empirical support. These theoretical traditions were labeling theory (e.g., Becker, 1963), subcultural theory (e.g., Cohen, 1955), opportunity or strain theory (e.g., Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Merton, 1968); control theory (Hirschi, 1969); differential association (Sutherland and Cressey, 1978), and social learning theory (e.g., Akers et al., 1979).

The key idea of reintegrative shaming is to partition shaming into two types (actually, a continuum with two poles) whereby shaming that is reintegrative forms one end of the continuum and shaming that is stigmatizing forms the other. Thus when shaming is more reintegrative, the explanatory framework of control theory works (reducing crime). When shaming is stigmatizing, however, the explanatory frameworks of labeling and subcultural theory come into play (increasing crime). Frameworks that were viewed previously as fundamentally incompatible (Hirschi, 1979) are synthesized through the simple device of the partitioning of shaming. So what is the difference between reintegrative shaming and stigmatization? Reintegrative shaming involves the following:

- Disapproval while sustaining a relationship of respect;
- Ceremonies to certify deviance terminated by ceremonies to decertify deviance;
- Disapproval of the evil of the deed without labeling the person as evil; and
- Not allowing deviance to become a master status trait.
- Stigmatization involves
- Disrespectful disapproval, humiliation;
- Ceremonies to certify deviance not terminated by ceremonies to decertify deviance;
- Labeling the person, not only the deed, as evil; and
- Allowing deviance to become a master status trait.

Shaming, according to the theory, is more likely to be reintegrative and more likely to be effective in conditions of high interdependency between the disapprover and the disapproved. A variety of individual and structural characteristics were posited as conducive to interdependency.
Thus constructed, the theory was able to account for many of the things known about the patterning of crime--why women should be a low-crime group, why the young and the unemployed should be high-crime groups, why marriage should reduce crime, why there should be more crime in large cities or in areas with high residential mobility, why a society such as the United States should have a higher crime rate than a society such as Japan, why crime should have decreased in a number of Western societies during the Victorian era but risen again toward pre-Victorian levels in the period since World War II. Although it is nice to have a theory that accounts for much of what we think we know, the most important test is the capacity to predict and account for new findings that emerge after the construction of the theory.

One opportunity to do this is the evaluation of the impact of the juvenile justice reform strategy based on "family group conferences" that has been national policy in New Zealand since 1989, and now is being implemented more widely as community accountability conferences in Australia. This involves replacing court processing of juveniles with conferences attended by the citizens who care most about the young offender (mostly interdependent family members), by the victim, and by supporters who care about the victim. These conferences are aimed at reintegrative shaming, more or less in the way commended in Crime, Shame and Reintegration (Braithwaite, 1989:173-174).

The origins of the New Zealand reform are not to be found in Braithwaite's book, however, but in Maori culture, which had thought through many of the principles of reintegrative shaming

centuries ago. The interesting feature of the reintegrative shaming experiments in Australia and New Zealand is that the ideas have been adapted to large, ethnically diverse urban sites such as Auckland and Sydney in a way that rejects a mono-cultural or neighborhood-based conception of how shaming is transacted in the metropolis. Valuable but preliminary evaluations of these programs are available (Maxwell and Morris, 1993; Moore, 1992; Morris and Maxwell, 1992; O'Connell, 1992); these do not permit systematic testing of the prediction that these programs will do less harm or more good (in the terms defined in the theory) than traditional court-based intervention.

The most important application of the theory to new data has been in interpreting the series of six domestic violence experiments funded by the National Institute of Justice. This research was big-budget science involving genuine experimental designs with random assignment of perpetrators of domestic violence to arrest, to no action, to warrant but no arrest, or to counseling by responding police. The large investment was occasioned by the extraordinary impact of the first experiment in Minneapolis in influencing domestic violence policies across America and around the world toward more strongly pro-arrest policies. The finding that arrest reduced subsequent domestic violence by those arrested was embraced by the women's movement and was used in campaigns that secured mandatory arrest policies in many U.S. states in the years following publication of the results.

One of the authors of the Minneapolis study, however, recently has released a book in which he concludes that the finding that arrest reduces domestic violence has not been replicated. Indeed, Sherman concludes that if we bear in mind the methodological shortcomings of the original study and the new results, it now seems likely that mandatory arrest will do more to increase than to reduce violence. Theoretically he concludes that a simple specific deterrence model, which so many feminist enthusiasts for the Minneapolis study found so attractive an interpretation, simply does not fit the data. For one group of men, Sherman concludes that arrest reduced subsequent domestic violence; for another group, the effect of arrest was more pronounced, but in increasing domestic violence.

Sherman's interpretation is that the first group found arrest shameful. These were men with high interdependencies--married and employed. The other group, which manifested a counter deterrent effect, was disproportionately unemployed (in four studies) and disproportionately black (in three). They were people who had lived a great deal of stigma; their reaction to further shame was rage and vindictive escalation of violence rather than remorse. In Sherman's interpretation, "Defiance is a means of avoiding shame in the face of any effort to cut one down to size, including an arrest" (1992:203).


## Four Wishes Theory- W. I. Thomas

The theoretician behind "four wishes theory" was W. I. Thomas, who is famous in sociology for the "Thomas theorem" (if a person defines something as real, it's real in its consequences). Thomas is also famous for co-authoring a book called *the polish peasant* which, among other things, discussed the polish concept of neighborhood, "okolila", which means a neighborhood stretches as far as a person's reputation stretches

➢ Four wishes theory is based on the idea that values in a given environment produce "wishes", which are the sociological equivalent of drives or instincts.

➢ What the person senses is important to their community or neighborhood as a whole becomes the core of their being in terms of the fundamental or generalized thing that "drives" them

The four wishes are:

- New experience (bohemian personality type)
- Security (philistine personality type)
- Response (or mastery of instinct or emotion)
- Recognition (or status)

**Excitement**
- Boredom is displeasing; we seek excitement in new experiences.

**Security**
- The opposite of excitement, humans desire stability and comfort.
- We all want a sense of security in our lives

**Affection**
- For many this means love.  Love can come from a parent, significant other, peers, colleagues, etc.
- All humans like to feel appreciated.

**Recognition**
- Recognition of our achievements – reinforces our feels of self-esteem and self-worth.

**Broken Windows Theory- James Q. Wilson and George Kelling**

Broken windows theory**,** academic theory proposed by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling in 1982 that used broken windows as a metaphor for disorder within neighbourhoods; their theory links disorder and incivility within a community to subsequent occurrences of serious crime. Broken windows theory had an enormous impact on police policy throughout the 1990s and remained influential into the 21st century.

Perhaps the most notable application of the theory was in New York City under the direction of Police Commissioner William Bratton. He and others were convinced that the aggressive order-maintenance practices of the New York City Police Department were responsible for the dramatic decrease in crime rates within the city during the 1990s. Bratton began translating the theory into practice as the chief of New York City's transit police from 1990 to 1992. Squads of plainclothes officers were assigned to catch turnstile jumpers, and, as arrests for misdemeanours

increased, subway crimes of all kinds decreased dramatically. In 1994, when he became New York City police commissioner, Bratton introduced his broken windows-based "quality of life initiative."

This initiative cracked down on panhandling, disorderly behaviour, public drinking, street prostitution, and unsolicited windshield washing or other such attempts to obtain cash from drivers stopped in traffic. When Bratton resigned in 1996, felonies were down almost 40 percent in New York, and the homicide rate had been halved.

**Theory**

Prior to the development and implementation of various incivility theories such as broken windows, law enforcement scholars and police tended to focus on serious crime; that is, the major concern was with crimes that were perceived to be the most serious and consequential for the victim, such as rape, robbery, and murder. Wilson and Kelling took a different view. They saw serious crime as the final result of a lengthier chain of events, theorizing that crime emanated from disorder and that if disorder were eliminated, then serious crimes would not occur.

Their theory further posits that the prevalence of disorder creates fear in the minds of citizens who are convinced that the area is unsafe. This withdrawal from the community weakens social controls that previously kept criminals in check. Once this process begins, it feeds itself. Disorder causes crime, and crime causes further disorder and crime. Scholars generally define two different types of disorder. The first is physical disorder, typified by vacant buildings, broken windows, abandoned vehicles, and vacant lots filled with trash. The second type is social disorder, which is typified by aggressive panhandlers, noisy neighbours, and groups of youths congregating on street corners. The line between crime and disorder is often blurred, with some experts considering such acts as prostitution and drug dealing as disorder while many others classify them as crimes. While different, these two types of disorder are both thought to increase fear among citizens.

The obvious advantage of this theory over many of its criminological predecessors is that it enables initiatives within the realm of criminal justice policy to effect change, rather than relying on social policy. Earlier social disorganization theories and economic theories offered solutions that were costly and would take a long time to prove effective. Broken windows theory is seen by many as a way to effect change quickly and with minimal expense by merely altering the police crime-control strategy. It is far simpler to attack disorder than it is to attack such ominous social ills as poverty and inadequate education. This suggests that the next wave of theorization about neighbourhood dynamics and crime may take an economic bent.

- This theory points towards how the gradual degrading of a place leads to higher levels of crime and disorder
- Small transgressions of these types of social norms make it increasingly difficult to place controls on the offending party

- If an area becomes increasingly untended (either through lack of individual controls or from a reduction in local neighborhood services), it undermines the willingness and ability of local residents to enforce social order
- Consequently, residents withdraw from enforcing neighborhood social controls, allowing further deviancy to take place
- This results in additional withdrawal and fear to enforce social order, and the downward spiral of increased neighbourhood deviancy
- Early evidence supported this basic thesis, but more recently questions have been raised against its applicability.

## Pyrrhic Defeat Theory- Reiman

In criminology, pyrrhic defeat theory is a way of looking at criminal justice policy. It suggests that the criminal justice system's intentions are the very opposite of common expectations; it functions the way it does in order to create a specific image of crime: one in which it is actually a threat from the poor. In the book, "the rich get richer and the poor get prison," Jeffrey Reiman challenges the old-fashioned idea that the goal of the criminal justice system is to fight crime. He explores, instead, the "outrageous" proposition that the goal of the criminal justice system in the United States is not to eliminate crime or to achieve justice, but to project to the American public a visible image of the threat of crime as a threat from the poor. To do this, Reiman argues, the justice system must maintain the existence of a sizable population of poor criminals. To do this, he further submits, it must fail in the struggle to eliminate the crimes that poor people commit, or even to reduce their number dramatically. Crime may, of course, occasionally decline, as it has recently – but not because of criminal justice policies.

Reiman admits that on the surface this proposition seems outrageous. But he asks those who may find this proposition "hard to swallow" to consider that it not only explains the dismal failure of criminal justice policy to make a significant dent in crime but also explains why the criminal justice system functions in a way that is biased against the poor at every stage from arrest to convictions. Indeed, even at the earlier stage, when crimes are defined in law, the system concentrates primarily on the predatory acts of the poor and tends to exclude or de-emphasize the equally or more dangerous predatory acts of those who are well off. Thus, conveying the image that the real danger to decent, law-abiding Americas comes from below them, rather than form above them, on the economic ladder. This image sanctifies the status quo with its disparities of wealth, privilege, and opportunity and thus serves the interests of the rich and powerful in America – the very ones who could change criminal justice policy if they were really unhappy with it.

Reiman calls this outrageous way of looking at criminal justice policy the pyrrhic defeat theory. A "pyrrhic victory" is a military victory purchased as such a cost in troops and treasure that is amounts to a defeat. The pyrrhic defeat theory argues that the failure of the criminal justice system yields such benefits to those in positions of power that it amounts to success. In other

words, from the standpoint of those with power to make criminal justice policy in America: nothing succeeds like failure –

1) The failure to reduce crime substantially broadcasts a potent ideological message to the American people, a message that benefits and protects the powerful and privileged in society by legitimating the present social order with its disparities of wealth and privilege and by diverting public discontent and opposition away from the rich and powerful and onto the poor and powerless.

2) It is necessary that the failure of the criminal justice system take a particular shape. It must fail in the fight against crime while making it look as if serious crime and thus the real danger in our society is the work of the poor.

• The criminal justice system refuses to label and treat as crime a large number of acts of the rich that produce as much or more damage to life and limb as the crimes of the poor {{e.x., refusal to make workplaces safe, refusal to curtail deadly pollution, promotion of unnecessary surgery, and prescriptions for unnecessary drugs, cause occupational and environmental hazards to innocent members of the public and produce as much death, destruction, and financial loss as the so-called "street crime" of the poor. However these crimes of the well -off, or "elite crime," are rarely treated as severe as those of the poor}}.

• Even among the acts treated as crimes, the criminal justice system is biased from start to finish in a way that guarantees that, for the same crimes, member of lower classes are much more likely than members of the middle and upper classes to be arrested, convicted, and imprisoned – thus providing living "proof" that crime is a threat from the poor.

**The five hypotheses of the "pyrrhic defeat" theory are as follows:**

1) Of the decisions of legislators: that the definitions of crime in the criminal law do not reflect the only or the most dangerous of antisocial behaviour.

2) Of the decisions of police and prosecutors: that the decisions on whom to arrest or charge do not reflect the only or the most dangerous behaviours legally defined as "criminal."

3) Of the decisions of juries and judges: that criminal convictions do not reflect the only or the most dangerous individuals among those arrested and charged.

4) Of the decisions of sentencing judges: that sentencing decisions do not reflect the goal of protecting society from only or the most dangerous of those convicted by meting out punishments proportionate to the harmfulness of the crime committed.

5) Of all these decisions taken together: that what criminal justice policy decisions (in hypothesis 1 through 4) do reflect is the implicit identification of crime with the dangerous acts of the poor, an identification amplified by media (which actually conveys and magnifies the biases) representations of crime.

Finally, Reiman ties this theory of how and why the criminal justice system functions as it does together with the historical inertia explanation: that is, showing how the decisions that create the biased image of crime are caused by historical forces and left unchanged because the particular distribution of costs and benefits to which those decisions give rise serves to make the system self-reinforcing.

School of thought: the pyrrhic defeat theory is in the Durkheimian tradition {crime is common and "normal" to society}.
 Crime is necessary
- Crime is useful (evolution of morality & law).
- Crime performs a service for society (test the boundaries and conditions in life=prepares society for change).

## Feminist Criminology- Hillary Potter (Black)

Feminist criminology responds to mainstream criminology's biases. In particular, it reveals and critiques criminology's male-centric (or "androcentric") predisposition-that is, it's privileging of men's experiences and perspectives in relation to empirical and theoretical knowledge produced about crime and deviance. Criminology has historically overlooked women's experiences and perspectives, both as victims and as perpetrators of crime. Accordingly, criminological theory is often inadequate for women, even at times overtly misogynistic. In response, feminist criminology aims to refocus the field from its androcentric standpoint by highlighting how the study of crime, crime control, and social control are gendered in ways often disregarded by mainstream criminology.

In a similar, albeit different vein, visual criminology is a response to the textual dominance within criminology. Specifically, it incorporates the study of images to understand crime, crime control, and social control. However, visual criminology, like visual studies more generally, is not simply the analysis of images. As pioneering visual theorist Mitchell (2002) explains, "the study of the visual image is just one component of the larger field. Visual culture is the visual construction of the social, not just the social construction of vision."

In short, studies of the visual also interrogate how vision informs-and is informed by-social conditions. These relationships, both overt and discursive, are pervasive and manifest historically and culturally in the contemporary moment. Drawing attention to the importance of the visual points to that overrides limitations of text-based documents and statistics. Alone, they provide an incomplete picture of crime and deviance. In response, visual criminology often takes two forms:

(1) It utilizes visual methods to analyze an array of issues within criminology and
(2) It analyzes the visual culture of crime, crime control, and social control using a variety of methods. Both lines of visual criminological inquiry do at times converge.

Moreover, visual criminology, like feminist criminology, brings attention to overlooked dimensions of crime and power relationships underpinning mainstream criminology. Although there is a rich literature on how media shapes public understandings of crime and offending (e.g., Barak, 1994; Burns & Crawford, 1999; Cohen, 1972; Cohen & Young, 1981; Dowler, Fleming, & Muzzatti, 2006; Killingbeck, 2001; Sacco, 1995), visual and feminist criminology offer distinctly different contributions. Their shared commitment to critiquing and rethinking criminological knowledge, including certain dominant understandings of crime and media, provides concepts and tools for studying the diversity of contemporary social problems linked to the visual, crime, and deviance.

Analyzing the visual through a feminist criminological lens is an emergent critical project. Although feminist criminology and visual criminology often emerge as distinct projects, there are notable examples that showcase their combined potential (e.g., Daniel, 2007; Fleetwood, 2015; Rafter & Brown, 2011; Young, 1996).

Combining feminist criminology and visual studies offers new possibilities in the areas of theory and methodology as well as new modes of querying the gendered power relationships embedded in images of crime, deviance, and culture. They also serve as alternative lenses for illuminating the constitutive relationships between visuality, crime, and society, many of which exceed mainstream criminological framings. A small but growing body of existing work underscores points of methodological and theoretical points of convergence between feminist criminology and visual studies. In particular, as Eamonn Carrabine (2012, p. 463) suggests, the "remarkable visual turn in criminology" and its concern for "distinctive ethical questions posed by visual representations of harm, suffering, and violence" can prompt potentially productive synergies with feminist criminology.

**Feminist and Visual Criminological Literature**

In responding to the blind spots of conventional criminology, both feminist and visual criminological approaches offer alternative approaches to the study of crime, deviance, justice institutions, and the people implicated by them. They do, however, maintain distinct foci and analytical strengths. Whereas feminist criminology aims to correct embedded biases of male-centered criminology, a "visually attuned criminology" sheds light on "problems of theory, methods, ethical engagement, political reform, and social responsibilities that come with the production, representation, and analysis of images" (Brown, 2014, p. 181). Visual culture is a fruitful site to explore feminist criminological concerns, particularly as scholars have already connected it to trauma and state violence (Mirzoeff, 2006, 2011).

**Feminist Criminological Approaches**

The breadth of feminist criminological approaches is too long and rich to capture in an article. For decades, feminists studying crime have documented how conventional criminology has either disregarded or narrowly conceived women's experiences in ways that reflect societal stereotypes (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2004; Gelsthorpe & Morris, 1990; Simon, 1981). This observation can be traced to the origins of criminology when Cesare Lombroso characterized

women as the "weaker sex" who is not as advanced as their male counterparts, as evidenced, for example, by their biologically hindered sexual desires. Lombroso's explanation that women are inherently weaker than men, however, is an outgrowth of patriarchal ideologies and gendered expectations of women typical of the Victorian era.

While mainstream criminology no longer promotes early biological theories of crime, feminist scholars contend that embedded male-centric values remain, despite criminology's scientific claims of objectivity. Although individual critiques vary, feminist criminologists bring attention to an overarching concern: that man, their experiences, as well as their perspectives of broader social relations continue to pervade criminological theory and research. This results in criminology's "generalizability problem" (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Simpson, 1989): that is, how can criminology claim to purport general theories of crime if it fails to adequately account for women who make up half of the general population?

By providing evidence that contradicts criminology's claims of being value neutral, feminist criminology poses important epistemological questions (Britton, 2000; Naffine, 1996). Epistemology, as distinct from methodology and methods, encompasses theories about what can and should constitute knowledge, the philosophical underpinnings of knowledge production and how to pursue knowledge (Harding, 1991). To advance criminological knowledge, feminist criminologists have documented the field's androcentric biases, arguing that a "focus on gender goes beyond simply adding another variable to the empirical study of law and legal institutions" (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2004, p. 128). Instead, feminist criminology comprehensively examines relationships between gender, crime, and deviance to correct for male-centered criminology (Cain, 1990).

In pursuing this gendered agenda, feminist criminological inquiry has expanded to include broader concerns, including questions about masculinity and offending (Messerschmidt, 1993) as well as intersectionality, which unearths and interrogates conventionally overlooked interconnections between different forms of social difference and inequality, such as race, class, gender, and sexuality (Potter, 2015; Richie, 2012). Intersectional studies of criminology provide evidence of how women's experiences in relation to crime and deviance are far from monolithic. They address not only how distinct identities are outgrowths of "multiple social relations," (Daly, 1997, p. 35) but also how criminal justice practices disproportionately affect multiply marginalized women and girls from impoverished communities (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2004; Miller, 2008; Richie, 2012).

Feminist criminology increasingly accounts for the transnational dimension of crime and deviance, acknowledging that contemporary globalization retains postcolonial contours (Bosworth & Flavin, 2007; Cunneen, 2011). Accordingly, feminist criminologists have started adapting and revising existing feminist frameworks so as to better capture and analyze how these legacies inform the multiple inequalities that shape gendered formations of violence (Henne & Troshynski, 2013). Kate Henne and Emily Troshynski (2013) scrutinize how criminology, including its feminist traditions, retains dimensions of criminology's imperialist roots, calling for the integration of interdisciplinary feminist transnational paradigms that focus on interlocking

systems of power more broadly. In essence, this is a call to extend intersectional concerns about power, representation, violence, and inequality beyond the identities of those affected by crime.

Feminist criminology reveals two additional dimensions of conventional criminology's standpoint: it is Occidentalist in that it disavows important forms of difference, and it is Orientalist in that it reduces marginalized groups to essentialist depictions of exotic others (Cain, 2000). Through its endeavors to correct for these tendencies, feminist criminology has a strong tradition of reflexivity-that is, the practice of identifying and accounting for scholars' assumptions and their influence on research practice and findings (Flavin, 2001). Feminist criminology, as Jeanne Flavin (2001, p. 273) suggests, demonstrates the value of making the critical consideration of "a multiplicity of factors" and "richer contextual analysis" the norm for criminological research "rather than the exception." In terms of praxis, it retains a longstanding commitment to understanding how gendered discourses operate in relation to-as well as the lived experiences of-crime, violence, and victimization.

The reflexive tradition within feminist intellectual thought has the capacity to inform scholarly approaches to and understandings of "epistemology, theory, methodology, and policy" (Flavin, 2001, p. 271). It contributes to all areas of criminological knowledge production, and it is not limited to a particular methodological orientation. Feminist criminology employs an array of methodologies and methods, including qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods approaches. To grasp how feminist criminology engages the visual and how that engagement might inform conventional criminology first requires a better sense of visual criminological approaches.

**Visual Criminological Approaches- Keith Hayward**

As Keith Hayward (2010) notes, the embrace of the visual is a natural extension of the cultural turn in criminology. Accordingly, many visual criminological approaches build from and extend cultural criminological framings (Hayward, 2010, p. 3), which situate "crime, criminality, and control squarely in the context of cultural dynamics." Specifically, cultural criminologists view crime and crime control agencies as socially constructed through the creation of "collective meaning and collective identity," becoming steeped in symbolism and power (Ferrell, Hayward, & Young, 2008, pp. 1–2). This trajectory reflects visual studies' longstanding commitment to the political critique of images, a tradition shaped primarily by two core strands of intellectual thought: the foundational work of Mitchell (1986) and U.K.-based cultural theorists, such as Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams.

The visual is not simply a representation of the real; rather, it is a mode of engaging representation, which is an integral aspect of contemporary social worlds. The image and the real are interconnected, arguably inseparable (Ferrell & Van de Voorde, 2010). Crime is no exception, particularly as images of crime and crime control proliferate and are tacitly understood as the realities of crime (Young, 1996). While the literature on crime and media acknowledges this relationship, a goal of visual criminology is to question the ways in which this relationship is created. For instance, Hayward (2010, p. 5) argues that the studying of images enables the interrogation of how crime is framed and understood, how power is conveyed, and how images "can be used as both a tool of control and resistance." In essence, the visual captures important

processes, ideological contestations, and political maneuvers that go overlooked if criminologists fail to interrogate representations and their power.

Following suit, visual criminologists seek to better understand the nature and impact of how crime and punishment are represented visually, with a focus on how the political and cultural economies underpinning the visual can reflect and contribute to norms and perceptions of crime and deviance. The visual thus serves as a lens through which to observe constitutive relationships between law and social control. As highlighted in the May 2014 special issue of Theoretical Criminology, studies on visual culture and iconography within criminology range from carceral studies (Brown, 2014; Schept, 2014) to banned images in public spaces (Young, 2014) and media representations of crime, punishment, and violence (Wakeman, 2014). Collectively, the articles in the special issue call for new theories and methods that account for the visual and its political dimensions; the issue also highlights interdisciplinary links between criminology and other fields of inquiry to develop more nuanced understandings of the visual (Rafter, 2014).

How and what different actors can see depends very much on their social position. Tyler Wall and Travis Linnemann's (2014) analysis of debates over body-worn police cameras serves as a clear example: the public's desire for transparency through images of officer-involved violence is in direct tension with officers' desire to maintain a protected position beyond the camera's gaze. Their analysis opens avenues for observing and theorizing tensions between officers, photographers, filmmakers, and the public regarding control over recordings of violence and the limits of the image (Jackson, 2015). As John Jackson (2015, p. 6) makes clear, "there is far too much that the camera (like 'the naked eye') doesn't or can't capture-that lies just beyond its rectangular frame or what transpired before the camera was turned on." Unseen moments, what visual theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff (2006) refers to as the invisible or hidden, are essential for understanding power relations informing visual culture.

A number of criminological works concerned with representations and cultures of crime demonstrate how visual methods can be used to get at deeper theoretical understandings of relationships between crime, social conditions, and punishment (e.g., Kane, 2009; Morrison, 2010). Criminologists tend to draw from visual methods developed in the humanities and other social sciences (e.g., Rose, 2012) to study the criminal justice system (e.g., Lynch, 2000, 2002, 2004) and the various ways images reflect and inform societal understandings of crime and punishment (e.g., Dowler, 2002; Rapping, 2003).

Particular methods include Semiology, researcher-created images, and critical analyses of existing images and visuals. Rita Shah (2015) uses photo documentation and Semiology to analyze how the look, feel, and location of a parole office impact relationships between parolee and parole agent. Stephanie Kane's (2009) ethnographic work elucidates how stencil graffiti in public waterscapes articulate artistic dissent and how the semiotics of such graffiti disrupts representations of state power. Other scholars look at criminological cases in which existing images are central. For example, studies of the mug shot industry consider how mug shot websites are themselves spectacles (Lageson, 2014): they make public-and open to ridicule and stigma-those who are arrested on a daily basis without concern for guilt, innocence, or privacy. As such, these analyses bring attention to the affective and political nature of the images as well

as the long-term effect of these images being public. Cécile Van de Voorde (2012) uses photo-elicitation-that is, using photographs as a tool for eliciting narratives from respondents-within larger ethnographic projects studying the intersection of crime, protest, and immigration. In so doing, Van de Voorde (2012) outlines a set of methods for analyzing the broader carceral logics that Brown (2014) describes as increasingly visible in settings beyond criminal justice institutions.

There are growing numbers of visual essays that present and analyze research findings (Hoffman, 2015). They draw on the power of images and other signifiers "to generate a scientifically informed whole" rather than rely solely on textual contextualization (Pauwels, 2012, para. 3.5). Visual essays in criminology have addressed, among other topics, social disorganization and rural communities (Tunnell, 2006), the problem of dumping and littering (Tunnell, 2004), and graffiti (Alvelos, 2004; Kane, 2009). Others explore how images enable incarcerated people to maintain rare and valued forms of intimacy, attachment, and familial connection (Fleetwood, 2015).

Visual criminology is becoming an important theoretical and methodological approach in its own right. The forthcoming Routledge International Handbook of Visual Criminology is a testament to the subfield's growth: edited by Michelle Brown and Eamonn Carrabine (2017), it is the first handbook to interrogate visual criminology, its application, and its unrealized possibilities. Moreover, it represents a collection of alternative methods for generating criminological knowledge, all of which surpass criminology's traditionally positivistic orientation.

Although feminist and visual criminology tend to question different aspects of mainstream criminology, both illuminate disciplinary blind spots. Accordingly, feminist and visual criminology enable the exploration of power dynamics shaping crime and criminological knowledge, and their intersections present potentially new synergies for investigation.

## Masculinity Theory- R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt

To speak of masculinities is to speak about gender relations. Masculinities are not equivalent to men; they concern the position of men in a gender order. They can be defined as the patterns of practice by which people (both men and women, though predominantly men) engage that position. There is abundant evidence that masculinities are multiple, with internal complexities and even contradictions; also that masculinities change in history, and that women have a considerable role in making them, in interaction with boys and men. At that time, anyone interested in power structures could see that the feminist challenge to patriarchy must mean changes in the lives of men.

A research project on secondary schools, described in the Education section, crystallized this idea. Interviewing boys, teachers and parents, we could see active hierarchies of masculinity in school settings. The term 'hegemonic masculinity' was first used in a 1982 report from this project, and my first essay on men and masculinities was published in the same year. He managed to get funding for a study of social theories of gender. The research assistant job was taken as a job-share by John Lee and Tim Carrigan, both knowledgeable about gay theory and

politics. We were soon developing a synthesis of ideas about masculinity from psychoanalysis, feminist theory, gay theory, and structural sociology. This was published in 1985 in a long article, 'Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity', that appeared just as a wave of interest in questions about men and masculinity was building up internationally.

Their paper was widely cited; Eventually this became the core of the book Masculinities. I had been reluctant to write such a book, as I thought the genre of 'Books about Men' – astonishingly popular in the early 1990s – fostered the illusion of fixed natural masculinity. When I did start writing, the draft was promptly rejected by a well-known US publisher.

Social research on masculinities had obvious implications for practical problems, including violence prevention, the education of boys, action on men's health, and the promotion of gender equality. With different groups of colleagues, I have written reports and papers that gather the research findings and concepts together to help activists and policy makers in all of those fields. A number were collected in The Men and the Boys. The most ambitious project came in 2003-04, when I worked with United Nations agencies to survey research and prepare policy ideas on 'the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality'.

This led up to a policy document adopted at a meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, in New York. It was fascinating to see the diplomats in their natural habitat, and to see other bureaucracies in action. It is hard to know how much influence such documents have. But there have been more efforts to create international projects concerned with changing masculinities and improving gender relations. I have given some help to a project in South-east Asia on engaging men in violence reduction. The interview below was done at a meeting of this project. Work with the United Nations made me think harder about the international dimension in masculinity research. This work was still centered on ideas and debates from the global North. At the same time I was becoming concerned with colonialist and the marginalization of intellectual work from the global South. Recently I have been trying to re-think issues about masculinity in the light of Southern theory and post-colonial research, as familiar issues in rich countries may look very different in world perspective.

**Life Course Theory- Karl Mannheim**

The life course perspective is a broad approach that can be used in a variety of subject matters such as psychology, biology, history, and criminology. As a theory, the denotation establishes the connection between a pattern of life events and the actions that a human performs. In the criminology field, life-course theory is used as a backbone (or a starting branch) for an assortment of other theories that are less broad and more specific. The history of the theory partially stems from the 1920's theorist, Karl Mannheim, who wrote the ground- breaking dissertation, The Sociological Problem of Generations.

Although, Mannheim does not explicitly generate a full-fledged theory, he demonstrates the findings of how the human experiences, specifically undergone in childhood, shape their ultimate outcome. He later goes on to note these outcomes will be passed done from generation to generation concluding that past generations form the further generations. For a criminological

stance, the aspect of Mannheim's discovery on the importance of influence is the primary focus. Although Mannheim's research helped expand the life-course approach, generally in the social sciences field W.I Thomas and F. Znaniecki are the two sociologist credited to having ignite the broad theory. They analyzed the lives of Polish peasants and documented their discoveries in The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. Their sociological approach to studying the human way of life through a socio-economic standpoint was one of the first of its kind. John Laub and Robert Sampson are two modern criminologists that have work to further investigate and apply the life-course theory to a criminological stand-point. Contemporary criminological approaches to life-course theory place emphasis on the factors occurring in each phase of life (classified as childhood, adolescence, and adulthood) and how these factors play a role in the participation of criminal behavior. Factors in the childhood stage would include developmental events concerning mainly parental guidance (or lack thereof). A common factor throughout childhood is the one parent household case in which studies have shown because a higher risk for criminal activity later in one's life. The adaptation to social bonds and institutions are factors in the adolescence phase. When adolescents are able to excel in institutions such as schools, churches, and community centers their less likely to resort to criminal activities, because of they are busy and their time are occupied. Factors for adults include marriage, children, and employment.

Adults that are involved with their families and their careers are less likely to pursue crime compared to those who are not. The factors, or experiences, throughout human life aide in the life-course theory's attempt to explain why certain individuals are more prone to life of crime while other's have a lower probability. Thus, these factors force consistent interaction between individuals and their surroundings that fundamentally create a particular life style that could lead to life of crime if these factors are negative. In general, the accepted notion is that the factors occurring at a younger stage in life are predominately influential on crime risk than latter life experiences. As a result of this idea, the life-course theory works closely with developmental theories to reinforce explanations of crime occurrences. In regards to criticism of the theory, the question that has arouse is "whether life-course criminology has produced new general theories or rather represents ways of pulling in concepts and propositions from exhausting theories at different ages or stages of life". The consensus deciding that the life-course model expands on the general criminological theories including learning, strain, control, and rational choice. As a result of this conclusion, the term 'theoretical integration' is often used when discussing life-course theory.

The main study to test the validity of the life-course theory was conducted by Laub and Sampson, who extraordinarily where able to follow the participants for a extremely lengthy period of time which is a difficult task to accomplish in the social science field. Laub and Sampson were able to use the research brought forth by criminologist Eleanor Glueck's study on the criminal life style in young adults into their investigation. Their goal was to prove that in life, essential turning points (or as they called them trajectories) are hugely influential in determining one's risk of succumbing to crime. The two theorists followed the same participants that were part of Glueck's thesis, and made sure the life history of said participants was as comprehensive as possible with particular focus on the crucial trajectories such as marriage and employment. With this project, Sampson and Laub ultimately ended up contradicting one of criminology's most

popular theorist, Travis Hirschi, by stating "criminality is not a constant, but affected by the larger social forces which change over a life-course" (Yeager).

When putting the theory into practice, key assumptions should be acknowledged. An assumption made continually by life-course theory supporters regards human behavior as being affected by nurture rather than nature. The theory recognizes that not one human is identical, but instead establishes that there are typical life phrases that are experienced in typical patterns. Within these patterns there are social passages that one goes through, and thus, must adhere to the implied social contract established in society. So, through these assumptions implications can be made that social institutions such as families and schools are vital for development throughout one's life. These social institutions face challenges when key components such as parents are missing in the equations. If a parent(s) is missing due to incarceration their child(s) are at a higher risk for engaging in criminal behavior based on several theories including life- course. While intertwining developmental theories with the life-course perspective, developmental theorist have come to find that the social impact of society with high incarcerations rates is significant. The findings show a clear negative impact resulting into a vicious cycle. To tackle these factors the rehabilitation approach may be a better solution versus an approach such as restitution. With the rehabilitation approach the goal would be to restore and reconnect offenders back into society with the hopes that eventually they will be honorable citizens.

**Integrated Theories of Criminology- Elliott, Thornberry, Tittle and Cullen**

Integrated theories are theories that combine the concepts and central propositions from two or more prior existing theories into a new single set of integrated concepts and propositions. Integration can take several forms. Conceptual integration involves an absorption strategy, arguing that concepts from one theory have the same meaning as concepts from another theory and combining them into a common language and set of concepts. Propositional integration involves combining or linking propositions from one or more theories into a single, unified and consistent set of propositions. Conceptual integration is very common in theory development and a review of this type of integration essentially would involve a general review of criminological theory. Propositional integration, as a distinct development strategy is relatively rare and recent and is the subject of this online bibliography. In some instances propositional integration is based on theory commonalities and in others it involves integrating competing theories.

The number of theories combined currently ranges from two to four and there is substantial variation in the structure of the proposed integration. Structural arrangements typically take one of four forms: arranging theories (propositions) end-to-end, side-by-side, up and down, and some combination of these forms. The most common form of integration involves combining social control and social learning theories. Proponents view theory integration as an alternative strategy for theory development and testing that addresses some of the limitations of the more traditional competition strategy. They also claim increased levels of explanatory power compared to that of the individual theories combined and greater inclusiveness in types of criminal behavior explained. There is a lively debate about the nature and efficacy of this strategy, the structure and coherence of specific formulations, and the level of empirical support for specific integrated theories.

*General Overviews*

Introductory criminology texts typically include a chapter or major part of a chapter discussing the integrated theory strategy and specific theories. Brown, et al. 2010 provides a good overview of integrated theory for undergraduates. Akers and Sellers 2004 and Kubrin, et al. 2009 provide a deeper review and critique more suitable for graduate-level courses. The chapter in Kubrin, et al. 2009 is the most detailed overview of integrated theory. The collected papers from two conferences on integrated theory have been published. Messner, et al. 1989 provides the most complete single source of information about integrated theory, including critical reviews, new proposed theoretical formulations, and an analysis of theoretical integrations at different levels (micro, macro, and cross-level) of explanation.

The second collection of papers in Farrington, et al. 1993 focuses more narrowly on cross-level integration. Both of these volumes are appropriate for graduate-level courses. Muftić 2009 provides a comprehensive review of the history of theory integration, including conceptual as well as propositional forms. Liska, et al. 1989 discusses different integration strategies and provides in-depth reviews of more specific issues raised about the general assumptions and objectives of the integration strategy, and Thornberry 1989 compares the advantages and disadvantages of the integration strategy and provides a key definition of integrated theory.

Over the past couple of decades, theories of crime and punishment have blossomed in their diversity. Not only has the study of crime and punishment broadened throughout the behavioral and social sciences, but, increasingly criminologists have adopted perspectives that are no longer grounded in "classical" versus "positivist" views of human nature and social interaction. In today's postmodern and multicultural worlds of criminology and criminal justice characterized by post-structuralism, post-Marxism, post-affirmative action, and post-feminism, criminologists from a variety of schools of thought, including but not limited to critical, constitutive, positivist, and integrative, have come to appreciate, in different and in related ways, the numerous limitations of simple or "non-integrative" theories. In short, the traditional or one-dimensional accounts, models, and explanations of crime and/or punishment that have tended to divide human beings and society into biological, cultural, psychological, or sociological entities, at best, are partially correct. At worst, these analyses are very inadequate as they typically ignore more factors than they consider.

In response to the limited range and application of most non-integrative theories of crime and punishment, more and more criminologists, theorists and non-theorists alike, are embracing integrative and/or interdisciplinary frameworks of examination. Like theories in general which have diversified in kind and approach, the same has been true of integrative theories, perhaps more so. What makes integrative theories especially appealing is that the diversification of models is liberating to the extent that they allow for a creative plurality of knowledge based frameworks. This is the case, both within and across disciplinary boundaries, as well as within and across modernist and postmodernist modes of thought.

At the same time, some integrative theories focus on criminal behavior and criminal activity, others focus on punishment and crime control, still other focus on crime, justice, and social control. Moreover, some integrative theories are formalistic and consist of propositional statements stemming from two or more theories usually within the same discipline; other integrative models or theories are less formalistic and consist of conceptualizing the reciprocal or interactive relations between various levels of human motivation, social organization, and structural relationships. Hence, when one thinks of integrative models one must realize from the beginning that there are many interpretations of what it means to be "doing" integration.

**Ways of Seeing Integration**

Just as there are multiple ways of doing theory or of building simple, one-dimensional models of crime production, there are, even more ways of constructing complex models of criminal behavior or of integrating criminology theories. Most integrators of crime and/or punishment agree that integration involves connecting, linking, combining, and/or synthesizing the relations and fragments of other models and theories into formulations of crime and crime control that are more comprehensive than the more traditional and one-dimensional explanations that have been perpetually elaborated on for some forty years. Despite this abstract agreement on the meaning of integration, actual approaches to integration vary significantly. In other words, the ways of seeing or constituting criminological integration differ in both theory and practice. As a consequence, the development of integrative theories and practices has, thus far, "proceeded in a somewhat anomic fashion with no [one] viable framework for synthetic work" having emerged in the study of crime and punishment (Tittle, 1995: 115). Nevertheless, much of the impetus for integration in criminology, at least early on, beginning in the 1970s, was grounded in the disciplines of psychology or sociology, and occasionally from the perspective of social psychology.

For example, the criminological literature on theoretical integration reveals a strong reliance on learning and control theories, a weaker reliance on strain theory, followed closely by subcultural, conflict, and Marxist theories. These sociological biases at work in criminological integration have traditionally marginalized theories and models of biology, evolution, history, gender, communication, economics, and law. In contrast to the more sociologically- and psychologically-based positivist and modern stances toward integration, are the eclectically-based constructivist and postmodern stances toward integration.

Both modernist and postmodernist approaches to integrative theories can be broken down further into a variety of explanations of crime and punishment. Moreover, integrative or integrated theories may be specific or general. Whereas the specific integrated theories have focused on a single form of criminality, such as rape or battering, the general integrated theories have attempted to make sense out of a relatively broad or inclusive range of harmful activities, including interpersonal, organizational, and structural forms. Whether these attempts at integration have been modernist or postmodernist, some have confined themselves to criminality while others have focused more broadly on deviance and non-conformity. Finally, modernist forms of integration emphasize the centrality of theory in scientific endeavors and in the

construction of causal models capable of predicting transgression. Postmodernist forms of integration emphasize the ever-changing voices of plurality that provide meaning for the local sites of crime, justice, law, and community as these are constituted by harmful personal and social relationships (Barak, 1998a and 1998b; Henry and Milovanovic, 1996).
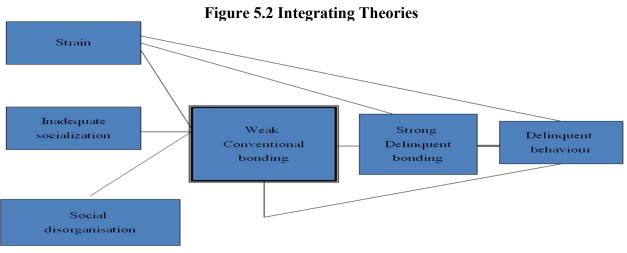
**Integrating Bodies of Theory**

Whether discussing various forms of delinquency integration that hook theories together sequentially (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Colvin and Pauly, 1983; Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton, 1985; Elliott, Huizinga, and Menard, 1989), of learning or reinforcement forms of integration that bring theories together by focusing on a central causal process (Glaser, 1978; Akers, 1985; Pearson and Weiner, 1985), or of macro- and micro-level forms of integration that link theories together by combinations of interdependencies (Hagan, 1988; Kaplan, 1975; Tatum, 1996), these approaches to integration have engaged in three basic types of positivist integration: structural, conceptual, or assimilative.

The structural integrations can be either "end-to-end" or "side-by-side" integrations. Structural integration links existing theories or at least their main components in some kind of sequence, either by conceiving of the causal variable/s in some theories as outcome variables in other theories, or by theorizing that under certain conditions the causal processes of one theory interlocks in particular ways with those of other theories. End-to-end conceptualizations, such as those of mainline delinquency integration tend to give no preference to the various components involved and assume some kind of linear effect is in operation, so that different theorists might order the elements in different sequences (Elliott, Ageton, andCantor, 1979; Johnson, 1979). By contrast, side-by-side integrations provide a firmer basis for the sequencing of theoretical ingredients, in that later outcomes are conditional on earlier outcomes (Braithwaite, 1989).

Postmodern integrationists are concerned less about theories per se than they are about knowledge's. Rather than pursuing the cause-and-effect predictions of theoretical integration within, or even between disciplines, these criminologists are creating explanatory models of crime and crime control that make connections or linkages through and across the entire range of interdisciplinary knowledge's (Barak, 1998a). For example, Vila's (1994) evolutionary ecological theory presented in "A General Paradigm for Understanding Criminal Behavior: Extending Evolutionary Ecological Theory" is consistent with the spirit of integrating criminologies as it incorporates a multiplicity of disciplinary causal factors and bases of knowledge.

Vila reconciles or integrates, at one level of analysis, such theories as strain, control, labeling, and learning primarily derived from the disciplines of social psychology, and at another level, he examines over time and across disciplines, the changes that are derived in the "resource-acquisition" and "resource-retention" behaviors of social actors, from parental through early adulthood. In a few words, this model of synthesis not only "has its roots in the 'interdiscipline' of evolutionary ecology, but [it] uses a problem-oriented, rather than a discipline-oriented approach to understanding criminal behavior" (Vila, 1994: 315).

**Figure 5.2 Integrating Theories**



Elliot's Integrated Model 1985

Whereas modernist integrations focus on linear causality and multiple causality; postmodernist integrations focus on interactive causality or reciprocal causality and on dialectical causality or codetermination causality. The latter forms of causality not only raise questions about whether modernist theorists have correctly ordered their causal variables, but, more fundamentally, they question whether there is a correct ordering of causal variables in the first place. In fact, certain things may happen simultaneously, while other things may not, and these things or relations may not be constant over time.

Some of the synthetic models of integrated knowledge's can be classified as "transdisciplinary" or as post-postmodernist integrations that strive to combine principles, facts, and values from both modern empiricism and postmodern Reconstructionism. In terms of soft determinist, neo-positivist, and post-postmodernist integration, "cause" may refer to the influences and variations that are possible in the context of the multiple interrelations of discourses, ideologies, imaginations, unconsciousness's, histories, and political economies, all of which are never fully separated from each other (Henry and Milovanovic, 1996). In any case, these models represent a hybrid of the methods of both modernism and postmodernism, or a third way of seeing integration.

A developing means of bridging or integrating knowledge's across modernist and postmodernist divides has been established through the use of texts and narratives. As sociologist Richard Harvey Brown (1989: 1) has maintained: "the conflict that exists in our culture between the vocabularies of scientific discourse and of narrative discourse, between positivism and romanticism, objectivism and subjectivism, and between system and life world can be synthesized through a poetics of truth that views social science and society as texts." According to this view, language is neither a reflection of the world or of the mind. It is, instead, a social historical practice where the meanings of words are not taken from things or intentions, but arise from the socially coordinated actions of people.

For example, the "life-course" criminology of Sampson and Laub in Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life, and their development or "stepping stone" approach to delinquency and crime is located in the narrative data of life histories and in the social (re) construction of crime. Sampson and Laub's (1993: 18) explanation of crime emphasizes "the role of informal social controls that emerge from the role of reciprocities and structure of interpersonal bonds linking members of society to one another and to wider social institutions such as work, family, and school." As the authors have informed their readers: "Integrating divergent sources of information on life histories, the qualitative analysis supported the central idea of our theoretical model that there are both stability and change in behavior over the life course, and that these changes are systematically linked to the institutions of work and family relations in adulthood (Sampson and Laub, 1993: 248).

**Conceptual and assimilative integrations** assume one of two kinds of abstract causal processes. In the conceptual types of "up-and-down" integration, pre-existing theories are brought together that are saying more or less the same types of things, only at different levels of analysis, or related theories are brought together and blended into new theoretical products. By contrast, the assimilative type of "kitchen sink" integrations employ abstract causal processes that do not consume other theories one way or the other, but rather allow different theories to be united into larger, abstract conceptual frameworks without respect to the interactive relationships and conditional effects that these theories may have on each other.

**Modernist constructions of integrative theories** may also be thought of or described in other related ways. These approaches may be divided up into those that emphasize kinds-of-people (social process-micro models), kinds-of-organization (social structure-macro models), and kinds-of-culture (micro-macro models) explanations of crime and punishment. The following represent a few brief examples of each of these types of modernist integration: Wilson and Herrnstein (1985:195) in Crime and Human Nature provided a specific micro-social process theory of interpersonal, "aggressive, violent, or larcenous behavior" that focuses exclusively on predatory street behavior while ignoring white-collar, corporate, and governmental misbehavior. Their theory is an eclectic, social learning-behavioral choice formulation that relies on both positivist determinism and classical free will as it claims various linkages between criminality and hereditary factors, impulsivity, low intelligence, family practices, school experiences, and the effects of mass media on the individual.

Krohn (1986) bridged together theoretical propositions from the delinquency-enhancing effects of differential association and the delinquency-constraining effects of social bonds, as these interact with social learning and social control. His network theory maintains that the lower the network density in relationship to population density, the weaker the constraints against nonconformity, and the higher rates of delinquency.

In Class, State and Crime, Quinney (1977) provided a general and integrative theory expressed through the contradictions and development of capitalism. His political economy of crime and crime control articulates a class-structural analysis where two interconnected sets of criminality, the crimes of domination and repression are committed by capitalists and agents of control, and the crimes of accommodation and resistance are committed by workers and ordinary people. This

social structure- macro model argues that not only are the differential opportunities for crime class specific, but so too are the accompanying motivations for both crime and punishment. Stark (1987) introduced an integrated set of thirty propositions as an approximation of a theory of deviant places. His "kinds-of-place" explanation or ecological theory analyzed the traits of places and groups rather than the traits of individuals. It contends that the deviant behavior of the poor varies in relation to population density, poverty, mixed land use, transience, and dilapidation.

In Power, Crime, and Mystification, Box (1983) provided a conceptual integration of how corporate crime overcomes environmental uncertainties by illegally reducing or eliminating competition through fraud, bribery, manipulation, price-fixing, and so on. Box employed anomie and strain as the motivational sources behind corporate crime. He argues that "motivational strain" is translated into illegal acts through differential associations and corporate subcultures where elites learn to rationalize and neutralize their infractions with social and moral contracts. Pearson and Weiner's (1985)model of integration is derived from identifying concepts that are common to particular theories and, in turn, structures these concepts within a general framework. This model searches for common vocabulary in which terms from one theory have analogs in other theoretical formulations. The central organizing concept of their model employs a social learning theory of crime, and incorporates micro-social factors, macro-social structural factors, and behavioral consequences or feedback factors.

**Two recent integrative theories** that can also be described as providing micro-social process and macro-social structural analyses are Tittle's Control Balance: Toward a General Theory of Deviance and Colvin's Crime and Coercion: An Integrated Theory of Chronic Criminality. Tittle's "synthetic approach" is a carefully articulated blending of structural, conceptual, and assimilative methods of integration. His control balance theory contends that the "amount of control to which people are subject relative to the amount of control they can exercise affects their general probability of committing some deviant acts as well as the probability that they will commit specific types of deviance" (Tittle, 1995: 142). It also argues that individuals' control ratios or that the control balancing process is subject to a host of internal and external contingencies that can vary over time.

Colvin's (2000) differential coercion theory combines elements from Robert Agnew's general strain theory, Michael R. Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi's self-control theory, Ron Akers' social learning theory, Francis T. Cullen's social support theory, and Tittle's control balance theory. His socially and psychologically dynamic theory is relevant to both the production and reduction of crime and punishment as it focuses on four dimensions of control–or degrees of coercion and consistency–that have had profoundly different effects on criminal and non-criminal outcomes, whether applied to chronic street criminals, exploratory offenders, or white-collar rule breakers. His integration at both the inter-personal and macro-social levels reveals how "differential levels of coercion and consistency appear in micro processes of social control and at the macro level involving larger economic and cultural forces in society" (Colvin, 2000: 141). Equally as important, Colvin's theoretically-driven responses to crime reduction or his policies toward a "non-coercive society" are aimed at preventing and altering the erratic coercive dynamics in the foreground and background of most criminality, especially in its more chronic or habitual forms.

Messerschmidt (1997), in Crime as Structured Action: Gender, Race, Class, and Crime in the Making engages in a grounded social constructionism that evolves not only through discourses, but also, more importantly, through the ways in which people actively construct their own identities, masculine and feminine, in relationship to crime and particular social contexts as these are differentiated through time and situation as well as through class, race, gender, and so on. These types of integrative analyses that go beyond postmodernism argue that crimes are recursive productions, routine activities which are part and parcel of historically- and culturally-specific discourses and structures that have attained a relative stability over time and place. Materialistically rooted, these discourses of structured inequality, for example, "become coordinates of social action whereby 'criminals' are no less than 'excessive investors' in the accumulation and expression of power and control".

Barak and Henry (1999), for example, in "An Integrative-Constitutive Theory of Crime, Law, and Social Justice," provided an examination of the co-production of crime and consumption and of crime and justice (both "criminal" and "social"). Their theory "links the study of culture with the study of crime. It is a theory that maintains the diversity of vocabularies through which different people experience violence and different criminal justice organizations exercise their power. It is a theory that integrates each of these points of view into a more complete, more robust regard for law, crime, and deviance" (Arrigo, 1999: 151). In the end, this kind of synthesis attempts to bring the intersections of class, race, and gender together with the dynamics of social identity formation and mass communications (see also Barak, Flavin, and Leighton, 2001).

Integrative theories or integrating criminological perspectives is not a particularly new endeavor. It dates at least as far back as Merton (1938), Sutherland (1947), and Cohen (1955). However, it was not until the 1970s and the 1980s that integrative models began to "take-off" and challenge the non-integrative or one-dimensional theories and models of crime and/or punishment. Throughout this developing period of integration, many criminologists remained skeptical about the merits and potentials of integrative models. Some turned to the "vertical" elaboration of older one-dimensional theories, others abandoned theory altogether in preference for the "horizontal" bits and pieces of knowledge that come from multiple disciplines that study crime and punishment. Nevertheless, by the turn of the 21st century, the integrative paradigm had become the newly emerging paradigm in criminology and penology. As for the future, this integrative paradigm looks strong and holds out the promise that the study of crime and punishment will, sooner than later, become the truly interdisciplinary enterprise that most criminologists have always claimed it to be.

**Green Criminology- Michael J. Lynch**

The term "green criminology" was introduced by Michael J. Lynch in 1990, and expanded upon in Nancy Frank and Michael J. Lynch's 1992 book, *Corporate Crime, Corporate Violence*, which examined the political economic origins of green crime and injustice, and the scope of environmental law. The term became more widely used following publication of a special issue on green criminology in the journal *Theoretical Criminology* edited by Piers Beirne and Nigel

South (1998, volume 2, number 2). Green criminology has recently started to feature in university-level curriculum and textbooks in criminology and other disciplinary fields.

The study of green criminology has expanded significantly over time, and is supported by groups such as the *International Green Criminology Working Group*. There are increasing interfaces and hybrid empirical and theoretical influences between the study of green criminology, which focuses on environmental harms and crimes, and mainstream criminology and criminal justice, with criminologists studying the 'greening' of criminal justice institutions and practices in efforts to become more environmentally sustainable and the involvement of people in prison or on probation in ecological justice initiatives.

Green Criminology is the analysis of environmental harms from a criminological perspective, or the application of criminological thought to environmental issues. As elsewhere in criminology, this means thinking about offences (what crimes or harms are inflicted on the environment, and how), offenders (who commits crime against the environment, and why) and victims (who suffers as a result of environmental damage, and how), and also about responses to environmental crimes: policing, punishment and crime prevention. On a more theoretical level, green criminology is interested in the social, economic and political conditions that lead to environmental crimes; on a philosophical level it is concerned with which types of harms should be considered as ′crimes′ and therefore within the remit of a green criminology.

'Green Criminology' is the application of criminology to 'green' issues is both an accurate answer and a slightly unhelpful one, presupposing, as it does, that both 'criminology' and 'green' are clearly defined concepts. But they are not. Even within the ranks of criminologists – students, academics, and practitioners – the meaning and remit of 'green criminology' is not widely understood or agreed upon. Indeed, even amongst the fledgling community of scholars who call themselves green criminologists no two are likely to give the same answer to this fundamental question. So let's start with the basics. Criminology is the study of crime and criminals. But even this definition is of limited use – whilst we might recognise that criminals commit crime, and criminologists study crime, we are still in need of a definition of crime itself to really understand what criminology is!

Most dictionaries offer multiple definitions of the word 'crime', usually starting with the idea that it is a breach of the criminal law; "an action or an instance of negligence that is deemed injurious to the public welfare or morals or to the interests of the state and that is legally prohibited". This usage is the one that most people think of, at least at first, thinking about crime. But dictionaries – and everyday speech – offer alternatives that refer to some sense of morality (which is ultimately subjective) rather than law (which strives to be objective): "any offense, serious wrongdoing or sin" (these definitions are taken dictionary.com). In this sense, crime is best seen as some form of wrongdoing rather than the stricter breaking of (criminal) laws. (The fact that criminal lawyers themselves struggle to define 'crime' – as distinct from other forms of law breaking and without reference to a concept of 'criminal' which again begs the question – is another essay entirely).

Criminology in its original and narrowest sense sticks with the common legal definitions of crime and criminal, focusing on those acts that are deemed as harmful as to be defined as crimes by the state and those people who commit such acts. Or at least, those people who are both caught committing such acts and successfully processed by the criminal justice system. Radical and Critical criminologists have long since challenged this narrow perspective, asking questions about those who commit acts that are arguably as harmful, but not covered by the criminal law, or those who get away with their crimes whether because they evade detection or because they are not successfully labelled as criminals or punished for their crimes, or about the very social structures that ultimately decide who or what might be labelled criminal or crime. What do we make of the banker who pockets millions whilst the savings of the lower classes are lost, or the politicians who seem to use their positions to improve their own lot even when their people face daily struggles (and many of whom are locked up as criminals)? Laws may or may not be broken in these instances, but it is rare for criminal prosecutions to occur. In a world of financial crises, fraud, corruption and abuse of power, where businessmen, journalists and politicians all feature in high-profile criminal trials, it might be surprising to consider that white collar, corporate, state and war crimes are relatively recent additions to the substantive subject matter of criminology.

Given the fact that 'crime' is both socially and politically structured (and therefore subjective), many criminologists have suggested more objective bases for the 'discipline'.

The sociology of deviance has long overlapped with criminology. In a rejection of its somewhat arbitrary nature (at least when we take a big step backwards and consider variations in criminal law across different countries and different cultures at different points in history), a human-rights perspective has been suggested a better benchmark than criminal law. Avoiding legal (if not political) connotations completely, another proposed development has been for criminology to focus instead on social harm. With the idea that harmful acts inflicted on others might be worthy of the label 'crime', we find criminology, like the dictionary, recognises there might be more to 'crime' than the criminal law.

Let us now take the other half of the question. 'Green', of course, refers to having consideration for the natural environment. But even here there is a range of interpretations as to what exactly this encompasses. Is 'green' just a recognition of a natural environment existing, or does it suggest a nature that we care about? Is there (or should there be) a duty to care (or, in a more legalistic formulation, a duty of care)? What do we mean by 'natural environment' anyway? The (ever diminishing) wild areas of the world or also rural areas where humans harness nature (including farmlands and fisheries and forests)? Urban areas contain nature, and a true understanding of the science of ecology demonstrates that the natural world cannot be separated from the world of human society. What about animals that are taken out of their natural environments – pets, livestock, zoo animals, lab rats – are these still subject to a green perspective, or is care for animal welfare or animal rights a separate (but overlapping) debate?

What do we make of the political connotations of the word 'green' when used in this sense? 'Green' political parties are becoming increasingly influential in many parts of the world, including in the powerful economies of Europe and Oceania. Even in the United States and other countries where small parties do not feature on the electoral map (and those where meaningful elections do not feature at all) green issues are widely discussed. This is understandable – agree with them or not, if the scientists are right, unprecedented environmental challenges loom ever-

larger on the horizon. Regardless of the science and the politics, millions of people experience the consequences of environmental catastrophes on a regular basis. But 'green' politics still carries a somewhat negative image in parts of the public conscience. There are suggestions of affiliation to hippie ideals – with all the connotations that implies. Even without this, there is a worry that 'greens' will focus on environmental issues to the detriment of our social and economic wellbeing. Green ideologies certainly do not seem to fit well (although some argue they can) with the dominant neo-capitalist political and economic thinking of the industrialized world: go green and say goodbye to technological and economic development and high standards of living.

Let us put aside the semantics. Returning to the question at hand, we can give the following answer. Green criminology is, indeed, the meeting point of criminology and environmental issues. In its narrowest, but least contentious, conceptualisation, green criminology concerns itself with the breach of laws designed to protect the environment or animals (such as laws restricting pollution, or prohibiting hunting). Given that environmental protection is one of the fastest growing areas of both international law and (for example) UK criminal law this narrow focus is more than enough to justify a specialist Green Criminology. In a broader definition, green criminology is concerned with social and individual harms caused by or through the willful or negligent damage of the environment. In its broadest sense, green criminology is concerned with all types of harm inflicted on the environment caused by human activity, whether or not there are obvious human victims.

Within the broader analytic framework of traditional criminology, harms to the environment are 'crimes', and green criminologists seek to understand both how these happen and where, when and why they occur. Green criminologists also focus on those who commit these crimes (the 'criminals' of mainstream criminology) and who (or what) suffers when crimes occur ('victims'). We draw on criminological traditions of policing, punishment and crime prevention to consider how best to respond to environmental harm and environmental offenders; we take concepts inherent in criminal justice to develop ideas about social, environmental and ecological justice. Green criminology can – and does – include all of these perspectives. Although green criminologists may disagree about the limits of their discipline they are largely agreed about its core: some of the ways that man interacts with nature are so harmful as to be worthy of the label 'crime'.

### Cyber Criminology- Jaishankar K

Cyber Criminology is a multidisciplinary field that encompasses researchers from various fields such as Criminology, Victimology, Sociology, Internet Science, and Computer Science. Cyber Criminology is a multidisciplinary field that encompasses researchers from various fields such as Criminology, Victimology, Sociology, Internet Science, and Computer Science. Jaishankar (2007) is the founder of the academic discipline Cyber Criminology and he coined and defined Cyber Criminology as "the study of causation of crimes that occur in the cyberspace and its impact in the physical space". Jaishankar (2007) academically coined the term Cyber Criminology for two reasons.

- First, the body of knowledge that deals with cyber crimes should not be confused with investigation and be merged with cyber forensics;
- Second, there should be an independent discipline to study and explore cyber crimes from a social science perspective.

Victimization through the Internet is becoming more prevalent as cyber criminals have developed more effective ways to remain anonymous. And as more personal information than ever is stored on networked computers, even the occasional or non-user is at risk.

A collection of contributions from worldwide experts and emerging researchers, **Cyber Criminology: Exploring Internet Crimes and Criminal Behavior** explores today's interface of computer science, Internet science, and criminology.

**Topics discussed include:**

- The growing menace of cyber crime in Nigeria
- Internet gambling and digital piracy
- Sexual addiction on the Internet, child pornography, and online exploitation of children
- Terrorist use of the Internet
- Cyber stalking and cyber bullying
- The victimization of women on social networking websites
- Malware victimization and hacking
- The Islamic world in cyberspace and the propagation of Islamic ideology via the Internet
- Human rights concerns that the digital age has created.

Approaching the topic from a social science perspective, the book explores methods for determining the causes of computer crime victimization by examining an individual's lifestyle patterns. It also publishes the findings of a study conducted on college students about online victimization.

Advances in information and communications technologies have created a range of new crime problems that did not exist two decades ago. Opportunities for various criminal activities to pervade the Internet have led to the growth and development of cyber criminology as a distinct discipline within the criminology framework. This volume explores all aspects of this nascent field and provides a window on the future of Internet crimes and theories behind their origins.

**Space Transition Theory of Cyber Crimes**

Cyberspace presents an exciting new frontier for criminologists. Virtual reality and computer mediated communications challenge the traditional discourse of criminology, introducing new forms of deviance, crime, and social control. Since the 1990s, academics have observed how the cyberspace has emerged as a new locus of criminal activity, but in general, criminology has been remiss in its research into the phenomena of cyber crime and has been slow to recognize the

importance of cyberspace in changing the nature and scope of offending and victimization. As such, very few theoretical explanations of cyber crime exist.

Some researchers have tried to explain cyber crimes with traditional theories, such as Social Learning Theory (Skinner and Fream 1997; Rogers 1999; 2001), Kohlberg's Moral Development Theory and Differential Reinforcement Theory (Rogers 2001), Cohen's Strain Theory (O'Connor 2003), Deindividuation Theory (Demetriou and Silke 2003), Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime (Foster 2004), Routine Activities Theory (Adamski 1998; McKenzie 2000; Grabosky 2001; Pease 2001; Yar 2005) and multiple theories (McQuade 2005; Taylor et.al 2005; Darin et. al 2006). However, these theoretical explanations were found to be inadequate as an overall explanation for the phenomenon of cyber crimes, because cyber crimes are different from crimes of physical space.

There is a need for a theory for cyber crimes. Therefore, this work is directed at theory building for the explanation of criminal behaviour in the cyberspace, and presents the Space Transition Theory. **"Space Transition Theory"** is an explanation about the nature of the behaviour of the persons who bring out their conforming and non-conforming behaviour in the physical space and cyberspace. Space Transition involves the movement of persons from one space to another (e.g., from physical space to cyber space and vice versa). Space Transition Theory argues that, people behave differently when they move from one space to another.
**The postulates of the theory are:**

1. Persons, with repressed criminal behavior (in the physical space) have a propensity to commit crime in cyberspace, which, otherwise they would not commit in physical space, due to their status and position.
2. Identity Flexibility, Dissociative Anonymity and lack of deterrence factor in the cyberspace provides the offenders the choice to commit cyber crime
3. Criminal behavior of offenders in cyberspace is likely to be imported to Physical space which, in physical space may be exported to cyberspace as well.
4. Intermittent ventures of offenders in to the cyberspace and the dynamic spatio-temporal nature of cyberspace provide the chance to escape.
5. (a) Strangers are likely to unite together in cyberspace to commit crime in the physical space.
   (b) Associates of physical space are likely to unite to commit crime in cyberspace.
6. Persons from closed society are more likely to commit crimes in cyberspace than persons from open society.
7. The conflict of Norms and Values of Physical Space with the Norms and Values of cyberspace may lead to cyber crimes.

**Important Terms**

**Anthropometry**: The attempt to derive character traits by measuring the human body. Anthropometrical approaches to crimininality include Lombroso's measurement of atavistic stigmata, and Sheldon's measurement of general physique, or "somatotype."

**Atavism**: Atavism refers to Lombroso's theory that while most individuals evolve, some devolve, becoming primitive or "atavistic". These evolutionary "throwbacks" are "born criminals," the most violent criminals in society. Born criminals could be identified through theiratavistic stigmata. (For a good account of Lombroso's theories of atavism, see Gould's The Mismeasure of Man, pages 151-75.)

**Causality.** A concept more applicable to the hard sciences. Does the appearance of X cause effect Y? In a perfect relationship, the appearance of X would always cause the effect Y. each and every time the relationship is seen.

**Celerity**: Swiftness. Beccaria argues that in order to be an effective deterrent, punishments must possess celerity. A punishment that occurs quickly after the crime helps to form a strong connection between the punishment and the crime in the minds of the general public, so that whenever a citizen contemplates a criminal act, he will instantly recall the punishment and weigh it into his deliberation. See also certainty and severity.

**Certainty**: According to Beccaria, a punishment must be certain to follow from the crime in order to be an effective deterrent. The greater the extent to which a would-be offender thinks that she can get away with a crime, the less she will weigh the punishment into her deliberation of whether or not to commit the crime. See also celerity and severity, or play the proportionality game!

**Constitutional Theories**: Theories such as Lombroso's or Sheldon's that locate the origins of criminality in a person's biological or psychological make-up. Refers to one's physical constitution (not a legal constitution).

**Culture**: The development of criminology to some degree can be told as the story of a deepening understanding of culture. For early sociological criminologists—and for many today—'culture' is primarily understood as the values and goals that orient individual actors. Many subcultural and labeling theorists deepen this understanding, seeing a 'culture' as the understandings and behaviors that arise, in the words of Howard Becker, ". . . in response to a problem faced in common by a group of people . . ." (Outsiders, 81). Finally, recent criminologists—especially feminist and critical criminologists—view culture very broadly, as the beliefs and values, tastes and interests, knowledge, behavior, and even the very ways that individuals conceive their of 'selves'. Culture, in short, has come to be seen as the fabric out of which the social is made.

**Deterrence**: A strategy of punishment associated with the Classical School. Deterrence can either be **specific**, punishing an individual so that she won't commit a crime again, or **general**, punishing an individual to set an example to society, so that others will not commit the same

crime. For the Classical School, punishment was primarily justified in terms of general deterrence.

**Empirical Validity.** This is the most important factor in evaluating a theory, and means that the theory has been supported by research evidence.

**Ex-Post Facto**: Laws that apply retroactively, that is, to punish actions conducted before they were pronounced illegal.

**Etiology**: The study of the causes or origins of behavior. Positivist approaches to criminology are characterized by their interest in determining the etiology of criminal behavior.

**Free Will:** For Beccaria and the classical school, even though people are hedonistic, they also possess **reason**, and can therefore calculate the course of action that is **really** in their self-interest. This gives them a degree of **freedom** over their situation.

**Hedonism**: The idea held by the classical school, that people only act according to what they find pleasurable and in their self-interest. See also Free Will/Reason.

**Ideology.** A belief system and a set of core values or philosophy. In a pure sense, an ideology states or explains how things should be, and a theory explains how things actually are.

**Incapacitation**: A strategy of punishment associated with positivist approaches to criminology. Sick offenders are removed from society (institutionalized or imprisoned) if they cannot be cured and rehabilitated, in order to protect society from harm. See also Deterrence and Retribution.

**Internal Logical Consistency**. A theory needs to be presented in a logical manner and to have clearly stated propositions that agree with or do not contradict one another. Restated, does the theory make logical and consistent sense?

**Macro.** Macro theories of criminal behavior explain the "big picture" of crime-crime across the world or across a society. They attempt to answer why there are variations in group rates of crime. Other authors have used the terms "epidemiology" or social structural theories.

**Micro.** Micro theories of criminal behavior focus on a small group of offenders or on an individual crime. They attempt to answer why some individuals are more likely than others to commit crime. Other authors have used the terms "individual conduct" or processual theories.

**Necessary Condition.** This means that X must be present to produce effect Y. If X is not present, Y will not occur.

**Parsimony.** This refers to how many propositions, steps, or statements are involved. How simple is the theory?

**Policy Implications.** If the theory is empirically valid, what solutions are suggested?

**Positivism**: In criminology, 'positivism' has two meanings.  (1) Specifically, it refers to the evolutionary assumptions and scientific methods of the 'positivist school' of criminology.  (2) More generally, it is used to characterize all approaches to criminology that are primarily concerned with questions of etiology, and which believe that social phenomena can and should be explained in the manner of the natural sciences.  And the origins of the term?  Talk to Comte.

**Probabilistic Causality.** A concept more applicable to the social sciences. X is more or less likely to cause effect Y. Restated, X tends to cause Y.

**Promoting the Greatest Good for the Greatest Number**: The purpose of laws and punishments for the classical school.  Thinkers differ, however, on **who** the "greatest number" are.  For Beccaria and other thinkers who believed that the state should be conceived as a social contract, this meant that because the state was created by a decision made by each one of its citizens, it was obligated to produce the greatest good shared equally among **all** of its citizens.  For Bentham, whose utilitarianism accepted that the purpose of legislation should be "promoting the greatest happiness for the greatest number" but **rejected** the idea of the social contract, the "greatest number" **could** mean the greatest good for the majority of people in society. . . so that the interests of particular individuals might need to be sacrificed for the greater social good.  See The Social Contract Exercise to learn how the social contract can be used to argue for social and legal equality.

**Proportionality:**   The Classical School believed that punishments could only deter if they were "proportional" to their crime, where proportionality means (1) that the severity of punishments correspond to the severity of the harm done by the crime, so that more serious crimes receive more serious punishments, and (2) that the **type** of punishment resembles the crime, so that others in society can best associate the punishment with the crime (see general deterrence).   Beccaria further argues that proportionality is the only punishment that is**morally** acceptable according to the social contract.

**Reciprocal Obligation:**   The basis of the social contract according to The Classical School.  Because people are hedonistic, driven by their self-interest, yet rational, capable of rationally considering what is **really** in their self-interest, they will come to the conclusion that life is more pleasurable with a degree of security—attained by everyone in society promising **not** to act in ways that will harm others.  These "reciprocal obligations"—the promises that all rational individuals would make in a society—can be considered a society's fundamental "social contract."

**Rehabilitation**: A strategy of punishment associated with positivist approaches to criminology.   Offenders are understood to be sick; the state attempts to cure them and reintroduce them into society.  See also Incapacitation, Retribution, and Deterrence.

**Retribution:** A justification for punishment that argues the guilty must be punished not, or not only, for instrumental ends, but because criminal actions simply 'deserve' to be punished. See also Deterrence, Rehabilitation, and Incapacitation.

**Scope.** Refers to how much or how many types of crime or deviance the theory covers.

**Severity:** According to Beccaria, punishments ought to proportional in their severity. See also certainty and celerity, and Beccaria's arguments on proportionality.

**Social Contract**: The idea of Beccaria and other members of the Classical School that government can be thought of as created by its citizens for certain shared and common ends. "Social contract theory" uses this notion to determine when laws are just or unjust, by arguing that just laws ought to be thought of as promises that everyone in society would realize is in their best interest to make to one another. To examine this argument in more detail, see Beccaria's argument for a social contract!

**Somatotyping**: The derivation of behavioral types from particular forms of the body. Somatotyping was first applied to criminology by William Sheldon and Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck.

**Stigmata**: As a term of medicine, 'stigmata' refers to the physical marks and characteristics that suggest an individual is abnormal. For Lombroso, 'atavistic stigmata' were those physical characteristics that suggested an individual to be atavistic. Such stigmata included abnormal skull sizes, hawk-like noses, large jaws and cheekbones, and fleshy lips.

**Sufficient Condition.** Each time X is present, effect Y will always occur.

**Tautology.** Circular reasoning. If a theory states that greed causes people to commit crime, and then says we know Jon is greedy because he committed a crime, it becomes impossible to subject the theory to the scientific process. In this case, you would find that greed has been defined as someone who commits criminal acts. The circle of the reasoning never stops.

**Testability.** To be valid and ultimately useful, a theory must be able to be subjected to scientific research. Theories may be untestable if they are tautological, propose causes that are not measurable, or are so open-ended that empirical findings can always be re-interpreted to support the theory.

**Theories of Criminal and Deviant Behavior.** Theories in this category attempt to explain why an individual commits criminal or delinquent acts.

**Theories of Law and Criminal Justice.** Theories in this category attempt to explain how laws are made, and how the criminal justice system operates as a whole.

**Theory.** In simple terms, theory is an explanation of something.

**Usefulness**. This refers to the real world applications that the theory proposes or suggests, and the ability to implement those applications.

**Utilitarianism:** Specifically, utilitarianism refers to the theory of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill that the overall **utility** or benefit produced by an action ought to be the standard by which we judge the worth or goodness of moral and legal action. More generally, utilitarian principles can be seen in the arguments of the early social contract theorists: the idea that government was utilitarian in nature followed from their understanding of human nature as hedonistic, and bringing about government because they realize it is in their benefit. See the social contract, "Promoting the Greatest Good for the Greatest Number," and instrumentalism.

**Key Concepts**

1. Theories are useful tools that help us to understand and explain the world around us. In criminology, they help us to understand the workings of the criminal justice system and the actors in the system.

2. Theories suggest the way things are, not the way things ought to be. They are not inherently good or bad; however, they can be used for good or bad purposes.

3. A theory can try to explain crime for a large social unit or area (macro), or it can attempt to explain crime at the individual or smaller unit level (micro).

4. Because we are dealing with human behavior, the social sciences will never be like the hard sciences. In the hard sciences, the theory of relativity will not change. In the social sciences, however, we deal with probabilities. The social scientist will say things such as, "A severely neglected child will probably commit, or tend to commit, delinquent acts."

5. To be used for maximum effectiveness, theories must make sense (logical consistency), explain as much crime as possible (scope), and be as concise as possible (parsimony). Most important, the theory must be true or correct (validity). Having met these basic goals, the theory must then have some real world applications and policy implications.

**Summaries of Theory**

| Criminological Theory | Main Points | Theorists/ Researchers |
|---|---|---|
| Classical | Crime occurs when the benefits outweigh the costs-when people pursue self-interest in the absence of effective punishments. Crime is a free-willed choice. See also deterrence, rational choice. | Beccaria |
| Positivist | Crime is caused or determined. Lombroso placed more emphasis on biological deficiencies, whereas later scholars would emphasize psychological and sociological factors. Use science to determine the factors associated with crime. | Lombroso Guerry Quetelet |
| Individual Trait | Criminals differ from non-criminals on a number of biological and psychological traits. These traits cause crime in interaction with the social environment. | Glueck & Glueck Mednick Caspi Moffitt |
| Social Disorganization | Disorganized communities cause crime because informal social controls break down and criminal cultures emerge. They lack collective efficacy to fight crime and disorder. | Shaw & McKay Sampson Bursik & Grasmick |
| Differential Association Social Learning Sub-cultural | Crime is learned through associations with criminal definitions. These definitions might be generally approving of criminal conduct or be neutralizations that justify crime only under certain circumstances. Interacting with antisocial peers is a major cause of crime. Criminal behavior will be repeated and become chronic if reinforced. When criminal subcultures exist, then many individuals can learn to commit crime in one location and crime rates-including violence-may become very high. | Sutherland & Cressey Sykes & Matza Akers Wolfgang & Ferracuti Anderson |
| Anomie Institutional- Anomie | The gap between the American Dream's goal of economic success and the opportunity to obtain this goal creates structural strain. Norms weaken and 'anomie' ensues, thus creating high crime rates. When other social institutions (such as the family) are weak to begin with or also weakened by the American Dream, the economic institution is dominant. When such an institutional imbalance exists-as in the United States-then crime rates are very high. | Merton Messner & Rosenfeld |
| Strain General Strain | When individuals cannot obtain success goals (money, status in school), they experience strain or pressure. Under certain conditions, they are likely to respond to this strain through crime. The strains leading to crime, however, may not only be linked to goal blockage (or deprivation of valued stimuli) but also to the presentation of noxious stimuli and the taking away of valued | Cohen Cloward & Ohlin Agnew |

| | stimuli. Crime is a more likely response to strain when it results in negative affect (anger and frustration). | |
|---|---|---|
| Control General Theory of Crime Control Balance Power Control | Asks the question, "Why don't people commit crime?" They assume that criminal motivation is widespread. They key factor in crime causation is thus the presence or absence of control. These controls or containment might be rooted in relationships (e.g., social bonds) or be internal (e.g., self-control). Exposure to control also might differ by social location and by the historical period, such as the changing level and type of control given to males and females. | Hirschi Reckless Gottfredson Hagan |
| Rational Choice Deterrence | Building on classical theory, crime is seen as a choice that is influenced by its costs and benefits-that is, by its "rationality." Crime will be more likely to be deterred if its costs are raised (e.g., more effort required, more punishment applied), especially if the costs are certain and immediate. Information about the costs and benefits of crime can be obtained by direct experiences with punishment and punishment avoidance, and indirectly by observing whether others who offend are punished or avoid punishment. | Stafford & Warr Patternoster Cornish & Clarke Matsueda |
| Routine Activities | Crime occurs when there is an intersection in time and space of a motivated offender, an attractive target, and a lack of capable guardianship. People's daily routine activities affect the likelihood they will be an attractive target who encounters an offender in a situation where no effective guardianship is present. Changes in routine activities in society (e.g., women working) can affect crime rates. | Cohen & Felson |
| Labeling Re-integrative Shaming | People become stabilized in criminal roles when they are labeled as criminal, are stigmatized, develop criminal identities, are sent to prison, and are excluded from conventional roles. Reintegrative responses are less likely to create defiance and a commitment to crime. | Lemert Matsueda Braithwaite Sherman |
| Critical | Inequality in power and material well-being create conditions that lead to street crime and corporate crime. Capitalism and its market economy are especially criminogenic because they create vast inequality that impoverishes many and provides opportunities for exploitation for the powerful. | Bonger Quinney Greenberg Currie Colvin |
| Peacemaking | Crime is caused by suffering, which is linked to injustice rooted in inequality and daily personal acts of harm. Making "war on crime" will not work. Making peace is the solution to crime. | Quinney |

| Feminism | Crime cannot be understood without considering gender. Crime is shaped by the different social experiences of and power is exercised by men and women. Patriarchy is a broad structure that shapes gender-related experiences and power. Men may use crime to exert control over women and to demonstrate masculinity-that is, to show that they are "men" in a way consistent with societal ideals of masculinity. | Adler Daly Chesney-Lind Messerschmidt |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Developmental Life Course | Crime causation is a developmental process that starts before birth and continues throughout the life course. Individual factors interact with social factors to determine the onset, length, and end of criminal careers. They key theoretical issues involve continuity and change in crime. Some theories predict continuity across the life course; others predict continuity for some offenders and change for other offenders; and some predict continuity and change for the same offenders. | Moffitt Sampson & Laub |
| Integrated | These theories use components from other theories-usually strain, control, and social learning-to create a new theory that explains crime. They often are life-course theories, arguing that causes of crime occur in a sequence across time. | Elliott Thornberry Tittle Cullen |

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