Student Study Guide for

*Criminological Theories: Introduction, Evaluation, Application, 5th edition*
By Ronald L. Akers and Christine S. Sellers

Prepared by Eric See, Methodist University
Chapter 1

Introduction to Criminological Theory

Terms

**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.

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

**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.

**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.

**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.

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

**Soft Determinism.** The view that human behavior is not wholly caused, determined, or predictable by any set of biological, psychological, or sociological forces but that these interact
with exercise of choice and will by individuals. Therefore, explaining or predicting human behavior is difficult.

**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.

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

**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.

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

**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.

6. Many theories have common traits, but differences among them still exist. Understanding these differences is key to understanding the often contradictory views of crime and deviance they purport to explain.

Questions

1. Before you began reading this book, what was your personal theory of crime causation? Which of the theories introduced in this chapter came closest to your personal view?

2. If any given theory were able to explain 30 percent of all the crimes committed, would you consider that theory to be successful? Why or why not?

3. If you were a warden at a state prison, how effective must a theory of rehabilitation be before you would implement it in your institution?

4. Policy application of Theory A has yielded modest results in preventing crime with low costs to implement. Policy application of Theory B has yielded a high success rate at preventing crime with very high costs to implement. Which theory would you prefer and why?

5. Many disciplines factor into criminological theories, such as psychology, sociology, biology, political science, and criminal justice. Do you feel that the integration of all of these disciplines holds the best chance for explaining the most crime, or should the disciplines remain pure?

Chapter 2
Deterrence and Rational Choice Theories

Terms

**Absolute Deterrence.** This refers to the amount of crime that has been prevented simply due to the fact that a formal system is in place so that an individual could be legally punished for committing a criminal act.

**Boot Camps.** Programs used in place of incarceration, and based upon a military model of discipline and order. These programs are designed to have a deterrent effect on young offenders, but they have generally failed to yield long-term reductions in recidivism.

**Celerity.** One of the three elements of deterrence. Celerity refers to how quickly an individual is punished after committing a crime.

**Certainty.** One of the three elements of deterrence. Certainty refers to how likely it is that an individual will be caught and punished for a crime that he or she has committed. Certainty is the most important of the three elements.

**Classical Criminology.** A school of thought based upon utilitarian notions of free will and the greatest good for the greatest number. At its core, classical criminology refers to a belief that a crime is committed after an individual weighs the pros and cons. The decision to commit a crime is a rational decision, and is best countered through a deterrence-based system.

**Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED).** This refers to a set of practices designed to make potential criminal targets less attractive. The belief that crime is a rational act is used to make a potential target less attractive to a criminal, and thus not a “rational” target.

**Deterrence Theory.** A core principle of classical school and rational choice theories. This theory states that crime can be controlled through the use of punishments that combine the proper degrees of certainty, severity, and celerity. Deterrence is a key element in the U.S. justice system.

**Expected Utility Principle.** Economic theory which states that people will act in a manner that increases their benefits and reduces their losses. This ties in closely with classical criminology and, by definition, rational choice theory, where people seek to increase their pleasure and reduce their pain.

**Free Will.** The belief that humans are rational, and have the ability to make decisions according to each individual’s own will and purposes. Under this perspective, people can understand the difference between right and wrong, and can choose to commit criminal acts or to follow the law.
In later chapters, this view will be contrasted with views that claim that crime is a result of biological, psychological, or social forces beyond an individual’s control.

**General Deterrence.** General deterrence is the doctrine that a community or a society of people can be deterred from committing a criminal act after having witnessed the punishment of an individual or individuals for having committed that act.

**Perceptual Deterrence.** This concept applies to an individual offender, and refers to what he or she believes the likelihood of arrest to be, and how severe he or she believes the punishment for a crime will be if caught. The perceptions of the individual are often very different from the actual reality experienced.

**Proportionality.** Punishment should fit the crime without regard to individual differences.

**Rational Choice Theory.** This is the 1980s formulation of classical criminology. While the beliefs of rational choice theory can be traced back to eighteenth-century philosopher Cesare Beccaria, this version adds a new dimension that emphasizes the expanding role of the economist in criminological thought. The emphasis is placed on the expected reward for committing a crime, and other associated costs and benefits surrounding criminal activity.

**Retribution.** Making the punishment fit the crime. Also referred to as “an eye for an eye.”

**Routine Activities Theory.** This theory states that for crime to be committed, three elements must be present: an available target, a motivated offender, and a lack of guardians.

**Scared Straight.** This program began in the 1970s with the belief that taking young offenders or potential offenders to a prison environment, and exposing them to the realities of prison life, could prove beneficial in reducing delinquency. Like boot camps, however, Scared Straight did not produce the expected results.

**Severity.** One of the three elements of deterrence. Severity refers to how harsh the punishment for a crime will be. In classical criminology, it is important to remember that a punishment must fit the crime. If a punishment is not severe enough, it will not deter crime. If it is too severe, it is unjust and can lead to more crime.

**Shock Incarceration.** This approach generally uses a combination of a brief prison sentence followed by probation. The hope is that a brief exposure to the realities of incarceration will deter the offender from further criminality.

**Specific Deterrence.** This style of deterrence is used with a specific offender in mind. The belief is that if an individual is punished for a criminal act, then that individual will be less likely to violate the law in the future.
Key Concepts

1. Classical criminology was designed to provide a rational, logical, and philosophical alternative to what was often an abusive, cruel, inhumane, and arbitrary system of justice.

2. The operation of the current criminal justice system relies on the classical criminological perspective. The Classical School is reflected in both the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution.

3. Classical school theories operate from a perspective of choice. The assumption is that individuals have the ability to make a rational choice to either follow the law, or to violate it. A system of punishments is necessary to deter individuals from committing criminal acts. Committing criminal acts brings a certain amount of pleasure to the individual. To counteract this pleasure, punishments must be provided that carry with them enough pain to outweigh the pleasure received by committing a deviant or criminal act.

4. A classical school approach is attractive to many because it is centered on choice. People choose to commit criminal acts. This perspective will be countered in later chapters by theories which rely on biology, psychology, and the environment to name just a few. Choice theory is attractive to politicians because it puts the blame for the crime problem squarely on the shoulders of the individual, and not on society as a whole. The theory implies that the criminal needs to take responsibility and to make better choices.

5. Various programs have been tried around the country using deterrence and choice as primary elements. Programs such as Scared Straight have attempted to use fear and deterrence to keep young offenders from committing additional crimes. Boot camps have attempted to use fear, discipline, and brief incarceration to keep offenders from committing additional crimes. These types of programs are controversial, and have yielded mixed results at best.

6. While deterrence is a factor in preventing individuals from committing criminal acts, it most likely is not the deciding factor. Most people will not commit criminal acts because they believe it is wrong to do so, and because they have been socialized to follow the norms of society.

Questions

1. Certainty, severity, and celerity are the key elements of deterrence theory. What makes certainty so important? Could we not reduce crime by making the punishment so severe that a ‘rational’ individual would be scared to death to commit criminal acts?

2. Programs such as Scared Straight and boot camps are controversial, and may not yield long-term reductions in recidivism. They are, however, cheap and easy to operate. In this case, should
cost considerations and the fact that these programs may help a few individuals justify the continuation of these programs?

3. Routine activity theories look at people and their routines, both offenders and victims. As a result, some of the blame in a criminal incident may be placed on the victim. Is that fair? Is a victim ever responsible, or partly responsible, for their own victimization?

4. Explain the evolution of classical school criminology from Beccaria, through Deterrence Theory, Routine Activity Theory, Rational Choice Theory, and Just Deserts. What modifications have been made along the way?

5. Classical school criminology relies heavily on the concept of free will. How can one ever demonstrate empirically the existence of a free will?

6. How has the recent research on the effects of specific deterrence verses perceptual deterrence changed the way the entire concept of deterrence is viewed? What additional studies should be conducted to clarify the issue?

Notable Individuals

Beccaria, Cesare: (1738-1794) Italian nobleman, prominent in the eighteenth century, wrote On Crimes and Punishment (1764).

Bentham, Jeremy: (1748-1832) Jurist and philosopher, prominent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, advocated abolishing the death penalty.

Cohen, Lawrence E.: Collaborated with Marcus Felson in developing the routine activities theory.

Felson, Marcus: Collaborated with Lawrence Cohen in developing the routine activities theory.
Chapter 3

Biological Theories

Terms

Adoption Studies. Studies that have been done with children reared by biological parents compared to their siblings or twins reared by adoptive parents in an attempt to demonstrate a genetic link to criminal behavior. Results have been mixed.

Atavism. Part of the theory developed by Lombroso in which a person is a “born criminal.” Atavistic or primitive man is a throwback to an earlier stage of human evolution, and will commit crimes against society unless specifically restrained from doing so.

Autonomic Nervous System (ANS). Mednick’s theory that individuals who inherit a slower than normal autonomic nervous system learn to control aggressive or antisocial behavior slowly or not at all. This leads to increased violence and criminal activity.

Behavioral Genetics. This covers a range of theories in which a combination of genetics and the environment influence behavior.

Biological School. A view of crime, also referred to as biological positivism, that claims that criminal behavior is the result of biological or inborn defects or abnormalities. This view directly conflicts with classical criminology, which claims that criminal activity is the result of free will. Under a biological perspective, deterrence is of little value.

Biosocial theories. Theories that examine the combined effects of biology, behavior, and the environment on criminal behavior.

Biosocial Arousal Theory. This theory states that an individual’s level of arousal works in conjunction with the social environment. Those with low levels of arousal are less likely to learn appropriate ways to deal with aggression and violence and thus are more prone to commit crime.

Born Criminal. One of three criminal types identified by Lombroso. This type of criminal is the most dangerous, and can be identified through their stigmata or identifying characteristics.

Concordance. This examines the degree to which criminal or law-abiding behavior of siblings, identical twins, or fraternal twins is similar to one another.
Criminaloid. One of three criminal types identified by Lombroso. The criminaloid is motivated by passion, and will commit criminal acts under the proper circumstances.

Determinism. In considering biological theories, determinism refers to the view that an individual’s criminal lifestyle or actions is the direct result of genetic inheritance or biological predisposition. Soft determinism, as explained by Matza, examines the role of determinism, but also acknowledges that other factors, from environmental to choice, may be part of the equation. This assumes that behavior is not completely and strictly determined by the individual’s genetic or biological makeup.

Evolutionary Theory. A broad-based view that certain types of criminal behavior are genetic and passed down from one generation to the next through evolutionary processes of natural selection and survival.

Gene-Based Evolutionary Theory. A general approach that suggests that the process of natural selection has resulted in criminal genetic tendencies that are passed down from generation to generation.

Insane Criminal. One of three criminal types identified by Lombroso. The insane criminal type includes idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, psychotics, and the mentally unstable. These criminals are unable to control their actions; however, they do not possess the stigmata or identifying characteristics of the born criminal.

Stigmata. Characteristics claimed by Lombroso that could be used to identify the “born criminal.” They include things such as extra fingers or toes, large lips, receding chins, excessive skin wrinkles, and large monkey-like ears.

Key Concepts

1. The fundamental concept behind the early biological theories was the belief that individual difference could be scientifically measured.

2. Early biological theories view criminal behavior as the result of a defect in the individual. This defect can be biological or genetic in nature, and serves to separate the criminal from the law abiding citizen. Contemporary biological theories concentrate more on variations in genetic and other biological factors in interaction with the environment, and are less likely to refer to biological defects or abnormalities.

3. Punishment serves a different goal in biological theories. While punishment may be appropriate to protect society, it will not have a deterrent effect. Because there is an inherent
defect or abnormality within the individual, deterrence or the threat of punishment will not affect behavior.

4. Although early biological theories lacked validity, they were among the first to use the scientific method. The process of measuring body parts, shapes, and sizes, (although flawed) represented a dramatic shift from the philosophical approach offered by the classical school.

5. Biological theories trace back to Lombroso, and vary in the amount of determinism built in. Atavistic man or the “born criminal” was always going to be at odds with civilized society. More modern biological theories seek to establish a link between things like IQ, testosterone, and criminality. While they share a biological link, modern theories understand that the influences of choice and the larger society also play a role in the crime dynamic.

6. If traditional biological theories are correct, then society is limited in its responses to offenders. There are five basic responses. First, we could try to fix the offender. This may be accomplished through medication, treatment, or therapy. Second, we could lock the offender up and keep him or her physically separated from larger society. Third, we could sterilize the offender. This would keep individuals from passing along defective genes to future generations. Fourth, we could deport or banish the offender. Finally, we could choose to kill the offender. If crime is truly biologically determined, these options, or close derivatives of these options, would prove more useful than any punishment designed to remove the pleasure from a criminal act.

7. More recent biological or biosocial theories believe that even if some biological traits are passed down that would make an individual more pre-disposed to commit criminal acts, these traits can be dealt with through effective social programs. Having a biological trait then, is not the end of the story. It does not doom one to a life of crime, and can in fact be dealt with and managed.

Questions

1. Things like eye color, hair color, facial features, and personality are passed from generation to generation. If this is true, why would we not expect things like criminal behavior to be passed down as well?

2. It is well established that inmates as a population have a lower IQ than people in the rest of society. Does this fact prove a genetic or biological link in understanding crime?

3. What have we learned about biology and crime from adoption and twin studies? Should these studies be replicated and improved upon today?

4. Should scientists continue looking for biological causes of criminality? Could such research be attacked on grounds that it promotes racist, sexist, or class-based stereotypes?

5. How should history judge the work of Lombroso? Is it fair to use standards from 2004 to judge the work he did in 1876?
6. Compare and contrast the views of the traditional biological theories to the modern biosocial theories.

**Keeping Tabs**

Chapter 1 introduced the basic vocabulary and rules necessary to understand crime from a criminological point of view. Understanding the terms and rules is necessary to go beyond a “common sense” understanding of criminal and deviant activity. Theories of the causes of crime and deviance fall on a continuum from a “micro” focus on the characteristics of individuals to a “macro” focus on the characteristics of the larger society.

Chapter 2 examined classical school criminology. Classical school, or rational choice theory, advances the view that crime is the result of a choice made by the individual offender. Under this perspective, the offender weighs the potential pleasure of committing the act, along with potential pain if caught and punished for the act. If the pleasure outweighs the pain, the offender will make a rational choice to commit the crime. Under this perspective, the proper way to prevent criminal activity is through the use of deterrence and punishment.

Chapter 3 looks at biological theories. Traditional biological theories state that individuals commit criminal acts due to biological or genetic defects. Crime is a result of these abnormalities, and not a choice made by the offender. Crime can be prevented by isolating, treating, separating, sterilizing, or killing the individual. Modern biosocial theories believe that an individual with an inherited trait can benefit from social programs, and that an inherited trait alone is not sufficient to doom an individual to a life of crime.

**Notable Individuals**

**Lombroso, Cesare:** (1836-1909) First to use scientific method in criminology, wrote *The Criminal Man* (1876).

**Eysenck, Hans J.:** Proposed the biosocial “arousal” theory.

**Ferrero, William:** Co-authored *Female Offender* (1958 [1897]) with Lombroso.

**Goring, Charles:** (1870-1919) British criminologist, proposed the idea that criminals are shorter, weigh less, and “mentally defective,” wrote *The English Convic: A Statistical Study* (1913).
Hooten, E.A.: (1887-1954) Anthropologist and neo-Lombrosian, proposed the idea that crime is caused by physical inferiority, wrote *Crime and the Man* (1939).

Mednick, Sarnoff: Developed the best-known and most systematically stated and tested modern biosocial theory.

Chapter 4

Psychological Theories

Terms

California Psychological Inventory (CPI). A test designed to measure personality traits such as dominance, tolerance, and sociability.

Ego. One of the three components of Freudian personality development. The ego is referred to as the executive or rational part of the personality, and it acts to keep the id in check.

Electra Complex. This occurs at the beginning of the phallic stage (around ages 3 to 6) in which a girl develops a desire to possess her father and a hatred and fear of her mother.

Freudian. This view of behavior focuses on early childhood development. It claims that criminal activity is the result of a conflict between the id, ego, and superego, which can be traced back to a conflict in early childhood.

Id. One of the three components of Freudian personality development. The id contains basic instincts and drives, such as the need for food, water, sex, and pleasure.

Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). A test designed to use different scales of questions to measure abnormal personality traits, such as depression, hysteria, paranoia, psychopathology, and compulsiveness.

Oedipus Complex. This occurs at the beginning of the phallic stage (around ages 3 to 6) in which a boy develops a desire to possess his mother and a hatred and fear of his father.

Personality Theory. This theory believes that criminal activity is the result of a defective, deviant, or inadequate personality. Examples of deviant personality traits include hostility, impulsiveness, aggression, and sensation-seeking.

Psychoanalytic Theory. A general perspective stating that the causes of criminal behavior can be found in the mind of the individual.
Psychological Counseling. The process by which an underlying mental issue can be addressed. The assumptions are that only by treating an individual who has committed a criminal act as someone who is sick and in need of treatment can the problem truly be addressed; punishing the criminal act without addressing the root mental cause is of little or no value; and counseling is the only way in which the root mental cause can be dealt with adequately.

Psychological Theory. A general perspective that looks to the psychological functioning, development, and adjustment of an individual in explaining criminal or deviant acts. Under this approach, the criminal act itself is only important in that it highlights an underlying mental issue.

Psychopathic. A general term referring to a variety of antisocial personality disorders.

Psychopathy Checklist (PCL-R) Developed by Hare, this is a tool comprised of a check list that is designed to measure the feeling and relationships of an individual, along with the social deviance of an individual. This tool is the main one used in the measurement of a psychopathic personality.

Superego. One of the three components of Freudian personality development. This part of the personality contains the conscience of the individual.

Key Concepts

1. Psychoanalytic theorists believe that criminal behavior is the result of a mental disturbance. From a Freudian perspective, this may have been caused by a conflict between the id, ego, and superego, or it may be the result of an improper fixation during a stage of emotional development.

2. Personality theorists believe that criminal behavior is the result of an improper or defective personality or personality traits. Instead of developing a conforming appropriate-social personality, the criminal has developed a personality based upon conflict, impulsiveness, and aggression. The criminal does not have the ability to feel empathy, remorse, or guilt for his or her actions, and has not developed a sense of right and wrong.

3. Under both of these approaches, the criminal act is not important, in that it is only one of many symptoms of the underlying psychological or personality disorder. Both approaches recommend various forms of therapy and treatment to fix the disorder. When the underlying psychological or personality disorder is addressed, the criminal and deviant acts should cease.

4. Psychological theories are difficult if not impossible to test. One cannot see, identify, or measure the id, ego, or superego. As a result, testing these theories becomes virtually impossible. Similar difficulties are faced when trying to test personality theories, and tautological issues remain a problem.

5. Programs that offer therapy and counseling in attempts to reduce delinquency have not been shown to be particularly effective. While the role of psychology in criminal justice and criminology is indeed important, we have not yet reached a place where the key concepts of
psychological and personality theories, along with their recommended treatments, have had a measured impact on criminal activity.

Questions

1. What impact does Freudian theory have on the criminal justice system today?

2. If psychological theories have validity problems, why are psychiatrists so often called upon to testify in court? If the theories are so tautological, how can we ever be sure a person is truly insane?

3. Is personality an innate quality, or a socially developed phenomenon? Regardless of your answer, how would you go about changing another person’s personality? Can you change your own personality?

4. What can be learned from projects like the Wayne County Clinic and the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study?

5. How would you develop a long-term psychiatric treatment program for delinquent or anti-social boys? Would the program differ for delinquent or anti-social girls?

6. According to the research, what are the prospects of successfully rehabilitating a psychopath?

Keeping Tabs

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 all focus on characteristics and processes within the individual that produce individual criminal behavior. In Chapter 4, crime is not viewed as a choice or a biological defect, but rather as a problem deep in the offender’s mind. Problems in early childhood development, or in the personality of the offender, are viewed as responsible for deviant activity. Criminal activity is seen not as the core problem, but rather as a symptom of the underlying mental issue. Crime and deviant activity can be prevented through counseling, treatment, or modification of an individual’s personality.

Notable Individuals

**Freud, Sigmund:** (1856-1939) Psychologist, pioneer of psychoanalysis and psychological theory; theorized the Oedipus complex, and the Electra complex; and coined the terms id, superego, ego, sex drive, and libido.

**Friedlander, Kate:** Wrote *The Psychoanalytic Approach to Juvenile Delinquency* (1947).
Chapter 5

Social Learning Theory

Terms

**Behavior Theory.** Burgess and Akers expanded differential association and included elements of behavior theory and behavior modification. This expansion allowed them to identify the learning process, and included elements such as operant behavior, respondent conditioning, discriminative stimuli, and schedules of reinforcement.

**Definitions.** One of the four main concepts of Akers’ social learning theory. The process through which an individual rationalizes, evaluates, and assigns right and wrong. Definitions of the law may be general or specific. One may have the general view that the law needs to be obeyed, but a specific view that a 20-year-old who can fight in a war should be allowed to drink a beer. This person may follow the law in general, but violate the liquor law.

**Differential Association.** A theory of crime and delinquency developed by Sutherland. This is a social learning theory presented in nine steps. Criminality is basically the result of engaging in inappropriate behaviors exhibited by those with whom we interact. Also, one of the four main concepts of Akers’ social learning theory. Akers retains the process of differential association, and expands upon it in his theory.

**Differential Identification.** A modification of differential association theory. In this view, people commit criminal or delinquent acts if they believe that it will lead to acceptance by and approval of these important people in their lives.

**Differential Reinforcement.** One of the four main concepts of Akers’ social learning theory. The concept refers to the potential rewards and punishments for committing or not committing a criminal or deviant act. This process includes a consideration of punishments and rewards that have been received in the past, as well as present and future rewards and punishments.

**Discriminative Stimuli.** Internal or external factors or cues that aid an individual in determining an appropriate response to a given situation.

**Imitation.** One of the four main concepts of Akers’ social learning theory. Behavior modeled by others for an individual may be copied by that individual. Impressions of the individual doing the modeling, along with perceived risks and rewards, will factor into the imitation decision.

**Negative Reinforcement.** This refers to an individual escaping something painful such as a punishment or reprimand by committing a certain act.
Neutralizing Definitions. This type of definition helps a person justify committing a crime by making it seem that although the act itself might be wrong, under certain conditions it is all right.

Operant Conditioning. The view that voluntary actions and decisions made by an individual are influenced and shaped by punishments and rewards found in the external world.

Positive Reinforcement. This refers to an individual receiving something of value for committing a certain act. This may include things such as money, food, or approval.

Retroflexive Reformation. This process is based upon differential association and often takes place in a group setting working with both offenders and non-offenders. This concept suggests that the offenders in such groups who join on the side of the non-offenders in attempting to get the other offenders to change their definitions favorable to law violation, actually wind up reducing their own definitions favorable to crime.

Self-Reinforcement. The exercise of self control used by an individual to reinforce his or her own behavior, by seeing that behavior through the eyes of another.

Social Learning Theory. In general, social learning theory proposes that both criminal and conforming behavior are acquired, maintained, or changed by the same process of interaction with others. The difference lies in the conforming or deviant direction or balance of the social influences such as reinforcement, values and attitudes, and imitation.

Social Reinforcement. This refers to the actual, perceived, expected, tangible, or intangible rewards or punishments conveyed upon an individual by society or a subset of society.

Social Structure and Social Learning Model. A model proposed by Akers in which social structural factors have an indirect effect on an individual’s actions through the social learning process.

Symbolic Interactionism. The process by which two or more individuals share a commonly understood language or set of symbols. All individuals have the ability to incorporate other people’s reactions into their own behavior, and use those reactions as part of their own understanding of themselves. Example: You want to know how you look in a new outfit. Part of your understanding of how you look is going to be based upon how others respond to you. You have the ability to understand other people’s facial reactions, body language, and language in understanding how they view you. You then use this information when deciding if you look good in the outfit.

Key Concepts

1. As a general concept, social learning theory has been applied to the fields of sociology, psychology, criminal justice, and criminology in an attempt to explain how criminal values, ideas, techniques, and expressions are transmitted from one individual to another.
2. Differential association theory, developed by Sutherland, is a learning theory that concentrates on one’s associates and the normative definitions one learns from them.

3. Akers identified four dimensions of the social structure that can possibly be integrated with social learning. The four dimensions are: differential social organization, differential location in the social structure, theoretically defined structural variables, and differential social location.

4. Learning theorists believe that deviant behavior can be eliminated or modified by taking away the reward of the behavior, increasing the negative consequences of the behavior, or changing the balance of reward/punishment for the behavior.

5. Just as positive behaviors reinforce positive behaviors, deviant behaviors also reinforce deviant behaviors. Deviant peers who reinforce one another’s behaviors can form fast bonds of friendship. The effects of such a relationship subjects all of the individuals involved to higher rates of future substance abuse and criminal activity.

Questions

1. Can any present-day policy implications be drawn from the Highfields project, or the Provo experiments?

2. Although it has been demonstrated that diversion programs have had moderate success, creating a “positive peer culture” to prevent delinquency has disadvantages. What disadvantages come from using positive peer culture techniques, and why?

3. What significant contributions did Burgess and Akers make to Sutherland’s differential association theory? Was it necessary that Sutherland’s theory be elaborated upon to better explain crime as it is today?

4. What programs are the most effective in preventing delinquency—those that aim at juvenile delinquency, or those that involve children and their families (regardless of delinquency status)?

5. ATP focuses on at-risk youth. Would it be appropriate to extend Patterson’s program to all pre-teen adolescents as part of an academic curriculum?

6. Discuss the OSCL training program, and how is has worked with foster parents and in school activities.
Keeping Tabs

If crime is not the result of choice, biology, or psychology, then how can it be explained? The theorists in Chapter 5 believe that crime is learned through interaction with others in one’s social environment. Social learning theorists of criminology state that criminal behavior, like other behaviors in life, are a learned activity. Social learning theorists seek to understand and explain how a person learns to become criminal, and then to develop strategies and programs that model appropriate behavior.

Notable Individuals


Bandura, Albert: Psychologist and child development expert, examined stages of development and concluded conduct develops at particular stages when certain interaction stimuli are present.

Burgess, Robert L.: Behavior sociologist, collaborated with Ronald Akers to develop a “differential association-reinforcement” theory of criminal behavior.

Elliot, Delbert: Developed an integrated theory, wrote *Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use* (1985).

Sutherland, Edwin: (1883-1950) Developed the differential association theory, wrote *The Professional Thief* (1937) and *Principles of Criminology* (1947).

Chapter 6
Social Bonding and Control Theories

Terms

Containment Theory. A control theory in which the inner and outer pushes and pulls on an individual will produce delinquency unless they are constrained or counteracted by inner and outer containment measures.

Control Theories. A classification of theories that claim to ask not why do people commit criminal acts, but why do they not commit criminal acts? These theories assume everyone has the desire to commit criminal and deviant acts, and seeks to answer why some people refrain from doing so.

Delinquent Subculture. A group of delinquent peers which may influence an individual to commit criminal acts in order to receive approval from the group. This concept works in conjunction with control theory and may pull an individual towards delinquency.

Drift Theory. This theory states that people can ‘drift’ or float back and forth between obeying and breaking the law. People can use techniques of neutralization as excuses to break the law when other forms of social control are weak. When social control is stronger, the offender will drift or float back to law-abiding behavior.

External Control. A concept in control theory in which agents outside the control of the individual are responsible for keeping that individual from committing criminal or deviant acts. These agents include parents, teachers, or law enforcement.

Internal Control. A concept in control theory which explains why a person will not commit a criminal act by reference to the person internally monitoring and controlling his or her own behavior. This includes such things as feelings of guilt and not wanting to disappoint others.

Natural Motivation. This refers to the belief in control theories that the desire to commit criminal acts is uniform and spread evenly across society.

Self-Control Theory. A specific type of control theory developed by Gottfredson and Hirschi in which self-control is the key factor in understanding criminal and deviant acts.

Self-Concept. An element of containment theory thought to be responsible for insulating an individual from criminal activity. Similar to self-esteem.

Social Bonding Theory. A control theory that states that individuals will commit criminal or delinquent acts when their ties (bonds) to society are weakened or have broken. There are four types of bonds: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. When the bonds are strong, an individual will refrain from criminal activity.
Social Control. Under a control theory perspective, social control refers to those elements that keep an individual from committing a criminal or deviant act. Examples include the family, church, and school.

Key Concepts

1. Social bonding and control theories are nontraditional criminological perspectives because they seek to explain why individuals conform to societal norms, and not why they commit crime.

2. Travis Hirschi’s theory has many policy implications and can be used to reduce delinquency. His theory can be seen in policies such as curfew laws, after-school programs, parenting classes, and job placement programs.

3. Hirschi utilized theory construction, conceptualization, operationalization, and empirical testing to develop a perspective that still stands as a criminological model today.

4. The Social Development Model (SDM) has supported bonding and learning theories and has demonstrated success in areas of commitment and attachment.

Questions

1. Identify Hirschi’s four elements of social bonding. How does his social bonding theory differ from his self-control theory?

2. Assuming Walter Reckless’ containment theory is true, does the uniform policy in public schools alleviate some pressure that “pushes” youths towards delinquency?

3. Explain the similarities between Reiss’ and Nye’s ideas of social control.

4. Belief is a component of the social bonding theory. Could the increase in juvenile delinquency be attributed to the religious policy in public school?

5. If juveniles conform to norms of the culture and are still labeled delinquent, is there an explanation or excuse for their behavior?

6. Discuss the revisions to the definition of self control made by Hirschi. Discuss the new definition, and explain whether or not it addresses the tautology problem associated with the theory of low self control.

7. Does an individual’s self control remain stable, or change over time? How does the answer to this question affect the theory itself, as well as any policy implications?
Keeping Tabs

Why is a person not a criminal? That is the central question asked by control theorists. Instead of asking why people break the law, this perspective wants to know why people do not break the law. Instead of focusing on choice, body type, the mind, or the learning process, control theorists look at how people are controlled by society. Has the individual bonded with society, and if so, how strong are those bonds? This perspective seeks the same basic answers to the crime problem, but asks a slightly different question.

Notable Individuals


Nye, F. Ivan: Wrote *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior* (1958), expanding on Reiss’ definitions of social controls.

Reckless, Walter: Proposed the containment theory of delinquency and crime.

Reiss, Albert J.: In 1951, identified delinquency as resulting from the failure of “personal” and “social” controls.

Sykes, Gresham: Collaborated with David Matza in 1957 and proposed “techniques of neutralization.”

Chapter 7
Labeling Theory

Terms

Deinstitutionalization. The removal of juveniles from jails, detention centers, and institutions. Removing juveniles from these facilities, and when possible removing status and minor offenders from the juvenile justice system as a whole, is the most basic type of diversion.

Disintegrative Shaming. The process by which an individual is punished, labeled, and made to feel shame for committing a deviant act in a manner that degrades and devalues the individual. This occurs without an attempt after the offenders have been punished to reconcile them with or restore them to the larger community.

Diversion Movement. This refers to all those efforts to divert individuals, primarily youth but also adults who are suspected of or have been charged with minor offenses, from the full and formal process of the juvenile or adult justice system. The intent is to reduce the stigma of formal delinquent or criminal labels on the individuals and to reduce or avoid the costs of formal processing of the crime.

Faith-Based Programs. These are religiously based programs which can be operated within the institution or the larger community. They can be run by inmates or religious leaders, and use spiritual beliefs and values to change offenders' attitudes and behaviors.

Labeling Theory. The theory that the formal and informal application of stigmatizing and deviant “labels” or tags applied to an individual by society will not deter, but rather instigate future deviant or criminal acts.

Netwidening. A problem that occurs when offenders who would have been released from the system are placed in a program simply because a program exists. This often occurs in diversion programs. Boot camps may be a viable option to keep kids out of institutions, but it becomes netwidening when kids, who otherwise would have been sent home, are sent to boot camps.

Primary Deviance. Deviant acts that are committed in the absence of or preceding the application of a deviant label for the acts. While it may or may not be the first crime a person has committed, it is not based on a response to being labeled as a deviant (see Secondary Deviance).

Reintegrative Shaming. The process by which an individual is punished, labeled, and made to feel shame for committing a deviant act, but done in a way that the individual who is shamed is brought back into the larger community and restored to a position of respectability.

Restorative Justice. This refers to programs which are designed to make offenders take responsibility for their actions and restore them and their victims, as much as possible, back to things as they existed before the offense. Often offenders will apologize to the victims and to the community, and attempt to financially compensate the victims for their losses.
Secondary Deviance. Criminal or deviant acts that are committed in response to, or because of, a label that has been applied to an individual.

Key Concepts

1. Labeling theory focuses on formal and informal applications of stigmatizing and deviant “labels” by society on some of its members. Many have argued however, that these labels are often the result of the statues of the individual, ie race, social class, and socioeconomics, as opposed to any act committed.

2. Labeling theory treats such labels as both cause and effect, as independent and dependent variables.

3. Lemert focused on two stages of deviance: Primary deviance is the commission of criminal acts before the individual is caught and punished for them; and secondary deviance refers to crimes committed due to the label society has placed upon an offender.

4. A major concept in symbolic interactionism is the “looking-glass self,” in which our self concepts are reflections of other people’s conceptions of us, as revealed in their interactions with us.

5. Labeling theory mirrors conflict theory in that the individuals with power create and enforce rules at the expense of the less powerful.

Questions

1. What criminal justice policies are theoretically based on labeling?

2. What is the key concept of Braithwaite’s theory?

3. It is stated that labeling theory as an explanation of criminal and deviant behavior is derived from a general theory in sociology. What theory is it derived from?

4. Labeling theory seems to be common sense. What has the research shown about the validity of labeling theory? How do you explain those results?

5. Is labeling theory even a theory? Defend your answer.

6. How are churches and community groups becoming involved in reintegration? How could this benefit both victims and offenders?

7. What is the relationship or connection between reintegrative shaming and restorative justice?
Keeping Tabs

What happens once a child has been labeled a trouble maker, or a young man labeled a thief? This is the primary concern of the labeling theorist. The key difference between labeling theory and the other theories examined so far is this; labeling theory makes no attempt to understand why an individual committed a crime in the first place. The labeling theorist wants to understand what happens after an individual is caught committing a crime, and society attaches a label to the offender. This differs from the view of choice, biological predisposition, psychological factors, social learning factors, and societal bond and control theories, which seek to explain the first and subsequent criminal acts.

Notable Individuals


**Braithwaite, John:** Wrote *Restorative Justice and Responsive Regulation* (2002). His concept of reintegrative shaming remains at the core of restorative justice.

**Cooley, Charles Horton:** (1875-1940) Sociologist who developed the concept of “looking-lass self.”

**Lemert, Edwin M.:** Sociologist, collaborated with Howard Becker to extend the labeling theory to include both primary and secondary deviance, wrote *Social Pathology* (1951) and *Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control* (1967).

**Tannenbaum, Frank:** Criminologist, coined the phrase “dramatization of evil,” wrote *Crime and the Community* (1938).

Chapter 8

Social Disorganization, Anomie, and Strain Theories

Terms
Anomie. A state of normlessness or norm confusion within a society. The term was coined by Durkheim to explain suicide in French society, and later applied by Merton and others to other forms of deviance and crime in American society.

Chicago Area Projects. This was the first large-scale urban delinquency prevention program. Started by Shaw and McKay in the 1930s, it used their social disorganization theory as a core.

Cohen’s Anomie Strain. This version of anomie theory examines juveniles. Though Cohen is in agreement with Merton that blocked goals produce strain, his theory looks at status as opposed to material gain. Under this perspective, juveniles are measured against the standard of the middle class. Lower-class kids who cannot meet the middle-class standards of dress, talk, and manners are, in a sense, deprived. This ‘status deprivation’ leads to ‘status frustration,’ which in turn causes deviant and criminal acts. Instead of five groups like Merton proposes, Cohen sees only one group—a conflict group which values toughness, fighting, and respect.

Collective Efficacy. This refers to the actual or perceived ability of the residents of a given neighborhood to maintain informal social control over the criminal or deviant behavior of other residents. This would have the effect of keeping crime rates lower.

Differential Opportunity. A theory which draws from anomie and the work of Merton and Cohen; the social disorganization theory of Shaw and McKay; and the differential association theory of Sutherland. This view says that although one may be denied legitimate opportunity, that does not mean that one has access to illegitimate opportunity. Although deprivation and strain can and do play a role, one learns a good or bad response to that strain depending on the available opportunities and role models, legitimate or illegitimate. Three groups exist under this perspective: The first is criminal. In criminal groups, juveniles are organized, and the primary goal of the activity is to make money. A lack of legitimate means has been replaced by illegitimate ones, such as theft or extortion. The second group is the conflict group. In this group, there are few legitimate or illegitimate opportunities. These groups are found primarily in poor socially disorganized neighborhoods. As a result, toughness and fighting are the primary goals. The final group is the retreatist. This group cannot fight well, or profit from their crimes. They are the double losers.

Focal Concerns of the Lower-Class Culture. The list of focal concerns or values believed to be prevalent among lower-class males was developed by Miller to describe the behavior of street corner groups or gangs. According to Miller, the behavior of these juveniles was an adaptation to lower-class culture. This culture valued things such as: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fatalism, and autonomy.

General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency. A micro-level social psychological revision of Agnew’s strain theory. According to this theory, criminal and deviant acts are one possible adaptation to stress. The three major types of deviance-producing strain are: failure to achieve positively valued goals, removal of positively valued stimuli, and confrontation with negative stimuli. Deviance is most likely to occur when the response of the individual to any of these stressors is anger. Factors such as peer associations, beliefs, attributions of causes, self-control, and self-efficacy will affect each individual’s reaction to stress.
Institutional Anomie. This theory was created by Messner and Rosenfeld. The premise of the theory is that American society is set up in such a way so as to give prestige and priority to economic institutions. This means that the accumulation of wealth and individual success are people’s highest priorities. Prioritizing economic institutions weakens the ability of other social institutions (family, education, government) to control crime that occurs in response to the lack of access to or failure in the economic sphere. Therefore, a high level of criminal activity is a natural result of the setup of American society.

Merton’s Anomie Theory. This version of anomie theory looks at American society, and what happens when an individual realizes that not everyone can achieve the American dream of equal opportunity for economic success. When this happens, one of five adaptations will occur. The conformist accepts the goals of society, and the means for achieving them: the college student. The innovator accepts the goals of society, but rejects the means of achieving them: the drug dealer. The mode of rebellion refers to one who rejects both the goals and means of society, and wants to replace them with new goals and means: the militia member. The retreatist gives up on both the goals and means, and withdraws from society: the alcoholic. Finally, the ritualist rejects the goals, and accepts the means: this person has given up on the promotion, nice car, etc., and simply punches the time clock to keep what they have.

Social Disorganization. Social disorganization refers to the breakdown in traditional social control and organization in the society, community, neighborhood, or family so that deviant and criminal activity result. It is most often applied to urban crime.

Urban Ecology. A theory that views a city as analogous to the natural ecological community of plants and animals. This relationship is understood through the use of concentric zones that spread from the center to the outer regions of a city. This work done by Park and Burgess influenced the social disorganization theory developed by Shaw and McKay.

Key Concepts

1. Anomie was coined by the French sociologist Durkheim, and first applied to French society to examine rates of suicide. The concept of anomie was first used in this country by Merton, in an effort to describe adaptations in behavior, and the interaction between legitimate and illegitimate means.

2. Anomie may apply when there are not enough legitimate means to reach legitimate societal goals. This can occur when society is in a state of disorder and disintegration, as opposed to stability and integration.

3. Depending on the theorist, anomie has been applied to the acquisition of wealth, the attainment of status, or the expression of cultural or class values.
4. Agnew’s revision of anomie strain theory examines several possible sources of strain that may result in criminal activity. These sources include: failure to achieve positively valued goals, removal of positively valued stimuli, and confrontation with negative stimuli.

5. With mixed support, anomie strain theories have been used to develop projects designed to bring stability and order to disorganized communities. The hope has been that increasing the stability of the community, the schools, and the family would reduce criminal and delinquent acts.

Questions

1. Is the “American Dream” real? If so, has it gone through any changes in the last 50 years? Do you believe that Merton’s theory, especially the concept of the innovator, adequately explains why a person drops out of school and sells drugs?

2. Which is more important in American society, money or status? Which theorist best explains your answer?

3. Cohen described one group of delinquent kids, while Cloward and Ohlin described three. Which do you believe would best describe kids today?

4. Was Miller right with his focus on lower-class kids and lower-class culture? Do these distinct class cultures exist at all economic levels?

5. Agnew has advanced the anomie/strain theory with his General Strain Theory, but the empirical evidence is mixed. Where should the anomie/strain concept go from here? Can it be advanced even further?

Keeping Tabs

The theories examined in Chapters 2 through 7 have looked primarily at the processes that generate criminal behavior within an individual. Chapter 8 looks at features of society that may produce higher rates of crime within neighborhoods or other large groups. Some theorists believe that neighborhoods characterized by constant change and deterioration are more likely to be crime-ridden because they are less likely to be successful in controlling the behavior of their residents.

Similarly, other theorists believe that communities in a state of anomie where the norms are unclear or absent, produce conditions favorable to the proliferation of crime. Society has laid out a blueprint for success: If you play by the rules, you will succeed. This blueprint explains the proper way to achieve this success. But what happens if everyone does not have an equal opportunity to achieve the “American Dream”? According to anomie/strain theorists, these blocked opportunities, and the strain associated with them, can lead to criminal or deviant activity. Crime is committed as an effective but illegitimate way to gain success.
Notable Individuals

Agnew, Robert: Sociologist who proposed the general strain theory to account for criminal behavior.


Cloward, Richard: Collaborated with Lloyd Ohlin to form a theory of differential opportunity, co-authored *Delinquency and Opportunity* (1960) with Ohlin.

Cohen, Albert K.: Criminologist who developed the perspective of delinquent subculture.

Durkheim, Emile: (1858-1917) French sociologist, wrote *Suicide* (1893).

McKay, Henry D.: Sociologist who collaborated with Shaw on the social disorganization theory.

Merton, Robert K.: Focused on anomie and strain theory, wrote *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1957).

Messner, Steven F.: Collaborated with Rosenfeld on the ideology of the “American Dream” and institutional anomie theory.

Miller, Walter: Criminologist who focused on gang delinquency as a result of lower-class values.

Ohlin, Lloyd: Collaborated with Cloward to form a theory of opportunity and co-authored *Delinquency and Opportunity* (1960) with Cloward.

Park, Robert Ezra: (1864-1944) Associated with the “Chicago School,” collaborated with Sutherland and Burgess.

Rosenfeld, Richard: Collaborated with Messner on the ideology of the “American Dream” and institutional anomie theory.

Shaw, Clifford R.: Sociologist who collaborated with McKay on the social disorganization theory.
Chapter 9

Conflict Theory

Terms

Conflict Theory. The view that society is divided into two or more groups with competing ideas and values. The group(s) with the most power makes the laws and controls society. Groups lacking the formal power to make the rules still maintain their own group norms, and continue in their behavior which is now viewed as criminal by the larger society. This perspective explains both law and criminal justice (why some acts are legally defined as criminal), as well as criminal and deviant behavior (why some individuals commit acts defined as criminal).
Consensus Theory. In general, this theory states that laws are a result of, and a reflection of, general agreement in society. Views of right and wrong, which can be reflected through folkways and mores, influence the laws and rules which govern a society.

Functionalist Theory. Similar to consensus theory, but this theory also looks at how the law acts to resolve everyday disputes in society; and how it acts to serve everyone, not just the powerful. The law also serves a symbolic function and discourages deviant behavior.

Interest Groups. These groups form and act in such a manner so as to influence the political system in ways that will provide the greatest benefits to members of the group. They are also referred to as pressure groups.

Law. Rules and regulations backed with the coercive power of the state. Depending upon one’s view, law is either formed with the agreement of the majority of society and designed to promote order, or formed by the powerful in society to keep control of the masses.

Pluralistic Conflict. A type of conflict perspective which emphasizes that instead of one centralized, all-powerful group making the rules, there are several power groups, both formal and informal and often with overlapping interests, which wrestle for control and power.

Political Crimes. Crimes committed by radical groups to overthrow a government or overturn a government action; or crimes committed by government officials to control groups seen as a threat. Which side in any given conflict is labeled radical, depends upon which side one supports and which side wins the dispute.

Racial Profiling. Actions taken by the police based solely on the race of an individual.

Social Control. A normative system with rules concerning the way people should and should not behave. This is combined with a formal and informal system to encourage and promote conformity, while at the same time discouraging and punishing deviance. Informal social control is exhibited by the family, church, and school, while formal social control is exhibited by the police and the courts.

Social Threat Hypothesis. This hypothesis states that criminal and deviant acts will increase as the number of people opposed to the interests of the powerful increases.

Key Concepts

1. Conflict theory proposes that the law and the criminal justice system primarily embody the interests and norms of the most powerful groups in society, rather than those of society as a whole.
2. Consensus theory explains the content and operation of the law by referring to a broad-based agreement in society on social and moral norms within the society, and the common interests of all elements of society.

3. Conflict and consensus theories imply support for fair representation of differing interests and values and non-discrimination in the law and criminal justice system.

4. There are two forms of social control. Informal social control exists in families, peer groups, churches, and in communities. When there is a breakdown of informal social control, formal social control increases. Law is formal social control.

5. Empirical evidence on consensus and conflict theory is based on studies of the enactment of laws and studies of public opinion; on crime; and on disparities in arrests, convictions, and penalties based on race, sex, and socioeconomic status.

Questions

1. State two crimes that you think support the consensus theory. In other words, name two laws that you think most people in society support.

2. State two crimes that you think support the conflict theory. In other words, name two laws that you think have been passed to keep the rich and powerful in control of society.

3. What does the empirical evidence say with regard to the way that the criminal justice system operates? Does the evidence support the perspective that racism and sexism blatantly infest the criminal justice system?

4. Assuming conflict theory is true, what kind of policy changes could be implemented to reduce class inequality?

5. Will it ever be possible to achieve a true consensus in a country as large and diverse as the United States?

6. Discuss the Steffensmeier et al research on age, gender, race, ethnicity, and sentencing outcomes. Which perspective do you believe this research supports? Will all members of society see this research the same way?

Keeping Tabs

Law is the formal method of social control used by the criminal justice system to punish offenders and maintain order in society, but where does the authority for law stem from? The consensus perspective believes that law is formed as a result of a general societal agreement on the basic social norms, morals, and common interests necessary to operate society in a smooth and safe
manner. The conflict perspective believes that laws are formed to meet the needs and interests of the powerful in society. The law and criminal justice system are then used to keep the powerful in power. Those who commit criminal acts are simply conforming to the norms and values expressed in the culture of the powerless, and are acting to fight the powerful. This perspective differs from the others examined thus far in that it looks into law formation. For the consensus theorist, the law is the glue that holds society together. For the conflict theorist, the law is the club that keeps the powerless in line.

**Notable Individuals**

**Chambliss, William J.:** Criminological and sociological theorist, co-authored *Law, Order, and Power* (1971) with Robert Seidman (see Chapter 10).

**Durkheim, Emile:** (1858-1917) French sociologist, wrote *Suicide* (1893).

**Marx, Karl:** European theorist whose view of the history of society as class struggle and capitalism as a two-class system of the ruling elite and the proletariat inspired many scholars and revolutionaries (see Chapter 10).

**Quinney, Richard:** Sociologist known early on as a conflict theorist and later as a Marxist theorist. More recently he has been known for viewing criminology for its peacemaking potential, wrote *The Social Reality of Crime* (1970) and *Class, State, and Crime* (1980) (see Chapter 10).

**Sumner, William Graham:** Pioneering sociologist who proposed the classic statement of consensus theory. Developed the terms “folkways” and “mores,” wrote *Folkways* (1906).

**Turk, Austin T.:** Sociologist and criminologist who has written extensively on the conflict perspective, wrote *Criminality and the Legal Order* (1969).

**Vold, George B.:** Conflict theorist, wrote *Theoretical Criminology* (1958).

**Weber, Max:** German sociologist who pioneered work on bureaucracy, law, and economy.
Chapter 10

Marxist and Critical Theories

Terms

Bourgeois. The ruling-class elite in a capitalist system; those with the power.

Capitalism. A system of economic organization in which the means of production are held privately in the hands of a few.

Constitutive Criminology. A variation of critical criminology, which recommends that we the search for the cause of criminal activity. Instead, it examines how the relationships between criminals, victims, and agents of control act and react to form our understanding of crime.

Crimes of Accommodation and Resistance. Crimes committed by the lower class against the upper class, or the capitalist system.

Crimes of Domination and Repression. Crimes committed by the ruling class against the lower class.

Critical Criminology. An extension of Marxist theory that goes beyond the examination of the effects of capitalism on crime. It takes a critical stance against mainstream criminology.

Left Realism. A variation of critical criminology. While this perspective examines the role capitalism plays in society, it also recognizes the impact, damage, and fear caused by traditional street crime. It proposes reforms to the system that would deal with these crimes, assist the victims, reduce the use of prisons, and reduce crime as a whole. This perspective rejects both the conservative and choice perspective of the right, and the tendency of the left to overlook or disregard the true damage caused by crime.

Instrumental Marxism. The political state (including the law and the criminal justice system) is always and only a tool of the capitalist class to oppress the working class.

Marxist Theory. This theory explains both law and criminal justice, and focuses upon the division between the ruling-class elite and the laborers. In a capitalist society, the ruling-class elite (bourgeoisie) control the means of production which allows them to control the political state as well. They use this control to manipulate the laborers (proletariat) and keep them in a position of powerlessness. The masses are thus controlled both economically and legally.

Peacemaking Criminology. This perspective is often viewed as a philosophy as opposed to a theoretical perspective, and it may or may not contain a religious core. In essence, it is an attempt to get all players in society (victims, offenders, and criminal justice agents) to recognize and reduce the violence that is at the heart of the society and the system. The violence can then be replaced with non-violent solutions.
**Postmodernism.** Closely related to critical criminology, his perspective seeks to discover and eliminate the power of language and text which is used to give power and privilege to specific groups, while denying it to others. This perspective also seeks to eliminate reliance on testable scientific explanations of criminology, and replace it with a language-based perspective that recognizes and advances the cause of disadvantaged individuals.

**Proletariat.** The working class or laborers in a capitalist society; those with no power.

**Socialism.** A system of economic organization in which the means of production are held by the state for the benefit of all.

**Structuralist Marxism.** While close to the view of Instrumental Marxism, this perspective states that the political state is not under the total control of the ruling elite; that from time to time, laws may be passed that harm the ruling elite; and that their members, on occasion, may be subject to state control.

---

**Key Concepts**

1. Marxist theorists believe that capitalism is the cause of crime and delinquency.

2. The instrumental Marxist theorist believes that the entire system of capitalism serves to benefit the ruling elite; while the structural Marxist believes that, at least in the short term, the political state maintains some degree of independence from the ruling elite.

3. The Marxist view states that crime is either committed by the ruling class to keep the working class in place, or by the working class to strike out against the ruling class.

4. Marxist theory is unable to explain the level of power and control held by an elite few in the former Soviet Union, as well as the rise and popularity of groups like the Taliban in Afghanistan. The collapse of the government and the use of the law as a weapon against the oppressed has been more evident in those societies than in the United States.

5. Constitutive criminology recommends that we abandon traditional searches for the cause of criminal activity. It examines how all the actors in the system collectively influence our understanding of crime.

6. Critical criminology is similar to Marxist theory in the belief that crime and delinquency are defined by those who have the power in society. The law and criminal justice system are then used to keep the powerless under control. After this has been acknowledged, critical criminology works to find ways to empower the powerless.

---

**Questions**
1. If capitalism is the cause of crime, how do you explain crime in a socialist society?

2. If Marxist theory is correct, can a capitalist system survive?

3. Is American society too diverse to ever agree on a peacemaking perspective?

4. The scientific method has been applied to the study of crime since Lombroso. What would it mean to the study of crime if we adopted the approach recommended by constitutive criminology and abandoned traditional empirical methods?

5. Many varieties of critical criminology have failed to offer a testable theory of crime. Given this shortcoming, can they be of any benefit in understanding or solving the crime problem?

6. Why has peacemaking failed to evolve into a full fledged theoretical perspective? Will it ever make this transition?

**Keeping Tabs**

In Marxist theory, the cause of crime is capitalism. The law and the criminal justice system are used to protect the interests of the capitalist elite. In a capitalist system, the means of production are owned by a small elite (bourgeoisie) and are used to control the working-class laborers (proletariat). Crimes committed by the bourgeoisie are crimes of domination and repression, and are designed to keep the proletariat in place. Crimes committed by the proletariat are crimes of accommodation or resistance to the bourgeoisie. Critical criminology also believes that crime is caused by a power struggle in society. Various forms of this perspective suggest we re-examine the scientific method, rediscover the amount of pain and suffering in our society, and undertake a quest to discover more peaceful, and possibly religious-or humanistic-based reforms.

**Notable Individuals**

**Bonger, Willem:** (1876-1940) Dutch theorist who endorsed the Marxist view of class conflict, wrote *Criminality and Economic Conditions* (1916).

**Chambliss, William J.:** Criminological theorist, wrote *Law, Order, and Power* (1982).

**Kirchheimer, Otto:** European theorist, co-authored *Punishment and Social Structure* (1968) with Rusche.

**Marx, Karl:** (1818-1883) European theorist, wrote *The Communist Manifesto* (1848).

**Rusche, Georg:** European theorist, co-authored *Punishment and Social Structure* (1968) with Kirchheimer.

---

**Chapter 11**

**Feminist Theories**

**Terms**
**Chivalry Hypothesis.** The view that male police officers, prosecutors, and judges tend to have traditional views of women and girls. As a result, the officials are more lenient on the females for committing criminal acts than on their male counterparts.

**Economic Marginalization Hypothesis.** The belief that economic pressures put on women to support themselves and their dependent children, along with the stepping back of men from their roles of financial support of women and children has pushed women into criminal activity for economic gain.

**Egalitarian Family.** Part of Hagan’s power-control theory. A family in which the mother and father occupy similar roles in the workplace and share power and control in the family.

**Feminist Theory.** This theory attempts to define criminology and criminal justice based upon the experiences, understanding, and view of the world as perceived by women. It tries to counter most theories of criminology that have been developed, tested, and applied by men to men, which have only incorporated women as an afterthought.

**Liberation Hypothesis.** This view states that as men and women become more equal in society in terms of family, politics, and education, their crime rates will begin to equalize as well.

**Masculinities.** A trait shared by all men, but one that changes and evolves depending upon the race, economic status, and sexual orientation of any particular man. Crime may be viewed as an attempt to claim, re-claim, or prove the very qualities that make one a man.

**Masculinity thesis.** The view that as women become more equal in society with men, their crime rates will increase.

**Opportunity hypothesis.** The view that as women increase their numbers in corporate America, their rates of white collar and corporate crime will increase along with this increased opportunity.

**Paternalism.** This view claims that men act in a manner designed to keep women and girls in a subservient position in society. While women and girls may be treated less severely as indicated under the chivalry hypothesis, they may also be treated more harshly in an attempt to keep them from achieving equality with men.

**Patriarchal Family.** Part of Hagan’s power-control theory. In a patriarchal family, the father is typically in a command position in the workplace and runs the family. Mothers are more likely to supervise daughters more closely than sons and encourage risk-taking in sons, more than in daughters.

**Power-Control Theory.** A theory proposed by Hagan in which patriarchal and egalitarian families are examined. In patriarchal families, sons are more likely than daughters to be delinquent because sons receive less supervision than daughters. In egalitarian families, the delinquent behavior of sons and daughters becomes more similar.
**Selectivity hypothesis.** The belief that chivalry in the criminal justice, ie lenient sentencing, is extended primarily to white, middle class, privileged women.

**Typicality hypothesis.** The belief that chivalry in the criminal justice, ie lenient sentencing, is extended primarily to women who commit crimes consistent with the stereotypical view of women, and to women who can still be viewed as “feminine”

**Key Concepts**

1. While there is no one feminist theory, all variations focus on patriarchy and the role it plays in society.

2. According to feminist theory, women can be treated less severely than men for committing a crime, or more severely than men in an attempt to keep them subservient to men. Feminist theory focuses on the patriarchal system as the root division in society between the dominant and subordinate groups.

3. Feminist theory questions whether or not theories of crime developed by men and for men adequately explain female crime. In addition, they seek to understand why men traditionally commit so many more crimes than women.

4. Power-control theorists contend that traditional families encourage male delinquency, while they inhibit female delinquency. In addition, many feminist scholars contend that as females achieve more power and equality in society, female crime rates will rise.

5. In order to correct the inequities facing women, feminist theorists contend that major societal changes must occur. In addition, many feminist theorists believe that when dealing with female offenders, prevention and treatment are preferable to punishment.

6. Gendered Pathways and Gendered Contexts have offered new ways to examine feminist theories and beliefs, while at the same time remaining connected to broader criminological concepts. Gendered pathways focuses on the courses women and girls have taken which lead to criminal activity, while gendered contexts examines how the opportunities, contexts, and meanings of criminal activity may vary among the genders.

**Questions**

1. Which do you think has a greater effect on crime, patriarchy or capitalism?

2. Are men naturally more violent and criminal than women, or does the system simply treat men and women differently for committing the same crime?
3. Would criminology look different today if all the early theories had been designed by women, to explain the behaviors of women?

4. What policy implications are implied by feminist theories, and what societal changes would be necessary for them to occur?

5. What examples of changes in the criminal justice system can you think of that have been made to address the needs and concerns of women?

6. What is the state of empirical research on Gendered Pathways and Gendered Contexts?

**Keeping Tabs**

Feminist theory is still in development, and no one version has gained prominence over the others. While there are different versions of feminist theory, similarities remain. Feminist theory examines the role of patriarchy in society, and the manner in which women are put in a subservient position to men. Feminist theorists seek to explain why men commit more crime than women, and they question whether theories developed by men and for men adequately explain female crime and deviance. In contrast to earlier theories examined in this book, feminist theorists examine the role society puts women in, identifies their strengths and vulnerabilities, and seeks to use that basis to understand female criminality. Feminist theorists then predict future rates of female offending, and propose system reactions to female offending. It must be noted however, that not all feminists view these issues the same, and feminist perspectives often change based upon the age, race, and status of the both the feminist researcher, and the feminist as victim.

**Notable Individuals**

**Adler, Freda:** Wrote *Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal* (1975).

**Chesney-Lind, Meda:** Feminist criminologist who attempt to balance coverage of both males and females in criminological research, wrote *The Female Offender: Girls, Women, and Crime* (1997).

**Messerschmidt, James W.:** Wrote *Crime as Structured Action: Gender, Race, Class, and Crime in the Making* (1997).

**Simon, Rita:** Wrote *Women and Crime* (1975).
Chapter 12

Integrating Criminological Theories

Terms

**Conceptual Absorption.** Concepts from one theory are subsumed as special cases of the phenomena defined by the concepts of another theory.
Conceptual Integration. Concepts from one theory are shown to overlap in meaning with concepts from another theory.

Control Balance Theory. The ratio of how much the individual is liable to control to how much he or she is able to control. It operates in the context of four main variables: predisposition, provocation, opportunity, and constraint.

Life-Course Theories. These theories attempt to explain better the stability and changes in criminal and deviant behavior through time and at different life stages.

Network Analysis. An explanation of delinquency that draws on social learning and social bond theories. It connects the structural characteristics of social networks and interactional processes.

Propositional Integration. This explains how two or more theories make the same predictions about crime or make propositions that can be put together, even though each may begin with different concepts and assumptions.

Self-Derogation Theory. A theory in which delinquency and drug use are explained through the use of social learning theory, control theory, strain theory, and labeling theory. In this perspective, delinquency is viewed as the result of the weakening of one’s self-esteem.

Social Support. Social integration in a group relationship in which emotional, material, and social assistance is provided to each group member.

Theoretical Elaboration. A term coined by Thornberry in which he states that one begins with a particular theory and extends it as far as one can.

Theoretical Integration. This occurs when two or more theories are combined in such a manner so as to make the new theory explain criminal activity in a more comprehensive manner. It can also be used to combine two competing theories which, upon reflection, were not as incompatible as once thought.

Theory Competition. Logical, conceptual, or empirical comparison of two or more theories to determine which offers the better or best explanation.

Key Concepts

1. Theoretical integration is the process of combining similar theories. The goal is to produce a theory that is superior to any theory individually. It also recognizes the fact that new theories are not created in isolation; and that they are created with the knowledge gained from earlier theoretical exercises.

2. Theoretical integration has had minimal success. While theories may be recognized for a while as integrative, over time they tend to be cited and tested as separate theories.
3. There are different types of theoretical integration such as conceptual and propositional integration.

4. Social learning theory, in one way or another, is a main component of integrative models in criminology, along with social bonding and strain theories.

5. Theoretical development takes place through explicating, testing, and modifying a single theory; through competition of rival theories; and through theoretical integration.

Questions

1. What are three principal ways by which theories can be evaluated and developed?

2. What model did Elliott and his associates use to propose a theory of delinquent behavior? What theories did they rely on in their model?

3. Why is theoretical integration controversial?

4. What concepts and propositions are relied on heavily by life-course criminologists?

5. What are the similarities and differences between propositional and conceptual integration? Provide examples with theories that have been discussed.

6. Should the work of Cullen and Wright along with the work of Colvin be better described as conceptual integration, or propositional integration? Explain.

7. Describe the work of Sampson and Laub. What policy implications may stem from this work?

Keeping Tabs

Should any one theory be used to explain crime or deviance, or would some combination of theories present a more accurate picture? Those questions are difficult to answer, and there is no consensus within the field of criminology. *Criminological Theories* has presented a wide range of theoretical perspectives. While these perspectives differ, they all seek to explain all or part of the crime phenomenon. Perhaps it is best to let all these theories “fight it out” until only a single perspective remains. There is, however, another approach. Theoretical integration is a process in which two or more competing theories are combined to make a new theory which provides a more comprehensive view of crime. This integration can be conceptual or propositional.
Conceptual absorption can also be used to combine elements from different theories. The benefit of these techniques is that it allows for the combination of the best elements of various theories. It demonstrates how theories once viewed as competitive can benefit and become more inclusive than was once thought. The final chapter has yet to be written, and the question of the benefits of theory competition versus theoretical integration has yet to be answered.

**Notable Individuals**


**Bernard, Thomas**: Proposed an integration of conflict and social learning theories to account for both criminal behavior and criminal law.

**Colvin, Mark**: Proposed that coercion may be a unifying concept in criminology.

**Cullen, Francis T.**: Proposed that social support can be used as a central concept around which all of criminology can be unified.

**Elliott, Delbert S.**: One of the first to integrate strain, control, and social learning theories, wrote *Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use* (1985).

**Kaplan, Howard B.**: Proposed a self-esteem/derogation theory of adolescent deviance.

**Krohn, Marvin D.**: Proposed the social network theory.


**Thornberry, Terence P.**: Proposed an interactional theory of delinquency.