PUTTING THEORY TO WORK IN CRIMINOLOGY AND PUBLIC POLICY

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ABSTRACT

Criminology is the study of crime and criminal conduct based on sociological and non-legal factors such as psychology, economics, statistics, and anthropology. Individual and community effects of crime. Methods for preventing criminal activity. A system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and financial priorities addressing a certain topic proclaimed by a governmental organization or its representatives can be broadly characterized as public policy. Criminology appears to be inextricably linked to public policy. Many, if not all, of the questions that criminologists strive to address have immediate or indirect policy implications. Criminologists work to better understand the nature and scope of crime, as well as to explain why people commit crimes and to increase knowledge about how crime might be prevented. Policymakers are attempting to address a variety of social issues, including the issue of crime. Despite this seeming logical connection, the field of criminology has had a tense relationship with public policy, and has had less of a direct impact on policy issues than some might assume¹. The goal of this research study is to look at where criminology and criminal justice stand in relation to public policy. Despite its evident importance, criminology has generally shown a reluctance to engage in public policy issues in any systematic or deliberate² way. Although there have been some notable exceptions, criminologists as a group have been hesitant to join in the process. Even more misgivings have been made by criminological organizations about such participation.

Keywords: Criminology, Public Policy, Crime, Justice, Welfare.

¹ Glaser, D. (1971). Criminology and Public Policy. The American Sociologist, 6, 30–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27701835.

² [2] DeLine, A., & Crosley, A. (2010). A CENTURY OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINOLOGY: FOREWORD. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 100(1), 1–6. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20753683.

A Historical Perspective

Written commentary on crime is almost as ancient as writing itself, but scientific examination of crime originates mostly from the nineteenth century, when the notion of evolution prompted efforts to attribute aberrant conduct to human genetic variations. Physical anthropology was the primary location for the scientific study of crime since behavioral variances were thought to have physical parallels, and the name "criminology" is purportedly a journalist's shorthand for "criminal anthropology." Efforts to construct a "social physics" by cross tabulating "moral statistics" from state records, which were subsequently supported by the influence of Marxism, began even before such an investigation. As a result, crime has been blamed on the social and economic circumstances of criminals.

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During the 1920s, criminology began as a branch of sociology in the United States. American criminologists, like European criminologists at medical and law schools, first focused on behavior classified as criminal by the law. When it came to tabulating crime correlations, American criminologists were more critical of their data than European criminologists; American studies were also more critical of American police, judicial, and penitentiary methods. Sociological studies were one of the first to attribute criminal careers to responses to crime. Delinquent gangs, according to Thrasher, are the result of the cohesiveness and shift in purpose that children's play groups develop when confronted by police or other authorities. In monographs and subsequent editions of what has been America's best-selling criminology text for nearly half a century, E. H. Sutherland increasingly demonstrated that progressive social separation, cultural differentiation, and pride in crime as a calling develop as defences of criminals against arrest and stigma³. Later, Lemert (1951) used the term "secondary deviation" to describe all such deviations in social and personal reactions to castigation.

A focus on the relativity of public conceptions of crime was another early aspect of sociological criminology in the United States, as shown by Sellin's landmark monograph Culture Conflict and Crime (1938). Divergent views on family violence, personal dignity, and the usage of alcoholic drinks were exceptionally dramatic in American culture in the 1920s, owing in large part to the country's unprecedented immigration in the previous half-century⁴. The

³ Murphy, T., & Whitty, N. (2013). MAKING HISTORY: Academic Criminology and Human Rights. The British Journal of Criminology, 53(4), 568–587. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23640051.

⁴ Potts, L. W. (1982). Criminal Liability, Public Policy, and the Principle of Legality in the Republic of South Africa. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 73(3), 1061–1108. https://doi.org/10.2307/1143187.

unenforceability of the Prohibition Amendment, as well as the national notoriety of Al Capone and other organized crime figures, emphasized this.

Becker's Outsiders epitomized the so-called new or interactionist approach to deviance (1963). He resurrected concerns about secondary deviation, or "labelling" effects, and the relativity of crime definitions, adding a worry about political processes that extend legal definitions of illegal activity. He dubbed these processes "moral entrepreneurship," and cited the advocacy of legislation prohibiting the use of marijuana and opiates as examples⁵. To these examples, Schur (1965) added anti-abortion and anti-homosexuality laws, while Erikson (1966) added seventeenth-century repression of witchcraft, Antinomianism, and Quakerism in Massachusetts, all in support of Becker's thesis that "deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender' ". Skolnick (1966), although not endorsing any of the "new" deviance school's positions, gave fuel to the fires by demonstrating that police action is the largest independent variable in deciding who in our society is classified as a drug or sex offender. Cicourel (1968), who was also divergent in his theoretical standpoint, appealed to "new" deviance theorists by demonstrating that a juvenile's arrest and adjudication as a delinquent is generally independent of considerable diversity in the arrestee's individual conduct. Quinney (1970) demonstrated the reality that political struggle between interest groups influences what constitutes illegal action.

Sociologists published a torrent of articles and books on this interactionist theory of deviance in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many readers and textbooks compiled these, and "deviance" largely supplanted "criminology" in course offerings and designations for sociologists' fields of study. As a result, recent texts and readers in criminology and social issues differ from previous works in the degree to which they pay attention to the role of government entities in determining criminal careers⁶.

Another recent development in American sociology, ethnomethodology, which stresses those moral assessments evolve in the process of interaction and are thus situation specific, lent credence to interactionist viewpoints on deviance. Cicourel's interpretation of his findings, as well as Douglas' articles and editing, emphasized this relationship. Lofland (1969) reworked deviance theory from the standpoint of symbolic interactionism, resulting in a comprehensive

⁵ Ihid.

⁶ Garland, D., & Sparks, R. (2000). CRIMINOLOGY, SOCIAL THEORY AND THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES. The British Journal of Criminology, 40(2), 189–204. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23638473.

examination of the social processes involved in the development and end of deviant professions⁷. Douglas and Lofland were more outspoken than others in condemning traditional

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are the consequences of such recommendations for sociologists' contributions to policy

sociological criminology and advocating for the "new" deviant theory to take its place. What

formation?

Deviance Theorists, the State, and the General Public Have Differing Views on Crime

The interactionist viewpoint focuses on the many meanings of deviant behaviour, as well as the reasons and implications of this variety. As a result, it's not unexpected that proponents of this method emphasise deviation as a crime by mentioning specific sorts of behaviour where criminal law is most contentious. They focus on government responses to drug use, abortion, homosexuality, and delinquency, which can be easily demonstrated to be compatible with their claims about variety, rather than reactions to murder, armed robbery, and burglary, whose definitions are less contested. For a more accurate assessment of both criminology and deviance theory's effectiveness in guiding public policy, it may be necessary to differentiate forms of conduct based on the variety in their public classification as crime. While public and governmental definitions of illegal activity differ, some differ more than others.

Predations, or acts of definite and intentional harm to another person's person or property, have been considered a crime from the beginning of criminal law. These acts involving victims are normally considered crimes by the public (unless when perpetrated against a member of an enemy society during a war), regardless of the state's response. As business transactions and technology have gotten more complicated, the law's definition of certain forms of predation as crimes has shifted almost completely in one way. Embezzlement, check forgery, vehicle theft, and radio-frequency jamming regulations, for example, are younger than laws prohibiting murder or cattle theft. Laws prohibiting crimes with specific victims are seldom overturned (although occasionally reformulated). Regardless matter what action the state takes to punish these acts with victims, the public generally considers them to be crimes (unless when perpetrated against a member of an enemy society during a war). As business transactions and technology have gotten more complicated, the law's definitions of various forms of predation as crimes have shifted almost solely in one way. Embezzlement, check forgery, vehicle theft, and radio-frequency jamming regulations, for example, are more recent than laws prohibiting

⁷ Ibid

murder or cattle theft. Almost seldom are laws prohibiting crimes with specific victims repealed (although occasionally reformulated)⁸.

New laws criminalizing specific types of predatory behavior usually follow a predictable pattern: first, victims and their supporters seek private vengeance against the predators, then, for many types of offences, they seek legal redress through the civil law of torts, and, finally, when such predations become more disruptive of civil order or commerce, they (or, more importantly, their insurance companies) succeed in persuading legislatures to make the crimes criminalized. Illegal performance rules have a unique history and range of application. They frequently do not include any obvious and definite harm to another person, but are enacted and enforced on behalf of audiences who have been offended by the actions of less powerful members of society. This finding is most easily proven in cases of public intoxication, which is by far the most common reason for arrest in the United States. Drunkenness, disorderly behavior, indecent exposure, and other illegal performances are not crimes if they take place in private; they are only prohibited if they take place in public view or hearing. Arrests for such offences are disproportionately made in skid-row neighborhoods, where such behavior is both accepted and concentrated in greater numbers than elsewhere. It is apparent that considerable drunkenness and other illegal performances are not viewed as crimes in the "common sense" of the general public, and the time and location of occurrence are key determinants in both public and judicial assessments of such activities⁹.

With increased cultural variety and vocational specialization, the sorts of conduct labelled as criminal when done in public but acceptable when done privately appear to be decreasing in number. While accurate statistics is lacking, constraints on public performance tend to be the least in frontier towns, where all residents are recent migrants, and major cities, particularly port cities with high rates of culturally varied in-migration and out-migration¹⁰. Despite an increase in the national population, the size of police forces, and the use of electronic data processing to make recording and reporting of such arrests more comprehensive, the number of arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct reported by police for the F.B.I. Uniform Crime Reports has decreased slightly in recent years. It is statistical evidence for the theorem

⁸ Wilkins, L. T. (1976). [Review of Crime, Criminology and Public Policy, by R. Hood]. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 67(3), 361–362. https://doi.org/10.2307/1142871.

⁹ Glaser, D. (1971). Criminology and Public Policy. The American Sociologist, 6, 30–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27701835.

¹⁰ CHANG, D. H., & McKEAN, J. (1981). CRIMINOLOGY, DELINQUENCY, AND CORRECTIONS. International Review of Modern Sociology, 11(1/2), 201–229. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41420786.

contained in Durkheim's (1947) study of "organic" rather than "mechanical" solidarity, assuming that this represents trends in law enforcement rather than public behavior: Tolerance for behavioral variety varies in direct proportion to a society's division of work¹¹.

Illegal consuming offences are those in which a person is legitimately punished for behaviors that are deemed to be harmful to himself, whether they are performed in public or privately. The sale of products or services for illicit consumption is known as illegal selling. Gambling, prostitution, drug usage, abortion, and homosexuality are all punishable by law with harsher penalties for selling than for consuming¹². When it comes to drugs, the charge is sometimes described as possession, although this is mostly because it is simpler to get proof of possession than of sale or use; punishments vary according on the amount possessed, with the assumption that large amounts are for selling.

The introduction of the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1919 to prohibit liquor use, and its repeal by the Twenty-first Amendment fourteen years later, appear to be spasmodic trends in the characterization of use as unlawful¹³. Marijuana is used by a majority of college seniors and considerable proportions of other youngsters, according to recent polls, but not by those in the older age group who are currently most powerful in lawmaking. This predicts that current marijuana restrictions will be overturned as current users and their companions get older, more powerful, and make up a higher part of the voters, because they do not consider marijuana use or possession to be a crime.

When a form of consumption offends a sufficiently influential public, an attempt is made to restrict it through criminal legislation. However, when such efforts fail to suppress consumption and the societal costs of attempted suppression, such as police corruption and imprisonment of illicit users, are too high, prohibition is substituted with regulation (for example, state licensing or operation of selling establishments, prohibition of sales to minors,

¹¹ Blumstein, A. (1996). Interaction of Criminological Research and Public Policy. Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 12(4), 349–361. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41954168.

¹² Turner, E. (2013). BEYOND "FACTS" AND "VALUES": Rethinking Some Recent Debates about the Public Role of Criminology. The British Journal of Criminology, 53(1), 149–166. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23639973.

¹³ DeLine, A., & Crosley, A. (2010). A CENTURY OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINOLOGY: FOREWORD. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 100(1), 1–6. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20753683.

etc.)¹⁴. This process has occurred with alcoholic drinks, looks to be occurring with gambling,

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This pattern might also be explained by the Durkheimian theory already mentioned.

abortion, and opiate users' methadone maintenance, and may extend to other now-illegal uses.

The final major type of crime is criminal negligence, which involves an actual or potential victim but no intent to harm them. Legislation identifying such action as criminal has been nearly completely cumulative and a by-product of technology sophistication, much like predation legislation. Its primary use is in the prevention of unsafe driving in automobiles, but it has now been expanded to include aircraft, elevators, negligent building construction, and, increasingly, negligent manufacturing 15. Even where there are no laws specifying such carelessness, the public typically views clear mistreatment of people due to the negligence of others as a crime deserving of governmental punishment. According to the foregoing, different sorts of crime have distinct consequences for Becker's thesis, which may be summarized as follows: "Crime is not a feature of the act one commits, but a result of one's arrest and punishment." As a result of the relatively consistent public definition of predation and victimproducing carelessness as actions warranting state punishment, it is fair to regard crime as a property of any activity that is plainly victimizing. However, because planned victimization in predation differs so much from inadvertent, delayed, and frequently partially chance victimization in criminal negligence from a phenomenological standpoint, these two forms of conduct should be investigated independently¹⁶.

Predation is particularly well-suited to sociological research because it entails a unique form of social relationship between a predator and his intended victim. Whether or whether arrest and punishment are results of these actions, generalizations about victim selection and victimizing conduct can be made and tested. There are countless more from research based on street life observations of delinquent gangs, and Maurer cites two of the more restricted number of studies of unapprehended adult offenders (Short and Strodtbeck, 1965)¹⁷.

¹⁴ Ghandnoosh, N. (2014). PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR PUNITIVE POLICIES. In RACE AND PUNISHMENT: RACIAL PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND SUPPORT FOR PUNITIVE POLICIES (pp. 7–12). The Sentencing Project. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep27213.5.

¹⁵ Blumstein, A. (1996). Interaction of Criminological Research and Public Policy. Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 12(4), 349–361. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41954168.

¹⁶ Supra 12

¹⁷ Supra 10

Without relying solely on official statistics, variations in law enforcement, adjudication, and correctional practice can be investigated as correlates of rates of predation and persistence of individuals in predatory careers (as well as in multivariate relationships with other correlates of these rates). During the 1960s, criminologists conducted extensive study on the rates of delinquency confessed by youth in the general community when given anonymous questionnaires, which significantly contradicted previous results based primarily on those arrested or adjudicated.

Admitted delinquency has little relation to status within school districts if status is measured by the head of the household's occupation; though it varies inversely with mean status among school districts, this relationship is not nearly as strong as previously inferred from ecological and other studies based on police or court statistics¹⁸. The potential returns of such surveys on the experiences linked with turning points in delinquent and criminal careers, including those of people who were never detained, have yet to be determined. The use of victim survey research, which was pioneered for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice's 1967 findings, is an even more significant methodological advance in the study of predation and its management. This study offers enormous potential for improving police-public and police-court interactions, as well as theory-generating and theory-testing value for more properly mapping the spread of predation and its consequences¹⁹.

Illegal performance, consumption, and sale are more difficult to investigate (see for a discussion of measuring issues and possible remedies). Unlike the many forms of predation, the acts included in each of these three categories lack common behavioural or social features and are judged differently by the public. Because conventional criminology generally ignored these areas, it is fortunate for both sociology and public policy that interactionist ideas on deviance have stimulated extensive research on these sorts of conduct and the official replies they evoke. What should now be evident is that both "new" and "old" writers on criminal deviance make a lot of mistakes when they generalize about all crimes rather than focusing on one of the five kinds identified here or even narrower categories. Different sorts of deviant conduct, on the other hand, frequently become confused in the careers of those who pursue any

¹⁸ Supra 14

¹⁹ Glaser, D. (1971). Criminology and Public Policy. The American Sociologist, 6, 30–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27701835.

of them²⁰. This is because, as the secondary deviation hypothesis suggests, apprehension or punishment for one sort of crime may lead to the criminal pursuing other types. This gets us to the causative explanation of criminally aberrant vocations, which is a more significant problem in the claimed conflict of "old" and "new" methodologies²¹.

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Criminal Typification with Policy Implications

In popular speech, not only can anyone who commits one crime be labelled a "criminal" for the rest of his life, but anyone who commits one burglary can be labelled a "burglar" for the rest of his life; a thief can be labelled a "thief," a rapist is labelled a "rapist," and so on for other offence and offender designations. Criminologists who try to categorize criminals more formally discover that the variety of behavior within any category of crime, the many mixtures and sequences of crimes committed over the course of a lifetime, the variable circumstances of crimes, and the variable characteristics of offenders make typological possibilities. Furthermore, changes in behavior that develop during contact make any classification of people based on their previous behavior an inaccurate predictor of their future behavior. However, when creating proposals on complexity, whether for everyday life, scientific investigation, or public policy, it is required to gloss over differences in order to idealize this variety through the use of the few typifying characteristics most pertinent to the analyses' objective. With these restrictions in mind, the following categories are briefly provided as strategic typification's for connecting criminological information to public policy issues:

A. Recapitulators of Adolescence

The majority of predation arrests recorded to the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports involve people under the age of eighteen. According to surveys on confessed delinquency, the majority of Americans shoplift and participate in other forms of predation at some point in their life, typically during adolescence. As Stinchcombe (1964) and others have demonstrated, experimenting with deviance is accentuated during this phase of transition from infancy to independence when the teenager does not find adult expected conduct pleasant or obviously relevant to his life. Most people, regardless of age, but especially in adolescence, have many

²⁰ Turner, E. (2013). BEYOND "FACTS" AND "VALUES": Rethinking Some Recent Debates about the Public Role of Criminology. The British Journal of Criminology, 53(1), 149–166. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23639973.

²¹ Millie, A. (2016). A philosophical criminology. In Philosophical criminology (1st ed., pp. 1–14). Bristol University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1t890xp.6.

social interactions with varying normative expectations, and they adjust their behavior accordingly as they go from one context to the next²². Is there a "stake in conformity" (Toby, 1957) developing? Development of a "stake in nonconformity" from gratifications in deviant groups reduces the appeal of work, school, or other competing conformities, while development of a "stake in nonconformity" from gratifications in deviant groups reduces the appeal of work, school, or other competing conformities.

The isolation of juveniles in age-homogeneous social environments creates teenage subcultures, as one might expect from the fundamental law of sociology and anthropology that social separation causes cultural diversity. These subcultures frequently obstruct socialization in preparation for maturity. However, satisfactions in either deviance or conformity are most shaky and fragile during adolescence and early adulthood, resulting in behavior that shifts from one pattern to another. Most teenagers who break the law frequently are unspecialized in their crimes; they blend various instruments of predation to get money or property with expressive unlawful behaviors, and they stick to what works best for them. However, serious criminal failures, particularly those that result in jail, raise offenders' duties to parents or parent surrogates for communication and financial assistance before to and shortly after release. Confinement typically prevents the offender's communication with past criminal companions while also placing him in a community of lawbreakers from various neighborhoods. For most institutionalized adolescents, the combination of all of these events leads in a zig-zag professional path²³. They make an effort to "get straight" after they are released, but then face unemployment, loneliness, family turmoil, and other difficulties. Approximately half of each release cohort is jailed again, with the probability decreasing with age, living in a low-crime region, and ongoing legal work. Their relapses to crime typically follow the same patterns of stress response that they displayed in their early teenage disputes and delinquency (Glaser, 1969).

Those classified as "adolescent recapitulators" continue to replicate their adolescence's not-so-specialized predations and collective antics. The majority of young offenders at penal institutions, as well as a few slightly older but unchanging inmates, fall into this category. They vary from others in our culture in terms of the length and difficulty of their transition from

²² Ihid

²³ Wilkins, L. T. (1976). [Review of Crime, Criminology and Public Policy, by R. Hood]. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 67(3), 361–362. https://doi.org/10.2307/1142871.

childhood to adulthood, but the difference is only a question of degree, as most people's adolescence includes some deviance and social discontinuity. Most of these criminals ultimately transition to legal occupations rather than predation to support themselves, and the

rest transition to one of the other forms of criminal vocations outlined here.

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For decades, sociological criminologists have been active in action research projects to help adolescent recapitulators resocialize. Most of the many projects that have imitated these pioneering efforts appear to have limited crime prevention as a result of the projects' overemphasis on play and talk, their promotion of adolescent group cohesion, and their neglect of activities that give adolescents successful experience in adult roles. Ex-offenders acting as change agents, planned education or on-the-job employment training with pay incentives for advancement, and highly graded community correctional programmes all look to be more promising than earlier programmes (Glaser, 1971c)²⁴. Systematic reviews of initiatives to assist adolescence recapitulators have given sociologists with a wealth of information for correction and prevention. However, because societal change outpaces the scope and intensity of correctional experimentation, there is still a need for and possibility for more investigation and influence.

B. Subcultural Assaulters are the second type of assailant

Sociologists have demonstrated that violence, particularly homicide, is a "social fact" in Durkheim's definition, because its rates are a consequence of collectivities' characteristics. It's also a social phenomenon in the more sub-institutional or Simmelian meaning that it's the product of a certain type of encounter, the escalating altercation²⁵. As a result, homicide rates in several Latin American countries are many times greater than in the United States, and several times higher than in the United Kingdom or Scandinavia. In the United States, nearly four-fifths of homicides result from escalating conflicts, with victims initiating one-quarter to one-third of them (Voss and Hepburn, 1968; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967). Homicide frequently communicates rules regarding a proper rapid reaction when one's manliness or honour is questioned, however it is less calculated than the killings in mystery fiction.

²⁴ Loader, I., & Sparks, R. (2011). BRAITHWAITE, CRIMINOLOGY AND THE DEBATE ON PUBLIC SOCIAL SCIENCE. In S. Parmentier, L. Walgrave, I. Aertsen, J. Maesschalck, & L. Paoli (Eds.), The Sparking Discipline of Criminology: John Braithwaite and the construction of critical social science and social justice (pp. 85–114). Leuven University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qf1n0.8.

²⁵ Supra 20

According to studies, homicide rates are unaffected by capital punishment but grow after the sale of firearms increases. Violence has a clear link to poverty and an inverse link to education. Yet, because the public is focused with two new sorts of subcultural violence, that of popularly backed confrontation-seeking political protestors and that of those wanting to repress such protest, such facts have no impact on contemporary discussions of social policy on violence.

In numerous ways, sociology is important to political protest. First, by using sociology's most important premise, that cultural distinctions originate from social isolation, a huge number of protestors have established resistance to deprivation or dominance of peoples today (rather than from differences in human potentiality). Second, the impact of protest is determined by the complexities of collective behaviour processes, or, as Turner (1969) put it, "the public perception of protest²⁶." Third, sociological criminology is the primary source of systematic knowledge about the various police and judicial responses to protests, and it is these reactions that primarily decide the repercussions of political activity for the freedom and growth of the citizens.

While radicals generalise all cops, sociological study demonstrates a wide range of officer conduct. The actions of police range from random assaults on protestors by bystanders to overreactions to protesters (both of which activities radicalise moderate or apathetic individuals) to communication facilitation, order maintenance, and social service acts that unify the public and ease difficulties²⁷. Courts are a sociologist's paradise of unintended consequences: measures intended to make police more lawful instead make them more lawless; measures intended to speed up adjudication and help impoverished defendants instead increase the relative advantage of those who can afford private counsel and thus augment their immunity through delay. Hysteria over violence highlights the amazing fallibility of our judicial system, which increases receptivity to reform. A few sociologists (for example, Black, Bordua, and Reiss) are marshalling appropriate theory and systematic data to assist in the resolution of these issues, but much more effort is necessary, particularly in the courts, if our tools are to be adequate for our justice aims. The need for sociological study in these areas is enormous, as are the opportunities.

²⁶ Supra 24

²⁷ Piché, J. (2015). Assessing the Boundaries of Public Criminology: On What Does (Not) Count. Social Justice, 42(2 (140)), 70–90. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24871284.

C. Addiction-Supporting Predators, Organized Illegal Sellers, and Private Illegal Consumers are all types of addicts

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It is believed that 3 to 5% of American individuals' physical health or capacity to sustain themselves or their dependents is harmed by their addiction to alcoholic drinks. A quarter of all arrests are for public intoxication, half of the fifty thousand yearly vehicle accident deaths are caused by drunk drivers, and alcohol usage is linked to more than half of all rapes and violent assaults that end in arrest. The majority of check forgers and a big percentage of other property crimes were largely motivated by a desire to fund an alcohol addiction. Despite these social costs of alcohol, we abandoned our efforts to restrict its use, partially because the social costs of failed suppression efforts were much higher.

In efforts to use the criminal law to control a private addiction, whether it be to marijuana, gambling, alcohol, or overeating, no sociologist or other scientist contributes any actual knowledge to the underlying value dilemma (arranged in order of probable increasing physical or family welfare costs)²⁸. The main question is: Does a person have the right to misuse his or her body or mind as long as he or she does not cause harm to others? What sociology criminologists have been doing, but need to do much better, is to evaluate all of the societal costs and gains that would occur if criminal law or other methods were employed to try to eliminate addiction.

As previously stated, arrests for intoxication have decreased in recent years, most likely due to increased tolerance of intoxicated conduct rather than a decline in drunken behaviour. David Pittman was perhaps the most influential sociologist in demonstrating the futility of arrest as a means of reducing public intoxication and demonstrating that when hospitals replace jails for short-term handling of these illegal performers, police work, court time, and alcoholism are all reduced. Although with sample slanted to stress failure, Jacqueline Wiseman (1970) effectively highlighted therapy limits. Sociologists were active in evaluating the efficacy of Alcoholics Anonymous as an addiction treatment, and they were particularly prominent in evaluating A.A.'s various opiate addiction analogues, such as Synanon²⁹.

²⁸ Glaser, D. (1971). Criminology and Public Policy. The American Sociologist, 6, 30–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27701835.

Wilkins, L. T. (1976). [Review of Crime, Criminology and Public Policy, by R. Hood]. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 67(3), 361–362. https://doi.org/10.2307/1142871.

When the supply of addictive chemicals is not fully suppressed, the price of the substances rises, and society pays the price in the form of increasing thefts, prostitution, and other unlawful activities to fund addiction. The high prevalence of burglary and theft attributed to opiate users exemplifies this. Sociologists of various drug-suppression-policy persuasions have documented a strong crime-drug linkage in the aftermath of World War II, and they have also shown that the crime-drug linkage is almost non-existent when opiates are free or cheap, as in the United Kingdom and in American methadone programs.

The astonishment at the bootleggers' power of corruption and predation was a major element in the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment. Four broad concepts, previously established (Glaser, 1967), apply to all attempts to combat addiction:

- a. Any attempt to prevent the selling of in-demand products or services by legislation generates a highly appealing business opportunity for those who have no qualms about breaking the law.
- b. As representatives of the general public, police and other public authorities are usually hesitant to enforce laws prohibiting acts that the majority of the public supports.
- c. Because illicit businessmen's competition is governed by acts of violence rather by legitimate agencies, such enterprises frequently employ or are managed by predatory criminals.
- d. Offenders who commit crimes involving the supply of services to private individuals are seldom arrested.
- e. Any legislation that is often broken obstructs other law enforcement authorities by overburdening them and encouraging disregard for them.

When homosexuality, amphetamines, barbiturates, LSD prostitution, gambling, and marijuana are freely available, they frequently cause a range of personal and social issues, but they do not breed predation and do not necessitate considerable consumer contact with organised criminal vendors. Most users of addictive drugs with low supply compared to demand, such as heroin, must have an illicit income and be intimately associated with organised suppliers. In the presence of a large supply, two changes in prohibition policy occur: (1) The public increasingly

views consumption as a health problem rather than a crime problem or a matter of personal taste (if health impairment is questioned); and (2) law enforcement agencies protect themselves from the effects of principle f above by shifting from prosecuting these offences as consumption to prosecuting them as performance, arresting only when the acts are committed in public or involve children³⁰. This happened with alcohol, is happening now with homosexuality and prostitution in some regions, and is happening now with marijuana. Changes in the law typically follow changes in supply and demand. Sociological study on the effectiveness and social costs of bans, as well as the prevalence and social correlates of various forms of private illicit consumption, can help to shorten the lag and therefore the operation of principle.

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D. Avocational, Crisis-Vacillating, Quasi-Insane, and Vocational are the four types of predators.

Most Americans admit to shoplifting or stealing from gardens or fruit trees as teenagers, but many claim to have stopped doing so as they grew older. Fear of being caught is the most common reason given by college students, however the majority of students admit to continuing to steal from hotels. Some writers claim that staff pilfering is the most common kind of theft in the United States, surpassing shoplifting, and that factory managers use it as a perk to increase employee morale³¹. Sutherland (1949) developed the term "white-collar crime" to describe legal infractions perpetrated on a regular basis by "respectable individuals" in the course of their jobs, and he was one of several who calculated that the economic cost of such crimes much outweighs all other forms of predation combined. Misrepresentation in sales, prevarication in income or expense reports, and collaboration to hinder competition are among the most egregious of these acts. Smigel and Ross (1970) collect evidence showing stealing is viewed by the public as a relationship between perpetrator and victim rather than an abstract idea; hence, theft from an impersonal bureaucracy is frequently compatible with the concept of theft. State punishments against any of these avocational predators, according to sociological criminologists, successfully prevent them from subsequent offences and dissuade others when

³⁰ Szabo, D., Leblanc, M., & Normandeau, A. (1971). Applied Criminology and Government Policy: Future Perspectives and Conditions of Collaboration. Issues in Criminology, 6(1), 55–83. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42909627.

³¹ Supra 21,

made public, but such study is little in comparison to the need for policy direction³².

Many people accused with strange attacks like Boston's "Strangler," Chicago's Heirens and Speck, or California's Manson "family" might be classed together as "quasi mad" predators since the legal definition of sanity and the clinical notion of paranoia are so unpredictable in application. Another example of this marginal-mental-status category is the elderly child molesters who may be found in all state jail systems. The private or communal symbolic interaction that leads to such deviance, as well as the public's fascination with and generalisation from it, are fascinating problems for social psychology studies.

Many professional predators work in tandem with organised unlawful vendors. Professional murderers and "muscle" men, for example, service extortion or usury rackets, and thieves or hijackers fulfil orders from stolen goods traffickers³³. Professional bank robbers and pickpockets, for example, function as fairly self-sufficient businesspeople when their take is largely cash. Law enforcement officers find these professionals to be the most aggravating offenders. Analyses of the life histories of these criminals, employing insights from sociology of occupation and highlighting the parallels in attitudes and capabilities of professionals in legal and illicit activities, may help policymakers safeguard the public from such predators³⁴.

Conclusion

This essay has presented evidence and argument to conclude that: (1) despite claims of contrast between traditional criminology and "new" deviance theory, there has been much continuity from the former to the latter, and each complements the other; (2) despite claims of contrast between traditional criminology and "new" deviance theory, there has been much continuity from the former to the latter, and each complements the other; (2) When generalisations about all crime, criminals, or deviance are made as if crime or deviance were a single phenomena, egregious inaccuracies are common. (3) Appropriate distinction between forms of crime and offenders considerably decreases such inaccuracy and exposes a variety of ways in which

³² DeLine, A., & Crosley, A. (2010). A CENTURY OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINOLOGY: FOREWORD. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 100(1), 1–6. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20753683.

³³ Piché, J. (2015). Assessing the Boundaries of Public Criminology: On What Does (Not) Count. Social Justice, 42(2 (140)), 70–90. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24871284.

³⁴ Glaser, D. (1971). Criminology and Public Policy. The American Sociologist, 6, 30–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27701835.

sociological theory and research may influence public policy in regards to most criminal behaviors and most state responses to such behaviors.