Criminology A Sociological Understanding 8th edition Barkan Test Bank

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Online Instructor's Manual and Test Bank

for

Criminology: A Sociological Understanding

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Eighth Edition

Steven E. Barkan

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Contents

To the Instructor	iv
Sample Course Syllabus for 16 Weeks	v
Chapter 1: Criminology and the Sociological Perspective	1
Chapter 2: Public Opinion, the News Media, and the Crime Problem	14
Chapter 3: The Measurement and Patterning of Criminal Behavior	24
Chapter 4: Victims and Victimization	42
Chapter 5: Classical and Neoclassical Perspectives	58
Chapter 6: Biological and Pyschological Explanations	70
Chapter 7: Sociological Theories: Emphasis on Social Structure	91
Chapter 8: Sociological Theories: Ephasis on Social Process	109
Chapter 9: Sociological Theories: Critical Perspectives	128
Chapter 10: Violent Crime: Homicide, Aggravated Assualt, and Robbery	149
Chapter 11: Violence Against Women	178
Chapter 12: Property Crime and Fraud	202
Chapter 13: White-Collar and Organized Crime	222
Chapter 14: Political Crime	247
Chapter 15: Consensual Crime	266
Chapter 16: Policing: Dilemmas of Crime Control in a Democratic Society	295
Chapter 17: Prosecution and Punishment	320
Chapter 18: Conclusion: How Can We Reduce Crime?	343
Test Bank	349

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To the Instructor

Welcome to the *Instructor's Manual with Test Bank* to accompany *Criminology: A Sociological Understanding* by Steven E. Barkan. This manual is prepared to assist you in preparing you for your course in the most efficient and effective manner. Within each chapter of the Instructor's Manual you will find a Chapter Overview, Chapter Objectives, a Lecture Outline with teaching notes, a List of Changes from the previous edition, and Additional Assignments and Class Activities.

These additional assignments and class activities are intended to provide outside resources, possible writing assignments, encourage and facilitate classroom discussions, and offer classroom activities through participation.

A test bank is included at the end of this manual with an answer key that will enable you to test students at the end of each chapter or at intervals that meet your particular needs. Test choice options include multiple choice, true and false, fill-in-the-blank, matching, essay, and critical thinking questions.

In conclusion, we hope that you find this Instructor's Manual to be effective in teaching with the 8th edition of the *Criminology: A Sociological Understanding* textbook.

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Sample Course Syllabus for 16 Weeks

1. **Number of Course**

   Name of Course Semester

   Days of Course/Time

Professor:

Office Location:

Office Hours:

Office Phone:

Office Fax:

University Email Address:

Class Location:

COURSE INFORMATION

I. **Materials – Textbooks, Readings, Supplementary Readings:**

II. **Textbook Required:** *Criminology: A Sociological Understanding* 8th Edition by Steven E. Barkan

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III. **Course Description:** University-specific

IV. **Upon successful completion of this course, you will:**

- Understand crime and victimization from a sociological perspective.
- Have knowledge of the news media and public opinion and their influence on the crime problem.
- Understand victims and their victimization.
- Be able to explain classical, neoclassical, biological, social structure, social process, and critical perspectives of crime.
- Understand violent crime, crimes against women, property crime, fraud, white-collar crime, organized crime, and political crime from a legal perspective, a theoretical perspective, and a statistical perspective.
- Analyze the impact and consequences of consensual crime.
- Explain policing and the dilemmas of crime control in a democratic society.
- Examine aspects of prosecution and punishment and the implications on crime.
- Summarize means in which crime can be reduced.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

V. **Class Format:**

VI. **Expectation:**

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VII. Examinations:

IX. Suggested Assignments:

1. Critical Thinking Midterm Paper
2. Critical Thinking Final Paper

X. Additional Course Policies:

A. Late Work

B. Academic Honesty

C. APA Citation Format Policy

D. Attendance/Participation

XI. Grades:

Assignment Type	# of Assignments	Point Value	**Total Points**
Examinations			
Critical Thinking papers			
Attendance/Participation			
		TOTAL	

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Total points possible for the semester =

A =
B =
C =
D =
F =

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COMMUNICATION AND SUPPORT

COURSE AND UNIVERSITY PROCEDURES/POLICIES

A. **Course-Specific Procedures:**

B. **University-Specific Procedures:**

C. **Students with Disabilities:**

D. **Student Conduct:**

XIV. Schedule:

This schedule is tentative and I reserve the right to modify it, with notice, as needed during the semester. Please be advised that we will cover approximately one chapter every week in the order they appear in your text.

WEEK #1—

Review Syllabus

Part I Understanding Crime and Victimization

Chapter 1 Criminology and the Sociological Perspective

WEEK #2—

Part I Understanding Crime and Victimization

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Chapter 2 Public Opinion, the News Media, and the Crime Problem

Chapter 3 The Measure and Patterning of Criminal Behavior

WEEK #3—

Part I Understanding Crime and Victimization

Chapter 4 Victims and Victimization

WEEK #4—

Part II Explaining Crime

Chapter 5 Classical and Neoclassical Perspectives

Chapter 6 Biological and Psychological Explanations

WEEK #5—

Part II Explaining Crime

Chapter 7 Sociological Theories: Emphasis on Social Structure

WEEK #6—

Part II Explaining Crime

Chapter 8 Sociological Theories: Emphasis on Social Process

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WEEK #7—

Part II Explaining Crime

Chapter 9 Sociological Theories: Critical Perspective

Review for midterm exam chapters 1-9

WEEK #8—

Exam

Midterm Project

WEEK #9—

Part III Criminal Behaviors

Chapter 10 Violent Crime: Homicide, Aggravated Assault, and Robbery

WEEK #10—

Part III Criminal Behaviors

Chapter 11 Violence Against Women

WEEK #11—

Part III Criminal Behaviors

Chapter 12 Property Crime and Fraud

Chapter 13 White-Collar and Organized Crime

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WEEK #12—

Part III Criminal Behaviors

Chapter 14 Political Crime

WEEK #13—

Part IV Controlling and Preventing Crime

Chapter 15 Consensual Crime

WEEK #14—

Part IV Controlling and Preventing Crime

Chapter 16 Policing: Dilemmas of Crime Control in a Democratic Society

Chapter 17 Prosecution and Punishment

WEEK #15—

Part IV Controlling and Preventing Crime

Chapter 18 Conclusion: How Can We Reduce Crime?

Review for final exam

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WEEK #16—

Exam

Final Project/Paper

Final Exam per University Schedule

Note: ***Instructor intends to follow syllabus but reserves the right to make revisions as deemed necessary and appropriate and will notify students in writing.***

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Sample Course Syllabus for 10 Weeks

1. **Number of Course**

   Name of Course Semester

   Days of Course/Time

Professor:

Office Location:

Office Hours:

Office Phone:

Office Fax:

University Email Address:

Class Location:

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II. **Textbook Required:** *Criminology: A Sociological Understanding* 8th Edition by Steven E. Barkan

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III. **Course Description:** University-specific

IV. **Upon successful completion of this course, you will:**

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- Understand violent crime, crimes against women, property crime, fraud, white-collar crime, organized crime, and political crime from a legal perspective, a theoretical perspective, and a statistical perspective.
- Analyze the impact and consequences of consensual crime.
- Explain policing and the dilemmas of crime control in a democratic society.
- Examine aspects of prosecution and punishment and the implications on crime.
- Summarize means in which crime can be reduced.

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COURSE REQUIREMENTS

V. Class Format:

VI. Expectation:

VII. Examinations:

IX. Suggested Assignments:

1. Critical Thinking Midterm Paper
2. Critical Thinking Final Paper

X. Additional Course Policies:

E. Late Work

F. Academic Honesty

G. APA Citation Format Policy

H. Attendance/Participation

XI. Grades:

Assignment Type	# of Assignments	Point Value	**Total Points**
Examinations			
Critical Thinking papers			
Attendance/Participation			
		TOTAL	

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Total points possible for the semester =

A =
B =
C =

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D =
F =

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COURSE AND UNIVERSITY PROCEDURES/POLICIES

E. **Course-Specific Procedures:**

F. **University-Specific Procedures:**

G. **Students with Disabilities:**

H. **Student Conduct:**

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WEEK #1—

Review Syllabus

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Part I Understanding Crime and Victimization

Chapter 1 Criminology and the Sociological Perspective

WEEK #2—

Part I Understanding Crime and Victimization

Chapter 2 Public Opinion, the News Media, and the Crime Problem

Chapter 3 The Measurement and Patterning of Criminal Behavior

Chapter 4 Victims and Victimization

WEEK #3—

Part II Explaining Crime

Chapter 5 Classical and Neoclassical Perspectives

Chapter 6 Biological and Psychological Explanations

Chapter 7 Sociological Theories: Emphasis on Social Structure

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WEEK #4—

Part II Explaining Crime

Chapter 8 Sociological Theories: Emphasis on Social Process

Chapter 9 Sociological Theories: Critical Perspectives

WEEK #5—

Part II Explaining Crime

Midterm Exam

Midterm Paper due

WEEK #6—

Part III Criminal Behaviors

Chapter 10 Violent Crime: Homicide, Aggravated Assault, and Robbery

Chapter 11 Violence Against Women

WEEK #7—

Part III Criminal Behaviors

Chapter 12 Property Crime and Fraud

Chapter 13 White-Collar and Organized Crime

Chapter 14 Political Crime TBEXAM.COM

WEEK #8—

Part IV Controlling and Preventing Crime

Chapter 15 Consensual Crime

Chapter 16 Policing: Dilemmas of Crime Control in a Democratic Society

WEEK #9—

Part IV Controlling and Preventing Crime

Chapter 17 Prosecution and Punishment

Chapter 18 Conclusion: How Can We Reduce Crime?

WEEK #10—

Part IV Controlling and Preventing Crime

Final Exam

Final Paper Due

Final Exam per University Schedule

Note: ***Instructor intends to follow syllabus but reserves the right to make revisions as deemed necessary and appropriate and will notify students in writing.***

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Chapter 1

CRIMINOLOGY AND THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

While crime remains one of America's most important social problems, it may also be one of the least understood. Sociological criminology helps people to understand this problem. A sociological criminology is not only a structural criminology; it should also debunk incorrect perceptions about the nature of crime, false claims about the effectiveness of various crime-control strategies, and expose possible injustices in the application of the criminal label.

The sociological perspective stresses that people are social beings more than individuals and is derived from the work of French sociologist Emile Durkheim. Social structure refers to the organized patterns of social interaction and social relationships that exist in a group or society; it is both horizontal (e.g., the physical characteristics of communities) and vertical (i.e., social inequality). Sociologist C. Wright Mills emphasized that social structure lies at the root of private troubles, but when these problems affect an entire society, they become public issues. Mills referred to the ability to understand the relationship between these issues as the sociological imagination. Sociologist Peter Berger has pointed out that things are not always what they seem and called attention to the debunking motif in sociology—to expose the myths and seek further understanding of the "official interpretations of society."

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Sociology and criminology are mutually relevant. Crime, victimization, and criminal justice cannot be fully understood without appreciating their structural context. There is a structural basis for criminality and some of the most significant advances in sociology have come from theory and research in criminology.

For much of recorded history, people attributed crime and deviance to religious factors. The nineteenth century saw the rise of a more scientific approach to criminal behavior as the causes of crime began to be investigated through scientific investigation. One of the earliest positivists was Émile Durkheim who stressed the primacy of social structure over the individual and thus established the sociological paradigm. Later, American scholars such as Edwin Sutherland (differential association theory) and Robert Merton (anomie theory) began making significant contributions to our understanding of crime and criminality.

Edwin Sutherland defined criminology as the study of the making of laws, of the breaking of laws, and of society's reaction to the breaking of laws. Crime is behavior that is considered so harmful that it is banned by criminal law. Deviance is a relative concept. That is, whether a given behavior is considered deviant depends on social definition and not necessarily the behavior itself. In addition, he was sensitive to the criminogenic (crime causing) conditions of urban neighborhoods. Influenced by Durkheim, Merton attributed deviance to the poor's inability to achieve economic success in a society that

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highly values it. His work would later influence social control or social bonding theory of criminal behavior.

Consensus and conflict views of crime, law, and society derive from analogous perspectives in the larger field of sociology. Consensus or functionalist theory in sociology derives from Durkheim's work. Conflict theory derives from the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and is virtually the opposite of consensus theory. These two theories have important implications for how we define and understand crime: In consensus theory, crime is defined simply as any behavior that violates a criminal law and the law, in turn, is thought to both represent and protect the interests of all members of society. In conflict theory, the definition of crime is more problematic: It is just as important to consider why certain behaviors do not become illegal as to consider why certain others are illegal. The greatest support for consensus theory comes from criminal laws banning the criminal behaviors we call street crime, which all segments of society condemn, and which victimize the poor more than the wealthy. In contrast, the greatest evidence for conflict theory perhaps comes from corporate misconduct, which is arguably more socially harmful than street crime but is less severely punished.

Criminal law in the United States and other Western democracies ideally tries to achieve several goals: to help keep the public safe from crime and criminal offenders; to articulate society's moral values and concerns; and to protect the rights and freedoms of the nation's citizenry by protecting it from potential governmental abuses of power.

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In large, modern, heterogeneous societies, informal norms and informal social control have less power over individual behavior. Consequently, norms tend to become more formal in these types of societies, in the form of laws. Law in the United States has its origin in English common law, but "case law" has come to replace these common law principles. Most U.S. jurisdictions still retain common law, but there are other distinctions, such as between mala in se (evil in themselves) crimes and *mala prohibita* crimes (wrong only because prohibited by law) and between felonies and misdemeanors. For a defendant to be found guilty, the key elements that must be proven are *actus reus* (actual act) and *mens rea* (guilty mind) also called criminal intent. Defendants may offer several types of excuses or justifications as defenses against criminal accusations, such as ignorance, duress, self-defense, entrapment, and insanity.

Theory and research lie at the heart of any science; theories and hypotheses must be developed and then tested. There are different types of research methods. One of the most important types in criminology and sociology is survey research, including face-to-face interviews, mailed surveys, and telephone surveys. Experiments are very common in psychology but much less common in sociology and criminology; one problem with experiments is that they are not generalizable. Many classic sociological and criminological studies have resulted from observational research and intensive interviewing. Increasingly, intensive interviewing has been combined with surveying in longitudinal studies. Criminologists also gather and analyze data that have been recorded or gathered from existing sources as well as perform comparative and historical research.

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

1. Explain the sociological perspective and describe its relevance for criminology.
2. Describe the contributions of the social scientists who developed the field of criminology.
3. Identify the implications of consensus and conflict theories for understanding crime.
4. Describe the elements of criminal liability and legal defenses to such liability.
5. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of quantitative and qualitative research, respectively.

LECTURE OUTLINE

I. Introduction
   - A. Crime is not only an individual phenomenon but also a social one
   - B. Sociological criminology
     - i. Gives explicit attention to issues of poverty and race and ethnicity, as well as to structure of communities and social relationships
     - ii. Is thus a structural criminology
       1. Takes into account the social and physical characteristics of communities and profound influences of race and ethnicity, social class, and gender
     - iii. Criminology has moved away from structural focus in past few decades
       1. Fields of biology and psychology vying for prominence
          - a. Three most central questions they fail to answer
            - i. Only sociological criminology can begin to answer
     - iv. Should also debunk incorrect perceptions about crime and false claims about effectiveness of various crime-control strategies
     - v. Should expose possible injustice in application of criminal label
   - C. All are important aims of the public criminology movement
     - i. Aims to bring criminological insights and findings to attention of general public and to influence crime and criminal justice policymaking

II. The Sociological Perspective
   - A. The Sociological Perspective
     - i. People are social beings
     - ii. Society profoundly shapes people's behaviors, attitudes, and life outcomes
     - iii. Perspective derived from work of Emile Durkheim (1952[1897])

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1. French sociologist
2. Stressed that social forces influence our behavior and attitudes
3. Study of suicides
    a. Findings

iv. Social structure
1. Refers to how society is organized in terms of social relationships and social interaction
    a. Horizontal social structure
        i. Social and physical characteristics of communities and the network of social relationships to which an individual belongs
    b. Vertical social structure
        i. More commonly called social inequality
        ii. How a society ranks different groups of people

v. C. Wright Mills (1959)
1. Emphasized that social structure lies at root of private troubles
2. What people may define as private troubles are more accurately described as public issues
3. Sociological imagination
    a. The ability to understand the structural and historical basis for personal troubles

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vi. Peter Berger (1963)
1. Coined the term "debunking motif"
2. Refers to sociological tendency of sociological research often exposing false claims about reality and taken-for-granted assumptions about social life and social institutions

B. The Mutual Relevance of Sociology and Criminology
i. The Mutual Relevance of Sociology and Criminology
1. Crime and victimizations are rooted in the:
    a. Social and physical characteristics of communities
    b. Network of relationships in which people interact
    c. Structured social inequalities of race and ethnicity, social class, and gender
2. Criminological insights both reinforce and advance sociological understanding
3. Criminology shows us how and why social inequality is

ii. Intersectionality
1. Refers to the ways in which people's race and ethnicity, social class, and gender interact to produce outcomes reflecting the combined influence of these backgrounds

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C. The Rise of Sociological Criminology
   i. All societies have social norms
      1. Norms
         a. Social standards of behavior
      2. Behavior that violates norms and arouses negative social reactions is called deviance
      3. Customs
         a. Unwritten and informal norms
         b. Customs are enforced through informal social control
      4. Laws
         a. Formal norms
   ii. For much of recorded history, people attributed crime and deviance to religious forces
      1. Individuals were said to commit these behaviors because God or gods were punishing or testing them
      2. Middle Ages
         a. Europeans blamed deviance on the devil
   iii. Eighteenth century
      1. Classical school of criminology stressed that criminal offenders rationally choose to commit crimes after deciding that potential rewards outweigh the risks
      2. Legal punishment needs to be only severe enough to deter potential offenders from breaking the law
   iv. Nineteenth century
      1. Scholars began investigating causes of criminal behavior through scientific means
      2. Adolphe Quetelet
         a. Perhaps the first such scholar
         b. Gathered and analyzed crime data in France
            i. Findings
   v. Later in the nineteenth century
      1. Emile Durkheim
         a. Began providing major contributions
         b. Stressed primacy of social structure over individual
         c. Established the sociological paradigm
         d. Considered deviance a normal part of every healthy society
            i. Stressed its functions for social stability
         e. Punishment of deviance clarifies social norms and reinforces social ties
         f. Argued that deviance is necessary for social change to take place
            i. A society without deviance

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2. White physicians and other researchers
    a. Began investigating biological basis of criminal behavior
    b. Methodology seriously flawed
    c. Many of their views were racist
    d. Perspective influenced public and scholarly thinking about crime

vi. End of nineteenth century
1. W. E. B. DuBois (1899)
    a. Famed Black American scholar
    b. Disputed a biological basis for crime
    c. Attributed relatively high crime rates of Black Americans to negative social conditions
    d. One of the first to write about possible racial discrimination in arrests and sentencing
2. Ida B. Wells-Barnett (2002)
    a. Wrote an indictment of lynch law

vii. Early twentieth century
1. Sociological study of crime advanced further at University of Chicago
    a. Scholars noticed that high crime rates in Chicago's inner-city neighborhoods remained stable from one year to next
        i. Attributed crime rates to certain social and physical conditions of the neighborhoods (including their stark poverty and residential stability) that reflected a breakdown in conventional social institutions
            1. Termed this "social disorganization"
    b. Edwin Sutherland
        i. One student of the Chicago sociologists
        ii. Was especially interested in how and why these conditions promote criminality
        iii. Emphasized importance of peer influences in his differential association theory
        iv. Furthered the concept of white-collar crime
            1. Was sharply critical of illegal and harmful practices of nation's biggest corporations
2. Robert Merton
    a. Developed his anomie theory of deviance
    b. Borrowed heavily from Durkheim

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c. Attributed deviance to the poor's inability to achieve economic success in a society that highly values such success
d. Theory was perhaps most "macro" of all early structural theories and remains influential today

viii. 1970s
1. A new social control or social bonding theory rose to prominence
a. Drew on Durkheim
b. Emphasized criminogenic effects of weak bonds to social institutions
c. Was less of a macrostructural theory

ix. 1960s and early 1970s
1. Some sociologists asserted society is rooted in conflict between "haves" and "have nots" in society
2. Labeling and conflict theories emphasized bias and discrimination in application of criminal labels and in development of criminal laws
3. Shortly thereafter, new feminist understandings of gender and society began to make way to criminology
a. Feminists criticized male bias of traditional criminological theories and called attention to gendered nature of crime and victimization

x. Today, all these approaches inform study of crime and criminal justice

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III. Criminal Law: Theoretical Underpinnings and Goals

A. Criminal Law: Theoretical Underpinnings and Goals

i. Edwin Sutherland (1947)
1. Defined criminology as study of the making of laws, of the breaking of laws, and of society's reaction to the breaking of these laws

ii. Criminology as a social science differs from crime-scene investigation, or forensic science

iii. Crime
1. Behavior that is considered so harmful that it is banned by a criminal law
2. Definition is problematic

iv. Deviance
1. Behavior that violates social norms and arouses negative social reactions
2. Is a relative concept
a. Whether given behavior is judged deviant depends not on behavior itself but on circumstances under which it occurs
b. Whether given behavior is judged deviant also depends on where it occurs

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c. Deviance is relative in space
    i. What is considered deviant in one society may be considered acceptable in another
d. Deviance is relative in time
    i. Within the same society, what is considered deviant in one time period may not be considered deviant in a later period, and vice versa

3. Howard S. Becker (1963)
    a. Deviance defined
    b. Two possibilities his observations alert us to

Teaching Note: Have your class break into groups and have each list five behaviors they believe deviant but not criminal (or vice-versa). Have each group present their results and explain the rationale behind their list. Spur the discussion by asking other groups if they agree or disagree.

B. Consensus and Conflict in the Creation of Criminal Law
    i. Consensus theory
        1. Originates in Durkheim's work
        2. Assumes a consensus among people from all walks of life on what the social norms of behavior are and should be
        3. Formal norms, or laws, represent the interests of all segments of the public
        4. People obey laws because they believe the norms are appropriate to obey
        5. Crime and deviance violate these widely accepted norms
            a. Punishment is necessary to ensure continuing social stability
    ii. Conflict theory
        1. Derives from work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
        2. It generally is the opposite of consensus theory
        3. Assumes members of the public disagree on many social norms
            a. Disagreement reflects people's disparate positions based on their inequalities of wealth and power
        4. The wealthy make the laws, and laws are designed to keep the poor powerless
    iii. Two theories have important implications for how we define and understand crime
        1. Consensus theory definition of crime
        2. Conflict theory definition of crime

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iv. Both have their merits
1. Greatest support for consensus theory
2. Greatest evidence for conflict theory

C. Goals of Criminal Law
i. Help keep the public safe from crime and those who commit crime
1. Perhaps its most important goal
ii. Articulate a society's moral values and concerns
1. A goal that consensus theory emphasizes
iii. Protect the rights and freedoms of the nation's citizenry
1. Done by protecting them from governmental abuses of power
2. This is what is meant by the rule of law
a. Fundamental to democracy

IV. Criminal Law: Origins, Types of Crimes, and Criminal Liability

A. Origins of Criminal Law
i. Law in the United States has its origins in English common law
1. Began during reign of Henry II in twelfth century
2. Over centuries, England developed complex system of laws
3. English judges had great powers to interpret laws and in effect to make new case law
a. Result
4. Jury was developed to replace ordeals as chief way to determine defendant's guilt or innocence
a. Jury power was limited
5. Jury's power and importance grew considerably in 1670
a. Arrest and trial of William Penn
b. Response by English court
ii. Pilgrims and other English colonists brought over English common law
iii. Several grievances that led to Revolutionary War
1. After the war, new nation's leaders included protections from these and other legal abuses in Constitution and the Bill of Rights

B. Types of Crime
i. Most U.S. jurisdictions still retain common law concepts
1. One distinction:
a. *Mala in se* crimes
i. Evil in themselves
ii. Behaviors that violate traditional norms and morality
iii. Includes violent and property crimes that most concern the public

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b. *Mala prohibita* crimes
i. Wrong only because they are prohibited by law
ii. Behaviors that violate contemporary standards only
iii. Examples
2. Another distinction:
a. Felonies
i. Crimes punishable by more than one year in prison
ii. Most convicted and then incarcerated are sent to prisons
b. Misdemeanors
i. Crimes punishable by less than one year
ii. Most convicted and then incarcerated serve sentences in local jails, which also hold people awaiting trial

C. Criminal Liability
i. Criminal Liability
1. Actus reus
a. Actual act
b. Refers to specific criminal act of which defendant is accused
2. Mens rea
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a. Guilty mind
b. Refers to criminal intent
i. State must show defendant intended to commit the act
c. Criminal intent
i. Concept is complex
ii. It generally means that defendant committed criminal act knowingly
d. Other behaviors this concept covers
ii. Legal Defenses to Criminal Liability
1. Accident or Mistake
2. Ignorance
a. Generally, this is true as people are normally assumed to be aware of the law
b. Law does, however, exempt mistakes of fact
i. Occur when someone engages in illegal activity without being aware it is illegal
3. Duress
a. Usually narrowly defined to mean fear for one's life or safety

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4. Self-Defense
    a. Use of harm to prevent offender from harming you or someone nearby
    b. You may be held liable if you injure the would-be attacker more than legitimate self-defense
    c. Where issue has arisen
    d. When law traditionally does not apply
        i. Some courts have expanded concept
5. Entrapment
    a. This generally refers to situation in which someone commits a crime only because law enforcement agents induced offender to do so
6. Insanity
    a. Very controversial defense
    b. Legal term
    c. Despite attention it receives, few criminal defendants plead it
    d. If defendant does not have capacity to have criminal intent at time they committed a criminal act, person is not assumed to have necessary *mens rea* for criminal liability

Teaching note: Have students research a local criminal case where an excuse or justice defense was utilized. Have them discuss the outcome of the case and whether they believe the defense was appropriate. Was it successful? If there are no local cases, the George Zimmerman case might be utilized.

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V. Research Methods in Criminology
    A. Research Methods in Criminology
        i. Theory and research lie at heart of criminology
        ii. Theories and hypotheses must be developed and then tested
        iii. Independent variable
            1. The variable that does the influencing
        iv. Dependent variable
            1. The variable that is influenced
        v. Research typically tests whether independent variable is associated with dependent variable
    B. Surveys
        i. One of the most important types of research in criminology
        ii. Involves administration of questionnaire to respondents who are interviewed face-to-face in their homes or elsewhere, or instead by telephone, online, or through the mail
        iii. Enables researcher to gather much information about the respondents
            1. Information is often relatively superficial

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iv. Respondents often represent random sample of an entire population
    1. Means results can be generalized to the entire population with only small margin of error
    2. Convenience samples are often used
v. Used primarily to gather three kinds of information:
    1. Public opinion on crime and the criminal justice system
    2. Self-report data, primarily from adolescents, on crime and delinquency
    3. Criminal victimization

Teaching note: Create a topic for the class and have each student write a survey question. Then have the students share and discuss their survey questions.

C. Experiments
    i. Not very common in criminology and sociology
    ii. Subjects typically assigned randomly to either:
        1. Experimental group
            a. Subjected to an experimental condition
        2. Control group
            a. Used for comparison
    iii. Many take place in the laboratory
        1. Common experiments
        2. Problems that exist with laboratory experiments
    iv. Randomized field experiments
        1. Also known as randomized field trials
        2. Occur outside a laboratory
        3. Such experiments in criminology go back to 1950s
            a. There is growing interest in experimental criminology
        4. Examples for their use
D. Qualitative Research: Observing and Intensive Interviewing
    i. Types
        1. Field studies or ethnographies
            a. The observation of various groups
                i. Examples
            b. One potential problem
        2. Intensive interviewing of criminal offenders
            a. Examples
            b. This type poses several difficulties
        3. Longitudinal studies
            a. Same people are studied over time
            b. Examples
    ii. Cannot be readily generalized to other segments of the population, but has provided richer information

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E. Research Using Existing Data
   i. Criminologists often analyze data that have been recorded or gathered by government agencies and other resources
   ii. Examples
F. Comparative and Historical Research
   i. Comparative research
      1. Refers to cross-cultural or international research
   ii. Historical research
      1. Observing how societies change over time and how crime and behavior have changed over time
      2. Much of the work of the three key founders of sociology—Durkheim, Weber, and Marx—is historical

VI. Conclusion

LIST OF CHANGES/TRANSITION GUIDE

- New Crime in the News story
- New mention of public criminology

ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENTS AND CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. As the text points out, much of criminology grew out of sociology. However, your class is likely to have many different majors. Take a poll of different majors. Then, ask them how their disciples might also contribute to the field of criminology. In what ways?
2. As emphasized in Chapter 1, deviance is a relative concept and one that is very important or criminology. Rebecca L. Bordt ("A Troubling Success Story: Revisiting a Classic Deviance Assignment in a Criminology Course," *Teaching Sociology*, 29, October, 2001: 483–491) has devised an attractive method for incorporating a classic deviance assignment in a criminology course. The assignment consists of asking students to break a social norm or commit an act of deviance and record the reactions to the act. Bordt describes in detail how this classic assignment can be adapted to your criminology course.
3. Have students complete some outside research on one of the theories touched on in this chapter. They should summarize the theory and indicate what value they believe this theory adds the understanding of criminology. This assignment can be shared with the class or be completed as a PowerPoint presentation.

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Chapter 2

PUBLIC OPINION, THE NEWS MEDIA, AND THE CRIME PROBLEM

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Crime has been considered a serious problem throughout U.S. history and the public holds strong opinions about crime and criminal justice. Scholars of democratic argue that decisions of public officials must reflect public opinion, which they believe reflects a consensus on the major issues. However, critics contend that the opinion of small, wealthy, powerful elite is sometimes more influential than public opinion and that public opinion may also be mistaken and based on antidemocratic principles and attitudes such as racial prejudice.

The news media are an important source of information for the public about crime and criminal justice but often paint a misleading picture of crime by manufacturing crime waves and by overdramatizing crime's more sensational aspects (e.g., overemphasizing violent crime). It is important that media coverage of crime be objective and accurate, but, in fact, it is often inaccurate and misleading. The result is several crime myths: 1) crime is rampant; 2) crime is overly violent; 3) people of color are more heavily involved in crime; 4) teenagers are heavily involved in violent crime; and 5) victims are mainly virtuous.

Fear of crime is a social fact and this has important consequences for how people live their daily lives and their attitudes toward punitiveness. Fear of crime is higher among residents of big cities and of neighborhoods with higher proportions of people of color, and it is also higher among big-city residents and among women, older people, Black people, and people with low income. Structural factors and individual characteristics account for why some people are more afraid of crime than others. Public judgments of the seriousness of crime also vary, as do people's attitudes toward the punishment of criminal offenders. Americans hold a punitive view regarding how harshly offenders should be punished, but Black Americans are less punitive than White Americans, especially regarding the death penalty. Scholars have also studied the public's views about the police, and, more recently, perceptions of criminal injustice. One key finding is that strong racial and ethnic differences exist in these perceptions. For example, views about the police reflect differences based on race and ethnicity, age, location, and social class. Since public opinion will continue to affect public policy on crime and criminal justice, it is imperative that social scientists continue their research and further improve their measurement techniques in order to substantively impact policy makers.

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

1. Explain why the historical concern over crime might challenge democratic theory if this concern at least partly arises from misleading media coverage.
2. Explain how the news media overdramatize crime.
3. Describe the different kinds of crime myths generated by the news media.
4. List the effects of news media coverage of crime.

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5. Explain the structural factors and individual characteristics that relate to fear of crime, anger about crime, and views on the seriousness of crime.
6. Describe the role played by racial prejudice in punitiveness.
7. Summarize racial differences in views about the police, in perceptions of criminal injustice, and in views about criminal justice spending.

LECTURE OUTLINE

I. Introduction
II. Public Opinion about Crime: Laying the Groundwork
    A. A Brief Look Back
        i. Crime has been considered a serious problem throughout U.S. history
        ii. 1830s mob violence
        iii. 1920s newspapers headlines depicted a crime-ravaged country
        iv. Worrying about crime is influenced by news media coverage
    B. Public Opinion and Crime Policy
        i. Democratic theory
            1. Concept that policy decisions by public officials should take into account public opinion
        ii. Critics challenge this view on several grounds:
            1. Public officials influenced more by small, powerful elite than by the public
                a. Might be true, public policy development differs from idealized version of democratic theory
            2. Majority opinion may violate democratic principles of fairness, equality, and justice
                a. Example
            3. Public opinion that violates democratic principles should not influence public policy
                a. Public opinion is often inaccurate
                i. Example
                b. Even expert opinion may be inaccurate
                i. Example
        iii. People have many concerns and strong opinions about crime and criminal justice
        iv. Views may influence criminal justice policy decisions and, in particular, promote tougher penalties for serious crime
        v. What if these views are sometimes misinformed

Teaching note: Before your next class, assign your students to watch the local and national news (local and national newspapers might also be included). Have them count the number of stories related to crime, or better yet, have them measure the amount of the news broadcasts commit to crime stories on a given night. Does the evidence support the old adage, "if it bleeds, it leads"?

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III. Overdramatization of Crime by the News Media

A. Overdramatization of Crime by the News Media

i. Best-available evidence provides that:

1. Fewer than 10% of convicted felons are found guilty at jury trials
2. Most found guilty as result of plea bargaining
3. Only 10-20% of police officers' time is spent fighting crime
4. Remainder spent on directing traffic, responding to traffic accidents, and other ordinary matters
5. About 16,000-20,000 people die each year from homicides
6. Well under 10% of all felonies in a given year lead to someone being imprisoned for committing the felony
7. The profile of the typical offender, if one includes very common crimes such as employee theft and other kinds of white-collar crime, is certainly not restricted to people from low-income backgrounds and people of color

ii. Many disbelieve these findings, but each is based on sound evidence

iii. Research suggests major sources of information are newspapers and popular media

iv. Scholarly investigations of media crime coverage find that news media do, in fact, overdramatize crime

v. Occurs in several related ways:

1. Crime waves
2. Overreporting of violent crime
3. Violence in the popular media

B. Crime Waves

i. A city news media may suddenly devote much attention to a small number of crimes and falsely suggest that crime is rampant

ii. Often media's crime coverage may continue to be heavy, even though the crime rate may be declining

iii. Media may devote much attention to very uncommon crimes or even report stories of crimes that never happened

1. Examples

C. Overreporting of Violent Crime

i. Reporting so many stories about it

ii. Tends to focus on violent crime, especially homicide

1. "If it bleeds, it leads"

iii. Focus occurs even though most crimes are not violent

1. Most coverage to the crimes that occur the least

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D. Violence in the Popular Media
    i. Violent crime is staple of many TV shows and films
        1. Examples
    ii. May feature violent crime because that is what public wants to watch
    iii. Suggests violent crime is rampant
        1. Actually much less common than property crime

IV. Other Problems with Media Coverage

A. Other Problems with Media Coverage
    i. Myth
        1. False or unproven belief about a social phenomenon
    ii. Crime Myths
        1. False beliefs about crime

B. People of Color
    i. People of color have often been subjects of distorted treatment in media coverage
        1. Historical examples
    ii. TV news broadcasts and newspapers
        1. Often overrepresent Black and Latinx offenders in their crime stories
        2. Often pay disproportionate attention to White crime victims
        3. More likely to depict victims of color as "bad" people whose risk-taking behavior resulted in their victimization
            a. Stories about White victims tend to depict them as blameless
        4. Tend to feature stories with Black offenders and White victims
        5. Black and Latinx suspects more likely than White suspects to be portrayed in menacing context
    iii. Similar bias has existed in coverage of immigration and crime
        1. Research finds that immigrants have lower crime rates overall than do native-born Americans
        2. News media coverage over decades has suggested otherwise
            a. Inflames public opinion

C. Youths
    i. TV new shows and newspapers also disproportionately portray young people as involved in violence
    ii. Only miniscule percentage of all teenagers are arrested annually for committing violent crimes

D. Virtuous Victims
    i. News media tends to give more coverage to crimes whose victims seem to be entirely innocent and even virtuous
    ii. Include children and wealthy White women, even though these groups actually have very low victimization rates

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iii. Critics say attention helps foster even greater public concern about crime

E. Additional Problems in Media Coverage

i. Selecting to interview people who support the reporter's point of view

ii. Using value-laden language when referring to criminal offenders

iii. Presenting misleading data

iv. Neglecting white-collar crime

v. Omitting the social and/or historical context for the information presented in a crime story

vi. Media sometimes deliver misleading picture of certain aspects of crime

1. Strangers versus nonstrangers
2. Neglect role of gender in much violent crime
3. Media coverage of violence against women

a. Critics say coverage is biased in several ways

i. Media tend to cover rapes by strangers even though nonstrangers commit most rapes

ii. Reporters sometimes falsely suggest that the victim was somehow responsible for the rape

iii. Although men commit the most serious violence against their spouses, reporters often use vague terms that imply either that both spouses were to blame or that no one was to blame

1. When women do abuse their husbands, these relatively few cases receive disproportionate media attention

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V. Effects of Media Coverage

A. Public Ignorance

i. Many Americans are fairly ignorant about critical aspects of crime and the criminal justice system

ii. Media shoulder a heavy responsibility

iii. Example

B. Public Fear and Concern

i. Overreporting leads to greater public concern about crime

ii. Puts pressure on prosecutors to take a hard line against criminal defendants and prompts public officials to call for tougher treatment of offenders

1. Criticisms of some public officials

C. Obscuring Underlying Forces

i. With the focus on individual crime, there is less focus underlying social and cultural forces the causes crime, including neighborhood conditions

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ii. Forces have to be understood and their importance for crime appreciated if nation is to succeed in reducing crime rate

D. Diversion from White-Collar Crime
   i. Media focus on street crime diverts attention from white-collar crime and reinforces negative feelings about people with low income
   ii. Neglect of white-collar crime implies to public that it is not very serious

E. Racial and Ethnic Stereotyping
   i. Media's exaggeration of violent criminality of Black and Latinx Americans and its neglect of their victimization reinforces negative stereotypes about these groups' violent tendencies
   ii. Stereotyping in turn contributes to White Americans' fear of crime

F. More research is needed, but media crime coverage does seem to influence public beliefs and public policy

VI. Research on Public Beliefs about Crime and Punitiveness

A. Fear of Crime
   i. Fear of Crime
      1. Many people are afraid of becoming a victim of crime
         a. Some more afraid than others
      2. Variation stems from both:
         a. Structural factors
            i. Concern social and physical characteristics of locations in which people live
         b. Individual characteristics
            i. Include demographic variables and crime-related factors
   ii. Structural Factors
      1. Research focuses on community characteristics and proportion of people of color living nearby
      2. Fear generally higher in neighborhoods with more dilapidated living conditions and, because of racial stereotyping, in neighborhoods with higher proportions of people of color
      3. The more urban the area, the greater the fear of crime
         a. Big-city residents more likely to perceive higher crime rate where they live and in their cities as a whole
         b. Big-city residents more likely to reside amid dilapidated conditions
         c. Big-city residents more likely to live in neighborhoods with higher proportions of people of color
      4. Crime rates of communities are only weakly related, if at all, to their residents' fear of crime
         a. Possible reason

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iii. Individual Characteristics
    1. Whether someone has been a victim of crime does not seem to matter very much in relation to fear of crime
        a. Mixed results
    2. Some of the demographic groups most afraid of crime have relatively low victimization rates
        a. Older people much less likely than younger people to be crime victims
        b. Women less likely than men to be victims of crime overall
    3. Race/ethnicity
        a. People of color are somewhat more afraid of crime than White people are
            i. Partly reflects fact that they are more likely to live in large cities and in high-crime areas of these cities
    4. Gender and race/ethnicity
        a. Black and Latina women especially concerned
            i. Much more likely to fear walking alone in their neighborhoods at night
        b. Less is known about fear of crime among other racial and ethnic groups
    5. Social class
        a. People with low income are more afraid of crime because they are more apt to live in high-crime areas

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iv. Consequences of Fear
    1. Leads to mistrust of others
    2. Prompts people to move away from high-crime areas
    3. Threatens the economic viability of whole neighborhoods
    4. Prompts protective measures: dogs, alarms, guns
    5. Effects should not be exaggerated, but should also not be understated
        a. Leads people to take many precautions
        b. Affects women's daily behaviors in many ways men never have to experience
        c. Reason for neighborhood watch groups and huge home security industry
        d. Public concern shapes legislative decisions to increase penalties for crime and to build new prisons

Teaching note: Depending upon where your educational institution is located, the students who are enrolled will have different reactions to the fear of crime. Orchestrate a discussion wherein you encourage the members of your class to vocalize their experiences with street crime. Undoubtedly, some of your students have lived in small towns where the crime rate is low; it is likely that they will have had very little contact

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with street crime and their "fear level" will be low. On the other hand, some students will come from urban backgrounds and may have a fairly high "fear level." Ask about how they feel regarding public safety on campus.

B. Anger about Crime
    i. People may also be angry about crime
        1. Possibility they may be victimized by crime
        2. Having to take precautions to prevent this possibility
        3. Possibility their friends and loved ones may also be victimized
        4. Being frequent enough to constitute a serious problem in their neighborhood, their state, or the entire nation
    ii. Some survey research links anger about crime to greater support for more punitive treatment of convicted offenders
        1. Other findings from national survey data
C. Seriousness of Crime
    i. Public judgments of seriousness of crime important for several reasons:
        1. They reflect value placed on human life and on personal property
        2. They affect views of appropriate punishment for criminal offenders
        3. These may influence penalties stipulated by legislators for violations of criminal laws and sentences judges give to convicted offenders
            a. Perhaps the most important
    ii. Different demographic subgroups generally agree on seriousness of most crimes
    iii. Findings are thought to support consensus view of crime, law, and society
D. Punitiveness
    i. Punitiveness
        1. Judgments of appropriate punishment for convicted offenders
        2. Public may become more or less punitive over time
        3. Many social background variables influence people's punitiveness
            a. Religious fundamentalists
            b. Racial differences
        4. Racial prejudice and resentment against Black people fuels support by White people for harsher sentencing of offenders, both adult and juvenile
    ii. The Death Penalty
        1. Following kinds of people are more likely to support the death penalty:
            a. Men
            b. White people

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c. Older people
d. Those with less education
e. Southerners
f. Political conservatives
g. Religious fundamentalists
h. Residents of areas of higher homicide rates and larger proportions of Black Americans
i. White people who are racially prejudiced

Teaching note: The text expresses that racial and ethnic differences exist in the views about police. Poll your student as to whether they view police positively or negatively. Ask what has shaped their views. Do any patterns seem to emerge based on race, ethnicity, or gender?

VII. Research on Views about Criminal Justice
- A. Views about the Police
  - i. Satisfaction with police is lower among people, especially young people of color, who have been stopped by the police for alleged traffic violations and other issues
  - ii. Lower among people living in disadvantaged neighborhoods beset by crime and other problems
  - iii. Younger and poorer people holding more negative views on certain aspects of police performance
  - iv. Views more negative among Black Americans and Latinx Americans than among White Americans
  - v. Two findings related to race and ethnicity
    1. White people are more likely than Black people to approve use of force by police, which may be due to racial prejudice
       - a. Native-born Americans more likely than immigrants to approve use of force
    2. Racial prejudice partly motivates White people's approval of police use of force
- B. Perceptions of Criminal Injustice
  - i. Significant numbers of public perceive that such injustice exists in various aspects of criminal justice system
  - ii. Murder of George Floyd by a White police officer in May 2020
    1. Prompted at least a short-term increase in public's recognition of police injustice
  - iii. Strong racial and ethnic differences exist in perceptions of injustice in the criminal justice system
    1. Black Americans and, to smaller degree, Latinx Americans more likely than White Americans to think this injustice exists
- C. Views about Crime and Criminal Justice Spending
  - i. Racial prejudice against Black people motivates White people to favor greater spending to fight crime

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ii. Although public is punitive toward offenders, public's spending priorities also indicate strong preference for prevention and treatment measures

D. A Final Word on Public Beliefs

i. On many beliefs about crime, Americans are divided along lines of race and ethnicity, social class, gender, age, and even location

ii. Social backgrounds also profoundly influence attitudes about crime and nation's reactions to it

VIII. Conclusion

LIST OF CHANGES/TRANSITION GUIDE

- New Crime in the News story
- New discussion of the news media's portrayal of immigrants
- and criminality
- New discussion of violence in the popular media
- Updated fear of crime survey data
- New International Focus box
- New presentation of survey data on Asian Americans' fear of crime
- New section on anger about crime
- Revised discussion of punitiveness
- New discussion of increased public perceptions of injustice after the murder of George Floyd
- New What Would You Do? scenario

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ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENTS AND CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Have the students pick a crime and look up the local penal code regarding that crime. They should write a summary of the elements needed for that crime and the sanctions associated with that crime. They should then critically analyze the punishment. Some topics for them to consider: Does the punishment fit the crime? What factors may have influenced that punishment for that crime? What would you change in the punishment? Should the judge have more discretion when sentencing an individual for this crime?
2. Student are to find a local news media coverage of a crime. Summarize the crime and how it was covered? Students should address whether the criminal act, the offender, and the victim were treated in an objective manner? Did they notice any errors in the reporting? Is this a crime that is overrepresented or over dramatized?
3. The Crime and Controversy insert in this chapter focuses on whether the news media should disclose the names of rape victims. Your students are likely familiar with the Kobe Bryant and Duke University Lacrosse Team cases. Ask your students to air their feelings about this controversy and whether they feel the names of the alleged victims should have been released. A particularly lively exchange will likely ensue and the instructor can direct the discussion as she or he sees fit. Note: the charges against Bryant were subsequently dropped and the accuser in the Duke Lacrosse case has recently been sent to prison.

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Chapter 3

THE MEASUREMENT AND PATTERNING OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Crime is very difficult to measure since it is usually a private event known only to offender and victim. At best, crime can be measured in a number of ways, with each one providing a piece of the puzzle. But, when put together, we can begin to get a glimpse of the crime picture, but this picture is also necessarily incomplete.

Since 1929, the primary source of U.S. crime statistics has been the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), assembled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from police who report known crime. As such, most crimes go unrecorded. However, the most extensive reporting is done on what are called Part I offenses, which the FBI considers to be the most serious: homicide (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter), rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, classified as violent crime; and burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson, classified as property crime. One alternative to the UCR is the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). In 2021, the UCR switched to its NIBRS system to gather crime data. Under NIBRS, the police provide the FBI extensive information on many types of crimes. Some researchers advocate using calls to police collected from dispatcher records.

The National Crime Victimization Survey is assembled by the U.S. Department of Justice and with the aid of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The DOJ initiated the NCVS in the early 1970s to avoid the police reporting problems of potential bias and inconsistencies in the UCR and to gather information not available from the UCR such as the context in which the crime occurred. This data is said to measure hidden crimes or what has been termed the "dark figure of crime". Many believe the NCVS yields a much more accurate estimate of the number of crimes than the UCR. On the other hand, the NCVS underestimates some crimes and may actually overestimate others, and like the UCR, diverts attention from the seriousness of white-collar crime.

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A third source of information on crime comes from self-report studies, which tend to focus on juveniles and ask respondents about various offenses they may have committed in some given time period. While they may also help measure the "dark underside of crime", they are commonly criticized for focusing on minor and trivial offenses.

None of the three major sources of street crime data is perfect, but which is best depends upon what one wants to know. However, the NCVS is often regarded as preferable to the UCR. Crime rates rose sharply (UCR rates) during the 1960s and 1970s before declining during the early 1980s and then rising again during the late 1980s. They then began to fall sharply after the early 1990s before declining more slowly during the past several years. Both UCR and NCVS data agree that U.S. crime has declined since the early 1990s. However, homicides and other serious violence increased sharply after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020.

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Crime is patterned with regard to geographic regions, communities, people, and even the climate and seasons of the year. International comparisons of crime data are inexact, but simply put, some nations have higher crime rates than others; the United States has the highest homicide rate of any Western democratic nation.

U.S. crime rates vary geographically. According to the UCR, the highest rates of violent crime are generally higher in the South than in other regions. Crime rates also vary according to seasonal and climatological variations; several types of violent crime seem to be more frequent in the summer; burglary and larceny tend to be summer crimes; robbery seems to be more a winter crime; while homicides show no seasonal or climatological predictability.

There are various social patterns of criminal behavior. One of the key social correlates is gender: women's crime rates are much lower than men's. According to the UCR, men account for almost 80 percent of violent-crime arrests and 66 percent of property-crime arrests. Despite some debate, serious street-crime rates seem higher among men than among women, higher among Black Americans than among White Americans, higher among people with low income than among wealthier people, and higher among younger people than among older people. Are women becoming more violent? Research suggests no. Although arrests of women and girls have risen, that increase reflects an increase in decisions of police to arrest them for violence, rather than an actual increase in their level of violence.

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One of the most sensitive but important issues in criminology is the apparent disproportionate involvement of Black Americans in street crime: Even though Black Americans comprise about 13.5 percent of the U.S. population, they represent a much larger proportion of involvement in criminal activities. These statistics may reflect bias in police arrest practices more than racial differences in actual offending and self-report data are even more ambiguous. Explanations of Black American criminality continue to be sources of considerable debate: sociologically, race is more of a social construction than something real; most of what we know about race and crime concerns black-white differences; and studies of Black-White differences in crime rates reflect street crime, not white-collar crime. Criminology's focus on Black Americans has translated into neglect of other racial and ethnic groups, but the available criminological knowledge does yield a fairly reliable picture of the extent of, and reasons for, Latinx criminality. Latinx Americans have higher serious crime and victimization rates than non-Latinx Americans, but lower rates than Black Americans. Immigrants have relatively low rates of crime, but some research has found that the second-generation immigrants commit more crime than new immigrants, and that third-generation immigrants commit more crime than second-generation ones.

Beginning in the 1960s, explanations focusing on a subculture of violence (e.g., attitudes approving violence) and on deficiencies in Black American family structure (e.g., absent fathers) became popular. Other sociologists began to argue that the overrepresentation of the poor in the criminal justice system resulted more from class bias than from real differences in offending. Most people arrested and imprisoned for street crime are poorly

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educated with low incomes: about two-thirds of incarcerated people lack even a high school diploma. However, if we consider white-collar crime along with street crime, there probably is no relationship between social class and criminality.

Age is one area where there is widespread agreement: the view that involvement with crime diminishes with age is one of the oldest and most widely accepted in criminology. Simply put, street crime is disproportionately committed by young people. An understanding of this relationship helps us to understand shifts in a nation's crime rate. For example, one reason crime among the 15-25 year old group fell during the 1990s may have been a declining number of people in that age group because of a lower birth rate two decades earlier.

One of the most important findings of self-report studies is that a few adolescents commit most of the offenses, especially the serious offenses. These chronic offenders often continue their offending into adulthood as they enter criminal careers. Knowledge of the age patterning of crime and of the existence of career criminals has important implications for efforts to reduce crime. The new focus on chronic offenders and criminal careers has alerted scholars to the prime importance of early childhood problems for later criminality. Efforts to target career criminals remain beset by various legal and ethical dilemmas.

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

1. Describe how crime data come to be included in the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR).
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2. Discuss the problems associated with UCR data.
3. Describe how the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) measures victimization data and the limitations of these data.
4. Identify the value and limitations of self-report studies.
5. Describe the trends in U.S. violent and property crime rates since the early 1990s.
6. Describe the geographical, seasonal, and climatological differences in crime rates within the United States.
7. Explain differences in crime rates based on gender, race, ethnicity, social class, and age.

LECTURE OUTLINE

I. Introduction
   A. Measurement of crime
      i. What do we know and how do we know it?
         1. Accurate answers are essential for criminological theory and sound criminal justice policy
      ii. Crime is very difficult to measure
         1. Usually only offender and victim know about it
         2. Crime often remains hidden from the police

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iii. At best, can measure crime in different ways
    1. Each method gives a piece of the puzzle
    2. Can put these pieces together to come up with more precise picture
iv. Fortunately, measurement of crime has improved greatly over past few decades
    1. Much more is known about amount and social patterning of crime than in the past

II. The Uniform Crime Report and the National Incident-Based Reporting System
  A. The Uniform Crime Report and the National Incident-Based Reporting System
    i. Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)
      1. Was primary source of U.S. crime statistics since 1929
      2. Maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
      3. Used until 2021
        a. Switched to National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to gather crime data
    ii. Summary Reporting System (SRS)
      1. Involved massive data collection from most of nation's law enforcement agencies
        a. Regularly report various crimes known to the police
      2. Most extensive reporting done on Part I offenses:
        a. Considered to be the most serious offenses
        b. Violent crime
          i. Homicide (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter), rape, robbery, aggravated assault,
        c. Property crime
          i. Burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson
        d. Police would tell FBI whether each had been cleared by arrest
          i. When crime is considered cleared
          ii. If someone was arrested, person's race, gender, and age was reported
      3. Also gathered data from police on Part II offenses:
        a. Fraud, embezzlement, vandalism, sex work, gambling, disorderly conduct, and several others
    iii. Annual report is made public in fall of each year
      1. Official number of Part I crimes that occurred in previous year for every state and major city in United States
        a. Total number of arsons not included because of incomplete reporting
      2. Number of Part I crimes cleared by arrest and age, race, and gender distribution of people arrested
        a. Why this information was valuable

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3. For Part II offenses, reported only number of people arrested

iv. During 1960 and 1970s, criminologists began to question accuracy of UCR data

B. How a Crime Becomes Official

i. Typically becomes known to police only if the victim (or occasionally a witness) reports it

1. Usually done by calling 911

ii. Fewer than half of all people violent and property crimes report these crimes

1. Many remain unknown to the police and do not appear in UCR count

iii. When police do hear about a crime, they decide whether to record it

1. Possible reasons why they may not

iv. Even if a crime is recorded, an arrest is actually uncommon

v. Police do not have time to gather evidence and interview witnesses unless the crime is very serious

III. Critiques of the UCR's SRS Data and of Two Alternatives

A. SRS Data

i. Underestimation of the Amount of Crime

1. Seriously underestimated actual number of crimes committed every year

2. Three reasons:

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a. Major reason is that many crime victims fail to report crime to police

b. Police agencies are simply not required to report crimes known to them, and many do not

c. Police decisions not to investigate and record possible crimes that come to their attention

ii. Hierarchy Rule

1. Procedure stipulating that police report only the more serious of two crimes if both are committed as part of larger criminal incident

2. Rule thus depressed actual number of crimes that occurred

iii. Diversion of Attention from White-Collar Crime

1. By focusing on Part I crimes, SRS emphasized these crimes as most serious ones facing the nation

2. Diverted attention from white-collar crime and their seriousness

iv. Misleading Data on the Characteristics of Arrestees

1. Most people who commit crime do not get arrested

a. If so, characteristics for those who do may differ from those of the vast majority of those who escape arrest

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2. Possibility is especially likely if arrest practices discriminate against kinds of people who are arrested
    a. Disproportionately those from low-income backgrounds, people of color, and men/boys
3. To extent this bias may exist, data may have yielded a distorted picture of typical offender
    a. Lack of information on white-collar crimes and offenders compound issue

v. Citizens' Reporting of Crime
1. Official numbers may change artificially if citizens become more or less likely to report offenses committed against them

vi. Police Recording Practices and Scandals
1. Official numbers may also change artificially because of changes in police behavior
2. Two ways this can happen:
    a. Through police crackdowns
        i. Involve sweeps of crime-ridden neighborhoods on various offenses
    b. Police can change how often they record offenses reported to them as crimes
        i. This way is more ominous
        ii. They can decide to record more offenses to make it appear the crime rate is rising
            1. Such "evidence" can provide rationale for increased funding
        iii. They can decide to downgrade crimes or report fewer offenses to make it appear crime rate is falling
            1. Such "evidence" can indicate local police force's effectiveness at fighting crime
            2. Crime-recording scandals of this nature have rocked several cities during past two decades
                a. Examples

vii. Different Definitions of Crimes
1. Police in various communities may have different understandings and definitions of certain crimes
2. Police in one area may thus be more likely than in others to record a given event as a crime
3. May also vary in degree to which they record event as a more serious or less serious crime because of normal variations in what they define as "serious"

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viii. School Reporting Practices
1. Not a fault of UCR per se
2. Reporting practices at college and secondary school campuses have also raised questions
3. Critics say some universities fail to investigate or hide evidence of sexual assaults and other crimes to avoid alarming public and reducing admissions applications

B. NIBRS
i. Replaced SRS in 2021
ii. Police provide FBI with extensive information on many types of crime
iii. Information includes:
1. Relationship between offenders and victims
2. Use of alcohol and other drugs immediately before offense
3. Location of crime
iv. Eliminated hierarchy rule
1. Police may now report up to ten separate offenses that were part of single criminal event
2. Will not necessarily signify increase in actual number of crimes
v. Still reflects many reporting problems that characterized SRS
1. Victims will still need to report crime
2. Only 63 percent of nation's law enforcement agencies were using NIBRS as of September 2021

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C. Calls to Police
i. Calls to police might be an alternative to UCR to indicate number of crimes and nature of calls in given community
ii. Also called calls for service
iii. When crime victims call police, dispatcher records their calls
iv. May provide more accurate picture of number and kinds of crimes
v. One problem is that not every call to police represents an actual crime
1. Some may describe events that do not fit definition of any crime
2. Others may call with falsified reports

Teaching note: Ask your students if they have ever been the victim of a crime (it is generally best to ask a specific type of "minor" crime such as theft). Ask them if they reported the crime to police. Why? Why not?

IV. National Crime Victimization Survey
A. National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)
i. Developed in the 1970s
ii. Initiated to address UCR problems
iii. Information included:
1. Context of crime

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a. Time of day and physical setting in which crime occurs
2. Characteristics of crime victims
a. Gender, race, income, extent of injury, and relationship to their offenders

iv. Over years, data have helped to determine whether crime rates are changing and to test various theories of crime
v. Interviews individuals from randomly selected households from January 1 to December 31 every six months for period of 3.5 years
vi. Differences from SRS
1. SRS did not consider simple assault and trespassing as part I crimes
2. NCVS excludes homicide and arson, and all Part II crimes besides simple assault
3. NCVS does not ask about commercial crimes, which SRS included
4. NCVS asks about trespassing, which UCR excluded
5. NCVS includes sexual assaults that do not involve rape, whereas UCR excluded them
6. NCVS's six-month recall period means annual survey covers crimes for 18 month period, where SRS measured crimes for only 12-month calendar year
vii. Many more victimizations occur than UCR would indicate
1. Only 35 percent of victimizations in 2020 were reported to police
viii. Hidden crimes
1. Crimes not reported to police
2. Termed "dark figure of crime"
ix. Reasons for not reporting a crime
1. Not serious enough to involve police
2. People feel police will not find suspect
3. May fear further harm from offender
4. Wish to avoid publicity
x. Two facts worth knowing
1. Risk of victimization varies for demographic subgroups of population
2. Annual risk of victimization adds up
a. Can become high over source of lifetime
xi. Although victimization rates have greatly declined, figures indicate many will experience at least one violent or property crime during their lifetimes

B. Evaluating NCVS Data
i. Has at least three major advantages over UCR:
1. Yields more accurate estimate because it involves a very large random sample of the U.S. population

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2. Provides a potentially more accurate portrait than UCR data of race and gender of offenders
3. Information on victims' characteristics and context of victimization has furthered development of theories of victimization

ii. Certain limitations also exist:
1. Underestimates the number of victimizations
a. Two underreporting problems
2. May overestimate some crimes
3. Also diverts attention from seriousness of white-collar crimes

V. Self-Report Studies

A. Self-Report Studies
i. Asking respondents about offenses they may have committed in given time period
1. Usually the past year
ii. Use interviewers or self-administered questionnaires
iii. Can be used to demonstrate:
1. Prevalence of offending
a. Proportion of respondents who have committed a particular offense at least once in time period under study
2. Incidence of offending
a. Average number of offenses per person in study
iv. Most involve adolescents
1. High school students are a convenient sample
a. Enables researchers to gather much information fairly quickly and cheaply
v. Have led to major developments in understanding of delinquent and criminal behavior
vi. Remain very common today
1. Often involve local or national longitudinal samples
a. Same youths studied over time and sometimes into adulthood

B. Critiques of Self-Report Studies
i. Focus on minor and trivial offenses
ii. Respondents sometimes lie about offenses
iii. Ignores white-collar crime

Teaching note: Universities are notorious for not publicly releasing crime data. Have your students research crime on your campus. Are their crime statistics available from campus security? How do those figures compare to national averages?

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C. Assessing UCR, NCVS, and Self-Report Data
   i. None of the three major sources of data is perfect; which is best depends on what one wants to know
   ii. For best estimate of actual number of serious crimes, NCVS clearly preferable to UCR
      1. NCVS excludes some crimes measured by UCR
   iii. For best estimate of offender characteristics, self-report and victimization data may be preferable to UCR
   iv. The measurement of crime will remain incomplete

VI. Recent Trends in U.S. Crime Rates

A. Recent Trends in U.S. Crime Rates
   i. Crime rates rose sharply during the 1960s and 1970s, before declining in the early 1980s, and then rising again during the late 1980s
   ii. They began to fall sharply in the early 1990s and remain much lower than this earlier period
   iii. Decline might be related to changes in police practices and other aspects of the criminal justice system, or social factors

B. A Reverse in the Post-1990s Crime Decline?
   i. By fall 2021, evidence of sharp rise in homicides and non-fatal shootings beginning in mi-2020 and through summer 2021
      1. Even as several other crimes were apparently declining during this period
      2. Numbers made headlines and alarmed people across the nation
   ii. Possible reasons for this rise:
      1. Reduced funding of some police departments in wake of mass protests following murder of George Floyd in May 2020
         a. Rise in violence occurred in cities regardless of whether cities had raised or reduced any such funding
      2. Economic, emotional, and social impacts of COVID-19 pandemic that began in early 2020
      3. Surge in firearm sales that occurred as pandemic began
      4. Diminished public trust in police after Floyd's murder and greater unwillingness to help police investigations of serous violence
      5. Decisions by police departments to be less proactive in their policing in wake of Floyd protests
      6. Disruption of violence intervention and other programs aimed at reducing gun violence

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VII. Geographical, Seasonal, and Climatological Patterning of Criminal Behavior
- A. Geographical, Seasonal, and Climatological Patterning of Criminal Behavior
  - i. Rates of criminal behavior vary according to location, season, climate, and sociodemographic factors
  - ii. Such patterning helps explain why crime occurs or does not occur
- B. Geographical Patterns
  - i. International Comparisons
    - 1. International comparisons of crime data are inexact
      - a. Different nations have varying definitions and interpretations of criminal behavior and alternative methods of collecting crime data
    - 2. Some nations have higher crime rates than others
      - a. United States has the highest homicide rate of any wealthy democratic nation
        - i. Although rates of violent crime and property crime are only about average
    - 3. Scholars often attribute a nation's crime rates to its culture
      - a. Example: Japan
  - ii. Comparisons within the United States
    - 1. Crime rates within United States also vary geographically
      - a. Northeast has lower crime rates than South and West, with Midwest in between
    - 2. Community size also matters
      - a. Crime rates higher in urban areas than in rural areas
      - b. Urbanization does not automatically mean high crime rates
- C. Seasonal and Climatological Variations
  - i. Some of the most interesting crime data
  - ii. As long ago as 1800s, scholars recognized crime rates tended to be higher during summer than in other times of year
  - iii. Contemporary research finds rates of violent and property crime and victimization are generally higher in the warmer months and lower in colder months
  - iv. Also some evidence certain crimes tend to rise around December holidays
  - v. Explanations for this seasonal pattern are speculative but seem to make some sense
  - vi. Seasonal research leads some to predict that crime rates will rise, all things equal, as global warming raises temperatures

VIII. Social Patterns of Criminal Behavior
- A. Gender and Crime
  - i. Gender and Crime
    - 1. One of the key social correlates of criminal behavior is gender
      - a. Women's crime rates are much lower than men's

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2. Men account for almost 80 percent of violent-crime arrests and 66 percent of property-crime arrests
3. Although police bias may account for gender disparity, victimization and self-report data reinforce this disparity
    a. Police might not feel women are as dangerous and might arrest them less

ii. Explaining Women's Low Crime Rates
1. Past explanations of women's criminality emphasized their biology
    a. Cesare Lombroso (1920, 1903)
    b. Sigmund Freud
    c. Otto Pollak (1950)
2. Early explanations were outmoded and sexist
3. In 1970s, women began entering field in greater numbers and, along with some scholars who were men, began to study crime committed by women
    a. This body of work helps explain women's low crime rates
4. Explanations:
    a. Children's socialization
        i. Girls are socialized to be less assertive, less dominant, and more gentle and nurturing
5. Opportunities provided to commit crime
    a. Fewer opportunities for girls to commit crime
6. Attachments to families, schools, and other social institutions
    a. Because of socialization, girls tend to feel more strongly attached
    b. Girls place more importance on schooling
    c. More likely than boys to emphasize prosocial behavior
    d. Attachments and beliefs lead to lower rates of girls committing crime
7. Fewer ties to delinquent peers
8. Testosterone differences and evolutionary circumstances favor male aggression

iii. Are Girls and Women Becoming More Violent?
1. Beginning in mid-1970s, magazines and scholarly books said women's arrest rates were rising much more quickly than men's
    a. Increase greeted with alarm and blamed on new women's liberation movement
    b. Women were said to be acting more like men

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2. Series of scholarly studies since 1970s has concluded belief to be a myth
    a. Found police became more likely to arrest girls and women and not that they were committing more crimes
3. Women's rates of violent crime have been decreasing for many years

B. Race, Ethnicity, and Crime

i. Race, Ethnicity, and Crime

1. Most criminal offenders are White
    a. In terms of sheer numbers, White Americans commit most crimes in United States, and typical street criminal is White
2. Black Americans
    a. Disproportionately arrested for crime relative to their numbers in the population
    b. Arrest rate for violent and property crime is much higher than White American arrest rate
3. Apparent disproportionate involvement of Black Americans in street crime is one of the most sensitive but important issues in criminology
    a. Racial arrest statistics may reflect bias in police arrest and practices more than racial differences in actual offending
    b. However, NCVS data tend to support UCR portrait of higher Black American crime rates
    c. Self-report data find similar racial differences in serious offending
4. For minor offenses, however, racial differences may be smaller than arrest statistics suggest

ii. Explaining Black American Crime Rates

1. Beginning in 1960s, explanations focusing on subculture of violence and "deficiencies" in Black American family structure became popular
2. Today, many consider evidence for Black American subculture of violence weak
    a. Others continue to favor refined versions of this explanation
3. Many criminologists instead cite the negative social conditions in which Black Americans and other people of color live
    a. Unemployment, family disruption, and residential instability

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4. Additional points regarding the issue of race and crime:
    a. Race is a social construction
        i. Something we make up rather than something real
    b. Studies of racial differences in crime rates address street crime, not white-collar crime
    c. Some aspects of Black American experience decrease criminal behavior
        i. Relatively high levels of religiosity and low levels of alcohol use, strong family ties, and strong belief in value of education
    d. It is both possible and important to explain the race-crime connection in a nonracist manner

iii. Latinx and Other Groups
1. Latinx
    a. Latinx people are now the largest group of color
    b. Latinx people make up almost 19 percent of the U.S. population, account for almost 21 percent of all arrests, 27 percent of violent-crime arrests, and 18 percent of property-crime arrests
    c. Poverty rates are high among Latinx populations and they often live amid negative social conditions, but have lower than expected crime rates
    d. Scholars provide several answers as to why their crime rates are so much lower than what otherwise might be expected:
        i. Culture emphasizes strong families
            1. Thought to keep adolescents from committing delinquency
        ii. Communities have higher numbers of immigrants
            1. Immigrants tend to have lower crime rates than U.S.-born residents living in similar socioeconomic circumstances
        iii. Communities tend to have better relations than Black American communities do with police, local politicians, and bank officials
            1. These better relationships help for many reasons to reduce crime rates
        iv. Neighborhoods are less racially segregated than Black American neighborhoods and less physically isolated from White American neighborhoods

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1. Can thus more easily avoid certain problems created by racial segregation
2. In better position to protect themselves from crime because they benefit from spillover of nearby more affluent and socially disorganized neighborhoods

2. Indigenous people (Native Americans)
   a. Have received fairly little criminological attention
   b. Crime rates thought to be higher than White Americans' rates because of their high poverty rate and related social conditions
      i. Called a position of profound social, economic, and political marginalization
3. Asian Americans
   a. Crime rates appear lower than White Americans' rates
      i. Perhaps because of strong family structures and lower use of drugs and alcohol

iv. Immigrants
1. Immigrants have lower rates of crime than nonimmigrants
2. Two factors help explain why immigration is linked to lower crime rates:
   a. Immigrant neighborhoods have high numbers of residents owning or working in the many small businesses that such neighborhoods need
   b. Tend to have strong social institutions
3. Other scholars point to relatively high rates of married households among Latinx groups as possible reason
4. Second-generation immigrants appear to commit more crime than new immigrants
5. Third-generation immigrants commit more crime than second-generation
6. Thus, crime rises the longer they have been in the United States
7. May happen for several reasons
   a. Immigrant children may become embittered and abandon their parents' optimism as they experience ethnic discrimination and economic problems
   b. They have time to learn U.S. culture and in particular to aspects of this culture:
      i. Its affinity for drugs, flashy possessions, and other temptations that lead young people into criminal behavior

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ii. Its "look out for number one" ideology thought more generally to contribute to crime

Teaching note: The controversy surrounding comparative crime rates on the basis of race has generated some tension on how data is collected and presented. Ask your class to think about how such pressures affect data collection and recording in our society and what should be done.

C. Social Class and Crime
   i. Most people arrested and imprisoned for street crime are poorly educated with low incomes
      1. About two-thirds lack a high school diploma
   ii. Several theories developed from 1920s through 1950s to explain why people with low income have higher crime rates
   iii. In 1960s, many argued that overrepresentation of people with low income in criminal justice system reflected class bias more than real differences in offending
      1. Some said long-assumed relationship between social class and criminality was just a myth
      2. Others challenged this view
   iv. Consensus today is that youths with low income, especially those whose families live in extreme poverty and chronic unemployment, do have higher rates of serious street crime
   v. White-collar crime
      1. If considering it along with street crime, there is probably no relationship between social class and criminality
      2. Explanations cannot explain white-collar criminality

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D. Age and Crime
   i. Age and Crime
      1. Street crime is disproportionately committed by young people
      2. The 18-24 age bracket accounts for only about 11.8 percent of the adult population, but 20.9 percent of all violent-crime arrests
         a. Crime peaks at age 17 or 18 and then declines beyond young adulthood
      3. Holds true across UCR, NCVS, and self-report data
      4. White-collar crime is once again a different matter
         a. Older people commit most of it
   ii. Explaining the Age-Crime Relationship
      1. Several factors seem to be at work:
         a. Adolescence is time when peer influences are especially strong
         b. Adolescents have increasing need for money that may not be legitimately attainable

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c. Ties to society strengthen as we become young adults
d. Adolescents may be more daring and do illegal acts without thinking
e. Adolescents' brains are not yet biologically mature

2. An increased birth rate will, some 15 years later, begin to lead to an increased number of people in the 15-25, crime-prone age group
   a. All other things being equal, nation's crime rate should rise as number of people in this age group rises
   b. If birth rate later declines

iii. Chronic Offenders and Criminal Careers
1. Youthful chronic offending
2. Most important findings of self-report research is that roughly 6 percent of adolescents are responsible for most of the serious crimes committed by entire group
3. Small number commit many offenses each, particularly the more serious offenses, and persist in their offending over time
   a. Chronic offenders
      i. Continue offending into adulthood as they engage in criminal careers
4. Career criminality more common among men with low levels of education and bleak job prospects
5. Knowledge of age patterning of crime has important implications for efforts to reduce crime
   a. "Three strikes and you're out" legislation
      i. Does not reduce crime because person would be in prison past age they would normally commit crime
   b. Identifying youths at risk for becoming career criminals
      i. They can be targeted for innovative treatment and punishment
      ii. Prediction can be inaccurate, with many false positives resulting
         1. People falsely predicted to be career criminals
6. Efforts to target career criminals remain beset by various legal and ethical dilemmas

iv. Gender, Race, and Age Combined
1. Patterns suggest that young Black American men should have especially high rates of serious offending and older White women very low rates

IX. Conclusion

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LIST OF CHANGES/TRANSITION GUIDE

- New Crime in the News story
- Updated crime and victimization data
- New discussion of hierarchy rule
- Expanded discussion of the Uniform Crime Report's underestimation of crime
- Expanded discussion of the National Incident-Based Reporting System
- New discussion of rise in homicides and shootings beginning in mid-2020
- Expanded discussion of the seasonality of crime

ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENTS AND CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Divide your class into three groups. Each group will be assigned the task of constructing what the members think is a "best argument" for one of the three primary data sources for measuring crime: (1) the Uniform Crime Reports, (2) the National Crime Victimization Survey, and (3) self-report studies. Then, organize a debate, with each group offering their argument to the entire class. The hopeful outcome of this exercise will be a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of all three data sources.
2. Divide the class into two groups and assign each group to either go to the UCR website or the NCVS website. Have the students collect three interesting findings from their assigned website and be prepared to share their findings with the class.
3. Create a list of various local/state policing agencies. Break the students into groups and assign each group one of the agencies. Have them contact their assigned agency and find out what their protocols are for providing crime data to the FBI (or if they even do this). Have them write a group presentation (or group report) regarding what they find and share it with the class. This can be done as a solitary assignment as well.

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Chapter 4

VICTIMS AND VICTIMIZATION

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Before the 1960s, we knew little about crime victims; when they were discussed, the focus tended to be on the role they played in causing their own victimization. Crime victims began to attract more attention in the late 1960s as the growing crime rate and urban unrest in the United States heightened interest in "law and order." The study of victims, or victimology, had begun. Individuals can be victimized in many ways, but only sometimes are they victims of actual crimes. They can be victims of legal behavior by the kinds of multinational corporations mentioned previously, but this does not make them crime victims. They can also be victims of illegal behavior by corporations. There is really no universally accepted definition of crime victim. The field of victimology views victims as those people suffering from street crimes; reflecting the literature, this chapter deals mostly with this type of crime.

Victimization is patterned geographically and sociodemographically in ways similar to those for criminality. In the United States, it seems higher in the West and in urban areas than in other regions and in rural areas, respectively. Victimization by serious crime is greater for Black people, for men (except for rape, sexual assault, and IPV), for younger people, and for people from low-income backgrounds. LGBTQ people also experience higher victimization rates than non-LGBTQ people. Paralleling age differences in crime rates discussed in Chapter 3, young people are much more likely than older people to be violent-crime victims. Although, people 65 and older are more fearful than younger people of crime, their victimization is actually much lower.

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The age-race-gender pattern of differences in victimization is perhaps clearest for violent victimization. Although it may sound surprising, strangers commit less than half of assault, rape, or robbery victimization, with the remainder committed by family members, friends, and acquaintances. The popular perception of rape involving a stranger attacking a woman is a myth; women are about 1.8 times more likely to be attacked by someone they know than a stranger, and more likely to be raped by a current or ex-husband/boyfriend than by a stranger. The majority of the nonstrangers who commit violence are friends or acquaintances, but a significant minority are intimate partners: spouses, ex-spouses, partners (boyfriends or girlfriends), or ex-partners.

NCVS data also show that many nonstrangers commit violent crime and commit the majority of serious violent crime against women. Another important finding regarding the identity of the offender is that the victimization experienced by Black people and White people is mostly intraracial, while the victimization experienced by Latinx people is more ethnically
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The most popular theory of victimization addresses the lifestyles and routine activities of individuals. Lifestyles theory stresses that the lifestyles of some people put them more at risk for becoming crime victims; routine activities theory argues that people engage in regular or routine activities that increase their risk for victimization. For example, one reason for the high victimization rate of young people is that they spend time with other young people, who as a group commit relatively high rates of violence. Therefore, college students who spend a lot of time in bars, drink a lot, or misuse other substances increase their chances of victimization.

The issue of victim precipitation has become controversial, especially in terms of the feminist study of rape. Another explanation argues that if people live in or near high-crime areas ("hot spots"), they are more likely to be victimized. Other efforts focus on a few individual traits that make some people more likely than others to become crime victims, including low self-control, lack of social relationships, childhood problems, mental disorder, and puberty. Lifestyle and routine activities theories are less applicable to violent crimes that happen in the home and they do not apply to victimization by most white-collar crime. Nevertheless, there are some crimes in which victims do seem to play an active role in their own victimization, especially homicide.

Crime victims suffer in many ways. There are numerous economic medical costs and consequences. Although psychological consequences for crime victims is a more recent area of investigation, current studies reveal that for some types of crimes, victimization can have especially traumatic results, particularly in cases of rape. Many rape survivors may experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and some also experience depression and other serious psychological disorders. Criminal victimization may also have several social and behavioral consequences. Some research has begun to examine indirect victimization among relatives and neighbors of crime victims. In general, relatives of homicide victims suffer as least as much grief as that felt by anyone who loses a loved one.

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A growing body of literature addresses the experiences of victims in the criminal justice system. Judges have begun to ask victims to submit victim-impact statements to consider as they decide on the appropriate sentence for convicted offenders. Despite such efforts, victims of all types of crimes continue to feel forgotten, especially when they think that offenders have been treated too leniently. The increasing attention to victims has motivated research on how their behavior and demographic characteristics affect criminal prosecutions and trials by influencing the decisions of prosecutors, judges, and juries. Victimization research focuses on street crime and not on white-collar crime. Because the NCVS does not ask about white-collar crime, information on the injuries and economic costs of white-collar victims is lacking. The neglect of white-collar crime victims is unfortunate because the financial losses, injuries and illnesses, and even deaths that people suffer from white-collar crime are greater than those suffered from street crime.

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

1. Summarize conceptual issues, geographical patterns, and crime characteristics of victimization.
2. Discuss differences in victimization rates by gender, race, ethnicity, age, and income.
3. Explain the victim-offender relationship and the intraracial nature of victimization.
4. Explain how and why certain lifestyles, certain routine activities, and certain aspects of physical proximity help promote higher victimization rates.
5. Describe what types of people are more likely to experience victimization, including repeat victimization.
6. Describe the many costs and consequences of victimization.
7. Describe the difference between "good victims" and "bad victims."

LECTURE OUTLINE

I. Introduction
   A. Before 1960s, we knew little about crime victims and their families and friends
   B. Began to attract more attention in late 1960s and early 1970s
   C. At same time, feminists began to address rape as major crime
      i. One focus of their effort was psychological consequences of rape
      ii. Another was experience of raped individuals in criminal justice system after they brought charges
   D. Somewhat later, domestic violence against women began to receive similar attention
   E. Victimology
      i. The study of victims
   F. Growing interest led to initiation of National crime Survey, now known as National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)
      i. Has greatly increased understanding of victims and victimology
   G. Several other victimization surveys have added to this understanding
   H. Field of victimology is flourishing today

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Teaching note: Invite your class to vocalize their personal experiences with being victimized by crime. You may wish to ask for comments about property victimization first, and then request input from those who have been the victims of violent offenses. This may require a bit of encouragement and sensitivity on your part, since many students may be reluctant to share their experiences due to understandable feelings concerning privacy. Also, be aware of the possibility that some students may be dealing with trauma following their victimization. Indeed, it should be made clear to them that their comments are completely voluntary, but also emphasize that the participation of those who are willing will greatly enhance the overall understanding of victimization for every member of the class.

II. Geographical Patterns and Crime Characteristics of Victimization
   A. Some Conceptual Issues
      i. Crime victim

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1. One definition
    a. Someone who suffers because of a crime
        i. Issues with definition

ii. People can be victimized in many ways
1. Only sometimes are they victims of actual crimes

iii. Complexity means that no universally accepted definition of "crime victim" exists
1. Since beginning of victimology, answer has been that victims are those people suffering from street crimes

B. Geographical Patterns
i. Two NCVS measures of victimization
1. Victimization rate
    a. Total number of times that people or households are victimized by crime
        i. How this rate is determined
2. Prevalence rate
    a. Number of unique persons or households in population experiencing at least one victimization during a specified time
        i. How this rate is determined
    b. Tells us risk for particular group of people experiencing at least one victimization during a specified time

ii. Victimization rates as measured by the NCVS differ across United States

iii. The West has higher victimization rate for both violent crime and household property crime than other three major regions

iv. Rural areas have lower victimization rates than urban or suburban areas
1. Rural crime is still serious, even if it is not as common as in more populated areas
2. Likely that rural areas have lower rates in part because they tend to live farther apart from one another than urban residents do, creating fewer opportunities
    a. Reflects fact that crime and victimization are often matter of opportunity

C. Crime Characteristics
i. Use of Alcohol and Other Drugs
1. NCVS crime victims report rather heavy involvement of alcohol and other drugs in commission of violent crimes
2. In particular, offenders under influence of alcohol or other drugs in almost half of all violent crimes in which victims could distinguish whether these substances had been used

ii. Time and Place of Occurrence
1. About 43 percent of violent crimes and also 43 percent of property crimes occur at night (6:00 p.m.-6:00 a.m.)

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2. Some especially apt to occur at night
3. Largest proportions of violent crime occur in public areas or at or near the victim's home

iii. Use of Weapons
1. Weapons used in nearly 20 percent of all violent crimes
a. 89 percent of aggravated assaults
b. 9 percent of rapes and sexual assaults
c. 35 percent of robberies
2. Types of weapons used in violent crimes
a. About 39 percent of weapons used are firearms
b. Another 28 percent are knives
c. Remainder includes blunt objects such as a club or a rock

iv. Victim Self-Protection and Resistance
1. Most violent-crime victims do not passively let the crime occur
a. Almost 60 percent try to stop the crime
i. About one-fourth struggle with or threaten the offender
ii. 16 percent run away or hide
iii. 13 percent try to persuade the offender not to commit the crime
2. Victims who use such measures say they
a. Helped the situation about two-thirds of the time
b. Hurt the situation 6 percent of the time
c. Both helped and hurt the situation 6 percent of the time
d. Neither helped nor hurt the situation 10 percent of the time

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III. Social Patterns of Victimization

Teaching note: Many of the social patterns relate to and were previously addressed in chapters 2 and 3.

A. Social Patterns of Victimization
i. Risk also varies by sociodemographic characteristics of people

B. Gender, Race, and Ethnicity
i. Gender
1. Men have slightly higher prevalence rate of victimization than women
2. Men are especially likely to be homicide victims
3. Women experience almost all the rape victimization reported and almost all the assaults by intimate partners

ii. Race and ethnicity
1. Prevalence rates
a. Higher for Black and Latinx people
b. Lower for Asian and White people

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2. For homicides
    a. Black-White victimization difference is much greater
        i. Black people are about 8.0 times more likely than White people to be such victims
    b. Latinx people are about 1.6 times more likely than White people to be such victims
3. Native Americans
    a. Some evidence finds they have the highest victimization rate for violent crime, with more than half reporting being victimized by physical or sexual violence at least once in their lifetimes
4. Asian Americans
    a. Relatively low victimization rate
    b. Four factors suggest any optimism should be tempered by harsh reality:
        i. Hate crimes against Asian Americans soared in 2020 in wake of COVID-19 pandemic
        ii. Victimization against Asian Americans may be higher in certain cities than data would suggest
        iii. Domestic violence rates appear as high as in other families
        iv. Students experience bullying and harassment at higher rates than members of other racial/ethnic groups

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C. Age
    i. Young people are much more likely than older people to be victimized by serious crime
D. Household Income
    i. For serious violent crime, victimization tends to be higher at lower-income levels and lower at higher-income levels
    ii. For property crime, the lower the income, the higher the rate of property-crime victimization
E. Race, Gender, and Age Combined
    i. Race, gender, and age combine to produce especially high victimization rates for younger Black men and very low for older White women
F. LGBTQ Status
    i. NCVS began asking about sexual orientation and gender identity in its 2017 survey
    ii. Nearly 4,100, or about 2 percent, self-identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer
    iii. Compared to non-LGBTQ respondents
        1. Rate of violent-crime victimization was 3.7 times higher for LGBTQ respondents

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2. Property-crime victimization rate was twice as high
3. LGBTQ violent-crime victims were more likely to be victimized by someone they knew well than by an acquaintance or stranger

iv. Higher victimization rate likely reflects anti-LGBTQ prejudice among people they know and in society as a whole

IV. Victim-Offender Characteristics

A. The Victim-Offender Relationship: Stranger versus Nonstrangers

i. The Victim-Offender Relationship: Stranger versus Nonstrangers

1. Strangers commit only about 43 percent of aggravated and simple assault, rape or sexual assault, and robbery offenses combined
   a. Intimate partners or other family members, friends, and acquaintances commit 48 percent
2. Strangers commit 54 percent of men's victimizations but only 33 percent of women's victimizations
3. Nonstrangers commit 59 percent of women's victimizations but only 36 percent of men's victimizations
4. 78 percent of rape and sexual assaults reported by women were committed by nonstrangers
   a. Compared to only 19 percent committed by strangers

ii. Intimate-Partner Violence

1. Includes friends, acquaintances, spouses, ex-spouses, partners, or ex-partners
2. Intimate partner violence (IPV)
   a. Refers to any rape or sexual assault, robbery, or aggravated or simple assault committed by someone with such a relationship to the victim
3. About 485,000 IPV victimizations occurred in 2020
   a. About 84 percent of these committed against women

B. The Intraracial Nature of Victimization

i. Key myth in public perception of crime is that Black offenders prey on White victims

1. NCVS data reveal very different pattern

ii. Most violent crime is intraracial

1. About 69 percent of White victims of violent incidents who perceive offender's race perceive it as White
   a. Only about 17 percent perceive it as Black
   b. White victims of violence are about four times more likely to be attacked by a White person than by a Black person
2. Victimization also tends to be intraracial for Black victims
   a. 66 percent of Black victims perceive the offender's race as Black and only 14 percent as White

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iii. For Latinx victims, situation is more mixed
    1. Only 41 percent perceive the offender as Latinx
        a. 33 percent perceive the offender as White and 19 percent as Black
iv. FBI data confirm the Black-White intraracial pattern for homicide
    1. 78.2 percent of White homicide victims are killed by White offenders
        a. Only 17.9 percent are killed by Black offenders
        b. White people are thus almost 4.4 times more likely to be killed by a White person than by a Black person

V. Understanding Victimization: Situational Explanations
    A. Lifestyle and Routine Activities Theories
        i. Lifestyle and Routine Activities Theories
            1. Developed about the same time, in the late 1970s
            2. Both assume habits, lifestyles, and behavioral patterns of potential crime victims enhance contact with offenders
                a. Increases the chances that crime will occur
            3. Today they are often treated as components of one larger theory
        ii. Lifestyle theory
            1. Stresses that some lifestyles put people are more a risk of becoming crime victims
            2. Includes spending time at nightclubs and bars, hanging out on the street
            3. Those that hangout with people who commit crimes
        iii. Routine activities theory
            1. Argues that people engage in regular activities that increase their risk of victimization
            2. For victimization to occur, three components must coincide:
                a. Presence of an attractive target
                b. Presence of a likely offender
                c. Absence of guardianship
                    i. People who might observe and stop the crime from being committed
            3. As more attractive targets appear, victimization should increase
            4. As more motivated offenders emerge, victimization should also increase
        iv. Research finds that both theories help explain occurrence of various types of victimizations among various kinds of people in various locations
        v. Might imply that victims are at least partly responsible for their own victimization
            1. Victim precipitation

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B. Deviant Lifestyles and Victimization
   i. Some people increase their chances of becoming crime victims by committing crimes themselves
   ii. Happens for several reasons:
      1. They tend to spend time in high-crime areas
      2. Their crimes may prompt retaliation
      3. They are not likely to call the police
      4. They often have things other offenders want
   iii. Several studies confirm that offending does, in fact, increase victimization
      1. Adolescents and gangs
      2. Drinking and drug use also thought to contribute

C. Physical Proximity and Victimization
   i. Where a person matters for victimization
      1. Some areas of cities have higher crime and victimization rates than other areas
   ii. About 3-5 percent of all a city's locations account for at least 50 percent of the city's crime
      1. Vast majority of locations have little or no crime
   iii. Hot spots
      1. High-crime areas
      2. People who live in or near these locations are more likely to be victimized
         a. Even if they do not have victimization-prone lifestyles
   iv. Presence of bars and taverns

Teaching note: Project a map of the campus and surrounding area to your class (You might also utilize hand-outs). Ask them if they can identify any "hot spots" on campus or in the community. Ask them what factors contribute to making an area a "hot spot." Ask if they take any steps to avoid these areas.

VI. Understanding Victimization: Individual Traits

A. Low Self-Control and Lack of Prosocial Relationships
   i. Low self-control
      1. Characterized by impulsiveness and desire for immediate gratification
      2. Leads some people to engage in risky behavior that brings them pleasure in the short run but negative consequences in the long run
      3. Concept originally developed to explain offending behavior but also helps explain victimization
   ii. Lack of prosocial relationships
      1. People without strong family ties, for example, may be more inclined and have more opportunity to engage in various types of activities that increase their victimization risk

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B. Childhood Problems
   i. History of childhood problems, including behavioral issues, sexual abuse, physical abuse, and parental conflict can increase one's risk of victimization
   ii. All these factors predict greater violent victimization during adolescence, in large part because they first lead to alcohol and other drug use and to violent offending, which then increases risk of victimization
   iii. May impair prosocial relationships
C. Mental Disorder
   i. May also increase victimization
   ii. Social relationships may often become strained
   iii. Relationships then become conflicted
      1. Can lead to violence against people with mental disorders
D. Puberty
   i. Early puberty may:
      1. Raise likelihood of offending, which is itself a risk factor for victimization
      2. Prompt adolescents to spend more time with older adolescents away from home and in situations where victimization may occur
      3. Induce emotional distress
         a. Those with such distress may act in way that angers others and provokes them to commit violence against the distressed teens

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E. Repeat Victimization
   i. People who lead more risky lifestyles are more prone to experience repeat victimization
   ii. Repeat victimization is fairly common
   iii. Repeat sexual victimization is also fairly common from seventh grade through college
F. Explaining Sociodemographic Variation in Victimization
   i. If lifestyles affect victimization, not surprising that young people have higher rates
   ii. Men also likelier than women to spend time away from home and engage in deviant lifestyles
   iii. Black and Latinx people are more likely to live in disadvantaged, high-crime areas and thus more likely to become crime victims
      1. Same logic applies to people with low family incomes
   iv. Some adolescents may become chronic victims because they have lifestyles and offending rates especially conducive to victimization
   v. Lifestyle and routine activities theories are less applicable to violence in the home
   vi. IPV often occurs inside the home
      1. Cannot be attributed to routine activities or lifestyles conducive to victimization

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2. They apply less to women than to men

vii. Theories are also irrelevant for physical and sexual abuse of children

1. Children cannot be considered to engage in lifestyles or routine activities conducive to such abuse

viii. Theories also do not apply to victimization via most white-collar crime

G. Victimization of College Students and of People without Housing

i. College Students

1. From 1995 to 2002 it was estimated that out of the 7.9 million college students about 479,000 are annual victims of violence
   a. Including about 176,000 annual victimizations for serious violence
2. Men's victimization rate was about twice as high as women's rate
3. For all violence, White students had slightly higher victimization rate than Latinx or Black students
4. If simple assaults are omitted, Black students had slightly higher rate than Latinx or White students
5. Have lower victimization rate than 18-24-year-olds who were not in college

ii. People without Housing

1. NCVS excludes groups such as those who do not live in households
2. People without housing live amid conditions that render them very vulnerable to victimization
   a. They tend to live in high-crime areas and, given their often compromised mental and physical states, have trouble defending themselves
   b. As result, they lack guardianship emphasized by routine activities theory
3. Studies of unhoused people do find high rates of victimization
4. Research has documented consequences of criminal victimization for these people
   a. Consequences are especially severe
   b. Lack of resources to help them
   c. More likely to consume higher amounts of alcohol and use other drugs
   d. More likely to experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and other mental health consequences

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VII. Cost and Consequences of Victimization

A. Economic and Medical Costs and Consequences

i. Cost information is inexact but nonetheless indicates serious impact of crime on victims and their families

ii. Most significant economic and medical costs and consequences are:

1. Crimes covered by NCVS cost crime victims estimated annual $17.4 billion in direct costs
   a. Direct costs vs. indirect costs
2. Only 14 percent of NCVS victims who had money or property stolen recovered all of it
   a. 71 percent recovered none of it
3. About 7 percent of all violent- and property-crime victims lost time from work, usually a week or less
   a. Almost one-fifth of victims of motor vehicle theft lost time from work
4. Violent victimization during adolescence has long-term consequences because of its psychological consequences
5. About one-fourth of violent crime victims are physically injured
   a. Almost half who need medical care obtain it at hospital or emergency clinic
      i. 10 percent obtain it at a doctor's office
      ii. 16 percent obtain it at the scene of the crime

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B. Psychological Consequences

i. For some people and for some types of crimes, victimization can be especially traumatic

ii. In this context, rape and sexual assault have probably been studied more than any other crimes

1. May have both moderate and serious consequences that can be long-lasting
2. Women experiencing these crimes often experience additional psychological effects, including depression and loss of self-esteem
   a. Symptoms begin to subside after a few months for many women, but can last longer for others
3. Sexual dysfunction may also occur
   a. The refusal or inability to engage in sexual relations
4. Abuse of alcohol and other drugs and PTSD

iii. Victimization of LGBTQ youths

1. Often bullied and/or physically or sexually assaulted
2. Victimization may worsen their school performance, increase their substance use, and produce mental health problems
3. May become suicidal and, in general, have a higher suicide rate than other youths

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iv. Victims of other crimes
    1. May also experience psychological symptoms, although violent crimes appear to have more serious psychological consequences than do property crimes
    2. May fear fearful, vulnerable, and/or anxious, and may suffer from loss of confidence, sleep difficulties, and other such symptoms
v. Indirect victimization
    1. The impact of victimization on people who know the victims
    2. In general, relatives suffer as least as much grief as that felt by anyone who loses a loved one
    3. May experience symptoms similar to those of victims of violent crimes
vi. Whether crime victims' views about crime and justice change after being victimized
    1. Victims are generally not more likely than nonvictims to hold punitive attitudes toward offenders

C. Social and Behavioral Consequences
i. Victims of violence at various ages become more likely themselves to commit crimes or use drugs, or both, at later ages
    1. When effect may be especially likely to occur
ii. Vicarious physical victimization of one's family members or friends may also occur
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iii. Victimization may have consequences for high-crime neighborhoods
    1. Key consequence involves neighborhood's cohesion and informal control (also called informal surveillance)
    2. Crime and fear in neighborhoods weaken cohesion and informal controls
    3. Creates vicious cycle of crime and victimization
iv. Other research focuses on social relationships
    1. Children that have been abused often have a difficult time forming positive relationships
    2. Difficulty compounds original problems caused by the history of abuse
v. Violent victimization during adolescence may regrettably increase likelihood of victimization by IPV during early adulthood
    1. Reason for causal linkage is unknown
vi. Recent research explores effects on children living in violent neighborhoods
    1. Growing up in violent neighborhoods leads to secondary exposure to violence which may cause children to suffer psychological problems, impair school performance and thus reduce their socioeconomic achievement during adulthood

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D. Victimization by White-Collar Crime
   i. Victimization research focuses on street crime, not on white-collar crime
   ii. The financial losses, injuries and illnesses, and deaths from white collar crimes are greater than those suffered from street crimes
   iii. Victims may experience emotional and psychological harm similar to that experienced by victims of street crime

VIII. Victims in the Criminal Justice System

A. Victims in the Criminal Justice System
   i. Second victimization
      1. Example: rape victim being treated improperly by the criminal justice system
      2. Reasons for such victimization derive from popular myths
   ii. Although many states have laws that protect women during prosecutions of their offenders, burden is still on women to prove they did not give consent
   iii. Scholars and elected and criminal justice officials now recognize crime victims of all stripes feel shut out of the process and otherwise have needs that must be addressed
   iv. Several kinds of services and programs help victims across the United States:
      1. Many jurisdictions have victim-witness advocate programs
         a. Help steer victims through morass of criminal justice system
      2. Many also have social-service and victim-restitution programs
         a. Help people deal with economic and psychological impacts of their victimization
      3. Victim-impact statements
         a. Judges may ask victims to submit one to help judges choose an appropriate sentence for convicted offenders
         b. Evidence indicates statements tend to increase victims' satisfaction with how their cases are handled, but that they do not result in harsher sentences for convicted defendants

B. Victims and Criminal Case Outcomes
   i. Prosecutors prefer cases with good victims
      1. Good victims are well educated and articulate, and are, above all, presentable to a jury
      2. Bad victims may have a prior criminal record or other history of unsavory behavior and/or have engaged in conduct that may be perceived as provoking the defendant

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ii. Research on effects of victims' gender and age on case processing and outcomes is inconsistent
    1. Race of victim does seem to matter for homicide and rape cases
iii. Impact of victim-offender relationship on processing of criminal cases
    1. Rape and sexual assaults by strangers are more likely to lead to arrest, prosecution, and conviction
    2. Impact of victim behavior and reputation on whether charges will be filed is higher for cases in which victim knew the defendant

IX. Conclusion

LIST OF CHANGES/TRANSITION GUIDE

- New Crime in the News story
- New discussion of people who become ill from corporate air pollution not being considered crime victims
- New discussion of victimization rates and prevalence rates
- Expanded discussion of victimization rates in rural areas
- New discussion of Asian Americans' victimization
- New section on higher victimization rates of LGBTQ persons
- New section on higher violent victimization rates of people with disabilities
- New section on intraracial nature of victimization
- Revised and updated discussion of victimization of college students

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ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENTS AND CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. The violent shooting incident (often referred to as the "Virginia Tech Massacre) at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in 2007 has aroused enormous controversy and led many critics to insist on elevated security at our nation's educational institutions. The media was severely criticized for airing the perpetrator's "multimedia manifesto." Ask your students to evaluate whether they think it is a good thing or a bad thing that the public knows more about the lives and social characteristics of violent killers. Pose the question of whether the public needs to know more about mass murder, or if people are better off NOT knowing the details of these crimes.
2. According to the ICVS, for overall victimization, the U.S. prevalence rate was only average, with 17.5 percent of Americans reporting at least one victimization during the previous year. Ireland had the dubious honor of ranking at the top with a prevalence of 21.9 percent, whereas Portugal, Japan, and Northern Ireland tied with the lowest rate, 9.1 percent. Ask students if they are surprised by this finding. Why? Why not? What explanations can the offer for these differences?
3. A very intriguing topic concerning the costs and consequences of victimization is *victim restitution*, or, as mentioned in the text, some form of *victim-impact statement* for consideration by judges in passing sentence on perpetrators. Begin a discussion with your students as to whether or not they would submit one if they were the victim

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of a crime. After this discussion, have your students' research whether, in fact, victim-impact statements have had any impact on criminal sentencing. Once they have finished this research, have another discussion and ask them to make the choice again, this time informed by their research.

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Chapter 5

CLASSICAL AND NEOCLASSICAL PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Contemporary theories of crime differ widely in their assumptions and emphases. Theories of crime try to answer at least one of three questions: (1) Why are some individuals more likely than others to commit crime? (2) Why are some categories or kinds of people more likely than others to commit crime? and (3) Why is crime more common in some locations than in others? Biologists, medical researchers, and psychologists tend to focus on the first question, while sociologists and most criminologists tend to concentrate on the last two.

Western societies long ago had religious explanations for behavior that violated their norms: specifically, that either a perceived deity or demonic forces were responsible; from ancient times through the Middle Ages, witches—people who supposedly had associated with or been possessed by the devil—were a special focus of attention. During the Enlightenment period, medieval beliefs that God directly controlled all human behavior were challenged and in the latter half of the 16th century, the classical school of criminology began to develop.

Italian economist Cesare Beccaria is also widely regarded as the "father" of modern criminology. Like other Enlightenment thinkers, he believed that criminals and noncriminals alike act rationally and with free will, calculating whether their behavior will cause them more pleasure or more pain. The classical school of criminology led to important reforms. However, critics suggested that its view of human behavior was too simplistic and positivism came to dominate the nineteenth century. In the early-to-mid-1800s, French social philosopher Auguste Comte founded the positive school of philosophy (positivism), wherein he argued that human behavior is determined by forces beyond the individual's control. Later, Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory cemented some of Comte's early suggestions. Since the time of Comte and Darwin, the tenets of positivism have guided the study of crime and other human behaviors. Despite various criticisms, it remains the dominant approach of criminology today.

Neoclassical perspectives ultimately rest on the classical view that criminal offenders are normal, rational individuals who choose to commit crime after calculating the potential risks and rewards of doing so. Rational-choice theory assumes that individuals choose to commit crime after calculating whether its potential rewards outweigh its potential risks. Contemporary rational choice theory assumes that potential offenders take into account other possible benefits of crime beyond monetary gain, including fun, excitement, and prestige Rational-choice theory is closely aligned with deterrence theory, which assumes that potential and actual punishment can deter crime, and the two theories are often considered synonymous. The rational choice perspective emphasizes two related concepts: (1) situational factors (aspects of the immediate physical setting, such as street lighting and the presence or absence of surveillance cameras) and (2) the opportunities that exist, or fail to exist, for an offender to commit crime without fear of arrest or other

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negative consequences. Scholars distinguish several types of deterrence: general, specific, objective, and subjective. The evidence on deterrence is inconsistent. The most recent deterrence research suggests that the general and specific deterrent effect of legal sanctions is small or nonexistent. Routine activities theory assumes that crime is more likely when three factors are simultaneously present: (1) motivated offenders; (2) attractive targets; and (3) an absence of guardianship (such as police, bystanders, and even a dog. In the more than three decades since its introduction, routine activities theory has proven very popular and has stimulated much research. In one possible problem, routine activities theory has been criticized for ignoring the factors that motivate offenders to commit crime. One of the major contributions of routine activities theory, along with rational choice theory, has been the stimulation of work on situational crime prevention.

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

1. Summarize religious explanations of crime and deviance before the Age of Reason and why they became less popular during the Age of Reason.
2. Describe the major assumptions of the classical school of criminology.
3. Explain how positivism tries to understand criminal behavior.
4. List the major assumptions of rational choice theory.
5. Define the different types of deterrence and describe the conclusions of research on deterrence.
6. Explain why routine activities theory is a popular theory.
7. Describe what is meant by situational crime prevention.

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LECTURE OUTLINE

I. Introduction
   A. Neoclassical explanations
      i. Rooted in economic thinking
      ii. Emphasize rationality of crime and criminal offenders

II. Understanding Theories of Crime
   A. Theories of crime try to answer at least one of three questions:
      i. Why are some individuals more likely than others to commit crime?
      ii. Why are some categories of kinds of people more likely than others to commit crime?
      iii. Why is crime more common in some locations than in others?
   B. Neoclassical explanations assume free will with internal and external forces impacting the decision to commit a crime or not
   C. Biological and psychological theories place the causes of crime inside the individual
      i. Focus on the micro picture
   D. Sociological theories place cause on the social environment outside the individual
      i. Focus on the macro picture
   E. Distinction reflects long-standing differences in understanding human behavior

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i. The theories' different emphases imply different directions to reduce crime

III. From Theology to Science

A. God and Demons as Causes of Crime and Deviance

i. Ancient societies had religious explanations for norm-violating behavior

1. People were thought to act deviantly for at least one of several reasons:

a. God was testing their faith

b. God was punishing them

c. God was using their behavior to warn others to follow divine rules

d. They were possessed by demons

2. Old Testament prophets

3. Ancient Greeks and Romans

ii. In Europe, from ancient times through Middle Ages, witches—people suspected of consorting with or being possessed by the devil—were a special focus of attention

iii. Religion was dominant source of knowledge in Western world throughout Middle Ages

1. Used to explain natural, physical, and social phenomena

B. The Age of Reason

i. Religion's dominance began to wane with advent of Age of Reason, or Enlightenment

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ii. Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

iii. Involved a more scientific understanding of natural and social phenomena

1. Weakened religion's influence

iv. Philosophers shared several assumptions that shaped classical school

1. Assumed that God had left people to govern their own affairs through exercise of free will and reason

2. As people do so, they rationally calculate rewards and risks of potential actions

a. Adopt behavior promising greatest pleasure and least pain

b. Stressed need to acquire education to develop reasoning ability

i. To ensure people did not act too emotionally

v. More "enlightened" way of thinking did not extend to criminal justice system

1. Justice was severe, and it was also arbitrary

2. Different judges would hand out different punishments for similar crimes for at least two reasons:

a. Many laws were vague, and judges interpreted these laws differently

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b. Some judges took bribes to mete out weaker punishment, or even none at all
    i. People who could not afford these bribes were punished more severely

IV. The Classical School of Criminology
A. Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794)
    i. Italian economist and political philosopher
    ii. Wrote pathbreaking book on crime *Dei Delit ti e Delle Pene* (*On Crimes and Punishments*) in 1764
        1. Helped found what is now called classical school of criminology
    iii. People act rationally and with free will, calculating whether behavior will cause more pleasure or more pain
        1. They thus will be deterred by sufficient degree of punishment
            a. Harsher punishment beyond that is not needed
    iv. Criminal justice system exists primarily to deter crime rather than to avenge it
        1. To deter crime, legal punishment should be
            a. Certain
                i. Criminal offenders must believe they will probably be arrested
            b. Swift
                i. Any arrest and punishment must happen quickly
        2. Severity of punishment was far less important than certainty of punishment for deterring crime
    v. Widely regarded as the father of modern criminology
B. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832)
    i. English philosopher
    ii. Believed in what Beccaria did regarding why people commit crime
    iii. Writings inspired changes in English criminal law in early 1800s
        1. Helped shaped development of first modern police force in London in 1829
        2. Influenced creation of the modern prison
            a. Before time of classical school, long-term incarceration did not exist
            b. Development of prison in early 1800s represented major change in punishment of offenders
C. Critics then and now say classical school's view of human behavior was too simplistic
    i. Individuals also act emotionally
    ii. Classical reformers overlooked possibility that offenders' race/ethnicity, social class, and gender might affect how legal system treats them

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V. The Rise of Positivism
   A. Came to dominate the nineteenth century
   B. Derived from great discoveries of Galileo, Newton, and other scientists
   C. Discoveries indicated to social philosophers the potential of using science to understand not only the physical world but also the social world
   D. Auguste Comte (1798-1857)
      i. French social philosopher
      ii. Founded positive school of philosophy with publication of his six-volume *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (*Course in Positive Philosophy*) between 1830 and 1842
      iii. Argued that forces beyond an individual's control determine human behavior
   E. Charles Darwin
      i. Rise of science as a mode of inquiry cemented in 1859 with publication of *Origin of Species*, in which he outlined his theory of evolution, and the publication of *Descent of Man* (1871)
      ii. Idea that science could explain development of humans was revolutionary
      iii. His work helped establish credibility of science for understanding human behavior and other social and physical phenomena
   F. Since time of Comte and Darwin, positivism has guided study of crime and other human behaviors
   G. Critics charge it with several shortcomings:
      i. It accepts the state's definition of crime by ignoring possibility that society's ruling groups define what is criminal
      ii. It sometimes paints an overly deterministic model of human behavior that denies free will altogether
      iii. It assumes that criminals differ from noncriminals not only in their behavior but also in the biological, psychological, and social factors determining their behavior
         1. Noncriminals are thus normal, and criminals are abnormal and even inferior
      iv. Despite criticisms, positivism remains dominant approach in criminology

VI. Neoclassical Perspectives
   A. Called neoclassical because they all ultimately rest on classical view that offenders are rational individuals who choose to commit crime after calculating potential risks and rewards of doing so
   B. Often said to have revived classical theory

Teaching note: Ask your students what pros and cons they weighed in their rational choice to attend your university. List them on the board. Ask students which factor were weighed most heavily. While this is not a criminology exercise, per se, it does highlight how rational choice influences decision-making in a way most students can relate.

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VII. Rational Choice Theory

C. Rational Choice Theory

i. Contemporary rational choice theory (RCT)

1. Assumes that potential offenders choose whether to commit crime after carefully calculating possible rewards and risks
2. Although roots lie in classical school, modern inspiration comes from economic models of rational decision making and more generally from growing emphasis in sociology and other fields on rationality of human behavior
3. In criminology, widely credited to journal article published by famed economist, Gary S. Becker (1968)

ii. Gary S. Becker (1968)

1. Wrote that choosing whether to commit crime is like choosing whether to buy a consumer product
   a. Each involves comparing benefits and disadvantages of proceeding
2. Expected utility
   a. Monetary value
   b. If people calculate expected utility of committing a crime exceeds expected utility of not committing a crime, they decide as rational actors to commit it
      i. The same is also true in the reverse
3. In making decisions, potential offenders consider several factors, including:
   a. Their opportunities for earning money from legitimate occupations
   b. The amount of legitimate money they might earn
   c. The amount of money they might gain from crime
   d. Possible arrest
   e. Possible punishment if arrested
4. Explicitly stated that sociological concepts like anomie and differential association are unimportant for these decisions

iii. In line with Becker's model, most RCT work today takes motivation to commit crime as a "given"

1. Given assumption, research examines how individuals decide to commit crime and circumstances that affect their decision making
2. It generally does not examine how and why they became motivated to commit a crime originally
   a. Focuses on event decisions, not involvement decisions
3. This general RCT approach developed and popularized by Ronald V. Clark and Derek B. Cornish
   a. Work focuses on offenders' decision making and on factors affecting opportunity to commit crime

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b. Regard criminals as not very different from noncriminals
c. Potential offenders take into account possible benefits of crime beyond monetary gain
    i. As they decide, they sometimes lack time or ability to gather and/or analyze all information relevant to their decision
d. Focus on event decisions
    i. Have at least five stages:
        1. Preparing to commit a crime
        2. Selecting a target
        3. Committing the crime
        4. Escaping
        5. Aftermath of the crime
e. Highlight two related concepts in explaining these decisions
    i. Situational factors
        1. Aspects of the immediate physical setting
            a. Street lighting and presence or absence of surveillance cameras
    ii. Opportunities
        1. That exist, or fail to exist, for an offender to commit crime without fear of arrest or other negative consequences

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D. Evaluating Rational Choice Theory
    i. Has made major contributions
        1. Does show that offenders do make choices
        2. Criminal behavior is more likely if opportunities for it exist, and that these opportunities must be addressed for crime to be reduced
            a. Focus underlies work on situational crime prevention
    ii. Criticisms:
        1. RCT exaggerates rationality of offenders
            a. Often do not think or act as deliberately as RCT implies
            b. Thought might focus on planning the crime, but not focus on getting caught
        2. Alcohol and/or drugs and emotions can influence their decision-making ability

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Teaching note: Ask students their feelings about "three-strikes" laws. Explain to them the California case where an individual received life for stealing a slice of pizza. Ask them if they think the law was enacted for this type of offender. This might also be a good opportunity to address the disparity between this sentence and the relatively lenient ones for white-collar offenders.

VIII. Deterrence Theory

A. Deterrence Theory
   i. RCT implies offenders can be deterred from committing crime if potential risks seem too certain or too severe
      1. Theoretical belief in law's deterrent effect assumes potential offenders act rationally
      2. Closely aligned with deterrence theory
   ii. Deterrence theory assumes that potential and actual legal punishment can deter crime
   iii. The two theories are often considered synonymous

B. Types of Deterrence
   i. First distinction made between:
      1. Absolute deterrence
         a. Refers to effect of having some legal punishment versus effect of having no legal punishment
      2. Marginal deterrence
         a. Refers to effect of increasing the severity, certainty, and/or swiftness of legal punishment

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   ii. Second distinction is between:
      1. General deterrence
         a. Occurs when people decide not to break the law because they fear legal punishment
      2. Specific deterrence
         a. Also called individual deterrence
         b. Occurs when offenders already punished for law breaking decide not to commit another crime (recidivism) because they do not want to face legal consequences again
   iii. Final distinction is between:
      1. Objective deterrence
         a. Refers to the impact of actual legal punishment
      2. Subjective deterrence
         a. Refers to the impact of people's perceptions of the certainty, severity, and/or swiftness of legal punishment

C. Taking a Closer Look at Deterrence
   i. Important to keep in mind several factors affecting size of any impact that can be expected:
      1. First consideration concerns type of criminal offense
         a. Instrumental offenses

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i. Those committed for material gain with some degree of planning
ii. More deterrable
b. Expressive offenses
i. Those committed for emotional reasons and with little or no planning
ii. Harder to deter
2. Second consideration is whether offenders have high or low commitment to criminal behavior
a. Professional offenders versus amateur offenders
b. Offenders with higher commitment to their crime are less likely to be deterred by legal punishment
3. Final consideration is whether a crime tends to occur in public or in private
a. All things equal, public crimes are more deterrable than private crimes
i. Potentially more noticeable
ii. Marginal deterrence
1. Should be relatively low for:
a. Expressive crimes
b. Crimes committed by high-commitment offenders
c. Private crimes
2. Efforts to make arrest more certain and/or make punishment harsher thus likely to have only relatively small deterrent effect on these crimes
iii. Pessimistic appraisal becomes even more pessimistic when considering
1. Studies of active burglars and robbers
2. Many offenders are on drugs and/or alcohol at time of their offense
iv. Additional considerations that lead to more pessimism
1. Arrest and imprisonment have become so common in United States, especially among young men in large cities
a. Legal have lost stigma they once had and thus any associated deterrence they may have once had
2. Arrest and imprisonment may make urban youths feel more "macho" and thus more likely to reoffend
3. Deterrence-oriented criminal justice policies are not always implemented as legislators might have expected
4. Chances of arrest and imprisonment are too low for legal sanctions to have a high deterrent effect

D. Research on Deterrence
i. Research generally confirms a pessimistic expectation
ii. Most research is on certainty of punishment and severity of punishment

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iii. Early research found states with high certainty rates and more severe punishment had lower crimes rates, as deterrence theory would predict
iv. Critics argue crime rates were in fact effecting certainty and severity, rather than the reverse
    1. System capacity argument
        a. High-crime areas have lower arrest rates because their police are "extra" busy and also realize that too many arrests would overburden the criminal justice system
        b. These areas similarly have lower punishment severity because prisons are too full to handle their many offenders
v. Research generally finds arrest and punishment have only a weak deterrent effect on criminality
vi. Various kinds of evidence suggest the general deterrent effect of severity is especially low or even nil
vii. Research on specific deterrence is mixed
viii. In sum, suggests that the general and specific deterrent effects of legal sanctions are small or nonexistent

Teaching note: This topic is further discussed in chapters 16 and 17.

IX. Routine Activities Theory
A. Routine Activities Theory (RAT)
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i. Assumes crime is more likely when three factors are simultaneously present:
    1. Motivated offenders
    2. Attractive targets
    3. Absence of guardianship
ii. Reflects rational choice assumptions of criminal decision making
iii. Proposed in 1979 by Lawrence E. Cohen and Marcus Felson and elaborated in later writings
iv. Cohen and Felson (1979)
    1. For crime to happen, offenders, targets, and absence of guardians must all converge at same time and in same location
    2. Further assumes there will always be motivated offenders
        a. Does not explain why some are more motivated than others or why motivation might change as other social changes occur
    3. Focuses on changes in supply of attractive targets and in presence or absence of guardians as key variables affecting changes in crime rates
    4. Often considered an opportunity theory of crime

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5. Reasoned that
    a. Routine activities inside or near one's home result in less victimization than activities that occur away from home
    b. As smaller and more expensive consumer items go on the market, people are more likely to have these items in their homes or on their persons when away from home, making them attractive targets
6. Used these two sets of reasoning to help understand two important trends in crime and victimization
    a. Different victimization rates for various categories of people
    b. increased U.S. crime rate during 1960s even though poverty and unemployment fell during that decade

B. Evaluating Routine Activities Theory
    i. RAT has stimulated much interest and research since its introduction
    ii. Popularity reflects ability to explain different crime rates among different categories of people and among different locations, and to explain changes in certain crime rates over time
    iii. Originally developed to explain criminal victimization
        1. Some scholars have used to explain offending
    iv. Has been criticized for ignoring factors that motivate offenders to commit crimeTBEXAM.COM
        1. Cohen and Felson (1979)
            a. Readily conceded this neglect but argued importance of considering factors on which they did focus: target suitability and absence of guardianship

X. Theory and Policy: Classical and Neoclassical Perspectives
    A. Major contribution of RCT and RAT has been stimulation of interest in situational crime prevention
    B. Situational crime prevention (SCP)
        i. Involves efforts in specific locations to reduce exposure to motivated offenders, decrease target suitability, and increase capable guardianship
        ii. Tries to reduce opportunities for committing crime by accomplishing all three of these goals
            1. Examples
                a. Adding lights or cameras
                b. Hot-spot policing
                    i. Involves intensive police patrol of high-crime areas
        iii. In evaluating effectiveness, criminologists often perform meta-analyses
            1. Meta-analyses shows that SCP can indeed reduce crime significantly

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iv. One concern involves possible crime displacement
1. Sometimes it does occur, but just as often diffusion of benefits happens

C. Deterrence theory
i. Implication that longer and more certain prison terms should reduce crime has proven less fruitful
ii. Assumption that more certain arrest should reduce crime has been more promising
1. Hot-spot policing and certain other effective policing strategies rest on this assumption

XI. Conclusion

LIST OF CHANGES/TRANSITION GUIDE

- New Crime in the News story
- Updated discussion of deterrence research based on recent literature reviews

ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENTS AND CLASS ACTIVITIES

1. Have students find a picture of a house or use a picture of their home, and write a paragraph describing the positives and negatives of their home or picture as a possible target for a criminal. A second paragraph should address what changes they could make to reduce their home or picture from being a target.
2. Have the students write a brief paper on a bad choice they made. The paper should address the process they used and what influenced them to make that choice. The paper should conclude with what they think in retrospect would have deterred them from making that choice. Advise the students to not write about any illegal activity.
3. Bring in your college/university's head public safety officer (their title will vary based on your institution). Have them discuss with the students what safety measures have been put into place around campus to address items of concern under situational crime prevention. During this discussion, ask your students to share whether they feel there are any other areas that can be addressed.

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Chapter 6

BIOLOGICAL AND PYSCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The first positivist research on crime was primarily biological. One of the earliest biological explanations of crime was phrenology, which concerned the size and shape of the skull. Cesare Lombroso, considered the founder of the positivist school of criminology, theorized that criminal offenders were atavists, or throwbacks to an earlier stage of evolution; this theory was based on observations concluding that offenders were more like primitive men than modern men. Lombroso's discovery attracted much attention and his atavist theory of crime became very popular. As the founder of modern positive criminology, Lombroso left a lasting legacy; his assumption that offenders were biologically different continues to guide today's biological research on crime. Indeed, Lombroso's explanation of female criminality reflected the sexism of the time, and he even suggested that in general woman were inferior to men. Lombroso's atavism theory was later refuted, and criminologists temporarily abandoned the idea that offenders were physiologically different.

In 1939, anthropologist Earnest Hooton revived interest in physiological explanations, theorizing that offenders are biologically inferior and that they should be sterilized and exiled to reservations. Like Lombroso's, Hooton's research suffered from the same methodological flaws as Lombroso's and his work did not become popular. In 1949, William Sheldon outlined his theory of somatology, theorizing that people's body shapes affect their personalities and hence the crimes that they commit: mesomorphs are athletic and muscular and more likely to engage in criminal behavior.

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Today, biological theories have experienced a resurgence, reflecting a growing interest in biological explanations of behavior in general. Biologists and medical researchers have long noticed that crime tends to run in families and naturally assume that criminal tendencies are inherited. Early studies of family transmission of crime involved the Jukes and the Kallikaks. Although highly controversial, studies of identical twins suggest that criminal tendencies are genetically transmitted. Consequently, researchers have studied identical twins separated shortly after birth and raised by different sets of parents. These investigations have been interpreted as support for a genetic basis for crime, but critics have argued that many siblings in these "adoption" studies are adopted several months after birth and thus experience similar environmental influences before adoption at a critical stage of their development.

An essentially genetic explanation of crime comes from the field of evolutionary biology, which discusses how evolutionary needs tens of thousands of years ago favored certain behavioral traits that survived through natural selection and thus may account for behavioral tendencies today. There have also been numerous investigations of chromosomal abnormalities; the pattern that has most interested some criminologists is the XYY variation, but the rarity of this abnormality means that at most, it explains only a very minuscule fraction of crime.

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Relatively new technologies, such as positron emission tomography (PET) and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), have enabled scientists to study the brain as never before. Researchers have used these technologies to study a possible link between certain brain abnormalities and criminal behavior.

Certain neurochemical mechanisms, most principally hormones and neurotransmitters, have also been the object of considerable attention. Ample evidence exists of a correlation between testosterone level and aggression or criminality, but there are several methodological problems inherent in this assertion. In view of these problems, a significant effect of testosterone on human aggression cannot be assumed. Another hormonal explanation of criminality focuses on women: pre-menstrual syndrome (PMS) but suffers from methodological flaws. The neurotransmitter, serotonin, has been linked with higher levels of various kinds of aggression, but there have been similar methodological problems. Diet and nutrition have also been thought to play a role in aggression and crime, but again, there are methodological difficulties. Some of the most interesting biological research on offending concerns the effects of complications during pregnancy and birth; these complications are often referred to as perinatal problems. Although this body of research suggests a biological role in offending, other interpretations are possible. A growing body of research finds that adolescents who experience early puberty are more likely to commit delinquency and other antisocial behavior. Many biologists and some criminologists are enthusiastic about the potential of biological theories to explain crime, but there are many concerns. One problem is that crime is simply too diverse; another problem is methodological; still another is "group rate differences"; and finally, there are social policy implications.

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Psychological explanations of crime include those emphasizing disturbances arising from negative early childhood experiences, inadequate moral development, low intelligence (low IQ), and personality problems. However, among other problems, these explanations generally minimize the importance of social factors, they cannot easily account for variations in crime by group or location for changes in crime rates, and they suggest that criminal behavior represents psychological abnormality. Research testing these explanations also often uses small, unrepresentative samples of offenders in prisons or mental institutions. Recent research using longitudinal data to investigate the impact of early childhood temperament problems is providing valuable evidence that such problems do predict later delinquency and crime.

Biological and psychological research has made a valuable contribution in stressing the importance of early childhood for later delinquency and criminality. For example, certain approaches in both biology and psychology focus on childhood problems stemming from poor prenatal health and nutrition and inadequate parenting. These approaches suggest that programs focusing on families at risk for both sets of problems can achieve significant crime reduction.

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

1. Describe the major assumptions of the views of Gall, Lombroso, Hooton, and Sheldon.
2. Summarize research findings on the genetic basis for criminality.
3. Summarize research findings on the roles played by brain abnormalities, neurochemical factors, and various perinatal and childhood problems in antisocial behavior and criminality.
4. List the problems that sociologists say are associated with biological explanations of crime.
5. List the assumptions of psychoanalytic explanations of crime.
6. Describe the assumptions of explanations based on moral development, intelligence, and personality.
7. Evaluate psychological explanations of crime.
8. Describe the policy implications of biological and psychological explanations of crime.

LECTURE OUTLINE

I. Introduction
II. Biological Explanations
    A. Arose during the nineteenth century, but lost prominence by the mid-twentieth century
    B. Enjoying a renewed popularity today
III. Early Biological Explanations
    A. Franz Gall: Phrenology
        i. Gall
            1. Austrian physician
        ii. Concerned the size and shape of the skull
        iii. Popular from mid-1700s to mid-1800s
        iv. Three major regions of the brain govern three types of behavior and personality characteristics
            1. Intellectual
            2. Moral
            3. Lower
                a. Type associated with criminal behavior
                b. Brain region governing it would be largest in criminal offenders
        v. Phrenologists could not directly measure these areas of the brain
            1. They reasoned that the skull's size and shape reflected the brain's size and shape
                a. Thought that skull dimensions provided good evidence of criminal tendencies

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vi. Never really caught on
    1. Determinism of positivism did not become widely accepted until decades later

B. Cesare Lombroso: Atavism
    i. Cesare Lombroso: Atavism
        1. Italian physician
        2. Generally considered founder of positivist school of criminology
        3. Influenced by Darwin's work on evolution
        4. Criminal offenders were atavists
            a. Atavists
                i. Throwbacks to an earlier stage of evolution
        5. Criminal behavior stemmed from atavism
        6. Criminal offenders were evolutionary accidents who resembled primitive people
        7. Evidence for his theory
            a. Measurements of bodies of Italian prison inmates compared to measurements of bodies of Italian soldiers
        8. Concluded prison inmates looked more like primitive men than like modern men
            a. Among other measurements, arms were very long, skulls and jaws were very large, and bodies were very hairy
        9. Theory was very popular, but research methodology was flawed
        10. Eventually modified view of atavism
            a. Continued to think that most serious offenders were atavists, reasoned that this group comprised only about one-third of all offenders
            b. Remainder were offenders who developed brain problems long after birth or those whose behavior stemmed from problems in their social environment
        11. Raffaele Garofalo and Enrico Ferri
            a. Two of Lombroso's students
            b. Carried on his views and made their own contributions
            c. Garofalo (1852-1934)
                i. Continued to emphasize biological bases for crime
            d. Ferri (1856-1929)
                i. Stressed that social conditions also play a role

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e. Both attacked classical view of free will and crime
   i. Argued for more positivist, determinist view of crime causation

12. Lombroso left lasting legacy
    a. Assumption that offenders are biologically different continues to guide today's biological research on crime
13. Atavist theory has long been discredited
    a. Charles Goring's (1870-1919) research

ii. Lombroso on Women
1. One of the first to study women who commit crime
2. Explanation of women's criminality, reflecting sexism of his time, rested on antiquated notions of women's biology
3. Claimed women were more likely than men to be atavists
4. Compared them to children
5. Thought they were morally deficient and that they were revengeful and jealous
6. Reasoned that women are naturally passive and viewed their "defects" as being neutralized by various traits
   a. Women who managed to commit crime despite crime-reducing traits must be "a born criminal more terrible than any man"
7. His views influenced study of women's crime for many years TBEXAM.COM

C. Earnest Hooton: Biological Inferiority
i. Harvard University anthropologist
ii. Revived interest in physiological explanations in 1939
iii. Compared to control group, prison inmates tended to have:
1. Low foreheads
2. Crooked noses
3. Narrow jaws
4. Small ears
5. Long necks
6. Stooped shoulders

iv. Labeled offenders "organically inferior" and "low-grade human organisms"
v. Concluded that "primary cause of crime is biological inferiority"
vi. Beliefs led to urging the government to sterilize offenders or exile them to reservations
vii. Exhibited same methodological flaws as Lombroso
viii. Did not become popular

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D. William Sheldon: Body Shapes
   i. Theory of somatology
      1. Assumes that people's body shapes affect their personalities and hence the crimes they commit
   ii. Three such body types identified:
      1. Endomorphs
         a. Heavy, with short arms and legs
         b. Tend to be relaxed and extroverted
         c. Relatively noncriminal
      2. Mesomorphs
         a. Athletic and muscular
         b. Tend to be aggressive
         c. Likely to commit violent crimes and other crimes requiring strength and speed
      3. Ectomorphs
         a. Thin
         b. Introverted
         c. Overly sensitive
   iii. People who committed crime tended to be mesomorphic
   iv. Suffered from same methodological flaws as Lombroso, Hooten, and other early biologists

IV. Contemporary Biological Explanations: Heredity and Genes
   A. Contemporary Biological Explanations: Heredity and Genes
      i. Biological researchers have long noticed that crime tends to "run in families" and have assumed that criminal tendencies are inherited
      ii. Work on heredity, genes, and crime now occupy a central place in biology and crime research
         1. Much of it using sophisticated techniques from field of molecular genetics
   B. Early Research
      i. Richard Dugdale (1877)
         1. Study of rural New York family named Jukes
         2. Researched family tree back 200 years
         3. Found that about 140 of 1,000 Jukeses had been incarcerated
         4. Had no control group
            a. Could not determine whether Jukeses' criminality was greater than other families' criminality
      ii. Henry H. Goddard (1912)
         1. Study of descendants of Martin Kallikak
         2. Kallikak fathered children with two different women in late 1700s
         3. Found higher proportion of crime in one set of descendants than on the other

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4. Social factors may explain findings better than heredity
    a. "Deviant" set of descendants lived in poverty
    b. "Normal" set lived in wealth

C. Twin Studies
i. Ideal way to study heredity and crime
1. If crime is inherited, individuals who commit crime should have clones that also commit crime, and vice versa
2. For each individual-clone pair, study would determine whether:
    a. Both members of the pair commit crime
    b. Both members do not commit crime
    c. One member commits crime and the other does not
3. Concordance
    a. When both members of a pair act alike
4. Discordance
    a. When both members of a pair do not act alike
5. If crime is inherited, would find much higher level of concordance than discordance in all individual-clone pairs

ii. Real life researcher cannot do ideal studies
iii. One way to approximate ideal study
1. Researchers have performed many such studies and usually find higher concordance among identical twins than among other siblings
iv. Other reasons, besides genetics may account for the concordance

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Teaching note: Ask your class if any of them have twins or know twins. Depending on class size, you may have several sets of twins. Ask them what they think about twin studies.

D. Adoption Studies
i. To rule out social environmental reasons, some researchers study identical twins separated shortly after birth and raised by different sets of parents
1. Because they do not live together, any concordance presumably must stem from genetic factors
2. Too few studies exist to infer a genetic basis for crime
    a. Results are also mixed

ii. Other researchers look at non-twin siblings who, through adoption, are raised by different sets of parents
1. Criminality of natural parents is statistically related to the criminality of their adopted children
2. May not be due to genetics

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iii. Problems
    1. Similar environmental influences before adoption at a critical stage of their development might account for any similarity found later between behavior and their natural parents' behavior
    2. Adoption agencies usually try to find adoptive parents whose economic status and other characteristics match those of the natural parents
        a. Resulting lack of random assignment in adoption studies creates bias that may account for statistical relationships found

E. Molecular Genetics
    i. Studies may yield best evidence for genetic basis for criminal behavior
    ii. Researchers now able to determine whether individuals possess specific genes and then to determine these genes are associated with two related characteristics:
        1. Greater probability of committing violent and other antisocial behavior
        2. Greater probability of having certain traits, such as low self-control, that help lead to criminal behavior
    iii. MAOA gene
        1. Regulates a neurotransmitter called serotonin
            a. Normally has a calming effect
        2. Variants have been implicated in high-risk behavior, including criminal behavior
        3. Individuals with variants are less responsive to serotonin
            a. Are more aggressive
        4. Several studies find that young men with variants are more likely to be:
            a. Violent
            b. In juvenile gangs
            c. Arrested and imprisoned
    iv. Research criticized on several grounds
        1. Its use of the same datasets
        2. Tendency to overstate size of any genetic effects on aggressive behavior
        3. Failures in some studies to find any such effect

F. Evolutionary Biology
    i. Discusses how evolutionary needs tens of thousands of years ago favored certain behavioral traits that survived through natural selection
        1. May account for behavioral tendencies today
            a. If so, these are genetically based

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ii. Example of rape
    1. Men called cads
        a. Rape provided evolutionary advantage to these men because it helped ensure the transmission of their genes in future generations
        b. Practiced an r strategy by producing many children and spending little time with them
    2. Men called dads
        a. Practiced a k strategy by producing fewer children because they were married or otherwise limited themselves to consensual sex
    3. Presumably, cads transmitted their genetic disposition to rape (and to commit other antisocial behavior) into some men today
    4. Critics fault this theory for several reasons:
        a. Its oversimplification of human history
        b. Its implication that rape was evolutionarily advantageous
        c. Scant evidence to support the theory

G. Chromosomal Abnormalities
    i. Each person normally has 23 pairs of chromosomes
        1. Twenty-third pair determines sex of child at moment of conception
            a. XX means fetus will be female
            b. XY means fetus will be male
        2. Occasionally a sperm will carry two X's, two Y's, neither an X nor a Y (designated O), or both an X and a Y
            a. Pattern that then results will be either XXX, XYY, XO, or XXY, respectively
    ii. Pattern that most interests some criminologists is XYY
        1. Discovered in 1961
        2. Found in fewer than 1 of every 1,000 men
        3. Compared to normal male indivicuals, XYY individuals are more likely to:
            a. Be taller with long arms
            b. Have severe acne
            c. Have low intelligence (low IQ)
    iii. The relatively few studies of XYY men find they are considerably more likely to be arrested or imprisoned, mainly for petty thefts
        1. Because abnormality is so rare, sample sizes are very small
        2. Some who view the abnormality as a cause of crime attribute link to low IQ of XYY men
        3. Other scholars think arrests and imprisonment are more likely result of bias against their unusual, menacing appearance
        4. At most, it explains only a very miniscule fraction of crime

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V. Contemporary Biological Explanations: Brain Abnormalities, Body Chemistry, Nutrition, and Perinatal and Childhood Problems
   A. Brain Abnormalities
      i. PET and MRI scans have enabled scientists to study the brain as never before
      ii. Researchers have used these to study link between brain abnormalities and criminal behavior
      iii. Frontal lobe impairment may be associated with violence and antisocial behavior
      iv. Related research finds adolescents who had childhood head injuries are more likely to commit delinquent behavior than those who did not have such injuries
   B. Neurochemical Factors
      i. Neurochemical Factors
         1. Biologists have tried to determine role that chemical substances might play in crime
         2. Two such substances are hormones and neurotransmitters
      ii. Hormones: Testosterone and Male Criminality
         1. Men commit much more crime than women
         2. Men also have more testosterone than women
         3. Combining these two basis sex differences, some scholars argue testosterone variation is important cause of male criminality
            a. Might explain why men commit more crime than women
            b. Might also explain why some men commit more crime than other men
         4. Ample evidence exists of a correlation between testosterone level and aggression
            a. Evidence in the animal kingdom
            b. Studies on human men
            c. Higher level said to increase aggression, risk taking, and impulsiveness, and thus also low self-control
               i. All important risk factors for delinquency and crime
         5. Several considerations point to weaker testosterone influence than some findings suggest
            a. It is also true that females in several species are more aggressive than males even though they have lower testosterone levels
            b. Neuroendocrinologists caution against extrapolating from animal studies to human behavior
               i. Human nervous system is much more complex than that of other animals

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6. Evidence among humans of testosterone induced offending is also open to question
    a. Some studies have found a link
    b. Other studies have found no such link
    c. Correlations that are found tend to be weak
    d. Moreover, any correlations found could simply mean offending affects testosterone

iii. Hormones: PMS and Crime by Women
1. In some women, hormonal changes in days before menstruation appear to be linked to increased stress, tension, lethargy, and other problems
    a. These women said to be suffering from premenstrual syndrome (PMS)
2. Some researchers think crime by women tends to occur in their premenstrual phase
    a. How they study this possibility
3. Katharina Dalton (1961)
    a. Early researcher
    b. Found such a concentration of women's offenses in their premenstrual phases
    c. Attributed their criminality to their emotional condition (which prompted them to commit their crimes) and their increased lethargy and clumsiness (which made them vulnerable to detection and arrest) during this time
    d. This and other findings have led female defedants to claim PMS as a defense
4. PMS explanation is very controversial
    a. Many think it takes us back to days of "raging hormones"
        i. Women were considered to be unfit to hold certain positions because they could not be trusted to act rationally during "that time of the month"
    b. It is also methodologically flawed
        i. Assumes people can accurately remember when menstruation occurred
            1. Some can, others cannot
        ii. Stress and other problems can disrupt menstrual cycles

C. Neurotransmitters
i. Chemical substances that aid the body's billions of neurons to transmit impulses to each other
ii. In studying aggression, scientists particularly interested in serotonin

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iii. In animals, low levels of serotonin linked to higher levels of aggression
iv. Several human studies have found low levels of serotonin in violent offenders
v. Research suffers from same methodological problems already discussed
    1. Measurement issues
    2. Small effect sizes
    3. Possibility that lower levels of serotonin stem from aggression rather than the reverse
vi. Some studies even find higher levels of serotonin in aggressive individuals

Teaching note: Ask students if they would like to know if they have a biological condition that might influence them to commit crimes. Why or why not would they want to know? Should, if we find a specific gene, keep a database of such individuals? What benefits and harms could come with maintaining such databases?

D. Nutrition and Diet
    i. Inadequate maternal nutrition while pregnant may impair fetal neurological and cognitive development
    ii. Inadequate nutrition in childhood may also impair neurological and cognitive development
    iii. Whatever its source, this type of impairment
        1. Worsens children's behavior
        2. Weakens their school performance
        3. Weakens their social relationships
        4. Weakening in turn produces further antisocial behavior
    iv. Bad diets of saturated fat and sugar may also promote antisocial behavior
        1. Related research finds that fish oil supplements help reduce aggressive behavior
    v. Theory needs more research

Teaching note: Open up a discussion about how students eat, and if they notice how they feel and act based on what they eat.

E. Perinatal Problems
    i. Pregnancy and birth complications may also impair fetal and children's cognitive and neurological development in ways that increase antisocial behavior during childhood and criminality in older years
    ii. Problems sometimes have no known cause, but often reflect:
        1. Poor nutrition of pregnant people
        2. Their use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs and/or
        3. High levels of maternal stress from living in poverty, living with an abusive partner, or other circumstances

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iii. Raise likelihood of behavioral issues during childhood and adolescence and criminality in young adulthood

F. Adverse Childhood Experiences
  i. Many children experience severe problems
    1. Physical and sexual abuse
    2. Parental conflict
    3. Deep poverty
    4. Exposure to neighborhood gunshots and violence
  ii. These and other so-called adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) may produce high levels of chronic stress (toxic stress)
    1. This stress may impair cognitive and neurological development in ways that increase antisocial behavior during childhood and criminality during adolescence and young adulthood

G. Lead and Other Toxins
  i. Exposure may impair children's cognitive and neurological development in ways that foster antisocial and criminal behavior as children age
  ii. Reduced exposure to lead since late 1970s may help explain dramatic crime drop after early 1990s
  iii. Research supports idea that lead exposure during childhood does increase likelihood of antisocial and delinquent behavior later on
  iv. Exposure to other toxins may have same effect

H. Early Puberty TBEXAM.COM
  i. Adolescents who experience early puberty more likely to commit delinquent acts and other antisocial behavior
  ii. Effect may occur for at least three reasons
    1. It prompts adolescents to associate with older adolescents and thus have more opportunity to get into trouble
    2. Some early maturers resent the fact that they now look like adults but are not given freedom by parents to act like adults
      a. Illegal behavior thus provides them a way to act out their resentment by rebelling against their parents
    3. Some early maturers experience depression and other psychological disorders that may prompt them to act in antisocial ways

VI. Evaluation of Biological Explanations

A. Evaluation of Biological Explanations
  i. Many criminologists favor biological explanations
    1. Argue that modern biological theory has been unfairly stigmatized by crude early work of Lombroso, Hooten, and others
    2. Increasingly advocate blend of biology and sociology in what is termed a biosocial perspective

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ii. Biosocial perspective
    1. Also termed biopsychosocial perspective
    2. Highlights importance of both biological factors and the social environment for understanding criminality
    3. Biological traits interact with social environmental influences to produce crime:
        a. Biological factors may predispose individuals to crime, but extent and timing of influence depends on environmental factors
    4. Dual hazard effect
        a. Individuals are most likely to commit crime if they have a biological predisposition for it and if they come from negative family environments

iii. Despite growing popularity, criminologists still have some concerns
    1. Crime is simply too diverse
    2. Cannot easily explain group-rate differences and changes in crime rates
        a. Group-rate differences impact ability to show a specific cause, biologically or socially, of crime
    3. Third issue involves social policy implications
        a. To reduce crime, we must correct the biological deficiency that causes it
    4. People found to have a biological disposition for criminality may inevitably be regarded as biologically different and even biologically inferior
        a. If it is found that a biological trait makes certain people more likely to commit crime, we must proceed with caution so as not to produce racial or ethnic prejudice

B. The Value of Research on Maternal and Childhood Problems
    i. Four lines of biological research discussed above hold promise for reducing antisocial behavior and criminality
        1. All focus on problems during pregnancy and childhood
        2. What findings suggest and reinforce

Teaching note: Genetic background, heredity, and hormones are all areas that have enormous appeal in terms of explaining criminal behavior, especially when studies appear that seem to provide enormous support for the point of view that there is a genetic basis for crime. Yet, as your students should appreciate after carefully reading this chapter, there are numerous methodological problems in heredity and crime research. In order to encourage a clear understanding of these problems, encourage your class to assist in making a consolidated listing of these difficulties. As they respond, you can construct this list on the blackboard, a viewgraph, or CAL resources if you have these available. You may wish to utilize research on premenstrual syndrome (PMS) as an example of how some proposed explanations have enormous popular credibility in the form of long

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standing "truths" about human behavior—in this case, statements about "raging hormones" and observations like "Stay clear of her...it's that time of the month."

VII. Psychological Explanations
- A. Psychology offers valuable explanation of individual behavior, but says little about larger social and structural forces also at work
- B. In area of crime, sociology and psychology together provide more comprehensive explanation than either discipline can provide separately
  - i. Sociology
    - 1. Tries to explain why certain groups and locations have more crime than others
  - ii. Psychology
    - 1. Tries to explain why a few people with or without these backgrounds commit serious crime whereas most do not

VIII. Psychoanalytic Explanations
- A. Modern explanations say delinquency and crime arise from internal disturbances developing in early childhood because of interaction problems between parents and children
  - i. Explanations derive from work of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)
- B. Freud
  - i. Founder of psychoanalysis
  - ii. Focused more on mental disorders than on criminal behavior
    - 1. Later theorists drew on his work to explain crime and delinquency
  - iii. Mental disorders arise from conflict between society and instinctive needs of individual
  - iv. Individual personality consists of three parts:
    - 1. Id
      - a. Present at birth
      - b. Consists of instinctual desires that demand immediate gratification
    - 2. Ego
      - a. Eventually develops
      - b. Represents more rational part of personality
    - 3. Superego
      - a. Comes later
      - b. Represents internalization of society's moral code
      - c. This is the individual's conscience
        - i. Leads individual to feel guilty or ashamed for violating social norms
  - v. Development of these three parts is generally complete by about age 5

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Teaching note: After discussing Freud's three parts of the personality, to add to the discussion, have students share examples of each of the three parts of the personality at work from their own personal experiences or experiences they have viewed from others. Have them explain how those experiences fit the parts of the associated part of the personality.

C. Freudians say people inherently seek pleasure because of the id, but that too much pleasure seeking might produce antisocial behavior
    i. Ego and superego thus need to restrain the id
        1. Happens in mentally healthy individuals
            a. Three parts coexist harmoniously
    ii. Imbalance can occur when child's needs are not met
        1. If superego becomes too weak
        2. Can also result if superego is too strong
D. Value of for understanding crime is limited for several reasons:
    i. Suggest antisocial behavior is mentally disordered behavior, which is not true for most individuals
    ii. They neglect later life-cycle influences, which are also important
    iii. Psychoanalytic research relies on case histories of individuals under treatment or on samples of offenders in juvenile institutions, adult prisons, or mental institutions
        1. This methodology ignores possibilities that these subjects might not represent vast majority of offenders not under treatment or institutionalized and that any mental or emotional problems may be result, and not cause, of their institutionalization

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E. View of women's criminality
    i. Freud's views on women reflected sexism of his day
        1. Viewed childrearing as women's natural role
        2. Thought women and girls who could not adjust to this role suffered from "penis envy" and hence mental disorders
        3. To compensate for lack of a penis, some women try to act like men in desiring careers
    ii. Extending Freud's views to delinquency, Freudian scholars later attributed most girls' delinquency to their sexual needs
    iii. View lost popularity in 1970s thanks to critiques by feminist scholars

IX. Moral Development, Intelligence, and Personality
A. Moral Development and Crime
    i. Jean Piaget (1954)
        1. Children experience four stages of mental development:
            a. Sensorimotor period
                i. Lasts until age of 2 years
                ii. Involves learning about immediate environment and developing reflexes

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b. Preoperational period
    i. Lasts from ages 2 to 7 years
    ii. Consists of learning language, drawing, and other skills
c. Concrete operations stage
    i. Lasts from ages 7 to 11 years
    ii. Involves learning logical thinking and problem solving
d. Formal operations stage
    i. Occurs during ages 11 to 15 years
    ii. Concerns dealing with abstract ideas

ii. Lawrence Kohlberg (1969)
1. Developed the theory of moral development
    a. Ability to distinguish right from wrong and to determine the ethically correct course of action in complex circumstances
2. Theorized that individuals pass through several stages in which they develop their ability to reason morally
    a. In early stages
        i. Children's moral development is related solely to punishment
    b. In later stages, as adolescents
        i. They begin to realize that society and their parents have rules that deserve to be obeyed in and of themselves, not just to avoid punishment
        ii. They also realize behaving as expected will lead others to view them positively
    c. In the final stages, during late adolescence and early adulthood
        i. People recognize that universal moral principles supersede laws of any one society
        ii. Those reaching this stage may decide to disobey law in name of a higher law
3. Theorized that not everyone makes it through all the stages
    a. Some people's moral development stops after only the early stages
    b. Incomplete moral development was major reason for criminal and other antisocial behavior
4. One problem with tests of Kohlberg's theory is familiar chicken-and-egg question of causal order

B. Intelligence and Crime
i. Researchers have long blamed violent and property crime on low intelligence (low IQ)

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1. Studies in early twentieth century found low IQs among prison inmates and juveniles in reform schools
    a. Later criticized on methodological grounds and lost popularity by 1930s

ii. Travis Hirschi and Michael Hindelang (1977)
1. Renewed interest in IQ-crime relationship
2. Concluded that low IQ is important cause of delinquency

iii. More recent studies also make link

iv. Several reasons might explain possible causal link between IQ and delinquency
1. Youths with low IQ do poorly in school
    a. Poor performance in turn leads to less attachment to school and thus to higher rates of delinquency
2. Experience lower self-esteem
    a. Turn for support to youths with similar problems
        i. Some are involved in delinquency, so they become delinquent themselves
3. Lower IQ leads to lower ability to engage in moral reasoning and to delay gratification, increasing likelihood of offending
4. Less able to appreciate the consequences of their actions and to be more susceptible to influence of delinquent friends

v. The link between low IQ and crime is controversial for several reasons
1. First is methodological
2. Some finds only a weak o no link between IQ and delinquency when other predictors of delinquency are taken into account

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C. Personality and Crime

i. Early studies focusing on personality and crime

ii. Although this early research found personality differences between offenders and nonoffenders, several problems limited value of this finding:
1. Much of this research examined institutionalized offenders
    a. Offender' personality disorders may have been the result and not the cause of their institutionalization
2. Personality-offending link found might have resulted from effect of offending on personality traits rather than the reverse
3. Because many studies did not control for socioeconomic status, education, and other characteristics, correlation between personality and crime may have been spurious

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