

*THE DEVELOPMENT
OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THOUGHT
CONTEXT, THEORY, AND POLICY*

CHAD POSICK

ROUTLEDGE



The Development of Criminological Thought

This book focuses on the history and development of criminological thought from the pre-Enlightenment period to the present and offers a detailed and chronological overview of competing theoretical perspectives in criminology in their social and political context. This book covers:

- A discussion of how major theorists came to espouse their ideas and how the social context of the time influenced the development of criminological thought;
- An exploration of the scientific method and the way in which theories are tested;
- Details of the origins of each theory as well as their recent developments in scholarship and research;
- Comparative and international research in theory;
- The empirical support for theory and the relationship between research and policy;
- Biosocial and developmental criminology, including the biosocial underpinnings of criminal behavior and the influence of neuroscience and brain psychology;
- Theoretical applications for explaining different crime types, such as genocide, white-collar crime, and environmental crime;
- A summary of the current state of criminological knowledge and a vision for the future of criminology.

The book includes lists of further reading and chapter summaries, and is supported by timelines of key works and events. This book is essential reading for courses on criminological theory, criminal behavior, criminal psychology, and biosocial criminology.

Chad Posick is Assistant Professor at the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Georgia Southern University, USA.

"Professor Chad Posick's *The Development of Criminological Thought* is a thoughtful, interesting, and ebullient examination of theories of crime from antiquity to the present. With careful attention to the social and historical events that contextualize and frame criminological ideas and keen insights into the disciplinary and ideological skirmishes within academic criminology, Posick's book is valuable not only as a primer on theory but also on the craft of criminology. After reading the book, it is clear why Posick is one of the leading young criminologists in the United States."

– Matt DeLisi,

*Professor in the Department of Sociology, Iowa State University, USA,
and Editor-in-Chief of Journal of Criminal Justice*

"Situating the subject matter historically, culturally, and academically, Chad Posick offers a comprehensive and up-to-date view of criminological theorizing, skillfully showing how various theoretical explanations of crime would hold across time and space. The author has an easiness to synthesize and clearly present the main theories of delinquency, crime, and criminal victimization, as well as the most recent theoretical developments, including those that focus on contemporary transnational and international crime issues. Carefully written, interesting, accessible, and highly informative, this remarkable book is a pleasure to read."

– Viviana Andreescu,

Associate Professor of Justice Administration, University of Louisville, USA

The Development of Criminological Thought

Context, Theory, and Policy

Chad Posick

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To my wife, Sandra, for always supporting me, pushing me, and loving me.



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Foreword

It was our joint appreciation of theory that prompted my introduction to Chad Posick. Back in early 2015, Chad, along with his colleague and good friend Michael Rocque, asked if I was interested in being a critic for an author-meets-critic session at the upcoming American Society of Criminology meetings in Washington, DC. The book in question was Simon Singer's award-winning *America's Safest City: Delinquency and Modernity in Suburbia*. At the time, I had not read the book but a quick glance through its pages along with Chad and Michael's persuasive email about Singer's theoretical contribution to the field convinced me that this was something I wanted to be a part of. Fast forward a few years. the author-meets-critic session was a big hit, Michael and Chad went on to co-edit a special issue of *Crime, Law and Social Change* that featured our panel's commentary, and I have come to know Chad as an extremely bright, insightful, up-and-coming young scholar. Most of all, I have come to realize that Chad, like me, has a deep appreciation of theory – something of a rarity these days.

Chad's interest in theory is evident in much of his work, including in his first book, *The Criminal Brain*, co-authored with Nicole Rafter and Michael Rocque. Among other things, *The Criminal Brain* provides an up-to-date overview of the newest research in bio-social criminology. Yet Chad's theoretical focus goes well beyond bio-social criminology, spilling into his other research interests such as the intersection of victimization and offending, identity and desistance from crime, and the history of criminology. In a delightful way, Chad's research interests converge in this book, *The Development of Criminological Thought*, a text which traces the construction of ideas that were used to understand crime and criminality from the ancient Greeks up through the contemporary theorists of today. In this book, Chad reviews ideas and theories about why people commit crime and why rates of crime are higher in some areas than in others.

There are several reasons why *The Development of Criminological Thought* stands out from other theory texts one might read. First and foremost, a deliberate focus is placed upon the historical context and social events that influenced how theorists understood – and continue to understand – criminal behavior. Chad's discussion of each perspective highlights theory's embedded and dynamic nature (two descriptors not often paired with the word “theory”), and reveals that theories cannot be separated from history, or from the conditions of the times. As just one example, the chapter on social disorganization theory, concerned with explaining why crime rates vary across neighborhoods in a given city, carefully traces the theory's intellectual history, describing its development during the first part of the twentieth century – a period marked by rapid political,

economic and social change that affected virtually all aspects of life. Industrialization, urbanization and immigration were central features of the American landscape in the 1920s and 1930s, something not overlooked by theorists at the time. A clear link between what was happening and the development of social disorganization theory emphasized the challenges of this country's heterogeneous, rapidly changing society and considered the implications for crime. As with all theories in this book, Chad details this historical backdrop. In this way, *The Development of Criminological Thought* is ideal not just for those wanting to learn the content of criminological theories themselves but for anyone curious about the development of ideas. History buffs welcome!

Who better to learn from about this history and development than the theorists themselves? One of the most unique features of *The Development of Criminological Thought* is the inclusion of personal interviews with luminaries in the field. Through responses to a series of interview questions, the reader becomes privy to impromptu reflections by some of the leading architects of criminological theory. Although I enjoyed all of the interviews, my favorite was with Simon Singer, the author of *America's Safest City*, mentioned earlier. His comments about the need for criminological theory to better capture the complexity of modern-day life for youth are spot-on.

Beyond these interviews, Chad also delves into the biographies of key theorists, offering a glimpse into their personal backgrounds and histories. Much of this information was new to me and incredibly fascinating. For example, I learned that one of my all-time favourite theorists and leading criminologist in the field, Robert Sampson, was just a "fairly average student" in college and only went to graduate school after deciding that selling shoes for a living wasn't as "easy" and as "lucrative" as he had originally thought!

Also unique to the book is the broad range of theories covered – from the earliest thoughts on criminality reflecting the perspectives of ancient Greek philosophers and those philosophers closer to the Enlightenment period as well as religious figures throughout history to contemporary theories, which have emerged in the field in the past 50 years and show considerable promise for guiding future theoretical efforts. Beyond the theories themselves, Chad also introduces the reader to critical issues which one must keep in mind as one studies theories of crime and offending. In particular, I found the chapter on crime and victimization, which considers the overlap between offenders and victims, extremely useful. I am not at all surprised by this; Chad's dissertation project involved investigating victim-offender overlap in 30 countries, and he has published extensively in this area. His contributions were recently recognized when he received the New Scholar Award from the Victimology Section of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

I can honestly say that no other theory text covers such a wide range of criminological theory and identifies so many key issues related to offending, something that is no easy feat. And I say that as someone who routinely teaches courses on criminological theory, has written theoretical articles published in leading journals in the field, and has even written her own theory text, *Researching Theories of Crime and Deviance*, co-authored with Thomas Stucky and Marvin Krohn. Take my word for it; Chad has done a remarkable job here.

After reading *The Development of Criminological Thought*, you will come away with a broader and deeper understanding of criminological theory. You will also gain an appreciation of just how emergent and ever-evolving theory is, as the title of the text itself implies, and as Albert Einstein and Leopold Infeld acknowledged nearly 80 years ago in their book, *The Evolution of Physics: The Growth of Ideas from Early Concepts to Relativity and Quanta*, which traces the development of ideas in physics:

To use a comparison, we could say that creating a new theory is not like destroying an old barn and erecting a skyscraper in its place. It is rather like climbing a mountain, gaining new and wider views, discovering unexpected connections between our starting-point and its rich environment. But the point from which we started

out still exists and can be seen, although it appears smaller and forms a tiny part of our broad view gained by the mastery of the obstacles on our adventurous way up.

Enjoy the journey!

Charis E. Kubrin, Professor of Criminology,
Law and Society, University of California, Irvine
Irvine, CA

Preface and special dedication

This book is about the development of ideas and theories about why people commit crime and why rates of crime are higher in some areas than in others. The history of criminology is often overlooked and only a few theorists have pressed us to think seriously about the foundations of criminological thought.¹ To this end, I hope this book gives readers insight into the origins of criminology and the progression of thought up until today. I also hope to give due credit and attention to recent theories and ideas in criminology that are “in the works.” So much insightful and progressive work has been done and is currently being done in the field of criminology. Not only is this extremely important for the field, but it is very exciting! My intent is to carefully document this progression by discussing classic theories as well as contemporary theories – and/or extensions of theories – in the contexts in which they appear.

At this point, I wish to point to three criminologists who have profoundly impacted the field through their theoretical and empirical contributions as well as their mentorship of several students who have gone on to accomplish great things. Professors Thomas C. Castellano, Nicole H. Rafter and Chester L. Britt III, all colleagues and friends to me and several others, passed away much too soon, leaving a significant hole in the field and in the hearts of many. However, their legacies live on in their scholarly contributions and in the ideas they transmitted to their students.

Dr. Castellano, the professor who gave me my first student research position and introduced me to the field, taught at Southern Illinois University before coming to the Rochester Institute of Technology where I had the pleasure of studying under his mentorship. Tom’s work began with attention to neighborhood context and crime. He wrote early articles with State University of New York at Albany colleagues Robert Sampson and John Laub exploring the role of inequality and neighborhood conditions on victimization and offending.² Of course, Sampson and Laub both went on to make significant contributions to criminology in that area – and in many others. Throughout the 1990s, Tom’s work evaluated the efficacy of boot camps and other intermediate sanctions.³ These approaches, based on the assumption that structure and discipline will lead to desistance from crime, were popular during this decade. However, his work debunked this assumption and, along with research by others such as Doris MacKenzie, likely led to their fall in popularity to virtual non-existence today. Finally, his most recent work was centered on super-maximum prisons and their negative impacts upon people and society.⁴

Dr. Rafter, who worked closely with me during my graduate studies at Northeastern University where she taught for over 30 years, introduced me to biosocial criminology and co-authored a paper and book with me on the topic.⁵ Nicole's (Nicky's) work was in the areas of feminist criminology,⁶ the history of criminology,⁷ and biosocial criminology,⁸ and had a widespread impact. She was responsible for assisting in the development of the Division of Women and Crime through the American Society of Criminology, establishing one of the first courses on biosocial criminology in the country, and she still tops lists of the most productive female scholars in the field of criminology.⁹ Always, her work contained a deep appreciation for history and the importance of context in the production of knowledge. Perhaps it is not surprising that I attempt in this book to follow in her footsteps and give attention to the history and development of criminology.

Most recently, Dr. Britt passed away just after taking over as chairperson of the sociology department at Iowa State University. While I never formally took a class with Chet, I did audit his advanced statistical methods course at Northeastern University (I still hear his encouragement, "It's just a little bit of algebra!"). His work was diverse, investigating criminal justice decision-making,¹⁰ victimization¹¹ and statistical methods.¹² He served as editor of *Justice Quarterly* and, in that capacity, was a disseminator of knowledge in the field at that time. Most importantly, Chet was always there with a word of wisdom, a kind word of support, and a welcoming smile. His scholarly work, in both theory development and statistical methods, advanced the field in countless ways that we will appreciate for decades to come.

We all build upon what our family, friends, teachers, and mentors pass along to us. There is a rich history to knowledge – both worldly and personal – that should be honored. I have no doubt that many who read these pages will go on to do great things with the knowledge accumulated across the generations.

Notes

1. Laub, 2006; Rafter, 2010.
2. Sampson & Castellano, 1982; Sampson, Castellano, & Laub, 1981.
3. Cowles & Castellano, 1996.
4. Briggs, Sundt, & Castellano, 2003.
5. Posick, Rocque, & Rafter, 2014.
6. Rafter, 1995.
7. Rafter, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2010.
8. Rafter, Posick, & Rocque, 2016.
9. Weir & Orrick, 2013.
10. Britt, 2000.
11. Britt, 2001.
12. Weisburd & Britt, 2007.

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It's hard to know where to start in thanking all those who had a hand in the final product that is this book. First, I must thank friends and colleagues who have read the manuscript in its entirety. That is more than I could ask for – but I did. Michael Rocque, thank you for carefully reading every word of the text. As always, your keen eye and critical approach is always helpful. Thanks for giving the book quite a glance with little to no reward. I also have to thank my department chair and colleague Brenda Blackwell not only for supporting me while I wrote this book but for providing insight and resources to flesh out sections that I could not have done by myself. Two graduate assistants in particular helped envision the material in the book and bring it to fruition. Thank you, MacKenzie McBride and Tyler Edwards, for all your hard work. I really look forward to seeing what you do in the future. Also, thanks to Jeremy Bell for all the insight on the early theories of crime and justice, and to Jared Sexton for encouragement and company during times of stress and doubt. I am really indebted for all the advice and materials from the scholars interviewed for this book. Although there is not room to name each individually here, I am appreciative of every single one. Each person gave their time and efforts to this project with little assurance that their efforts would pay off. I hope they have. A very special thank you goes to Charis Kubrin for reading the text, offering feedback, and agreeing to write the Preface to the book. Charis is the first person I approached to write the Preface, as there is no better person in my mind to start off the journey through the book, and she so graciously agreed to do so. Finally, when writing led to being stir crazy in the house, I want to thank Three Tree Coffee Roasters in Statesboro for providing a nice place to write with caffeinated beverages. And thanks to Gnats Landing across the street for providing something harder to drink when it was called for. Finally, for the sweet sounds of jazz from Keith Barber who serenaded the final revisions of the text at Gee Da's Table.

About the author

Chad Posick is Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice and Criminology at Georgia Southern University. He received his doctorate in Criminology and Criminal Justice from Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts. His research interests focus on how biology shapes behavior and how trauma and abuse can shape later biological functioning. Currently, his research is exploring how to intervene in the cycle of violence, comprehensively explain victimization, and improve police–community relations. At Georgia Southern University he currently teaches Criminal Behavior, Statistics, and Inside-Out. Outside of work, Chad likes to watch college sports, go backpacking, bird-watch, and watch movies with his wife Sandra, two dogs Lulu and Silas, and two cats Penny and Hank.

Introduction

Developing and evaluating criminological theory may sound like a very technical and scientific pursuit (which it definitely is to a degree), but it is also something that we do every day. When we hear about a horrible crime in the media like a murder, school shooting, or abduction, we begin to formulate theories. Was the shooter mentally disturbed? Did they have access to a gun? Were they abused as a child or did they have poor parents? Were they pressured into crime by bad friends? All of these are common “theories” people in society have regarding the commission of crime.

The theories covered in this book are similar but have been very carefully formulated by scholars, and have received some level of scientific support (either recently or in the past). There are hundreds of theories of human behavior broadly and of criminal behavior specifically. We cannot cover them all in this book. As the author, I had to consciously choose which theories to discuss. My intent was to cover important foundational work in criminological thought and the most recent theories that have begun to generate scientific support. Theorists from the Enlightenment period to the mid-1900s are considered classical theorists and their work – while setting the foundation for current theories – has largely been disproved or substantially revised in light of evidence that did not support the theory. The contemporary theories are those that have begun to emerge in the field of criminology over the past 50 years and show promise to guide future theoretical efforts.

While the book proceeds in a rough chronological order, it is impossible to progress through the development of criminological thought in a neat way, placing theories in silos across time. Theories and perspectives emerge, transform, and re-emerge throughout time and this should be noted by all readers. That said, I have tried to progress through the book in a way where theories are discussed in the order from when their ideas first emerged onto the criminological scene. Not all would agree on this order, and even who should be credited as the first to come up with certain ideas, but I have used my judgment based on the existing literature.

To reiterate, I had to choose which theories to include in this book. Therefore, it does not cover all theories, but my effort was to include a wide range of ideas regardless of my own personal opinion about those theories. In all science, personal opinions, political orientation, and religious ideology must be left out in favor of objective science (we will talk more about what this means in Chapter 1). The theorists featured and interviewed are the result of efforts to reach out to as many theorists as possible and their willingness to talk to me. Their appearance is not a reflection on my personal opinions of their theories or on them as scholars (although everyone I reached out to was more than nice and

agreeable – regardless of their willingness to participate in an interview). Furthermore, it is impossible to cover each theory or set of ideas in their totality. In some respects this means that each discussion of theory is necessarily “watered down.” Theory is a wonderful world of deep philosophy, nuance, and intrigue. I only hope to reveal the tip of that iceberg; it is up to you to dig deeper.

Theory is not independent of context. The social and cultural mindset of the time directs how people approach scientific questions and provides the lens with which they view the world. I have attempted to contextualize theory by putting it within the milieu of the time when the theories were developed. I felt that was very important, especially after considering the thoughts and writings of others. For example, in a conversation with criminologist Shadd Maruna, he told me,

Criminology isn’t worth a whole lot if it isn’t contextualized. Whatever appeal our field has (and it has been remarkably popular for a good long stretch) derives primarily from the sense of the field being ‘alive’ and in touch with the ‘real world’ (in ways that some of the older, better established disciplines are not). So, if the strength of our work is that it is connected to contemporary controversies and issues in society, then it follows that criminology is automatically grounded in the context of the wider society around it.¹

I couldn’t agree more.

Criminology is a science. Therefore, as students and scholars, one must approach the study of behavior with a critical eye. Be suspicious. Question each aspect of a theory. Leave your personal opinions at the door and walk into a room where you can feel free to question other people’s opinions and offer your own. In turn, do not take offense at those who disagree with your thoughts. Develop a tough skin to accept criticism, learn, and revise your thoughts. We are all continuing to learn. No one theorist in this book has all the answers – and I certainly don’t either. But together, we can all make strides into finding out more about why people commit delinquent and criminal acts and how to address those individuals who take part in those acts. What an exciting and interesting topic! I hope that all of you who read this book go on to expand and revise these theories and apply them in your life’s work – whatever that may be.

Note

- 1 Personal Interview with Shadd Maruna, December 12, 2016.

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