

CHAPTER 3: THEORIES OF CRIME: LEARNING AND ENVIRONMENT

Theories

- Psychodynamic theories (inner drives of individuals)
- Learning theories (conditioning)
- Social learning theories (social setting)

Psychodynamic Theories of Crime

Basic Psychodynamic Concepts

- Humans are inherently anti-social; driven by pleasure-seeking and destructive impulses
- Crime occurs when impulses are not adequately controlled

Personality Systems

- Id: pleasure principle, present at birth; represents primitive, instinctual desires
- Ego: reality principle; suppresses id's impulses, allow people to function in socially acceptable ways
- Superego: conscience and ego-ideal; moral regulator; internalizes group standards

Personality Development

- Freud: psychosexual stages (oral, anal, phallic, latent, genital)
- Problems in superego formation affect one's behaviour
- **3 sources of criminal behaviour**
 1. Harsh superego: guilt; criminal behaviour as a way to invite punishment
 2. Weak superego: failure to regulate the id
 3. Deviant superego: superego standards reflect deviant identification

Bowlby's Theory of Maternal Deprivation

- Children need maternal care to develop normally
- Lack of maternal care → the child does not develop means to control his conduct

Juvenile Delinquency (Glueck and Glueck)

- **Parenting** key in superego development
- Delinquent families (parenting variables): lack of warmth; emotional disturbances; greater carelessness in supervision of children
- Prediction of juvenile delinquency based on physical, attitudinal, psychological, socio-cultural data

Hirschi's Control Theories

- Social bond theory: people do not violate the law because of social bonds
- Social bonds promote conformity
- Types of social bonds: attachment, commitment, involvement, belief

Gottfredson & Hirschi's General Theory of Crime

- Level of self-control is determination of crime

- Low self-control + opportunities to commit crimes → propensity to criminal behaviour
- Level of self-control depends on quality of parenting in early years

Basic Psychodynamic Principles: The Id, Ego, and Superego

- From a psychodynamic theory humans are thought to be inherently antisocial, driven by pleasure seeking and destructive impulses. According to this perspective crime generally occurs when these impulses are not adequately controlled.
- This is thought to happen when internal psychic forces tasked with the job of regulating such impulses fail to develop as they should, typically due to traumatic childhood experiences.
- An example of how psychoanalysts might explain emergence of criminal behaviour is through David Abrahamsens work, a well- known forensic psychiatrist, and psychoanalyst. He believes that homicide does not originate from an impulse to kill, but is released by the intensity of internal conflicts. He states that he has found one common characteristic that all murderers were intensely tormented. Deep down they feel trapped in an intense conflict growing out of struggle between their sexual and self-preserving feelings on the one hand and their external surrounding on the other. It is these inner drives that in a certain situation may trigger murderous impulses that result in violent acting out to the point of murder.
- The conflict is due to serious traumatic situations mostly in childhood. If we repress these hateful emotions with no outward expression or release they accumulate and our ego-protecting defences crumble and murderous acting-out impulses emerge.

Freud's dynamic personality system:

ID: represents unconscious, primitive, and instinctual desires, governed by the...

- *Pleasure principle:* it seeks immediate pleasure with little consideration of the undesirable consequences that may result if and impulse is acted upon.

Ego: Opposes the ID, attempts to mediate between one's primal needs and society's demands.

- *Reality principle:* guides the ego, its development coincides with the emergence of reality-oriented thinking and it allows the ID to function in socially acceptable ways by suppressing the ID's impulses until appropriate situations arise.

Super Ego: guides the Ego... internalization of group standards, typically conveyed to the child through parental care and discipline, and it acts as a moral regulator, tasked with the job of overseeing the choices we make.

- *Conscience*: allows individual to distinguish between right and wrong and forces the ego to inhibit ID pursuits that are out of line with one's morals.
- *Ego-ideal*: represents the socially accepted standards to which we all aspire.

Freud's Psychosexual stages:

Difficulties resolving conflicts within any given stage can potentially result in problems with personality development, which would be apparent in one's behaviour.

Oral: 0-1.5

- Gratification through sucking and feeding, conflict is weaning, which deprives the child of sensory and psychological pleasures such as nursing and feeling cared for by the mother.

Anal: 1-3

- Primary conflict is control, as the child has to learn to delay the pleasure associated with bodily expulsion.

Phallic: 2-6 Sexual Conflict ... they develop an interest in their opposite sex parent unconsciously and fear of retribution from the same sex parent.

- **Oedipus Complex**: through fear of castration and gradual identification with the father, which allows the boy to possess his mother vicariously, the young male becomes indoctrinated into the appropriate sexual role in life and develops a superego.
- **Electra Complex**: young female realises she has no penis and blames this on her mother (penis envy), by identifying with the mother the girl begins to resolve this conflict. Freud believes that females remain slightly fixated at the phallic stage and therefore never develop as strong a superego as boys.

Latent: 5 - puberty

- Sexual drive becomes de-emphasized and repressed sexual energy gets redirected to asexual pursuits such as same sex friendships.

Genital: adolescence –adulthood

- Interest in genitals reborn and the individual focuses on a search for intimacy with and opposite sex adult partner. The energy that can be devoted to the pursuits depends on the extent to which the conflicts encountered in the previous stages have been successfully resolved.

Three Main Sources of Criminal Behaviour Relating to Inadequate Superego Formation: Harsh, Weak, or Deviant...

1. Harsh Superego

- *Neurotic Criminal*: the existence of a harsh superego is assumed to lead to pathological levels of unconscious guilt (typically over unresolved infantile desires) and criminal behaviour is meant to subconsciously invite punishment in an attempt to resolve this guilt.

Ex. David Box 3.1: David's childhood was one filled with turmoil, fear and unhappiness he was never abused but he had a poor relationship with his father, he grew up and got married, had 3 kids after 7 years of marriage he divorced and started dating another girl. He began to have a gambling problem... when his mother died he became reckless affirming his father's opinion that he would be nothing without him... he soon owed \$600,000 to people that he gambled away, so he turned to manufacturing drugs, and even though he knew the police were watching him 5 weeks before he began his meth lab, he still went ahead with it.. A psychoanalyst would say this was done because the crimes David committed brought on the punishment he unconsciously felt he deserved.

2. Weak Superego

- *Psychopathic personality*: possessing a superego that fails to sufficiently regulate the primitive and instinctual needs of the id, this type of individual is typically egocentric impulsive, guiltless, and un-empathetic. Many violent offenders including serial killers are often assumed to commit crime because of a weak or underdeveloped superego.

3. Deviant Superego:

- *Deviant Identification*: Superego standards have developed but those standards are thought to reflect deviant identification. This could occur when criminals' parents have a good relationship with their son and the son grows up to mirror his parents' criminality; in this case the child delinquent behaviour reflects an absence of guilt but not the abnormality of psychic structures.

Psychodynamic Theories of Crime:

- These are useful but they provide inadequate information about the actual causes of crime, other than the fact problems with superego development may play an important role.
- It fails to address key issues with respect to what we know about criminal behaviour.
- The idea that females don't develop a full superego and are fixated partially in the phallic stage is not consistent with this 3 type superego theory, because males are actually more likely to commit crimes than females... but this theory would suggest the opposite if it was completely consistent.

Bowlby's Theory of Maternal Deprivation:

- Draws heavily on the psychodynamic perspective, and is a popular theory for how juvenile delinquency develops.
- Young children require consistent and continuous maternal care in order for them to develop normally. A disrupted mother-child relationship can have potentially detrimental effects to the child's ability to have pro-social relationship. Lacking these abilities the child will be more likely to exhibit antisocial patterns of behaviour.
- Bowlby's empirical results do not seem to hold up when re-tested and even Bowlby himself did not find strong evidence for the role of maternal deprivation in explaining delinquency given that many individuals who experience maternal deprivation do not get involved in crime.

Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency: The Work of Glueck and Glueck

- Family discord in general is associated with delinquent behaviour
- Gluecks were heavily influenced by psychodynamic thinking and often spoke of such things as mental conflict, tensions between repressed and forgotten emotional experiences and more recent experiences and divergent instinctual energy propulsions in typical psychoanalytic fashion.
- The Gluecks primary interests were discovering the causes of crime and assessing the effectiveness of correctional treatment in controlling criminal behaviour.
- They used a few different approaches to examine these issues:

Cross-sectional research: comparing the lives of juvenile delinquents with non- juveniles ...using 500 JD and 500 Non-JD ... they also incorporated longitudinal research on the delinquent boys...

- The Gluecks took a multidisciplinary approach to examining delinquency, for each boy lots of information was collected (social, psychological and biological) in addition to info on their family lives, school performance, and work experiences... interviewing the boys, their parents and teachers...
- The delinquents far more than the non-delinquents are of the essentially monomorphic, energetic type with tendencies to restless and uninhibited expression of instinctual expression. It is difficult for them to develop a high degree of flexibility of adaptation, self- management, self- control, and sublimation of primitive tendencies and self- centred desires demanded by the complex and confused culture of the times.
- The Gluecks attributed the differences between the delinquents and non-delinquents to be from their parental factors, the primary source for superego development.
- They identified a marked difference between these groups across a range of parenting variables including, emotional disturbances mental retardation, alcoholism, and criminality. Parents of delinquents were less likely to stay

together, less educated and less ambitious, they also appeared neglectful to their children, they lacked cohesiveness, warmth, and respect for the integrity of family members... Fewer of the delinquents were affectionately attached to their parents, especially their fathers.

- The development of a mentally hygienic and properly oriented superego must have been greatly hampered by the kind of parental ideals, attitudes, temperaments and behaviour found to play such a major role on the family stage of the delinquents.

Glueks work has been criticized for not emphasizing certain explanatory variables deemed important in mainstream criminology, such as class of origin and for placing so much emphasis on familial and biological factors; their formula also did not include social factors and background which can have a big impact on criminality in children.

Hirschi's Control Theories:

Social Control Theory:

- Hirschi believes that we have mechanisms for social control or the bond of the individual to society...

Four interrelated types of social bonds that are collectively thought to promote socialization and conformity:

1. **Attachment:** we do not commit crimes because if we have good relationships and secure attachment with family and friends we do not want to jeopardize these by being delinquent. It is *the ego-ideal* in the psychodynamic terms.
 2. **Commitment:** the time effort and energy placed in conventional behaviour, people with an investment in conventional pursuits run a heightened risk of losing that investment if they become involved in crime. It serves the same theoretical value as the *ego*.
 3. **Involvement:** time and energy one spends taking part in activities that are in line with the conventional interests of society. Heavy involvement in conventional activities limits the time that is available to participate in criminal pursuits.
 4. **Belief:** one's conviction to the view that people should obey common rules. This entails a respect for societal value system, including a respect for the law and institutions that enforce the law. Crime is more likely if these beliefs are weak or absent. Parallel with the *conscience* part of the superego.
- **He tested the social control theory and he found that the experiment largely supported the core concepts of social control theory. It is now the most tested theory in criminology.**
 - It might need to be reassessed because several new findings are particularly important, example with regards to peer attachment Hirschi's belief was that it

- was good whether it was antisocial peers or not, which is no longer the case... now it is considered to be one of the strongest predictors of delinquent acts...
- Also causal ordering is important to consider, given that some research shows that delinquent behaviour can precede weak bonds. Some bonds seem to be more important than others at different ages, and the explanatory power of certain bonds appears to vary across genders.

General Theory of Crime: Hirschi and Gottfredson

- Argues that self- control, internalized early in life, is the primary determinant of crime, but you don't just need lack of self-control you also need to be confronted with situations that give you the opportunity to commit crime for your lack of self- control to kick in. But opportunities for crime are readily available so people with low self-control will inevitably become more deeply involved in a criminal lifestyle.
- They believe that self-control accounts for all criminal behaviour and other analogous behaviours that are not sanctioned by the state (drugs, alcohol...), because they are all short lived, immediately gratifying, easy, simple, and exciting...therefore are appealing to those who are unable to resist temptations of the moment, or are insensitive, and can't picture the long term harmful consequences (in other words low-self- control). They also believe that this theory is consistent with Parents paying attention to their children and being influential in a positive way to them , if the parents are inconsistent and neglectful to their children then this increases delinquency.
- There is support for their theories and even support that self-control and delinquency is associated across cultures...
- Pratt and Cullen's study showed that self-control is definitely a factor in criminal behaviour but definitely not the sole factor leading to it.
- The general theory of crime was found to be too simplistic and very tautological meaning it states that low self-control causes delinquency but delinquency is how you tell if someone has self-control; it also ignores the reality that change is as much a part of criminal careers as stability. It also doesn't address the relationship between self- control and criminal opportunities.

Summary of Psychodynamic theories of crime:

They all focus on inner drives that lead individuals to behave in an antisocial manner; they speak to psychic mechanisms that prevent people from behaving in this way; they emphasize the role of parent-child relationships in the development of these mechanisms.

Learning Theories and Crime

Classical Conditioning

- Stimulus → response
- Associative learning
- Conditioning as a factor shaping human behaviour
- Note: has been used in treatment of sex offenders (to reduce sexual deviance) – satiation, olfactory conditioning, mild electric shock

Eysenck's Biosocial Theory of Crime

- individual differences in functioning of nervous system
- Different degree of learning from environmental stimuli
- Antisocial individuals are deficient in classical conditioning (conditionability)
- Conscience developed as set of classically conditioned emotional responses

Operant Conditioning

- Criminal behaviour is determined by its environmental consequences (reinforcements and punishments)
- Factors impacting reinforcement/punishment effectiveness: immediacy, consistency, intensity
 - o (Note: this is a major reason why punishment is ineffective in CJ applications)

Jeffery's Differential Reinforcement Theory

- Key factors in criminal behaviour: presence of reinforcement of similar behaviour in the past; balance of reinforcing stimuli vs aversive stimuli
- If only reinforcing stimuli experienced in the past → criminal behaviour likely to continue

Learning Theories and Crime

- A change in pre-existing behaviour or mental processes that occurs as a result of experience. This is what distinguishes learning theories from psychodynamic theories... they assume that there is no inherent impulse to act antisocially while control theories say that we would all be deviant if only we dared.
- Two General Forms of learning are very important to our understanding of criminal behaviour and its potential causes. Classical Conditioning and Operant Conditioning.

Classical Conditioning

- The unconditioned stimulus elicited an unconditioned response. By repeatedly pairing the UCS with a lab assistant, this previously neutral stimulus became associated with the UCS and took on the power of a condition stimulus. After

repeated pairings, the CS, even when presented in isolation, began to elicit a response- salivation- which is termed the conditioned response.

Forms of Aversive Conditioning in the Treatment of Sex Offenders: Box 3.2

- Covert Aversive Conditioning: goal is to have the offender pair an imagined aversive consequence with his deviant fantasies or behaviour in order to eliminate such fantasies or behaviour. A technique would be having the offender listen to a story that contains the following three parts:
 1. The offender's preferred deviant stimulus and a build-up of sexual arousal
 2. An aversive consequence that causes intense disgust, pain, or humiliation
 3. Release from the adverse consequence by reversing the activity removing the imaginary aversive consequence and encouraging relaxation.
- Overt aversive conditioning techniques: same goal, but actual rather than imagined aversive stimulus are presented during or immediately after the deviant stimulus, it may involve slides, movies, pictures. The aversive stimuli may be electric shocks, foul odours, nausea-inducing drugs, or even shame (by acting it out in front of observers).

Eysenck's Biosocial Theory of Crime:

- Crime can be largely explained by individual differences in the functioning of the nervous system, which impacts the degree to which people learn from environmental stimuli such as parental discipline. Differences in nervous system also shape one's personality and behaviour.
- Eysenck's believed that criminals and other antisocial individuals are deficient with respect to classical conditioning, or conditionability, a process he thought was important in the socialization or conscience-building process. The research has found that generally antisocial individuals will condition less effectively than pro-social individuals. Most of the research conducted in this area uses skin conductance to assess conditionability. Anti-social individuals will suffer from conditioning deficits and will therefore not learn what their pro-social parents attempt to teach them, but what would happen in homes where parents are not law-abiding and where antisocial behaviour patterns are displayed. Children who are highly conditionable and who have antisocial parents will become socialized into their parents antisocial habits, whereas children who condition poorly will, at least in this environment, paradoxically avoid becoming antisocial...
- In one of Eysenck's studies he sampled 101 school aged boys...they found that antisocial boys from higher-class (pro-social) homes showed relatively poor conditioning, while antisocial boys from lower-class (anti-social) homes showed relatively good conditionability. The opposite pattern was found for the boys who were pro-social. His theory is criticized and is not perfect.

Skinner's Operant Conditioning:

Positive Reinforcement: occurs when behaviour is followed by a pleasant stimulus that increases the frequency of that behaviour.

Negative reinforcement: occurs when behaviour is followed by the removal of an aversive stimulus, thereby increasing that behaviour.

Positive Punishment: occurs when a behaviour is followed by an aversive stimulus, resulting in a decrease in that behaviour.

Negative Punishment: occurs when a behaviour is followed by the removal of a pleasant stimulus, resulting in a decrease in that behaviour.

3 factors are important:

- *Immediacy:* the sooner the reinforcement or punishment follows the targeted behaviour, the more likely that behaviour will be to increase or decrease.
- *Consistency:* the more often the consequence follows the targeted behaviour the more effective it will be.
- *Intensity:* it determines how effective the consequence will be in increasing or decreasing behaviour. The stronger the consequence the more effective it will be, but care must be used when employing very intense punishment so that unwanted side effects do not occur.
- A criminal act occurs in an environment in which in the past the actor has been reinforced for behaving in this manner, and the aversive consequences attached to the behaviour have been of such a nature that they do not control or prevent the response.
- If the offender experiences only reinforcing stimuli when committing burglaries, the criminal behaviour is likely to continue, but if legal sanctions are consistently experienced, the aversive consequence is likely to deter the act.
- Learning theories weaknesses are their lack of attention they pay to the cognitive elements of learning and an under-emphasis on the learning in social settings.

Social Learning Theories and Crime

- **Underlies the majority of offender programming; if behaviour is learned, it can be unlearned**
 - o *Also all about cost: benefit*

Sutherland's Differential Association Theory

- Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with others
- Impact of norms present in groups

- Differential impact of criminal and anti-criminal associations depending on frequency, duration, priority, intensity

Akers's Social Learning Theory

- Criminal behaviour is learned through group interaction
- Importance of operant and vicarious conditioning
- Social Structure (ex. social class, friendship networks, age) as a context for social learning variables

Andrews and Bonta's PIC-R Theory

- Integrated theory of criminal behaviour: role of socialization, self-control, classical & operant conditioning, observational learning
- Criminal behaviour determined by events preceding behaviour (antecedents) and consequences
- Antecedents and consequences signal costs and rewards
- What influences antecedents and consequences?
 - o The individual (beliefs, temperament)
 - o Other people (parents, peers)
 - o The act itself
 - o Other aspects of situation

Personal, Interpersonal, Community Reinforcement Perspective

- Personal
 - o Biological (temperament, gender, verbal IQ, age); early conduct problems
- Interpersonal
 - o Family/child relations; parenting; ties to criminal others
- Community
 - o SES, neighborhood, settings (school, work)
 - o *Where I live, who I interact with*
 - o *Important is that all of these things are important*
 - *Looking at all the different levels is important*
- Reinforcement
 - o Cost/benefits of criminal versus prosocial behaviour
 - *Have you done it before?*

Social Learning Theories and Crime:

- Focus on the role of cognitive factors in the learning process, in particular how people process information in social contexts.
- Many of these theories are based on an important theory of crime referred to as...

Sutherland's Differential Association Theory:

- Proposed by Edwin Sutherland in the 1939 edition of his book *Principles of Criminology*. Unlike many theorists before him he discounted the internal causes of crime, such as those suggested in psychodynamic theories such as the Gluecks and believed instead that crime could be explained by learning in social contexts through interaction and communication.

- He proposed that the nature of one's conduct, including the likelihood of committing crime, is influenced by the norms present in the particular groups to which one belongs; norms that can include attitudes toward the law and its violation.
- It is the balance between contact with pro-social attitudes on the one hand and antisocial attitudes on the other that influence behaviour.

Differential Association Theory can be summarized in nine testable postulates:

1. Criminal Behaviour is learned
 2. Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
 3. The principal part of the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups.
 4. When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes; a) techniques of committing the crime... and b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.
 5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal code as favourable or unfavourable.
 6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violations of the law over definitions unfavourable to violations of the law.
 7. Differential associations vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity.
 8. The process of learning criminal behaviour by association within criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.
 9. Though criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behaviour is an expression of the same needs and values.
- Empirical support for this theory comes from research demonstrating that some of its core concepts, the importance of anti-social attitudes and anti-social associates, are important predictors of crime. They have emerged as two of the most powerful predictors of crime and are included in some of the most effective modern-day assessment tools for predicting re-offending.

Criticisms:

- Sutherland was never clear what he meant by definitions that are favourable or unfavourable to violations of the law. He also provided no guidelines on how to operationalize the ratio of definitions favourable to violations of the law over definitions unfavourable to law violations. He did not give a way to quantify his results, because it is most likely impossible to...

Differential association-reinforcement theory:

- Combine Skinner's ideas on operant conditioning with Sutherland's ideas of differential association, and by doing so made differential association theory more appealing and more testable.
- They reformulated Sutherland's nine propositions in terms of reinforcement theory. Their reformulation was that criminal behaviour is learned through a process of operant conditioning.
- This theory didn't do much so Aker's moved onto his *Social Learning Theory of crime..*

Social Learning Theory of Crime:

- It is a general theory of crime... it goes beyond a model of learning based on direct environmental consequences of behaviour. His theory includes and emphasis on the operant conditioning principles but also draws heavily on the work of social learning theorists. They draw on another form of learning that can influence behaviour: learning by watching others, observational learning and by vicariously experiencing the consequences of other people's behaviour, vicarious conditioning.
- Crime is learned primarily through group interactions, by the way of operant and vicarious conditioning.
- Treatment programs based on social learning principles have a significantly greater impact on reducing crime.
- They account for a larger proportion of the variance in dependent variables such as delinquency, crime and other deviant behaviour.
- Social learning variables are at least as promising as other variables in accounting for variations in criminal involvement

Box 3.3 The Impact of Media Violence on Antisocial Behaviour:

- Media violence seems to have a small to moderate positive effect – the more exposure the more aggression.
- The violent media effect seems to be greatest when: the viewer is younger, the viewer is already characterized as aggressive; the viewer can identify strongly with the aggressive characters, the violent scenes are realistic, violence is portrayed as justified, and the viewer's parents do not intervene
- A variety of factors have not been shown to have such moderating effects. These currently include gender, intelligence, socioeconomic status, and characteristics of the parents.

- Video games worse than TV and movies

Andrews and Bonta's Personal, Interpersonal, and Community- Reinforcement Theory (PIC-R) Andrews and Bonta:

- This theory fits within a general personality and social psychological framework and is heavily influenced by a behavioural and cognitive social learning perspective. It is the driving force behind much recent research and many offender treatment approaches being implemented worldwide. It is a truly integrated theory of criminal behaviour, using knowledge from both the biological and social sciences to explain crime.
- The theory incorporates ideas on the role of socialization in the development of anti-social attitudes, self-control in resisting temptations in the immediate situations, classical and operant conditioning in shaping criminal and non-criminal behaviour, and observational learning, especially in the context of peer groups, as a way of picking up on the many rewards and costs that can be associated with crime.
- Criminal behaviour is thought to be determined by both events (antecedents) that precede the behaviour and by events (consequences) that follow the behaviour. (Increased status among peers following the commission of a crime may increase the probability of crimes being committed in the future.)
- Antecedent and consequent events are believed to gain control over one's behaviour primarily by signalling various rewards and costs for different classes of behaviour, additive or subtractive for the rewards and costs.
- - The controlling properties of antecedent and consequent events are assumed to be acquired from the multiple sources. Four sources are viewed as particularly important:

The Individual: personally mediated events, rewarding one-self after evaluating the impact of a criminal act.

Other People: interpersonally mediated events, approval from one's peer group for exhibiting anti-social behaviour.

The Act Itself: non-mediated events, experiencing the arousal of getting away with a crime.

Other Aspects of the Situation...

- It also reserves important roles for the major predictors of crime that have been identified through empirical research specifically... Risk Factors are:
- *Anti-social attitudes, antisocial associates, a history of antisocial behaviour, and having an antisocial personality.* They determine the direction of personally

mediated control, and whether it favours criminal over non-criminal choices...anti-social associates influence the pro-criminal versus anti-criminal nature of modeling...

- Socioeconomic status acts as background contextual conditions, believed to influence behaviour by establishing the fundamental reward and cost contingencies that are in effect within various social settings and communities.

Conclusion:

- Social learning theories are the most clinically relevant leading to practical methods for intervening with criminals and being effective in decreases recidivism.

Box 3.4 Canadian Researcher Dr. Don Andrews:

- In his classic book *The Psychology of criminal Conduct*, Dr. Andrews argues convincingly for a paradigm shift in the field of criminology by demonstrating that general personality and cognitive social learning differences among individuals do a better job of explaining criminal conduct than the more popular theories of the class differences.
- He developed two instruments for offenders that identify key variables, which when targeted in treatment, will lead to behavioural change. Two of his instruments are; The Level of Service Inventory family of Instruments, and the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory. These instruments facilitate applying the principles of effective treatment that reflect the knowledge base of prediction and treatment.