

# NOTES

## CHAPTER 1

1. See Bryman (1988) and Sayer (1992) on scientism and the social sciences.
2. This pertains to how theory is packaged for consumption rather than use. A great many social theory texts relay in narrative format an account of the development of the major ideas of particular thinkers. See Downes and Rock (2003), Morrison (1995), Ritzer and Goodman (2004), and Seidman (2007). The issue is not the accuracy of the content but the format and what this implicitly communicates about the nature and operation of theoretical concepts. Contrast these accounts of theory with that of Mills (1959), Layder (1993), Bourdieu (1992), Pearce (1989), Woodiwiss (2001, 2005), and Einstadter and Henry (2006).
3. Theoreticism, according to Pearce (1989, 14), occurs when theories are developed in a manner apart from any reference to an empirical referent; in turn empirical examples are marshalled only to illustrate concepts. The problem, according to Pearce, is that this form of theory construction and subsequent manner of illustrating concepts amounts to a substitute for investigating or exploring the complexity of social phenomena. Bourdieu has suggested that such a process is one of “theoretical compilation,” which is “entirely foreign to any application” (1992, 224). Important for the current discussion of pedagogy is Bourdieu’s provocative assertion that theoreticism is “born of the necessities of teaching, such eclectic classificatory compilations are good for teaching, but for no other purpose” (1992, 224). Related to this is what Woodiwiss has termed “representationalism” (1990, 6–11; 2001). Representationalist theory attempts to reduce what Woodiwiss calls the “irreducible” things of social science (i.e., the concepts and categories worked with) to their referents (i.e., the material that exists independently of the concept and the process of reference). This is to say that a representationalist theory conflates knowledge of reality and reality itself. This happens when social scientists erroneously hold that theories and concepts *correspond* to their object of analysis instead of understanding that theories are used to make (an only ever partial) *reference* to their object.

4. See Ericson (1998) for a more nuanced discussion of the sites of criminology.
5. “Coercive facticities” are discussed later in this chapter. The term refers to constructs that exist whether we want them to or not. They are generalized throughout our culture, and they shape our perceptions and in this case our analytical narratives.
6. My understanding of habitus derives from Bourdieu (1973, 1977, 1990a, 1981, 1990b, 1998).
7. See Blaikie (2000), Bryman (1988), and Sayer (1992) for discussions of the different conceptions of the nature and role of concepts within positivism, interpretivism, and realism.
8. Woodiwiss gets at this when he states that “knowledge as a set of discourses is as much a social fact and thus as much a material ‘thing’ as any of the objects to which we may suppose it to refer” (1998, 7).
9. Imagination is argued by Williams to be the central factor in the production of knowledge. Without it, social science is no more than a series of observations or descriptions. He asks, “Why should we pursue imagination now? An overweening emphasis on technique and empiricism has done more than simply decrease our sense of the real world. The raw empiricism of much of today’s published literature is producing a wealth of articles that are atheoretical, use poor data, are conceptually inadequate, and statistically indefensible. In short, the articles are meaningless to others and picayune; they do not contribute to knowledge” (1999, 5).

## CHAPTER 2

1. It is worth noting that cultural criminology seems to forcefully delineate itself from the field of “moral panic” research as well as “media studies.” Cultural criminology is explicit that “low” culture as a form of expression that is often criminalized must be given a central place within criminology.
2. This point is especially valuable for my argument that fictional realities can be enlisted as both analytical and pedagogical tools. Although Rafter does not develop this, this is present in a minimalist fashion in her text and thus can be drawn on and developed further.
3. This is why both Potter and Ruggiero do not distinguish reading from “analytical” reading. Both are largely the same process but with different expressed aims.

## CHAPTER 3

1. Mills refers to “physical science” (1959, 15) and the way it is practiced as an “intellectual style” (1959, 13); there is nothing in Mills’s work that suggests the social sciences could not also be characterized as an intellectual style or by different varying styles. There are obvious parallels here with cultural criminology, and this theme could be developed further in the future.
2. International Sociological Association, “Books of the Century,” [http://www.isa-sociology.org/books/vt/bkv\\_000.htm](http://www.isa-sociology.org/books/vt/bkv_000.htm).

## CHAPTER 4

1. Katz distinguishes between “sadistic” and “ritualistic” killings, arguing that death or the prolonged suffering of the victim is not usually the aim of ritualistic killings. With ritualistic killings such as those caused by “stomping” (repeatedly striking a victim with the heel of one’s boot), one is symbolically excising an offence against moral order by attempting to erase all signs of its presence. A body beaten beyond the point of death may be an indication not necessarily of sadism but of a ritualistic effort to kill the consciousness of the individual.

## CHAPTER 5

1. As Lee Harvey (1987) has pointed out, the notion of a uniform Chicago “school” collapses many different perspectives (both qualitative and quantitative) that were pioneered by Chicago sociology. For an example, see Smith and White (1929). Similarly, Stuart Hall (1990) has suggested that there was no Birmingham “school,” but I will use this term for convenience to encompass representative texts.
2. See Cohen (1972), Hall and Jefferson (1976), Hall et al. (1978), and Hebdige (1979).
3. Ritzer (1994a, 67) and Seidman (1994, 95) suggest that the University of Kansas was the first university to establish a sociology department, but given the influence of Chicago sociology the latter is considered the birthplace of sociology in North America.
4. Ritzer gives an interesting account of Max Weber’s visit to Chicago in 1904, suggesting that this “influenced his thinking about the spirit of capitalism” (1994a, 68). Subsequent to a passage by Weber taken from Marianne Weber’s biography, Ritzer comments, with reference to the Chicago school of sociology, “In his casual observations about Chicago, Weber anticipated many of the concerns of the Chicago School, including the city itself; its neighbourhoods; its racial and ethnic diversity; its problems, such as pollution, crime, and violence; its work settings . . . Weber even anticipated the Chicago School’s

later interest in using the city as a laboratory to get at basic human processes.”

5. Examples of Park’s influential views on the city and society (which evince a Meadian interactionism) are as follows:

- “As a matter of fact civilization and social progress have assumed in our modern cities something of the character of a controlled experiment” (Park 1929, 1).
- “As a matter of fact, most of our ordinary behavior problems are actually solved, if solved at all, by transferring the individual from an environment in which he behaves badly to one in which he behaves well. Here, again, social science has achieved something that approaches in character a laboratory experiment. For the purpose of these experiments the city, with its natural regions, becomes a ‘frame of reference,’ i.e., a device for controlling our observations of social conditions in their relation to human behavior” (Park 1929, 11).
- “The metropolis is, it seems, a great sifting and sorting mechanism, which, in ways that are not yet wholly understood, infallibly selects out of the population as a whole the individuals best suited to live in a particular region and a particular milieu. The larger the city, the more numerous and the more completely characterized its suburbs will be. The city grows by expansion, but it gets its character by the selection and aggregation of its population, so that every individual finds, eventually, either the place where he can, or the place where he must, live” (Park 1929, 9).
- “People live together on the whole, not because they are alike, but because they are useful to one another . . . and where every community is likely to be composed of people who live together in relations that can best be described as symbiotic rather than social” (Park 1929, 10).
- “In a perfectly stable society where man has achieved a complete biological and social equilibrium, social problems are not likely to arise, and the anxieties, mental conflicts, and ambitions which stimulate the energies of civilized man, and incidentally make him a problem to himself and to society, are lacking” (Park 1929, 12).
- “[The city’s] component elements, institutions and persons are so intimately bound up that the whole tends to assume the character of an organism, or to use Herbert Spencer’s term, a super-organism . . . The biotic community, as described by plant and animal ecologists, is an example of what one means by the term super-organism . . . Competition, which is the fundamental organizing principle in the plant and animal community, plays a scarcely less important role in the human community. In the plant and animal community it has tended to bring about (1) an orderly distribution of the population, and (2) a differentiation

of the species within the habitat . . . The same principles operate in the case of human population, with the exception of the latter case the habitat is the economic region and competition achieves and maintains a relatively stable equilibrium, not by a differentiation of the species, but by a division of labor and a differentiation of function or of occupation among individual organisms” (Park 1952a, 118–19).

- “Society is everywhere a control organization. Its function is to organize, integrate, and direct the energies resident in the individuals of which it is composed. One might, perhaps, say that the function of society was everywhere to restrict competition and by so doing bring about a more effective co-operation of the organic units of which society is composed” (Park 1952c, 157).
  - “The life of the community therefore involves a kind of metabolism. It is constantly assimilating new individuals, and just as steadily, by death or otherwise, eliminating older ones” (Park 1952e, 169).
  - “[Cities] bring together, to be sure, the ends of the earth, *all the breeds and types and classes*; but having brought them together, *the cities sift and sort and redistribute their ill-assorted populations into new groups and classes*, according to new and unexpected patterns. The explanation is that competition, the sheer struggle for existence, finally compels each individual to seek and find the task that he can best perform, and the ever-widening division of labor multiplies his opportunities to find a vocation for which he is suited. This sifting-sorting process undermines old associations, takes individuals out of their inherited and racial groups, breaks up families; loosens all ties, in fact. And this is part of, or at least an incident and by-product of, the process of social metabolism” (Park 1952d, 184, emphasis added).
6. On his environmental determinism, see Park (1952b), especially part II. An example of his notion of disorganization is provided by way of a brief essay on the hobo, wherein he comments, “The hobo, who begins his career by breaking the local ties that bound him to his family and his neighbourhood, has ended by breaking all other associations. He is not only a ‘homeless man,’ but a man without a cause and without a country” (Park 1925, 159). “He has sacrificed the human need of association and organisation to a romantic passion for individual freedom . . . But in order that there may be permanence and progress in society the individuals who compose it must be located; they must be located, for one thing, in order to maintain communication, *for it is only through communication that the moving equilibrium which we call society can be maintained*” (Park 1925, 158–59, emphasis added). This “wanderlust,” according to Park, “has assumed for him [the hobo], as for so many others, the character of a vice. He has

gained his freedom but he has lost his direction . . . The hobo seeks change solely for the sake of change; it is a habit, and like the drug habit, moves in a vicious circle" (Park 1925, 158).

It is interesting to contrast this view and others like it (see Smith and White 1929) with Alvin Gouldner's romanticized view of a Chicago school that made no value judgments about the "deviants" they studied, as expressed in his preface to Taylor, Walton, and Young's (1973) influential assault on positivistic criminology. Here it is stated that "the richness of their [Chicago] researches derives in some part from the fact that they never had to liberate themselves from viewing deviants as a kind of political low-life" (Taylor, Walton, and Young, 1973, xii). Although speaking mainly of the later period that Harvey (1987, 264) refers to as third- and fourth-generation Chicagoans of the 1950s and 1960s characterized in part by Blumerian interactionism, it seems unlikely, given Park's and others' moral bent and uncritical acceptance of the then current moral order as unproblematic, that later generations of Chicago sociologists would not be influenced by these attitudes. The latter suggestion by Gouldner that "the Meadian view of the Chicagoans . . . is internal, and timeless, and without any impulse to *moralize*" (Taylor, Walton, and Young, 1973, xiii) is suspect, to say the least.

7. According to Park, "the essential characteristics of community . . . are those of: (1) a population, territorially organized, (2) more or less completely rooted in the soil it occupies, (3) its individual units living in a relationship of mutual interdependence that is symbiotic rather than societal, in the sense in which that term applies to human beings" (1952c, 148). This "human ecology" based on "competition rather than consensus, is identical, in principle at least, with plant and animal ecology." (1952c, 148–49)

Park goes on to suggest that "when . . . sudden and catastrophic change occurs—it may be a war, a famine, or pestilence" (1952c, 149) or "an epidemic or an invasion of the habitat by some alien species" resulting in the "decline" or "destruction of the original population" (1952c, 148), "it upsets the biotic balance, breaks the 'cake of custom,' and releases energies up to that time held in check. A series of rapid and even violent changes may ensure which profoundly alter the existing organisation of communal life and give a new direction to the future course of events" (1952c, 149).

8. This "concentric circles" model was also employed by CCCS researchers Rachel Powell and John Clarke (1976).
9. See Snodgrass (1983).
10. Although Whyte does not use this terminology, his formulation nevertheless bears striking resemblance to the formulation employed by Birmingham researchers, especially Phil Cohen (1997) and Paul Willis (1977).

11. The turn toward an analysis of the role of ideology in “deviant politics” can be linked back to the later works of Chicago sociologist Louis Wirth who, according to Sumner (1994, 91), “did more than most in American sociology to establish its [ideology] significance for the emergent sociology of deviation.” With a new-found affinity with German intellectuals, Wirth wrote the introduction to the English translation of Mannheim’s, *Ideology and Utopia*.
12. For Park it seems as though the city acted as the frame of reference that organized the researcher’s view of things. Whereas Cohen and others seemed to believe that one’s frame of reference was subjective and that this had the effect of ordering the material world.
13. The work of Paul Willis (1977) exemplifies this view.
14. The dialectic here is Meadian “self-interaction” and “symbolic interaction” with meaningful objects including other “selves,” as discussed in Chapter 4.
15. Merton holds innovation to be an acceptance of culture goals but rejection of legitimate means for attaining those goals. Instead one adopts illegitimate means. Cohen, however, holds innovation as a replacement of the dominant culture goals precisely so that one can attain them.
16. This same concern would be taken up by the CCCS, who suggested that such nonutilitarian acts could be viewed as expressions of “style” (Hebdige 1979). Stan Cohen (1972) speaks of the vandalism by the Mods and Rockers in the 1960s as reported in the newspapers. Here such acts are also seen to be expressive of identity and values different from mainstream culture.
17. The work of the CCCS is referred to as the “new subcultural theory” by Cohen (1980) and Clarke (1997).
18. At this point it is important and necessary to acknowledge the pivotal contributions to cultural studies by cultural historians and critics such as Raymond Williams, Edward Thompson, and William Hoggart, the first director of the CCCS. Their works predated the rise of contemporary cultural studies in Britain and set the stage for the emergence of such studies. To do more than mention their importance is beyond the scope of this chapter. I mention their endeavors to acknowledge their unique contributions but maintain that it was primarily the U.S. sociological endeavors that, when appropriated by the CCCS, gave the ideas behind the works of Williams, Thompson, and Hoggart some empirical and expanded theoretical dimension as well as contemporary relevance well beyond their initial scope.
19. Hebdige’s 1979 cultural studies classic, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, which had been reprinted ten times by 1996, is a version of his MA thesis completed at the CCCS and originally titled, “Aspects of Style in the Deviant Sub-Cultures of the 1960s.” Note that the revised title conveys a slightly different perspective; The original title

- situates the study and Hebdige's influences within the context of those sociologies of deviance and delinquency of 1950s and 1960s United States. More importantly, it also situates his work within an already established tradition and suggests a "social problems" orientation. The published title, I suspect, was updated to invoke notions of an original and pioneering study within the fledgling "interdiscipline" of cultural studies. The bibliography is filled with studies on American delinquency; notably Chicago and neo-Chicagoan studies such as Whyte's *Street Corner Society*, Goffman's *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Cohen's *Delinquent Boys*, and Becker's *The Other Side*. Referring to Becker's (1963) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* in an appendix, Hebdige states that it is "an acknowledged 'classic' in the field of deviancy studies and still stands as one of the best examples of the transactional method" (1979, 178). Further on in his bibliographic essay, he acknowledges the Chicago school and suggests that "the analysis of subculture grew in large part directly out of the [American] study of delinquent street gangs" (1979, 180–81).
20. *Argot* is the French for "slang." It is interesting to note that "argot," which Phil Cohen and others use to characterize subcultural "style," "was the jargon of the criminal underworld, characterized by colourful images and distinctive intonation and designed to confuse the outsider. Some French writers write in argot and contribute to its diffusion and development. More generally, the special vocabulary used by any social or professional group is also known as argot" (Cousin 1995, 27). The influence of semiotics, which has become so important for British cultural studies, was anticipated by Park and Burgess some 50 years prior to the rise of the Birmingham CCCS. As Sumner (1994, 86) suggests, a distinct dialect or argot was seen by Chicagoans as a distinctive characteristic of every social group. Following Sumner's stipulation that "the sociological study of argot was a major theme within the Chicago school" (1994, 87), Anderson (1962a) provides an excellent example of this in what I call his "hobo taxonomy": See part I for his description of "Hoboemia" and his use of a particularized jargon; see part II, especially pages 100 to 101, for the hobo's own complex "insider" language used in daily intercourse.
  21. Cohen echoes the American Oscar Newman's (1972) work on urban space and crime prevention with his suggestion that changes in urban housing policy severed kinship networks and created isolating, anonymous space that lacked the informal social controls that had until that time been immanent in the physical and social structure of the neighborhood.
  22. Gordon asks, "What are the most indicative indices of participation in a particular subculture? If any one had to be singled out, the writer would offer speech patterns (particularly pronunciation and inflection) as at once the easiest to 'observe' and the most revealing. Clothes



- would probably rank next in indicativeness and ease of discernability—contrary to casual opinion, for men as well as women” (1997, 43).
23. Evidence of this comes when Derek is raped in prison by a member of the Aryan Brotherhood, a white supremacist prison gang. It is Derek’s former black high school principal, Dr. Robert Sweeney, who comes to his aid. Sweeney helps Derek realize that nothing he has done has made his life better. This is pivotal moment for Derek, a turning point. Sweeney states, “There was a moment . . . like this. When I used to blame everything and everyone . . . for all the pain and suffering and vile things that happened to me, that I saw happen to my people. I used to blame everybody. Blamed white people, blamed society, blamed God. I didn’t get no answers ‘cause I was asking the wrong questions. You have to ask the right questions.” Derek asks, “Like what?” Sweeney replies, “Has anything you’ve done made your life better?”
  24. Upon release from prison Derek adopts middle-class values. He insists his sister Danica stay in school and not take a job to help the family. He encourages Dan to let his hair grow and is angry that he has been tattooed. He tells him to listen to Bob Sweeney and do “whatever he tells you to do.” He wants nothing to do with his former friends. He now understands that Cameron Alexander was using him to promote white-power ideology and recruited him when he was vulnerable. He is reluctant but willing to help the police with their investigation of Cam Alexander. He shows concern for his mother’s health. For his first day at work, he sports a tie and white-collared shirt, not only hiding his tattoos but indicating his acceptance of conformity.

## CHAPTER 6

1. This painting is also known as “The Stone of Folly” and “The Cure of Folly.” It hangs in the Museo Nacional Del Prado (see <http://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/extracting-the-stone-of-madness>).
2. This is described by Mills as a “fetishism of method.” See Chapter 3.
3. A similar point is made by scholars of governance and regulation (e.g., Garland 2001; Hunt 1993; Rose 1999).
4. For Foucault, discourses are not simply statements or a language but include practices, structured institutional fields, norms and values, and a distinctive set of objects. See Foucault (1972a).
5. According to the World Health Organization (2001, 1), “allopathic medicine . . . refers to the broad category of medical practice that is sometimes called Western medicine, biomedicine, scientific medicine, or modern medicine.”
6. For example, there is presently a debate over the expansion of the range of classifications of mental disorder to be contained in the new,

- forthcoming edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM). See Kirkey (2010a; 2010b).
7. See also Bielski (2010), especially on implications of official classification for the pharmaceutical industry.
  8. Direct marketing of pharmaceuticals to consumer–patients is illegal in Canada.
  9. What is particularly interesting about medicalization, especially in terms of embitterment and apathy, is the utter disregard for social scientific knowledge that might explain such behavior in *social* terms. The social psychology of symbolic interactionism and the theorizing of resentment by Cohen (1955) and others offer more adequate analysis of the production of embitterment and apathy than a highly individualistic psychology or neurochemical conceptualization. Social science has long had a language for describing the social nature of what today are more often thought of as individual, psychiatric problems (or problems of individual rather than social pathology). One explanation as to why sociology and criminology are often overlooked is because they have not been professionalized as medicine, psychology, and psychiatry have been. Several critical histories of psychiatry and medicine suggest that their monopoly today over matters of health is due in large part to their gradual organization as a professional field and the strategic claiming of jurisdiction over particular kinds of problems at politically opportune times (Treacher and Baruch 1980).
  10. The case is almost identical for “hypersexuality,” proposed also for the fifth edition of the DSM (Bielski 2010).
  11. In his discussion of “antipsychiatry” (the movement to “de-psychiatrise” medicine and challenge the “receiving structure” of the asylum), Foucault states, “Now it is clearly the institution—as a place, a form of distribution, and a mechanism of these power relations—that antipsychiatry attacks. Beneath the rationale of an internment that would make it possible, in a purified place, to determine what’s what and to intervene when, where, and however necessary, it gives rise to the relations of domination that characterise the institutional setup” (1997, 48).

## CHAPTER 7

1. Pierre Bourdieu has identified several types of “capital” and equates capital to social or symbolic power. One form of capital in *GATTACA* is what I call “genetic capital,” which gives one the capacity for social mobility, status, and prestige and the exercise of social power. According to Bourdieu (1986, 248), “social capital” refers to “actual or potential resources which are linked to . . . membership in a group.” The association of some genome sequences with social power is indebted to the social and political role played in the

society by genetic knowledge and expertise, shaped by the ideology of geneticism. In Goffman's (1963, 43) terms, genetic markers operate as "prestige symbols" (in the case of "valids") or "stigma symbols" (in the case of "in-valids").

2. It is especially useful to contemplate such issues in our present era, one marked by the decline of social welfare and rise of a "postsocial" politics (Larner 2000; O'Malley 1996; Rose 1996), an era marred by mass privatization of public welfare provision wherein people are encouraged "to see themselves as individualized and active subjects responsible for enhancing their own well being . . . the citizen is re-specified as an active agent both able and obliged to exercise autonomous choices" (Larner 2000, 13; see O'Malley 1996, 28; Rose 1996, 330). In this political and economic environment we can see the prominence of illiberalism exemplified by the normalizing of a punishment-for-profit-industry. (Christie 2000; Feeley 2002; Lilly and Knepper 1993; Schlosser 1998; Sheldon and Brown 2000; Snider 1998).
3. Elsewhere in Foucault (2003, 241) this is formulated somewhat differently. Biopower is a manifestation of a right to "'make' live and 'let' die." While "fostering" and "making" denote active intervention to promote life, "disallowing" seems much more active than simply to "let die" (or allowing life to not be fostered or promoted).

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# INDEX

- allegory, 57, 62–65  
analysis, xi, 1, 2, 5, 7, 12, 14–18,  
27–29, 31–33, 36, 37, 39, 43,  
51, 54, 60–62, 67, 68, 73,  
101, 111, 113, 128, 129, 131,  
139–42, 146, 169, 201, 205,  
208, 213, 216, 217n3, 223n11,  
224n19, 226n9  
analytical narrative, xii, 3, 7, 8, 28,  
51, 52, 54, 55, 59, 61–67, 80  
analytic concepts, 2–5, 7, 12–15,  
18, 20, 21, 24–28, 37, 49, 50,  
52, 58, 59, 61, 63–65, 79, 80,  
83, 85–92, 97  
analytic framework, 8, 7–14, 28, 74  
*See also* theory  
analytic language, xi, xii, 7, 8, 12,  
14, 16, 17, 26, 29, 39, 41, 51,  
23–62, 66, 73, 80  
*See also* theory  
analytic practice, 2, 4, 6, 13–15,  
18, 19, 26, 31, 51–53, 55, 59,  
60–62, 64, 66–72, 83  
*See also* craft enterprise  
Anderson, Nels, 127, 128, 133,  
134, 224n20  
authoritarianism, 195, 200, 201,  
213, 215, 216  
  
Becker, Howard, 8, 34, 38, 40, 104,  
107, 129, 130, 132, 139, 141,  
142–44, 172, 175, 224n19  
Bhaskar, Roy, 16  
  
biography, 76, 77, 81, 82, 86–89,  
94, 95, 100, 102, 175, 191  
biopolitics, 197–99, 201, 203,  
209–14, 276  
biopower. *See under* power  
Birmingham School of Contemporary  
Cultural Studies, 34, 37,  
124–26, 128, 131, 133, 136–44,  
147–51, 219n1, 222n8, 222n10,  
223nn16–19, 224n20  
Blumer, Herbert, 102–4, 112,  
222n20  
Bosch, Hieronymus, 60, 161, 162  
Bourdieu, Pierre, 4, 16, 22, 23, 69,  
178, 217nn2–3, 218n6, 226n1  
Box, Steven, 136, 137, 144  
Burgess, Ernest, 127, 130, 131,  
133, 146, 224n20  
  
capital, 196, 197, 200, 203, 208,  
210, 212, 213, 226n1  
*See also* power  
CCCS. *See* Birmingham School of  
Contemporary Cultural Studies  
Chicago school of sociology, 34,  
46, 75, 101, 123–38, 140–43,  
147, 148, 219nn3–n4, 222n6,  
223n11, 224nn19–20  
coercive facticity, 22, 24–27, 57, 218n5  
Cohen, Albert, 39, 125, 129, 130,  
132, 135–39, 141–44, 146,  
148, 150, 223n12, 223n15,  
224n19, 226n9

- Cohen, Phil, 139, 145–47, 222n10, 224nn20–21
- Cohen, Stan, 138, 140–42, 219n2, 223nn16–17
- concept. *See* analytic concepts
- conceptual system. *See* analytic framework
- Conrad, Peter, 158, 159, 161–65, 167, 170–77, 189–92
- Cotterrell, Roger, 174
- craft enterprise, ix, xi, 1–3, 5, 14, 15, 18–22, 24–27, 29, 67, 71, 75, 76, 18, 19, 86, 121  
*See also* analytic practice
- creative, xi, 5, 8–13, 15, 28, 29, 35, 36, 38, 41, 52, 59, 60, 62, 66–70, 72, 75, 76, 78, 102, 117, 142
- crime, 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 25, 28
- criminological imagination, 3, 7–8, 12–17, 28, 29, 32, 33, 42, 47, 49–52, 57, 62, 67–70, 72–97
- criminological narrative. *See* analytical narrative
- criminology, xi, 1, 2, 4–14, 17–26, 28, 29, 31–72
- critical criminology, 24, 54, 67, 75, 82, 94
- cultural criminology, 32–42, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52–55, 61, 62, 68, 79, 123, 125, 128, 138, 139, 142, 143, 147, 148, 218n1, 219n1
- cultural enterprise, 38, 40–42, 62, 72, 75
- cultural expression, 37, 38, 40, 55, 151
- culture, 13, 18, 22, 27, 28, 32–38, 40–42, 49, 50, 57, 68, 72, 79, 89, 125, 127, 129, 130–32, 162, 218n1, 218n5, 223nn15–16
- Datta, Ronjon Paul ix, 4
- Dean, Mitchell, 11, 199, 200, 215
- delinquency, 16, 29, 37, 52, 79, 126, 131, 135–37, 139, 142, 143, 146, 148, 150, 153, 224n19
- deviation  
primary, 104–6, 108, 117  
secondary, 104, 106, 107, 110, 118, 119–21, 130
- discipline. *See under* power
- discourse, 19, 37, 49, 54, 59, 62, 112, 159, 161, 162, 164, 171, 172, 175, 176, 178, 179, 184, 196, 187–90, 198, 206, 212, 213, 215, 218n8, 225n4
- domination, 44, 150, 159, 172, 173, 175, 176, 186, 188, 190–92, 202, 204, 205, 214, 216, 226n11
- exclusion, 44, 45, 75, 123, 164, 170, 172, 173, 177, 186, 188, 189, 214
- marginalization, 4, 38, 52, 172, 189, 214, 216
- encyclopedic-consumptive approach, 1–3, 8, 14, 18–222, 26  
*See also* history of ideas
- eugenics, 197, 199, 200, 209, 211–13, 215, 216
- Feeley, Malcolm, 90, 163, 212, 213, 214, 216, 227n2
- Ferrell, Jeff, 8, 32–39, 41, 77
- film  
knowledge in, 45–47  
social roles, 43–45  
types of, 47–50
- Foucault, Michel, 8, 27, 50, 159, 164, 169, 172, 173, 176–93, 197, 198, 201–14, 225n4, 226n11, 227n3
- Frauley, Jon, 4, 9, 13, 21, 71, 77, 173
- Garland, David, 10, 11, 22, 23, 49, 69, 71, 91, 163, 174, 216, 225n3
- genetic capital, 196, 197, 200, 203, 210, 212, 213, 226n1  
*See also* capital

- geneticism, 196, 197, 199, 202,  
 209–13, 216, 227n1  
 genetics, 197, 202, 203, 209, 211,  
 214, 216  
 genomics, 197, 202, 209, 211–14,  
 216  
 Goffman, Erving, 8, 34, 38, 104,  
 129, 139, 140, 143, 175,  
 195–97, 224n19, 227n1  
 Gordon, Milton, 136, 129, 132–36,  
 140, 145, 147, 224n22  
 governance, 10, 71, 167, 176, 188,  
 191, 196–98, 200, 201, 204–7,  
 209–13, 215, 216, 225n3  
 government, 22, 171, 174, 198,  
 200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 211,  
 212, 214–16  
  
 Hall, Stuart, 37, 40, 138–43, 147,  
 171, 219nn1–2  
 Hebdige, Dick, 37, 139–42, 145,  
 146, 219n2, 223n16, 223n19,  
 224n19  
 history of ideas, 1–3, 8, 14, 18–22, 26  
 Hunt, Alan ix, 2, 4, 11, 18, 174,  
 181, 204, 225n3  
  
 ideological, 11, 42, 47, 48, 53, 55,  
 65, 144, 149–51, 155, 161  
 ideology, 18, 43–45, 136, 146, 149,  
 153, 154, 177, 196, 197, 199,  
 200, 209, 223n11, 225n24,  
 227n1  
 Imagination, xi, xii, 3, 6–10, 12–18,  
 28, 29, 31–33, 35, 42, 45,  
 47, 49, 50–52, 57, 58, 60–62,  
 67–97, 102, 125, 145, 148,  
 155, 167, 218n9  
 Insite (safe injection site), 171  
 interactionism, 34, 38, 100–102, 136,  
 139, 220n5, 222n6, 226n9  
  
 Kant, Immanuel, 22, 23, 84  
 Katz, Jack, 31, 38, 100, 104, 107,  
 108–18, 120, 121, 219n1  
  
 Kraska, Peter, ix, 4, 21  
 Kuhn, Thomas, 27  
  
 language. *See* analytic language  
 Layder, Derek, 5, 8, 16, 17, 79, 84,  
 94–97, 175, 176, 217n2  
 Lemert, Edwin, 40, 100, 101,  
 103–8, 110, 112, 114, 119–21,  
 125, 129, 130, 134–36, 138,  
 139, 141, 143, 144  
 liberalism, 149, 150, 152–54, 172,  
 179, 188, 198, 200, 201, 204,  
 213, 214, 216  
 illiberalism, 198, 200, 213, 216,  
 227n2  
  
 madness, 159, 160, 162, 176, 178,  
 183, 184, 185, 189, 202, 206,  
 210, 225n1  
 Marx, Karl, 9, 34, 54, 85, 87, 136,  
 139, 172, 204  
 Mead, G. H., 100–106, 108, 110,  
 112, 113, 118, 120, 128,  
 130, 135, 136, 141, 220n5,  
 223n14, 225n6,  
 medicalization, 46, 158–76, 183–  
 86, 188–91, 193, 226n9  
 medical police. *See* police  
 mental illness, 44, 46, 47, 160, 173,  
 178, 179, 183, 184, 189  
 Merton, Robert, 47, 79, 89, 131,  
 132, 135–37, 142, 146, 223n15  
 methodology, 5, 70, 74, 76, 82, 84,  
 92, 93, 96, 111  
 milieu, 76, 77, 86–91, 99–101, 103,  
 125, 126, 128, 129, 132, 134,  
 135–37, 141, 142, 154, 155,  
 169, 191, 193, 220n5  
 Mills, C Wright, 8, 12, 16, 17, 29,  
 74–81, 83–97, 100–103, 163,  
 167, 217n2, 219n1, 225n2  
 moral transcendence, 111–14, 117,  
 119, 120  
 mutation, 193, 184, 185, 189, 203,  
 206

- normalization. *See under* social control
- norms, 21, 22, 27, 48, 65, 72, 87, 106, 110, 119, 129, 131, 145, 146, 158, 159, 162, 164, 177, 181, 183, 192, 196, 197, 201–5, 209, 210, 212, 214, 215–16, 225n4
- O'Malley, Pat, 11, 227n2
- ontology, 74, 93, 95, 96
- Park, Robert, 127, 129–36, 143, 220n5, 221n6, 222n7, 223n12, 224n20
- pathology, 46, 103, 106, 107, 119, 121, 165, 167, 168–70, 178, 207, 226n9
- Pearce, Frank, ix, 4, 11, 27, 32, 57, 60, 63, 173, 205, 217nn2–3
- pedagogy, xii, 2, 12, 19, 24, 217n3
- personal troubles, 78, 86–92, 100, 123, 154, 155, 169
- police, 11, 16, 17, 38, 89, 91, 99, 105, 118, 142, 157, 165, 168, 200, 202–4, 210, 212, 215, 216, 225n24
- policy, 9, 11, 27, 36, 46, 49, 71, 121, 131, 214–16, 224n21  
*See also* biopolitics
- politics, 11, 36, 37, 49, 54, 86, 88, 89, 95, 96, 102, 125, 143, 170, 172, 175, 177, 190, 191, 197, 201, 202, 209, 223n11, 227n2  
definition, 170–76, 186, 190  
designation, 170–76, 186, 190  
of scientific knowledge, 172, 177, 179, 186, 187, 188, 190  
*See also* biopolitics; power/knowledge
- population, 43, 177, 180, 186, 189, 192, 196–203, 205–16, 220n5, 222n7
- power  
biopower, 201, 203, 208–11, 227n3  
discipline, 50, 58, 59, 164, 173, 176–83, 185, 186, 188–92, 196–98, 201–3, 205–13, 216  
sovereignty, 179, 188, 204–7, 209, 215  
*See also* domination; governance; government; social control  
power formation. *See* reception structure  
power/knowledge, 164, 172, 173, 178–80, 183, 185–90, 192, 202, 207, 212  
Pratt, John, 200  
Presdee, Mike, 22, 35, 36, 38  
problems of milieu. *See* personal troubles  
psychiatrization, 159, 179, 184, 185, 189, 193  
public issues, 78, 81, 86–91, 100, 123, 128, 154, 155, 162, 163, 169, 170  
racism, 52, 60, 150, 153, 154, 195, 197, 201, 202, 210, 212, 213, 215, 216  
Rafter, Nicole, 8, 13, 32, 33, 34, 41, 42–55, 60–62, 68, 72, 73, 77, 79, 113, 218n2  
rationality of rule, 196, 197, 199, 209, 210, 212, 213, 216, 226n11  
reception structure, 177–79, 183–92  
reflexive realism, elements of, 25, 50–67  
reflexivity, xii, 28, 50, 67–72, 77, 86, 92, 94, 97, 102, 104, 112, 118  
regime of truth. *See* power/knowledge  
resistance, 36, 39, 70, 137, 142, 146, 149, 150, 187  
righteous slaughter, 108, 109, 111, 116–19, 121  
Ruggiero, Vincenzo, 8, 13, 25, 27, 32–35, 50–68, 70–73, 77, 79, 218n3

- security, 26, 27, 89, 145, 202, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 216
- social control, 11, 28, 35, 41, 46, 55, 94, 130, 131, 141, 158, 189, 162–64, 169, 171, 172, 174–77, 183, 186, 188, 191, 193, 200, 201, 224n21
- deviance as sickness, 158, 159
- moral-religious, 158–61, 178, 183
- normalization, 134, 159, 176, 179–82, 185, 188, 193, 195, 198, 200–203, 206, 207, 209, 216, 227n2
- science-medicine, 157–61, 163, 165, 166, 169, 177, 179, 186, 190, 192
- state-law, 158, 159, 161, 163, 177, 178
- See also* power
- social identity, 9, 29, 36, 39, 40, 41, 55, 99, 107, 115, 116, 119, 121, 144, 148, 178, 195, 169, 223n16
- actual, 196
- virtual, 195, 196, 214, 215
- social issues. *See* social problems
- social power. *See* power
- social problems, 6, 10, 23, 24, 49, 55, 61, 66, 74, 76, 81, 86, 87, 89, 92, 93, 100, 130, 151, 160, 161, 165, 170, 202, 203, 207, 213, 216, 220n5, 224n19
- social structure, 16, 25, 34, 76, 86–89, 91, 92, 95, 100, 131, 136, 174, 175, 191, 193, 224n21
- societal reaction, 40, 100, 104–7, 119, 120, 138, 148
- sociological imagination, 12, 74–76, 78, 80, 81, 83–96, 145, 167
- stigma, 106, 119, 139, 152, 161, 196, 212, 227n1
- style, 1, 35–40, 75, 76, 86, 87, 92, 102, 107, 110, 126, 137, 139–46, 149, 152, 210, 219n1, 223n16, 223n19, 224n20
- subculture, 29, 36–41, 49, 106, 123–55, 223n19, 224n22
- subject, 23, 26, 27, 29, 40, 75, 86, 96, 99, 104–6, 145, 150, 157–59, 164, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 192, 196, 198, 201, 206, 207, 209–11, 213, 215, 223n12, 227n2
- subjectivity. *See* subject
- Sutherland, Edwin, 79, 129–31, 133–35, 139, 143, 145
- symbolic interactionism. *See* interactionism
- theoreticism, 217n3
- theorizing, ix, xi, xii, 1–6, 8–13, 15–21, 24, 26, 28, 31, 60, 67, 68, 71, 74, 86, 113, 114, 121, 124, 129, 205, 226n9
- See also* analysis
- theory, xi, xii, 1–6, 8–13, 16–21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 39, 42, 46, 47, 53, 63, 69, 71, 72, 75–79, 82, 88, 92, 94–96, 103, 104, 107, 111, 123–25, 130–35, 138, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 190, 204, 205, 206, 217nn2–3
- See also* analytic framework;  
analytic language
- theorizing, ix, xi, xii, 1–6, 8–13, 15–21, 24, 26, 28, 31, 60, 67, 68, 71, 74, 86, 113, 114, 121, 124, 129, 205, 226n9
- See also* analysis
- Williams, Frank, 8, 9, 12, 74, 75, 77–80, 83, 84, 218n9
- Woodiwiss, Anthony, 2, 4, 63, 67, 217nn2–3, 218n8