

Becker – outsiders



Social Interaction Theory of Deviance Also called " Labeling Theory" What is universal about deviance? 1. All social groups make rules 2. All try to enforce them, sometimes How do social rules function? 1. Define situations 2. Define kinds of behavior appropriate to the rules 3. Specify right and wrong behavior Who are " outsiders"? Those who have been thought to have broken an enforced rule What assumptions about identity tend to accompany the outsider? 1. Special kind of people 2. Untrustworthy because they don't live according to agreed rules What are the perspectives of the person labeled outsider? May not accept the rule by which he/she is being judged Why is outsiders considered a " double-barreled" term? The person labeled ' outsider' may regard those who are labeling him/her as incompetent or illegitimate

i. e. they may think the labelers are the real outsiders

Two parameters of the term ' double-barreled' that Becker focuses on 1. Situations (or rule breaking and enforcement)

2. Processes (by which some break rules and some enforce them)

Between what kinds of rules does Becker distinguish? 1. formally enacted by law and enforced by police

2. Informal agreement enforced by informal sanctions associated with age, tradition, consensus

Whose job is it to enforce informal rules? 1. Everyone 2. Everyone in a certain group 3. Specialized bodies, like professional associations What happens when

rules are not enforced? 1. Sometimes they may remain on the books anyways, like blue laws and sodomy laws

2. Sometimes they simply die

How does Becker define the actual operating rules of groups? They are kept alive by enforcement
What way to we grade deviant acts or actors? Our tolerance is related to the act and the situation

e. g. getting drunk at a party; knifing someone at a party

How do rule-breakers think about being judged? Depends on the person and the situation

e. g. traffic violation may not seem unjust, alcoholics may feel ambivalent, others might rejected.

UHA Unconscious/Uncritical Homophobia Alert
Common sense premise about deviance? 1. Associated with breaking, or seeming to break, social rules

2. Some characteristic of the person who breaks the rule

What happens when scientists do not question the deviant label when it is applied to particular acts or people? Scientists uncritically accept the values of the group making the judgment
What are the implications of the fact that different groups judge deviance differently?

What are the implications of cross-cultural variation?

The person making the judgment
The process by which the judgment is arrive at
The situation in which it is made

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If scientists take common sense view, they may leave out an important variable, the variable character of the judgment process

Why does it matter if scientists leave out the aspect of variability? It will limit the kind of theories and understandings that can be developed. What are the strengths and weaknesses of a statistical definition

i. e. deviance is anything that differs from the most common?

Simplifies question by doing away with questions of value by simply calculating distance from average

Too simple - wind up with a mixed bag (redheads to murderers)

Too far removed from the issue of rule-breaking - some people who do not fit the average have not broken any rules

What are the strengths and weaknesses of a pathological definition

i. e. deviance is a symptom of disease

Problems of use of medical analogy - health and disease of human organism

Analogy: applying meaning from one piece of knowledge to another

It is relatively easy to agree on what is not healthy from a medical perspective, but when you stretch the analogy, it falls short. People don't necessarily agree on what is deviant. No definition will satisfy

Why is the medical metaphor as limiting as the statistical view? Accepts lay judgment of deviance

By use of analogy, locates source in individual (disguising judgment as part of process)

What is the function of society? To discriminate between those features of society which promote stability and those which disrupt stability.

To point out areas of possible trouble in a society of which people may not be aware

Often a political question, which limits our understanding

How is the function of society decided? in political conflict - not nature of organization

factions within the group disagree and maneuver to have their own definition of the groups function accepted

Why is the functional view of deviance as defined as sociologists not much help then? It tends to ignore politics and change over time the best definition of the function of society based on a simple failure to obey rules? Maybe, but the ambiguities have to be analyzed: Which rules? Who decides?

And if people belong to different groups, which set of rules should be attended to?

These things have to be figured out through empirical research

If two people commit the same deviant act

i. e. broke the same rule

can they be put in the same category?

A society has many groups, each with its own set of rules, and people belong to many groups simultaneously.

Therefore, a person may break the rules of one group by the very act of abiding by the rules of another group.

Central fact about deviance: it is created by society. What does Becker argue about the quality of a committed act? Deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender." What might the assumptions of a homogeneous deviant category ignore? We cannot assume that these people have actually committed a deviant act or broken some rule because the process of labeling may not be infallible;

Some people may be labeled deviant who have not broken a rule.

Aside from the lack of homogeneity, what else do categories of those labeled deviant ignore? All the people who did not get caught. What kinds of experiences do the labeled share? They share the label and the experience of being labeled as outsiders.

They share the process by which they came to be thought of as outsiders and their reactions to that judgment.

What is the significance of Malinowski's participant-observation experience in the Trobriand Islands? Whether an act is deviant, then, depends on how other people react to it... The response of other people has to be regarded as

problematic Trobriand Islands Boy commits suicide for breaking exogamy rule because taunted unjustifiably by another; he didn't understand that his village would not be outraged by the knowledge of his "crime," nor that it would not react directly — Indeed, sex between endogamous couples is not rare. What kinds of variations are there in the deviant labeling process? Varies over time - some deviant acts may be responded to much more leniently than he would at some other time

Who commits the act and who feels harmed - middle class boy is less likely to be taken to the station and booked compared to someone from the slums

POINT - There is differential enforcement of rules on different categories of people.

Why do "commonplace observations" matter? Because they lead to the perspective that "whether a given act is deviant or not depends in part on the nature of the act. That is, whether or not it violates some rule and in part on what people do about it.

More precise terminology - rule breaker vs deviant (the latter applied only to those who have been so labeled)

Not a quality, an interaction

Rule-makers may be deviant because.... Different sets of rules evolve in different groups and there will be contradiction and disagreement How do you figure out the rules in any given social context? Empirical research - any given rule reveals variation; formal and informal factions To what extent and under what circumstances do people attempt to force their rules on others?

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Within Group - depends on political and economic power, gender, generation and race:

Becker gives examples of elders forcing rules on young people, men make rules for women, negroes are subject to rules made by whites.

People are always forcing their rules on others, applying them more or less against the will and without the consent of those others

How has social media changed what circumstances people attempt to force their rules on others?...Power is the ability to make and apply rules
Foucault's Theory of Power...Rules that create and maintain the labeling process are not universally agreed to...They are the object of conflict and disagreement, art of the political process of society
Why is marijuana use an interesting case to study the labeling theory of deviance? Individual conception of behavior develops in course of experience with deviant activity (time and sociality produce motivation rather than inner psychology)

curiosity transformed into patterns of action through social interpretation of ambiguous social experience

The aim to studying marijuana use
To understand the sequence of changes in attitude and experience which lead to the use of marijuana for pleasure
What two factors undermine attempts to prove psychological theories
1. Once you identify a particular trait as causal, the researcher has difficulty accounting for users who do not display this trait

2. Difficulty accounting for change over time in individual behavior

What rule does Becker follow when he uses the method of analytic induction? After studying 50 interviews with marijuana users, he finds a hypothesis that fits every case. How did Becker manage to find 50 people to interview? He was working as a professional dance musician.

Colleagues working on opiate drug users made interview material available to him.

Why was it not possible for him to collect a random sample? No one knows the nature of universe from which the random sample would be drawn. How did he structure and transcribe his interviews? History of person's experience.

Using the jargon of the interviewee.

Where does he start his theory? With the person who arrived at the point of willingness to try marijuana.

i. e. the person who has gone through the steps he identifies.

What is the "proper" technique for administering marijuana? In a way that insures sufficient dosage to produce real symptoms of intoxication (although this is ritualized, it is also efficient). What are the elements necessary to completion of this "first step in the sequence of events that must occur if a person is to become a user..." 1. Social participation 2. Observation 3.

Imitation. Of which two elements does getting high consist? 1. Presence of symptoms caused by marijuana use.

2. Recognition of these symptoms in a way that connects user with drug use.

Even for people who don't feel anything at first, marijuana " can acquire meaning and be used for pleasure." How? Learning produces a stable set of categories for experiencing drug effects Symptoms are often perceived as unpleasant or ambiguous at first. So how does the user learn to enjoy it? He/She decides to, redefining through participation with other users No one becomes a marijuana user without 1. Learning the smoke the drug in a way which will produce real effects 2. Learning to recognize the effects and connect them with drug use (learning to get high) 3. Learning to enjoy the sensations he perceives What does marijuana use have to do with breakdown of social control in complex society? Becoming responsive to values of smaller groups, rather than larger society How do social controls affect individual behavior? Through power and application of sanctions

Subtle mechanisms reshaping conceptions of the activity in question and possibility of engaging in it (hegemony)

How does Becker analyze the genesis of deviant behavior? Characterizes events that render sanctions ineffective

Characterizes experiences that shift conceptions such that the behavior becomes conceivable

What forces operate to control marijuana use in the US? 1. Illegality 2. Severe penalties (possible arrest and imprisonment) 3. Difficult access 4. Associated with violations of moral imperatives (self control) What are the three stages of marijuana use? beginner

occasional user

regular user

What are the three basic controls limiting use? 1. limiting supply and access 2. need to keep nonusers from discovering 3. defining use as immoral
Given accessibility limited by law, how does a potential marijuana user participate? Through a group organized in opposition to mainstream conventions
When does a beginner smoke marijuana? use is a function of availability (i. e. chance encounters)
What happens when an occasional user moves toward more regular, systematic use? Needs a more stable source of supply

Establishes connections with people in the narcotics business

What are the characteristics of shifting toward dealer suppliers? 1. Larger quantities 2. More economical 3. Have to have a connection to illicit dealers
How do the characteristics of shifting toward dealer suppliers relate to a user's identity? Person becomes more identified with dealer-groups

Is considered trustworthy

Is defined as a member

How does a user become less sensitive to arrest risk? Revises sense of danger once he/she accomplishes it without arrest

Danger no longer blocks access

Learns to observe elementary,, common sense precautions

What factors lead to instability of sources of supply? Arrest of dealer is a form of indirect deterrence
What is the relationship between group participation and level of marijuana use in a criminalized context? Each use level has a typical group-derived supply route

Changes in participation and membership lead to changes in use - use is a dependent variable

What is the basic informal mechanisms limiting a potential or actual marijuana users involvement? Fear of repudiation by nonusers leading to disrupted relationships
How does secrecy operate as a user progresses from beginner to occasional to regular user? Beginners are comfortable as long as occasional/regular users are comfortable

Occasional makes sure nonusers are not present and are not likely to intrude. The drug is used only when offered

Regular users believe that their actions can be carried on under the noses of nonusers; reduces contact with nonusers to almost zero

Regular users depends on a different attitude and kind of participation
Nonusers won't realize they are high

Reduces contacts with nonusers to near zero point

What are the potential implications of these risks? Key relationships of deterrence are broken

New relationships with nonusers are inhibited

In lieu of isolation from mainstream society, what can a regular user do?

Learn to control the drug's effects while in the company of nonusers

(becoming a secret deviant)

Develop idiosyncratic solutions (act goofy all the time, so people won't know the difference)

Becker's main point in terms of the level of marijuana users Each level of use can occur only when the person has revised his conception of the dangers

involved in such a way as to follow it What basic moral imperative operations against the "dope fiend" stereotype Self control, rational behavior,

responsibility How can a beginner neutralize the dope fiend stereotype?

Participation, observation, liberation from conventional stereotypes e. g. that one becomes a slave to the drug

Acquisition of rationalizations and justifications learned from experience in drug-using groups (folklore); reorganization or moral notions

How can morality, or pop psychology, lead a regular user to cut back to occasional use? Fear of weakness, habit, personality maladjustment How can

morality, or pop psychology, lead a regular user to keep using? Knowing and accepting that it is an escape

Replacing mainstream conceptions with "inside" knowledge

Techniques of Neutralization Denial of responsibility

Denial of injury

Denial of the victim

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Condemn the Condemner

Appeal to higher loyalties

Why was dance musician culture considered deviant in Becker's time, given that their primary activities were within the formal law? Their culture and way of life are considered bizarre and unconventional by many. How does the anthropologist, Robert Redfield, define culture? Conventional understandings that manifest in act and artifact

Inter-Communication among the members

An abstraction of idea type toward which members tend to conform

How can Redfield's definition, crafted for homogenous societies, be used to think about complex societies? Smaller groups within complex societies are also held together by common understandings. How does the mass media affect culture in this sense? How does culture arise? In response to a problem faced in common by a group of people, insofar as they are able to communicate effectively. How do deviant cultures develop? Where people who engage in deviant activities have the opportunity to interact with one another they are likely to develop a culture built around the problems arising out of the differences between their definition of what they do and the definition held by other members of society. Why are deviant cultures called "subcultures"? Because they operate within and in distinction to larger society. How does Becker categorize the dance musicians? As a service profession i. e. workers come into more or less contact with consumers. To what problems and

consequences does contact lead? Client is able to direct or attempt to direct the worker and apply sanction

Conflict and hostility

Defense mechanisms on the part of workers

Subculture

Music which is produced without reference to the demands of outsiders

How does Becker define "jazz"?...Relevant OED definition A type of popular music originating among African Americans in the southern United States, typically performed by ensembles and broadly characterized by regular forceful rhythms, syncopated phrasing, modifications to traditional instrumental tone and pitch, and improvisatory soloing What is the most distressing problem for the average musicians in Becker's cohort Tension between conventional success and artistic standards How do the musicians classify themselves? On a continuum between extreme "jazz" to "commercial" What do musicians have to do with deviance theory?? Problems arising out of difference between insiders and outsiders = prototype What are the basic characteristics of Becker's research methods? Site and time - Chicago music scene 1948-9, at jobs and at "job markets"

Participant observation

Listening and recording ordinary kinds of conversation (rather than formal interviews)

How does Becker differentiate between musicians in his sample? By work setting and to a lesser extent, by city size Why is Chicago a feasible site for his story? He lives and works there, so he has access

It is a sizable city that allows musicians to specialize

How does Becker define "square" Noun or Adj - Everything that a musician is not, or does not value How does the musician define himself? As someone possessing special gifts

As someone who should be free of control

What's the strongest element on the musician-colleague code? Not to criticize or attempt to influence another's playing while on the job What conventional assumption underlies this statement: "An extreme view is the belief that only musicians are sensitive and unconventional enough to be able to give real sexual satisfaction to a woman." Musicians believe that they are under no obligation to imitate the conventional behavior of squares

No one can tell a musician how to do anything

Idiosyncrasy and being a "character" is a primary occupational value

Which two conflicting themes constitute the basic musician consensus about the audience? Desire for free self-expression

Recognition that musicians may be forced to forego satisfying the desire because of outside pressures

What behavior patterns adjust musicians to their feelings of danger
 hostilityIsolation from audienceWhat consequences result from musicians
 isolation from the audience? Intensification of musicians' status as outsiders
 through a cyclic operation of increasing devianceHow does isolation and fear
 structure the actual performance spaceSegregating on platform or
 barricaded in cornerWhy does contact-avoidance behavior expand into
 ordinary social activity? Working conditions (late hours, geographic mobility)

Hostile rejection of American culture in toto

What was the ethnic composition of that group of Becker's study participants
 who adopted extreme attitudes? Fully assimilated national groups: Irish,
 Scandanavian, German, and English

i. e. privileged, many wealthy

How do identities sometimes work in contradictory ways? A person who
 identifies with a certain ethnic group may isolate himself from that group
 due to the differences between squares and musicians

i. e. Jewish man

What does language have to do with identity? Slang is a symbolic expression
 that marks the process of self-segregationWhat is the subjective definition of
 a career? The moving perspective in which the person sees his/her life as a
 whole and interprets the meaning of his/her various attributes, actions, and
 the things which happen to him/herWhat is the objective definition of a
 career? A series of statuses and clearly defied offices... typically sequences
 of postion achievement, responsibility, and even adventureWhat are the

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consequences of the antagonistic relationship between musicians and outsiders vis-a-vis the development of their careers? Affects contingencies and crisis points how does one get good jobs during one's career? Cultivate relationships with the group that controls rewards How does a musician conceive of success? Movement through a hierarchy of available jobs

Expects to change jobs frequently

How are jobs ranked? Hours worked, degree of community recognition of achievement How are musician's jobs organized on a hierarchical scale? 1.

Joints - lower class taverns and night clubs, strip clubs

2. Steady job with local bands in 'respectable' night clubs

3. Class B name - Orchestras (second rank of nationally known dance orchestras)

4. Class A name - bands or local orchestras that play best night clubs, hotels, etc.

5. Men who hold staff positions on radio and Tv or legitimate theatres

What is the definition and importance of cliques? A network of informal, interlocking cliques allocates the jobs available for a given time

Cliques are bound together by ties of mutual importance

If you're not in a clique, you don't get hired

How is job security conceptualized? The number and quality of relationships of mutual obligation that you have established; the more connections, the

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higher your job security. What's the main difference between the medical and music professions? Medical jobs tend to be based in a few large hospitals, musicians jobs have greater "number of possible foci," thus lessening the power of one particular clique. How do cliques structure mobility? Provide routes through which one can move up through levels of jobs. How do cliques facilitate operations from a business person's P. O. V.? The system operates to bring available men to the attention of those who have jobs to fill and to provide them with recruits who can be trusted to perform adequately. Mantuno's quote on why successful performance is key: Successful functioning and professional mobility are functions of the individual's relation to a network of informal organizations composed of his colleagues.

The successful career may be viewed as a series of steps, each one a sequence of sponsorship, successful performance, and the building up of relationships at each new level.

Conflicts of successful performance: Prestige - the degree to which one refuses to modify one's performance in deference to outside demands.

But

Jazz doesn't pay, rumbas do.

For jobs, the most important cliques are commercial in orientation.

What does a jazzman's clique offer? artistic integrity. What does a commercial clique offer? security, mobility, income, and general social prestige. In what sense is a musician's career contingent upon this conflict? His success depends on how he reacts to it. Given these incompatible goals, what are the

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possibilities? Either choose between them, compromise to some degree, or get out of the profession Given that most people compromise, leading to a pattern of career movement, what happens to the musicians' sense of self?

Has to radically change, has to think of himself as a different kind of person What are the principle points of contact between professional ethos (shared values and customs) of musicians and outsiders? the audience

family - membership in families binds the musician to people who are squares

What difference does class make in the clash of expectations Parents - do not aid the development of his career because entering this profession encourages his breaking with the conventional behavior patterns of his family

Lower class families see this career route as a possibly mobility route

Middle class families, choice of dance music as an occupation is viewed as a movement into Bohemianism, involving a loss of prestige for them and family; vigorously opposed

When are rules enforced? It varies

Only when something provokes enforcement

Not automatic relation between a rule's existence and its enforcement

What are the five parameters in explanations of enforcement? An entrepreneur takes initiative to punish a culprit

An infraction is made public

People blow the whistle when they see some advantage in doing so

Personal interest

The kind of personal interest varies with the complexity of the situation and social structure

Malinowski's example from the Trobriand Islands Breaking incest rule

There was no conflict over the rule itself - everyone agreed that incest was wrong

However, the village didn't think the boy should have died because of it

What inhibits conflicts over rule enforcement in complex, contemporary society Anonymity

Everyone minds their own business

Everyone maintains an attitude of "reserve"

What are the implications or consequences of "reserve" Grants everyone personal freedom

Ordinary people ignore rule infractions, leaving enforcement to professionals

How do conflicts over enforcement take place in complexly structured organizations that are not anonymous Conflict is chronic

Groups in conflict tend to allow each other to commit certain infractions

Groups committing deviant acts tend not to reveal them to the public

How are people allowed to steal? Example - Routine theft in industrial organizations

It is not actually a system of theft, but an unofficial system of rewards where no legitimate reward system exists

Rules are not enforced because competing power groups — management and workers — find it mutually advantageous to ignore infractions

In Roy's study of a machine shop, why were rule infractions ignored? In competing partners (tool-crib attendants and machinists) were part of a system in which there was a balance of power and interest

The rule was inefficient

What happens when there are several competing groups involved?

Accommodation and compromise are more difficult

Conflict tends to be more open and unresolved

Access to communication channels becomes an important variable

When does a grand jury become a "runaway" grand jury? When a corrupted prosecutor hides something one too many times

When an anti-corruption drive takes place, exposing infractions to the public that would have been kept hidden before

When the system of compromise that characterizes the relationship breaks down

What are the social mechanisms through which enterprise provokes rule enforcement? Personal interest generates enterprise

Publicity

Character of the organization lends itself to enforcement

Fundamental agreement about the rule increases likelihood of enforcement

Natural History vs History
NATURAL HISTORY deals with what is typical of a class of events, while HISTORY deals with how events are different

Regularity rather than idiosyncrasy

To what other area of social life can the legal model be applied?

Development and enforcement of informally constituted rules
What are the basic elements of Talcott Parsons' definition of values
Elements of a shared symbolic system

Serves as a criterion or standard for selection among alternatives of orientation

In an intrinsically open situation

Why are values poor guides to action? Tell which of several alternative lines of action would be preferable, all things being equal - but all things are seldom equal

i. e. too ambiguous to direct us to a specific line of action

We can hold conflicting values without being aware of it

We often don't figure it out until we can't make a decision in a moment of crisis

What happens when conflict of values is encoded in legislation? Begin judicial procedures to resolve conflict What is the relationship between values and rules? Values provide major premise from which specific rules are deduced When do people shape values into specific rules? In problematic situations What are the stated elements of a rule that is framed to be consistent with a value? Which actions are approved, which are forbidden

Situations to which rules are applicable

Sanctions attached to breaking it

What are the ideal features of a specific rule? carefully drawn

many layers of judicial interpretation

unambiguous

What are the sources of inconsistency in rule-making? Different rules may be deduced from the same value

Rules will only be deduced from values of specific situations that prompt people to do so

A specific rule might conflict with another one deduced from the same value

How do we prevent specific rules from infringing on values? Fence them in with qualifications and exceptions. How do rules embodied in legislation generally differ from customary rules? Tend to be more precise and unambiguous. In the natural history of a rule, what happens after it is deduced from a value? It has to actualize in particular acts of enforcement. What kinds of differences organize selectivity of enforcement? Kinds of people

Different times

Different situations

What rules do not have their basis in values? Technical rules that resolve conflicts between other and earlier rules.

Rules that attempt to regularize the workings of complex institutions

Some rules are invented to justify acts

So if there are exceptions to the natural history of rules, how do we know where it is relevant? Do empirical research on various kinds of rules in various kinds of situations. Where does the natural history of rules start? With the entrepreneur who makes it his/her business to see that the rules are deduced. How does Becker begin to account for the fact that only 16 states passed laws prohibiting marijuana in 1930 but that federal legislation taxing marijuana, designed to stamp out the use of the drug was passed in 1937? Look at the sociolegal context - how similar substances (alcohol/opium) had been treated in US law. What three values provided legitimacy for attempts to prevent the use of intoxicants and narcotics? Protestant Ethic - idea of never losing control of yourself

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Pragmatism/Utilitarianism - against ecstasy pursued for its own sake

Humanitarianism - make it impossible for people to give in to their weakness

Prior to 1937, which specific rules had been deduced from Protestant Ethic, pragmatism and utilitarianism, humanitarianism? 18th Amendment and Volstead Act forbidding importation of alcoholic beverages into the US and manufacture within the US

Harrison Act punished use of opiates for all but medical purposes

How was the Harrison Act fenced in to protect legitimate interests? Medical exception for morphine and other opiate derivatives for relief of pain

Protection of police powers in certain states by presenting the law as a revenue measure, taxing only unlicensed purveyors at an exorbitant rate

What was the basic contradiction encoded in, and manifested by, the Harrison Act? Police measure presented as a revenue measure

Federal Bureau of Narcotics was established in the Treasury Department

Although it was quite logical to extend the bans on alcohol and opium to marijuana, how did reality present difficulties? Relatively lax enforcement of already existing laws against marijuana use

Police didn't think marijuana use was a pressing problem - a fact supported by its low price

What were most probably the motives that led to the Bureau of Narcotics to take the role of entrepreneur in the marijuana issue? Perceived an area of

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wrongdoing that belonged in their jurisdiction and moved to put it there
In which modes of action did the Bureau engage? Cooperating in development of state legislation

Providing facts and figures for journalistic accounts of the problem

Cooperated with the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, stressing the need to control marijuana use

How did the Bureau pressure state authorities to enter into its "war" against marijuana? AKA Indian Hemp, the 'lethal' weed

Hinted that Federal intervention might otherwise be necessary

Aroused the public thought "educational" campaigns in multiple popular media outlets

Promulgated "atrocities" stories (ax murderer)

Pushed for uniform state laws

What values did the Bureau refer to legitimize its campaign? Self control

Search for illicit pleasure

The same two values they used in push for prohibiting alcohol and opiates

When the Bureau subsequently presented a draft of the marijuana Tax Act to the House Ways and Means Committee of Congress, to which legitimate business interests did they assure accommodation? Industrial, medical, scientific use

Excluding the mature stalks in the definition of " marijuana"

Which industry was not fully exempted from the law? The paint and varnish industry, which used the seeds. The seeds contain active compounds How else was the medical profession and pharmaceutical industry reassured? They would have no problem because they rarely prescribed the drug and it would thus cause no hardship The Committee was ready to " do what was necessary" and asked why this law had not been proposed before. How did the Bureau answer? Only become a menace in last few years

Many crimes committed under its influence (the ax-murderer)

Low prices made it available to everyone

What compromise was made with the birdseed industry? They could use sterilized seeds Marijuana smokers become a new class of outsiders as a result of the law. How were they represented? They had no representation or legitimate grounds for attack and did not appear in the public record Why is this case an example of " moral enterprise"? The Bureau used its enterprise to create " a new fragment of the moral constitution of society, its code of right and wrong What basic parameters can we expect to find wherever rules are created? Enlisting support from coordinate groups

Use of available media of communication to fashion a favorable climate of opinion

What basic parameters of enforcement processes can we expect to find whenever rules are applied? Shaped by complexity of the organization

Rest on the basis of shared understanding in simpler groups

Results from political maneuvering and bargaining in complex structures

What are the characteristics of the " crusading reformer," the prototype of the rule creator
Interested in the content of rules

Operates with absolute ethic

Typically believe that their mission is holy

Believes that if people do what is right, it will be good for them
(humanitarianism)

Tend to link various concerns

Dominated by those in the upper levels of social structure

How does the class position of moral crusaders affect their mission? They use their social power to bolster the legitimacy of their moral position
If moral crusaders are moral, why are they willing to enlist support from others whose motives are less pure? Care more about ends than means

Rely on expert advice to draw up acceptable legislation

What are the three customary elements of sexual psychopath laws, based on Sutherlands research
Commonly enacted after a few serious crimes are committed in quick succession arouse fear

Agitated activity of the community in response to fear

Appointment of a committee

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At what point in the process does a community usually turn to a professional group for assistance? May play a role in the committee

For help in drawing up legislation

What consequences result when moral crusaders seek the advice of professional groups? Unforeseen consequences related to the interest group of professionals

e. g. psychiatrists in sexual predator laws

What may happen to the moral crusader when the person or organization is successful? He/It may be out of a job

He/It may become a professional discoverer of wrongs to be righted

What may happen when crusades are unsuccessful? He/It may give up the mission

He/It may adhere to an increasingly less popular mission - becoming outsiders themselves

Class dynamics may shift. e. g. upper to lower-middle class of Prohibition movement

What is the final outcome of a successful moral crusade? A police force. e. g. Federal Bureau of Narcotics

Institutionalization

In which aspect of a rule is a police officer most invested? Not the content, but the fact that it is his job to enforce it

The rule provides him with a job

Between which two contradictory claims must law enforcement oscillate?

Attempts at enforcement are effective and worthwhile

The problem is worse than ever, requiring new and increased effort

Why is respect so important for law enforcers? They tend to be pessimistic about human nature

Without respect, there is fear that job security will be lost

What are two common means someone may be labeled deviant? Rule breaking

Showing disrespect to enforcers

Why must professional rule enforcers have a great deal of discretion? Can't tackle everything at once, so they have priorities and bases for making decisions
Why are professionals thieves in big cities much less likely to be caught, convicted and labeled deviant than other amateurs? The "fixer" system (political influence, know-how, and a professional "fixer")
What actions lead to a person who commits a deviant act to be formally charged with deviance? Whether the enforcement officials feel that at this time he make some show of doing his job in order to justify his position

Whether the misbehavior shows proper deference to the enforcer

Whether the “ fix” has been put in

Where the kind of act committed stands on the enforcer’s list of priorities

What is the relationship of enterprise and harm in the natural history of rules? Both are necessary for a rule to form Why is it necessary to study the discovery, identification, apprehension and conviction of rule breakers in order to understand deviance? Because deviant behavior is a product of both the rule-breaker and the rule-enforcer

This process of interaction that creates deviance can be discovered in these kinds of events