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# From Criminal Spin to Positive Criminology

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NATTI RONEL

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## Introduction

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More often than not, the study of crime, violence, and related behaviors emphasizes the negative aspects in people's lives that are associated with or lead to deviance and criminality. A common but partial understanding is that human relationships are affected more by destructive encounters than by constructive or positive ones—"the bad" is often considered to be stronger than "the good" (Baumeister et al., 2001). Prominent criminological theories tend to exemplify the dominant role of the bad in criminology: neglect; social rejection and alienation; association with strong criminal influences; reaction to social strain; lack of self-control; past trauma and conditions of risk; and criminal careers (Hagan, 1988; Shoham et al., 2004). Consequently, an expected and reasonable response to crime, violence, and deviance is a stronger force that attempts to solve the problem of criminality

and its effects by removing offenders from society, by punishing them, and by retaliating—all largely negative experiences. But does this really solve the problem effectively—can it stop people from engaging in violent or criminal behaviors? Can it really bring relief to the pain and suffering of victims of crime? Can it improve the quality of life of societies? Unfortunately, the power of “the negative” in solving crime and its outcomes is partial and temporary. It is a solution aimed at a change of “the same order,” following the known distinction of Watzlawick et al. (1974). Therefore, another step is necessary, generating a transformation of a different order. And that is where positive (different from positivistic) criminology plays a role in changing the picture. In the following, I will introduce this innovative perspective in criminology. But before that, I will briefly introduce a recent phenomenological theory of criminology that describes and interprets one aspect of criminal behavior, namely, the criminal spin (for a more detailed description of this theory see Ronel, 2009, 2011). The spin model describes the problem; positive criminology offers an approach to its solution.

### Phenomenology of the Criminal Spin

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Various authors, representing different perspectives, have undertaken the task of explaining crime and deviance. Most have attempted to provide causal explanations for criminal and deviant behaviors. Since its inception, criminology has offered a wide selection of such explanations, which often lead to corresponding responses (e.g., Goode, 2002; Hagan, 1988; Shoham et al., 2004). Careful scrutiny of the causal explanations of crime reveals that although most of them make good sense and are founded on evidence, in many cases they also contradict each other (e.g., Blumstein et al., 1988; DeLisi & Vaughn, 2008; Maruna, 2004). The reason for this confusion is that causal explanations are usually dependent on time, space, and content, describing and explaining certain behaviors by certain people within a certain context (Klein, 1998; Muftić, 2009). Nevertheless, concentration on the phenomenology of criminality itself, as a human experience within human consciousness (Katz, 2002), may reveal a common essence of those behaviors considered to be criminal, regardless of their particular causes, context, and content. Consequently, I suggest that we can discern a common process in the phenomena of most criminal behaviors, notwithstanding their varying features. The phenomenology of different criminal behaviors in different settings reveals a typical flywheel-like process of a criminal spin, which gives these behaviors their unique character and leads to undesired yet unavoidable results.

A criminal spin is an event or a set of events that represent a process of escalation in criminal behavior, accompanied by a cycle of criminal thinking

or corresponding emotions. A criminal spin occurs when there is a sudden, rapid, or gradual acceleration of behavior that is considered criminal. The process arises as an almost inevitable chain of events, linked to one another in the generation of ever-intensifying criminal behavior. The overall process is one of a spinning flywheel; once set in motion, it preserves its own continuity. All components work coherently to increase the movement and create an integrated process that is stronger than the sum of the parts and factors that comprise it (Collins, 2001). Usually, if nothing interferes with the natural order of events, this process leads to a crisis that halts its movement, or reaches a peak and then subsides.

As a criminal spin progresses, there is a noticeable weakening of self-control, although the person involved may deny this and may perceive himself or herself as “being in control.” Sometimes, the individual consciously attempts to gain or regain control over the situation; however, this might even increase the spin, as happens during domestic battering (Ronel & Tim, 2003). For some individuals, the loss of control in such situations reflects a generally low level of self-control (Hay & Forrest, 2006; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994). However, contrary to the claim of the general theory of deviance, there are individuals that give up their sense of self-control only during a particular process, while demonstrating a strong desire for control and displaying such control in other aspects of their life and at different times (Piquero et al., 2010). As the spin theory is phenomenological, it does not look for the causes of the present lack of control, whether they are internal, external, both, or none. The focus is on the various phenomena related to the spin process itself.

Similar to any human phenomenon, a criminal spin involves behaviors, emotions, and cognition that interact together in the spin process. Any of these may ignite the spin process: behavior may stimulate cognition and emotions, emotion may lead to behavior and cognition, or cognition might precede a criminal behavior, with or without a corresponding emotion.

A criminal spin may be presented in acute or chronic phases. During its acute phase, the individual exhibits a one-time only, or separate, unrelated events that denote a criminal spin. However, the spin might enter into a chronic phase, where the individual is trapped in related or recurring episodes of an acute criminal spin, or a sequential development of criminal, deviant, or violent activity. Apparently, a chronic spin is manifested in the development of a criminal lifestyle or career (Farrington, 1995). In that sense, there is no difference between a career criminal and a criminal career (Blumstein et al., 1988; DeLisi, 2005; DeLisi & Vaughn, 2008), as they both represent the chronic criminal spin.

Parallel to the individual level, a criminal spin may be detected in groups as well: a group may exhibit behavior patterns that represent an acute or a chronic criminal spin. When this happens, the group operates as a whole that is larger than its parts, with the potential for generating further criminality

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among its members (Akers & Jensen, 2006; Battin et al., 1998; Battin-Pearson et al., 1998; Porter & Alison, 2006; Winfree et al., 1994). Furthermore, one may detect a criminal or deviant spin in even larger entities, such as a neighborhood (Schuerman & Kobrin, 1986), certain geographical areas (Weisburd et al., 2010), across cultures and social classes (Fagan et al., 2007), or even at a national level, as for example in the case of Nazi Germany.

Certain characteristics are common to the phenomenology of all cases of individual or group criminal spins. These features may be weak and temporary in the acute phase, but stronger and persistent in the chronic phase. First, the spin involves an intensification of behaviors, thoughts, and feelings that are increasingly and narrowly directed to the spin route. Second, the process assumes a “life” of its own and preserves its continuity. This leads to the third feature, a gradual or sudden loss of self-control and less ability to behave out of free choice. Fourth, the individual is increasingly self-centered and occupied by his or her own wishes, desires, fears, or distress, while the ability to consider others or to empathize with them diminishes (Ronel, 2000). In addition, the individual is concerned more with the immediate than the future consequences. A growing self-centeredness leads to a greater separation of that person—from others, from himself or herself, and from spirituality (this is further elaborated on in the following text). Fifth, two motives operate within the consciousness in spin: the first is an “I must” motive, which appears when the consciousness initially enters, or is in the course of the spin process, filled with the perception of an existential threat or a need. This creates a sense that any action that can remove this threat and regain one’s safety should be taken. The self-centered consciousness typically becomes limited by the spin and directs itself toward surviving the threat. The second is an “I can” motive, that is, a perception of the individual’s personal legitimacy and ability to perform the criminal act. This motive represents the cognitive and emotional states that, at least temporarily, accept, support, and allow the chain of behaviors based on a sense of personal capacity and legitimacy to continue to the desired end, while minimizing the possibility of other consequences.

Based on this description, it is possible to detect a criminal spin and even to predict its direction when it has just started, at the individual, group, community, or societal level. When confronted with a criminal process, experienced individuals may evaluate the level, nature, and degree of the spin process. Such an evaluation, at any level, may guide the appropriate intervention. The existence of a criminal spin indicates the intensity and level of the desirable intervention. Usually, an external intervention that is noticeable and stronger than the spin is required, since the spin is a self-perpetuating process. While law enforcement might provide such an external intervention, it usually targets only some of the characteristics of the criminal spin. For example, punishment and deterrent measures might at times reduce or

even end the “I can” motive, sometimes providing the only way to break a chronic spin, but if the “I must” motive (and self-centeredness, as well) are not addressed, the individual may be drawn back into an active criminal spin. The high recidivism rate of chronic offenders verifies this claim. Therefore, it is also necessary to generate a complementary transformation that has the ability to reduce both the “I can” and “I must” motives, to restore self-control and reduce self-centeredness. Positive criminology is a perspective that encompasses various models aimed at these objectives.

## Foundations of Positive Criminology

Positive criminology is a new concept that explicitly focuses on various experiences of the good that may assist individuals, groups, and communities in turning away from criminality and its consequent harm and suffering (Ronel & Elisha, 2011). It seeks the knowledge of goodness in a criminological context, following Gandhi’s maxim cited above. Parallel but contrary to the spin model, which indicates a progression of criminal activity with a decrease in the ability of individuals and groups to desist from it, positive criminology indicates the growing ability of individuals and communities to refrain from criminal, violent, or deviant behavior. Positive criminology is oriented to human strengths, resilience, and positive encounters that can assist individuals in abstaining from crime and deviant behaviors. It promotes social inclusion and unifying and integrating forces in individual, group, social, and spiritual dimensions.

AU: ‘Gandhi’s maxim cited above’. If the maxim is cited, please specify where.

An individual in a criminal spin usually exhibits an increased degree of self-centeredness, as noted. The development of self-centeredness entails a process of separation from others, who are increasingly perceived to be object-like (potentially threatening or rewarding), to the point of social, existential, and spiritual alienation. Being together with a peer group of like individuals—a gang or a criminal subculture, for instance—does not reduce the sense of existential separation from humanity at large, as it usually indicates the separation of that group from noncriminal society (Braithwaite, 2000). To reverse that process, an authentic unification, which is usually positively experienced, is needed. Therefore, the possibilities of inclusion, integration, and unity are central to positive criminology and, in fact, represent its positive direction. For that reason, the separation–unification vector is basic to understanding the progress of a criminal spin and recovery from it, where unification denotes the positive route. Accordingly, the term *positive criminology* takes on another meaning, that is, the criminology of integration, inclusion, and unification.

In the social dimension, the promotion of social inclusion represents the positive vector, sometimes as the first source of transformation. It marks an

initial reduction in self-centeredness and alienation. Similarly, existential integration of the self within humanity, where others are perceived as less object-like (Shoham & Addad, 2004), and the construction of an integrative consciousness center of pro-social norms (Timor, 2001) constitute another dimension of positive unification, indicating reduced self-centeredness and an increasing ability to resist immediate gratification. Finally, the direction toward unification with a spiritual power greater than the self represents the positive vector in the spiritual dimension, constructing a meaning that also supports the reduction of self-centeredness and indicates increasing self-control with the aid of the spirit (Ronel, 2000).

The perspective of positive criminology refers to uniting influences that share two common features: first, they are largely considered as good and are experienced by targeted individuals as positive, and second, they may assist these individuals in developing the ability to refrain from criminal or deviant behavior. The first feature is based on and shared with positive psychology (Gable & Haidt, 2005; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). An essential notion of positive psychology is that the study of positive experiences is complementary and should not be secondary to that of negative processes. Investigations of how positive emotions help build enduring personal resources (Fredrickson, 2001), for example, may be adapted to the study of the target population of criminology (Ronel, 2006).

Positive criminology takes this further by means of its second quality, that is, the determining of crime prevention and desistance as the desired outcomes of positive experiences. Accordingly, the positive experiences are meaningful because of their ability to enhance a transformation that can prevent or stop criminal spins at any phase and level. Positive criminology acknowledges the ability of offenders and ex-convicts to reform and rehabilitate under certain circumstances, and highlights the importance of positive conditions and human encounters in any effective rehabilitation process.

Positive criminology is a field distinct from positive psychology, notwithstanding the shared emphasis on the impact of “the positive.” First, as said, it is specifically aimed at crime prevention and desistance, a specification not necessarily held by positive psychology. Second, although some of the resources and means to attain this goal are psychological in character, as various scholars of psychology indicate (e.g., Martin & Stermac, 2010), others represent other-than-psychological spheres and issues. These include, for example, law-enforcement issues, such as restorative justice (e.g., Shachaf-Friedman & Timor, 2008), and sociological processes, such as the sociology of acceptance (Bogdan & Taylor, 1987). Third, positive criminology spotlights individuals and groups that are engaged in, at risk for, or victims of deviant or criminal activities. This focus is naturally absent in positive psychology; it indicates a specific knowledge. For example, target individuals of positive criminology might be at any stage or phase of a criminal spin, at

times requiring a combined response of positive influences with those that can forcibly and immediately halt a spin if the positive ones are insufficient (Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

The target population of positive criminology often reports an experience of challenging and adverse backgrounds. These developmental factors include exposure to a wide range of negative experiences. Positive criminology represents a perspective that takes into account the complexity of the offending individuals in terms of their personal, environmental, and cultural characteristics, including their strengths and potential for personal, social, and spiritual growth. Consequently, risk factors are also perceived in terms of their potential for growth and development, rather than simply as indicators of vulnerability and destruction (Antonovsky, 1979; Ronel & Haimoff-Ayali, 2009). Studies that can be associated with a positive criminological perspective have revealed several personal strengths among different types of rehabilitated offenders, such as taking personal responsibility, finding new meaning in their lives, and maturation (e.g., Biernacki, 1986; Maruna, 2004; Ronel, 1998b), in addition to variables such as obtaining external assistance (e.g., family, treatment, voluntary support groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous [AA] and Narcotics Anonymous [NA], and religious organizations). These and other studies emphasize the importance of cultivating positive human strengths following risk and crisis events, in order to achieve higher levels of well-being and positive growth (Bogenschneider, 1996; Fraser, 1997; Ronel & Levy-Cahana, 2010).

## Positive Criminology in Theory and Practice

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Positive criminology is founded on a perspective that is shared by different theories and approaches in criminology. I will briefly describe some of the most prominent of these. It should be noted that other theories and approaches may also be included under this term, if they encompass the same elements of unification, positive experience, and abstinence from criminality.

### Reintegrative Shaming

Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming is a major theory in criminology that represents the positive perspective well. A central component of this theory is a distinction between a person's identity and behavior, which allows for self-correction and social rehabilitation (Braithwaite et al., 2006). Such a distinction can be found in religious traditions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Zen Buddhism (Brazier, 1995; Miller & Delaney, 2005); in modern spiritual approaches, such as the 12-step program (Ronel, 2000); and in humanistic and positive psychology. Reintegrative shaming is based

on the idea that rehabilitative interventions may be most effective when they include condemnation of the wrong criminal behavior (shaming), along with the acceptance and reintegration of the individual by the community (Braithwaite, 2000). This perception is parallel to the one presented here, which stresses the importance of social inclusion in ending a criminal spin. Disintegrative shaming occurs when the offender is functionally excluded from society and negatively labeled by normative members of society. According to the labeling theory (Becker, 1963; Robbers, 2009), such social rejection can reinforce criminal behavior. The spin model would predict the same (Ronel, 2011), based on the progress toward growing separation and exclusion. Here, social rejection and exclusion mark the negative route, and reintegration indicates the positive one, as both reintegrative shaming and positive criminology claim.

### **Restorative Justice**

Restorative justice represents a school of thinking and an intervention approach in criminal justice that is also consistent with the perspective of positive criminology. It holds that intervention should focus on the relationships harmed as a result of an offense and the people involved in the conflict (Braithwaite, 2000; Shachaf-Friedman & Timor, 2008; Timor, 2008; Zehr, 1995). In the language of positive criminology, the offending behavior is perceived as increasing the separation within society: separation between the wrongdoer, the victim, and the community. Therefore, restorative justice is aimed at reintegration within society of the perpetrator, the victim, and the community. The purpose of restorative justice is to right wrongs—to help heal and better the physical and nonphysical damage that arises from the offense committed. Righting the wrongs mainly takes the form of responding to the emotional, social, and material needs of the victim of the offense, paving the way for the reintegration of the perpetrators after they take responsibility for their actions. All the restorative justice programs that have been developed on this basis in recent years encourage reintegration with society and its members by methods such as mediation, conflict settlement, rehabilitation, and the inclusion of offenders and victims in the community. According to the positive criminology perspective, such practices have the potential to help individuals reintegrate themselves as well.

### **Rehabilitation**

As emphasized earlier, positive criminology is associated with abstaining from crime. Crime desistance, correction, and rehabilitation are longstanding concepts in criminology, although their ability to fulfill their objectives has been seriously questioned (e.g., Anstiss, n.d.; Ward & Maruna,



2007). According to Robinson (2008), rehabilitation is currently enjoying renewed legitimacy following its evolution and transformation, and the inclusion of a moral dimension. Correspondingly, public opinion has indicated some optimism about the effectiveness of rehabilitation (Piquero et al., 2010). Moreover, current research in criminology has clearly proved the effectiveness of rehabilitative practices that take into account the actual needs of the offending individuals and especially their motivation for positive future outcomes (Maguire & Raynor, 2006; Ross & Hilborn, 2008; Ward et al., 2007). Although positive criminology and rehabilitation practices are concerned with crime desistance, positive criminology includes only those practices of rehabilitation that are experienced as positive by target individuals. They are usually aimed at achieving change by exploring the individuals' strengths rather than controlling their faults (Van Wormer & Davis, 2003; Ward & Maruna, 2007); they are future- (desistance-) oriented rather than past- (problem-) oriented; and they enable a transformation of the self-narrative into a positive, or at least normative one (Maruna, 2004). To demonstrate, Ward and Maruna (2007) and Ward et al. (2007) presented two effective rehabilitation practices, the first aimed at reducing the risk of undesirable behavior, and the second based on the "good life model," which is more inclusive and is consistent with positive criminology.

## Recovery

The discussion of recovery is closely related to that of rehabilitation. The literature on recovery in the field of addiction can be applied to any domain in criminology (Best et al., 2010; Heaps et al., 2009; White et al., 2006). From the perspective of positive criminology, the process of recovery from criminality entails not only abstinence from criminal conduct (which is an initial condition of the recovery process), but also promoting physical, mental, and social well-being by means of a spiritual evolution (White & Kurtz, 2005). Therefore, positive criminology suggests a shift from the "problem-and-treatment" paradigm to a recovery paradigm, where recovery is a process in which behavioral problems are gradually resolved by developing physical, emotional, spiritual, relational, and occupational health (Best et al., 2010; McNeill, 2006). A recovery system of care refers to a whole network of informal relationships and human services that integrate professionals with indigenous paraprofessionals to support the long-term recovery of individuals and families (White et al., 2006). Similar to other positive criminology approaches, recovery involves an achievable vision that includes the integration of individuals, families, and communities. Enduring support in the community is essential for the continuation of the recovery journey; it often includes mutual aid and other peer support of the type that self-help groups provide.

### **Self-Help Groups and the 12-Step Program**

One of the most popular approaches in the Western world for self-change in the field of addiction is that of 12-step self-help groups. Self-help groups, in general, and particularly 12-step groups, which emphasize spiritual and moral change, represent another aspect of positive criminology. The groups serve as a place for learning and practicing new behavior and values, alongside spiritual development. Research conducted among addicts who participated in the 12-step program, AA, and NA self-help and mutual-help groups has identified several therapeutic elements that help addicted individuals in their recovery process (McCrary & Miller, 1993). These include, to name a few, enjoying the benefits of “helper therapy” (Riessman, 1965), spiritual awakening through faith in a higher power that helps them abstain from psychoactive substances (Ronel & Humphreys, 1999–2000), transformation of anger and resentment into forgiveness (Hart & Shapiro, 2002), being part of a “grace community” that represents the highest morality far above the morality of its members (Ronel, 1998a), and sponsoring another person in the recovery process (Crape et al., 2002). Research indicates that self-help organizations such as NA constitute a bridge to recovery, connecting the drug subculture to the general dominant culture (Ronel, 1998b).

The 12-step program originated in AA and was then adopted by other self-help organizations that target a variety of problems, such as drug addiction (NA), eating disorders (Overeaters Anonymous [OA]), and emotional disturbance (Emotions Anonymous [EA]) (Room, 1993). From its inception, the 12-step program caught the attention of professionals as a possible expert approach to therapy, first limited to addiction (White, 1998), and later extended into other fields, such as domestic violence (Ronel & Tim, 2003) and victim assistance (Brende, 1993; Ronel, 2008). It might therefore be perceived as a general professional treatment method and program for recovery, also known as grace therapy (Ronel, 2000). In a professional setting, the 12 steps may be adapted to the changing needs of the participants (Brende, 1995). The program emphasizes the spiritual nature of change and recovery as a continuous process and a unifying way of life, where the recovering individuals gain growing recognition of a higher power and practice integration within their communities—that of their peers and the wider community.

### **Research on Positive Criminology**

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Positive criminology is a new term. It was developed on the foundation of the results of several studies by my research group, and also served as the basis for other studies, a few of which will be described here.

## The Impact of Volunteers on Those They Help

A series of studies examined the impact of a personal encounter with perceived goodness on individuals in problem situations. Human goodness was represented by volunteers who were perceived as truly altruistic by their target beneficiaries, hence the term *perceived altruism*. The studies focused on the encounter between lay volunteers and (a) at-risk street youth in a mobile outreach service (Ronel, 2006); (b) at-risk youth in drop-in centers for youth at risk in Israel (Ronel et al., 2009); (c) at-risk youth and graduates at a boarding village for adolescents who are removed from their homes (Lavie, 2008); and (d) prisoners recovering from addiction who participated in a Vipassana course in a rehabilitation prison (Frid, 2008). The results of all the studies were dramatically consistent and showed that (a) the beneficiaries knew that volunteers were servicing them and this was highly significant to them; (b) they perceived these volunteers as true altruists; (c) they were so satisfied that they preferred the volunteer services over those of the paid workers; and (d) they were positively affected by the encounter with voluntarism. Meeting the volunteers raised their awareness of giving without expecting a reward, which sharply contradicted their former view of the world as a battlefield. In some cases, the example set by the volunteers inspired the beneficiaries to consider volunteering themselves. Finally, they were sometimes able to generalize the altruistic image to the entire service and overcome their initial objections to a service run by the establishment. The volunteers provided a living example of the possibility of human goodness through personal encounters and demonstrated the existence of a responsive society with mutual, unconditional caring. The proposed explanation refers to the contrast between the example of the volunteers and the marked self-centeredness of individuals in problem situations, which shifted slightly as a result. These results suggest practical implications for innovative interventions with individuals in problem situations and illustrate the significance of the science of goodness and positive criminology practice.

## Volunteering for Others

Positive criminology focuses on the impact of goodness on individuals in problem situations, both as beneficiaries and as givers. Several studies have demonstrated that allowing individuals in problem situations to volunteer for the benefit of others can promote rehabilitation and transformation (Burnett & Maruna, 2006; Ross & Hilborn, 2008). In our research group, Uzan (2009) focused on the experience of young offenders in Israel who participated in a community volunteer activity of helping people with needs. Uzan found that the youngsters perceived this activity as a highly significant experience that led them to a process of introspection and a decision

to change their way of life. The conclusion, which is consistent with other studies (see Ross & Hilborn, 2008, for a full description), was that participation in initial altruistic activities can develop and strengthen internal virtues (e.g., responsibility, caring for others, and goodness) that motivate individuals from the criminal subculture to adopt pro-social attitudes, norms, and behaviors.

### **Social Acceptance and Life Transformation in Rehabilitation of Imprisoned Sex Offenders**

Ward and colleagues (e.g., Ward, 2002; Ward & Gannon, 2006) have provided extensive research on the impact of a positive perspective represented by the “good life model” on the rehabilitation process of sex offenders. Our research team conducted the first study of imprisoned sex offenders based explicitly on the perspective of positive criminology (Elisha, 2010). The purpose of this qualitative study was to identify the internal and external factors that assist imprisoned sex offenders in their recovery and change process.

Most participants reported personal and social changes during their current imprisonment (the research period) that they deemed significant to their recovery. They attributed the changes to the support they received from various sources, both inside and outside the prison, particularly spouses, parents, therapists, and religious figures. The participants interpreted the support as social acceptance of them; however, this was not construed as unconditional acceptance, but as one that required them to take responsibility and make a significant change. It might also be referred to as love with boundaries, containing components similar to those included in the reintegrative shaming mechanism (Braithwaite, 1989, 2000). The research findings also suggest that positive changes can be achieved even under such harsh conditions as imprisonment, but only if these conditions are accompanied by those of positive criminology.

### **Conclusion**

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A person in a criminal spin is expected to continue in the spin until it reaches a peak with unpleasant results, or until it is met by an external force greater than that of the spin. Since a criminal spin, and especially a chronic one, usually results in increasing harm to others and to the perpetrator, there is a need for a social response that might end the spin and minimize its harm. This is a duty of society toward the victims of the criminal spin, toward itself as a whole, and even toward the spinning individuals, who usually have no control over the process. Unfortunately, the prevailing social response is “more of the same.” Sometimes, this is necessary in order to bring about change. However,

the effectiveness of such a solution in ending a spin process is questionable, and something different is also needed. Positive criminology offers “more” that is not “of the same.” It does not compete with traditional law enforcement, but attempts to complement it. In many if not most cases, this complementary process can produce better results than those claimed by conservative law enforcement. Furthermore, its results can have long-lasting effects; if correctly practiced, the positive has stronger recovery potential than the negative, and unification, inclusion, and integration are more durable than separation practices in promoting criminological health and welfare.

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