

SOCIAL DEVIATIONS, LABELLING AND NORMALITY

JITKA SKOPALOVÁ

Abstract: This paper discusses the issues of labelling, normality and social deviation. I focus on the sociological and socio-psychological aspects of these topics in light of their importance for pedagogy. Labelling mainly concerns the ways in which the formal and constitutive institutions of social control, including schools, respond to behaviour. Mainly children and young people are “marked” or labelled according to both their existing and presumed patterns of deviant behaviour.

School, as a social institution, expects its students to be normal. It has the power to define normality and, moreover, a network of social control to achieve it. However, from the perspective of the school it is very important not to prematurely label pupils negatively during the selection process. On the contrary, school should enable as many pupils as possible to contribute successfully towards the requirements of a knowledge society. Research indicates that there is a correlation between a child’s school performance and the perceptions and expectations held by the teacher. Recent studies, concerning for example violence at school, have shown how strongly the aggressive behaviour of pupils is connected to the teacher’s behaviour.

The theory of labelling is concerned with the fundamental question of why some individuals and groups are branded as deviating from norms more often than others. Stigma is a relative phenomenon; it is the result of successful labelling, delivering a punitive and disapproving response. In order to better understand labelling, the concepts of social norms and social deviance also require clarification.

Keywords: labelling approach, self-fulfilling prophecy, Pygmalion effect, stigmatization.

This paper presents labelling theory and its related terms, which constitute a fruitful area of research, deserving of both our attention and further exploration. The main aim therefore is to theoretically define labelling, stigmatization and prejudice, and to shed light on the way in which they relate to pedagogical practice in terms of the specialist literature.

The relationship between labelling and teaching in practice provides much incentive for reflection. In schools with many different pupils we are likely to encounter individuals who produce different reactions in others. These may be individuals with physical disabilities, pupils with social issues, those that are talented or unsuccessful, individuals from ethnic groups, etc. The aim of school education is to effectively integrate these pupils.

But the behaviour of both teachers and pupils may be influenced by prejudices and stereotyped behaviour; individuals are ascribed “labels” which they cannot remove. It is extremely important to consider how a teacher’s inappropriate behaviour may influence pupils and the impact such behaviour may have.

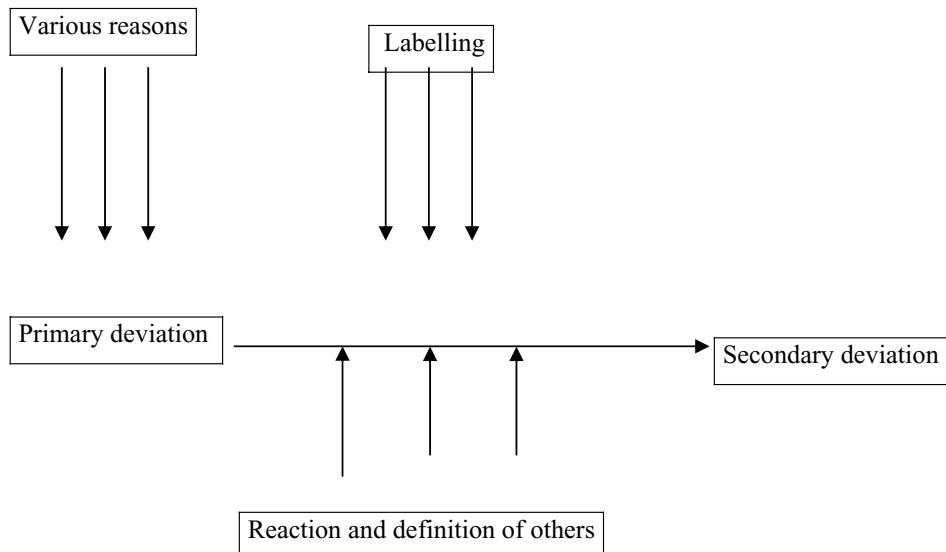
Today it is very difficult to say who first began to view social deviation from a different perspective or when and where this occurred. However, during the 1950s, it became clear that there was need for a change in perspective regarding the analysis of deviant behaviour.

It is evident that without the work of George Herbert Mead (*Mind, Self and Society*, 1934) labelling theory itself would not have been created. In a way it was anticipated in the work of David Matza (*Delinquency and Drift; Becoming Deviant*, 1964) and particularly in Edwin H. Lemert's 1948 lecture for the Pacific Sociological Society, *Social Pathology* in 1951.

Lemert was concerned with the differences between "normal" and "pathological" behaviours. He used the term *sociopathic phenomena* to refer to various differentiated types of behaviour. In essence, an individual's behaviour may break social norms at a certain time and in a certain place and thus be regarded deviant; but the same behaviour in a different sociocultural environment and time may be approved by society. Thus, there is no consensus in society as a whole (see Munková 2001, 66-70).

Deviant behaviour (*sociopathic behaviour*) may be a manifestation of psychological conflicts taking place within an individual but labelling theorists believed that most of this behaviour is a reaction to a social situation. Lemert also referred to a category of behaviour that manifests itself as a systematic deviation relating to a person's role and status. He also believed, that at that time, the theory of social deviation did not account for behaviours that initially presented as being a situational social deviation and then became a systematic deviation: some interactions may lead to the normalization of behaviour and the rejection of deviation whereas others may even result in the reorganization of an individual's identity as s/he starts to perceive her/himself as deviant. Deviant behaviours that are based on the symbolic reorganization of identity eventually become systematic.

These considerations led Lemert to develop his most famous concept—the concept of secondary deviation. It is the reaction to deviation that is key. The term *societal reaction* can



Scheme 1: Origination of secondary deviation (see Rüther 1975, 29):

be defined as the overall reaction of persons and groups in society to behaviour perceived as deviant. In reacting to deviation, the individual allows deviation to enter her/his life and in this way it is identified as deviation. The individual then starts to be identified as a deviant and can be sanctioned or punished in another way and rejected by the others. The outcome is secondary deviation, in which an individual may gradually identify with the deviant role and her/his behaviour sees a qualitative change.

Lemert also stated that public reactions may create more problems than they solve, and he was the first to see social reaction to deviant behaviour as an independent variable; he even surmised that the reaction need not be directly related to the act committed, he emphasized that there are a number of factors that may produce an inadequate reaction to certain types of behaviour.

The 1960s saw a plethora of approaches such as these and their authors are sometimes rather condescendingly referred to as “cryptodeviants”—existential sociologists who tried to participate personally in “gangland” life and subsequently to describe these social worlds. They attempted to understand the meanings that animate and shape social behaviour. Sociologists thus had to be active observers and listeners born of the agent’s perspective and their view of the world and processes around them.

A change in the way social deviations were perceived was brought about by Howard Becker (1963), whose work was based on symbolic interactionism and who coined the term the interactionist theory of deviation to describe his approach, although it later came to be known as labelling theory. In *Outsiders*, Becker uses the term “moral entrepreneurs” to refer to those who both create and enact norms, “labelling” behaviour as deviant. Labelling has political connotations, referring to power and authority; while morals remain in the background.

In the most general sense it is possible to say that labelling is based on the thesis that human identity is created through the process of interaction between an individual and the others in society. Labelling theorists draw the following conclusions from this:

- deviation is defined not as an objective characteristic of human behaviour but as a product of people’s shared thinking,
- it is necessary to accentuate direct observation of the processes of interaction,
- deviant labels are analysed as shared meanings ascribed to certain persons within the processes of social interaction.

Another approach to social deviations is called the “relativist” approach.¹ This term refers to attempts to replace the previous, more traditional approach of defining deviant behaviour by measuring it against the norms of society. The traditional concept inevitably led to a conformist approval of the existing order and to the perception that all that is different can be seen as a threat to sustaining consensus in society. However, society is changing dynamically, and it is becoming clearer and clearer that the increasing diversity of problem situations and

¹ The normative view of social deviance (the objectivist paradigm) deals with the behaviour of individuals who violate norms, and tries to ascertain why individuals act in this way. There are two fundamental questions in this respect: who exhibits deviant behaviour and why? The concepts based on the normative approach point to the need for universality, for norms to have unambiguous meanings, designed for all possible situations (see Munková 2001, 14-16).

life styles requires a change of approach even as far as the analysis of deviant behaviour is concerned.

In the study of deviation or deviant behaviour, a certain degree of empathy is important, for it enables a richer sense of perspective on deviation. Empathy enables the researcher to approach the study of the behaviour as closely as possible. Sociologists should mentally, experientially and emotionally enter the world of the persons they would like to understand (see Pontell 1996, 89-90).

Sociology deals with the extent to which deviant behaviour occurs and examines why some social structures support conformist behaviour in the members of that society and others support non-conformist behaviour.

The essence of labelling is thus describing an individual's behaviour as inappropriate regardless of whether any norms have been broken. Repeated negative reactions to an individual's behaviour may lead to that behaviour becoming more similar to the marked version and to the creation of a deviant identity. The individual then creates a negative image of her/himself, especially as a consequence of being repeatedly negatively defined by others that are significant and emotionally close to the individual. According to Vladimír Labáth (2001) identification with a deviant role takes place in a closed circle. Dissocial behaviour (i.e. that presenting a great range of deviant behaviour from committing minor offences, to breaking orders and all types of norms, causing conflicts and committing crimes) produces a negative reaction in others that generates the creation and fixation of an individual's negative self-image, which leads to an intensification of dissocial behaviour and is followed by a stronger negative reaction in others and the individual's negative self-image, deviant identity etc. become fixed. Society responds with stronger negative reactions, adopting a certain reserved attitude in situations of social contact, forming prejudices and generalisations against immediate family members or other people in a similar situation. The institutions of social control appear on the scene and sanctions are applied (Labáth 2001, 41, 67).

The deviant is in general regarded as immoral, as an individual belonging to a stigmatized group. That person's behaviour is viewed as being immoral and scandalous by others and it is assumed that the individual will commit wrongdoing and behave provocatively. According to this definition only a person collectively condemned by others can become a deviant. Labelling theorists argue that deviants are aware of the fact they break the social norms established by society. They know what they are doing and they know that the rest of society will categorise them as deviant (Pontell 1996, 94).

Behaviour that violates legal norms is punished. But Michel Foucault agrees that punishment does not consist in punishing the body but in the principle aptly articulated by Gabriel Mably: "Punishment, if I may so put it, should strike the soul rather than the body" (in Foucault 2000, 49). Gradually the character of the offences and crimes begins to change; the criminal code dictates what is to be judged. In order to establish the role the subject's will had to play in the crime, various indicators, such as passion, anomalies, inadaptability, hereditary factors, and aggression are assessed (*ibid.*, 41-51; 257-261). According to Foucault (*ibid.*, 257), the act of punishing and punishment itself exist within a two-pronged system, where the fundamental elements are reward and punishment.

From the viewpoint of pedagogical practice it is enormously important to reinforce positive behaviour by means of rewards. Much of the literature on teaching describes the

principles behind rewards, the forms they may come in and so forth. In terms of labelling and prejudice, the important factor is to reward all pupils when they deserve it and not omit some pupils simply due to factors such as prejudice and poor performance. Everybody should experience success.

The process of labelling is closely related to that of stigmatization. Erving Goffman (1963) deals with stigmata, the process of stigmatization, social identity and so forth. Stigmatization refers to the process of negatively evaluating personality. Goffman examines how stigmatization influences the identity of a person. In his analysis of the processes of stigmatization he notes that as a consequence of being negatively evaluated by others, marked persons have a “spoiled identity”.

Erik H. Erikson (1968) discusses the crisis of identity that occurs at the stage in a young person’s life cycle at which a certain life perspective must be adopted. If that person is able to develop certain expectations determining the direction of their wishes, hopes and endeavours then overcoming obstacles and inner insecurities will become easier. Adolescents must seek to balance their expectations with the way in which they are seen and evaluated by other people including those close to them.

Goffman holds that people can be categorised according to their personality characteristics or attributes. When we meet someone for the first time, our first impressions cause us to anticipate or create an image of the personality attributes of that person, of the category to which they belong i.e. the social identity of a personality. We create certain expectancies, requirements, and an image of the person standing before us. The character or personality we envisage as a consequence of this “first impression” constitutes a virtual social identity; whilst, the actual attributes of that person determine their real social identity. Any disharmony between these virtual and real social identities represents the stigma—an undesirable attribute, or character trait that differs from our preconceptions. Those individuals who do not differ negatively from the initial expectation or presumption are denoted normal (Goffman 1963, 9-13). Goffman (*ibid.*, 12) distinguishes three different types of stigmata, which include various physical differences and other perceived character defects such as weak will, various manias etc. Other stigmata include being unemployed, having a mental disorder, or addiction. Goffman’s final category relates to religion, race and nationality, where unfortunately discrimination, intolerance and prejudice are often involved. The question is how do stigmatized individuals cope with the stigma and how do they respond to the situation? One way is for the stigmatized individual to remove the defect or undesirable difference. It is, however, very difficult to fight against prejudice and discrimination, and this cannot simply be resolved by the stigmatized individuals, but also relates to other factors such as the character of the society, the family upbringing and schools as well. Thus stigmatized individuals may try to amend their situation in some way; however, stigmas can also be employed to the person’s advantage. Individuals may use their differences to explain away their failures, even if these failures are not in any way related to these stigmata. Where attempts are made to amend the situation, the person who had previously been stigmatized may not be able to cope with their “normality” and their problems will not cease (*ibid.*, 19-20).

The labelling approach thus deals primarily with the ways in which the formal institutions that exert social control of a constitutive nature such as the school system respond. After

family, school is the second most important institution and agent of socialization which influences personality, relations and the normal everyday experiences of children and adolescents.

In 1951, Talcott Parsons employed a sociological perspective to analyze the two main functions of schools in developed societies: *socialization (integration)* and *selection*.² It is clear that selection refers to the process of differentiating between pupils within a class on the basis of performance. This differentiation is effected by the teacher who applies norms set by primary and secondary schools. Thus, school is where the requisite primary selection takes place that establishes the crucial “switches” for attendance at other schools, and thus for future career paths. It is extremely important that schools do not label pupils negatively within the differentiation process, since a knowledge-based society requires as many pupils as possible to succeed. In order for school to function in society it is essential that the “rules of the game” correspond to the required “interconnection between school and life”.

The early labelling theories (such as the ideas of Lemert and Becker discussed earlier) point out that in fact every individual will, at some point in time—often in childhood or adolescence—act in a non-conformist and often generally disapproved of way. Much of this conduct falls into the category known as primary deviation, i.e. non-conformist behaviour that is temporary, often trivial and easy to conceal. This behaviour does not attract particular attention and the individuals involved usually do not see themselves as deviants. The situation changes radically once deviant acts are discovered and labelled publicly by other significant individuals—in our context by teachers or classmates. It is a *degrading ceremony*. The fundamental turning point is the reaction to deviation.³

Deviation is recognized when it becomes part of the person’s life through the reactions others have towards it. Once a child or adolescent is labelled by others (for instance, as a “hooligan”, “drug addict” or “vandal”), then other people start to respond to that person in accordance to their label. The labelling process thus confirms the social or even completely private prophecies or omens; the outcome is known as *secondary deviation*:

- a pupil is identified (labelled) as a deviant,
- the pupil can be sanctioned, punished, rejected by others,
- the pupil consciously or unconsciously accepts the label, identifying with it,
- a new self-conception develops and the pupil starts to act accordingly.

The pupil’s behaviour begins to change qualitatively—deviation becomes the individual’s new outfit!

The “typification conduct” of a teacher can also be derived from “*everyday theories*”, from “pragmatic states of everyday knowledge” that give the teachers in everyday school

² Socialization—the internalization of expected roles, accepted even by pedagogues. Selection—schools direct young people towards various occupations, providing human resources adequate to the system of adult roles (see Parsons 1965, 21-24).

³ A degrading ceremony is one where an individual is accused of deviation and is then reprimanded, threatened with punishment and placed in a situation where s/he is forced to acknowledge the moral dominancy of the accusers (e.g. teachers). Societal reactions refer to the overall response to behaviour perceived as deviant by people and groups in society (see Garfinkel 1967, 116-185).

activities a certain amount of certainty and help them in routine organization of their conduct on the one hand, but on the other hand they can reduce the complex everyday reality to designing of types in a selective and distorting way.

Typification is carried out using the components of signs that no longer correspond to the sign as originally observed or presumed. It is not unusual for teachers to typify not only a pupil's conduct but also to gradually judge her/his identity (Hargreaves 1981, 134).

The theory of everyday professional life enables a teacher to solve practical problems relating to their profession and informs the way they solve problems. This theory must therefore be regarded as an important filter in understanding and defining risk behaviours—it is on this basis that the teacher responds to the first hint of a pupil's behaviour disorder in a typical way. School, as a social institution, expects normality from its pupils; it therefore has the power to define and, above all, wields a network of social control. Whether someone is a good or bad pupil depends mainly on how talented they are or and how hard they try; but whether they are regarded as good or bad by their teachers also has a significant role to play. It is clear that there is no such thing as a good pupil that corresponds to all normative conceptions. We all know that pupils employ certain techniques to hide the fact that they have failed to meet some requirement. There are various reasons why a teacher may not notice "weaknesses" in other pupils or even excuse them. Thus teachers evidently have a yardstick that helps them decide whether behaviour should be classified as "normal" or "different", what causes it and how a "differently behaving person" may develop in the future. In this way, they distinguish "striking" behaviours from those that might be considered "psychological problems" or the consequence of a parental approach, or even predict whether there is a "risk of criminal behaviour". Teachers also seem to have a "manual" of different methods of appropriate control and for classifying pupils' behaviour that can be regarded as undesirable or disturbing (such statements as "significantly intervene with punishment", "only pressure can deal with laziness" etc.).

One of the consequences of the existence of the many school rules that regulate behaviour (and their application to specific situations and interactions) is the fact that whilst at school probably every pupil will break the rules to a greater or lesser extent. However, the majority of pupils will tend to "oscillate" within the tolerated area between what is acceptable and calculated non-compliance with norms. By contrast, those pupils who find it difficult to conform to school expectations regarding performance and behaviour develop "tactics". These may include the creation of an "*underground life*", or "*backstage*" where "pupils' subcultural activities" can play out (see Goffman 1961; 1963, 169). The distancing of norms and pupils' roles is expressed in "*underground life*" and moreover the underground life at school is indicative of the general accommodation strategies—such as the accommodation pattern of "conversion", "distance", "resistance"—developed by pupils on the basis of their long-term school experiences (see Goffman 1961; 1963).

As has already been mentioned, if individuals (especially youngsters) internalize their negative denominations, their self-concept undergoes a negative change, and they accept these "labels", which may later lead to future delinquency (see Wilkins 1964, 77). Ascribing labels thus forces marked individuals to join the community of others who have also been "marked". These labels eliminate opinions and ideas which could still lead them to alter their difference.

In the early stages of the labelling process, there are two ways in which marked pupils could avert stigmatization of this kind: either the pupils may behave in an exceptionally conformist way and hope that the labelling process will be forgotten or they will completely revise their behaviour. This approach is chosen by pupils who display a high level of internalization of the norms and by those who often fear others' reactions to their behaviour. Due to their upbringing some of them may follow orders, although internally they do not agree with them, so there is a chance that they will sometime choose their own behaviour patterns once again.

Some pupils, however, will opt for a different path—they may publicly question whether their behaviour has been fairly evaluated; they may even question the norms against which their behaviour was compared. This path is usually chosen by very self-confident, dominant, philosophizing pupils, who are often extremely intelligent and gifted.

Where none of these approaches succeeds, labelling is applied in full and the behaviour of the pupils is thereafter evaluated from this perspective. It will become more and more difficult for the pupils to behave in any other way than that which they feel is expected of them. In the more advanced stages of labelling, pupils may in the end feel that they are forced into adopting the role of a misfit. Given teachers' deep-rooted judgements it seems that there is little sense in changing behaviour and that success is unlikely. Marked pupils are likely to respond to their label with more of the same behaviour, or with new behaviours that are still "different" but seem to be an attempt to solve the problem of being stigmatized. This behaviour may be a form of rebellion, resignation, aggression, avoidance, retreat, absenteeism and so forth.

But these reactions are usually seen by teachers and classmates to confirm their typification. Hence, we have a *self-fulfilling prophecy*. The stigmatized pupils gradually take on the others' image of themselves and start to fulfil their expectations as deviants. Pupils suffering from stigmatization may feel powerless and view their treatment by the various institutions as unjust. The final stage of the labelling process is exclusion. Stigmatized pupils are seen as being intolerable at school and are either shifted downwards in the hierarchically diversified school system (for instance, from a grammar school to a training school) or are moved to social-pedagogical or therapeutic institutions as a "case". From this point the deviant career may eventually lead to criminal prosecution. This process (from typification to deviant career) does not necessarily happen automatically; it can be stopped and revised at any stage. But it is the case that for a certain percentage of pupils their being labelled a "misfit" is the price for maintaining "normality" in schools and in lessons through institutional power.

In this relation, an interaction analysis makes it clear that the school process of socialization also produces "misfits" and thus damaged identities as well. More recent studies focusing on such issues as violence at school have showed how the aggressive behaviour of pupils is strongly connected to the labelling behaviour of teachers. In 1968, in a well-known experiment, Robert Rosenthal from Harvard and Lenore Jacobson, a teacher from San Francisco, proved what is known as the *Pygmalion effect*—the discovery that teachers unwittingly communicate their expectations of what a student is capable of achieving, and thereby introduces this self-fulfilling prognosis into their students' minds. "Pygmalion in

the Classroom”⁴ describes a research programme conducted at Oak School in which the experimenters created expectations and predictions in order to discover whether they would become self-fulfilling.

An educator believes that a pupil is able to achieve extraordinary outcomes. Consequently, the teacher adjusts her/his behaviour and attitude so that the individual achieves the expected outcomes and the teacher’s prediction comes to fruition. The reverse is also true. If a teacher believes that a pupil is incapable and will not succeed, the teacher then treats the pupil accordingly ridiculing the pupil and not allowing her/him to express and prove herself/himself. In his book Rosenthal attempts to resolve the question of whether a teacher’s expectations of a pupil’s intellectual ability in fact become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Teachers hold certain expectations as to the intellectual abilities of a pupil and these expectations are influenced by many factors and are often created even before the teacher meets the pupils and becomes familiar with their performance. If a teacher is to teach a “slower” group of pupils, black children, children from weaker social backgrounds, the teacher will have different expectations of the pupils’ performances than if he/she is to teach active and eager children or children from upper classes. The teacher is influenced by a pupil’s reputation, previous school grades and so on. Any expectations held by educators can thus be regarded as self-fulfilling predictions.

Research has shown that there is a correlation between a child’s achievement at school and the way that child perceives the teacher’s evaluations and expectations. Thus, for a child from a marginal group this may lead to a spiralling effect where the role of outsider is increasingly forced on to the child. In this way, the attitude of an educator towards children from marginal groups⁵ could be informed by prejudices and stereotypes which may in turn condition the selective and unequal application of the criteria regarding pupils’ performances. The “institutionalized injustice” of school marks is a typical example of selective perception of reality at school. It leads to situations in which teachers evaluate “bad” pupils more negatively than they deserve while the “good” ones tend to be marked up. For some time, research has shown that the number of mistakes that are overlooked is lower in “bad” pupils than in “good” ones.

School as an educational institution does not respond to these difficulties with much understanding or greater care, on the contrary—negative sanctions and exclusion may follow. Thus school becomes a social tool of the dominant middle class culture, which is then used to punish children from marginal groups, encouraging them to behave differently (see Barrata 1995, 133). As Barrata further states one of the most significant causes of educational failure in children from the lower classes or marginal groups is a more limited ability to adapt to a world that is to a certain extent unfamiliar to them, but it is one whose relational and linguistic models they are forced to accept.

⁴ The Pygmalion effect (Rosenthal effect)—labelling theory applied to school—it means that people’s development, behaviour and performance depends on what is expected from them, a pupil becomes what the teacher considers (see Rosenthal, Jacobson 1968).

⁵ Empirical evidence exists regarding the selectiveness of social typification and control processes, which often prejudice the chances of young people from the lower classes (see e.g. Brusten and Hurrelmann 1973; Lösel 1978, 2-18).

Brusten and Hurrelmann (1973) have shown that status in terms of performance, conformity and popularity is substantially correlative while pupils from the lower social classes are typified more negatively than other pupils.

Thus within social climate, social distance and other stigmatization effects arise that can spread discriminational and marginalizational consequences of school. But the child or adolescent needs to find a clear perception of how s/he is perceived and evaluated by others, including what her/his close ones expect from her/him. Thus stigma is a very relative phenomenon; it is the result of labelling that succeeds in expressing a punitive, discordant reaction. The marking, labelling act is more significant for the sociological and psychological evaluation of certain behaviours than the violation of the social norm itself.

A deviant stigma can also harm non-deviant members and threaten their position in other groups; they may be blamed for the initial occurrence of the deviation (e.g. the family and the “echo effect”—a negative evaluation is ascribed not only to the bearers of the label but also to those around them, especially to people who voluntarily maintain regular contact with them).

What is also needed is a change in attitudes in the social environment towards atypical behaviour. The normative and evaluative attitudes of the majority society towards the differences found in the subcultural social world require softening. Marginalization and discrimination result from the tendency to mark as asocial, deviant or perverse all that is alternative to conventional life-styles, regardless of the further consequences. Phenomena and problems should be observed and evaluated against the background of the environment in which they are found, in the context of life's social relationships and interactions. Those exerting an educational and socializing influence should implicitly accept the fact that they may be targeting something that is rooted in personal experiences and that differs in terms of the common values and ideas held by the majority society. In order to confront all aspects of limitation and neglect, it is necessary to actively participate in the environment and everyday lives of the people involved.

Possible solutions suggested in the relevant sociological research are mostly primarily and secondarily preventive in character. They are often aimed at improving the social environment as a whole as well as the “micro-environment” (e.g. the family) where socialization occurs. Many specialists recommend implementing changes to the organization and structure of the school system and passing relevant legislation; in addition, they also propose social measures designed to support social-risk groups of children and young people.

Another approach is for the educational institutions, including the universities which train specialists and mainly educators, to professionalize the means of prevention, mainly primary prevention—the social regulation of young people's behaviour through comprehensive methods and techniques. This area should also be covered in the training of prospective teachers. Schools and educational facilities have occupied a prominent position in the prevention of social pathological phenomena. One of the main reasons for this is the fact that every child has to attend school. In comparison to other sources of prevention, school has easy access to the children's parents and cooperates with and maintains contact with counselling and social networks.

Fundamentally, individuals and social groups require help so that they can find their way in the world and to accept the wider surrounding world that represents a corporate and

narrow framework of their group vision. Thus, it is certainly true that altering many of the negative social phenomena has its own pedagogical relevance and poignancy.

References

Barrata, A. *Sociologie trestního práva*. Brno: MU, 1995.

Becker, H. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press, 1963.

Brusten, M., Hurrelmann, K. *Abweichendes Verhalten in der Schule: Eine Untersuchung zu Prozessen der Stigmatisierung*. München: Juventa, 1973.

Erikson, E. H. *Identity. Youth and Crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1968.

Foucault, M. *Dohlížet a trestat*. Praha: Dauphin, 2000.

Garfinkel, H. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1967.

Goffman, E. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961.

Goffman, E. *Stigma*. Prentice-Hall: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963.

Hargreaves, D. H., Hester, S. K., Mellor, F. J. *Abweichendes Verhalten im Unterricht*. Weinheim und Basel: Belz, 1981.

Hargreaves, D. H. Reaktionen auf soziale Etikettierung. In H.J. Asmus, R. Peuckert (Hrsg.) *Abweichendes Schülerverhalten*. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1979.

Labáth, V. et al. *Riziková mládež: Možnosti potenciálnych zmien*. Praha: Slon, 2001.

Lösel, F. Über elementare Konzepte sozialer Devianz und ihre Beziehungen. Ein Beitrag zur Explikation und ein empirischer Prüfversuch. *Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie* 9, 1, 2-18, 1978.

Mably, G. (1789). In M. Foucault. *Dohlížet a trestat*. Praha: Dauphin, 2000.

Munková, G. *Sociální deviace: (přehled sociologických teorií)*. Praha: Karolinum, 2001.

Parsons, T. General Theory in Sociology. In R. K. Merton, L. Broom, L. S. Cottrell, Jr. (Eds.). *Sociology Today. Volume I. Problems and Prospects*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 3-38, 1965.

Pontell, H. N. *Social Deviance: Readings in Theory and Research*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996.

Rosenthal, R., Jacobson, L. *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Rüther, W. *Ahweichendes Verhälten und „labeling approach.“* Berlin: Heymans, 1975.

Wilkins, L. T. *Social Deviance: Social Policy, Action and Research*. London: Tavistock, 1964.

Institute of Education and Social Studies,
Faculty of Education,
Palacký University, Olomouc,
Žižkovo nám. 5,
771 40 Olomouc,
Czech Republic
Tel.: 00420 585 635 409
E-mail: jitka.skopalova@upol.cz