SECONDARY: more likely provoke hostile reactions from society and reinforce the outsider status—more deviance and deviant career. Nobody will employ so seeks other outsiders for support, form a DEVIANANT SUBCULTURE.

DOWNES AND ROCK (2003) can’t predict whether someone who’s been labelled will follow a deviant career because they’re free to choose not to deviate further.

DEVIANCIE AMPLIFICATION
Process in which the attempt to control deviance leads to an increase in the level of deviance—greater attempts to control it and produces higher levels of deviance.

COHEN (1971) folk devils and moral panics—societal reaction to the ‘mods and rockers’ disturbances involving groups of youths in Clacton 1964. Press exaggeration and distorted reporting created moral panic—called for a crackdown. Police arrested more youths and courts gave harsher penalties. Confirm truth of media reaction and provoked more public concern—upward spiral of deviance amplification.

LABELLING AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM
Attempt to control and punish young offenders has the opposite effect—TRIPLETT (2000)—increasing tendency to see young offenders as evil and less tolerant of minor deviance. CJS re-labelled truancy as serious offence with much harsher sentences. Resulted increase in offending.

REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING
BRAITHWAITE (1989) TWO types of SHAMING:
(a) DISINTEGRATIVE SHAMING: not only the crime but the criminal labelled as bad and the offender is excluded from society.
(b) REINTEGRATIVE SHAMING: labels the act but not the actor.
        Avoids shaming the offender but makes them aware of their actions. Easier for the offender and community to separate the offender from the offence and bring them back into society. Avoids pushing them into secondary deviance.

EVALUATION OF LABELLING THEORY
CRITICISED:
(a) Deterministic—once someone is labelled, a deviant career is inevitable
(b) Emphasis on negative effects, giving the offender a victim status—ignoring real victims of crime
(c) Assume offenders are passive victims of labelling—ignore they might choose deviance
(d) Fail to explain why people commit primary deviance in the first place—before they’re labelled
(e) Implies without labelling—deviance wouldn’t exist