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In Search of Well-being: The Problematic Nature of the Positive Turn in Criminology

1. Introduction

The opening text of Odo Marquard's series of essays published in the 1990s contains a significant forecast.[1] The German philosopher predicts the imminent emergence of projects in the social space that carry the demand for happiness on their banners. According to Marquard, this will be a consequence of the progressive destruction of theodicy, which posits that evil and misfortune find their justification as a means ultimately leading to happiness. Depriving evil of its expedient character breeds a tendency towards compensation: since the problem of unhappiness can no longer be solved by recognising its functional sense (its teleology), we must try to balance its presence in the world through an increment of happiness, which is what utilitarian social programmes are designed to do.

A relatively short time separates Marquard's prediction from the American Psychological Association's 1998 annual convention, where its newly elected president Robert Seligman called for a reevaluation of the field's past priorities by reorienting it towards the bright, positive sides of human life.[2] This event is considered the symbolic beginning of positive psychology. Psychology should focus on human happiness. This means paying attention to issues related to experiencing well-being, joy, satisfaction, pleasure, optimism, hope, forgiveness, and gratitude.[3] Its area of interest includes those states and personal qualities that in the previous (post-war) development of the field, according to adherents of the new trend, receded into the background, giving way to the study of dysfunctions, deficits, and disorders.

The call for a change in the way we view human affairs has reached far beyond the professional community of psychologists. The twenty-first century has become an arena for the growing reception of the style of approach to practical challenges that is

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[1] O. Marquard, *Glück im Unglück: Philosophische Überlegungen*, München 1996, p. 23.

[2] M.E.P. Seligman, *The President's Address*, "American Psychologist" 1998, vol. 54, pp. 559–562.

[3] M.E.P. Seligman, *Positive Psychology, Positive Prevention, and Positive Therapy* [in:] *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, eds. C.R. Snyder, S.J. Lopez, New York 2002, p. 3.

inherent in positive psychology in relation to vast areas of social life. The expansion of the positive approach can be seen in the fields of economics, management, education, and health policy.[4] These processes are accompanied by the increasing presence of patterns of positivity in the media world, in people's daily lives, in their attitudes towards work, health, and their own bodies. All this leads us to see the positive turn as a phenomenon with a broader cultural dimension.

Finally, positive psychology also emerged as a fundamental source for the constitution of the criminological perspective to which it also lends its name. This is positive criminology. An important moment in the emergence of this perspective was the publication in 2015 of a collective study edited by Nati Ronel and Dana Segev entitled *Positive Criminology*,[5] preceded by an article several years earlier in which the term in the title first appeared.[6]

2. Always look on the bright side of criminology

How are the assumptions of positive psychology translated into the language of criminology?[7] The creators of the new approach speak on the subject, pointing out the central points of their interest. "Comparably to positive psychology, research and theory in positive criminology focuses on positive emotions, experiences and mechanisms that increase individuals' well-being and reduce their negative emotions, behaviors and attitudes."[8] It could be thought that representatives of the positive current representing other areas of practical application (managers, teachers, social workers, etc.) similarly address the issue. The point, however, is that criminology, by its nature, directs its attention to phenomena that fall into the categories of social evil and, thus, touches negativity in its most acute form.

In the theoretical writings in positive criminology, one will not find an answer to the issue of crime as a social phenomenon. In terms of the study of crime as one form of deviant behaviour, the proposals of the adherents of this trend rather emphasise the role and influence of positive personal qualities and states, seeing them as responsible for individual desistance from crime. At the same time, and this is typical of the whole positive turn, happiness and well-being are seen primarily as the result of the individual's own efforts, being a function of a change in his or her way of thinking

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[4]   A.M. Wood, A.T. Davidson, P.A. Linley, J. Maltby, S. Harrington, S. Joseph, *5 Applications of Positive Psychology* [in:] *Handbook of Positive Psychology…*

[5]   *Positive Criminology*, eds. N. Ronel, D. Segev, New York–London 2015.

[6]   N. Ronel, E. Elisha, *A different perspective: Introducing positive criminology*, "International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology" 2011, vol. 55, no. 2, pp. 305–325.

[7]   It is important to clarify that, despite the similarity in their names, positive criminology and the positive school of criminology are distinct perspectives that differ fundamentally in their theoretical underpinnings.

[8]   N. Ronel, D. Segev, *Introduction: 'The good' can overcome 'the bad'* [in:] *Positive Criminology*, eds. N. Ronel, D. Segev, New York–London 2015, p. 4.

and attitude towards reality. The efforts of researchers who focus on positivity should, therefore, be seen as directed at the practical, applied, or even methodological aspect of criminological knowledge. Positive criminology is first and foremost criminology in action. In Polish terms, this corresponds roughly to the field of resocialization pedagogy.

From positive psychology, the creators of the new criminological perspective also borrowed the gesture of distancing themselves from the discipline's earlier legacy by identifying the bulk of criminology's scientific and scholarly legacy and its practical consequences as laden with negativity. In their view, the negativity of the traditional approach was expressed in: (a) an excessive focus on deficits, or more generally, negative components of the offender's equipment, with an emphasis on pathogenesis; (b) the negative consequences of isolating criminal legal responses; (c) the negative effects on victims of crime; and (d) criminological prognosis, which refers to the measurement of risk factors defined as negative elements of the individual's situation.[9]

Although the field of positive criminology is primarily influenced by positive psychology, it also draws upon insights from various other approaches that inform scientific and scholarly discourse on crime and its prevention. These include restorative justice and the concept of reintegrative shaming, criminology as peacemaking, the concept of desistance from crime, therapeutic jurisprudence, and the Good Lives Model (GLM).[10]

The appeal of positive psychology has gained significant traction within the community of researchers and practitioners engaged in rehabilitation.[11] This is corroborated by a growing corpus of literature on this topic over the past few years. It suffices to point out that the adaptation of the positive approach is the subject of one of the most recent special issues of the *Criminal Justice Policy Review*.[12]

Positive criminology as a theory of practical action faces the same question, signalled earlier, about the chance of the actual implementation of happiness programmes in a social space marked by anguish and suffering. In particular, this concerns the environments of penitentiaries. Although there are already emerging attempts to empirically measure the well-being of inmates undergoing correctional treatment,[13]

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[9]   *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[10] Positive Criminology, https://positive-criminology.biu.ac.il [accessed: 2021.11.27].

[11] It is plausible to suggest that this is the reason for the popularity of positive criminology themes in the works of authors associated with resocialization pedagogy. See: M. Konopczyński, *Metody twórczej resocjalizacji. Teoria i praktyka wychowawcza*, Warszawa 2006; *idem*, *Creative Social Rehabilitation. Outline of the concept for developing potential*, "Polish Journal of Social Rehabilitation" 2014, no. 7, pp. 13–28; E. Wysocka, *Diagnoza pozytywna w resocjalizacji. Model teoretyczny i metodologiczny*, Katowice 2015; *eadem*, *Diagnoza pozytywna w resocjalizacji. Warsztat diagnostyczny pedagoga praktyka*, Katowice 2019; A. Dąbrowska, *Zasoby osobiste i społeczne a dobrostan psychiczny wychowanków młodzieżowych ośrodków wychowawczych*, Kraków 2023.

[12] "Criminal Justice Policy Review" 2023, vol. 34, no. 1.

[13] M. Turner, N. King, D. Mojtahedi, V. Burr, V. Gall, G.R. Gibbs, L. Flynn Hudspith, Ch.B. Leadley, T. Walker, *Well-being programmes in prisons in England and Wales: A mixed-methods study*, "International Journal of Prisoner Health" 2022, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 259–274; A. Kyprianides, M.J. Easterbrook, *Social Factors Boost Well-Being Behind Bars: The Importance of Individual and Group Ties for Prisoner Well-Being*, "Applied

this is not without controversy. Indeed, even those who advocate the positive option recognise the problematic nature of such an endeavour. For instance, Stephanie J. Morse, Kevin A. Wright, and Max Klapow have highlighted the discrepancy in the scale of adaptation of positive psychology solutions within the context of community-based treatment and correctional settings.[14] These authors are inclined to explain this by an omission on the part of positive psychology, which programmatically removes from the field of attention the issues of "social ills, crime and addiction among them."[15] It is reasonable to consider an alternative explanation as well: happiness optimisation programmes may limit their own expansion when confronted with the irreconcilable reality of unhappiness.

Following on from above discussion, it is reasonable to inquire about the novelty of the positive turn advocated by criminologists. For instance, when positive criminology presents itself as "acceptance-based,"[16] it becomes evident that it is in opposition to the oppressive model of treating those who have committed crimes. The positive approach affirms the individual in isolation from his/her actions. The essence of this distinction (a person vs. his/her acts) is effectively articulated by the assertion that the knowledge of criminologists to date is primarily derived "from a perspective for the study of *behavior of criminals* rather than a study of *criminal behavior*."[17] Nevertheless, if such an accepting stance toward the individual perpetrator were to be a hallmark of the current positive criminology movement, one might ask which of the institutional rehabilitation models developed over the past century (not including the early stage of the cell system and those controversial approaches that combined rehabilitation with eugenics) was accompanied by a markedly distinct approach to this question. A rehabilitative ideal wherever it revealed its authentic, humanizing influence on the handling of perpetrators of social evil, directed a message towards them. This message was: "Regardless of the circumstances in which you find yourself as a result of your actions, you are more than the sum of your past behaviour." There followed a second, equally important message: "When you want to know how to do the right thing, you

Psychology: Health and Well-Being" 2020, no. 1, pp. 7–29; P. Ndung'u Muring'u, M. Kariuki, T. Njonge, *Influence of physiological stress coping strategies on the psychological well-being of life-sentenced inmates in maximum-security prisons in Kenya*, "Journal of Psychology, Guidance and Counseling" 2021, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 242–258; Y. Deng, R. Xiang, Y. Zhu, Y. Li, S. Yu, X. Liu, *Counting blessings and sharing gratitude in a Chinese prisoner sample: Effects of gratitude-based interventions on subjective well-being and aggression*, "The Journal of Positive Psychology" 2018, vol. 14, issue 3, pp. 303–311; D.M. Boruc, *Poziom zadowolenia u skazanych odbywających karę pozbawienia wolności w zakładach karnych na terenie Polski*, "Przegląd Pedagogiczny" 2014, no. 2, pp. 235–246.

[14] S.J. Morse, K.A. Wright, M. Klapow, *Correctional rehabilitation and positive psychology: Opportunities and challenges*, "Sociology Compass" 2022, vol. 16, no. 1.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[16] N. Ronel, *How can criminology (and victimology) become positive?* [in:] *Positive Criminology…*, p. 15.

[17] *Ibid.* It is also noteworthy that respect for the individual is not the exclusive attribute of criminologists engaged in positive change. In the latest, eighth edition of *Psychology of Criminal Conduct* by J. Bonta and D.A. Andrews (New York 2024), a book that presents the RNR model to which positive criminologists maintain a programmatic reserve, the term "offender" is replaced in the text by person-first, non-pejorative, and inclusive language, like "justice-involved persons."

should first know who you are." From such a perspective, positive criminology appears part of the same old story.

3. *Homo neoliberalis* means happy[18]

The broader background of the "positivity revolution" taking place before our eyes, which Marquard reveals in the passage quoted at the beginning of this article, is presented in a different way still in the analyses of representatives of critical social reflection. William Davies identifies two primary sources of this phenomenon, both of which are associated with the contemporary phase of global economic development.[19]

First, the growth of interest in the issue of individual happiness is rooted in the discovery of the importance of this state for employee effectiveness. Strategies developed within the framework of positive psychology, aimed at restoring optimism, improving well-being, and increasing a sense of happiness are part of a more general policy of overcoming negative (in an economic sense) states and feelings such as sadness, pessimism, a sense of hopelessness, and loneliness. The problem is that these negative elements appear as side effects of a culture based on individualism and the principle of competition. The positive turn is, thus, an attempt to cope with the problem of unhappiness, without having to go to its actual, structurally conditioned sources. Thus, it resembles the process of treating symptoms of a disease and not the genesis of the disease.[20]

Second, the intensification of discussions focused on individual well-being is linked to the ongoing advances in technological capabilities for reading human feelings and, consequently, recording and controlling them. The capacity of social media to modify mood through the selective presentation of content and the recording of physiological parameters corresponding to specific emotional states, represents merely a sample of the possibilities that are opening up for the management of feelings.[21] What is clear

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[18] The notion of *homo neoliberalis* appears in critical analyses of modernity indicating the transformation of individual consciousness as a result of the processes of economization, marketization, and individualization of social life. See: T. Teo, *Homo neoliberalus: From personality to forms of subjectivity*, "Theory and Psychology" 2018, vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 581–599; D.A. Michałowska, *Changes in the Identity of Contemporary Man in the Context of Neoliberalism*, "Sensus Historiae" 2020, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 83–95.

[19] W. Davies, *The Happiness Industry: How the Government and Big Business Sold Us Well-Being*, London–New York 2015, pp. 8–11.

[20] Although proponents of positive psychology are correct in asserting that the concentration of mainstream psychology on human dysfunction and disorder has not impeded the increase in cases of depression, one must also acknowledge the observations of Davies regarding the consistently rising prevalence of depression despite the surge in popularity of positive psychology (*ibid.*, p. 194).

[21] The author makes reference to a number of other products that are used on a daily basis and which have the capacity to facilitate the monitoring of well-being (*ibid.*, p. 10). The time elapsed since the publication of his book (2015) has undoubtedly resulted in the emergence of new devices and services of this kind, facilitated especially by the rapid development of AI technologies and big data in recent years.

here, not explicitly invoked by Davies, is the prospect of reading the positive turn in terms proposed by Michel Foucault, that is, as another unveiling of the ongoing discourse of power-knowledge ("Any critique of ubiquitous surveillance must now include a critique of maximization of well-being, even at the risk of being less healthy, happy and wealthy"[22]). The Foucauldian approach is used by Sam Binkley[23] to show how the notion of happiness promoted by positive psychologists serves to construct subjectivity under the conditions of the neoliberal model of society. An individual convinced of the importance of happiness as a personal resource, striving to optimize it, and willing to treat it as an object of management, is, at the individual level, a complement to the social and economic order of the late capitalist era. In a similar vein, there are also several researchers who are suspicious of the progress of happiness and well-being projects. The results of the systematic review published in 2023 demonstrate that a substantial proportion of critical studies of positive psychology are analyses of its underlying ideological framework.[24] The objective of the critical discussion is twofold: first, to demonstrate the role that positive psychology plays in perpetuating the neoliberal socio-economic model; second, to highlight the overt commercialization of the solutions promoted by the movement (marketization of happiness). What is the place of the problem that is the main thread of the present considerations in the discourse thus characterised? The lines of critical argumentation outlined above may prove valuable, especially when practically oriented criminology is inclined towards unreflective adaptation of the positive model. In Polish reality, this is the prospect of a probable evolution of concepts developed within social rehabilitation (resocialization pedagogy).

At this point, it is worth recalling that the issue of happiness, although not directly posed as a subject of reflection by criminologists, penitentiaries, or theorists of rehabilitation in recent decades, appeared at the very sources of the formation of the modern model for dealing with criminals. The utilitarian model of responding to crime, as put forward by Jeremy Bentham, is grounded in his philosophical formula of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Foucault's analyses, which are devoted to the anatomy of the Benthamian panoptic project in which this principle was embodied, in turn offers insight into the formation of the modern instruments of power, discipline, and surveillance.[25] This new type of power tactic involves the production of subjectivity that ensures the efficiency of its (power) mechanism. This is pointed out by researchers who have observed that, in everyday life, individuals acquire patterns of experiencing pleasure and ways of optimizing personal well-being, operating under the assumption of their own sovereign subjectivity.

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[23] S. Binkley, *Happiness as Enterprise: An Essay on Neoliberal Life*, New York 2015.
[24] L.E. van Zyl, J. Gaffaneye, L. van der Vaart, B.J. Dikf, S. Donaldson, *The critiques and criticisms of positive psychology: A systematic review*, "The Journal of Positive Psychology" 2023, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 206–235.
[25] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, London 1991.

In the case of positive criminology, yet another lesson comes from the deliberations of the author of *Discipline and Punish*. The creators and advocates of the positive turn in criminology generally do not hide their conviction that there is a paradigmatic breakthrough as a result of their proposals. A radical turn away from deficit-based knowledge and a focus on bright, positive elements of an individual's equipment (strength-based rehabilitation) is supposed to mean, as a consequence, a humanisation of the treatment of offenders. However, if one adopts the Foucauldian perspective, one should see here rather the repetition of the same procedures for improving surveillance, flowing from the very heart of the machinery of power. These are procedures that are secondarily (and, it might be said, "from the outside") ascribed the value of humanisation or rationalisation.

4. Beyond a one-sided vision of happiness

This is how *homo compensator*[26] and *homo neoliberalis* meet. They meet in a place where they should not be. It is a place inhabited by unhappy people, hopeless, excluded, discouraged, rejected, and marginalized, unable to cope with guilt, bearing the unbearable burden of punishment, experiencing humiliation, haunted by memories of the past, and forced to struggle against people like themselves. They meet in a place where, despite the best intentions of the organisers of their daily lives, the contemporary imperative of experiencing well-being does not find sufficiently convincing justifications, and where its realisation can at best serve to build a reality of appearances.

Does this clash with the reality of misfortune necessarily mean the definite failure of the practical projects of positive criminology? There is, in fact, something in the theoretical content of the positive movement that does not allow its premature disqualification. The point of reference is, of course, positive psychology. Its development over the past two decades has brought to the fore issues that were absent or only weakly present in the early stages of conceptualization. Authors concerned with this internal evolution of the positive project speak of its first and second waves. Positive psychology, in its first phase of development (first wave), operated quite freely with the opposition of happiness and unhappiness as unrelated elements of human destiny. This approach manifested a proclivity to conceptualize the subject in terms of a disjunctive binary opposition, whereby the two elements are conceived as mutually exclusive alternatives. Even when, in a more realistic version, the positive approach acknowledged the inevitability of the emergence of "negativity" within the context of human affairs, it was precisely as an aimless experience, devoid of meaning and significance. Such a simplistic vision may have served as an effective foundation for a popular interpretation of positivity, readily embraced by mass culture and aligning itself with the tenets of the neoliberal system. It is also unsurprising that it appeared to

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[26]   O. Marquard, *Philosophie des Stattdessen: Studien*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 11–40.

be a fashionable and socially acceptable variant of Pollyanna-ism. In situations where the authentic experience of evil emerges, such as in the forms of pain, suffering, loss, or guilt, the prescriptions formulated on the basis of this positive perspective on reality are revealed to be grossly inadequate. With such circumstances in mind, the term "toxic positivity" is surely justified.[27]

Second wave positive psychology is evidence of the movement's internal evolution. A measure of its maturity is a more nuanced approach to the problem of well-being as a state that reveals its dual nature.[28] In such a view, closer to the realities of life, there is a place for negative feelings, experiences, and states whose presence need not be treated *a priori* as something unnecessary and exclusively harmful. Tim Lomas and Itai Ivtzan show particular examples of dualities that constitute human life situations, in which opposite poles form a dynamic system according to the formula *coincidentia oppositorum*: optimism *vs.* pessimism, self-esteem *vs.* humility, freedom *vs.* restriction, forgiveness *vs.* anger, and happiness *vs.* sadness.[29] Contrary to the naive claims of pop-psychology, none of the negative elements can be eliminated here without harming the process of the flourishing of the individual experiencing these ambivalences. A clear indication of such a mature view of positivity/negativity is provided by Polish psychologist Kazimierz Dabrowski's theory of positive disintegration.[30]

Thus, in light of the progress that has been made in the field of positive psychology, there is a need for positive criminology to see and recognise the duality of situations to which the principle of optimising well-being applies. Despite the apparent contradiction, it is only when positive criminology ceases to view unhappiness as a mere impediment to be discarded that it will be able to effectively address the challenges it faces.

Not surprisingly, positive criminology already has something important to say in this regard. In the positions presented, some writers on positive criminology express interest in the phenomenon of post-traumatic growth, seeing in it one of the possible mechanisms of personal change.[31] Similarly, they refer to the tradition of self-help groups based on the Twelve Steps programme of Alcoholics Anonymous.[32]

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[27] See, for example: M. Lecompte-Van Poucke, *'You got this!': A critical discourse analysis of toxic positivity as a discursive construct on Facebook*, "Applied Corpus Linguistics" 2022, no. 1, pp. 1–9.

[28] P.T.P. Wong, *Positive psychology 2.0: Towards a balanced interactive model of the good life*, "Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne" 2011, vol. 52, no. 2, pp. 69–81; T. Lomas, I. Ivtzan, *Second Wave Positive Psychology: Exploring the Positive–Negative Dialectics of Wellbeing*, "Journal of Happiness Studies" 2016, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 1753–1768; P.T.P. Wong, S. Roy, *Critique of positive psychology and positive interventions* [in:] *The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Positive Psychology*, eds. N.J.L. Brown, T. Lomas, F.J. Eiroa-Orosa, New York 2018, pp. 142–160.

[29] T. Lomas, I. Ivtzan, *Second Wave Positive Psychology…*, p. 1755.

[30] K. Dabrowski, *Positive Disintegration*, Boston 1964; *idem*, *Personality-Shaping Through Positive Disintegration*, Boston 1967.

[31] E. Elisha, N. Ronel, *Positive Psychology and Positive Criminology: Similarities and Differences*, "Criminal Justice Policy Review" 2023, vol. 34, no. 1, p. 10; K. Gueta, G. Chen, *'Pulling myself up by the bootstraps' Self-change of addictive behaviors from the perspective of positive criminology* [in:] *Positive Criminology…*

[32] G. Chen, K. Gueta, *15 Application of positive criminology in the 12-Step program* [in:] *Positive Criminology…*; E. Elisha, N. Ronel, *Positive Psychology…*, p. 9.

This example is noteworthy in that it relates to a path of personal development, for which the experience of misfortune is a foundational experience: "We admitted we were powerless over alcohol – that our lives had become unmanageable."[33] The reality of personal change for the alcoholic, the drug addict, the compulsive gambler, and anyone else who begins the journey of the Twelve Steps with the hope of freedom from compulsive behavior reveals authentic elements of joy and enthusiasm as well as despair. In this context, it is not out of place to mention Karl Jaspers' reflections on limit situations, including the experience of guilt.[34] Here we are touching on the question of the experience of "negativity" that cannot be compensated for – and is not worth compensating for – in the sense of fashionable positive projects, the advent of which was heralded by Marquard.

What the concept of positive criminology in its mature form could, thus, offer as a valuable contribution to broader criminological discourse is an argument for happiness "which always exists not only alongside misery or in spite of misery, but also as a result of misery."[35]

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[33]   The Twelve Steps, https://www.aa.org/the-twelve-steps [accessed: 2024.07.19].

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Summary

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In Search of Well-being: The Problematic Nature of the Positive Turn in Criminology

Positive criminology focuses on the practical dimension of criminological knowledge and, following in the footsteps of positive psychology, formulates proposals for responding to crime by appealing to the positive states of the recipient of rehabilitation efforts: his or her positive emotions, experiences, and personal resources. The purpose of this article is to review the main assumptions of the positive turn in criminology, taking into account both the influence of positive psychology and changes in the broader socio-cultural background. In the article, I draw attention to the possible problematic nature of transferring the solutions of positive psychology to the realm of rehabilitative settings. One partial solution to these challenges is the integration of the insights from the second wave of positive psychology. This entails a more nuanced understanding of the core concepts of happiness and well-being. Within such an approach, the meaning and significance of negative individual experiences is restored.

Keywords: positive criminology, positive psychology 2.0, social rehabilitation.

Streszczenie

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W poszukiwaniu dobrostanu – problematyczna natura pozytywnego zwrotu w kryminologii

Kryminologia pozytywna skupia się na praktycznym wymiarze wiedzy kryminologicznej i, idąc śladem psychologii pozytywnej, formułuje propozycje reagowania na przestępstwa poprzez odwoływanie się do pozytywnych stanów adresata oddziaływań resocjalizacyjnych: jego pozytywnych emocji, doświadczeń i zasobów osobistych. Celem artykułu jest przegląd głównych założeń zwrotu pozytywnego w kryminologii, biorąc pod uwagę zarówno wpływ psychologii pozytywnej, jak i zmiany w szerszym kontekście społeczno-kulturowym. W opracowaniu zwrócono uwagę na możliwą problematyczność przenoszenia rozwiązań psychologii pozytywnej na grunt środowiska resocjalizacyjnego. Częściowym rozwiązaniem tych problemów jest zintegrowanie spostrzeżeń drugiej fali psychologii pozytywnej. Wymaga to głębszego zrozumienia podstawowych koncepcji szczęścia i dobrostanu. W ramach takiego podejścia przywraca się znaczenie i wagę negatywnych doświadczeń jednostki.

Słowa kluczowe: kryminologia pozytywna, psychologia pozytywna 2.0, resocjalizacja.