

*Week 2A:
Criminology, Deviance,
and the Hobbesian
Problem of Order*

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recap

- Basic definitions of deviance, norm, role, and subculture

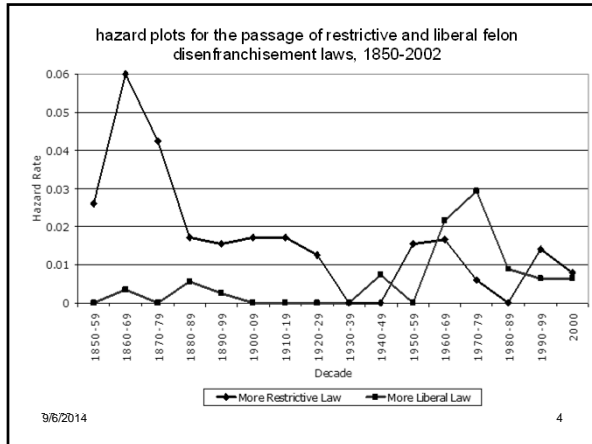
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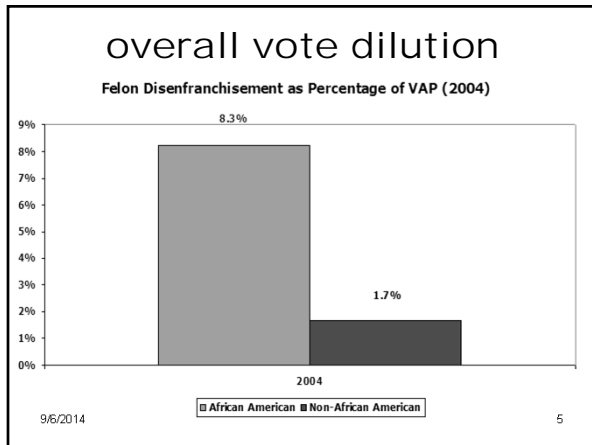


threat and rulemaking

- Behrens, Uggen, & Manza (2003)
 - Sociology undergraduate (UROP)
 - Quantitative + Historical
 - Q: Origins of felon voting restrictions?
- “deviance” readings unsatisfactory
 - how theory is really used
 - uncovering and presenting social facts
 - policy: making a difference
 - end result looks complicated
- conflict & (racial) threat in rulemaking
 - Hypothesis: As (political) threat rises, a deviant label is applied to keep a less-powerful group from the polls.

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racial threat and deviance

- **Group threat:** A dominant group sees a less powerful group invading its turf and defines the invaders as deviants, unfit to join (economic or political)
- **Labeling:** Shift from "Jim Crow" to modern racism
 - Jim Crow: Overt racist speech ("negros unfit to possess rights of citizenship")
 - Modern: stereotyping, blaming, and resisting policy efforts to reduce gaps.

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Jim Crow Era

- 1894: "Fortunately, the opportunity is offered the white people of the State in the coming election to obviate all future danger and fortify the Anglo-Saxon civilization against every assault from within and without, and that is the calling of a constitutional convention to deal with the all important question of suffrage"—South Carolina *Daily Register*
- 1901: "The justification for whatever manipulation of the ballot that has occurred in this State has been the *menace of Negro domination*"—John B. Knox, President of 1901 Alabama Constitutional Convention

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Modern "Race-Neutral" Discussion

- 2001: "If it's blacks losing the right to vote, then they have to quit committing crimes"—S. Carolina Rep. John Graham Altman
- 2002: "This Congress, with this little debate we are having on this bill, ought not to step in and, with a big sledge hammer, *smash something we have had from the beginning of this country's foundation*—a set of election laws in every State in America—and change those laws. To just up and do that is disrespectful to them ... *Each State has different standards based on their moral evaluation*, their legal evaluation, their public interest in what they think is important in their States." —Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL).

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Summary

- key findings:
 - Statistics: states with non-white prisoners were first to pass felon voting bans.
 - especially after 1870, when threat was stronger
 - History: some overt racism in debates
- what it means
 - Theory: supports conflict/threat theory of rulemaking
 - Policy: ongoing debates should note racial origins of the laws
 - Law: Voting Rights Act
- current social movement

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norms & deviance typologies (Heckerts)

- Tittle and Paternoster's Middle Class norms (ed.s)
 - Rate-busting as overconformity (Heckerts: negative evaluation)

Norm/Deviance	Example	RateBuster
1) Group Loyalty/Apostasy	<i>treason</i>	<i>fanatic</i>
2) Privacy/Intrusion	<i>burglar</i>	<i>hermit</i>
3) Prudence/Indiscretion	<i>prostitute*</i>	<i>prude</i>
4) Conventionality/Bizarreness	<i>coprophilia</i>	<i>stepford</i>
5) Responsibility/Irresponsibility	<i>deadbeat</i>	<i>workaholic</i>
6) Participation/Alienation	<i>unabomber</i>	<i>brown-nose</i>
7) Moderation/Hedonist	<i>drunk</i>	<i>abstainer</i>
8) Honesty/Deceit	<i>scam artist</i>	<i>tactless</i>
9) Peacefulness/Disruption	<i>loudmouth</i>	<i>wimp</i>
10) <u>Courtesy/Unconthness</u>	<i>pig</i>	<i>obsequious</i>

* T&P classify sexual orientation here, but Uggen disagrees

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does positive deviance exist?

- Clinard: deviance is departure from norms that draw social disapproval and elicit, or are likely to elicit if detected, negative sanctions.
- Heckerts: positive deviance also violates norms and elicits reactions
 - "deviance admiration" (rebel, rogue, class clown)
 - positively valued overconformity (ultramarathoners)
- 10 Examples of Norm -> Positive Deviance
 - Group loyalty -> Altruism (hero)
 - Responsibility -> Hyperresponsibility (4.0)
 - Participation -> Cooperation (athletic "zeal")
 - Peacefulness -> Pacifism (MLK)
 - Moderation -> Temperance (Monk)

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Thomas Hobbes

- 17th Century English Philosopher
 - (Non-sociological) conception of life as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" and a "war of all against all"
 - "Leviathan" as Hobbes' solution
- "Hobbesian problem of order"
 - How can we create a society in which self-interested people don't use force and fraud to satisfy their (criminal, sexual, substance-abusing ...) wants? Or...

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Q: why isn't there more deviance?

- A: Social Controls
 - *We would if we dared...*
- 3 "solutions" to Hobbesian dilemma
 1. Normative - socialization and internalization of shared norms and values (Durkheim, Parsons: coordination between means and ends)
 2. Exchange - desire to maintain mutually beneficial relationships in interdependent society (rational choice: amoral)
 3. Conflict - coercive power of legitimate social control agents (Hobbes)

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three solutions as lenses

- Appeal to morality, reason, or fear using social controls (coach/boss/prof)
- Social Control
 - Learn self-control through socialization
 - Informal social controls - unofficial, private, often face-to-face sanctions
 - Sampson and Laub vs. Clinard
 - Formal social controls - official sanctions, especially law (e.g., Leviathan)
 - institutions (U of M), agents (Prof), deviance (cheat), and sanction (expulsion)
 - Do we "legislate morality"? Should we?
 - Law based on harm, morality, and enforceability

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social controls and constructions

- Deviant Events in Context
 - Roles, places, times, acts, and careers (e.g., public exhibitionism)
 - Ironies of social control - secondary deviance and deviance amplification
- Joel Best: Social Constructionism
 - How concerns about particular forms of deviance emerge and evolve
 - How social control agents construct particular acts as deviance and persons as deviants
- Hendershott's absolutist critique

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race and formal control
(Brunson & Miller 2006, G&S)

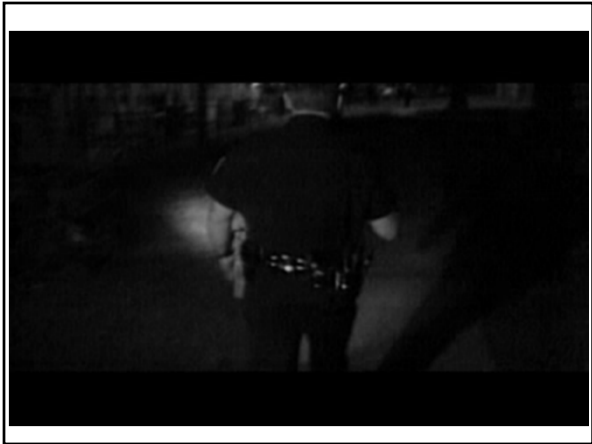
- We learn (some) social facts of deviance through agents of formal social control
- Brunson & Miller on gender, race, & policing
 - Race, gender, age, (and class and "attitude") effects
 - Interview & survey 75 African American teens in St. Louis
 - Men: targets of aggressive searches, violence: limit use of public space, prejudicial attitudes, antagonistic behavior
 - Women: curfew/minor, treated as suspect, desire for protection (p. 196 -nbhd demand), unresponsive
- Local perspective/Why focus on police?
 - Scott, a young African American probationer: "I grew up where the police, you know, the police beat up people... [The police,] that's the *immediate government* right there." (Uggen *Lacked Out*, 2006)
 - Dissertation: "I thank George, Larry, and Flaherty, the police officers who helped me out many years ago, for their judicious and humane discretion"

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recap race and formal control

- Brunson & Miller
 - do you adopt the perspective of the police or the young men and women in this reading? Who is deviant here?
- 5 min. video: Bowling for Columbine
 - What is the cultural image of the deviant or criminal?
 - What role does the media play in creating or "amplifying" this image

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week 2B

Introduction to Deviant Careers

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phases of career (sex work or drug use or workplace theft or ...)

- Entry
 - Neutralize norms
- Managing Deviance (one or all)
 - Maintain secrecy
 - Mitigate stigma
 - keep up appearances, physical space
 - Rationalize or neutralize behavior
 - explain, justify
 - Participate in subculture
- Exit (sometimes)
 - Go straight(er) or not; "zig-zag" careers

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Career Entry: Becker on Marijuana

- Entry into drugs (gangs, shoplifting...)
- Howard Becker (1953) on Becoming A Marijuana Smoker
 - identify appropriate internal states
 - associate those states with the drug use
 - define the states as pleasurable (disoriented, nauseous)
- Subculture
 - socialization
 - supply
 - neutralizes stigma

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career entry: burglary

- R. Wright and S. Decker (1994): *Deciding to Commit a Burglary*
 - 102 burglars interviewed
- Readiness + Earnings Imperative
 - Expenditure and status
 - Keeping party going (drugs, sex)
 - Keeping up appearances (clothes, car)
 - Keeping things together (basic living)
 - Why burglary as "main line"? Choices (fast \$) and "Seductions" (thrill)
- Subcultural support?

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understanding careers

- All deviant behavior is human behavior
 - Avoid seeing deviance as "senseless" by trying to see the world as the deviant does ("unconventional sentimentality").
 - "inside" first-hand accounts are part (but only part) of picture
- Intermittent smokers in MN
- Example: Uggen and Thompson "Careers in Crime and Substance Use" (*American Journal of Sociology*, 2003)
 - Data?

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Months 1-12

Case History Showing Changes in Earnings and Other Characteristics (Months 1-12)

Variables	Months												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Drug and Money													
Drug use	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	cocaine	heroin	heroin	heroin
Earned legal income	0	0	0	0	0	433	433	433	433	0	0	0	
Earned illegal income	867	867	0	0	0	0	867	867	867	867	3342	3342	
Unearned legal income	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	84	146	146	146	
Opportunity Structure													
Incarceration status	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes								
Unemployment rate	11.6	11.6	11.6	11.2	11.2	11.2	11.0	11.0	11.0	10.6	10.6	10.6	
Illegal opportunities	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	
Criminal Embeddedness													
Unemployed deviant friend									yes	yes	yes	yes	
Arrest experience	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	10	10	10	10	10	
Age	33.0	33.1	33.2	33.3	33.3	33.4	33.5	33.6	33.7	33.8	33.8	33.9	
Conventional Embeddedness													
Ties to spouse/partner	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes					
Regular employment													
Program employment						yes	yes	yes	yes				
School attendance													
Subjective Risks & Rewards													
Perceived risk of prison	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	low	
Earnings expectations	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	300	300	300	300	

Key: Absence of Characteristic: Lower Level: Higher Level:

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Months 13-24													
Variables	Months												
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Drugs and Money													
Drug use	cocaine heroin	cocaine heroin	cocaine heroin	cocaine heroin	cocaine heroin								
Earned legal income	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Earned illegal income	2475	2475	2475	2475	2475	2475	2475	2475	0	0	0	0	
Unearned legal income	146	146	146	146	146	146	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Opportunity Structure													
Incarceration status													
Unemployment rate	9.3	9.3	9.3	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.3	8.3	8.3	7.6	7.6	7.6	
Illegal opportunities	high	high	high	high	high	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	
Criminal Embeddedness													
Unemployed deviant friend	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes								
Arrest experience	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
Age	34	34.1	34.2	34.3	34.3	34.4	34.5	34.6	34.7	34.8	34.8	34.9	
Conventional Embeddedness													
Ties to spouse/partner						yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Regular employment													
Program employment													
School attendance													
Subjective Risks & Rewards													
Perceived risk of prison	low	low	low	low	low	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high
Earnings expectations	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300

Key: Absence of Characteristic: Lower Levels: Higher Levels:

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Months 25-36													
Variables	Months												
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	
Drugs and Money													
Drug use													
Earned legal income	1066	1066	1066	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	840
Earned illegal income	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unearned legal income	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Opportunity Structure													
Incarceration status													
Unemployment rate	6.2	6.2	6.2	5.6	5.6	5.6	6.9	6.9	6.9	5.1	5.1	5.1	
Illegal opportunities	medium	medium	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	high	
Criminal Embeddedness													
Unemployed deviant friend			yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
Arrest experience	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
Age	35	35.1	35.2	35.3	35.3	35.4	35.5	35.6	35.7	35.8	35.8	35.9	
Conventional Embeddedness													
Ties to spouse/partner	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Regular employment	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Program employment													
School attendance													
Subjective Risks & Rewards													
Perceived risk of prison	high	high	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	medium	low	
Earnings expectations	300	300	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	260	

Key: Absence of Characteristic: Lower Levels: Higher Levels:

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which are the best predictors? Numbers are effects in dollars/month

	(1)	(2)
Drugs and Money		
Cocaine or heroin use	678.23**	717.79**
Earned legal income (\$)	-.07**	-.03*
Unearned legal income (\$)	-.04	-.02
Opportunity Structure		
Incarceration status	-469.20**	-506.89**
Unemployment rate	25.45**	9.75
Illegal opportunities		1.31
Criminal Embeddedness		
Ties to unemployed deviant friend		13.32
Arrest experience		22.79**
Arrests squared		-1.07**
Age		-54.12
Age squared		.38
Conventional Embeddedness		
Ties to spouse/partner		-150.66**
Regular employment		-108.18**
Program employment		-196.49**
School attendance		-2.27
Subjective Risks & Rewards		
Perceived risk of prison		-18.23**
Earnings expectations		-.10*
R ²	.44	.51

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next

- *Service learning and The Woodsman*
- *Lecture: Subcultures and Power*
 - Adler & Adler: 21. *Chambliss, Saints and Roughnecks* pp. 223-236
 - Adler & Adler: VIII. *Social Organization of Deviance* pp. 381-388
 - Adler and Adler: 34. *Jenkot, Cooks are Like Gods* pp. 409-418
- *Individualistic versus Sociological Theories*
 - Adler & Adler: II. *Theories of Deviance*, pp. 57-72
 - Adler & Adler: 38. *Turvey, Sexual Asphyxia* pp. 463-474
 - Adler & Adler: 33. *Adler & Adler, Self-Injurers as Loners*, pp. 401-408

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