

Week 5N:
4d: conflict/threat (finish structural theories)

5A. Labeling & Moral Entrepreneurs
5B. Learning and Control

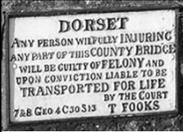
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D. conflict & threat theories

- Marx on deviance, class struggle, and economic relations (Marx & Engels on crime?)
 - conflict, not consensus on norms
 - powerful make rules in their own interests (deviance as behavior conflicting w/ their interests)
- (many) conflict theories and concepts
 - Richard Quinney: "The social reality of crime is constructed by the formulation and application of definitions of crime, the development of behavior patterns in relation to these definitions, and the construction of an ideology of crime"
- example: criminal deportation and unemployment, surplus labor (AJS 2012)

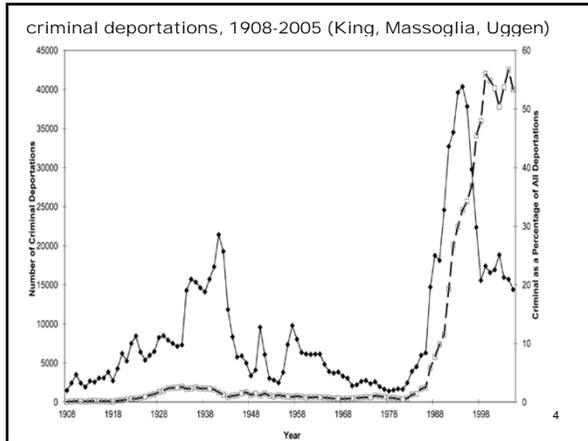
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labor markets, punishment & deportation

- Convicts as reservoir of labor
 - e.g., Rusche and Kirchheimer 1939
- British Transportation System
 - Deported hundreds of thousands of convicts to American (1717-1775) & Australian (1787-1867) colonies (expendable labor)
- Immigrant labor
 - Hypothesis: criminal deportations rise with unemployment rate

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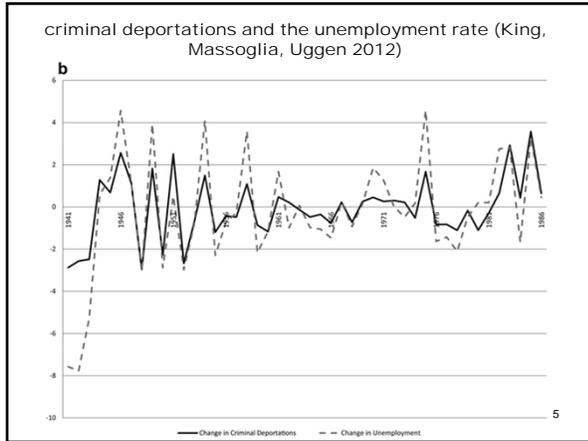


Table 1: Predicting Deportation

- Overall: Imprisonment rate (+)
- 1908-1940 (not much)
- 1941-1986 (unemployment) (+)
- 1987-2005 (Rep/Dem ratio) (-) and imprisonment (+)
 - Do we explain the unemployment effect in Table 2? [part of it - based on media attention to labor and immigration]

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Critical Feminist Approaches (Meda Chesney-Lind)

- Deviance in context of male domination
 - *Oversocialization*, enforcing gender, and sexual double standard in justice system
 - Examples of (gendered) double standards?
- Chesney-Lind's feminist model
 - *Victimization*: girls as victims of physical and sexual abuse; Victimizers use juvenile justice to control the girls
 - *Survivorship*: Runaways commit theft and prostitution to survive; Sexuality as one of few resources

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conflict theories/concepts

- Culture conflict (Sellin 1938)
 - diversity → clash of conduct norms
 - (Sellin's Sicilian father; examples today?)
- Class conflict (Quinney 1975)
 - instrumental Marxism: law, and its agents are a tool to maintain & legitimate elite dominance
 - ("I win clause," drug laws)
- Left Realism (1980s+)
 - structural Marxism
 - some rules/acts unrelated to class conflict
 - reform agenda
- Social Threat (Liska 1992)
 - social control responds to threat, not deviance
 - (race and fear, punishment): Behrens on voting
- Africana Criminal Justice (today)
 - Michelle Alexander's *New Jim Crow*




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critique

- Critique
 - General consensus on crime, severity
 - "Instrumental" model of rulemaking oversimplified
 - Difficulty explaining individual deviance (rather than rulemaking)
 - Clash of positivist science (empirical testing) vs Marxian ideology and critique
- Value and relevance
 - Undeniable class bias in defining and punishing deviance (2 million poor people)
 - Scratch the surface and you find conflict in laws we take for granted (disenfranchisement)

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Recap: Behrens, Uggen, & Manza (2003)

- **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)
 - Hypothesis: As (political) threat rises, deviant label is applied to keep a less-powerful group from the polls.
- **findings:** states with non-white prisoners were first to pass felon voting bans (esp. after 1870); some overt racism in debates
- supports conflict/threat theory of rulemaking

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Individual-level theories: labeling (Becker 1963)

- Assumptions
 - Social groups create deviance by making and enforcing rules (p. 41)
 - Labels affect identity, self-concept (Cooley; Mead)
 - Conflict, not consensus on norms
- Concepts
 1. Primary and secondary deviance (Lemert)
 2. "Rule-breaking behavior" vs (labeled) Deviance

	Behavior	
	Obedient	Rule Breaking
Perceived as Deviant	<i>Falsely Accused</i>	Pure Deviant
Not Perceived as Deviant	Conforming	<i>Secret Deviant</i>

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Labeling (continued)

3. moral entrepreneurs

- *create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, & by applying those rules to particular people & labeling them as outsiders*
- Tuggle & Holmes on smoking ban (10 interviews)
 - Create and enforce deviant categories
 - Crusading reformers, experts, rule enforcers
 - "Status politics" of competing groups
- 4. A recognizable sequence or career in interaction with other actors
 - Labels have consequences, "stigma"
 - ...and connote auxiliary traits (Everett Hughes 1945, e.g., Doctor)
 - Maruna on becoming a Dr. (or Offender): negative credentials -> renaming -> rituals-> exclusion -> internalizing new identity

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joel best on rise of labeling

- labeling "more a sensibility than a theory"
 - qualitative, critical, hipster (?) worldview
 - who were the villains and fools? heroes?
- Becker: Don't ask why some people commit deviant acts, but "why are some acts sanctioned and labeled as deviant?"
 - Questions authority: "whose side are we on?"
- Goffman: a problem of "spoiled identities" (acts, physical characteristics)
- *Five minute video: Gattaca*





Erving Goffman: *Stigma and "Spoiled Identity"* (1963)

- Social life as a stage, a drama
- Stigma as an "undesired differentness" turning others away (3 types)
 1. Physical deformities ("abominations of the body")
 2. Blemishes of individual character (e.g., addiction)
 3. Tribal stigmas of race, nation, religion
- Two groups (with "career" implications)
 - The discredited – cannot hide or have revealed trait
 - Must manage tension in interaction
 - The discreditable – concealable traits
 - Must avoid the damage by concealing trait
- Impression management/information control - trying to control the reactions of others by manipulating what we reveal about ourselves

one career sequence

1. A nonconforming act (use meth)
2. Learn deviant motives and interests (with other users)
3. Public labeling (“addict”)
 - renaming & negative status credential
4. Discredited and cut off from conventional (Pell, food stamps...)
 - rituals (court) and exclusion
5. Join organized deviant group or subculture (all friends are users)
 - internalizing new identity (Dr or offender)

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Critiques (Hendershott; Best)

- from right: Hendershott’s absolutist critique
 - A basic consensus and common moral order (p. 47)
 - In tradition of Durkheim, Derrick Bell, James Coleman, JQ Wilson, DP Moynihan, D Brooks in NYT
 - Re-moralization and “evil-doers” of 9/11.
 - David Brooks on “hard principles” of moral consensus
 - Right: “Defining Deviancy Down” -> restigmatize
 - Alan Wolfe’s 11th commandment: Thou shalt not judge
- from left/conflict: ignores powerful (Liazos)
 - should study elites, not “nuts, sluts, & perverts” UK
 - feminist critique: women victims/survivors (rape)
 - identity politics and movements critique: very concept of deviance is pejorative (GLBT)
- from mainstream sociology/criminology
 - ignores initial causes, mixed evidence on effects

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5B. Hirschi’s social control theory

- background: Hobbes, Durkheim
 - “We are moral beings to the extent that we are social beings”
- assumptions
 - Normative consensus (“common value system”)
 - Lack of controls cause deviance
 - “given that man is an animal...”
 - Little variation in motivation
- concepts – social bond
 - 4 elements: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief

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critique and extensions

- critique
 - subcultures and peers?
 - deviant as “detached drifter” [not “frustrated striver” as in anomie theory]
 - cracks in consensus assumption
 - role of power?
- extensions
 - Gottfredson & Hirschi: self-control
 - Sampson & Laub: age-graded informal social controls
- value
 - empirical support (surveys/minor)

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lessons

- Rules are not made automatically
- Labels have consequences
 - Negative: societal reaction (“helping”) can make things worse
 - Positive: “Mathew” effect (science gives credit to those already famous)
- Deviance as a process, sequence, or career (mental illness)
- Legacy (Joel Best)
 - social constructionism; medicalization; social movements; transactions; deviant careers; emotions; discourse and culture; street ethnographies; (some) criminology

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start with easy sample qs

- groups of 3-5
- 10 minutes
- Turn in one sheet signed by all in group
- Test format:
 - All multiple choice/identifications
 - Multiple choice/id plus essays in advance

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mc questions

1. The rarity of conduct is emphasized by which definition of deviance?
 - a. statistical
 - b. absolutist
 - c. reactionist
 - d. normative
2. What type of norm tells people what they should not do?
 - a. normative
 - b. prescriptive
 - c. proscriptive
 - d. postscriptive
 - e. inscriptive
3. Who leads the opposition to smoking, drunk driving, and distribution of pornography?
 - a. moral entrepreneurs
 - b. norm promoters
 - c. norm influencers
 - d. norm builders
 - e. sociologists

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4. _____ develops after one becomes committed to deviance and performing deviant roles.
 - a. Ultimate deviance
 - b. Secondary deviance
 - c. Primary deviance
 - d. Tertiary deviance
5. _____ theories suggest that law comes about because certain groups have enough power to legislate their interests into.
 - a. control
 - b. conflict
 - c. reactionist
 - d. consensus
 - e. Conformity
6. In Durkheim's *society of saints*...
 - a. There would be no deviance at all.
 - b. Serious crimes would be ignored.
 - c. Trivial acts would be defined as deviant.
 - d. Deviance would vary by attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief.
 - e. New Orleans would win the super bowl.
7. While Hank is just as deviant as Frank, Hank appears more apologetic for his actions. Because of this, he rarely gets into trouble. Chambliss attributes this to differences in their _____.
 - a. Demeanor
 - b. Awareness
 - c. Level of societal conformity
 - d. Visibility

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10. According to the Heckerts, there is no such thing as positive deviance
 - a. true
 - b. false
11. According to lecture, paying people to obey the law would be an example of a _____ solution to the Hobbesian problem of order.
 - a. normative
 - b. statistical
 - c. coercive
 - d. exchange
12. Both the excerpt from Miller and Brunson and the *Bowling for Columbine* clip suggest a process of _____ occurring between young men of color and social control agents.
 - a. deviance romanticization
 - b. deviance amplification
 - c. systemic nullification
 - d. all of the above
13. In their study of deviant careers, Uggen and Thompson found that illegal earnings decrease when criminal offenders
 - a. live with their spouses or partners
 - b. avoid cocaine and heroin
 - c. maintain employment
 - d. all of the above

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Short Essays

- Compare and contrast the statistical, absolutist, reactionist, and normative definition of deviance, using campus drinking as an example.
- Now give examples of negative, positive, formal, and informal sanctions that might be used to intensify or stop campus drinking.
- Using the example of juvenile detention, explain how the application of social control may unintentionally intensify or reinforce deviant activity.
- Identify each of the following and its importance to deviance in a sentence or two: subculture; Hobbes; stigma

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edwin sutherland: differential association & learning

- Background (at U of M soc., 1926-29)
 - your great-great-grandfather?
- assumptions
 - normative conflict (not consensus)
 - change in human behavior
 - deviance is learned
 - deviance is group behavior
- concepts
 - culture and subculture
 - DA process and "looking glass self"
 - differential social organization

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the DA process

1. Criminal behavior is learned
2. ... in interaction with others in a process of communication
3. ... within intimate personal groups.
4. The learning includes a) techniques and b) motives, drives, rationalizations & attitudes.
5. The specific direction is learned from definitions of the legal code as favorable & unfavorable.
6. One becomes criminal because of an excess of definitions favorable to law violation over definitions unfavorable.
7. Differential associations vary in frequency, duration, priority & intensity
8. This learning process involves the same mechanisms as any other learning
9. Criminal behavior is not explained by general needs (\$) and values, since non-criminal behavior expresses the same needs & values.
- [10. Differential Social Organization explains rates]

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Sykes and Matza (1957) Techniques of Neutralization

- Why and what must we "neutralize"?
- Justifications (before) & rationalizations (after)
 - Denial of responsibility (didn't mean to)
 - Denial of injury (no harm, no foul)
 - Denial of victim (had it coming)
 - Condemning the condemners (system is corrupt)
 - Appeal to higher loyalties (family needs it)
- Cromwell and Thurman (2003) on shoplifters
 - Defense of necessity (like appeal... but broader?)
 - Everybody does it (all my friends...)
 - Justification by compromise (could be worse)
 - Postpoinement (didn't think about it)

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extensions and policy

- extensions
 - Ron Akers- differential association /reinforcement theory (e.g., drug use)
- critique
 - tautology
 - differential receptivity
 - origins of definitions
 - testable?
 - deterministic (oversocialized)
- value
 - best for peers and subcultural deviance
 - compatible with later labeling ideas (deviance as conformity to subculture, labeled deviant by others)

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deviance & adulthood (massoglia/uggen 2011)

- *"Symbolic Interactionism" – DA & label*
 - Age norms & delinquency: "measuring up" as adult
 - Seeing yourself as an adult
- *Labeling question: Must you "settle down" to attain adult status*
 - Stand shoulder-to-shoulder with fellow citizens
 - Relative conception – work & family transitions still expected of adults
 - from "hell-raiser to family man" or woman
- *Subjective adulthood as collective adherence to domain-specific roles*
 - Behavioral and labeling effects

12/17/04

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felon interviews – far behind

- *Michael: stigma and status*
 - [I] caught a brand new case like three days ago, for narcotics. Now I've got to go to trial ... For real. I'm about 25 now, and I need a decent family, decent job, car, going to work every day. I want to be there [in my old neighborhood] so people would know, "hey, man, [Mike's] doing something, going to work every day, family going to church. He was out there wild, look at him now, he's changed.
- *Dylan: off-time on markers*
 - I have so much to make up for, like lost time, and I have nothing to show for it. I'll get out when I'm 34. I have no house, no car, no anything ... this is what I have left when I walk out ... I can try to make the best of what I've got left and try and contribute something. Whether it's to my family, to the community, to whatever. And I've done everything I could since I've been in here ... tried to get as much of an education as I could, get as many job skills as I can.

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hypotheses

1. *Desistance & Behavioral Markers of Adulthood:* Desistance will covary with other behavioral markers of adulthood. (S&L)
2. *Deviant Acts, Conforming Acts, & the Subjective Transition:* People feel less like adults while engaged in activities defined as deviant and more like adults when engaged in activities defined as conforming. (SI)
3. *Arrest & the Timing of Adult Markers in Specific Domains:* Recent arrestees will be less likely to feel "on time" in attaining behavioral markers of adulthood than non-arrestees. (LA)
4. *Arrest & the Subjective Transition:* Recent arrestees will be less likely to "feel like an adult most of the time" than non-arrestees.
5. *Relative Desistance & Reference Groups:* People who think they commit less crime than others their age will feel more like adults than people who think they commit more crime than others their age. (DU)
6. *Subjective Desistance:* People who think they commit less crime than they did 5 years ago will feel more like adults than people who think they commit as much or more crime as they did 5 years ago. (SI)

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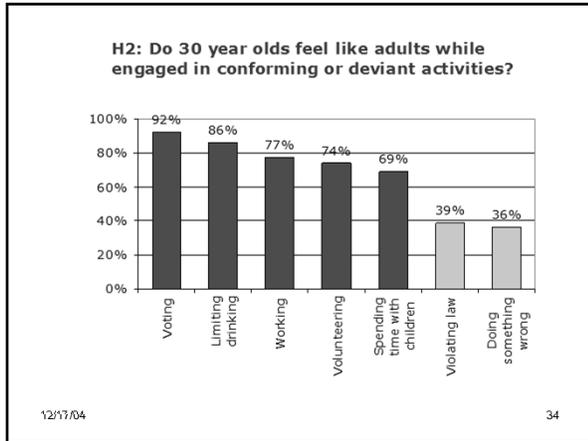
design

- *Data: Youth Development Study*
 - Longitudinal survey of St. Paul public school cohort
 - Age 30-31; 75% white; 43% male
 - 45% married, 55% had children by 2002
- *Estimation*
 - Latent class analysis for H1 [skip today]
 - Simple static-score logistic regression

$$\log [P(Adult_{2002}=1)/P(Adult_{2002}=0)] =$$

$$= \alpha + \beta_1 Arrest_{2000-2002} + \beta_2 Adult_{1999} + \dots + \beta_k Marker_{2002}$$

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H3: Logistic regression estimates of effect of arrest in the past 3 years on feeling "on time" in each domain

	Marriage	Have Kids	Complete Education	Get a Job	Financially Independent	Start a Career
Arrest	-.630* (.346)	.029 (.345)	-.917** (.347)	-.608* (.343)	-.511 (.341)	-.720** (.367)
Male	.054 (.177)	-.124 (.169)	-.472** (.176)	-.209 (.186)	-.241 (.172)	-.033 (.191)
White	.519** (.191)	.065 (.189)	-.068 (.203)	.014 (.209)	.469** (.189)	.434** (.205)
Intercept	.366** (.179)	.597** (.179)	1.117** (.199)	1.219** (.201)	.557** (.180)	.766** (.195)

*p<.10 ** p<.05

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H4: Arrest and Subjective Adult Status - Logistic Regression Estimates

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 4	Model 5
Arrest	-1.36**			-1.53**
(1=arrest in 2000-2)	(.34)			(.40)
Male		-.57**	-.42**	-.29
		(.17)	(.19)	(.20)
White		-.08	.03	.03
		(.20)	(.23)	(.24)
Marriage		.47**	.09	.02
		(.17)	(.21)	(.22)
Post-secondary degree		-.36**	-.13	-.21
		(.17)	(.21)	(.22)
Self sufficiency			.44**	.42*
			(.22)	(.22)
Children			.75**	.87**
			(.22)	(.22)
Voting			.46**	.49**
			(.22)	(.22)
Prior adult status (1999)			2.22**	2.21**
			(.22)	(.22)
Intercept	1.00**	.72**	-1.08**	-.97**
	(.09)	(.31)	(.40)	(.50)
N=708				
-2 log likelihood	831.9	825.9	677.1	662.5

*p<.10 **p<.05

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