Week 9:
Catch-up: (8b) evals, property & political crime (9a) organizational & occupational deviance (9b) leaving crime

Recap rape / other violence

- Norms supporting violence, amplified in some male settings (gang, FL frat, dorms) and in broader culture
  - But big recent declines in UCR and NCVS
- Correlates of rape & sexual assault (2002):
  - Gender (female 6X higher than male),
  - Race (African American 3X higher than white),
  - Age (age 16-19 11X higher than age 35-49)
  - Urban (3X higher)
  - Unmarried, low income, West region
- Rates of robbery and aggravated assault also declining since mid-1990s
  - Theorizing the crime drop (Baumer)
8B: Economic/“Property” Crime

- Most crime is economic behavior
  - 90% of crime index offenses are economic
- New studies of illegal earnings
    - Violence, but not wanton; leaders
  - McCarthy & Hagan (2001) – street youth
    - Competence, collaboration, criminal capital
  - Uggen & Thompson (2003) – ex-offenders
    - Drugs as “illegal earnings imperative”
- Clinard’s distinction: occasional (almost everybody) v. career offenders


- Undertheorized: distribution of legal and illegal opportunities (Cressey/Sutherland)
  - Goffman’s (1959) “barriers” and “back regions” that inhibit control (restaurant)
- How could broker conceal deviance?
  - Financial self-interest (trust w/ decisions)
  - Neglect of control (client preoccupied)
  - Interpretative primacy (knowledge gap)
  - With clients and auditors (e.g., Ponzi; Madoff)
- Bigger picture: Messner and Rosenfeld’s Crime and the American Dream
  - Socialization in capitalist system; overzealous
  - Material success goal prized (Merton)

organized crime

- Clinard & Meier (1980) Activities
  - Illegal goods and services (loan sharking, gambling, drugs, sex)
  - Big-time theft/hijacked goods
  - Racketeering (systematic extortion)
  - Infiltrating legitimate businesses
  - Corrupting public officials
- International Organization Today
  - Drug markets, power to challenge weakening state control, immigration and borders, Technology (wire transfers), “disorganized” law enforcement
  - Some ethnic persistence even after national boundaries erode (Rush & Scarpitti 2005 on Russia)
Political Crimes

- Crimes against governments (all crime?)
  - Merton’s “rebellion”
  - Campus activists and subcultures?
  - Militias
  - Benefits
- Crimes by governments
  - Political corruption - kickbacks, fraud, abuse of funds
  - Election crimes - denial of voting (FL), “push polling”, illicit contributions
  - Violence - state monopoly on legitimate force
- “Victor’s justice:” winners set rules
  - freedom fighters, terrorists, human rights victims?
  - Genocide “perpetrator” “rescuer” and “survivor”


- Critical criminology approach
  - Connects dots b/w Halliburton, GW Bush administration, war on terror, and profits
  - “Plain vanilla” corporate crime (e.g., bribery, fraud, overcharges, kickbacks) +
- State-corporate crime and regulation
  - VP Dick Cheney as HB CEO in 1990s
  - Private, on-call logistics arm of military; contracts and stock price
- Costs of cronyism?

Uggen & Manza 2002 – political consequences of voting bans

- Who is disenfranchised?
  - Count relevant populations by state
- Would any of them have voted? [cps]
  - Model turnout for modal felon voter
- How would they have voted? [nes]
  - Model party choice for modal felon voter
- Would their votes have affected elections? [xls]
  - Recalculate election returns
- Caveat
  - Counterfactual: adjective, contrary to the facts
data

- **Laws:**
  - Statutes, constitutions, and administrative records
- **Populations:**
  - Bureau of Justice Statistics data series for current felons
  - Life tables for ex-felons (1948-2000 releases)
- **Turnout (1=voted, 0=not voted):**
  - Current Population Survey Voting supplements
  - Equation includes gender, race, age, income, labor force status, marital status, education, and region as predictors
  - Reduced by deflation factor for CPS overreporting
- **Vote Choice (1=Democratic, 0=Republican):**
  - National Election Study
  - Separate analysis by region (and state level)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Current Felon Population</th>
<th>Estimated Voting Eligible</th>
<th>Republican Margin</th>
<th>Voting Turnout</th>
<th>Estimated Net Democratic Votes</th>
<th>Estimated Republican Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>20,707</td>
<td>89,652</td>
<td>15,408</td>
<td>12.227</td>
<td>-3.181</td>
<td>10074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>unchanged</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>20,532</td>
<td>76,058</td>
<td>10,932</td>
<td>5,269</td>
<td>-5,651</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Florida</td>
<td>20,707</td>
<td>89,652</td>
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<td>10074</td>
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**2000 Election: What if Felons had been Allowed to Vote?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit Marg</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Hypothetical</th>
<th>Net</th>
<th>Counter</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>MARGIN</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Hypothetical</th>
<th>Net</th>
<th>Counter</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>MARGIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florida 537</td>
<td>827,317</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>68.9%</td>
<td>85,050</td>
<td>94,313</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>68.9%</td>
<td>42,525</td>
<td>41,988</td>
<td>151,133</td>
<td>83,345</td>
<td>67,788</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2000 Election: What if we Disenfranchised in 1990 at the Rate we do Today?**

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<th>Total</th>
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<th>Net</th>
<th>Counter</th>
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<th>Counter</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Lost</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>MARGIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| United States | 315,947 | 4,955,728 | 25.7% | 68.9% | 347,711 | 4,557,176 | 1,667,176 | 10/24/2014 | 12
Has the “Felon” Label Affected American Politics?

- **Potential impact of felon voting laws:**
  - 7 U.S. Senate seats [VA, TX, KY, FL, GA, KY, FL]
  - 2 Presidential elections
  - Shifts debate on other issues

- **Caveats and assumptions**
  - All else constant?
  - Logic of YDS test – a residual effect?
  - Turnout assumptions challenged

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methods exercise

- Work together in groups of 3-5 to answer the questions
- The goal is to get you thinking concretely about how we learn the social facts in (your) specific area of deviance
- Turn in one sheet signed by all

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Individual occupational crime

- **White-collar crime** – law violation committed in the context of the offender's legitimate occupation
  - Sutherland (1949) – defined as crime by person of respectability and high social status ("occupational" is broader)
  - Most violate trust (fraud) and power
- Liederbach, Opportunity and Medical Crime pp. 237-246 “protective cloak” of doctors
  - kickbacks, fee-splitting, mass prescriptions, unnecessary treatments, sex, medicaid fraud
  - Other professionals’ white-collar crime and deviance (priests, professors, others)
- Examples that Uggen could commit?
Cressey (1953) on embezzlers

- Interviewed financial trust violators who accepted trust in good faith, then violated it
- 3-stage sequence:
  - A perceived unshareable financial problem
  - That can be secretly resolved by violating financial trust
  - They created rationalizations (only borrowing) to protect their conventional self-concept.
- When they cannot repay, they get nervous - verbalization breaks down. A few adopt a criminal role
- Critique: Low self-control (Gottfredson and Hirschi) dispute “sophistication” and planning

workplace deviance in MN

- General Population (MN YDS) – St. Paul public schools
  - High school and twenties
- Jessica Huiras (Wegner)
  - UROP grant/senior project
  - “Who steals from work?”
  - Prior work: People who hate their jobs (low satisfaction)
  - Theories of social control and choice
  - People who have no “stake” in their jobs
- Hirschi, Sampson & Laub on informal controls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work attitude</td>
<td>How is your present job related to your long-term career goals?</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job satisfaction</td>
<td>All things considered, how satisfied are you with your job as a whole?</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Conditions</td>
<td>All money earned through paid employment during past year or weeks (in total)</td>
<td>58.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>Do you supervise other workers on your job?</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary sector</td>
<td>Primary versus secondary or service industrial sector</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>Is there any continuing training on your current job?</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnover</td>
<td>Did you receive reprimand in jobs?</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance benefit</td>
<td>Do you have health insurance through your employer?</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Deviance</td>
<td>During high school did you ... ?</td>
<td>2.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee-deviance</td>
<td>During high school did you ... ?</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Capital</td>
<td>Highest level of education completed</td>
<td>4.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Self-reported race of respondent</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Self-reported race of respondent</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
summary

- Career stakes or commitment is a strong predictor of workplace deviance
- Other Predictors:
  - Job satisfaction (reduces)
  - Power/Authority/supervisory status (increases)
  - Males (increases)
- Supports idea that informal social controls can reduce deviance
- So, who do you hire? Who should I hire?
corporate deviance

- Corporate or organizational crime - violation of law or regulations by organizations and their management – punished by the state through criminal, civil, or administrative law.

- Clinard's typology
  - Crimes against consumers (Pinto)
  - Crimes against owners (stockholders)
  - Crimes against employees (safety, discrimination)
  - Crimes against public (pollution)

explaining corporate crime

- Profit Squeeze: (Mertonian) Pressures to deviate across industries, time
- Organizational Context: diffusion of responsibility, socialized into illegality
- Corporate Culture: A few justifications:
  - 1. Deny responsibility
  - 2. Everybody does it
  - 3. No one hurt
  - 4. It provides stability
  - 5. Government interference
  - 6. "Business is business"

- Industry Effects: Based on degree of competition, monopoly concentration
### 9B: leaving crime

- **Desistance from crime**
  - Organizations can “desist” as well
  - Deviant “role exit”
  - The “professional-ex”
  - Halting but inexorable march...
  - Work, family, housing correlates

- **Management and stability in other roles**
  - E.g., coming out

---

### Stigma and desistance

1. **adlers: leaving dealing/smuggling**

- 65 smugglers & dealers; up to $750k/yr
  - go through “shifts and oscillations”
  - “desistance” as a process, not an abrupt act
- Simple aging and burnout
- “Phasing out”
  - chance for ‘last big score’ can end in prison
  - attempts to try legitimate businesses
- Reentering as “comeback” or relapse?
- Career shifts (some in drugs, some out)
- Death as “ultimate bustout”

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### Devah Pager (2006) Criminal record

- “audit study” in milwaukee, wi
  - Matched testers
- who was called back (shaded)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Called Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- are you surprised by the results? Would they be the same in minneapolis?
Design – arrest study

- recruit
- rehearse: high-school grads with basic work record (hotel, restaurant)
- convey: 3-year old disorderly conduct arrest
- apply: 600 entry-level jobs in twin cities metro
- audit

callbacks by race and record

the guys
48 employer interviews

- **66% checked backgrounds** *(small n)*
  - two thirds have contracts with private data mining companies
  - 25% say any record disqualifies applicants from consideration
- **may be overstated**
  - personal contact
  - workplace diversity

### African American tester callbacks by record and establishment diversity

![African American tester callbacks by record and establishment diversity](chart.png)

**stigma**

- **low-level arrest has a modest effect on entry-level employment**
  - 4% difference in callbacks
  - Not a disqualifying condition
- **people of color in establishment may mitigate effect (sophistication?)**
- **regulating stigma**
  - threshold (arrest v. conviction)
  - severity (misdemeanor v. felony)
  - duration (7 years v. life)
age, work, and crime
(American Sociological Review, 2000)

- **Question**
  - Why didn't the big jobs programs of 1970s reduce crime?
- **Idea**
  - Lousy jobs, but also lousy timing if response to jobs is age-graded
- **Approach**
  - Experimental (mostly)
Next

- Sex, gender, and deviance
  - Sexual Harassment, Workplace Authority, and the Paradox of Power (recommended only)
  - “multi-method”