

Lecture 3 / week 4:

from correlates to causal models: (a) psychology and (b) economics

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Rios 2: Dreams Deferred

- Methods
 - "shadowing" 40 young men (20 Latino/ 20 Af. Am.) for 3 years
 - 30 had been arrested; snowball sampling
 - Not an "O.G." or "gang leader"
 - Biases?
- Themes
 - Marginality, masculinity, defiance, resistance
 - What is the "moral panic" around youth?

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overcoming pessimism

- "Prevention projects don't work and they waste money, violate the rights of juveniles and their families, inspire bizarre suggestions and programs, and fail to affect the known correlates of urban delinquency" -Lundman 1993:245
- Need a theory, or set of related ideas about causes of delinquency, to prevent or control it
- More optimism about "what works"

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Preventing Crime, What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising

- Where did this report come from? Who did it?
- What works?
 - E.g. Perry preschool (1962); Nurse home visits ('90s)
- Not working?
 - E.g., gun buybacks, DARE, ISP, boot camps
- Promising?
 - e.g., family counseling; esp. multi-systemic therapy (MST) for serious and chronic offenders; voc-ed
- why do some programs persist without any evidence that they reduce crime?
- are their common features or principles of more effective programs?

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individual treatment

"We don't need no stinking theories..."

- 1915 Chicago: Healy's individualized treatment
 - Early identification, classification, and treatment
- Prevention: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study (1937-1945) for at-risk youth
 - Assigned well-meaning adult counselors to help kids any way they could
 - No difference in school, personality & family functioning
 - No diff in delinquency (29% experimental versus 28% control at follow-up)

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theory

- Why not skip all the boring theories and just deal with the real?
 - Movies or documentaries about delinquency
 - "War stories"
 - Journalistic/descriptive accounts
- What are the criteria for good theories?
 - Logical consistency
 - Generality
 - Testability
 - Empirical Validity
 - Usefulness!

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levels

- What are we trying to explain?
- Which level of analysis is most important?
 - Individual
 - Group
 - Society
 - Time
 - Situation or event
- Basic criteria for establishing causality?
 - Association (correlation)
 - Temporal order (cause precedes effect)
 - Lack of spuriousness (or 3rd factor)
 - Other?

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biology and psychology

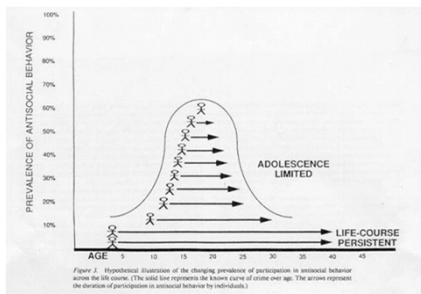
- Origins: Biological positivism and Cesare Lombroso (1905)
 - Quote from Parmelee's 1908 text
 - Darwin's *Origins* (1859) and *Descent* (1871)
 - Criminals resemble '*primitive races*'
 - overt racism in early criminology
- Today: twin studies and interactions between heredity and environment
 - biology yes, racism no
 - perception, maturation, and neuropsychology

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Moffitt's insight: a 2-group view of the age-crime curve



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Terrie Moffit's (1993) Typology

- "Life-course persistent" (LCP) vs "adolescent-limited" (AL)
 - Delinquency is *normative* in adolescence
- Onset of LCP is (way) earlier
 - tie to deficit disorder, learning problems
 - neuropsychology + environment
- AL follow age-crime curve
 - Fewer deficits, more opportunities
- Complicated picture today
 - Now in DSM

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Taking Stock (CWB)

- Author reviews decade of tests
 - Lots of studies ("string" citations)
 - P. 278 "nutshell" summary
- H1: early neuro-developmental and family adversity -> LCP
 - 3rd group: low-level chronics?
 - 4th group: adult onset? (<4%)
- H2: "maturity gap" and social mimicry -> AL
- H3: abstainers are rare (<10%)
- H4: LCP-> serious offending in adulthood
- H5: LCP persist and AL desist (fig 10.1)
 - Sampson & Laub critique (all desist eventually)

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Lecture 3b:

rational choice and deterrence

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rational choice



I. Background

- "classical school" of Beccaria & Bentham
- Enlightenment era, social contract

II. Assumptions

- Individuals have free will and are rational
- Crime is natural and not learned (we would if we dared)
- Society is held together by a social contract
- General (normative) consensus -- shared morality

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conceptual tools

- Specific Deterrence: experience of being caught and punished makes one less likely to try it again
- General Deterrence - others learn of threat
- Example: (P = probability of success, not busted)
 - What kind of rewards? Costs?
 - Rewards: Money, thrills, status
 - Costs: Fines, punishment, family, friends, stigma

$$Y = P * (\text{Reward}\$) - ((1-P) * (\text{Costs}\$))$$

$$Y = .8(\$500) - .2(\$1000) = \$400 - \$200 = + 200$$

So? Do you do it?

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critique

1. Magnitude of deterrent effect
2. Decisions are moral, normative, not just rational
 - rational planning is exception, not rule
3. Impossible to control delinquency through deterrence
 - 100,000 officers
4. Many "rewards" not affected by deterrence
 - e.g. masculinity
5. Weaker version of social learning (DA)
 - (unfair) RC not deterministic

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Taking stock (CWB)

1. small "effect sizes" (0-.2)
(certainty bigger, severity smaller)
2. effect reduced by statistical controls
3. sensitivity to method
4. certainty best for white-collar offenses, not delinquency
5. informal/non-legal sanctions are biggest deterrent

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Petrosino on Scared Straight

- Describe program; why it persists;
- P. 55: SS increases odds of offending by 1.7:1 (1.7 treatment kids offend for every control who offends) A small "criminogenic" effect

Study	Crime / Treatment N	Crime / Control N	Odds ratio (sig*)
Finckenauer '82	19/46=41%	4/35=11%	5.5*
GERP&DC '79	16/94	8/67	1.5
Lewis '83	43/53	37/55	2.1
Michigan '67	12/28	5/30	3.8*
Orchowsky&Taylor '81	16/39	16/41	1.1
Vreeland '81	14/39	11/40	1.5
Yarborough '79	27/137	17/90	1.1
TOTAL	147/436	98/358	1.7*

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policy

- Q: Is the adult CJS based on choice theory? The JJS?
- What are the specific policy levers?
- Delinquent Associates (Angels with Dirty Faces) (p. 79 Sutherland)
 - Sutherland, Edwin H. and Donald R. Cressey. "A Sociological Theory of Criminal Behavior." Pp. 77-83 in Criminology 10th Ed.
 - CWB, Chapter 1. Ronald L. Akers Gary F. Jensen. "The Empirical Status of Social Learning Theory of Crime and Deviance: The Past, Present, and Future." Pp. 37-76.
 - Rios, Chapter 2. "The Flatlands of Oakland and the Youth Control Complex." Pp. 24-42.

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intro to DA

- Background on Edwin Sutherland
 - U of M professor, 1926-29
 - Professional thief "Chic Conwell"
- Assumptions
 - Cultural Relativism
 - Change and Flexibility in Human Behavior
 - Delinquency is Learned
 - Delinquency is Group Behavior

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conceptual tools

- Normative Conflict
 - Culture conflict and law
- Culture and subculture
 - Culture - knowledge, beliefs, norms, practices and "shared understandings"
 - Subculture - group with norms, values, and beliefs *distinct from* dominant culture
- Differential Association Process (9)
- Differential Social Organization (rates)

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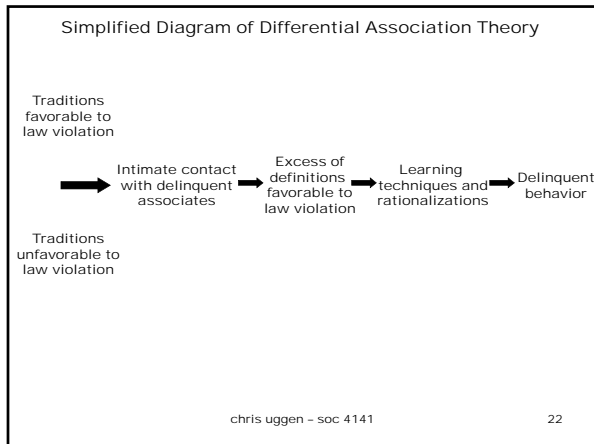
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the DA process (9)

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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- ## extensions and policy
- Extensions
 - Sykes & Matza
 - Symbolic Interactionism: Matsueda
 - Social Learning; Burgess & Akers; operant conditioning
 - Akers & Jensen CWB: Social Learning
 - Differential reinforcement: balance of anticipated or actual rewards & punishments following behavior
 - Imitation: esp. for initial acquisition
 - Support in family and peers
 - Drug use (r-sq of .31-.68)
 - Expansion to "macro-level" (social structure)
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- ## d.a. policy
- "Community Treatment"
 - harness power of the group - "guided group interaction" still used in MN
 - attempts to evaluate experimentally
 - Provo Experiment (Empey '59-66)
 - Number of Arrests in 1st year:
 - Provo .55 versus .7 for probation group
 - Provo 1.1 versus 1.7 for institution group
 - Silverlake replication
 - Percent rearrested
 - Silverlake 40% versus 44% for institution
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critique

- DA is tautology: true by definition
- Differential receptivity (drug film)
- Origins of definitions
- DA is untestable (or really hard to test)
- DA doesn't specify learning process
- DA is too deterministic

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lessons

- Groups and peers as correlates or causes of delinquency
 - Still debated
 - Gangs
 - Peers and desistance (Warr)
- Community treatment as effective as institutionalization (which isn't great) for non-violent delinquents

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Moving to Opportunity (big treatment)

- Clampet-Lundquist, Susan, Kathryn Edin, Jeffrey R. Kling, and Greg J. Duncan. 2011. "Moving At-Risk Youth Out of High-Risk Neighborhoods: Why Girls Fare Better Than Boys." *American Journal of Sociology* 116:1154-1189.
 - Control and Lo-poverty Treatment
 - Change? Big effects on moms and girls (health, mental health, delinquency)
- Girls who moved had lower delinquency, but no effects or negative effects for boys
 - Routines; Norms; Neighborhood navigational strategies; Peer interactions; Social fathers

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