Labor Markets, Disadvantage, Crime and Justice

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Why this talk now

- Brown, Garner, ...
- Resulting upheaval
  - Demonstrations
  - Riots
  - Investigations
- And then there’s the SAE fiasco at the University of Oklahoma
- Plan for this talk
GET A JOB

LABOR MARKETS,
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, AND CRIME

Robert D. Crutchfield
“Ferguson riots have very little to do with the shooting of the young man. It is an excuse to be the losers these animals truly are. It is a tipping point to frustration built up over years of not trying, but blaming everyone else, The Man, for their failures. It’s always someone else’s fault when you give up.” Kevin Serbo on Facebook

“But we know now that thugs are thugs. People who are going to take advantage of the situation are going to do that, especially if they know that the media is all there.” Laura Ingraham on FOX News
If they are opportunists or thugs, why are they?

There are two types of answers to this question.

- **Bad people**
  - This is the go to explanation for many people
  - It is almost always an incomplete explanation

- **Bad places**
  - Bad people are produced by experiences that people have in bad places
  - Seriously disadvantaged places and racially segregated places are frequently “bad places.”

The question is how do we manage these places and their people?
“How do I feel about being mugged? Well, naturally I didn’t enjoy it and I certainly don’t condone violence or threats of violence as a means toward social change. However, I can empathize with my assailant and realize that in his terms this is a valid response to the deteriorating socio-economic situation in which we find ourselves.”
Labor Markets and Crime

- Labor markets stratification—Segmented Labor Markets
- Labor market inequality
  - Primary sector jobs—good jobs = less crime
  - Secondary sector jobs—bad jobs = more crime
- Marginally employed adults are more likely to engage in crime, including violence
  - The effect is only observed in high unemployment counties
  - Counties with more good jobs are less criminogenic even for those out of work
- Place Matters!
“Get at risk kids jobs”—a standard refrain
Early research on kids and jobs—it is not good
For juveniles, it is school that is important
  ◦ Good grades = a steak in conformity
  ◦ Attachment to school and teachers is protective
For some jobs may be OK
  ◦ Good students—low # of hours jobs are fine
  ◦ Not good students—jobs are likely to pull them away from school
  ◦ But, if they are not in school, they should be working
Kids, Labor Markets, School & Delinquency

- When parents are not doing well in the labor market
  - Kids invest less in school
  - Increases the likelihood of delinquency
- When the community is disadvantaged
  - Adults outside of the home cannot provide alternative models for children
  - Lessens the protective force of school
Interaction of Grades and Disadvantage: Whole Sample

Legend
- High Disadvantage
- Mean Disadvantage
- Low Disadvantage

Delinquency Index

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
Interaction of Grades and Disadvantage: Central City Sample

Legend
- High Disadvantage
- Mean Disadvantage
- Low Disadvantage
Stratified Labor Markets Create Disadvantage

- Dual Labor Market Theory was created to explain some groups enduring occupancy at the bottom of the ladder.
  - African Am.—primary sector jobs after the Great Migration
  - African Am—historically overrepresented in the secondary sector
  - With deindustrialization that became even more the case
  - Contemporary economy African Am. Workers increasingly jobless

- Disadvantaged neighborhoods…
  - & racial residential segregation
  - & crime
  - & problematic relationships with important institutions in society
Disadvantaged Neighborhoods & Crime

- Why are there higher crime rates in disadvantaged places?
  - Labor market stratification and who gets left out
  - Resulting behavior and culture changes
    - *Code of the Street* (Anderson)
    - *Between Good and Ghetto: African Am. Girls and Inner-city Violence* (Jones)
    - *Getting Played: African Am. Girls, Urban Inequality, and Gendered Violence* (Miller)

- The *Uneven Crime Decline* (Parker)

- High crime rates in disadvantaged, minority, urban communities can be explained by the high levels of disadvantage (Sampson)
Disadvantaged Neighborhoods & Important Institutions

- **Schools**
  - Continuing racial achievement gap
  - Racial disproportionality in suspension and expulsion

- **Criminal Justice**
  - Little or no argument over racial disparity anymore
  - There is racial disparity that cannot be accounted for w/ legal factors
  - DOJ report—“Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department”
    - Not just there
    - Not just the police

- **Focus on police**
  - Troubled relationship w/ minority communities & police in many cities
  - Community policing may or may not be a solution (Garland)
Why These Relationships Matter

- With school, hopefully it is obvious
- With the criminal justice system
  - Procedural justice (Tyler)
- With the police in particular
  - Minority neighborhoods, more than any others, need effective law enforcement
  - The potential for encounters being criminogenic
Early Police Contacts Studies: Three Papers (so far)

- “Racial Disparities in Early Criminal Justice Involvement” *Race and Justice*
  - Contact explained by school problems & family members in trouble
- “Racial Disparities in Early Criminal Justice Involvement” *Race and Social Problems*
  - Contact explained by school, family and associations & early contact
- Disparity in early police contacts and consequences in young adulthood—in preparation
  - Early contact have different effects on blacks and whites, increasing crime for both, but only increasing unexplained arrests for blacks
What’s it all mean for crime and justice?

- If we want to solve these problems, we MUST begin to take dealing with inequalities and disadvantage seriously.
  - In education & in the economy
  - Neighborhoods and places

- Criminal Justice?
  - The experiment with mass incarceration is an abject failure!
  - Police in the community
    - Bad cops and good cops—anecdotes
  - Back to procedural justice & crime
We have it in our power to address these issues. As a society, we have chosen not to.
Predicting Criminal Involvement of Young Adults

Adjusting for Sex, Race, Age, Marital Status, School Suspension, Active Military, Current Student, Occupation Sector, Job Duration, and County Variables (Unemployment Rate, Percent in Labor Force, Poverty Rate, Population Size, Percent Black)
Violent Crime in County Employment Context

Series 1, Blue = High Employment Counties
Series 2, Red = High Unemployment Counties
Racial Disparity in Early Police Contacts

- Black juveniles nearly twice as likely as whites to have had contact with police, controlling for self reported delinquency
- Contact was higher among:
  - Those whose parents have been arrested or who had siblings involved in crime
  - School disciplinary action
  - Knowing adults who were involved with crime or drugs
- Black/white difference in contacts can mostly be accounted for by school discipline differences
Racial Disparities in Early Criminal Justice Involvement

- Similar analyses, except here we hold 10\textsuperscript{th} grade self reported del. constant, and add police contact in 8\textsuperscript{th} grade.
- Results very similar for 8\textsuperscript{th} grade analyses except
  - Youth from low income families are more likely to be arrested
  - Having police contact by 8\textsuperscript{th} grade increases probability of arrest by 10\textsuperscript{th} grade
  - These patterns and those we found in the earlier analyses help to explain racial differences in arrests in early high school
Disparity in early police contacts and consequences in young adult

- Preliminarily analyses of sample as young adults
- Early arrest (10th grade) is related to conviction for minor crimes, misdemeanors, and felonies.
- It appears that for young adult whites, early police contacts explain later involvement in crime which accounts for their arrests.
- But for young adult African Americans, early contacts are linked to crime involvement, but above and beyond what is expected by their crimes, early contact leads to significantly more arrests.