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Capitalism, Social Institutions, and Pathways to Crime: Reconstructing Institutional Anomie Theory

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CAPITALISM, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND PATHWAYS TO CRIME:
RECONSTRUCTING INSTITUTIONAL ANOMIE THEORY

by

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CAPITALISM, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND PATHWAYS TO CRIME:
RECONSTRUCTING INSTITUTIONAL ANOMIE THEORY

Amanda Marie Smith, Ph.D

Western Michigan University, 2016

Messner and Rosenfeld (1994; 2013) developed the Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT) as an explanation for the high rates of serious crime in the United States. They theorize that high serious crime rates are the result of a culture that values material gain as the primary goal (i.e., the American Dream) with a weak social institutional structure. This study argues that IAT must be reconstructed because Messner and Rosenfeld: (1) discount religion as a social institution of importance, (2) exclude high inequality as a source of structural blockages, and (3) use the concept of the American Dream as a proxy for neoliberal capitalist ideology. As such, I argue that high serious crime rates are the result of the combination of economically-dominated non-economic social institutions—family, religion, education, and polity—coupled with high inequality, and a neoliberal social structure of accumulation. This dissertation uses qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) to investigate the configurations of social institutions that lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime in the 50 U.S. states in 2007.

Multiple institutional pathways were found that lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime. The pathways for states located in the South show that the combination of not weak religion and high inequality with either weak education or weak polity lead to high serious crime. The pathways for states not located in the South show

more diversity with four pathways leading to high serious crime. Weak family, in combination with other institutions, leads to high serious crime. More generally, the findings demonstrate the importance of cultural issues beyond the American Dream. For example, states located in the South have distinctly different cultural issues with race playing a central role. In addition, this study determined the pathways that lead to not high serious crime. The majority of states not in the set of high serious crime are not located in the South. The four pathways to not high serious crime for states not located in the South had not high inequality in common. Further, these pathways suggest that the combination of not high inequality with not weak family and not weak religion or not weak family and not weak education leads to not high serious crime. These results point to a need for reducing inequality coupled with strengthening primary and secondary sites of socialization, important sources of informal social control, as a way to reduce high serious crime.

The limitations of this dissertation are the cross-sectional nature of the study and U.S. states as the unit of analysis. Future research should: (1) test the findings from this study with data from different points in time, particularly from similar social structures of accumulation; (2) use countries as the unit of analysis in order to assess if pathways to high serious crime differ among countries; and (3) let the pathways that lead to high serious crime indicate which interaction effects to include in quantitative RIAT research.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Messner and Rosenfeld (1994; 2013) developed institutional anomie theory (IAT) in the early 1990s as an explanation for high rates of serious crime in the United States when compared with other industrialized countries. They theorize that high serious crime rates are the result of a culture that values material gain as the primary goal (i.e., the American Dream) combined with a weak social institutional structure. The empirical literature testing IAT has provided mixed results. I argue that IAT must be reconstructed because Messner and Rosenfeld: (1) discount religion as a social institution of importance; (2) exclude high inequality as a source of structural blockages; and (3) use the concept of the American Dream as a proxy for neoliberal capitalist ideology. As such, I argue that high serious crime rates are the result of the combination of economically-dominated non-economic social institutions – family, religion, education, and polity –coupled with high inequality, and the neoliberal social structure of accumulation.

Purpose of the Study

There are four purposes of this dissertation: (1) to investigate the assumptions of institutional anomie theory; (2) to connect the theory to the history of the social institutions; (3) to add historical context to the theory by considering the changing nature

of capitalism; and (4) to determine the pathways, or configurations, of weak social institutions that lead to high serious crime. Institutional anomie theory assumes that high rates of serious crime can be explained by both culture and social structure, namely the social institutions. While Messner and Rosenfeld acknowledge that crime is normal, they do not address when crime becomes abnormal. Further, culture and social structure are both rooted within specific historical contexts and both have changed overtime in response to shifts in the structural arrangements of capitalism. Therefore, I use social structure of accumulation theory to add the missing context of political-economy to the theory.

Research Questions and Design

For this dissertation, there are two research questions: (1) What are the pathways that lead to high serious crime in the 50 U.S. states? (2) What are the pathways that lead to not high serious crime in the 50 U.S. state? Previous theorizing and research has treated the United States as a homogenous unit. However, crime rates and social institutional strength vary among the U.S. states. I use qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) to determine the configurations, or pathways, of social institutions that lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime. QCA uses Boolean logic in order to determine the pathways that lead to the outcome of interest. The five conditions initially included in the analysis are weak family, weak religion, weak education, weak polity, and high inequality. I collected the data for this dissertation from many sources (e.g., the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the Pew Research Center) for 2007.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation contributes to both criminological theory and the method of qualitative comparative analysis. I reconstructed IAT into revised institutional anomie theory (RIAT) to take into account the historical context when Messner and Rosenfeld developed it (i.e., neoliberal capitalism), a fuller understanding of culture by including religion as a social institution of interest and location in the South, and structural blockages to opportunity through high inequality. As a result of these changes, RIAT can now work towards explaining high rates of serious crime among countries as it is no longer beholden to the concept of the American Dream. I also contribute to criminology, as a discipline, by using QCA as the method for this dissertation. QCA challenges researchers to consider theories in terms of configurations of statements that lead to the outcome of interest. Future researchers could use the same approach to reconstruct other criminological theories. Finally, I contribute to QCA as a method. Critics of QCA argue that researchers using the method have not been transparent when constructing sets and have used only single-indicators for set construction. I addressed both of these criticisms by using cluster analysis with multiple indicators in order to construct the sets of weak religion, weak polity, high inequality, and high serious crime. Cluster analysis is useful because it is case-based, like QCA, and locates cases within clusters based on spatial relationships.

Limitations of the Dissertation

The limitations of this dissertation are the cross-sectional nature of the study and the use of the 50 U.S. states as the unit of analysis. Future research should: (1) test the

findings from this dissertation with data from different points in time, particularly from similar social structures of accumulation; (2) use countries as the unit of analysis in order to assess if pathways to high serious crime differ among countries; and (3) let the pathways that lead to high serious crime indicate which interaction effects to include in quantitative RIAT research.

Organization of the Study

In Chapter 2, I describe institutional anomie theory as it was originally formulated by Messner and Rosenfeld. IAT focuses on the institutional imbalance of power created by economic domination of non-economic social institutions and are able to sidestep many of the criticisms that have plagued the theory, including a failure to address differential opportunity and social stratification, a failure to consider the history of the concept of the American Dream and capitalism in the United States, problems with the definition of serious crime, and the exclusion of important social institutions of interest. Then I review the empirical literature testing IAT in Chapter 3. I identify several gaps in the literature, including: (1) the assumption that the United States is a homogenous country; (2) inconsistent conceptualization and operationalization of high serious crime; (3) inconsistent conceptualization and operationalization of the social institutions; and (4) overreliance on quantitative methods. These two chapters set the foundation for Chapter 4 where I present revised IAT. RIAT is a departure from IAT because I replace the concept of the American Dream with a more complete understanding of the cultural pressures towards crime. I do this in two ways. First, I argue that the neoliberal SSA is supported by an ideology that encourages individualism, personal responsibility, the

attainment of goods and services required for life through financing, and free-market

solutions to social problems. Second, I consider how the neoliberal SSA has changed the

social institutions of family, religion, education, and polity. I further argue that the

institutions of the neoliberal SSA create an environment ripe for high inequality and that

high inequality causes structural blockages to success and reinforces neoliberal

institutions.

Chapters 5 through 7 outline my research strategy. In Chapter 5, I present an

overview of QCA. Charles Ragin (1987) developed QCA as a middle-ground between

traditional quantitative and qualitative methods. It is a case-based method that challenges

researchers to think configurationally. One of the criticisms of QCA is the use of

dichotomized conditions. Many QCA researchers only use one indicator to represent

complex social phenomena and are not transparent in their construction of the sets. In

order to address these problems, I use cluster analysis to construct the sets of high serious

crime, weak religion, weak polity, and high inequality. Cluster analysis is useful because

it uses algorithms to minimize the distance between cases within a cluster, while

maximizing the distance between clusters. As such, I use multiple indicators in the set

construction and set the thresholds in a meaningful way. In Chapter 6, I discuss the set

construction of the outcome of interest, high serious crime. In Chapter 7, I discuss the set

construction for the conditions: weak family, weak religion, weak education, weak polity,

and high inequality.

I present the findings in Chapter 8. This dissertation challenges the argument that

the United States should be treated as a homogenous country. Multiple institutional

pathways are found that lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime. The

pathways for states located in the South show that the combination of not weak religion and high inequality with either weak education or weak polity lead to high serious crime. The pathways for states not located in the South show more diversity with four pathways leading to high serious crime. Weak family, in combination with other institutions, lead to high serious crime. More generally, the findings demonstrate the importance of cultural issues beyond the American Dream. For example, states located in the South have distinctly different cultural issues with race playing a central role.

In addition, this dissertation reveals the pathways that lead to not high serious crime. QCA assumes that pathways to high serious crime will not be symmetrical. The majority of states not in the set of high serious crime are not located in the South. The four pathways to not high serious crime for states not located in the South have not high inequality in common. Further, these pathways suggest that the combination of not high inequality with not weak family and not weak religion or not weak family and not weak education leads to not high serious crime. These results point to a need for reducing inequality coupled with strengthening primary and secondary sites of socialization, important sources of informal social control, as a way to reduce high serious crime.

Finally, in Chapter 9, I describe the policy implications of this dissertation. Since the findings include both pathways to high serious crime and pathways to not high serious crime, I leverage this information to create tailored policy recommendations based on both. For example, all of the pathways leading to high serious crime in the deep South included not weak religion. Thus, I focused on pathways to not high serious crime that also included not weak religion for the deep South. These policy implications suggest that much can be done in order to reduce high rates of serious crime.

CHAPTER 2

INSTITUTIONAL ANOMIE THEORY: THE ORIGINAL FORMULATION

"An economy based on endless growth is unsustainable" – Muse

Messner and Rosenfeld's institutional anomie theory (IAT) argues that crime rates vary among societies because an institutional imbalance of power exists that favors the economy in combination with a cultural mandate to acquire material wealth and a de-emphasis on legal means for doing so. This macro-level criminological theory breaks with individual-level explanations of crime by focusing on social structure and culture, and the relationship between them, as the locus of the root causes of crime. In this chapter, I first describe Messner and Rosenfeld's theory as originally proposed with attention to the role of social institutions in providing informal social control and the ways that the economy – particularly during the neoliberal era – impedes the functioning of non-economic social institutions. Next, I assess criticisms of IAT. While IAT sought to build upon Merton's (1938) essay, "Social Structure and Anomie," Messner and Rosenfeld left out Merton's important insights of the detrimental effects of social stratification and differential opportunity from IAT. Further, Messner and Rosenfeld dismiss the importance of religion as a norm-regulating and value-providing social institution. Perhaps the most troubling omission from IAT is the lack of historical context as Messner and Rosenfeld treat capitalism and the American Dream as static

constructs. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the reformulation of the theory that I will fully present in Chapter 4.

IAT: An Accidental Theory

Messner and Rosenfeld's book, *Crime and the American Dream,* first published in 1994, provided an explanation for the high rates of crime experienced by the United States. While they did not originally set out to create a new general theory of crime (Chamlin and Cochran 2007), Chamlin and Cochran (1995) christened Messner and Rosenfeld's work a theory in a 1995 article published in *Criminology*. In this section, I describe the theory as it was initially proposed in order to assess later criticisms.

U.S. Experience of Crime

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) argue that crime rates in the United States are exceptionally high when compared with other industrialized countries and that the U.S. experience of crime and punishment is unique. They support their argument with cross-national comparisons of serious crime rates and imprisonment statistics. The data from the first edition of *Crime and the American Dream* (1994) come from the 1980s, when crime rates where increasing. Subsequent editions used the same comparisons with more recent crime data. The most current available data conforms to Messner and Rosenfeld's arguments and I present these data below.

The United States has high rates of serious crime when compared with other countries. According to the International Crime Victimization Survey, the United States had a victimization rate of 17.5 percent of the population in 2005. This victimization rate is higher than the OECD average of 15.5 percent, but lower than many of the other

OECD countries, including Ireland, New Zealand, Iceland, and the United Kingdom (OECD 2009). Second, the United States has much higher rates of lethal violence. For example, between 2006 and 2008, there was an average of 5.6 homicides per 100,000 population in the United States. During the same time period, Japan, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, Germany, The Netherlands, and Sweden each had homicide rates of less than one per 100,000 population (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2013). Finally, the United States tends to respond to crime with overzealous use of incarceration. In 2009, the United States had a prison and jail population rate of 760 per 100,000 population compared with an average incarceration rate of 119 for all OECD countries excluding the United States (OECD 2010).

Messner and Rosenfeld argue the cause of higher crime rates in the United States can be located in the social structure and culture, and the relationship between them. Specifically, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:6) state, "High crime rates are intrinsic to the basic cultural commitments and institutional arrangements of American society. In short, at all social levels, America is organized for crime." The "cultural commitments" Messner and Rosenfeld allude to are directly linked to their conception of the American Dream. Likewise, the "institutional arrangements" refer to the power imbalance between social institutions with the economy dominating all other social institutions.

Criminological Underpinnings of IAT

Messner and Rosenfeld draw on three theoretical traditions in their explanation of U.S. crime rates. These theoretical perspectives include cultural and social learning theories, social disorganization and control theories, and anomie-strain theories. Within each of the traditions, Messner and Rosenfeld focus on the similarities between micro-

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and macro-level explanations. Over time, Messner and Rosenfeld and the subsequent empirical research has emphasized the importance of anomie-strain theories to the detriment of the theory. In other words, while the IAT integrates three theoretical traditions, researchers have focused on the institutional arrangements. Thus, social disorganization theory and social learning theory have been neglected.

Culture and social learning theories emphasize the role of culturally transmitted norms and values in the causation of criminal behavior. As Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:53) note, "Crime is normal, in a word, because it is social, and it is no less social than conformity." From this theory, Messner and Rosenfeld focus on crime rates and not the specific motives of individuals. They assume, following Durkheim, that crime is normal and performs the social function of demarcating the moral boundaries of society, thus setting the limits for socially acceptable behavior.

From theories of disorganization and control, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) draw the importance of institutional frameworks. Social groups, such as neighborhoods and communities, provide the social structure necessary for the functioning of society. The social control aspect of these theories, particularly the need for informal social control, is often downplayed in the empirical research with many researchers focusing on the so-called strength of social institutions.

Finally, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) use anomie-strain theories to combine the insights from cultural-learning theories and social disorganization-control theories. They conclude that culture and social institutions must be combined in order to come to a more complete understanding of high serious crime in the United States.

Culture: The American Dream[1]

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) identify the American Dream as the primary

expression of culture in the United States. They define the American Dream as "a broad

cultural ethos that entails a commitment to the goal of material success, to be pursued by

everyone in society, under conditions of open, individual competition" (Messner and

Rosenfeld 2013:6). This characterization of the American Dream emphasizes the

attainment of middle class lifestyle as being the primary goal of all Americans. Messner

and Rosenfeld (2013) identify four characteristics of the American Dream, including: (1)

achievement; (2) individualism; (3) universalism; and (4) the fetishism of money. People

are expected to strive for the American Dream and demonstrate commitment to it by

working individually and competitively. Coming in first place is the way one achieves,

while anything less is considered failure. Further, all Americans are universally expected

to work towards the American Dream. One's social origins do not matter, for as long as

one is willing to work hard enough, achievement of the American Dream is possible.

The main indicator of success is money, and there is an incessant drive to obtain more

money. For example, one should always strive to buy a newer car, bigger house, or

fancier clothes.

Messner and Rosenfeld assume the drive to achieve the American Dream

permeates the primary social institutions of the family, education, and the polity.

Focusing on the institutional imbalance of power, Messner and Rosenfeld argue that

"[c]ulture does not exist in isolation from social structure but rather is expressed in,

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[1] This section describes Messner and Rosenfeld's approach to culture and the concept of
the American Dream. I take issue with Messner and Rosenfeld's characterization of the
American Dream and argue that it is not necessary for the theory in the following section.

reproduced by, and occasionally impeded by social structure" (2013:74). By studying

social institutions, Messner and Rosenfeld are studying the manifestations of culture.

They are, in effect, proposing that a society that values achievement and individualism

expects all members to be universally invested in the American Dream, and idolizes

money, causes non-economic social institutions to be less able to perform their

traditionally mandated socialization and social control functions.

Social Structure: Economic Dominance

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) rely heavily on Bassis, Gelles, and Levine (1991)

for their discussion of social institutions, including quoting their definition for

institutions. Bassis and colleagues (1991:41) define institutions as "'relatively stable sets

of norms and values, statuses and roles, and groups and organizations' that regulate

human conduct to meet the basic needs of society." Institutions are tasked with helping

society adapt to its environment, distributing resources, and socializing individuals. For

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013), the social institutions of interest include the economy,

family, education, and polity. Each social institution performs important functions for

society. For example, the economy is the social institution responsible for providing the

means of survival including the production of goods and services. The polity serves as

the rule make and umpire in the market and is responsible for the distribution and

mobilization of power, as well as the protection of citizens and property. The family and

education are responsible for socializing individuals to the norms and values of society

(Messner and Rosenfeld 2013).[2]

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[2] Messner and Rosenfeld's discussion of social institutions has an underlying tone that
belies the unequal relationship between the social institutions. The economy is
responsible for providing access to the goods and services necessary for survival

An additional function of social institutions is the provision of social control – both formal and informal. Turner (2004) argues that the primary social institutions include family (or kinship), religion, education, economy, polity, and law.[3] The first five institutions are sources of informal social control, while the latter is the primary source of formal social control. At the most basic level, informal social control prevents and corrects deviations from norms and values, while formal social control punishes law violations. It should be noted, however, that the law plays an important role by working through the other social institutions. For example, states legislate child rearing through defining child abuse and the form and content of education. In societies that emphasize the economy over other social institutions, as described below, non-economic social institutions are less able to fulfill their informal social control functions.

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) argue that the cultural pressure to achieve in the American Dream has resulted in the institutional balance of power shifting towards the economy. They theorize that non-economic social institutions are less able to constrain individual's desires and passions and the reduction of social regulation that comes from this institutional breakdown of norms and values is the result of economic dominance. Economic dominance manifests in three ways: (1) devaluation of non-economic functions and roles; (2) accommodation to economic requirements by other institutions; and (3)

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including "food, clothing, and shelter" (Messner and Rosenfeld 2013:75). The prominence of the economy in governing social life is a relatively recent invention. Turner (2004) argues that family, not the economy, was the social institution responsible for the organization of social life until the very recent past. However, Messner and Rosenfeld's discussion of social institutions serving the economy is congruent with economist David North's (1991; 2005) treatment of institutions.

[3] For this study, I focus on the provision of informal social control by the non-economic social institutions. In my future research, I will consider the role of formal social control provided by the criminal justice system in the institutional imbalance of power.

penetration of economic norms into other institutional domains. In the following

sections, I describe the manifestations of economic domination in the family, education,

and polity with attention to what has always been and what is new since the 1980s.

   Economic Domination of the Family. Arguably, the most important social

institution is the family when it pertains to socialization of members to cultural norms

and values, informal social control of behavior, and provision of access to other social

institutions. The family is responsible for providing primary socialization and, when

children are ready, making introductions to secondary socializers (Berger and Luckmann

1967), as well as controlling children's behavior. Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) argue

that the family has been the site of much economic infiltration and has become dominated

by the economy.[4]

   Devaluation of familial roles can be exemplified by the role of mothers. Women

who are homemakers are not viewed as having "real" jobs. Instead, societal norms

dictate that women work the "second shift" (Hochschild 2003) and maintain their homes

while working full time outside the home. A 2011 study from the Pew Research Center

found, mothers included in the survey spent an average of 32 hours per week on childcare

and housework, while fathers included in the survey averaged 17 hours per week (Parker

and Wang 2013). Fathers do average more paid work hours than mothers, but when one

considers that 60 percent of two-parent households have two working parents, the

existence of the second shift is clear. As Crittenden (2001:6) notes, "Nannies earn Social

Security credits; mothers at home do not." Further, when housework or childcare is

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[4] In the following sections, I follow Messner and Rosenfeld's discussion of these social
institutions. In Chapter 4, I discuss my revision of the theory.

outsourced to domestic workers, these workers, more often than not women, are poorly paid (Ridgeway and Correll 2004).

Accommodation of the family to the economy is evident in that employment in the labor market and performing one's job becomes more important than participating in family life. For example, Gangl and Ziefle (2009:365) found that, "American mothers take much less time off for childcare, and they are much less likely to enter part-time jobs, typically female jobs, or low-prestige occupations in response to childbirth than mothers in Britain and Germany." Thus, American mothers are deeply aware of the "wage penalty" for motherhood and respond accordingly.

Even before the child is born, women must decide when to disclose pregnancy to employers, as pregnant women are often seen as sickly, less capable, and fragile. Some women fear that disclosing pregnancy may result in unfavorable treatment such as unsatisfactory performance reviews or the denial of promotions (King and Botsford 2009). As a result of the need to manage the stigma of pregnancy, women must choose which role to emphasize – the role of mother-to-be, or the role of capable worker.

In addition, the language of the economy penetrates family structure. Marriage has been viewed historically as a business contract between two families. Strikingly, marriage for love or romance is a relatively recent development. Becker (1973) refers to marriage as one potential outcome of men and women participating in the "marriage market," where men and women trade skills and services. Similarly, Pollack (1985) views marriage as the merger of two independent firms through the management of contracts. However, both of these approaches to marriage emphasize equality between the genders and the primary commodity of children. McCarte (1987) argues that both of

these approaches dismiss the hierarchical nature of marriage and suggest that marriage should be viewed as an employment contract. Given the unequal costs incurred by women due to children and the expectations of unpaid housework, the employment model suggests that women can be replaced "at will" when they are unable or unwilling to do women's work.

It is easiest to see how economic dominance has taken root in the family, but the other social institutions in the United States – education and the polity – have also become economically dominated. It is to these other social institutions that I turn next.

Economic Domination of Education. The primary function of education is to teach the masses, act as a site of secondary socialization, and exert informal social control. Public education has been available in the United States since the late 1800s and has always served the dual role of educating children and providing a place for children to be monitored while parents worked (Muncie 2004). In the 20th century, education continued to serve these functions and has since become further dominated by the economy.

Education has been devalued in several ways. First, states provide less per-capita funding for the education of children. Notably, most states are providing less funding during the 2013-2014 school year than they did prior to the recession. As Leachman and Mai (2013:1) from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities note, "At a time when states and the nation are trying to produce workers with the skills to master new technologies and adapt to the complexities of a global economy, this decline in state educational investment is cause for concern." This speaks directly to the issue of devaluation. Essentially, policymakers argue that we need to increase education for well-

skilled workers, signaling a departure from the purpose of education of providing

informal social control and secondary socialization. Further evidence of this devaluation

is provided in the funding of higher education where the cost of college has gradually

shifted from the states to students and their families. For example, Figure 2.1 (below)

shows the ratio of net tuition per full-time enrollment (FTE) to educational appropriations

per FTE steadily increased between 1987 and 2012 in the United States (SHEEO 2013).

In addition, households with student loan debt have increased from nine percent in 1989

to 19 percent in 2010 (Fry 2012). Taken together, students and their families are paying

more for higher education.
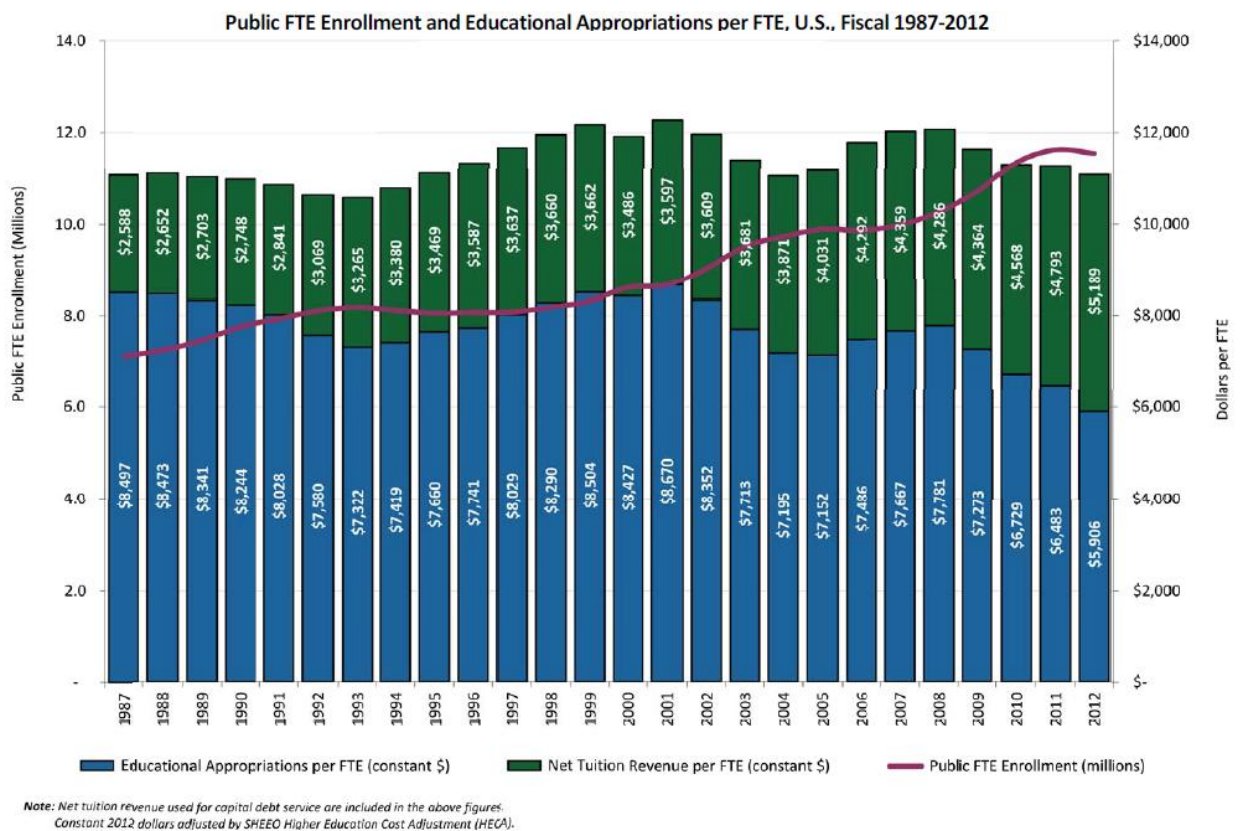
Figure 2.1: Public FTE Enrollment and Educational Appropriates per FTE, 1987 – 2012
(SHEEO 2013:21)

Analogous to the role of mothers, the role of teachers has been devalued over time. One only needs to call to mind the saying, "Those who can't, teach." This mantra is exemplified when, in a discussion of the language of disability, Rousmaniere (2013:102) states, "Across American movie and television screens, principals and teachers are regularly portrayed as neurotics, obsessives, bullies, alcoholics, and drug addicts who suffer mental disorders and physical weakness." Such people are deemed unfit for the 'traditional' labor market and, as such, are relegated to teaching children. If one is unable to do real work, then the next course of action is to teach. Of course, this paradox hardly makes sense as the primary function of schooling under neoliberalism is for children to learn how to function in the free market as adults. If the very people who are charged with teaching this vital skill set are deemed unworthy of the market, the greater message is that children must learn to work or end up in a ridiculed profession.

Education accommodates to the economy by changing the emphasis of education from learning about new ideas and gaining knowledge to become well-informed citizens, to acquiring the skills needed for the workplace. Those who are unable to participate in high school are provided with two options for obtaining their high school credential: (1) the GED or (2) attending a charter school with flexible scheduling. Some charter schools now offer morning, afternoon, and evening classes so that students who work still are able to attend. This move towards flexible scheduling is also occurring at the university level with the proliferation of online and night courses. The language of flexibility has been recently explored as it pertains to both primary schooling and higher education. While increasing flexibility for students in higher education has been occurring for some

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time, primary and secondary education are beginning to adopt these practices as well (Burge, Gibson, and Gibson 2011).

The economy has penetrated higher education, particularly with the shift from student as learner, to student as customer. No longer do students act as if their primary purpose for being in college is learning. Instead, students believe that since they have paid for a class that they have paid for a passing grade. As a result, grade inflation is a cause for concern as colleges work to remain competitive (George 2007). Instructors and professors now need to worry about providing quality customer service in order to respond to the increasing use of student evaluations. Langbein (2008) found that professors were more likely to give higher grades to students when student evaluations were used in tenure and promotion decisions. By tying pay to student evaluations, professors have a vested interest in keeping students happy (i.e., giving higher grades). At the K-12 level, teachers must worry about teaching to the test and making sure that their students are able to pass standardized tests, not ensuring that students learn the material. In summary, education is no longer about teaching individuals how to learn or think for themselves. Instead, as Noam Chomsky (2012) noted in a presentation at the Learning without Frontiers conference, education is for the purpose of indoctrination or maintaining the status quo.

Another example of the economy penetrating education is corporate sponsorship for school programs and pay-for-grades schemes. Book It!, a reading program introduced by Pizza Hut in 1984 that reaches 14 million children annually, rewards children for meeting reading goals with certificates for free pizza. Essentially, children are *paid* for reading. Flora and Flora (1999) conducted a study to assess whether participation in

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Book It! or being paid for reading by parents affected the amount and/or enjoyment of reading by college students (n=171). They found that participation in Book It! or being paid by parents had no effect on intrinsic motivation for reading. In another study, Bettinger (2012) found that paying children for passing state exams increased math test scores, but had no effect on reading, social science, or science test scores. Both of these studies emphasize the penetration of the economy into education by providing economic incentives for children to do *their jobs*.

Economic Domination of the Polity. Finally, the economy now dominates the polity. First, voter turnout rates in the United States are very low. Compared with other advanced capitalist nations, in the congressional elections in 2010, 41.6 percent of registered voters voted (IDEA 2011). Historically, the United States has experienced low voting rates, while most other established democracies experience voter turnout of 70 percent or higher (Pintor and Gratschew 2002). Australia, notably, had 92.3 percent voter turnout for its 2010 elections (IDEA 2011). Part of the problem stems from the fact that people do not believe that their vote matters or that the government legitimately represents them (Messner and Rosenfeld 2013). Of course some might question if the U.S. system of politics could ever represent the needs and wants of the citizenry given the two-party system and winner take all approach. Some countries ensure that voting matters by using proportional representation systems (IDEA 2011). If citizens do not believe that lawmakers or the laws that they create are legitimate, then anomie is likely to increase due to the inability of the polity to maintain informal social control.

The polity accommodates to the economy by not emphasizing the importance of voting. Many people are denied the right to vote through the fact that they are required to

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work. People of lower socioeconomic status, when they are able to find work, are not typically granted time off in order to engage in their civic duty of voting (Wolfinger, Highton, and Mullin 2005; Primo, Jacobsmeier, and Milyo 2007). Furthermore, precincts in low-income and minority communities are more likely to be of low quality, defined by lack of accessibility, poor lighting, uncomfortable waiting areas, and minimal privacy (Barreto, Cohen-Marks, and Woods 2009). The findings of these studies are corroborated by the November 2012 Current Population Survey. Of those surveyed (n=19,141), 18.9 percent said that they did not vote due to being too busy or having schedule conflicts. Individuals with income between $15,000 to 19,999 stated that they did not vote due to illness or disability (26.4%), not being interested (15.0%), too busy or schedule conflicts (13.7%), not liking the candidates (13.2%), or transportation problems (9.6%) (U.S. Census 2012). This is perhaps the clearest example of how the economy dominates the polity. People understand that if they do not work they will not be able to provide for their children. The negative consequences of not voting are far removed and intangible to the average person.

Third, the economy penetrates the polity. The best example of penetration of economic concerns into the polity is the increasing use of campaign financing and contributions. Most states have some sort of regulations that are meant to control the flow of money from donors to candidates. However, these laws are largely symbolic and are hardly enforced. Consequently, the United States has shifted from a democracy to a "dollarocracy" (Nichols and McChesney 2013). Another way that the economy dominates the polity is through the use of the media to 'market' candidates. Large sums of money are spent on advertising for political campaigns. As Nichols and McChesney

(2013) point out, the more similar two candidates are, the more their differences need to be accentuated in order to draw votes. Treating candidates as products further illustrates the power of the economy over the polity.

The language of running government as a business has been perpetuated by the increasing number of businessmen[5] turned politicians. The most recent national example of this occurrence is the presidential campaign of Donald Trump. He is campaigning on the premise that he will be a good president because he is able to make tough business decisions. This view of "government as business" argues that government should be "cost effective, as small as possible in relation to its tasks, competitive, entrepreneurial, and dedicated to 'pleasing the customer'" (Box 1999:19).

Summary of IAT

Figure 2.2 (below) summarizes Messner and Rosenfeld's explanation for high serious crime rates in the United States. The cultural aspect of the theory consists of the inner workings of the American Dream. Anomie results from the pressure to achieve monetary success coupled with a weak emphasis on the means for attaining that success in American culture. The social structural side of the theory consists of economic dominance over non-economic social institutions. Messner and Rosenfeld emphasize the interactions between the economy, polity, family, and education. As the dominance of the economy manifests itself, institutional social controls become weaker and wider support for non-economic social institutions wavers.

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[5] Here I use the gendered language of "men in politics" because men have dominated U.S., and global, politics throughout history.
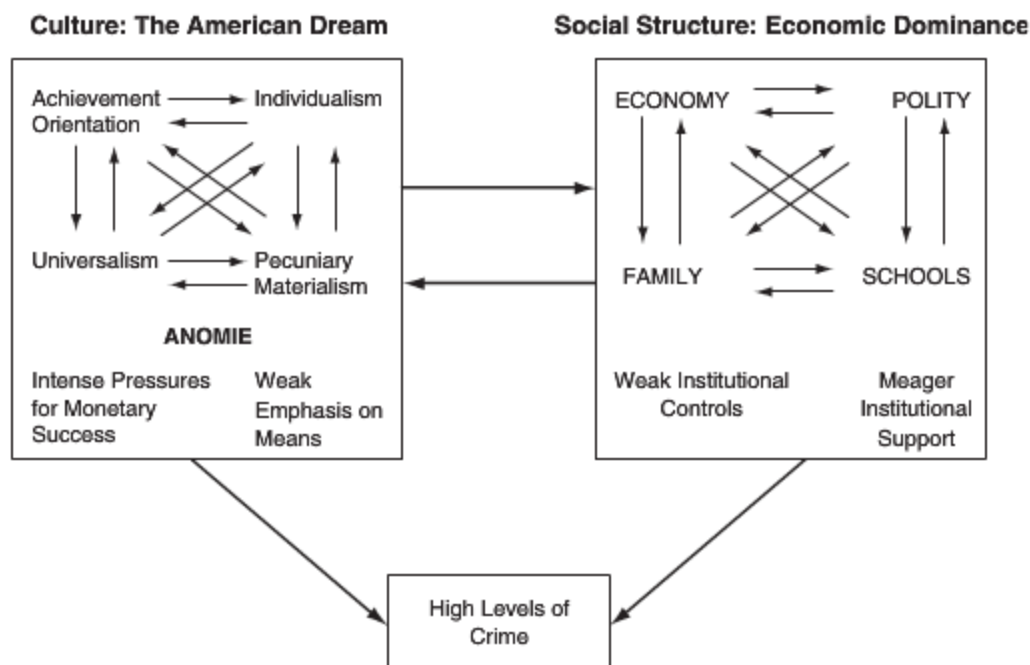
Figure 2.2: An Analytical Model of Macrosocial Organization and Crime (Messner and Rosenfeld 2013:88)

Interestingly, this diagram gives equal weight to the multiple pathways to high serious crime rates. As written by Messner and Rosenfeld and tested empirically by others, IAT suggests that a culture focused on material gain leads to weak, economically-dominated social institutions. In turn, these weakened social institutions lead to high serious crime rates. The diagram would also suggest that weak social institutions that provide little support for non-economic roles lead to a culture that emphasizes material gain and then to high serious crime rates. Finally, the culture of the American Dream and weakened social institutions are hypothesized to independently lead to high serious crime as they are less able to fulfill their social control functions. The significance of this observation will be made clear in Chapter 5.

Criticisms of IAT

Institutional anomie theory has been criticized by many theorists for being too vague and abstract. As a result, the concepts of IAT are difficult to operationalize (Messner and Rosenfeld 2008). I address the majority of the criticisms of the theory here, while leaving my discussion of how the core concepts of IAT have been operationalized and the current empirical status of the theory for the next chapter.

IAT and Structural Inequality

The dominant criticism leveled against institutional anomie theory is Messner and Rosenfeld's failure to incorporate social and economic inequality into the theoretical framework (Sasson 1995). IAT abandons the notion of structural inequality that is embedded in earlier formulations of strain/anomie theory. Merton (1938), in his classic essay, "Social Structure and Anomie," locates the cause of crime and delinquency simultaneously in the anomie produced by the cultural over-emphasis on the goal of monetary success, and the strain towards anomie produced by a blocked opportunity structure that limits access to the legitimate means of success of those at the bottom of the class structure. Thus, the cultural structure and the social structure in the United States are both criminogenic. There are five potential adaptations that individuals may embrace with regard to acceptance of the means for achieving the culturally prescribed goals and the acceptance of those goals, including: (1) conformity; (2) ritualism; (3) innovation; (4) retreatism; and (5) rebellion. Merton (1938) suggests that criminality and deviance are most likely to be found in the innovation adaptation.[6] People in this group are the most

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[6] Those who reject the legitimate means and reject the culturally approved goals are known as retreatists. Examples of these individuals include the homeless, mentally ill, and substance abusers. Each of these groups are socially marginalized and live on the

likely to accept the goals of the cultural goal of monetary success, but likely to reject the legitimate means of attaining this goal. Those who innovate are likely to experience structural blockages that prevent them from accessing legitimate means of goal attainment such as racism, sexism, or poverty. While Messner and Rosenfeld do not include issues of structural inequality directly in their theory, they do suggest that IAT can explain why crime is patterned along racial and gender lines. For example, Messner and Rosenfeld argue that men internalize the culture of the American Dream more completely than women and are, therefore, more prone to violence in furtherance of cultural goals. Additionally, African Americans internalize the American Dream as much as whites do. However, they are more likely to experience blocked opportunities. African American men are disproportionately represented in the U.S. criminal justice system. As a result, families are fractured and single mothers are forced to find ways to provide for children alone (Messner and Rosenfeld 2013).

One way to address the issue of structural inequality in institutional approach is by integrating a theory of political economy that explains structural inequality with IAT. As I will argue below, missing from IAT is the inclusion of class struggle. As the institutional power balance shifts towards the economy, workers are left to continue striving towards the American Dream while maintaining the non-economic social institutions that reproduce new workers and hold together the cultural fabric of society. Some workers will be more able than others to balance this contradiction. Messner and

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fringe of society. Rebels also reject the legitimate means and reject the culturally approved goals, but, importantly, this group substitutes their own means and new goals. The first three adaptations respond well to the economy dominating non-economic social institutions in that these adaptations are still striving to achieve the culturally approved goals and the institutional imbalance reinforces cultural values . Conversely, economic imbalance further drives retreatists and rebels away from society.

Rosenfeld may not have addressed this issue directly, but in order to understand how the economy has come to dominate the institutional balance of power, one must look to theories of political economy, such as social structure of accumulation theory.[7]

The Ahistorical Nature of the American Dream Concept

As previously noted, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) draw from Merton's classic essay. They agree that high serious crime rates are the result of the social structure and culture. While Merton does not use the concept of the American Dream in his original essay, many others have associated the American Dream with him. As Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) note, the phrase the American Dream was first coined by James Truslow Adams in his 1931 book, *The Epic of America*. Adams (1931:317) defines the American Dream as,

> that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement. It is a difficult dream for the European upper classes to interpret adequately, and too many of ourselves have grown weary and mistrustful of it. It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position.

This definition of the American Dream emphasizes that Americans are striving for a better life, but how one goes about defining "better" is up for debate. Adams argues that better does not necessarily mean additional consumer goods or wealth. Rather, he paints a picture of a better life that encourages people of all types to live their lives to the best of their abilities.

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[7] I discuss SSA theory further in Chapter 4. For the time being, I use this chapter to describe the original theory and identify deficiencies.

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:126), without mention of Adams's definition,

define the American Dream as,

> the commitment to the goal of monetary success, to be pursued by all
> members of society, under conditions of open, individual competition.
> The most important and valuable theme running through this cultural ethos
> is that of a universal entitlement to strive for a better life, which can be
> attained as a consequence of one's own achievements. In other words, the
> American Dream empowers everyone to dream about a brighter future and
> participate in the creation of that future.

This definition is the antithesis of what Adams initially proposed. For example, Adams

argues that people should strive to be the best version of themselves and explicitly states

that material goods and wealth are not the goal of the American Dream. The version of

the American Dream that Messner and Rosenfeld describe is decidedly neoliberal in

orientation.[8]

The Neoliberal American Dream

Messner and Rosenfeld argue that the combination of a cultural mandate that

demands striving towards monetary success (i.e., the American Dream) with weak social

institutions is the source of high serious crime rates in the United States. However,

Messner and Rosenfeld sidestep the American Dream in favor of their institutional

discussion. Thus, one must consider if the concept of the American Dream adds any

explanatory power to the theory. With the exception of Jensen (2002), Cullen et al.

(2004), Bame-Aldred et al. (2013), Hirtenlehner et al. (2013), Baumer and Gustafson

(2007), and Stults and Baumer (2008), few researchers have included the cultural

component (i.e., the American Dream) of IAT. With the exception of the last two

studies, the majority of these studies used countries as the unit of analysis and generally

found weak support for the hypotheses derived from the American Dream. Even

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[8] I describe the neoliberal ideology in more detail in Chapter 4.

Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) failed to include commitment to the American Dream in their study. Failure to consider the American Dream in past IAT research suggests that this concept is not salient to the study of the relationship between economically dominated social institutions and high serious crime.

This is not to say that the American Dream does not have a role in creating the environment conducive to tipping the capital-labor balance towards capital. I see the American Dream as being part of the social structure of accumulation that supports capital accumulation and/or profit maximization. During the postwar era, the American Dream primarily supported the ideals of home ownership and working towards the good life. The post-war period saw the focus of the American Dream shift away from self-betterment to upward mobility, albeit for different people. For many people, the post-war era was positive. The war had ended, soldiers were returning home, and life was returning to some semblance of normal. During this post-war period, the dream consisted of a good life, a good job with retirement benefits, and a good home. Many whites were able to achieve the dream of homeownership (one of the most persistent components of the American Dream) through the subsidization of housing by the federal government and the creation of suburban life (Cullen 2003; Samuel 2012). It supported the postwar SSA by encouraging Americans to purchase homes and continue working in manufacturing jobs that provided both a secure retirement for workers and the industrial production needed by capital. Similarly, the American Dream, albeit in a different form, has supported the neoliberal SSA. The contemporary definition of the American Dream emphasizes obtaining the symbols of success, even when consumer debt finances those

symbols. Thus, the American Dream supports the profit drive of the neoliberal SSA by providing workers with reasons to consume.

Messner and Rosenfeld's (2013) definition and subsequent explanation of the American Dream are consistent with the characteristics of neoliberalism. They define the American Dream as "the commitment to the goals of monetary success, to be pursued by all members of society, under conditions of open, individual competition" (Messner and Rosenfeld 2013:126). Similarly, neoliberalism "proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2005:2). Americans have been tasked with developing marketable skills that they can use to acquire consumer goods as evidence of their success. Furthermore, both Messner and Rosenfeld's view of the American Dream and the characteristics of neoliberalism include an emphasis on the free market and individualism.

Both neoliberalism and the American Dream include an emphasis on the free market. Neoliberalism suggests that the free market should be used to regulate conflicts between parties, including providing access to social welfare benefits. Likewise, the American Dream suggests that leveraging the free market to the best of one's abilities is *the* way to attain the dream. As the cultural/ideological component of the theory, the American Dream actually serves as one of the institutional arrangements that supports the neoliberal SSA and is akin to the role of government. By emphasizing the "goals of monetary success," Messner and Rosenfeld exclude all other reasonable cultural goals,

including the good life, and suggest that the American Dream can be purchased. In other words, money truly can buy happiness.

Neoliberalism and Messner and Rosenfeld's characterization of the American Dream both emphasize the power of the individual. Neoliberalism celebrates the achievements of the many, but singles out the failures of individuals. If one is unable to provide for him or herself, under the logic of the neoliberal American Dream, then it is solely his/her fault. Society is not to blame for one's failures, nor should society provide assistance towards reaching the American Dream. If one needs assistance achieving the American Dream all one needs to do is consider how the free market may help.

Thus, in revised institutional anomie theory (RIAT), I replace the consideration for the cultural component of the American Dream with the need for a neoliberal SSA that emphasizes the free market, limited government, individualism, and individual monetary goals. The neoliberal American Dream is the ideology that helps to reinforce the SSA institutions that promote a dominant capitalist class.[9]

Defining Serious Crime

An additional criticism of IAT includes the definition of the phenomenon under study – serious crime. Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:49) define serious crime as, "violations of criminal law involving significant bodily injury, or in the case of nonviolent offenses, significant economic harm to victims, both individual and collective." Examples of crimes that fit this definition, from Messner and Rosenfeld's work, include homicide, white-collar crimes such as those committed by Bernie Madoff or Enron, and robbery. While Chapter 3 addresses the specific crime rates used in

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[9] I elaborate on the ideas presented in this paragraph in Chapter 4.

empirical IAT research, it is important to note the following: To date, IAT has not been

used to empirically explain crimes of the powerful. Messner and Rosenfeld's theory is

propelled by the doings of the powerful for economic gain, but the crimes of the powerful

are largely ignored by the empirical research. Focusing on "street crimes" demonstrates

the privilege inherent in being in a position of power.[10]

Other criminologists, such as Baumer and Gustafson (2007), have differentiated

between instrumental and expressive crime. Instrumental crimes are those committed for

the purpose of furthering one's accumulation of wealth, while expressive crimes are all

other crimes committed for reasons other than the pursuit of money. Messner and

Rosenfeld (2013:12) argue that "[c]rime does not have to be understood as the product of

mysterious or bizarre forces; it can be viewed as an ordinary and predictable response to

prevailing sociocultural conditions." As a result, IAT should be able to explain high

differential rates of serious crime among societies without the need to differentiate

between the purposes of the crime. Furthermore, focusing on serious crimes in society as

normal[11] occurrences suggests that something about the culture or make up of the social

institutions is to blame for high serious crime rates.

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[10] Of course, the lack of attention to the causes of crime of the powerful should not
surprise critical criminologists. As Friedrichs (2010:9) notes, the inverse hypothesis
"posits that the level of criminological attention to crime varies inversely with the level of
harm (i.e., the larger the scope of harm, as in the case of genocide, the less criminological
attention.)" Thus, the crimes that caused the Great Recession, and as discussed later in
the chapter, have not received nearly as much attention as everyday street crimes.
[11] Messner, Rosenfeld, and Karstadt (2012) argue that, following Durkheim, crime is a
social fact that must be explained with other social facts. According to Durkheim (1982),
crime will exist in every society since there will always be those who break rules and
laws. Crime does not become problematic, or pathogenic, until it exceeds the normal
amount. Unfortunately, Durkheim did not provide rules for knowing when crime crossed
over from being "normal" to "pathogenic." I will address the problem of high serious
crime in Chapter 6.

Exclusion of Religion as a Social Institution of Interest

Finally, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:76) dismiss the importance of religion as

an important social institution, stating:

> Religion and mass communications, for example, have been the subjects
> of important criminological research. However, the economy, the polity,
> the family, and education are, in our view, central to what may be called
> an "institutional understanding" of crime.

However, the logic of the domination of the economy over religion can be applied to this

social institution.

Religion is important to the functioning of society because it provides a moral

fabric of values and norms and an important means of social control. Turner (2004:

Chapter 3, "Religion: Selection Pressures and Religion") defines the institution of

religion as

> a system of beliefs and rituals pertaining to the sacred and supernatural
> which are organized into cult structures that have consequences for
> reinforcing norms, legitimating inequality, guiding socialization and social
> placement, and managing variable sources of tension and anxiety in a
> society.

Durkheim, Weber, and Marx each discuss the consequences of religion for

society. Durkheim (1951) discusses the importance of religion in normative regulation in

Suicide, concluding that too much regulation is problematic (fatalism), while too little

regulation (anomie) is also problematic. Further, Weber spent much of his work on the

importance of religion as both legitimating inequality and guiding socialization. In *The*

Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Weber (2011) addresses the issue of

vocation. According to Christianity, people are 'called' to their specific vocation by God.

God shows that he is pleased with one's work by bestowing wealth. Thus, the

accumulation of wealth serves the dual purpose of pleasing God and providing proof that

one is in God's graces. Finally, Marx referred to religion as the "opiate of the masses" (1983). With this statement, Marx is implying that religion masks the pain and suffering caused by capitalist oppression of the working class. Religion numbs workers' senses and helps them to accept their role in the class hierarchy. As workers begin to value employment over religion, the veil of religion is removed potentially resulting in additional social ills, such as higher crime rates. In terms of Turner's definition, Marx is responding to the legitimation of inequality and management of anxiety performed by religion. The culmination of these distinct treatments of the consequences of religion is that in the most general sense, religion is an important source of informal social control. Clearly, religion plays a role in the institutional structure of society and must be included in any discussion of institutional anomie theory. Since Messner and Rosenfeld do not include an extended discussion of religion in their theorizing, the following is an extension of IAT.

Evidence of religion, as a social institution, has been found in all societies (Turner 2004). One of the main functions of this institution is to provide norms and values related to the sacred. By delineating the sacred, religion is granted "tremendous influence in mobilizing and controlling human action in society" (Turner 2004: Chapter 3, "Religion: Elements of Religious Organization"). People will enforce the sacred and rituals when others deviate from them (Berger 1967).

Religious practice has been devalued in the United States. The primary purpose of religion is to provide for the moral fabric of society since it offers an explanation for questions about life and the world that science cannot explain and to increase social control via strengthening bonds to conventional society (Putnam and Campbell 2010).

Using secularization theory, some argue that the modern world does not need the explanations provided by religion. This is a strongly contested theory as it suggests a society without religion is inevitable as modernity progresses (Warner 2010). While the number of people who claim no religion, atheism, or agnosticism, also known as the 'nones,' have been increasing, religion is definitely a strong part of American culture (Putnam and Campbell 2010). For example, a 2004 survey found that 76.8 percent of respondents (n=1,212) consider religion to be an important part of their lives, while 22.4 percent responded that religion is not important (Association of Religion Data Archives 2015). While religion is important for many, something has certainly changed in how Americans respond to religion. Putnam and Campbell (2010) argue that religion has become equated with conservative politics and that the increasing percentage of 'nones' is in response to not wanting to be equated with conservative social policy. As a result, it is not religion as a social institution that is being devalued, but rather the perception of religious beliefs that is devalued.

Clergymen are held in lower esteem than those in another devalued profession, teachers. In a 2013 Pew survey, 37 percent of respondents answered that the clergy "contributes 'a lot' to society's well-being."[12] In contrast, 72 percent answered the same

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[12] A 2012 Pew survey of Catholics found that 82 percent of respondents were very/somewhat satisfied with the leadership of parish priests compared with 80 percent in 1992 and 81 percent in 2002. Thus, satisfaction with parish priests has remained constant. The same cannot be said for Catholic bishops. In 1992, prior to the sex abuse scandal, 74 percent were very/somewhat satisfied with the leadership of bishops. In 2002, at the height of the sex abuse scandal, 65 percent of respondents were very/somewhat satisfied. In 2012, 74 percent of respondents were very/somewhat satisfied with the leadership of the bishops (Pew 2012).

about the contributions of teachers (Pew Research Center 2013a).[13] White evangelical

protestants were the most likely to report that the clergy contribute a lot to society with

52 percent responding that clergy contribute to the well-being of society (Pew 2013a).

While not surprising, it does indicate that people who value mainstream religion are

likely to think that their leaders contribute positively to society.

 The practice of religion accommodates to the economy. One key example of this

accommodation is any time a worker chooses to go to work instead of participating in

religious activities, provided that the worker is religious. As Carter (1993:7) notes, "If

you must worship your God, the lesson runs, at least have the courtesy to disbelieve in

the power of prayer; if you must observe your Sabbath, have the good sense to

understand that it is just like any other day off from work." While Carter is arguing that a

culture of disbelief has reigned in religion, his discussion of how one should treat the

Sabbath as a day off, as though one can choose the day set aside for worship, points to an

ongoing devaluation of religion and accommodation to the economy. Further, with the

exception of Christian holidays, religious holidays and observances are not treated as

national days of rest. The United States effectively shuts down for Christmas, but little

mention is made of winter solstice, Hanukkah, and other such holidays. USA.gov, the

U.S. government's official website, shows the only religious holiday that is considered a

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[13] Despite the devaluation of education previously outlined, the Pew (2013a) survey
found that teachers are held in high esteem, only second to members of the military (84
percent). While this finding may seem to contradict my earlier discussion, I think that it
adds another layer of complexity. Education has become dominated by the economy
through practices that encourage the learning of transferable work skills, treating students
as customers and/or workers, and belittling the role of teachers. Nonetheless,
respondents of this survey recognize the important role that teachers play in the well-
being of society. I cannot speak to the specifics of this group of respondents, but one
could hypothesize that teachers who conform to the current system of economic
domination are, in fact, contributing to the well-being of society.

federal holiday is Christmas. While a note is made that other ethnic and religious

holidays exist, these holidays are not worthy of the distinction of the label federal holiday

and the benefits that label provides, such as time off from work and/or holiday pay. A

nationally representative survey of Americans found that approximately one-half of

respondents view Christmas as a primarily religious holiday, while one-third of

respondents view Christmas as a cultural holiday (Pew Research Center 2013b). Those

who claim to need time off from work for participation in religious activities are treated

as 'others' who do not belong. The culmination of this accommodation to the economy is

that if one is not Christian s/he does not deserve to have time off from work to participate

in religion because God does not favor such a person.

Religion has been penetrated by the economy with the proliferation of so-called

mega churches. These churches tend to be large, extravagant organizations that focus on

collecting money in the form of donations from congregants (Hartford Institute for

Religion Research 2006). Closely related, another form of penetration of the economy is

the use of mass media to spread religious messages. The Billy Graham Evangelistic

Association (BGEA), for example, uses the media to spread the message of God and has

managed to amass a significant fortune as a consequence. Forbes (2011) estimates that

its total revenue in 2010 was $101 million. Furthermore, in 2012, the BGEA spent

approximately $24.8 million on ministry expenses for radio, television, film, print media,

and the internet (BGEA 2013). Spreading the Christian message of God seems to be a

very expensive endeavor.

In summary, Messner and Rosenfeld dismiss religion as a social institution of

interest. However, I argue that, given religion's role in providing for informal social

control this social institution should be included in any investigation of institutional anomie theory. Like the other noneconomic social institutions, religion has experienced the manifestations of economic domination.

Conclusion

With institutional anomie theory, Messner and Rosenfeld set out to explain the high serious crime rates that are experienced by the United States in comparison with other advanced, industrialized countries. They argue that the combination of culture, exemplified by the American Dream, with a social institutional balance of power that favors the economy produces high serious crime. The driving force behind their theory are the "manifestations of economic dominance." By focusing on this one aspect of the theory, Messner and Rosenfeld are able to sidestep many of the criticisms that have plagued the theory, including a failure to address differential opportunity and social stratification, a failure to consider the history of the concept of the American Dream and capitalism in the United States, problems with the definition of serious crime, and the exclusion of important social institutions of interest. As a result of these theoretical problems, IAT is in need of reconstructing that includes replacing the concept of the American Dream with a fuller understanding of political economy and the changing nature of capitalism, and adding religion both as an institutional component and a cultural component. In the following chapter, I assess the empirical literature that has tested IAT. In Chapter 4, I draw on the original theory and empirical literature to reformulate IAT with attention to resolving the identified criticisms.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

While IAT was developed in the mid-1990s, it has received limited attention from the field of criminology. Empirical assessments of institutional anomie theory have been difficult due to the abstract nature of the theory and lack of guidance for how to operationalize the dominance of the economy over social institutions (Chamlin and Cochran 2007; Messner and Rosenfeld 2008). Another reason for the lack of research may be due to the arrival of general strain theory at around the same time. Like IAT, Agnew's (1992) general strain theory draws on Merton's (1938) anomie theory. GST is an individual-level explanation of criminal behavior that has received much attention in the major criminology journals.[14] In essence, anomie/strain theory may have saturated the criminological imagination at the time with the more easily operationalized and tested theory gaining more empirical attention.

IAT is a macro-level theory, where the unit of analysis should be aggregate geographic units such as nations, states, or counties. The empirical tests available generally fall into three categories: (1) research focused on comparing crimes rates among nations with emphasis on ties to the welfare state and benefits that lessen the effects of the economy on individuals and (2) research focused on the United States,

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[14] A search for the phrase "institutional anomie theory" of the major criminology journals resulted in 83 articles, while a similar search for "general strain theory" resulted in 293 articles. Note that not all of these articles are research articles as some may simply mention the search phrase. This does demonstrate, though, the disparity in attention received by IAT.

either states or other subnational units of analysis, that measures the effects of various institutional measures on crime rates.

Empirical Tests with Countries as the Unit of Analysis

According to Messner and Rosenfeld (2013), IAT explains variations in crime among societies. Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) interpret this comparative task to mean among countries. This was the first test, albeit a partial one, to use country-level data from the mid-1980s to test hypotheses derived from IAT. The primary hypothesis in their study is that countries with higher decommodification will have lower homicide rates. Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) use decommodification, defined as the ability of an individual to subsist without selling his/her labor power, as the primary institutional variable. They surmise that decommodification captures the relationship between the state and the economy with highly decommodified countries being more likely to provide for their citizens. The decommodification measure they used is a proxy based on Esping-Andersen's (1990) work, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Since the data used in this work are not available, Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) created a proxy from summed z-scores of three measures. Priority was measured with welfare expenditures as a percentage of GDP. Generosity was measured with welfare expenditures per capita. Finally, distribution of benefits was measured with the percentage of total welfare benefit expenditures spent on workplace injuries. Variables to control for other causes of crime included: gross national product per capita, infant mortality, average life expectancy at birth, the percentage of the population older than 64 years, annual population growth, percentage of the population living in urban areas, and the number of males per 100

females. Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) found that countries with higher decommodification have significantly lower rates of homicide. For their full sample (n=46), the model explained 32.6 percent of the variation in the logged homicide rate across countries, thus, providing moderate support for IAT. Savolainen (2000) replicated this research with Messner and Rosenfeld's original sample as well as an expanded sample of countries and found similar results.

Jensen (2002) investigated Messner and Rosenfeld's claim that the American Dream is the driving force behind institutional anomie theory, the relationship between decommodification and other known crime causes, and the relationship between decommodification and homicide. He used the World Values Surveys (1990 – 1993) to assess commitment to the values of the American Dream and anomie in 43 countries. Ultimately, Jensen concluded, "It is doubtful that the high homicide rate in the United States can be attributed to an unusually high level of economic dominance or normlessness" (2002:61). The United States ranks highly on questions asking about the importance of family (93%; 2nd), religion (54%; 5th), leisure (43%; 9th), and work (62%; 15th). Further, 71.6 percent of respondents answered that "'Less emphasis on money and material possessions' would be 'a good thing'" (Jensen 2002:50). Jensen claims that these findings are evidence against IAT, but does not provide any analysis for how people respond to manifestations of economic dominance. Finding that many respondents would prefer less emphasis on money does not provide enough information about the context of this question, as the extent to which money and material possessions are emphasized in reality is unknown. Jensen assessed the level of anomie present in a country with "attachment to the law" factor scores. High factor scores indicate more

attachment to the law and less anomie. The United States ranks 17th (out of 35 countries) with a factor score of .243. Jensen concluded that this indicates the United States has a regulated society, but this conclusion does not comport with the actual evidence. The factor scores range from 1.705 (Argentina) to -2.695 (Mexico). While the U.S. factor score is positive, it is close to zero indicating a fair amount of anomie. Further, Jensen created the factor scores with responses to questions about the acceptability of cheating on one's taxes, accepting bribes, lying, and purchasing stolen property (Jensen 2002). Based on this measure, the United States seems to be rather anomic.

In addition, Jensen (2002) assessed the relationships between family choices (marriage rates, divorce rates, and birth rates) and decommodification. He measured decommodification with "expenditures on welfare and economic security programs relative to gross domestic product" (Jensen 2002:57). Interestingly, Jensen found that as decommodification increases, "the less likely citizens are to have children (r = -.545, significant at .01 level) and the freer they are to dissolve relationships (r = +.374, significant at .01 level)" (Jensen 2002:62). He concluded that decommodification does not work to increase informal social control because families are less likely to form and maintain marriage contracts. His analysis of the relationship between decommodification and the American Dream variables indicates that as decommodification increases, the importance of leisure increases. Decommodification was not significantly related to the importance of family, work, or religion.

Finally, Jensen (2002) investigated the relationship between decommodification and homicide. Jensen (2002:64) noted,

> Decommodification is associated with lower birth rates, and lower birth rates are associated with lower homicide rates. Similarly, the greater the decommodification, the less importance of religion, and the less the importance accorded to religion, the lower the homicide rate.

These results are the opposite of what IAT predicts. When Jensen (2002) added variables associated with country wealth, diversity, and Latin nation, the relationships between homicide, religion, and birth rates became non-significant. This research, while writing in an unsupportive tone, provides unclear results for IAT.

Pratt and Godsey (2003) assessed institutional anomie theory in combination with social altruism theory and macro-level general strain theory. They compiled data from the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Statistics Division for 46 countries for the year 2000. The dependent variable was homicides per 100,000 population. The independent variables included in this study were social support and economic inequality. The researchers measured social support with the percentage of GDP spent on public healthcare. This is analogous to Messner and Rosenfeld's (1997) concept of decommodification. They measured economic inequality with "the ratio of the median incomes of the richest to the poorest 20% of citizens" (Pratt and Godsey 2003:622). Pratt and Godsey (2003) controlled for the sex ratio, the percentage of the population living in urban areas, and the WHO's human development index. The researchers found that social support, economic inequality, and the interaction between them were statistically significant in the hypothesized directions. The full model explained 61.1 percent of the variation in the logged homicide rate. This research

provided some support for IAT and confirmed the findings of Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) and Savolainen (2000).

Cullen, Parboteeah, and Hoegl (2004) rose to the challenge of conducting a complete test of IAT. Their research used the World Values Survey to construct a multilevel data set with managers at level 1 (n=3450) and countries at level 2 (n=28). The dependent variable, measured at the individual level, is "manager's willingness to justify ethically suspect behaviors." The researchers controlled for individual's age, gender, marital status, and religiosity. The researchers found each of the control variables had a significant effect on managers' willingness to justify ethically suspect behaviors. Increased religiosity, marital status, and age led to a decrease in justification, while gender (male) increased justification. While Cullen et al. (2004) did not include religion at the country-level, these findings suggest that religion, measured as attending religious services more than once a week, plays an important role in providing social control.

Cullen et al. (2004) included institutional variables and cultural variables at the country level. They used the ratio of divorces to marriages in each country to measure family. They measured education with the "United Nations Development Program's (1991) educational attainment score" which is "computed as two-thirds of the adult literacy rate plus one-third of the mean years of schooling" (Cullen et al. 2004:416). Cullen et al. (2004) equated the economy working under free market principles with the level of industrialization in a country. They measured this variable with the percentage of the population living in urban areas, the number of coal-equivalent units, and the percentage of workers in the nonagricultural sector. While Cullen et al. (2004) labeled

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their measure of the interaction between the state and polity as welfare socialism, it is conceptually similar to the concept of decommodification. They measured welfare socialism with "tax collected as a percentage of gross domestic product, government expenditure as a percentage of gross domestic product, and government revenues as a percentage of gross domestic product" (Cullen et al. 2004:416). Instead of considering the idea of freeing workers from the market (decommodification), Cullen et al. (2004) argued that countries with social welfare orientations are more likely to have more government intervention. Cullen et al. (2004) found that each of the institutional variables was statistically significant. Their findings for the economy, family, and education were in the hypothesized direction. However, polity exhibited a positive effect. As welfare socialism increases, managers' willingness to justify ethically suspect behaviors increases. The researchers argued that this finding, contrary to many other studies, is the result of the social position of managers who may not appreciate being "losers in more socialist societies" (Cullen et al. 2004: 419).

In addition to the institutional variables, Cullen et al. (2004) included cultural variables at the country level in order to assess levels of achievement orientation, individualism, universalism, and materialism in each country. Cullen et al. (2004) found mixed support for the cultural arguments of IAT. They found that all four cultural values variables were statistically significant. However, universalism and materialism were in the hypothesized positive direction, while individualism and achievement orientation were in the opposite direction. This research provides support for the institutional hypotheses derived from IAT, but mixed support for the cultural component of the theory.

Bjerregaard and Cochran (2008) used total theft rates and homicide rates as the dependent variables in their cross-national empirical test of IAT. While they realize that theft is less often reported than other crimes and is plagued by definitional problems among countries, they argue that the total theft rates, that include both serious and non-serious offenses, is an adequate measure of crime for monetary gain. Bjerregaard and Cochran (2008:37) included single measures for the family, education, and polity. They measured the strength of family with "family disruption," a composite measure of divorce rates and the percentage of women participating in the labor force. Their study included educational strength measured with the ratio of pupils to teachers and illiteracy rates, and the polity measured with the "lack of voting" rates, created by subtracting voting rates from 100. In an effort to determine the most appropriate way to measure the economy, the researchers used three measures, including the Gini coefficient, each country's commitment to free market principles with the Heritage Foundation's index of economic development, and the annual total social security expenditures as a percentage of the gross domestic product. The independent variables were for 1997, while the dependent variables were averages of 1997 – 1999 data. Of the three measures for the economy, the researchers found that only the Gini coefficient had a significant relationship with total homicide rates. However, this relationship disappeared when the institutional variables were added to the models. Family disruption and polity were statistically significant in several of the models, while education did not achieve statistical significance in any of the models. The interactions between family disruption and social security expenditures, and education and Gini coefficient were statistically significant in their respective models. Turning to the findings for the theft rates, a

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different pattern emerged. Of the three measures of the economy, only social security expenditures had a significant relationship with theft rates. However, this relationship was in the opposite direction than expected. Across the models, family disruption and education were significantly related to theft rates. Polity did not have a direct effect on theft rates in any of the models. The interaction between the Gini coefficient and education, and the Gini coefficient and the polity were statistically significant in their respective models. Thus, this research provided some support for IAT. Of the economy measures used in this study, the Gini coefficient provided the most consistent results.

Bame-Aldred and colleagues (2013) sought to investigate the cultural component of IAT. With the exception of Jensen (2002) and Cullen et al. (2004), little research has been done that investigates a country's commitment to the "American Dream." The researchers used a multilevel model with firms at level 1 (n=3331) and countries at level 2 (n=31). The dependent variable was self-report data from the firms about tax evasion practices. The country-level independent variables contained the cultural components of individualism, achievement orientation, assertiveness, and humane treatment. The researchers hypothesized that the first three predictors would have a positive effect on the likelihood to engage in tax evasion, while humane treatment would have a negative effect. Unfortunately, the researchers provided very little detail in their article about how they measured each predictor. The researchers' results provided mixed support for IAT. While individualism and humane treatment operated in the hypothesized directions, both assertiveness and achievement orientation did not. This research suggests that further studies are needed regarding the cultural component of IAT. While Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) contend that culture and social institutions interact to produce high

serious crime, the bulk of the empirical research focuses on the domination of the

noneconomic social institutions by the economy. Part of the issue is that Messner and

Rosenfeld (2013) suggest that the American Dream is the primary cause of anomie.

Perhaps this line of inquiry should be expanded to consider other causes of anomie. For

example, developing countries may experience anomie as a result of changes wrought by

globalization and neoliberalism.

Hirtenlehner, Farrall, and Bacher (2013) conducted a multi-level analysis with

individuals (n=43,650) at level 1 and European countries (n=25) at level 2 for 2004. The

dependent variable was morally dubious behavior. The researchers coded individuals as

having committed a morally dubious behavior if they had done one or more of the

following in the past five years: kept the change when he/she was given too much by a

shopkeeper, failed to disclose material defects in an item sold, pretended to be eligible for

services not entitled to, participated in insurance fraud, bribed an official, and/or claimed

government benefits that he/she was not entitled to. This study sought to assess the

relationship between culture and social institutions. The study included two variables to

assess commitment to the American Dream. The researchers measured achievement with

items from the World Values Survey (WVS) about "the significance of individual

success," and measured power with items from the WVS about "the importance of power

and appreciation" (Hirtenlehner et al. 2013:302). The researchers found both

achievement and power to be significantly and negatively related to morally dubious

behaviors in all models. These findings are not supportive of the cultural claims of IAT.

Hirtenlehner et al. (2013) included variables for the family, education, economy,

and polity. They measured family with the ratio of divorces to marriages in each country.

In addition, Hirtenlehner et al. (2013:303) assessed the strength of families with the "proportion of families with children that only include one parent." They measured the strength of education with expenditures on education as a percentage of gross domestic product and the mean number of years of education completed, and the strength of the economy with the Gini coefficient and the ratio of the top 80 percent's income to the bottom 20 percent's income. The rationale behind both of these measures is that economies that favor the free market are more likely to have higher rates of inequality. However, these measures tap an outcome of the type of economy and not the underlying mechanisms of economic dominance. These researchers measured polity with the proportion of GDP spent on social security and decommodification. Hirtenlehner et al. (2013) followed Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) and created a decommodification index that consisted of the summed z-scores for the proportion of GDP spent on social security, social expenditures per capita, and proportion of social expenditures spent on work-related injuries. Hirtenlehner et al. (2013:309) concluded,

> With two cultural dimensions and four institutions, each with two measurements, a total of sixteen interaction effects were assessed. The findings do not support the impact mechanisms presumed by IAT. Only three of the sixteen interaction effects tested proved to be significant (and all of them were in the wrong direction). Essentially this means that neither economic pressures, nor the strength of the family, the education system or the welfare state interacted in the expected manner with cultural forces in shaping national rates of moral misconduct.

This study does not provide support for IAT. There are a few theoretical issues though. First, the dependent variable is not "serious crime" as described by Messner and Rosenfeld (2013). Second, the United States is not one of the countries included in the analysis. Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) clearly argue that IAT is supposed to explain why crime rates in the United States are higher than in other countries.

Methodologically, the results of this study may be difficult to interpret due to the two measures of polity overlapping conceptually creating a possibility of excessive multicollinearity.

Empirical Tests with the United States and Subnational Groups as the Unit of Analysis[15]

While Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) intended for IAT to explain variations in crime among nations, the United States does not experience crime uniformly as variation does occur among states. In this section, I review the research that has used the 50 U.S. states as the unit of analysis.

Chamlin and Cochran (1995) conducted the first test of institutional anomie theory. The dependent variable for this study was the property crime rate, measured as the total number of robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft offenses per 1,000 residents in 1980. Chamlin and Cochran included institutional measures for the economy, family, polity, and religion. They omitted education as a social institution of interest. The percentage of families living below the poverty line measured the economy. The researchers chose this measure over the Gini coefficient that measures the amount of economic inequality because those living below the poverty line are more likely to be thwarted from obtaining the American Dream. The language of "thwarting" suggests that the American Dream is a set goal with defined parameters for success, instead of a cultural mandate that means different things to different people. The ratio of divorces to

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[15] This section includes empirical tests of IAT that use states, counties, or similar units of analysis. IAT is meant to explain variations in crime rates among societies. Thus, empirical tests of the theory that use individuals as the unit of analysis, such as Muftic (2006), are not included here.

marriages in each state tapped the family. Stark's 1980 measures of church membership per 1,000 population measured religion. This is widely viewed as an acceptable way to measure religion since so few surveys have been conducted that measure religious behaviors in the United States. Finally, the researchers measured polity with the percentage of those voting in the 1980 congressional elections.

Chamlin and Cochran (1995) found moderate support for IAT. Their direct effects model found significant results for church membership and family structure. As church membership increased, property crime decreased. As families were more fractured, property crime rates increased. In addition, Chamlin and Cochran (1995) assessed the interactions between poverty and the institutional measures. They found negative, significant interactions between poverty and church membership and poverty and percentage voting. There was a positive, significant interaction between poverty and family structure.

Piquero and Piquero (1998) drew from and refined Chamlin and Cochran's (1995) study by including education as a social institution of interest and by investigating alternative measures of education and polity. The dependent variables for their study were property crimes per 100,000 population and violent crimes per 100,000 population. Piquero and Piquero (1998) measured family and the economy with single indicators. They measured family with the percentage of families headed by single parents and the economy with the percentage of the population living in poverty. They controlled for the percentage of the population living in urban areas. Measures of both education and polity contained multiple indicators. The indicators of education included the percentage of the population enrolled in college, the percentage of high school dropouts, and the

comparative salary of teachers. Measures of the polity were the percentage of public aid recipients and the percentage of the population voting in the 1988 presidential election. The data for this study are from 1990.

For property crime, Piquero and Piquero (1998) found that all of the institutional variables were statistically significant in the hypothesized directions. The only statistically significant interaction effect was between the economy and education. Piquero and Piquero (1998) found that the polity, economy, and family had statistically significant direct effects on the violent crime rate in the hypothesized directions. Education was not a statistically significant predictor of violent crime rates. The interactions between the economy and education and the economy and polity were statistically significant. In these models, education included with college enrollment and polity was the percentage of the population receiving welfare.

Piquero and Piquero (1998) went on to substitute alternative measures of the polity and education in order to assess the differences in their findings. When they substituted the percentage of high school dropouts for education and the percentage voting for polity, neither significantly impacted property crime rates nor violent crime rates. Substituting comparative salary for education also did not lead to statistically significant results. Family, which the researchers measured with the percentage of single-parent families only, was statistically significant throughout the models. These results indicate that IAT is highly sensitive to how the non-economic institutions are operationalized. In sum, Piquero and Piquero (1998) provide moderate support for IAT.

Hannon and DeFronzo (1998) set out to test the relationship between welfare and crime in U.S. counties (n=406). They measured crime in three ways, including total

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crime rate, violent crime rate, and property crime rate all per 100,000 population. While

not intended to be a direct test of IAT, this study does contain variables that pertain to the

economy, family, and polity. Hannon and DeFronzo (1998:386) measured welfare with

an index that included welfare payments as "the average amount of 1990 public

assistance income per poor person." that was standardized with cost of living and welfare

participation. Welfare payments are similar to Messner and Rosenfeld's (1997) concept

of decommodification. They used a deprivation index to measure the economy that

included "family poverty rate, percent of families that are female-headed, and percentage

of the population that is black" (1998:387). Hannon and DeFronzo (1998:387) controlled

for

> percentage of the over age 14 population divorced, percentage of persons
> over 4 living in different locations in 1985 and 1990, the female labor
> force participation rate, the unemployment rate, percent of single person
> households, percent of the population between the ages of 15 and 29, and
> an index of urbanization.

The authors found that as the welfare index increased crime rates decreased for total

crime, property crime, and violent crime. Further, as the resource deprivation index

increased, crime rates increased. The interaction between the welfare index and

deprivation index led to a decrease in crime rates. This research is supportive of IAT.

Batton and Jensen (2002) used national homicide rates from 1900 to 1997 in the

United States as the dependent variable in their study. Their rationale for using homicide

rates as the indicator of crime stems from methodological and data availability issues.

Batton and Jensen (2002) argued that homicide is less plagued by definitional issues and

that it is more likely to be reported to the police, and, therefore, more likely to appear in

official data. This was particularly important for their longitudinal analysis. Batton and

Jensen (2002:18) measured the "level of social integration or (disintegration)" within the

family with divorce rates, the number of divorces per 1,000 persons in the population. Similarly, Batton and Jensen (2002) measured decommodification in the United States with the same components for 1929 to 1995. Batton and Jensen's (2002) time-series analysis of decommodification and homicide in the United States found that history matters and that decommodification only affected homicide, through unemployment rates, during the post-WWII era.

Maume and Lee (2003) tested IAT by comparing homicide rates across U.S. counties in 1990. The dependent variable in their study was homicide as reported in the FBI's *Supplemental Homicide Report*. Maume and Lee (2003) distinguished between instrumental homicide and expressive homicide. Instrumental homicide is committed for some sort of material gain, while expressive homicide is committed in the heat of passion or under emotional duress. The main independent variable they used was economic inequality, which they measured with the Gini coefficient. They measured noneconomic institutional effects with the average voter turnout in 1988 and 1992 presidential elections, rate of divorce, average education expenditures per person, and adherence to civically-engaged religious organizations, and welfare expenditures (Maume and Lee 2003).

Maume and Lee (2003) found that each of the institutional variables, with the exception of education, had a significant effect on the homicide rate in the hypothesized direction. They estimated individual models to assess the interaction between the economy and the non-economic social institutions. Only the interaction between welfare expenditures and the Gini coefficient exhibited statistical significance. Therefore, this research provided support for IAT.

Schoepfer and Piquero (2005) used institutional anomie theory to investigate white-collar crime, specifically embezzlement. The data for this study came from the FBI's UCR and the U.S. Census Bureau's *Statistical Abstracts of the United States* for 1990. Schoepfer and Piquero (2006) included institutional variables for the family, education, polity, and the economy. They measured family disruption with the ratio of divorces to marriages, education with the percent population that did not graduate from high school, and polity the percentage of registered voters who voted in the 1990 elections. Finally, they used the percentage unemployed to measure the economy. Schoepfer and Piquero (2006) found statistically significant results, in the hypothesized direction, for education and polity. Increased unemployment significantly decreased embezzlement rates. While this finding goes against the expectations of IAT, it does make sense, as being employed is a necessary condition for embezzlement. Only the interaction between the polity and economy had a significant effect on embezzlement rates. Thus, this research provided some evidence supporting IAT.

Baumer and Gustafson (2007) used primary sampling units (PSUs; n=77) from the General Social Survey (GSS) as their unit of analysis. PSUs are large metropolitan areas or rural counties in the United States. The researchers chose this unit of analysis in order to use questions from the GSS. The GSS is a nationally representative survey that cannot be used to draw conclusions about individual states. For this study, the dependent variable of interest was instrumental crime rates that included "the number of robberies, burglaries, larcenies, and auto thefts per 100,000 residences in [their] sample units for 1977" (Baumer and Gustafson 2007:633). The percentage of GSS respondents "agreeing that next to health, money is most important" tapped commitment to monetary success

(Baumer and Gustafson 2007:639). The percentage of GSS respondents "agreeing there are no right or wrong ways to make money" measured commitment to legitimate means (Baumer and Gustafson 2007:639). The authors approached the study of IAT uniquely by assessing aggregate commitment to monetary success, commitment to legitimate means of goal attainment, and the combination of these variables. Further, they assessed the combination of each institutional variable separately with the interaction of commitment to monetary success and commitment to legitimate means. Thus, this study attempts to assess the combined effect of the cultural and social structures. Baumer and Gustafson (2007) measured family with time spent with family and commitment to marriage, education with the percentage of government expenditures on education and the ratio of pupils per teacher, and polity with voter participation and welfare assistance. Finally, they measured religion with the civically engaged church adherence rate. In the full model controlling for limited job availability, low educational and economic attainment, educational and economic inequality, and social capital, Baumer and Gustafson (2007) found that the percentage of government expenditures on education, time spent with family, commitment to marriage, and civically engaged charge adherence rate significantly reduced the rate of instrumental crime. Their measures of polity were not statistically significant. Each of the models assessing the three-way interaction between commitment to monetary success, commitment to legitimate means, and the institutional variables found that the interaction between commitment to monetary success and commitment to legitimate means was statistically significant and in the hypothesized direction. In these models, the three-way interactions were statistically significant in the hypothesized direction for time spent with family and welfare

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assistance. This research demonstrates the importance of multiple measures of each of the social institutions and the connection between the cultural and social structures. These findings provide evidence for IAT.

Stults and Baumer (2008) extended the research of Baumer and Gustafson (2007) by investigating the assumption that IAT can explain rates of lethal violence. They theorized that the combination of weak social institutions with a culture that values monetary success leads to higher rates of firearm ownership, drug use, and property crime. In turn, these factors lead to increased homicide rates. The unit of analysis and institutional variables for this study were the same manner as Baumer and Gustafson (2007). In the full model, Stults and Baumer (2008) found that the property crime rate was significantly related to the homicide rate. Commitment to marriage was the only significant institutional variable. This study sought to provide an explanation for high rates of lethal violence through IAT, but the results are inconclusive.

Research Gaps

The current empirical research specifically testing IAT provides some support for the theory. However, based on the previous research (briefly outlined in Table 3.2, end of chapter), I identify several themes and research gaps.

Unit of Analysis

Few researchers have addressed the assumptions of IAT that are based on U.S. experience. Eight of the studies examined the effect of social institutions on crime rates in the United States, with three using U.S. states as the unit of analysis (Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Schoepfer and Piquero 2006; Piquero and Piquero 1998) and four using

U.S. counties or similar-sized units as the unit of analysis (Hannon and DeFronzo 1998; Maume and Lee 2003; Baumer and Gustafson 2007; Stults and Baumer 2008). While these studies do confirm that crime rates vary among states, none of them addresses directly how social institutions vary between states with attention to institutional imbalance. The majority of IAT empirical research focuses on explaining differences in crime rates among countries.

Measurement of "Serious Crime"

There is little consensus on how the core concepts of IAT should be measured including dominance of social institutions and high serious crime. Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) indicate that IAT should be able to explain differences in serious crime rates among societies, yet serious crime rates are measured in a variety of ways in the empirical literature. The dependent variable in the majority of the studies is the homicide rate or violent crime rate (Messner and Rosenfeld 1997; Hannon and DeFronzo 1998; Piquero and Piquero 1998; Batton and Jensen 2002; Jensen 2002; Maume and Lee 2003; Pratt and Godsey 2003; Bjerregaard and Cochran 2008). Property crime was the dependent variable used second most often (Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Hannon and DeFronzo 1998; Piquero and Piquero 1998; Schoepfer and Piquero 2005; Baumer and Gustafson 2007; Bjerregaard and Cochran 2008; Stults and Baumer 2008). Interestingly, several studies do not use crime at all (Cullen et al. 2004; Bame-Aldred et al. 2013; Hirtenlehner et al. 2013). Homicide may be used as the dependent variable most often due to the desire to use countries as the unit of analysis. Nelken (2010) points out that crime data among countries is often not comparable due to differences in definitions and data collection methodology. Researchers often choose property crime as the dependent

variable since earlier formulations of Messner and Rosenfeld's theory stressed the instrumental nature of crime. However, IAT has been expanded to be a general theory of crime that should be able to explain differences in *all* crime rates among societies. Furthermore, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) argue that it is the incidence of *high* serious crime rates in the United States that the theory is explaining. Yet, none of the current empirical literature addresses the issue of when low crime transitions to high crime.

Inclusion and Measurement of Social Institutions

Table 3.1 (below) summarizes the major social institutions included in each study. The polity is included in all of the studies reviewed. Family is included in 10 of the studies, the economy in eight studies, education in six, and religion in three studies. It would seem that IAT does not provide a clear definition of the social institutions that make up society, nor the appropriate social institutions to consider for inclusion in IAT empirical research.

The research consistently finds that family is a social institution of importance. There are two ways that researchers have measured the strength of the family with the ratio of divorces to marriages and the percentage of single-parent families. Both of these are structural measures of the strength of family that tend toward victim blaming. Essentially, both indicate that if families would just stay together there would be less crime.

The literature operationalizes the economy with the Gini coefficient and the percent of the population living in poverty. These measures are symptomatic of countries that have embraced neoliberal policies and do not address the type of economy present. Researchers have measured education with funding for K-12 education, pupils per

teacher, the percentage of the population attending college, the percentage of high school

dropouts, and comparative teachers' salaries. In the few studies that included religion as

a social institution of interest, religion was measured with the number of adherents and

the perceived importance of religion. The polity has been measured with various

analogues of decommodification and with the percentage of the population voting.

Table 3.1: Institutions Included in the Empirical Research

Study	Family	Religion	Education	Polity	Economy
Chamlin and Cochran (1995)	X	X		X	X
Messner and Rosenfeld (1997)				X	
Hannon and DeFronzo (1998)	X			X	X
Piquero and Piquero (1998)	X		X	X	X
Jensen (2002)	X	X		X	
Batton and Jensen (2002)	X			X	
Pratt and Godsey (2003)				X	X
Cullen, Parboteeah, and Hoegl (2004)	X		X	X	X
Schoepfer and Piquero (2005)	X		X	X	X
Baumer and Gustafson (2007)	X	X	X	X	
Bjerregaard and Cochran (2008)	X		X	X	X
Hirtenlehner, Farrall, and Bacher (2013)	X		X	X	X

The overarching theme of the institutional measures is that they rely on structural

strength of the social institutions or focus on money. This is problematic because the

relationship between the economy and the non-economic social institutions is left for

theory to determine. Better measures of the social institutions would take into account

the manifestations of economic domination.

Time Point of Interest

With the exception of Batton and Jensen (2002), all of the evaluations of IAT

have been cross-sectional. Four of the studies used data from the 1970s and 1980s: The

research conducted by Baumer and Gustafson (2007) and Stults and Baumer (2008) used data from the late 1970s. Chamlin and Cochran (1995) used data from 1980 and Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) used data from the mid-1980s. Eight of the studies used data from the 1990s: Hannon and DeFronzo (1998), Piquero and Piquero (1998), and Schoepfer and Piquero (2005) each used data from 1990. Jensen (2002) used data from the early 1990s. Bjerregaard and Cochran (2008) used data from 1997. Cullen, Parboteeah, and Hoegl (2004) used data from the late 1990s. Pratt and Godsey (2003) used data from 2000. Finally, Hirtenlehner et al. (2013) used data from 2004. None of the studies used data from after he Great Recession in 2007. While the explained variance for these studies is not comparable due to differences in methodologies used, the majority of the support for IAT came from the studies using 1990s data.

Methods of Data Analysis

IAT has been primarily tested with OLS regression and, only recently, with multilevel modeling. Neither of these statistical approaches addresses the configurational nature of the theory. It is the imbalance of social institutions, which indicates that some, all, or none of the noneconomic social institutions are dominated by the economy. Previous studies have attempted to determine which configurations of social institutions lead to high serious crime by testing for the statistical significance of interaction terms, but these 'net effects' analyses assume that the interactions occur similarly in each state. Essentially, previous research has used the incorrect method for answering the question of which institutional configurations are necessary and/or sufficient for high serious crime to occur.

Conclusion

  While addressing all of the gaps in the literature is beyond the scope of the present study, this study addresses the institutions included in the theory and suggests that, based on the evidence, which the theory would benefit by considering the historical context during which the theory was written and much of the research was conducted. I address the theoretical and historical gaps in the next chapter. This study, also, addresses the assumptions of IAT and contributes to the knowledge of the discipline by using an innovative method – qualitative comparative analysis – to determine the institutional configurations that lead to high serious crime. I discuss my research plan in Chapter 5.

Table 3.2: Summary of Empirical IAT Research

Author	Year	Dependent Variable	Independent Variables	Sample	Methods	Hypothesis	Findings
Chamlin and Cochran	1995	Property crime rate	Families below poverty line Ratio of divorce to marriage Rate of church membership Percent voting Percent black Percent ages 18 - 24	50 U.S. states	WLS Regression	Improving economic conditions + strengthening noneconomic social institutions --> decreased instrumental crime	Moderate support for IAT. Family structure increases crime, church membership decreases crime, and voting participation reduces crime.
Messner and Rosenfeld	1997	Homicide rate	Decommodification Development index Gini coefficient Economic discrimination index Sex ratio	45 countries	OLS Regression	Decommodification --> decreased homicide	Partial support for IAT with the hypothesis confirmed.
Batton and Jenson	2002	Homicide rate	Decommodification	50 U.S. states	Time-Series Regression	Decommodification --> decreased homicide	Conceptualization of time matters. Confirmed hypothesis for later years, but not early years.
Maume and Lee	2003	Instrumental homicide rate	Gini coefficient Voting Divorce rate Educational expenditures Adherence to religion Welfare generosity	454 U.S. counties	Negative Binomial Regression	The strength of noneconomic institutions will moderate the influence of the economy on homicide. The strength of noneconomic institutions will mediate the influence of the economy on homicide.	The moderation hypothesis has partial support with both voting and welfare generosity reducing homicide. There is little support for the mediation hypothesis with only the interaction between the economy and welfare generosity being significant.
Pratt and Godsey	2003	Homicide rate	Sex ratio Percent urban HDI Social support Economic inequality	46 countries	WLS Regression	Social support --> decreased crime Economic inequality --> increased crime Controlling for either --> moderation of crime Interaction between both --> increased crime	Provides partial support for IAT with each of the hypotheses confirmed.
Cullen, Parboteeah, and Hoegl	2004	Managers' justification of ethically suspect behaviors	Achievement Individualism Universalism Pecuniary materialism Industrialization (economy) Welfare socialism (polity) Family strength Educational attainment	level-1: 3450 managers level-2: 28 countries	Multi-level modeling	Achievement --> increased justification Individualism --> increased justification Universalism --> increased justification Pecuniary materialism --> increased justification Industrialization --> increased justification Welfare socialism --> decreased justification Low family strength --> increased justification Educational attainment --> decreased justification	Confirmed hypotheses for universalism, pecuniary materialism, family strength, and education attainment. Moderate support for IAT.
Kim and Pridemore	2005	Homicide rate	Proportion of population living in poverty Socioeconomic change index Proportion of 1-parent households Enrollment in college Voting Inequality Unemployment Alcohol deaths Males	78 Russian regions	Negative Binomial Regression	The level of poverty is positively related to the cross-sectional variation of homicide rates in Russian regions. Negative socioeconomic change is positively related to the cross-sectional variation of homicide rates in Russian regions. The strength of social institutions is negatively related to the cross-sectional variation of homicide rates in Russian regions. The strength of social institutions conditions the effects of poverty and negative socioeconomic change on homicide rates in Russian regions.	Poverty is positively related to homicide. Socioeconomic change index is positively related to homicide. Family and voting were statistically significant in the expected direction. Education was not statistically significant. None of the social institutions moderated the effect of the economy on crime.

Table 3.2—Continued

Author	Year	Dependent Variable	Independent Variables	Sample	Methods	Hypothesis	Findings
Schoepfer and Piquero	2006	Embezzlement	Divorce/marriage ratio Percent population did not graduate HS Voting Percent Unemployed	50 U.S. states	Poisson regression	Family --> increased crime Education --> increased crime Polity --> decreased crime Economy --> increased crime	Family is not found to have a significant relationship with crime. Education positively affects the crime rate. Polity negatively affects crime. Economy negatively affects crime. Only the interaction between polity and economy is significantly related to crime.
Bjerregaard and Cochran	2008	Homicide rate Theft rate	Economic freedom Social Security Gini Coefficient Family disruption Education Polity Demographics Affluence	49 countries	OLS Regression	Economic variables --> increased crime, social institutions moderate or mediate economy	Provides minimal support for IAT and suggests that how one operationalizes the dominance of the economy and strength of the economy matters.
Bame-Aldred, Cullen, Martin, and Parboteeah	2013	Corporate Tax Evasion	Individualism, achievement, assertiveness, humane treatment	Level-1: 3331 firms Level-2: 31 countries	Multi-level modeling	Individualism --> increased CTE Achievement --> increased CTE Assertiveness --> increased CTE Humane treatment --> decreased CTE	Confirmed hypotheses for individualism and humane treatment, but no support for achievement and assertiveness.
Hirtenlehner, Farrall, and Bacher	2013	Morally dubious behaviors	Achievement Power Anomie Economy Family Education Welfare policy	level-1: 43,650 people level-2: 23 countries	Multi-level modeling	There are cross-national differences in the rates of morally dubious behaviors in Europe. These persist after controlling for the sociodemographic composition of the national populations. The stronger the population of a nation is committed to the values of the American Dream, the more frequently its members will resort to morally dubious behavior in the pursuit of personal benefit. The criminogenic effect of the cultural commitment to the American Dream is enhanced by economic inequality and weakened by viable social institutions. The stronger the anomic orientation of a society is, the more frequently its members will resort to morally questionable behavior in the pursuit of personal benefit. The criminogenic effect of an anomic orientation is enhanced by economic inequality and weakened by viable social institutions. The criminogenic effect of the cultural commitment to the American Dream is amplified by a widespread demoralization of the means.	Confirmed the first two hypotheses that crime rates do vary between countries. However, the cultural variables (achievement and power) both have negative effects on crime. None of the institutional variables when combined with economic variables were statistically significant. Overall, this research does not support IAT. Since the sample was comprised of European countries, it would support the idea of IAT being a US-centric theory. Given that the model statistics were not presented and too many interaction effects were included, the lack of findings may be an artifact of mispecification.

CHAPTER 4

ADDING HISTORICAL CONTEXT: REVISED
INSTITUTIONAL ANOMIE THEORY

Over time, in capitalist nations like the United States, changes in the social

institutional structure occur in response to the crises that results from inherent

contradictions. Knowing that capitalist social institutions have changed overtime should

make one wonder if criminological theory can explain differences in crime rates at

different historical moments or if these theories can only explain crime rates during the

historical period during which they were conceived. Institutional anomie theory appears

to fall into the latter category. The strongest findings for IAT were found during the

1990s when Messner and Rosenfeld developed the theory. Unfortunately, Messner and

Rosenfeld did not ground IAT explicitly within this historical period.

In this chapter, I argue that IAT must be reconstructed in order to take into

account the historical context during the time when Messner and Rosenfeld developed the

theory. In the following section, I describe social structure of accumulation (SSA) theory

that is an explanation of historical changes in the social institutional structure within U.S.

capitalism. This theory is well suited to provide the historical context that IAT is sorely

lacking because it assumes that the institutional structures in place, or capital

accumulation can change, and these changes in turn have implications for the social

institutions that IAT deems most relevant. Once we take into account the historical

conditions under which IAT was developed, my next task is to apply this thinking to IAT

by answering questions about how the social institutions of today have changed in response to these historical conditions. Finally, I present my revised theory of IAT (RIAT).

<p style="text-align:center">Social Structure of Accumulation Theory</p>

Social structure of accumulation theory seeks to explain historical changes in U.S. capitalism by investigating the institutional structures that support capital accumulation and/or profit growth. In this section, I first describe the original formulation of SSA theory. According to Gordon and others, SSAs are characterized by long cycles of growth. However, Kotz and others have suggested that SSA theory needed to be reformulated in light of the fact that the neoliberal era is characterized by profit growth and not the accumulation of capital. I describe this revision of SSA theory in the second section. Finally, I describe the post-WWII and neoliberal SSAs.

SSA: The Original Formulation

SSA theory was first proposed in "the late-1970s and early 1980s to relate the oscillation between growth and decay in the U.S. economy to changes in the social institutional structure" (McDonough, Reich, and Kotz 2010:1). SSA theory, a refinement of older Kondratieff long-wave theory, combines Marxist and Keynesian principles in order to understand how particular institutional structures provide the conditions for capital accumulation and to suggest that crises of capitalism lead to new social structures of accumulation/stages of capitalist development. A social structure of accumulation is "the specific institutional environment within which the capitalist accumulation process is organized" (Gordon, Edwards, and Reich 1982:9).

SSA theory explains the long swings in capitalist economies. It suggests that the environment external to the process of capital accumulation is important for understanding how the process of accumulation is shaped. Essentially, SSA theory argues that capital accumulation does not occur within a vacuum. Capital accumulation occurs when capitalists invest capital in infrastructure and materials, purchase labor power to produce commodities, and then sell the resulting products. The profit from production is then re-invested and the cycle begins anew (Gordon, Edwards, and Reich 1982).

SSAs are constructed in a cyclical manner, or as Gordon (1978) describes the process, on a persistent roller coaster. "The social structure of accumulation consists of all the institutions that impinge upon the accumulation process. Some institutions have a general impact; others relate primarily to one specific step in the process" (Gordon, Edwards, and Reich 1982:23). Figure 4.1 (below) shows the three phases in the lifecycle of SSAs.

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                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │              │
                    │ Exploration  │
                    │              │
                    └──────────────┘
       ┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐
       │              │        │              │
       │    Decay     │        │ Consolidation│
       │              │        │              │
       └──────────────┘        └──────────────┘
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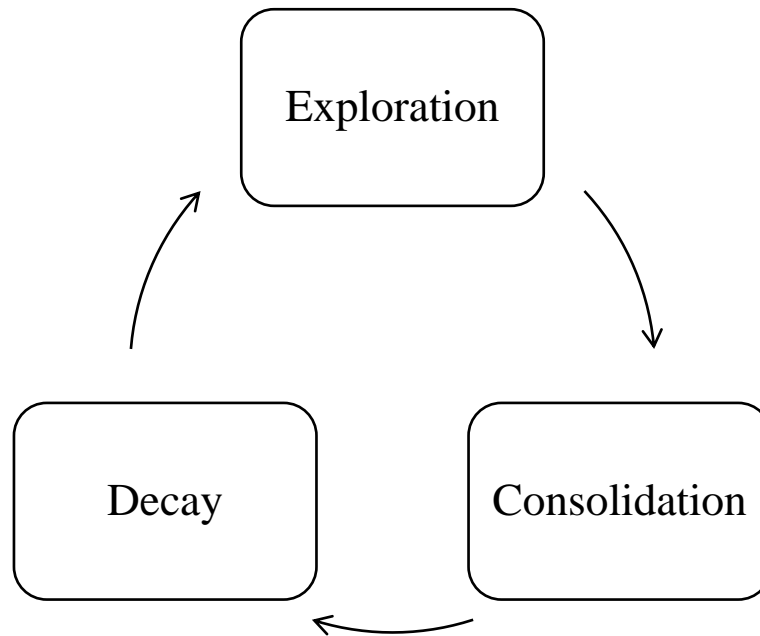
Figure 4.1: SSA Lifecycle

The process of SSA formation begins with the exploration phase. During this time, capitalists seek out new ways to organize the capital accumulation process and resolve the contradictions presented during the previous SSA. Eventually, the new institutional structure consolidates into a cohesive institutional configuration. During the consolidation phase, there is expanded reproduction of capital and a sustained period of economic growth. In short, the consolidation phase is characterized by economic prosperity – at least for some. Contradictions within the institutional structure eventually undermine capital accumulation and the decay phase begins. During this phase, tensions between labor and capital tend to come to a head resulting in further deceleration of capital accumulation. The inherent contradictory interests of labor and capital also result in increased institutional instability culminating in economic crisis. Economic crisis is "a period of economic instability in capitalist economies whose resolution depends up on the *reconstruction* of a social structure of accumulation" (Gordon 1980:20). These crises

cannot be resolved within the existing SSA and, therefore, the decay phase often overlaps

with the exploration phase of the next SSA as new institutional arrangements attempt to

resolve the contradictions that gave rise to economic crisis.

In the original formulation of SSA theory, the four institutions associated with

particular SSAs are money and credit, the pattern of state involvement in the economy,

the dominant ideology, and the structure of class struggle (Gordon et al. 1982). Labor

supply, as an intimate part of the class struggle, is the most difficult to control of the three

as it deals with the structure of the labor market and the social institutions that reproduce

the labor force.

> If the [SSA] begins to become shaky, if class conflict or past capital
> accumulation have pressed the institutions to their limits and they begin to
> lose their legitimacy, capitalists will be more disposed to put their money
> in financial rather than direct investments, earning a financial rate of
> return whose security compensates for its lower average expected levels.
> (Gordon et al. 1982:26)

If the institutional configuration of the SSA is no longer able to support capital

accumulation, no matter the reason, capitalists will invest their money in financial, rather

than industrial, investments in order to continue earning profit albeit at a lower rate of

return.

In summary, the original SSA theory emphasized rapid capital accumulation

through institutional arrangements that favored this growth. Later, Bowles, Gordon,

Weisskopf (1986) and Gordon, Weisskopf, and Bowles (1987) returned to the theory to

elaborate on the nature of capitalist power. By focusing on capitalist power, SSA theory

is directly linked to the class struggle inherent in capitalism. The capitalist class is

engaged in a "three-front war" (Bowles et al. 1986) with capital fighting against labor,

foreign parties, and the state. Capital fights labor by setting wages and prices and

determining working conditions. Capital fights foreign buyers and sellers by setting prices and engaging with international governments. Finally, capital fights the state by attempting to influence labor, tax, and international policy. When capital dominates these relationships, power is solidified by the capitalist class and profits are gained. However, capital "winning" the war does not necessarily produce the elements required for a successful SSA. As Gordon et al. (1987:43) note, "Crisis may occur in capitalist economies because the capitalist class is 'too strong' or because it is 'too weak.'" A capitalist class that is too strong leads to under-consumption, while a capitalist class that is too weak leads to profit-squeeze. Both conditions have the ability to cause economic crisis that may only be resolved through the creation of a new SSA.

Revised SSA Theory

Gordon and his colleagues wanted to explain long waves of growth and decay throughout U.S. history. Their theory succeeded in doing so until the economic crisis during the 1970s. Some controversy erupted within the SSA community about whether the post-WWII SSA was decaying and if a new SSA was being explored. Kotz (2003; 2008; 2015) and Wolfson and Kotz (2010) located the main source of the controversy within the assumptions of SSA theory, particularly the long held assumption that "SSAs [promote] strong economic growth" (Wolfson and Kotz 2010:210). Wolfson and Kotz (2010) reexamined SSA theory in light of the fact that the neoliberal era (discussed in greater detail below) did not experience rapid capital accumulation, yet appeared to fulfill many of the other characteristics of a consolidated SSA.

Wolfson and Kotz (2010) argue that the assumption that SSAs produce long-term capital accumulation should be abandoned. Instead, SSAs are "best understood as

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institutional structures that (temporarily) stabilize class contradictions" (Wolfson and Kotz 2010:211). In addition, Wolfson and Kotz (2010) propose that SSAs can take one of two forms, regulated or liberal, depending on the nature of the class struggle. This idea of class struggle variability was recognized by Gordon and his colleagues in their discussion of capitalist power. Yet, the full implications were not investigated at that time. One implication, identified by Wolfson and Kotz (2010:213), is that, "While enhanced capitalist power should translate into a higher share of profit in total income, it does not follow that growth will be faster." Thus, in SSAs with capitalists "winning the war," high individual capitalist profit is more likely than high capital accumulation that benefits capitalist society more broadly.

Liberal Institutional Structures and Regulated Institutional Structures

The type of SSA that forms is based on the resolution of the contradictions from the previous SSA. For example, the post-WWII SSA emphasized providing state support to workers and strengthening labor unions. As a result, real wages grew and capitalists were unable to extract as much surplus value from workers. Power began to shift away from capitalists to workers. Wolfson and Kotz (2010) identify five dimensions that help distinguish between liberal institutional structures and regulated institutional structures: (1) the method of class struggle stabilization; (2) the role of the state in the economy; (3) contradictions within capital; (4) contradictions within labor; and (5) the dominant ideology. I discuss how each of these dimensions distinguish LISs and RISs.

According to Wolfson and Kotz (2010:217), class struggle can be resolved in one of two ways. "Either labor is strong enough to challenge capital and share power, or capital can overwhelm labor and dictate conditions." An RIS embodies the former, while

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an LIS embodies the latter. During the post-WWII SSA (discussed in more detail below), capital and labor reached an accord and shared power. Unions were stronger and seen as a legitimate voice of workers. In stark contrast, the neoliberal SSA has represented a shift away from labor with the demonization of unions and casualization of labor.

Second, LISs and RISs are characterized by the differing role of the state in the economy. RISs are characterized by a state-economy relationship that emphasizes worker/citizen protections. For example, the post-WWII SSA saw the creation of the Occupational Health Safety Agency (OSHA) that focused on preventing workplace harms, and the Social Security Act of 1935 and later amendments provided a social safety net at least for some citizens. LISs, conversely, emphasize legislation that allow the free market to referee class struggle or scale back worker protections. It may appear that LISs should avoid all state interventions. However, the state has historically protected capitalist interests by, for example, enforcing property laws and using military force to protect national interests.

Third, LISs and RISs are characterized by the contradictions within the capitalist class. LISs are characterized by conflict and extreme competition within the capitalist class. Each capitalist seeks individual benefit, even to the detriment of the entire capitalist class. RISs are characterized by capitalists that value capital accumulation over profit. Thus, these capitalists work together and are more likely to compromise with labor for their collective benefit. Fourth, and related, are the contradictions within labor. During regulated SSAs, labor is more likely to coalesce into a single working class. However, liberal SSAs seek to pit workers against each other by vilifying unions and increasing job competition.

Finally, both types of SSAs are characterized by their respective dominant ideologies. Liberal SSAs have a dominant ideology which "which glorifies individualism, unfettered competition, the 'free market,' and the danger that state intervention poses for economic progress and individual liberty" (Wolfson and Kotz 2010:219). The ideology of regulated SSAs "warns of the dangers of unfettered market activity, upholds the advantages of "civilized" competition, and heralds the contribution that government regulation can make to economic progress and human welfare" (Wolfson and Kotz 2010:219). The dominant ideology for each SSA supports and legitimates the previous four characteristics of regulated SSAs and liberal SSAs.

SSAs throughout U.S. History

Since the end of the Civil War, there have been five SSAs in the United States: (1) the Gilded Age (1870 – 1900), (2) the progressive era (1900 – 1916), (3) the post-WWI era (1920 – 1929), (4) the post-WWII era (1933 – 1973), and (5) the neoliberal era (1981 – 2007) (Kotz 2003; 2015). In the following sections, I describe the two SSAs that are most relevant in the development of IAT—the post-WWII and neoliberal SSAs. I give the most attention to the institutions that promoted capital accumulation and/or profit growth, RIS or LIS characteristics of the SSA, and the SSA lifecycle of exploration, consolidation, and decay.

The Post-WWII SSA

The post-WWII SSA (1933 – 1973) consolidated in the late 1940s. Four institutional pillars supported this SSA, including "Pax Americana, the capital-labor accord, the capital-citizen accord, and the containment of inter-capitalist rivalry" (Bowles, Gordon, and Weisskopf 1990:9). As noted by Bowles et al. (1990), the first

three institutional pillars allowed U.S. capitalists to manage international trade to their benefit and working class opposition to capitalist social relations of production by those covered by the accords. The fourth pillar resulted in co-respective relations within the capitalist class thus minimizing excessive competition for the well-being of the capitalist class as a whole.

The post-WWII SSA was a period of sustained growth in the United States. Since the United States was not a site of war, it did not face the problems of rebuilding that plagued much of the western world. The United States solidified its position as a global force during this time by managing trade agreements to its benefit (McDonough, Reich, and Kotz 2010). In addition, capital and labor began working together in a meaningful way with labor unions being a legitimate voice speaking for the working class. The overall idea at the time was that capitalists and workers should mutually benefit from the work done by the working class, with increases in wages tied to increased productivity in the workplace. Similarly, the state provided citizens with the basic necessities of life through a more generous welfare system (McDonough et al. 2010). Taken together, the capital-labor and capital-citizen accords shored up effective demand for the increasing volume of consumer goods pouring off U.S. assembly lines. While many benefitted from these accords, a significant portion of the working class was left out. For example, domestic work and agricultural jobs, occupations filled by African Americans and lower-class whites, were not covered by the Social Security Act, and women's access to social security benefits was primarily via their husband's work history (Neubeck 2006; Noble 1997). Another example of some people being left out is the fight for universal health care coverage. Unions have been historically against universal health care coverage

because of their hard won fight for coverage for union members. Granting coverage to all would diminish the bargaining power of unions (Hoffman 2003). During this time, working people were still exploited by the capitalist class, but the balance between capital and labor was not nearly as unequal as it was prior to the post-WWII SSA, and subsequently during the neoliberal SSA.

In summary, during the post-WWII SSA, the tension between capital and labor was more balanced as workers joined unions and demanded higher wages and additional benefits such as health insurance and pensions. Further, capital was constrained by a regulatory environment that favored less risk in terms of protections for workers and the environment. Through rising real wages, welfare provision, and a progressive tax structure, poverty and income inequality declined compared with their pre-WWII levels (Kotz 2015). As profit was reduced due to the shift towards labor rights, capitalists began to invest in the financial market instead of recycling some of the profit into production. This crisis of capitalism in the 1970s laid the ground work for the exploration phase of the neoliberal SSA and its subsequent consolidation in the early 1990s.

Neoliberal SSA

The beginning of the neoliberal SSA is contested. While Kotz (2003) suggests the neoliberal SSA began in 1981, when Ronald Reagan took office, and Lippit (2014) argues for 1980, when Reagan was elected, others such as Kotz and Wolfson (2004) and Carlson, Gillespie, and Michalowski (2010), see 1992 as the consolidation of the neoliberal SSA. The issue lies in the SSA phases. The exploration of the neoliberal SSA did begin in the 1980s with the dismantling of the post-WWII institutions. For example,

the firing of the air traffic controllers by Reagan in 1981 demonstrates the shift towards capital in the capital-labor struggle (Bowles, Gordon, and Weisskopf 1990). The consolidation phase of the neoliberal SSA began during the Clinton years in the early 1990s marked by the passage of free trade agreements like NAFTA, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, and the abandonment of the Glass Stegall Act.

This SSA developed in response to the crises of capitalism caused by the breakdown of the post-WWII SSA. Profit squeeze often results in RISs that promote increasing real wages, decreased unemployment, and rising inflation. As wages continually rise, capitalists receive a smaller share of surplus value. As a result, capitalists respond by investing in financial markets and the crisis begins to spread throughout the economic system (Kotz 2008). The neoliberal SSA addresses the profitability problems inherent in the post-WWII SSA by creating an institutional structure that involves the (1) "dominance of neoliberal ideas and theories;" (2) "removal of barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and money across national boundaries;" (3) "the role of government in the economy;" (4) the capital-labor relation; and (4) the corporate tax sector" (Kotz 2015:42). Each of these institutions plays a role in stabilizing class struggle by undoing the worker protections created during the Post-WWII SSA.

During the neoliberal SSA the dominant ideology rests upon the concept of the 'free market.' As Kotz (2015:11) notes,

> Neoliberal thought rests upon a highly individualistic conception of human society. Individual freedom of choice is seen as the fundamental basis of human welfare, with market relations understood as the institution that allows individual choice to drive the economy.

In other words, neoliberalism demands that people look out for themselves. This is in stark contrast to the post-WWII SSA with regards to the provision of welfare. Under the idea of individualism, people should be able to take care of themselves without the help of the government, or more accurately, the rest of society through taxes. Those who need assistance are vilified precisely because they are not able to make it on their own. This concern for individualism permeates the rest of the neoliberal institutions. The 'free' idea in the 'free market' implies that the market will be unregulated. This is not to say that the state does not have a role, but that the role is greatly limited in comparison to the post-WWII SSA.

While neoliberalism glorifies the individual, it also stresses the freeing, or deregulation, of markets. Deregulation occurred in two phases. First, key industries were deregulated including telephones, airlines, and trucking. The second phase of deregulation involved the financial markets. After the stock market crash in 1929, the financial industry became tightly regulated in order to prevent future crashes and to maintain market stability. During the neoliberal SSA, the regulation of banks diminished. One of the consequences of deregulation was encouragement of financial innovations that allow capitalists to grow profits by creating commodities from nothing. For example, the bundling and selling of subprime mortgages suggests that an intangible commodity, such as a mortgage, is indeed capable of being sold for a profit. Finally, both Kotz and Lippit agree that capital markets favorable to small business are another important feature of the neoliberal SSA (Lippit 2014), with Kotz (2009) suggesting this occurred through increased competition and greater use of free market principles in business.

The limited role of government is greatly intertwined with the movement towards deregulation. During the neoliberal SSA, the role of government is to support the free market by ensuring property laws are enforced and that the military is able to protect global capitalist interests. In addition, government is no longer viewed as helpful in maintaining full employment nor providing for basic human welfare, as both of these functions can, and, under neoliberal logic, *should* be provided by the market and private charity. Lippit (2014) argues that limited government is a key feature, while Kotz (2009) identifies privatization, sharp reductions in government spending, reduced taxes on business and the wealthy, and the "renunciation of discretionary fiscal policy" that had kept unemployment relatively low (p. 307) as emblematic of the shift in the state-capital relationship.

The capital-labor relation changed significantly as a result of the shift to neoliberalism. With the rise in individualism, capitalists were able to undo worker solidarity created through unionization. Kotz (2009) argues that capital has come to dominate labor through the attack on unions, increased temporary work, and regressive taxation. Further, workers are in conflict with one another as they compete for jobs. A striking visual example of this comes from the use of day labor. Many day laborers in Arizona and in other states will congregate in front of home improvement stores every day with the hopes of being selected by homeowners for small tasks or contractors for much larger tasks. There are always more day laborers available than work.

Each of the preceding institutional structures worked to restore profitability and economic expansion, but unlike the consolidation phase of the post-WWII SSA, the benefits of the consolidation of the neoliberal SSA accrued to those at the top, while

poverty and income inequality increased (Kotz 2015:84; Chapter 4). Thus, some authors, such as Kotz and Wolfson (2004:26), suggest that the shift to the neoliberal SSA was a "veiled attack on working people." Real wages were driven down throughout the 1980s via union busting activities and the deskilling of the labor process (Gordon, Edwards, and Reich 1982). However, workers were encouraged to maintain a middle class lifestyle, and in effect capitalist profits, by increasing consumer debt. However, increased consumer debt and decreasing wages led to the "main contradiction" of the neoliberal SSA, that of overproduction (Kotz 2008:176). The neoliberal SSA encouraged consumption through the acquisition of debt. This led to a condition where consumer spending outpaced consumer income. While this method profit growth may stave off a crisis of capitalism for a time, as was seen in the financial/housing crisis of 2007, the problem of overproduction can only be held at bay for so long (Kotz 2009).

Using SSA Theory to Contextualize IAT

At their most basic level, both IAT and SSA theory attempt to explain why certain phenomena, crime in the former case and capitalist accumulation in the latter, occur because of particular configurations of social institutions. Gordon (1980:36n15) defines a social institution as "a set of social relationships whose relative stability permit the repeated fulfillment of an important socio-economic function." Likewise, Messner and Rosenfeld see the purpose of social institutions as providing norms, values, and social control. Taken together, both theories implicate the "social" nature of social institutions as providing the underlying structure for social life.

Some SSA theorists such as Lippit and Kotz have deviated from Gordon's (1980) definition of social institutions by deemphasizing the underlying social character. Instead, these theorists emphasize the economic institutions that undergird an SSA. Recently, Carlson, Gillespie, and Michalowski (2010) and Michalowski and Carlson (1999) argued that SSA theory must take into account the criminal justice system as a social institution that may support capital accumulation. Furthermore, Gillespie (2010) argues that the family should be included in SSA analysis. By including Messner and Rosenfeld's work on crime in the United States, it is clear that SSA theory could benefit from the inclusion of education, polity, and religion as social institutions of importance for the accumulation of capital.[16]

SSA theory and IAT both emphasize the capital-labor relationship, albeit to different degrees. SSA theory places the capital-labor relationship at the center of its analysis of capital accumulation and/or profit growth. SSAs develop as a result of the resolution of the fundamental contradiction inherent in this relationship.

IAT, using the framework of SSA theory, sees the breakdown of the capital-labor accord as being part of the social context that caused the weakening of non-economic social institutions. The neoliberal SSA represents a dramatic shift in the balance of power between the social institutions. At the same time, the financial markets were deregulated, unions criticized for striking, and welfare services privatized and reduced, a wholesale change occurred in the institutional structure of the United States. The neoliberalization of the economy led to a marked shift in the balance between noneconomic social institutions and the economy that reflects the shifting balance of

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[16] This task goes beyond the scope of the present study, but is one that I will address in future research.

power between capital and labor decidedly towards capital. It is this shift in class power that produces economic domination of non-economic institutions that is the root cause of high serious crime in the United States according to Messner and Rosenfeld's IAT.

Revised Institutional Anomie Theory

The characteristics of the neoliberal SSA permeate Messner and Rosenfeld's theory. Yet, the theory does not acknowledge this congruence. Further, the existing research focuses on monetary expenditures, not the policy changes during the neoliberal era driving them. The combination of these issues, and the others noted previously, necessitates the reconstruction of IAT.

Messner and Rosenfeld were correct in their assertion that criminology should consider macro-sociological forces when explaining why serious crime rates differ amongst societies. However, their institutional approach only includes part of the social context necessary for high serious crime rates. Figure 4.2 (below) illustrates revised institutional anomie theory. Essentially, high serious crime rates are more likely to occur in societies – or states – where the weak social institutions and high social inequality intersect during the neoliberal SSA. Importantly, RIAT differs from earlier considerations of the theory because I specifically link the changes wrought to the non-economic social institutions by the neoliberal SSA. In addition, I return to Merton's concerns of social blockages that Messner and Rosenfeld overlooked. I describe the features of these concepts below.
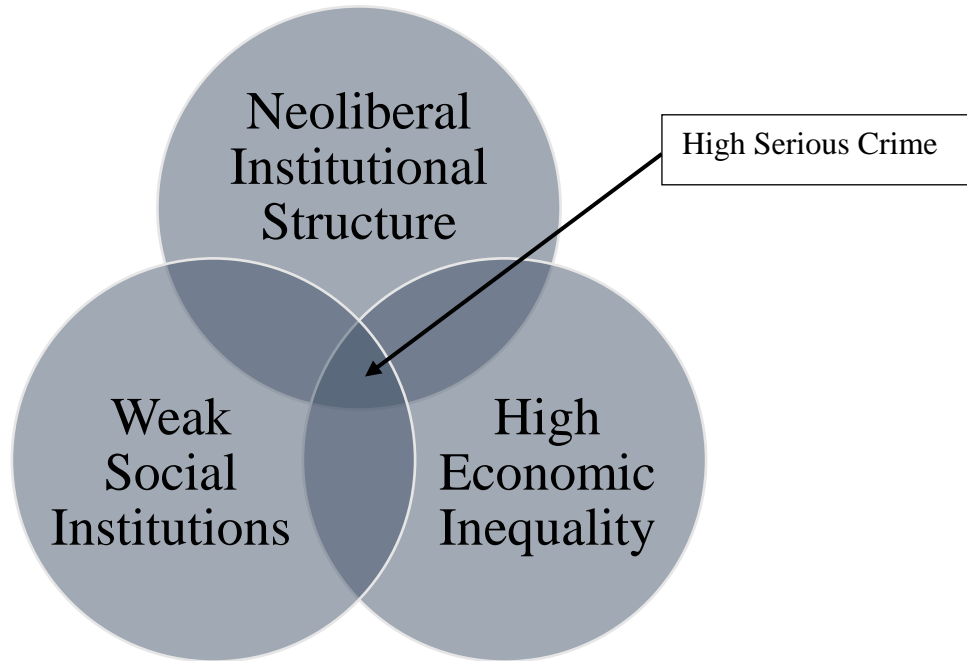
Figure 4.2: Revised Institutional Anomie Theory

High Inequality

As noted earlier, income inequality and poverty varied across the post-WWII and neoliberal SSAs reflecting differences in the relative power of capital and labor. During the post-WWII SSA, the focus was on reducing inequality and poverty, and removing structural blockages to success in response to population social movements. We can see evidence of this in a variety of policies including the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, Equal Pay Act of 1963, Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1949 (known as the G.I. Bill), Higher Education Act of 1965, Food Stamp Act of 1964, and the 1965 amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935 that created Medicaid. As Figure 4.3 (below) shows, income gains were much more equal during the post-WWII SSA than during the neoliberal SSA.

Income Gains Widely Shared in Early Postwar Decades — But Not Since Then

Real family income between 1947 and 2014, as a percentage of 1973 level
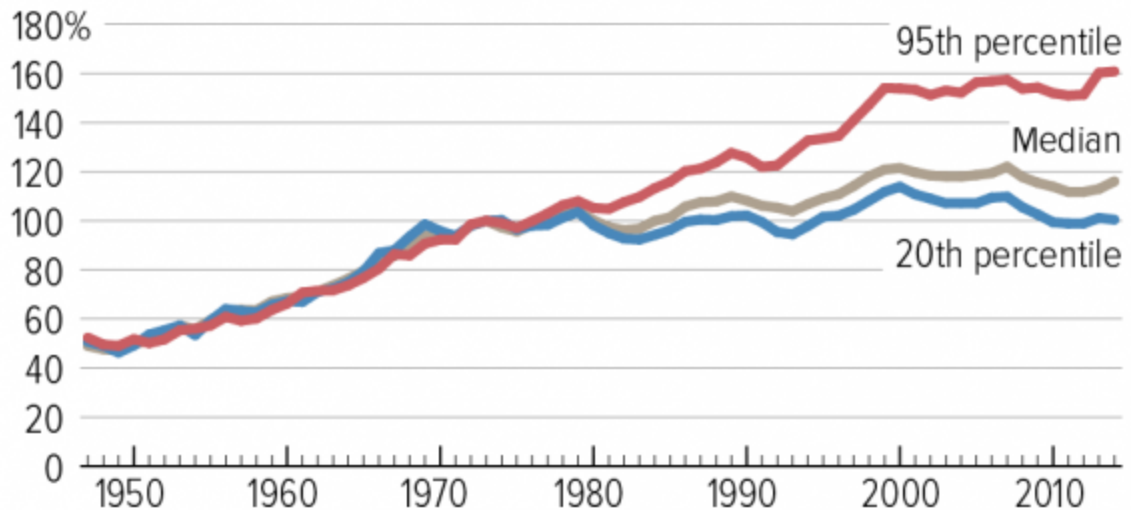
Note: In 2014 Census split its sample of survey respondents into two groups to test a set of redesigned income questions. In 2015 (reporting on 2014 income using the new questions), Census released two estimates of 2013 incomes, one based on the old questions and one on the new. The chart uses the estimate based on the old questions, based on CBPP's judgment that, due in part to sample size, it is likely more accurate for 2013.

Source: CBPP calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau Data

CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES | CBPP.ORG

Figure 4.3: Real Family Income between 1947 and 2014 (Stone et al. 2015)

The policies and legislation of the post-WWII SSA reduced structural blockages in the institutions of family by increasing access to equal employment/pay and the basic necessities of life and education through the passage of the G.I. Bill and provision of student aid for higher education. While many of these polices have remained intact during the neoliberal SSA, at least in name, the increases in poverty and inequality have been due primarily to stagnation in working class wages, reduced taxes on businesses and the wealthy, and rising returns to financial investment of capital.

One of the characteristics of liberal institutional structures, including the neoliberal SSA, is high inequality. High inequality is important in two ways. First, it is the result of capitalist's attempt to undo the policies of the previous SSA in order to remedy the crisis of capital that prompted the exploration for the new SSA. Second, income inequality assists capitalists is maintaining domination in the capitalist-labor relationship. If workers are too focused on keeping their jobs due to lack of worker solidarity and casualization of labor, feeding their families to due changes to welfare programs, and paying for higher education due to increased tuition and student loan payments, then workers are less able to agitate for better conditions. Thus, capitalists, during the neoliberal SSA, are able to maintain the upper hand by dictating the terms of life.

As I previously noted, the research that has investigated the assumptions of institutional anomie theory has largely used data from the neoliberal SSA. Researchers measured the strength of the economy with the poverty rate, unemployment rate, Gini coefficient, and the ratio of top 20 percent income to bottom 20 percent income. Each of these measures actually tap into the amount of inequality and not the strength of the economy necessarily. In other words, these are measures of economic outcomes and not the economy itself. In research where the unit of analysis was the 50 U.S. states, these measures of inequality had a statistically significant, positive relationship with crime rates.

Embedded in both the Marxist tradition, the institutional structure of the neoliberal SSA, and Merton's (1938) essay that Messner and Rosenfeld draw from is the notion that social inequality is rampant and must be taken into account when considering

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macro-sociological forces that shape culture, social institutions, and crime in the United States. As Merton (1938:679) notes, individuals are limited "by the class structure involving differential access to the approved opportunities for legitimate, prestige bearing pursuit of the cultural goals." This sentiment is more prevalent now than when Merton wrote it because throughout the neoliberal era there has been an increase in economic inequality and poverty due to the way that the class struggle has been stabilized. Finally, high inequality works to support the liberal institutional structure that creates weak non-economic social institutions.

Neoliberal Social Institutions

In order to understand how the economy has come to dominate the non-economic social institutions, one must take into account the social structure of accumulation. As previously outlined, the neoliberal SSA (1980 – 2009) emphasizes the free market as the answer to social problems. This historical context is an important part of the reconstructed theory because it helps to explain why economic domination of the social institutions has occurred and provides a starting point for considering how neoliberalism has changed the non-economic social institutions.

Non-economic social institutions bear the burden of providing norms, values, and informal social control. These social institutions include the family, religion, education, and the polity. These social institutions represent all facets of modern life.[17] As I discussed in Chapter 2, these social institutions have become dominated by the economy and are less able to provide informal social control. In the following sections, I consider

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[17] Although I think that some would argue that the criminal justice system represents a facet of modern life for many people. Consider Clear's (2007) work on *Imprisoning Communities*.

the ways that the major non-economic social institutions have changed during the neoliberal SSA. Further, I argue that we must consider the role of each social institution under neoliberal capitalism. Messner and Rosenfeld shy away from explicitly linking their theory to Marxist thought. An undercurrent of IAT is that the balance between the economy and non-economic social institutions is tilted too far towards the economy. Yet, Marx (1983) argues that the super structure is shaped by and supports the economic base. Balance between the economy (base) and the non-economic social institutions (super structure) is an unrealistic goal.

Family

The main function of family, under capitalism, is to produce new workers, reproduce the labor of working family members, and be a primary site of consumption. Previous IAT research has focused on expenditures for family policies (i.e., welfare benefits) and the structure of the nuclear family. Neither of these measures considers the policies driving expenditures or family strain. Two major policy changes during the neoliberal SSA exemplify the economy's domination of the family: the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 and the Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2005.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) in 1996. This act significantly changed the way that welfare is done in the United States. For example, Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF) replaced Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The passage of PRWORA cemented the change from welfare to workfare in the United States. While

this act created federal welfare standards, states were free to implement workfare at their own discretion. As a result, there are fifty different welfare programs in the United States (Wacquant 2009). Interestingly, welfare expenditures have increased, but the way that the money is spent has changed dramatically (Loprest, Schmidt, and Witte 2000). Under AFDC, entitlements (and they truly were entitlements) were paid in cash. However, under PRWORA, cash benefits are minimal with states focusing on providing in-kind benefits and services. Most importantly, states tie access to TANF (and most other welfare programs) to one's engagement with the labor market. Thus, states exclude from cash and in-kind benefits and services those who refuse to participate in the labor market or analogous activity (i.e., job training programs or education), those who are not seeking active participation in the labor market, and those who have exhausted their eligibility in terms of time limits.

PRWORA, and the shift to workfare that it represents, does not benefit families. Instead of guaranteeing access to basic needs, such as food and shelter, it further stigmatizes and punishes the poor for being poor (Wacquant 2009). States that mandate engagement with the labor market as a condition of receiving welfare benefits do not improve quality of life for recipients, as PRWORA does not include provisions for increased access to well-paying jobs. As a result, many TANF recipients end up underemployed, working minimum wage jobs. Further complicating matters, many states set their means testing thresholds quite low. Should a person obtain employment of any sort, he/she would be less likely to continue qualifying for benefits.

The Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2005

As families have begun to take on additional consumer debt due to home mortgages, credit cards, auto loans, and student loans, many families have become overextended by this debt. One mechanism available to individuals and families to reduce the burden and strain of debt is bankruptcy. The number of bankruptcy filings has been increasing in the United States since the 1970s (Skeel 2001). Depending on the type of bankruptcy granted, debtors may be released from all debt and forfeit assets, known as chapter 7 bankruptcy, or enter into a structured payment plan that absolves one of debt once the reduced payments have been made, known as chapter 13 bankruptcy. In order to qualify for chapter 7, the debtor must earn less than the median income in his/her state (Skeel 2001). Over time, consumer creditors have challenged access to chapter 7 bankruptcy because it protects secured assets. For example, a debtor's home is often exempt from assets forfeited in bankruptcy. In addition, bankruptcy law ensures that alimony, child support, and attorney's fees will be paid. As a result, unsecured consumer debt is the least likely type of debt to be paid under bankruptcy proceedings (Skeel 2001).

Another debt relief mechanism available to families with high consumer debt is consumer credit counseling services (CCCS). Until 2005, this potential resolution of debt was separate from filing for bankruptcy. However, the passage of the Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2005 made consumer credit counseling mandatory with few exceptions (Bartell 2008). Bundling bankruptcy with CCCS has added to the cost and difficulty of bankruptcy (Skeel 2001). Many CCCS agencies focus on creating debt management plans for consumers. By doing so, these plans emphasize paying consumer credit debts before other secured debts and, therefore, may not be in the

best interest of the consumer (NCLC 2011). The overall result of CCCS and bankruptcy

proceedings for families should be reducing stress, but by increasing the barriers to

bankruptcy, policymakers allow consumer creditors to dictate the terms of relief.

Of concern for families are the potential costs of low credit report scores that are

negatively impacted by financial strain from carrying consumer debt. For example, a low

credit report score can limit a family's access to desirable housing as many landlords now

check credit reports for delinquent payments (Thorne 2008). This is particularly

problematic for those who have experienced foreclosure. Additionally, employers are

checking applicants' credit reports in order to gauge their trustworthiness and level of

responsibility (Nielson and Kuhn 2009). Both of these practices indicate that if persons

are unable to manage their credit reports then they are unworthy of decent places to live

or even a job.

These two examples of changes to the family during the neoliberal SSA illustrate

the general subordination of the family to the economy. In terms of Messner and

Rosenfeld's language of accommodation, devaluation, and penetration, the family has

been dominated by the economy. Both PRWORA and BAPCP emphasize individual

responsibility and choice in the face of intense pressure to consume. This is a direct

penetration of market logic into everyday life.

Religion

As previously noted in the literature review, religion, as a social institution of

importance, has received scant attention from IAT theorists and researchers. This is

rather unfortunate as even Marx noted religion's role is containing class conflict. In

justifying their inclusion of religion, Chamlin and Cochran (1995:418) state,

"macrosocial units that have greater proportions of their population actively involved in religious organizations are more likely than others to develop a moral climate that promotes conformity." This characterization of the role of religion does not explicitly address the relationship between the economy and religion. Religion is a concept that means different things to different people. This is illustrated by the fact that in 2007, 78.4 percent of Pew Religious Landscape Survey respondents indicated that they are Christian (Pew 2007). Within Christianity, there are many denominations and beliefs. While conformity may be present within groups, throughout history differences in beliefs have been the source of much conflict and violence (Stark 2001).

Sociology has examined the role of religion in society since the beginning. Durkheim's (1951) classic study of suicide points to the contradictory nature of religion. Too much integration and absorption of one's identity to that of the group can lead to altruistic suicide, while too much individualism (i.e., lack of integration) can lead to egoistic suicide. Durkheim sees Protestantism as permissive of knowledge gaining and encouraging of individualism. On the other hand, he sees Catholicism as being rooted in tradition and encouraging of conforming to authority and integration. We can see the inklings of a neoliberal understanding of religion in the concern for individualism and choice. Weber ties Protestantism directly to capitalism, stating: "[Occupational statistics] indicate that people who own capital, employers, more highly educated skilled workers, and more highly trained technical or business personnel in modern companies tend to be, with striking frequency, overwhelmingly Protestant" (2011:67, emphasis in original).

While Weber was writing *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, the United States was in the midst of a liberal institutional structure. Recall that LISs tend to

promote individualism and free market solutions to problems. Taken together, the

confluence of free market capitalism and religious conservativism, similar to what we

have seen during the current era with the confluence of neoliberalism and

neoconservativism, has occurred before with disastrous results for workers.

Based on this prior theorizing about the contradictory role of religion in U.S.

society, with regard to the economy, we can begin to consider the role of religion in

RIAT. In particular, I consider the accommodation of religion to the economy, the

devaluation of religion, and the penetration of market logic. These characteristics often

overlap.

Religious Conformity and Choice

Earlier studies of IAT used religious adherence as a measure of conformity

(Chamlin and Cochran 1995). The unanswered question is, conformity to what?

Religion is supposed to transmit norms, morals, and values. Yet, in a fragmented society,

individuals can choose to belong to any or no religion. Weber suggests that choosing

Protestantism is a rational choice. Individuals choose Protestantism because membership

demonstrates that they are trustworthy and, therefore, creditworthy. Thus, we must

consider two issues during the neoliberal era. First, the degree of heterogeneity amongst

religions should be considered. States with much heterogeneity of religion due to the

presence of many religions with often competing morals and values. In other words,

there are many different religious groups present and, thus, a unified base of morals and

values is not present.

The second, and related, issue is that of choice. In states where the economy

dominates religion, two different issues are at play. First, more individuals may elect to

not participate in any religious tradition. Putnam and Campbell (2010) found that percentage of religious "nones," or those claiming no religious affiliation, increased during the neoliberal era. They posit that this increase can be explained by the increase in religious rhetoric in politics. The increase in the percentage of those claiming no religious affiliation indicates both a penetration of market logic as people are forgoing religion by choice and a devaluation of religion as a provider of norms and values.

Another religious choice to consider is that of the doing of religion. While individuals may choose which religious tradition to belong to, they also choose the amount of time to devote to religious practice, defined as activities done in furtherance of one's faith including attending services, praying, and volunteering with the church. In states where the economy dominates religion, we would expect lower rates of religious behavior as required participation in the labor market might take precedence over participating in religion.

Sunday Closing Laws

Another example of religion's accommodation to the economy comes in the form of the repeal of laws that prohibit the sale of commodities and/or working by individuals on Sundays. These laws, known as blue laws or Sunday closing laws, were in effect widely throughout the United States. During the postwar SSA, in 1961, 34 states had general blue laws. However, by 1985, only 22 states had general blue laws (Laband and Heinbuch 1987). Raucher (1992:13) notes, "Sunday closing laws, once deeply embedded in American government practice and public behavior, have largely vanished or become

inconsequential in the United States." As of 2010, only ten states had general blue laws.[18]

The original purpose of Sunday closing laws was to provide time off from work to allow participation in religious services. In the 1960s, the U.S. Supreme Court heard four cases that upheld the constitutionality of these laws. In general, the rationale for blue laws has slowly deemphasized the religious reasons for the law in favor of secular reasons. Further, business and consumers alike have challenged these laws. While small businesses prefer Sunday closing laws due to the provision in many states that exempts businesses with less than 50 workers from closing on Sunday, larger businesses are against the laws because they reduce sales and profits. Due to increasing time demands on families, consumers would prefer to have an additional day to shop (Laband and Heinbuch 1987). As a result of these challenges, general Sunday closing laws have decreased. Many states still restrict the sale of specific goods on Sundays, most notably alcohol sales, but even these laws have been repealed in recent years (Alcohol Policy Information System 2016). The needs of the economy, in terms of allowing capitalists to continue making profits, have become greater than guaranteeing Christians a designated day for worship and rest.

Education

If the purpose of family is to reproduce workers and religion to provide a respite from the reality of capitalism, then the purpose of education is to train future workers in the skills of timeliness and obedience to authority. Unlike religion, where state

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[18] These are states with blue laws on the books. Many states do not enforce these laws. These data come from a review of current state legislature collected for an unpublished data set (Smith and Carlson n.d).

interference is generally avoided due to a historical tendency of oppression of minority groups (e.g., the motivation of the Puritans to leave Britain for the New World), the state has a vested interest in regulating the education of the masses.

Education in the United States, much like the other social institutions, is primarily governed at the state level. As a result, there are 50 different kindergarten - 12th grade education systems, not to mention the myriad local systems. Previous IAT research has used expenditures per pupil as the primary indicator of economic dominance of education (see Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Piquero and Piquero 1998; Maume and Lee 2003; and Schoepfer and Piquero 2005). However, this measure is inadequate because it fails to take into account how the money is spent. Instead, I look to national policy that guides choices made by teachers and administrators, and affects students day-to-day.

The federal government does provide some oversight by creating monetary incentives for states that follow national policy. The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 is one example of this. NCLB instituted educational policies that states must meet in order to receive federal funding. However, since states were permitted to create their own benchmarks and failing to meet benchmarks results in less funding, NCLB has resulted in states lowering standards across the board while implementing high-stakes testing (ECS 2004).

NCLB is based on the principles of neoliberalism and contains policies focused on accountability, choice, and flexibility (ECS 2004). Essentially, policy makers want to know that there will be a tangible return on their investment of taxpayer dollars in education. If existing schools are unable to meet these accountability goals, then perhaps private education such as charter schools should be permitted to step in. There are two

prongs to accountability. First, teachers are held accountable through evaluations based on standardized testing and enhanced tenure requirements, or the removal of tenure policies altogether. Second, students are held accountable through high school exit exams, particularly when the results of those exams also determine scholarships and grants from the state. Choice and flexibility are both best exemplified by the availability of charter schools. These schools receive state funding to educate students, but generally lack the oversight and accountability requirements imposed upon traditional public schools.

Polity

Of the non-economic social institutions included in IAT research, the polity is the most often included as a social institution of interest. While IAT researchers have been preoccupied with monetary expenditures for education and the family, they have been curiously silent about the expenditures related to polity. Instead, IAT researchers have focused on voting behavior in the 50 U.S. states as the primary proxy for weak polity.[19] These researchers blame the apathy of voters on the economic domination of the polity, but ignore the class conflict inherent in the relationship between those who make policy and those who vote for policy. Voters report that they do not vote because, among other reasons, their votes simply do not matter (Pew 2006). A 2006 survey found that of those who are registered, but rarely vote, 30 percent responded that voting does not change

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[19] As noted in the literature review, weak polity has been operationalized with decommodification in several studies using countries as the unit of analysis. While welfare provisions vary greatly throughout the 50 U.S. states, I consider the provision of welfare as an issue for weak family because welfare provisions are most likely to affect families. Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) consider decommodification to be an appropriate measure for the relationship between the state and the economy, but this still sidesteps the issue of the state as a site of class conflict.

things. Likewise, 33 percent of those not registered to vote responded the same (Pew 2006).

What has been missing from the IAT discussion of polity, or the relationship between the state and economy, is the consideration of whose interests the state serves. As Wolfson and Kotz (2010) point out, SSAs only temporarily stabilize class conflict. The polity, in particular, is the site of much class conflict because its role is to create and enforce the rules. At the close of the post-WWII SSA, the state served workers' interests more than business interests. For example, many new regulations were enacted regarding the protection of workers (OSHA), consumers (CPA), and the environment (EPA). Each of the regulations created additional burdens for business. With the beginning of the neoliberal SSA, the capitalist class aimed at undoing worker gains. There are two pieces of legislation that directly affect workers' access to the polity, the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971 and the Voting Rights Act (VRA) of 1965.

The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971

The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971 directly addressed the relationship between the economy and the polity. FECA "required, for the first time, comprehensive and detailed reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures both before and after all Federal elections" (Federal Election Commission [FEC] 1977:4). In addition, the Act set a ceiling for money a candidate could contribute to his/her campaign and limited the amount of money that could be spent on advertising. In the wake of the Watergate scandal, it became apparent to lawmakers that FECA did not do enough to curb the excesses or provide an enforcement mechanism.

FECA, as initially passed, was enacted at the end of the post-WWII SSA.

However, challenges to FECA were quick to be undertaken during the exploration phase

of the neoliberal SSA. The amendments to FECA were passed in 1974 and included the

creation of the Federal Election Commission, limitations on the amount of money that

could be donated by individuals and organizations, and instituted enhanced penalties.

The FECA amendments removed the limitations on media spending (FEC 1977). FECA

created a mechanism for the tracking of campaign contributions and, therefore, provides a

way for researchers to measure business interests in the state.

One of the first challenges to FECA, *Buckley v. Valeo (1976)*, explicitly linked

neoliberal ideology to campaign finance reform. Mutch (2014:9) notes, "The

conservatives developed a First Amendment doctrine that so closely linked campaign

speech with campaign money that it would have made any regulation of that money

unconstitutional." Essentially, money and speech are equivalent ways of making one's

thoughts known. Thus, the free market should determine which parties are supported. In

Buckley, the Supreme Court upheld many of the provisions of FECA. However, it struck

down personal campaign contribution limits and expenditures made by others outside the

campaign. Thus, wealthy individuals could donate as much as they wanted to their own

campaigns and wealthy others could purchase advertisements in support of their preferred

candidate without repercussions (Mutch 2014). It took several additional Supreme Court

cases, but eventually corporations were determined to be a "part of our political

community and had much the same speech rights as citizens" by *Citizens United* (Mutch

2014:10).

While FECA was intended to ensure equality amongst the voting public with one person equaling one vote, neoliberal attacks on FECA have resulted in the change to one dollar equaling one vote. The capitalist class, as the holders of wealth, has been able to buy the votes necessary for many of the legislative changes that occurred during the neoliberal SSA within each of the social institutions.

Voting Rights Act of 1965

Related to campaign finance reform and the shift to dollars equaling votes is the fight over who actually is allowed to vote. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 "prohibits voting practices or procedures that discriminate on the basis of race, color, or membership in one of the language minority groups identified" (U.S. Department of Justice 2015). It also prohibits literacy tests and moral requirements that deny or infringe upon the voting rights of racial minorities (McCool 2012). Under Section 5, which has to be periodically renewed, states where discrimination is determined to be most likely must submit any proposals for changes to voting for approval. Thus, many southern states have been subjected to voting reviews.

Neoliberal attacks on this legislation have not had the intended effect until recently. In 2013, the Supreme Court held that the formula used to calculate which jurisdictions were covered by Section 5 was unconstitutional. Importantly, the Supreme Court did not rule on the constitutionality of Section 5. Jurisdictions may still be selected for voting oversight by court order (U.S. Department of Justice 2015). However, removing oversight for many jurisdictions is considered a win by those who would seek to reduce the size of the voting population. Since the 2010 election, 21 states have enacted new voting restrictions that include requiring photo identification to vote,

reducing the early voting period, making restoring post-conviction voting rights more difficult, and prohibiting voter registration drives (Brennan Center 2015). Neoliberal assaults on voting rights have the clear message that only certain kinds of people should be allowed to vote. The growth of legislation restricting access to voting suggests that the political opinion of minorities, the elderly, the poor, ex-offenders, and other less desirables is not wanted at the polling place. With the passage of these laws, it is clear that the capitalist class has dominated the working class. By controlling the state, the capitalist class will be able to have legislation enacted that benefits its business interests and promotes profit maximization.

Conclusion

While Rosenfeld and Messner (2006) declared, "We are not Marxists," one simply cannot understand how the economy has come to dominate the non-economic social institutions during the neoliberal era without accounting for the class struggle inherent in capitalism. I argue that high rates of serious crime are more likely in societies with weak social institutions and high inequality during liberal SSAs. As previously discussed, within each SSA, the capital-labor balance of power is constantly at issue and the source of much conflict. During the post-WWII SSA, the balance shifted towards labor. During the neoliberal SSA, the balance has shifted back towards capital. Thus, during liberal SSAs when the capital-labor balance of power is shifted towards capital, states with weak institutional structures and high social and economic inequality should have higher crime rates than states with strong institutional structures and low social inequality.

Empirical Expectations and Hypotheses

Based on RIAT, I draw out several empirical expectations and hypotheses. First, RIAT should be able to explain high serious crime rates in the United States during liberal SSAs. These SSAs favor the free market, have little government intervention, and tend to favor capital in the capital-labor relationship. As such, liberal SSAs provide the institutional context necessary for the economic domination of the non-economic social institutions to be visible. Second, economic domination of the non-economic social institutions causes the social institutions to be less able to provide informal social control and transmit norms and values. Since the family is the site of primary socialization and is the gatekeeper to the other social institutions, if this social institution experiences economic domination, then high serious crime rates should be present in the states. In addition, I expect that the combination of weak family with the other weak social institutions – weak religion, weak education, and/or weak polity – to result in high serious crime rates. Finally, I expect configurations of weak social institutions, in combination with high inequality, to lead to high serious crime.

By framing IAT in terms of the neoliberal SSA, it is apparent that IAT is an explanation for high rates of serious crime in the United States as class struggle influences the ability of the social institutions to perform their functions of informal social control and transmission of norms and values. During the neoliberal SSA, capital gained the upper hand in the capital-labor relation. As a result, the institutional balance of power began to favor the economy, or profitability in favor of the capitalist class. In the next chapter, I outline my strategy for assessing RIAT.

CHAPTER 5

QUALITATIVE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: AN OVERVIEW

One of the most significant gaps in IAT research is the lack of attention to which social institutions should be included in the theory and subsequent analysis. Researchers simply have not addressed the question of which combinations of economically-dominated social institutions lead to high serious crime rates. Answering this question is important for theoretical and methodological reasons. If the purpose of theory is to explain why social phenomena, such as crime, occur, then theory should be open to the idea that there may be multiple causal configurations, or pathways, that lead to the same outcome.

Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) is one methodological technique that helps researchers determine if multiple pathways to the same outcome exist. In this chapter, I discuss the QCA method in general terms and present one possible solution to the issue of dichotomizing the conditions and outcome when using continuous indicators. QCA is a departure from traditional quantitative and qualitative research methods. Therefore, some discussion of the underlying assumptions and the process of conducting QCA are warranted. Then, I begin to apply QCA to the current research question of determining which configurations of economically-dominated social institutions lead to high serious crime. I describe the selection of the cases, the use of cluster analysis in

constructing the conditions and outcome sets, and the ways that quantitative and

qualitative information about the cases informs the set construction.

Qualitative Comparative Analysis

Charles Ragin first proposed qualitative comparative analysis as a method of

social inquiry in *The Comparative Method* (1987). This new method was meant to bridge

the gap between traditional case-oriented (i.e., qualitative) and variable-oriented (i.e.,

quantitative) research by using the strengths of both to answer new research questions.

Case-oriented research tends to focus on answering questions about social phenomena

with attention to in-depth, detailed description. Variable-oriented research, on the other

hand, focuses on answering questions about how much of an effect a particular

independent variable has on a dependent variable of interest. Furthermore, case-oriented

research is generally limited to a sample size between one and five cases, while variable-

oriented research needs a larger number of cases in order to meet model statistical

assumptions. In the next section, I will argue that QCA is best suited to answering the

research question at the center of this dissertation: Which institutional arrangements lead

to high serious crime?

Benefits of Using QCA

QCA is uniquely situated to assist with answering my research question for

several reasons. First, determining institutional configurations cannot be done with

traditional case-oriented qualitative methods because I intend to use many more cases

(i.e., the 50 U.S. states) than can be readily handled. Second, traditional quantitative

methods are geared towards determining the net effects of variables, not understanding

different configurations of conditions leading to the same outcome, termed causal complexity comprised of "conjunctural causation plus equifinality" in the QCA literature (Ragin 2014:84). As previously noted in the literature review, statistical interaction terms can be used to assess the degree to which a configuration is affecting the dependent variable in a regression model, but this approach to configurational analysis does not take nuances of presence and/or absence of conditions into account, and it often leads to excessively high multicollinearity when several interaction effects are included in the same model. The theoretical model proposed by IAT is complex (recall Figure 2.1). When researchers enter too many independent variables into the model, problems with meeting the statistical assumptions of multivariate normality, homogeneity of residuals, and lack of multicollinearity arise, as well as reducing the power of significance tests (Berry 1993). QCA does not need to meet these assumptions as it uses set theory and Boolean algebra to determine the configuration of conditions needed for an outcome of interest.

Conducting a QCA

QCA is most readily explained through the process of conducting it. In the following sections, I outline the method, and the following three chapters serve as examples of how QCA should be conducted. Wagemann and Schnieder (2007) argue that QCA should be understood as both a research approach and an analytic technique. The research approach

> refers to the interactive process of data collection, model specification, case selection, and re-conceptualization of the conditions and outcome which are of central importance for any QCA-based research design. This aspect of QCA stems from its 'qualitative roots.' (Wagemann and Schnieder 2007:2)

How one constructs the study is just as, if not more, important as the analytic moment.

The most important assumption of QCA is that of "multiple conjunctural causation," that there are multiple combinations of conditions that may lead to the same outcome (Rihoux and Ragin 2009). QCA does not assume that symmetry exists in the pathways. Therefore, simply reversing the conditions may not result in the opposite outcome. Furthermore, Rihoux and Ragin (2009) note several statistical assumptions that do not apply to QCA, including permanent causality, uniformity, homogeneity, or additivity. As such, QCA is primarily case-oriented and is rooted in deep knowledge of the cases.

Another assumption of QCA is that cases tend to cluster together, or display limited diversity. In other words, while there may be an infinite number of potential configurations for the cases to follow, it is more likely that only a small fraction of the possibilities will be observed empirically (Berg-Schlosser and de Meur 2009).

QCA as a research method. QCA is based on the logic of Boolean algebra and set theory (Ragin 1987). The first step in conducting QCA is to select the cases. Cases should be similar such that one is comparing units with similar contexts that can later be held as constants (Berg-Schlosser and De Meur 2009). For example, U.S. states are comparable because they share similar history and cultural context. The population of the cases should contain both the presence and absence of the outcome of interest. The researcher should include exceptions or outliers in the analysis as these cases often provide useful information (Berg-Schlosser and De Meur 2009).

Importantly, theory and case knowledge should guide each of these choices. As such, QCA requires that the researcher be in constant dialogue with the cases, theory, and

data. This dialogue serves as a validity check because researchers should be cognizant of

when paradoxes occur. For example, if a case is coded in such a way that goes against

the researcher's knowledge of the case, he/she should investigate further in order to find

the source of the paradox. In doing so, the researcher adds to his/her knowledge and

creates a stronger model. Researchers must use theoretical knowledge as a guide in

making decisions about determining the criteria for case inclusion, the appropriate

conditions to include in the analysis, and the appropriate indicator(s) for the conditions.

The joint concern for theory and the cases should guide the researcher throughout the

process and assist him/her in transparently reporting the results. Researchers often

conduct the process of case selection and construction of the sets simultaneously.

The second task for the researcher is the construction of the sets of conditions

and outcome of interest. In-depth knowledge of the cases should guide the researcher in

the dichotomization of the conditions and outcome. Since QCA relies on adjectives (i.e.;

strong or weak), the researcher must have a clear idea about what these terms look like

empirically. For example, the researcher should scour the empirical literature for

instances where potential thresholds have been discussed and/or identified. Absent this

knowledge, the researcher must turn to his/her qualitative knowledge to help make

threshold determinations. QCA is primarily a data analysis technique for organizing and

reducing information about cases into a manageable form. Both qualitative and

quantitative knowledge about each case is used to make coding decisions. In crisp-set

QCA (csQCA), coding is either one for complete set membership or zero for complete set

non-membership. csQCA does not allow for variations in between these two poles

(Ragin 1987). Cases that do not completely satisfy the membership criteria cannot be

coded with a one for full membership. Thus, csQCA forces researchers to clearly define

set membership in a theoretically-informed way.

Another type of QCA, fuzzy-set QCA (fsQCA), allows for gradations in set

membership, with cases coded as more in or out of the set of interest. In fsQCA, coding

for conditions and outcomes ranges between zero and one with 0.5 indicating maximum

ambiguity as to set membership. However, this method of analysis works best with

quantitative data solely and moves away from, and in some instances completely

removes, the qualitative emphasis of QCA. For example, if a QCA researcher was

attempting to code gender and his/her theory pointed towards men as theoretically

relevant, then he/she would code all cases with men as one for belonging to the set of

men. Not all conditions can be so easily coded. If a researcher is interested in coding for

high income, at what point would he/she consider a case to belong to the set (Ragin

1987)? How a researcher decides to dichotomize the sets is one of the most important

tasks in QCA. The literature recommends using theoretical and case knowledge to make

these decisions. Absent this information, the researcher could use arbitrary cut points

such as the mean or median, but all other more theoretically-informed methods should be

exhausted first (Rihoux and Ragin 2009; Schnieder and Wagemann 2007).

The third step in the analysis is to construct the truth table using the coded set

data. The truth table contains 2^k rows, where k is the number of conditions (Ragin 1987).

The 2^k rows in the truth table contain all of the possible combinations of causal

conditions, observed and unobserved in the data. One must remember that each row in

the truth table is a summary of the cases with the same coding (Ragin 1987).

After the truth table has been constructed, the next step is to identify any contradictory rows, or rows where the same condition configuration leads to opposite outcomes (Ragin 1987). Ideally, all contradictions should be resolved. There are a number of ways to do this that involve the researcher dialoguing with the cases, data, and theory. For example, the researcher may choose to reevaluate the construction of the sets (both conditions and outcome), may drop a case that does not truly belong to the population of interest, and/or add conditions to the analysis. If these approaches fail to resolve the contradictions, other quantitative approaches may be attempted, including coding all contradictory rows with a one, coding all contradictory rows with a zero, or coding the contradictory rows by the frequency of the outcome (Rihoux and De Meur 2009). Regardless of the approach used to resolve the contradictions, the researcher must be transparent and report his/her entire process.

Analytic Moment. The analytic moment is the point at which the researcher determines the pathways that lead to the outcome of interest.[20] Finally, Boolean minimization is conducted. When there are fewer than ten rows, the researcher may complete minimization by hand, but Wagemann and Schneider (2007) suggest that researchers should always use computer software for minimization. For speed and accuracy, I used fsQCA 2.5 (Ragin and Davey 2014) to complete the minimization of the truth table that produces three types of solutions: (1) complex, (2) intermediate, and (3) parsimonious. The complex solution only takes into account the truth table rows observed in the data. The intermediate solution takes into account the observed rows and

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[20] To be honest, the analytic moment is anticlimactic. Most QCA researchers use software to complete the Boolean minimization. Thus, all of the work that went into coding the conditions and outcome sets is reduced to a simple press of a button.

easy counterfactuals, or unobserved rows that would make sense theoretically. The parsimonious solution takes into account all of the truth table rows, observed and unobserved, and presents the simplest solution. Yet, the parsimonious solution is generally useless as it includes both easy and difficult counterfactuals, where a counterfactual is an unobserved combination of conditions (Ragin 1987).

The solutions are presented using traditional math symbols, but are interpreted with the rules of logic. Conditions that are present are denoted with upper-case letters, while absent conditions are denoted with lower-case letters. For example, "A" denotes that the case is in the set, while "a" denotes that the case is not in the set. A plus sign (+) denotes logical OR, while a multiplication sign (*) denotes logical AND. Thus, $A + b \rightarrow$ O is read as the presence of "A" or the absence of "b" leads to the presence of the outcome of interest. For multiplication, $Ab \rightarrow O$ is read as the combination of the presence of "A" with the absence of "b" leads to the presence of the outcome of interest. As a result of these two equations, we can begin to think about necessity and sufficiency.

When a condition is necessary it means that it must be present (or absent) in order for the outcome of interest to occur. For example, in the solution $A \rightarrow O$, the presence of A is required in order for O to occur. Sufficiency indicates that a condition's presence in the solution is enough for the outcome to occur, but it may not be the only pathway. Returning to the previous example, the presence of condition A is also sufficient for the outcome to occur. These concepts also are helpful in understanding much more complex solutions. For instance, $Ab + CD \rightarrow O$ should be read as the presence of A combined with the absence of b or the presence of C combined with the presence of D produce outcome of interest. In this example, none of the conditions are necessary on their own

for the outcome to occur. However, the combination of conditions A and b or C and D is sufficient for the outcome to occur. QCA allows the researcher to explore the various pathways to the outcome without concern for the net effect of the conditions on the outcome of interest.

Once the researcher has determined the causal pathways, the final step is to interpret the solutions by returning to the cases. The researcher should use theory and case knowledge to determine which pathways are most relevant for further discussion. Again, all decisions should be transparent.

Departures from Previous IAT Research

QCA has not been used to test IAT or other criminological theories in past research. I use csQCA to investigate the institutional pathways to high serious crime in this study. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, institutional anomie theory assumes that all of the non-economic social institutions must be economically-dominated. By coding each condition for the presence or absence of economically-dominated social institutions, this study is able to test this assumption. QCA, as a method, assumes that there is more than one pathway to the outcome of interest. In other words, multiple combinations of the presence and/or absence of the economic domination of the social institutions may cause high serious crime to occur.

While QCA is the appropriate method for this study, it does represent a break from the existing IAT literature. Previous IAT research has not considered the configurational nature of the theory in a meaningful way, instead relying on statistical

interaction effects to examine a limited number of usually two-way interactions.[21] In

addition, the variables used in IAT research focus on the measurement of monetary

expenditures or other quantitative measures of the social institutions. QCA challenges

researchers to move beyond these types of measures and to get to the root of what is

being operationalized (i.e., economic dominance). In the following sections, I describe

the cases included in this study and my approach to the construction of the conditions and

outcome sets.

Case Selection and Time Period

The cases that will be included in this study are the 50 U.S. states. There are

several reasons for this choice. First, crime rates vary across U.S. states. For example, in

2007, homicide rates per 100,000 ranged from .9 to 14.6 with a mean of 5.0 and a

standard deviation of 2.7 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2016). If IAT theory is

correct, then institutional structures that control crime are likewise expected to differ

across states. Second, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) treat the United States as a single

entity for comparison with other countries. However, a more fruitful comparative task

may be to compare other countries to the individual U.S. states. Individual states are

more like European countries with similarities in geographical size and population. One

could go as far as to say that the appropriate unit to compare the United States to is not

other countries, but rather the European Union. This study provides the groundwork for

additional comparative work and challenges the view that the United States is a

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[21] Baumer and Gustafson (2007) included three-way interactions, but two of the
components were related to the American Dream. Studies testing the interactions of
social institutions use two-way interactions.

homogeneous entity. Third, the U.S. Constitution gives rights to the states that are not explicitly granted to the federal government. As a result, the degree to which the economy is able to dominate major social institutions varies greatly. Examples of these variations include differences in welfare policy and spending, education policy and spending, laws regarding the political process and campaign contributions, etc. In some instances, the federal government does provide legislation that provides broad limits (e.g., No Child Left Behind), but the individual states have latitude within these limits to make choices. Finally, the majority of IAT research uses the U.S. states as the primary unit of analysis. By investigating the pathways to high serious crime in the 50 U.S. states, I may be able to further refine or reconstruct the theory.

Time Period

The time period of interest for this study is 2007. I selected this period of time for several reasons, both theoretical and practical. First, the global Great Recession began in 2008. This recession has had far-reaching consequences for the entire world and occurred as the neoliberal SSA transitioned to the decay phase. As a result, this study is situated to take into account the influence of neoliberalism on crime rates during a time of great economic turmoil. Further, to date, no study of IAT has used data from the beginning of the decay phase. Until now, IAT research has focused on the exploration and consolidation phases of the neoliberal SSA.

The second reason for focusing on this time point is due to data for religious behavior that is representative of states being limited. While there are several national datasets that measure individual religious behavior, such as the General Social Survey, these datasets are nationally representative, but are not representative of state populations

because there are often too few cases per state. The Pew Center's Religious Landscape Survey is representative of states, but was only conducted in 2007.[22] In the next two sections, I describe my approaches to coding the sets for analysis.

<center>Set Construction: Use of Qualitative Data</center>

Ideally, QCA researchers should use qualitative data whenever possible for the construction of sets. In-depth case knowledge and theoretically-driven conditions should guide researchers in all facets of coding. Of course, some conditions are easier to code than others. For example, if a theory suggests that democratic countries are a set of interest, one only needs to look to history to determine the type of government. However, if a researcher is interested in the degree to which a state has embraced specific federal legislation, as I am, the qualitative work can become quite complex. It is most important for a researcher to be specific about the criteria used for determining if a case should be included in a set of interest or not. Of course, the coding for some conditions can only be based on quantitative data. It is this special issue that I discuss next.

<center>Set Construction: Use of Quantitative Data</center>

csQCA requires researchers to dichotomize conditions and sets along the lines of whether the condition is present or absent. Unfortunately, there has been little guidance about how a researcher should go about completing this task. Rihoux and De Meur (2009) suggest that researchers should be transparent in their coding, justify coding on

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[22] The Religious Landscape Survey was repeated in 2014 by the Pew Research Center. In future research, I may be able to repeat this study in order to determine if changes in the pre- and post-recession pathways to high serious crime occurred.

substantive and/or theoretical grounds, use the distribution of the data as a last resort, avoid arbitrary cut-points, use more elaborate techniques when required, and to code in the correct direction. These "good practices" generally refer to when a researcher has a single indicator for the set of interest and are not particularly helpful when a researcher prefers to use multiple indicators in set construction.

One technique that has been used in previous QCA research for constructing the truth table is cluster analysis (Ragin 1994; Redding and Viternia 1999). Ragin (1994) suggested that QCA could use cluster analysis to locate cases within truth table rows. Redding and Viternia (1999) went on to use this approach in their study. The idea behind using cluster analysis to construct the truth table is to sidestep the criticisms of dichotomizing the conditions based on mechanical cut-points such as the mean or median. This approach to constructing the truth table favors single-indicator conditions. Thus, it is not appropriate for a holistic, multifaceted approach to coding.

Cluster analysis has not been used to construct sets directly. It is a useful tool when constructing sets because it, like QCA, is case-based. Further, cluster analysis allows researchers to be transparent in their construction of the sets because researchers can report the indicators used in the cluster analysis and robustness verification steps taken. Thus, cluster analysis allows researchers to confront the main criticism of csQCA of how conditions using interval-level data are dichotomized. Further, it allows researchers to use multiple indicators when constructing the sets. In the following

sections, I discuss my planned use of cluster analysis from the perspective of variables and, more importantly, cases.[23]

Cluster Analysis of Variables

There are two primary purposes for using cluster analysis: (1) researchers may be interested in determining which variables group together into dimensions, and (2) researchers may be interested in determining which cases are closest together in space. Using cluster analysis to determine which variables group together produces results similar to principal components analysis. This type of information may be useful when attempting to determine which variables should be used in the clustering of cases. However, I opt for using theory to guide my indicator choices.

Cluster Analysis of Cases

Once a researcher has determined which indicators to include, case-based cluster analysis is conducted. In this section, I describe the logic of using cluster analysis with QCA, the various types of clustering methods and reasons for selecting one method over another, the various proximity and distance measures used in cluster analysis and the reasons for selecting one proximity measure over another, and the general process I used for applying cluster analysis to the construction of the sets in my study.

The Affinity of Clustering and QCA

Cluster analysis consists of a set of numerical procedures/heuristics that aim to identify groups of cases characterized by maximum internal cohesion and maximum separation using one or more indicators and an algorithm that results in the differences between group members being less than differences between members of different

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[23] I describe the set construction of high serious crime in Chapter 6 and the set construction of the conditions in Chapter 7.

groups. In other words, cluster analysis uses specific methods to locate cases in clusters that maximize the similarity between the cases within the cluster, while at the same time maximizing the differences between the clusters (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984).

Cluster analysis and QCA are similar in several ways. First, both cluster analysis and QCA rely on the researcher's in-depth knowledge of the cases and theory to make appropriate choices with respect to research design and analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Uprichard 2009). As in QCA, there are many strategic decisions to be made that have an impact on the final cluster solution. Thus, the cluster analysis literature emphasizes the need for complete transparency in reporting and justification of each of the decisions the researcher makes in the research design and analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Milligan 1996; Milligan and Hirtle 2012). Likewise, the QCA literature emphasizes transparency in all research decisions (Ragin 1987; 2008; Rihoux and Ragin 2009).

Types and Selection of Clustering Methods for Set Construction in QCA

There are two main types of clustering methods, hierarchical and non-hierarchical. According to Everitt et al. (2011), hierarchical clustering is performed in multiple steps. Agglomerative hierarchical clustering begins with each case in its own cluster and gradually combines the clusters based on similarity and/or distance-based criteria until all of the cases are in a single cluster. Divisive hierarchal clustering begins with all of the cases in a single cluster and gradually divides the cases into single-case clusters. The main limitation of hierarchical clustering methods is that once a case has been assigned to a cluster, it cannot be moved. Agglomerative clustering methods are most frequently used in the social sciences. Thus, I focus on these.

There are many agglomerative hierarchical clustering methods that are differentiated by the definition used to determine if clusters should be combined. Some of these methods work better in social science research than others. Two of these methods that are particularly useful for social science research are McQuitty's method and Ward's method. The characteristics that define these clustering methods are the distance measures typically used and how the distance between clusters is defined. McQuitty's method is typically used with either similarity or distance measures. It measures the distance between pairs of objects, where one object is in the cluster and the other is not. Cluster sizes, with McQuitty's method, are likely to be uneven. Ward's method uses distance measures only. The distance between clusters is measured with the increase in the sum of squares. Ward's method tends to find similarly-sized clusters and is sensitive to outliers (Everitt et al. 2011). Aldenderfer and Blashfield (1984) caution that different clustering methods may produce different, yet valid, results. Thus, it is up to the researcher to make the final decision based on case knowledge.

One method that has been developed to overcome agglomerative hierarchical method's limitation of the inability to move cases after they have been assigned to clusters is to employ a two-step procedure that uses the k-means clustering method to refine the results obtained using a hierarchical clustering method. In k-means cluster analysis, the researcher specifies the number of clusters that he/she expects to find in the data. In the two-step procedure, researchers use knowledge from the hierarchical cluster solutions to specify the number of clusters. When the number of clusters and cluster centroids from the hierarchical cluster analysis are used to provide the basis of k-means clustering, the results will be a fine-tuning of the cluster membership of cases. Once the

clustering method has been chosen, the next step is to determine which distance measure to use.

Selection of Proximity Measures for Set Construction in QCA

Cluster analysis uses distance, or proximity, measures in order to plot cases within space. The objective of cluster analysis is to minimize the distance between cases within a cluster and maximize the distance between clusters. Over time, many distance measures have been developed. Researchers choose the proximity measure based on the level of measurement of the indicators (Everitt et al. 2011). For the purposes of this discussion, I focus on proximity measures for continuous data. Both categorical and nominal data, when considering state-level data, are primarily constructed from qualitative data. For example, the presence or absence of Sunday sales bans could be coded with a one or zero, but the more interesting information comes from the specific laws. In using cluster analysis as a tool to aid dichotomization and coding, continuous data present the largest challenge.

The most commonly used distance measure is Euclidian distance (Everitt et al. 2011). Often researchers will want to avoid Euclidian distance and will instead square the Euclidian distance. This new measure is appropriately known as squared Euclidian distance. Euclidian distance is helpful because it represents the physical distance between two cases. City block distance and Minkowski distance are both related to Euclidian distance, where city block distance measures the distance traveled in street terms and Minkowski distance is a generalized form. Since Euclidian distance is preferred with both McQuitty's method and Ward's method, I use this measure in the cluster analysis for QCA set construction (Everitt et al. 2011).

The Practice of Cluster Analysis for Set Construction in QCA

In order to use cluster analysis in the construction of the sets for QCA analysis, several steps must be followed. First, the researcher must determine which sets to construct. Ideally, the conditions and outcomes included in the analysis should be guided by theory. Then the researcher must determine which indicators to include in the cluster analysis. Again, the selection of indicators should be guided by theory and knowledge of the cases. Next, the researcher should determine which proximity measure to use with which method. These choices should be guided by information that the researcher has about the distribution of the cases. Once the researcher has made these choices, he/she is ready is run the cluster analysis. Finally, the researcher should inspect the cluster solution to verify that the findings are consistent with theoretical expectations and case knowledge.

Validation of Clustering

Once the cluster solution has been determined for the indicators, the next step is to verify that the clusters conform to the researcher's theoretical expectations and case knowledge. The cluster(s) belonging to the set of interest, that will be coded with a 1, should be distinct from the cluster(s) not belonging to the set of interest.

The purpose of cluster analysis is to maximize the similarity of cases within the cluster while, at the same time, maximizing the difference between the resulting clusters. In other words, the cases in the resulting clusters should be alike, but the clusters themselves should be distinct. There are several ways to validate the cluster results including "(1) the cophenetic correlation, (2) significance tests on variables used to create clusters, (3) replication, (4) significance tests on independent variables, and (5) Monte

Carlo procedures" (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984: Chapter 4). The cophenetic

correlation is only appropriate when hierarchical cluster analysis has been used

(Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984). Since I used a two-step process of hierarchical

cluster analysis to determine the initial seeds and k-means (non-hierarchical) to fine-tune

the solution, the cophenetic correlation is not appropriate for the validation of the cluster

solution. Significance tests on variables used to create clusters is also inappropriate

because the purpose of cluster analysis is to maximize the differences between the

clusters. Thus, any statistical tests that use the indicators employed to create the clusters,

such as one-way analysis of variance or t-tests to test mean differences in indicators

across the derived clusters, is bound to find statistically significant results. As stated by

Aldenderfer and Blashfield (1984: Chapter 4), "Since these tests are positive, regardless

of whether clusters exist in the data or not, the performance of these tests is useless at

best and misleading at worst." Replication refers to using the same clustering method on

a subset of the data to see if the same clusters appear (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984).

This method of validation cannot be used because cluster solution(s) use all of the cases

in the population (the 50 U.S. states) and removing even a single case has the potential to

return a completely different cluster solution. Using a subset of the data for validation

works best when there are many objects included in the cluster analysis. For example,

one may be attempting to find patterns in marketing data of thousands of individuals.

Further, Aldenderfer and Blashfield (1984: Chapter 4) question the utility of this form of

replication, stating, "the failure of a cluster solution to replicate is reason for rejecting the

solution, but a successful replication does not guarantee the validity of the solution."

Monte Carlo procedures require the researcher to use a random number generator to

create a similar data set to the original data set, but without clusters. Then the researcher uses the same clustering method and compares the results. Monte Carlo procedures are potentially useful when the researcher does not have access to external data for validation purposes (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984).

Thus, the most appropriate method of cluster validation for this study is validation with significance tests on variables not included in the analysis. For example, I do not use all of the Part I index crimes collected by the FBI for the cluster analysis of high serious crime. The crimes not used in the cluster analysis can be used to validate the results. External validation of the clusters provides evidence that the cluster results do tap into the sets of interest.

Conclusion

Qualitative comparative analysis is a useful tool for theory building and testing. Since it assumes that there are multiple pathways to an outcome of interest it is particularly useful in this study because it assumes that there are multiple configurations of weak social institutions that produce high serious crime. In Chapters 6 and 7, I describe the analysis involved in constructing the high serious crime set and weak social institution conditions that comprise the initial truth table. Since contradictions were discovered in the initial truth table, I describe the further analysis undertaken to resolve these issues in Chapter 8. These three chapters constitute the "research methods" portion of QCA. In chapter 9, I present the results produced by the "analytic moment."

CHAPTER 6

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SET OF HIGH SERIOUS CRIME STATES

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) developed their macrosociological theory to explain differences in rates of *serious* crime across countries. However, as I argued in Chapter 5, IAT should also be capable of explaining differences in high serious crime rates across U.S. states. Indeed, researchers have used U.S. states as the units of analysis to good advantage in previous studies (e.g., Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Schoepfer and Piquero 2006; Piquero and Piquero 1998). Yet, to date, IAT research has not focused on the point when not high serious crime transitions to high serious crime. In other words, how much serious crime must occur in a state for it to be considered belonging to the set of high serious crime states? Messner, Rosenfeld, and Karstedt (2012) predicate the rationale for their theory on Durkheim's discussion of normal and pathological crime. Thus, they argue that there is always going to be crime because it provides the important function of maintaining moral boundaries. In addition to investigating the institutional pathways that lead to high serious crime, I am also interested in determining which states experience normal crime versus those that experience pathological crime.[24] In this

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[24] While not all states are expected to experience high serious crime rates, this study capitalizes on non-membership in the set of states experiencing high serious crime by analyzing both occurrences and absences of high serious crime rates. It is important to note a key feature of QCA. Membership in a condition or outcome must be interpreted as membership in a set. For example, membership in the set of states with high serious crime indicates that the given case has met the criteria for that classification. However, non-membership in the set of states of high serious crime should not be abbreviated as

chapter, I describe the construction of the set of high serious crime states. First, I review the available crime data in the United States. Then I argue that the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) are the best available data at the state-level, and for the use of homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault, and perhaps burglary, as the indicators of high serious crime. Finally, I use cluster analysis to construct the initial set of high serious crime states and I defend this initial coding.

Definition of Serious Crimes

While high serious crime is the primary outcome of interest in this study, there are many ways this outcome can be conceptualized and operationalized. Here I follow Messner and Rosenfeld's (2013:49) definition of serious crimes as "violations of criminal law involving significant bodily injury, the threat of bodily injury, or, in the case of nonviolent offenses, significant economic harm to victims, both individual and collective." Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:50) also note that most criminologists would see homicide and robbery as serious crimes, and that homicide and assault are the second and fifth leading causes of death and injury, respectively, for men between the ages of 15 and 24 in the United States (p. 51). All three crimes – homicide, robbery, and assault – also correspond well with their definition of serious crimes. Accordingly, later in this chapter I will argue that these three crimes – homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault – should be used as indicators of serious crime in the present study, along with potential consideration of burglary.

"low serious crime" because non-membership only indicates that the particular case has not met the designated threshold for high serious crime.

Types of Available Crime Data and Selection of UCR

There are four types of crime data available in the United States. These data include the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), and self-report studies. The U.S. Department of Justice administers the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS. Each of these measures are considered the official measures of crime in the United States. I omit self-report studies from this discussion since they generally measure less serious crime committed by juveniles (Mosher et al. 2011). In the following sections, I describe each of the official crime data sources with attention to which crimes are measured and the limitations of the data.

Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)

The UCR measures crimes known to law enforcement in the United States. In 1929, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) devised the original methodology for the UCR. Since each state and the federal government creates their own laws, the IACP created standardized definitions for the crimes included in the UCR. The seven crimes initially included as Part I offenses were murder and non-negligent homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. The initial Part I crimes were chosen for their prevalence, seriousness, public definition as crime, and high perceived likelihood of reporting. Congress included arson as a Part I offense in 1979 (Mosher et al. 2011), and the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 added human trafficking for involuntary servitude and human trafficking for commercial sex acts to the list (FBI 2013:13). The UCR collects data for Part I crimes as they are known to the police.

Crimes that are not Part I crimes are known as Part II crimes. The UCR collects only arrest data for Part II crimes (FBI 2004). Part II offenses include crimes such as simple assault, stalking, fraud, embezzlement, prostitution, and statutory rape.

Law enforcement agency participation in the UCR Program is voluntary, but the majority of agencies participate. Participation greatly improved in the 1970s with the creation of state-level administrators to collect data and troubleshoot (Mosher et al. 2011). In 2007, 17,738 agencies contributed data to the UCR. These agencies covered approximately 94.6 percent of the U.S. population (FBI 2008). The UCR presents data nationally and for sub-national aggregates including regions, states, cities, towns, colleges, and tribal areas.

Limitations of the UCR. As with all forms of data, the UCR is subject to several limitations. While these limitations cannot be overcome, it is still important for researchers to acknowledge them. One issue faced by the UCR is ambiguity in the reporting of crimes by police departments stemming from definitional issues and the timing of reporting. I discuss the definitional issues in the following sections. Timing of reporting has to do with when the actual event is reported to the FBI. For example, if a victim of an aggravated assault dies from his/her injuries then it is the responsibility of the police department to recode the aggravated assault as a murder. Sometimes this recoding does not occur in a timely manner due to time constraints on the police. Other times, reporting may be delayed due to the length of time between the aggravated assault and the subsequent death of the victim. Mosher et al. (2011:71) describe an instance of this particular issue in New York City in 2006, stating:

> However, part of this increase [in homicides] was fueled by an unusual
> number of deaths that were classified as homicides because the city's

medical examiner determined they were related to crimes that had been committed in earlier years. Of the 25 such reclassified deaths in 2006, 12 were related to injuries that had occurred at least 14 years earlier, including one case of a 72-year old man who has [sic] shot in 1974 and died of pneumonia in April of 2006 (Vasquez, 2006).

This example illustrates the fact that data are socially constructed and entirely dependent on individuals' interpretation of events.

Two other causes for ambiguity in UCR data stem from the way that crimes are counted. The FBI employs what has become known as the hotel rule. If a structure is managed by a manager who is the likely person to report burglary instead of the property owner, such as a hotel or storage unit, then any number of burglaries that occur on a single day are counted as a single event (Mosher et al. 2011). The other counting rule that the FBI uses is the hierarchy rule. The FBI has rank ordered the Part I offenses in terms of seriousness, with criminal homicide being the most serious followed by rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, human trafficking for commercial sex acts, and human trafficking for involuntary servitude.[25] Only the highest ranked event is counted. For example, if in the course of the criminal act a convenience store owner was robbed at gun point and a customer killed, only the murder would be reported in the UCR crime counts.

In addition to the definitional and counting issues, there are also several validity issues with the UCR. The UCR only measures crimes that are known to the police. There are a host of reasons for why a victim may choose to not report his/her

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[25] When motor vehicle theft, a special type of larceny theft, is coupled with larceny theft in a single event, the event is scored as a motor vehicle theft. Arson, human trafficking for commercial sex acts, and human trafficking for involuntary servitude ignore the hierarchy rule and are always counted in addition to the single most serious Part I offense that occurred along with the human trafficking or arson (FBI 2013:25-26).

victimization to the police. I discuss these in detail as part of my rationale for using the selected crime rates. As part of a move towards problem-oriented policing, police departments have focused on deploying their resources towards areas perceived to be more crime prone such as inner-city neighborhoods characterized by concentrated poverty and a high percentage of people of color. One can easily surmise that more police officers in a given area will uncover more crime. Thus, the UCR may measure activity of the police more so than the actual level of crime (Mosher et al. 2011). A related problem with the data is the focus on measuring the crimes of the powerless as opposed to measuring the crimes of the powerful. The UCR does not measure white collar crime (with the exception of a few Part II crimes) (Friedrichs 2010; Mosher et al. 2011). As a result, a great number of injurious harms are left out of the UCR crime data.

The UCR also suffers problems with incomplete data. Participation in the UCR is voluntary. Large, urban police departments are more likely to participate than small, rural police departments. Also, not all departments participate equally. Depending on resource constraints, departments may not be able to participate fully (Mosher et al. 2011).

The UCR provides both raw crime counts and crime rates per 100,000 inhabitants for each of the Part I crimes. The crime rates are constructed from the crime count data and population estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau. Since the U.S. Census is only conducted every 10 years, population estimates are used during the other years. Should the population estimates be off, then crime rate trends may be due to this factor rather than changes in crime.

Related to the problem of estimating populations is the issue of handling non-reporting departments and departments with incomplete data. In both of these instances, the FBI imputes the data, but the imputation methods used are questionable. For non-reporting departments, the FBI attempts to find another department from the same state with the same population and 12 months of available data. Of course, no two departments can be completely alike and can differ along the lines of racial composition, socioeconomic status, age structure, etc. in their jurisdictions. For departments with at least three months of incomplete data, the FBI imputes the data for the rest of the year by "multiplying the reported number of crimes by 12, divided by the number of months reporting" (Mosher et al. 2011:99). This assumes that crime occurs equally throughout the year. Research has shown this assumption to be faulty as crime rates tend to increase during the summer months and decrease during the winter months (Mosher et al. 2011).

National Incident-based Reporting System (NIBRS)

The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) was created in the late 1980s as a way to improve crime data collection. Like the UCR, the FBI administers the NIBRS. It was intended to eventually replace the UCR as it provides more comprehensive, detailed data about crime events. Unfortunately, collecting additional data has proven burdensome for police departments (Mosher et al. 2011). According to the FBI (2008:3),

> In 2007, approximately 38 percent of the Nation's law enforcement agencies participating in the UCR Program submitted their data via the NIBRS, and the crime data collected via the NIBRS comprised approximately 25 percent of the data submitted to the FBI. The jurisdictions that reported crime data to the FBI via the NIBRS covered approximately 25 percent of the Nation's population.

Therefore, while the NIBRS does provide more accurate counts of crime events, it cannot be used for this study because it does not provide data for all 50 U.S. states.

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)

While the UCR and NIBRS provide crime data for crimes known to law enforcement, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) seeks to estimate the amount of victimization in the United States with a nationally representative sample of approximately 43,000 households (Mosher et al. 2011). In other words, the NCVS attempts to determine both crimes known and unknown to law enforcement from the perspective of victims. In this section, I discuss the development of the NCVS, methods of data collection, and limitations of the NCVS.

Crime victimization surveys were developed in the 1960s as a response to the limitations in the UCR data. The National Crime Surveys (NCS) were introduced in 1972. These surveys sampled both households and businesses. However, the business samples were discontinued in the mid-1970s due to research finding that these samples did not add much to the general understanding of crime victimization. The household samples were retained and the survey was renamed the National Crime Victimization Survey. In general, victimization surveys are an improvement over UCR data because they can collect more detailed information about the crime victimization event such as contextual information about when and where the event occurred and offender information including race, gender, age, and relationship to the victim (Mosher et al. 2011).

The U.S. Census Bureau and Bureau of Justice Statistics use a sampling design to ensure that the NCVS is representative of the United States. Specifically,

a complex, stratified, multistage cluster sample in which approximately 673 primary sampling units are initially identified by standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs), a county, or small groups of contiguous counties. These clusters are then stratified with respect to important demographic characteristics, and sample elements (in this case, households) are selected from each stratum in a manner that is proportionate of their representation in the larger population. (Mosher et al. 2011:153-154).

Selected households are included in the sample for 3.5 years. During that time, individuals aged 12 years and older are interviewed every six months about crime victimization they have suffered. The first interview is conducted face-to-face. However, the interviewer has the option to conduct follow-up interviews over the telephone. The first interview is used as a baseline and was not included in the victimization rate calculations until the 2006 redesign. Future interviews asked respondents to consider the six months since the last interview. Between 1996 and 2008, the NCVS had household response rates of 90 percent or greater and individual response rates of 84 percent or better (Mosher et al. 2011).

The NCVS underwent two major redesigns in 1992 and 2006. These redesigns were focused on improving the survey without increasing the cost of the survey substantially or disrupting the time-series (Mosher et al. 2011). The focus on cost is particularly important because, despite public concern about crime in the United States, research funding has declined since the 1980s (Pepper and Petrie 2003). The 1992 redesign included modifying the screening question wording to help respondents recall more crime victimization events, using computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI), and changing the way household larcenies were coded. The changes generally resulted in increasing the number of crime victimization events reported. The 2006 redesign included using first interview data (unbounded) in the construction of the crime

victimization rates, reducing the sample size by 14 percent to account for the increased data from the use of first interview data, and suspending the U.S. Census Bureau CATI administration.

The crimes that are included in the NCVS are personal crimes (rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault, and personal theft) and household crimes (burglary, motor vehicle theft, and other household theft). Victimization events reported and not reported to the police are recorded. Respondents are asked a series of screening questions to determine if they experienced any of the specified crime events. If the respondent answers yes to any of the screening questions, then an incident report is taken (Mosher et al. 2011). As Pepper and Petrie (2003) note, crime victimization is a rare event and most respondents answer no to the screening questions. After the interview is complete, the interviewer reviews the responses and incident reports to code for the number of crime victimization events. This is important because for some crime victimization events, the description (or context) does not align with the crime definition. It is important to note that the NCVS does not include homicide.

For the purposes of this study, the limitations of the NCVS include the inability to disaggregate the data to the state-level and the lack of data on homicide. Pepper and Petrie (2003:6-7) describe the data aggregation problem, stating:

> For many research and policy questions, it is important to analyze crime data at a relatively low level of aggregation, such as a county or even a census tract. The problem, however, is that many of the national surveys, such as the National [Crime] Victimization Survey, though large enough to yield national estimates, or even state-level estimates, with adequate precision, are inadequate to yield reliable estimates for small areas. The raw rates are unstable, due to small numerators and/or denominators. Unstable rates are problematic because a change of only a few events in the numerator can result in large changes in rates. Furthermore, extreme rates (high or low) are often the result of inherent variability (noise) rather

than true extremes in the phenomenon. The areas with the smallest populations will have the extreme values and will dominate a map or statistical analysis. The least precise rates thus have the most influence.

While state-level estimates could theoretically be generated, the Bureau of Justice Statistics does not provide residence location in the NCVS data tables. Further, the NCVS Victimization Analysis Tool will only disaggregate the results to the regional level (Northeast, Midwest, South, and West). Arguably, victimization data are preferable to UCR data as they result in a clearer picture of crime events by providing much needed context, but the methodological limitations cannot be overcome for this study. Other limitations include (1) only crimes with victims are included, (2) non-crime events may be included in the counts, (3) definitional issues, and (4) the standard survey limitations (sampling error and/or bias, characteristics of non-response group, interviewer effects, telephone versus in-person interview effects, social desirability, and the reference period).

Justification of Use of UCR Part I Data

Of the three official measures of crime in the United States, the UCR provides the most complete data that can be used at the state-level. Both the NIBRS and NCVS are unsuitable for this study for similar reasons. The NIBRS does not have adequate coverage of the United States and the NCVS cannot be disaggregated to the state-level due to the method of sampling.

The UCR data include only crimes known to the police. Some may argue that victimization data would be a better measure of crime because it includes crimes that have not been reported to police. However, one indicator of perceived seriousness of crime is whether the behavior was reported. Further, the UCR provides the most comprehensive data for murder in the United States – the most serious crime.

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Finally, the UCR data is the best choice for this study because it is based on frequency counts of criminal behavior, not estimates. The NCVS, due to being based on a sample of households, can only provide estimated crime rates. For these reasons, I use UCR data in the construction of the set of high serious crime states.

UCR Part I Offenses

Since the UCR will provide the data for the present study, in this section I describe the crime definitions used by the FBI and the resulting crime trends from a national perspective. The ten crimes included in the Part I UCR offenses are criminal homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, human trafficking for commercial sex acts, and human trafficking for involuntary servitude. The first seven crimes have always been included in the UCR. As noted earlier, arson was added as a Part I offense in 1979 (Mosher et al. 2011) and the human trafficking offenses in 2008 (FBI 2013). Figure 6.1 (below) shows violent and property crime rates in the United States from 1960 to 2012. Violent crimes include criminal homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property crimes include burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. Arson is not included in the data because it is infrequently reported and national estimates are not available. Neither of the two human trafficking offenses are included because they were added in 2008, after the time period for this study, and national data are not available. Property crime is much more prevalent than violent crime as indicated by the difference in scales of measurement in Figure 6.1 (below).
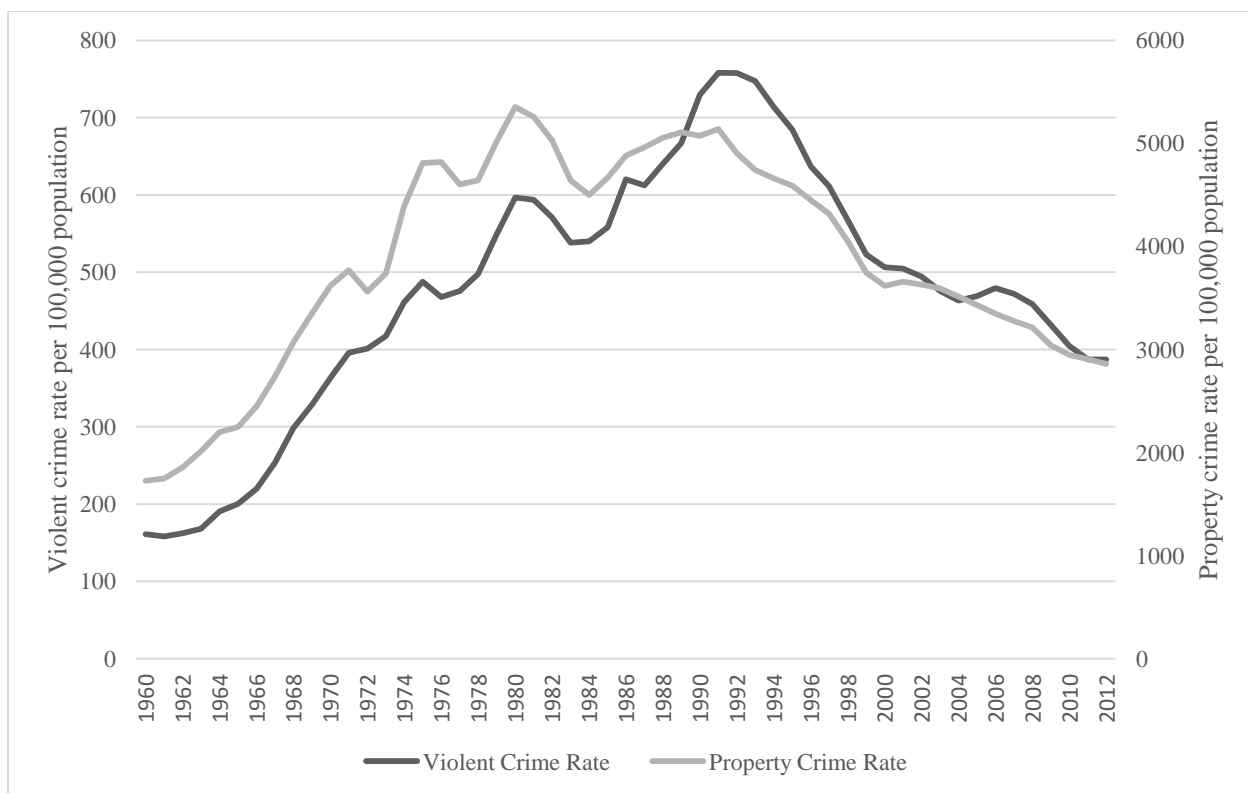
Figure 6.1: U.S. Violent and Property Crime Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.gov)

In the following sections, I discuss how the FBI defined the Part I crimes in 2007, what acts are included in the data, and historical trends.

Murder/Non-negligent Manslaughter[26]

The FBI (2008) defines murder and non-negligent manslaughter as "the willful (nonnegligent) killing of one human being by another." These data do not include attempts as they are recorded as aggravated assaults. Figure 6.2 (below) shows the U.S. homicide rate from 1960 to 2012. The homicide rate increased from 1963 to 1974, decreased from 1974 to 1976, increased from 1976 to 1980, decreased from 1980 to

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[26] In 2007, the FBI still referred to this Part I offense as murder and non-negligent manslaughter. Today they use the term "criminal homicide" to cover the two crimes in this Part I offense, murder and non-negligent homicide (FBI 2013).

1984, increased from 1984 to 1991, decreased from 1991 to 2000, remained stable from 2000 to 2007, and decreased from 2007 to 2012.
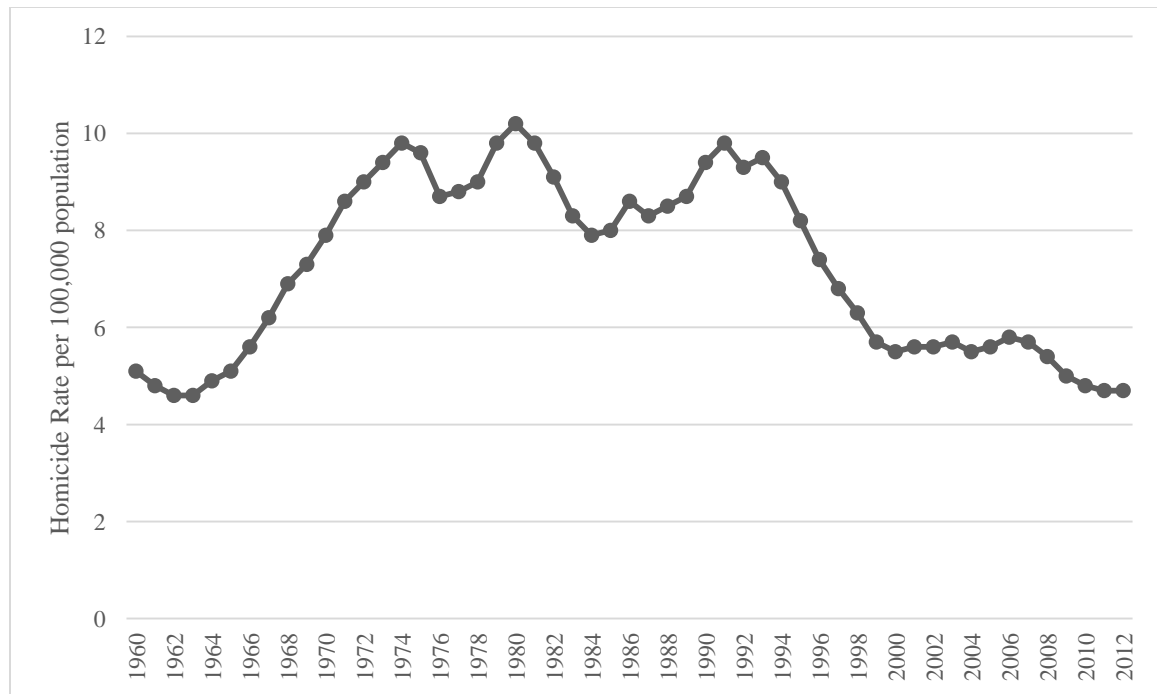
Figure 6.2: U.S. Homicide Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.gov)

The stability in the homicide rate from 2000 to 2007 is interesting for several reasons. The stability may indicate a potential starting point for considering what value a normal homicide rate may take. In 2007, there were 5.7 homicides per 100,000 population.

Forcible Rape

The FBI (2008) defines forcible rape as "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will." The data contain completed rapes and attempts to commit rape. Figure 6.3 (below) shows the U.S. forcible rape rate from 1960 to 2012. Forcible rape rates increased from 1964 to 1992 and decreased from 1992 to 2012.
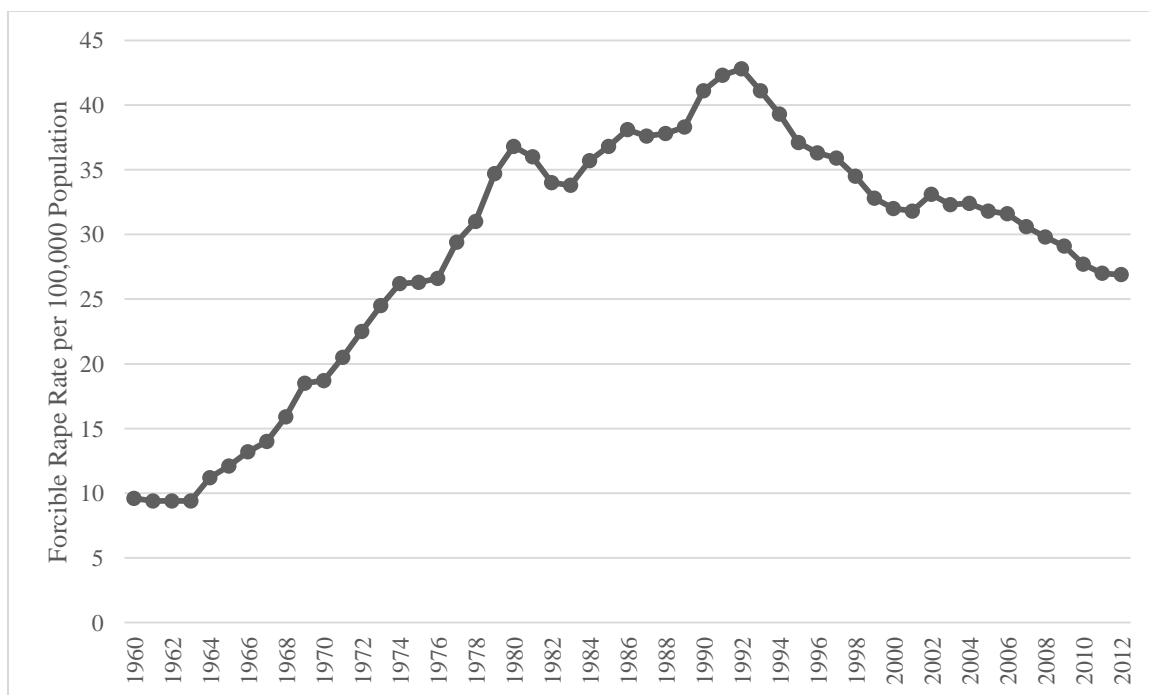
Figure 6.3: U.S. Forcible Rape Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.org)

Of the violent crimes, the statistics for forcible rape are the most problematic due to definitional and reporting issues. As with all UCR crimes, the FBI expects states to only report crimes that fit the UCR definition. The FBI definition of rape is known to problematic due to its limitation to females only, requiring force to be used, and requiring resistance (National Research Council 2014). Thus, an unknown number of rapes are excluded from the UCR data by definition alone.[27] I describe the reporting problems in the following section.

Robbery

The FBI (2008) defines robbery as "the taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear." Attempts are included in the data.

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[27] The FBI adopted a broader definition of rape in 2011 (FBI 2013).

Figure 6.4 (below) shows the U.S. robbery rate from 1960 to 2012. The robbery rate increased from 1960 to 1981 with a few minor dips, decreased from 1981 to 1984, increased from 1984 to 1991, decreased from 1991 to 2000, remained stable from 2000 to 2008, and decreased from 2008 to 2012. The robbery rate in 2007 was 148.3 per 100,000 population.
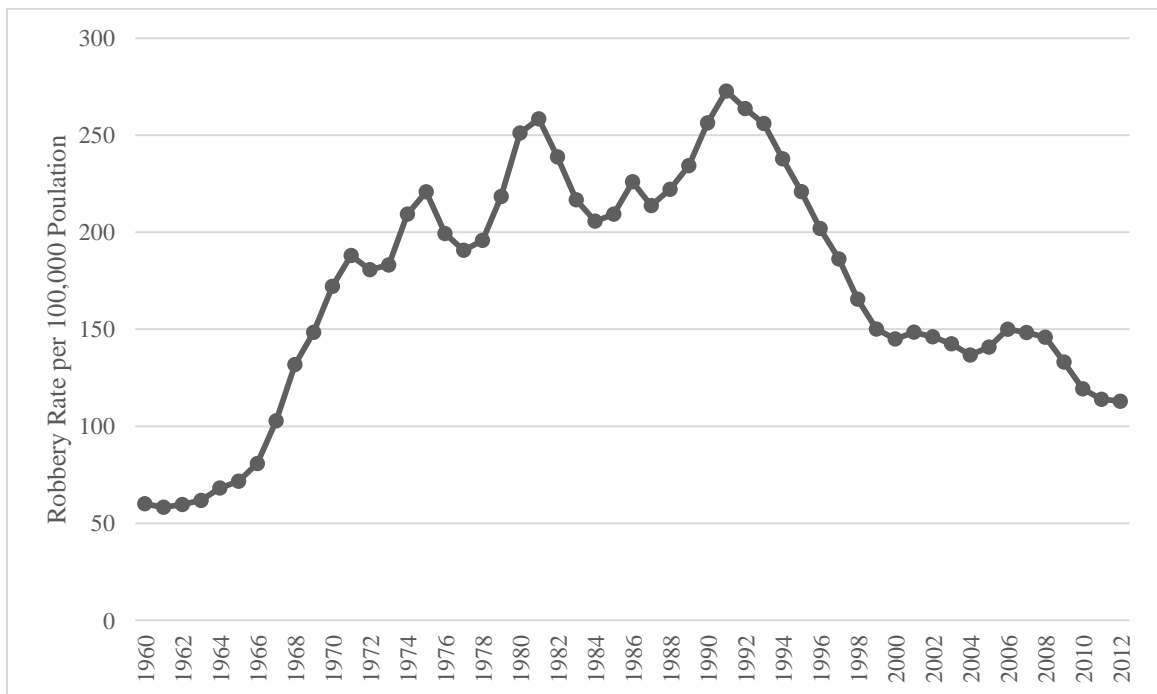
Figure 6.4: U.S. Robbery Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.gov)

The robbery rate over time has somewhat mirrored the shape of the homicide rate trend except robbery occurs much more frequently than homicide. Also of note, is the stability of the robbery rate during the 2000s. Similar to homicide, this may indicate a place to consider the transition from pathologic robbery rates to normal robbery rates. However, the rates in the 2000s are approximately three times greater than during the stability experienced in the early 1960s.

Aggravated Assault

The FBI (2008) defines aggravated assault as "an unlawful attack by one person upon another for the purpose of inflicting severe or aggravated bodily injury." These assaults are often committed with a weapon. All other assaults are recorded as simple assaults, a Part II offense.
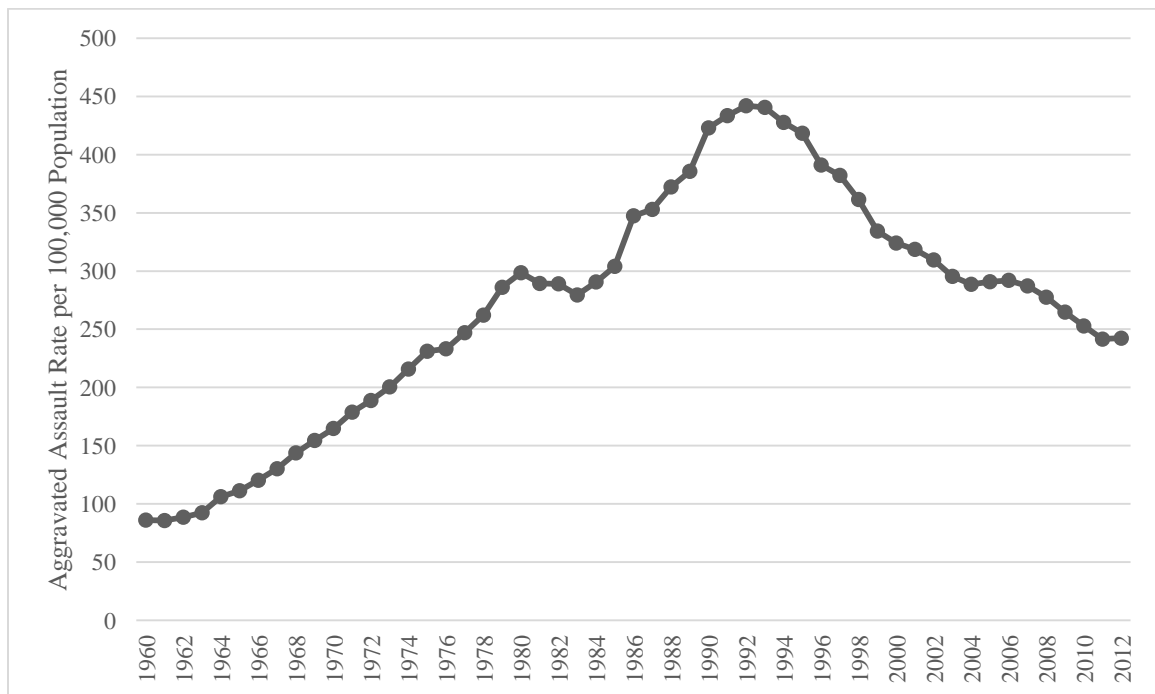
Figure 6.5: U.S. Aggravated Assault Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.gov)

Figure 6.5 (above) shows the U.S. aggravated assault rates from 1960 to 2012. Aggravated assault increased from 1960 to 1992 and decreased from 1992 to 2012. The aggravated assault rate in 2007 was 287.2 per 100,000 population. Unlike the other violent crimes, aggravated assault rates did not experience a leveling off during the early 2000s.

Burglary

The FBI (2008) defines burglary as "as the unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft." Under this definition, forcible entry, unlawful entry without force, and attempted forcible entry are included in the data. Figure 6.6 (below) shows the U.S. burglary rates from 1960 to 2012. The burglary rate increased from 1960 to 1980, decreased from 1980 to 1984, remained stable from 1984 to 1991, decreased from 1991 to 2000, and remained stable from 2000 to 2012. The burglary rate in 2007 was 726.1 per 100,000 population.
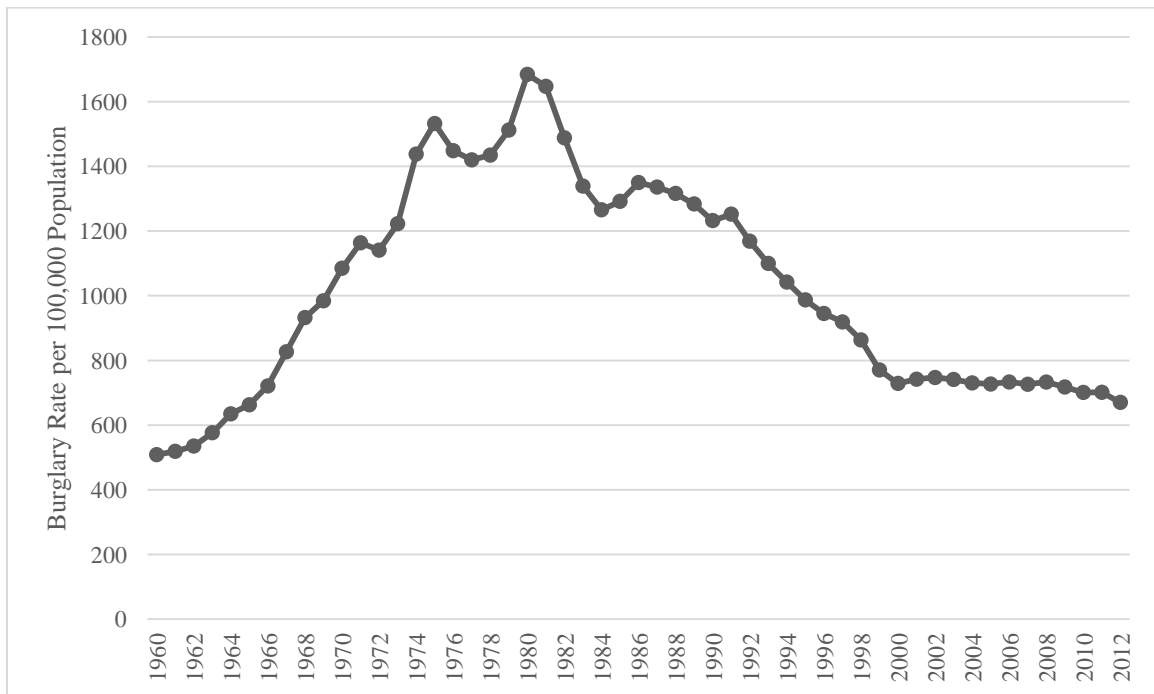
Figure 6.6: U.S. Burglary Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.gov)

Larceny-Theft

The FBI (2008) defines larceny-theft as "the unlawful, taking, carrying, leading, or riding away of property from the possession or constructive possession of another." The data include attempted larcenies. Figure 6.7 (below) shows the U.S. larceny-theft rate

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from 1960 to 2012. Larceny-theft increased from 1960 to 1980, decreased from 1980 to 1984, increased from 1984 to 1991, and decreased from 1991 to 2012. The larceny-theft rate in 2007 was 2185.4 per 100,000 population.
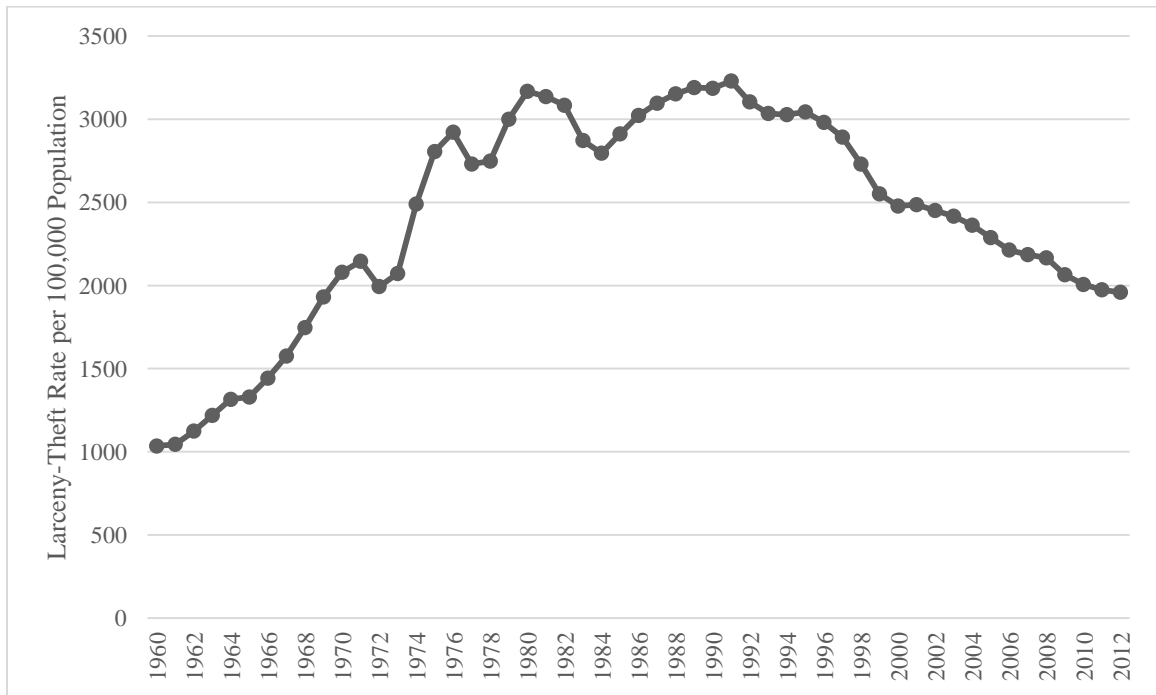
Figure 6.7: U.S. Larceny-Theft Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.gov)

Motor Vehicle Theft

The FBI (2008) defines motor vehicle theft as "the theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle." Figure 6.8 (below) shows the U.S. motor vehicle theft rate from 1960 to 2012. Motor vehicle theft increased from 1960 to 1980, decreased from 1980 to 1983, increased from 1983 to 1991, decreased from 1991 to 2000, remained stable from 2000 to 2005, and decreased from 2005 to 2012. In 2007, the motor vehicle theft rate was 364.9 per 100,000 population.
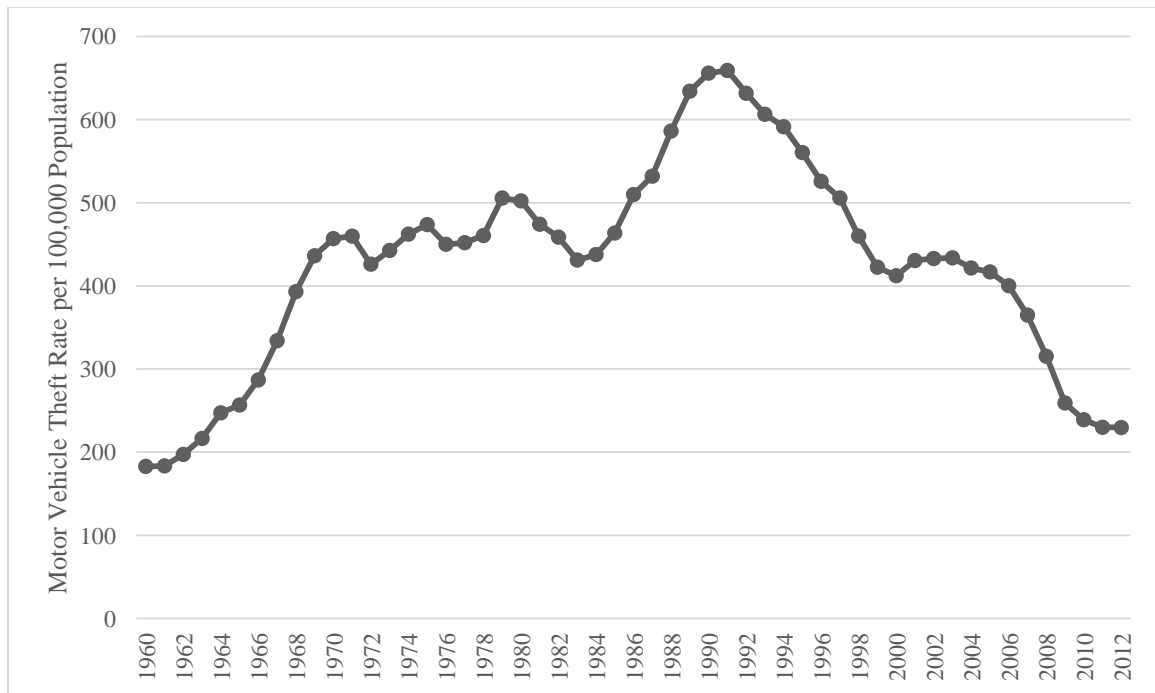
Figure 6.8: U.S. Motor Vehicle Theft Rates, 1960 - 2012 (Source: UCRdatatool.gov)

Arson

The FBI (2008) defines arson as "as any willful or malicious burning or

attempting to burn, with or without intent to defraud, a dwelling house, public building,

motor vehicle or aircraft, personal property of another, etc." The data include only fires

that have been set willfully. The FBI calculates arson rates only for agencies that provide

12 months of data. National arson rates are not available.

Choice of Serious Crimes

As noted earlier, I follow Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) in defining serious crime

as those behaviors that occur between individuals and have the ability to cause serious

bodily harm or death. The UCR Part I crimes in 2007 that most closely fit this definition

are murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated

assault. However, I describe my reasons for limiting the set construction of serious crime to murder and non-negligent manslaughter (homicide), robbery, and aggravated assault below. Of the Part I property crimes, burglary is the most serious and has the highest potential for resulting in serious bodily harm or death. Since several researchers have included burglary as their dependent variable (see Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Piquero and Piquero 1998; Hannon and DeFronzo 1998; Baumer and Gustafson 2007), I consider including this crime in the set construction as well.

FBI Hierarchy Rule

The first reason for limiting the crimes included in the set construction of high serious crime is the UCR's use of the hierarchy rule. As discussed above, under the hierarchy rule, when multiple offenses occur at the same time, only the most serious is reported in the UCR data. Homicide is the most serious offense followed by forcible rape, robbery, and then aggravated assault (FBI 2008).[28] Thus, through use of the hierarchy rule, the most serious crimes are always included in the counts.

NCVS Public Reporting of Part I Offenses

While the NCVS cannot provide state estimates of crime victimization, it does provide useful information about the public's reporting activity of victimization, and hence citizen reporting of serious crime. Most crimes are not reported to the police. The 2007 NCVS found that 47.0 percent of personal crimes and 37.2 percent of property crimes were reported to the police. Respondents reported that 51.6 percent of rape and attempted rape victimizations, 65.6 percent of robbery victimizations, and 57.2 percent of

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[28] Although, we could argue that assault is a more serious crime than robbery as the victim is injured. This is a problem with the UCR's ranking of the seriousness of particular crimes and beyond the scope of this current discussion.

aggravated assault victimizations were reported to the police. Reporting of aggravated

assault victimization increased to 73.4 percent when there was also an injury.

Respondents reported 50.1 percent of household burglary victimizations, 91.3 percent of

completed motor vehicle thefts, and 30.6 percent of theft victimizations to the police.

Household burglary victimization increased to 67.9 percent when forcible entry was

involved. Reporting of theft increased to 50.0 percent when the value of the item(s)

taken was greater than $250 (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS] 2010).

Respondents' reasons for reporting victimization to the police vary by type of

crime. Victims of rape reported victimization to the police 27.3 percent in order to

prevent further crimes by the offender against the victim and 17.6 percent in order to

prevent further crimes by the offender against anyone. Victims of robbery reported

victimization to the police 18.9 percent in order to stop or prevent the incident, 17.0

percent in order to recover property, and 15.2 percent in order to prevent further crimes

by the offender against the victim. Victims of aggravated assault reported victimization

to the police 32.6 percent in order to stop or prevent the incident and 17.2 percent in

order to prevent further crimes by the offender against the victim. Victims of household

burglary reported victimization to the police 19.2 percent in order to recover property,

19.3 percent because it was a crime, and 13.8 percent in order to prevent further crimes

by the offender against the victim. Victims of motor vehicle theft reported victimization

to the police 34.0 percent in order to recover property, 22.0 percent because it was a

crime, and 10.3 percent in order to collect insurance. Victims of theft reported

victimization to police 24.6 percent in order to recover property and 21.8 percent because

it was a crime (BJS 2010).

Similarly, respondents' reasons for not reporting victimization to the police vary. Victims of rape did not report victimization to the police 15.4 percent because it was a private or personal matter, 16.8 percent due to fear of reprisal, and 25.0 percent due to other reasons. Victims of robbery did not report victimization to the police 23.1 percent due to the recovering the object or the offender was unsuccessful, 11.6 percent due to perceived inconvenience or reporting being too time consuming, and 16.3 percent due to other reasons. Victims of aggravated assault did not report victimization to the police 17.1 percent because the offender was unsuccessful, 16.4 percent because it was a private or personal matter, and 14.9 percent because the police would not want to be bothered. Victims of household burglary did not report victimization to the police 22.5 percent due to recovering the object or the offender was unsuccessful, 13.2 percent because the police would not want to be bothered, and 10.3 percent due to other reasons. Victims of motor vehicle theft did not report victimization to the police 28.4 percent due to recovering the object or the offender was unsuccessful, 18.0 percent because it was a private or personal matter, and 13.4 percent due to other reasons. Victims of theft did not report victimization to the police 26.3 percent due to recovering the object or the offender was unsuccessful, 15.2 percent because the police would not want to be bothered, and 9.7 percent due to other reasons (BJS 2010).

In summary, the NCVS data indicate that most crimes are not reported to the police. When victims report violent crime, they do so most often in order for police to stop or prevent the current incident or to prevent future victimization by the offender. Violent crime victimization is not reported because it was a private or personal matter, due to recovery of the object, or the offender being unsuccessful. When victims report

property crime victimization to the police, the primary objective is to recover property.

Likewise, victims of property crime victimization are unlikely to report to the police if

the property is recovered. When considering crimes that are serious, whether a victim

reports the crime or not is a clear indicator of how serious the crime was. While property

crimes are most frequent, violent crimes are perceived to be the most serious.

Justification for the Exclusion of Rape and UCR Part I Property Offenses

Rape is excluded from the set construction of high serious crime due to the many

issues outlined in the previous sections. First, not all of the states are included in the

UCR data due to non-compliance with the UCR definition. Minnesota's data collection

methodology does not conform to the UCR standards and is, therefore, excluded.

Second, for a variety of reasons, rape is underreported in the United States by victims.

Third, the data include attempts. Taken together, these data are not reliable.

The Part I property crimes, with the exception of my consideration of burglary,

are also excluded from the set construction of high serious crime for several reasons.

First, these crimes do not meet Messner and Rosenfeld's and my definition of serious

crime in that they do not have the ability to result in serious bodily harm or death.

Second, until 2004, the UCR published the crime index and modified crime index. The

crime index was a summation of the crime rates of the Part I offenses except arson, while

the modified crime index included all of the Part I offenses. The FBI discontinued these

indices because offense categories with the largest frequencies, usually larceny-theft,

drive the results (FBI 2008). Similarly, if larceny-theft were included in the construction

of the set of high serious crime states, the sheer volume of these crimes would

overshadow those that are much more serious, but less frequently occurring offenses.

Third, another reason for excluding burglary and larceny-theft from the set construction of high serious crime is the inclusion of attempts in the UCR data. Fourth, and finally, reporting data (discussed in previous sections) indicate that these crimes are not perceived as being as serious by the public.

Cluster Analysis of the Cases

In the previous sections, I described the available sources of crime data in the United States and argued that the UCR provides the best data for the present study. I then reviewed the UCR Part I crimes, including their definitions, reporting, and trends. Based on this review and my definition of serious crime, I limited the potential indicators for the construction of the set of high serious crime to homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault. In this section, I describe the cluster analysis used to create the outcome set of high serious crime states.[29]

Selection of Indicators/Attributes

The first step in conducting a cluster analysis is selecting the indicators for inclusion and inspecting them. The summary statistics for homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary are in Table 6.1 (below). For this analysis, I used the 3-year average (2007-2009) for each of the crimes in order to address time-order of the conditions (each constructed for 2007) and the outcome and to minimize year-to-year differences in the crime rates. In my review of the univariate statistics, I found that average homicide had one outlier, Louisiana. I did not find outliers in average robbery,

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[29] Recall the cluster analysis discussion in Chapter 5 where I outlined the application of cluster analysis to QCA set construction.

average aggravated assault, and average burglary. Homicide occurs much less frequently than robbery, aggravated assault, or burglary.

Table 6.1: Summary Statistics for High Serious Crime Indicators

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Range
Average Homicide Rate	4.719	2.364	.933	12.900	11.967
Average Robbery Rate	106.827	58.913	13.200	249.300	236.100
Average Assault Rate	259.408	122.825	61.067	546.100	485.033
Average Burglary Rate	686.819	245.136	329.533	1186.230	856.700

My inspection of the bivariate scatterplots revealed potential outliers, and clusters tended to be non-spherical and elongated. In addition, aggravated assault appears to be a good discriminator when combined with robbery or homicide.

Standardization/Weighting

As Everitt et al. (2011) observe, standardization by computing z-scores, dividing by the range, or some other means, is a special form of weighting that results in the contribution of each variable to the clustering solution being inversely proportional to its variance, thus giving more importance to variables with less variation. As a result, the impact of the most important discriminators may be attenuated. Revised institutional anomie theory suggests that serious crime rates will be higher in states with weak social institutions. Therefore, standardizing the indicators would place the most emphasis on the most serious crime, homicide. Thus, I standardized each of the crime indicators with their respective ranges.

Selection of Proximity/Distance Measures

The bivariate scatterplots show several potential outliers. When outliers are present, Gower and Legendre (1986:37, 40-41) argue that use of distance measures like

Euclidean, squared Euclidean, and Minkowski with powers greater than 1 are to be avoided as they give too much importance to the outlying observations due to squaring their distances or raising them to a higher power. However, standardizing the indicators, as discussed above removed the outliers. Therefore, I used Euclidean distance in this analysis.

Selection of Clustering Methods

I used hierarchical (agglomerative) clustering methods to obtain an initial cluster solution and then used the resulting centroids as the initial seeds in k-means (disjointed) cluster analysis to fine tune the cluster assignments of cases. This approach is recommended in the literature (e.g., Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Hair et al. 1998; Milligan and Sokol 1980). Simulation studies show that two hierarchical clustering methods, Ward's and beta flexible, are superior in recovering cluster structures under a variety of conditions (Milligan 1996; Milligan 1989; Milligan and Hirtle 2012). Therefore, I used Ward's method to create the initial cluster solution.

Results

The analysis yielded a two-cluster solution. There are 22 states in the high serious crime cluster: AK, AL, AR, AZ, CA, DE, FL, GA, IL, LA, MD, MI, MO, NC, NM, NV, NY, OK, PA, SC, TN, and TX. There are 28 states in the not high serious crime cluster: CO, CT, HI, IA, ID, IN, KS, KY, MA, ME, MN, MS, MT, ND, NE, NH, NJ, OH, OR, RI, SD, UT, VA, VT, WA, WI, WV, and. WY.

Recognizing that several IAT studies have included property crime as an indicator of high serious crime (see Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Hannon and DeFronzo 1998; Piquero and Piquero 1998; Schoepfer and Piquero 2005; Baumer and Gustafson 2007;

Bjerregaard and Cochran 2008; Stults and Baumer 2008), I re-ran the cluster analysis

with the inclusion of range-standardized burglary. Of the three Part I UCR property

crimes, burglary makes the most sense for inclusion. Under the hierarchy rule, most

larceny-thefts would be recorded as burglaries. In addition, with burglary, there is the

potential for the perpetrator to unexpectedly encounter residents in the home or business

that could lead to violence. Since the threat for violence exists for this crime, it can be

seen as fitting with Messner and Rosenfeld's definition of serious crime while other

property crimes would not. Further, over half of victims of burglary reported the crime to

the police, and did so in part to prevent the offender from committing more crimes

against them, while victims of motor vehicle thefts were not motivated to report the crime

to the police for this reason. This second cluster analysis resulted in a two-cluster

solution. There were 21 states in the high serious crime cluster: AL, AR, AZ, CA, DE,

FL, GA, IL, LA, MD, MI, MO, MS, NC, NM, NV, OH, OK, SC, TN, and TX. There

were 29 states in the not high serious crime cluster: AK, CO, CT, HI, IA, ID, IN, KS,

KY, MA, ME, MN, MT, ND, NE, NH, NJ, NY, OR, PA, RI, SD, UT, VA, VT, WA, WI,

WV, and WY.

Figure 6.9 (below) maps the results from both cluster analyses. There was much

overlap in these analyses. Alaska, Pennsylvania, and New York only appeared in the

high serious crime cluster in the analysis with homicide, robbery, and assault. Alabama

and Ohio only appeared in the high serious crime cluster analysis in the second cluster

analysis with homicide, robbery, assault, and burglary. Otherwise, the results provided

the same states in the high serious crime sets. As a result of these findings, there are four

potential codings for high serious crime: (C1) the results from the homicide, robbery, and

assault cluster analysis; (C2) the results from the homicide, robbery, assault, and burglary cluster analysis; (C3) only the overlapping states in both cluster analyses; or (C4) all of the states identified in both analyses. Multiple potential codings for high serious crime are useful because it can help resolve contradictions in the truth table. In the next section, I discuss the validation of the high serious crime sets.

Discussion of the High Serious Crime Set

The eight identified as belonging to the set of high serious crime states are shaded dark gray, blue, and red in Figure 6.9 (below). For the QCA, the high serious crime states were coded with a one for belonging to the set of high serious crime states and all other states were coded with a zero for not belonging to the set of high serious crime states. In this section, I discuss the high serious crime set in terms of its differences from the not high serious crime cluster.
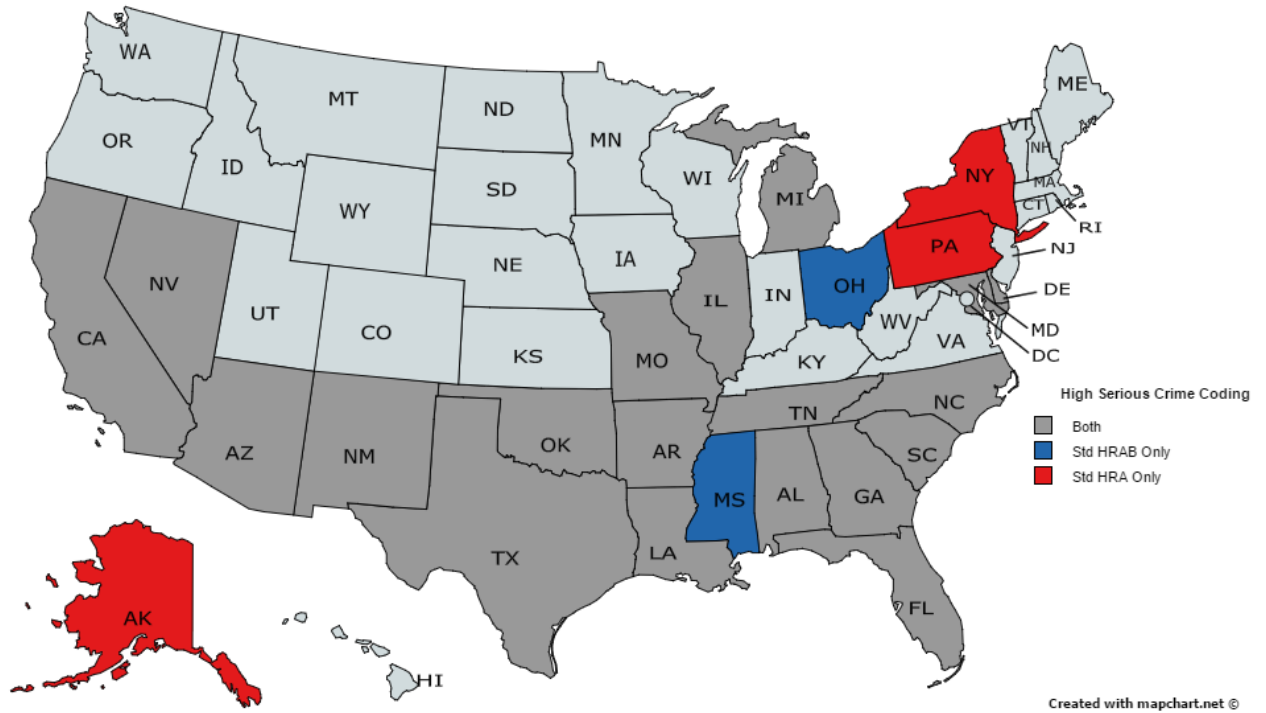
Figure 6.9: High Serious Crime Map of the United States

Table 6.2 (below) shows the cluster analysis results and cluster means when the indicators were homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault. The high serious crime cluster has the higher means and the not high serious crime cluster has the lowest means for each of the three crimes included in the analysis.

Table 6.2: Cluster of the U.S. States with Homicide, Robbery, and Assault

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High Serious Crime: *n* = 22
Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas

Not High Serious Crime: *n* = 28
Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming

Cluster means

	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Larceny-Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft
High Serious Crime	6.702	154.770	365.936	853.277	2310.321	342.812
Not High Serious Crime	3.161	69.158	175.707	556.031	1974.877	214.281

Recall that the UCR in 2007 through 2009 includes ten Part I index offenses and that I only included homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault in the creation of the clusters. Thus, the clusters can be validated by conducting t-tests for mean differences across clusters with the three crimes not included in the cluster analysis – burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. I continue to exclude forcible rape from the analysis due to reporting problems amongst the states. Table 6.2 (above) shows the mean rates for burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft in the high serious crime cluster and not high serious crime cluster. The high serious cluster has the highest mean rates and the not high serious cluster has the lowest mean rates for burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. These findings mirror those for homicide, robbery, and aggravated

assault used in extracting the clusters. Thus, these findings provide some evidence for the validity of the cluster solution.

Next, I conducted t-tests for burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft to determine if there were statistically significant differences between the cluster means. There were statistically significant differences in mean values between the high serious crime and not high serious crime clusters for burglary ($t_{(48)}$=5.31, p=.000), larceny-theft ($t_{(48)}$=3.25, p=.002), and motor vehicle theft ($t_{(48)}$=4.21, p=.000).

Table 6.3 (below) shows the cluster analysis results and cluster means when the indicators used were homicide, robbery, assault, and burglary. Similar to the previous results, the high serious crime set has higher means for each of the serious crimes included in the cluster analysis. I conducted t-tests for differences in means for the two crimes not included in the analysis, larceny-theft and motor vehicle theft. There were statistically significant differences between the clusters for both larceny-theft ($t_{(48)}$=4.01, p=.000) and motor vehicle theft ($t_{(48)}$=4.82, p=.000).

Table 6.3: Cluster of U.S. States with Homicide, Robbery, Assault, and Burglary

High Serious Crime: *n* = 21

Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas

Not High Serious Crime: *n* = 29

Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming

Cluster means

	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Larceny-Theft	Motor Vehicle Theft
High Serious Crime	6.908	155.678	353.384	918.898	2353.406	353.227
Not High Serious Crime	3.133	71.453	191.356	518.762	1955.245	211.171

In both cluster analyses, validation with crime indicators not used in the analysis revealed statistically significant differences between the high serious crime cluster and not high serious crime cluster for larceny-theft and motor vehicle theft. These indicators were excluded from the analysis on theoretical grounds as both are property crimes that do not result in serious harm. Also, victims tend to only report these crimes for the insurance purposes or to recover lost property, not because they fear additional crime victimization at the hands of the perpetrator.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the process that I used to construct the set of high serious crime states. First, I reviewed the available data and justified my use of the Part I

UCR violent crimes, with the exception of forcible rape, as the key indicators of high serious crime. Then I described the cluster analysis process including discussions of the cluster method and distances used. Two separate cluster analyses were conducted. Finally, I used external indicators to validate the clusters. This method of constructing QCA sets has not been previously used. Whereas other QCA researchers have used a variety of methods to construct sets, the Carlson-Smith method adheres to QCA best practice by allowing theory and case knowledge to guide the choice of indictors, using multiple indicators for the set construction, validating set construction with case knowledge and external knowledge, and not relying on mechanical cut points (such as medians or means) for the sole determination of set membership (Wagemann and Schnieder 2007). In the next chapter, I also use the Carlson-Smith method to construct some of the condition sets.

CHAPTER 7

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CONDITION SETS

In QCA, causal pathways are determined with the rules of Boolean algebra and

set theory. Before the analysis can be conducted, the first step is to construct the

conditions. While somewhat akin to independent variables, researchers transform the

raw data – often from a variety of sources – into dichotomized conditions, where

adjectives matter. Rather than determining whether a unit increase in an independent

variable results in a change in the value of dependent variable, QCA researchers

determine if the presence or absence of a condition causes the presence or absence of the

outcome of interest to change. Based on RIAT and previous research, I have chosen five

conditions for this study that each take into account the various ways that the economy

dominates social institutions – devaluation, accommodation, and market penetration. The

five conditions correspond to weak family, weak religion, weak education, weak polity,

and high inequality. In the following sections, I describe how I constructed each of the

sets for the five conditions.

Set Construction of Weak Family

IAT research has found a strong relationship between weak family structure and

high rates of crime (see Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Piquero and Piquero 1998; Maume

and Lee 2003; Baumer and Gustafson 2007; and Stults and Baumer 2008). These studies

often use the ratio of two-parent to one-parent families or the ratio of divorces to

marriages to indicate the strength of family. However, neither of these measures directly

assesses the economic domination of the family institution that gives rise to increased

divorce and single-parent families. Further, IAT research has not considered multiple

sources of economic domination. I rectify these issues by coding states as belonging to

the set of weak family if the state possesses both workfare and debtfare.

Coding Workfare

One policy change that occurred during the neoliberal SSA that affected families

greatly, particularly poor families, is the shift from welfare to workfare (see Chapter 4).

In order to assess the degree to which states had embraced this change, I collected the

following data for each state: (1) the presence of a diversion program, (2) whether

pregnant women without other children are eligible for benefits, (3) whether an applicant

had to be actively searching for employment at the time of application, (4) below average

asset limits, (5) below average maximum earnings cap for a family of three, (6) a TANF

time limit of 60 months or less, (7) above average TANF work participation, (8) above

average child care copay, (9) child care payments with vouchers, (10) below average

Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits, and (11) below average

SNAP participation rates. I obtained the first seven indicators from the Urban Institute's

Welfare Rules Database for 2007. The data for childcare copayments came from the

CCDF Policies Database Book of Tables for 2007. The average amount of SNAP

benefits and SNAP participation rates came from the U.S. Department of Agriculture

(2009). Absent theoretical reasons, I used the means as decision points for each of the

interval-level indicators.

Table 7.1: Workfare Criteria and Decision Points

Criteria	Decision Point
Diversion	Yes = 1 point
Job search required	Yes = 1 point
Pregnant women eligible	No = 1 point
Asset limit	≤ $2000 = 1 point
Maximum earnings for family of three	≤ $872.26 = 1 point
TANF work participation rate	≥ 36.3% = 1 point
Time limit	≤ 60 months = 1 point
Childcare copay	≥ $76 = 1 point
Childcare vouchers	≥ 88% = 1 point
SNAP Benefits	≤ $213.06 = 1 point
SNAP participation rate of TANF recipients	≤ 60.3% = 1 point

I counted the number of instances that each state met the above criteria (Table 7.1 above). For example, Illinois has a diversion program, requires the applicant to be actively searching for employment, has an asset limit of $2000, has a TANF work participation rate of 55.5 percent, limits welfare benefits to 60 months, has a childcare copay of $87, and 92 percent of childcare payments are vouchers. Thus, Illinois scores seven points towards workfare out of a possible 11 (63.6 percent). Since Illinois has scored greater than 50 percent of the possible workfare points, I coded Illinois with a one for embracing workfare.

States have not embraced workfare policies uniformly. Some states, such as Alaska, Hawaii, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Vermont, and Washington have rejected one of the primary tenets of welfare reform, time limits for aid. In these states, as of 2007, when a family reached the federal maximum time limit of 60 months for assistance, states allowed families to continue receiving assistance by paying for it from state funds. Conversely, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Ohio, and Utah have welfare assistance limits of less than 60 months. Lack of time limits

suggests a rejection of workfare, while more stringent time limits than the federal

government suggests that states have embraced workfare. Of course, time limits are not

the only indicator of a state's family institutional strength, but this does provide

qualitative evidence in support of the coding results. According to the coding schema,

states could earn between zero and 11 points towards workfare. The lowest score I

observed was three points (Connecticut, Hawaii, Ohio, and Utah). The highest score I

observed was nine points (Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey, North

Carolina, North Dakota, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin).

Thirty-three states met the criteria for embracing workfare, including: Alaska,

Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana,

Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New

York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island,

South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia,

Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Coding Debtfare[30]

While workfare has placed much stress on families, another mechanism by which

the neoliberal SSA has negatively affected families is increased household debt. During

the neoliberal SSA, capital worked towards profit maximization through the creation of

consumer debt. Families were encouraged to obtain the symbols of a middle-class

lifestyle through the acquisition of debt. Research (e.g., Agnew 2006) has shown that

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[30] The measures that I used for debtfare are measured in different units of analysis. The
bankruptcy rate per 1,000 population was calculated with the number of individual
Chapter 7 and Chapter 13 bankruptcy filings. The total debt ratio was calculated with
total debt held by individuals at the state-level and median household income at the state-
level.

families are more likely to experience strain when faced with economic hardship. This strain may lead to divorce or other hardships, the measures that previous IAT research has used. As a result of the neoliberal SSA's encouragement of the use of debt to maintain high levels of growth (increased consumer debt, mortgages, auto debt, etc.), families are now burdened with much debt (Gillespie 2010). I assessed the degree of debtfare in each state with two separate measures – the ratio of total debt per capita to median income and bankruptcy filings per 1,000 population.

I obtained total debt per capita from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (2016) "Consumer Credit Panel." This measure consists of total credit card, mortgage, automobile, and student loan debt. Total debt per capita varies greatly from state to state. States with higher costs of living tend to have higher total debt per capita. Therefore, I divided each state's total debt per capita by the median income. The ratio of total debt per capita to median state income does not vary greatly throughout the United States (mean= .745; standard deviation = .136). At the individual level, this measure would be analogous to one's debt-to-income ratio, a popular measure that banks use to measure risk. Since there is no literature available to suggest a possible threshold, I considered several thresholds in order to determine high total debt ratio. I first considered .45 as many banks[31] use this as a measure of an applicant's creditworthiness. However, every state has a debt ratio greater than .45. Next I considered the mean (.745) and 23 states were coded as possessing high debt ratio. These states include Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Maryland,

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[31] I know this from my time working as a home equity mortgage processor from 2004 – 2007.

Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North

Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, and Washington.

One mechanism for reducing the strain caused by debt on families is bankruptcy.

In other words, the family institution has entered a period of extreme subordination to

finance capital. I obtained the number of chapter 7 and 13 bankruptcies filed in 2007 in

each state from the *Statistical Tables for the Federal Judiciary*. I calculated the

bankruptcy rate per 1,000 population for each state. Bankruptcy rates vary throughout

the United States (mean= 2.64; standard deviation =1.16). We would expect states with

weak family institutions to be high in bankruptcy. The bankruptcy literature does not

suggest a reasonable threshold to distinguish between high and not high bankruptcy. I

considered several different threshold values based on the mean (2.64), median (2.35),

standard deviations from the mean (greater than 0 and greater than .5), and visual

inspection of the data for obvious groupings. Based on my knowledge of the cases and

visual inspection of the data, I chose to set the threshold at .5 standard deviations from

the mean. After reviewing the states that met this criterion, and importantly, those that

did not meet this criterion in combination with the workfare coding, it made sense to

lower the high bankruptcy threshold to .48 standard deviations from the mean in order to

code Louisiana as weak family. Twelve states were coded as weak family, including

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi,

Missouri, Nevada, Ohio, and Tennessee.

Interestingly, there is little overlap between states with high total debt to median

income ratio and states with high bankruptcy rates. This may be an artifact of the

transition from consolidation to the decay phase of the neoliberal SSA. Recall, the Great

Recession began in late 2007 and ended in 2009. One would expect bankruptcy rates to increase during the height of the Great Recession as individuals would be less able to manage paying debts. Thus, I consider coding weak family with the presence of workfare and high bankruptcy, the presence of workfare and high total debt-to-median income ratio, and the presence of workfare and high bankruptcy and/or high total debt-to-median income ratio.

Initial Coding for Weak Family

As I noted above, there are three possible ways for me to code weak family in this analysis. I present each of these below.

The most conservative coding for weak family includes workfare and high bankruptcy. Figure 7.1 (below) shows the eight states coded as weak family. These include Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, and Tennessee. With the exception of Nevada, each of the weak family states coded with this schema are in the South.
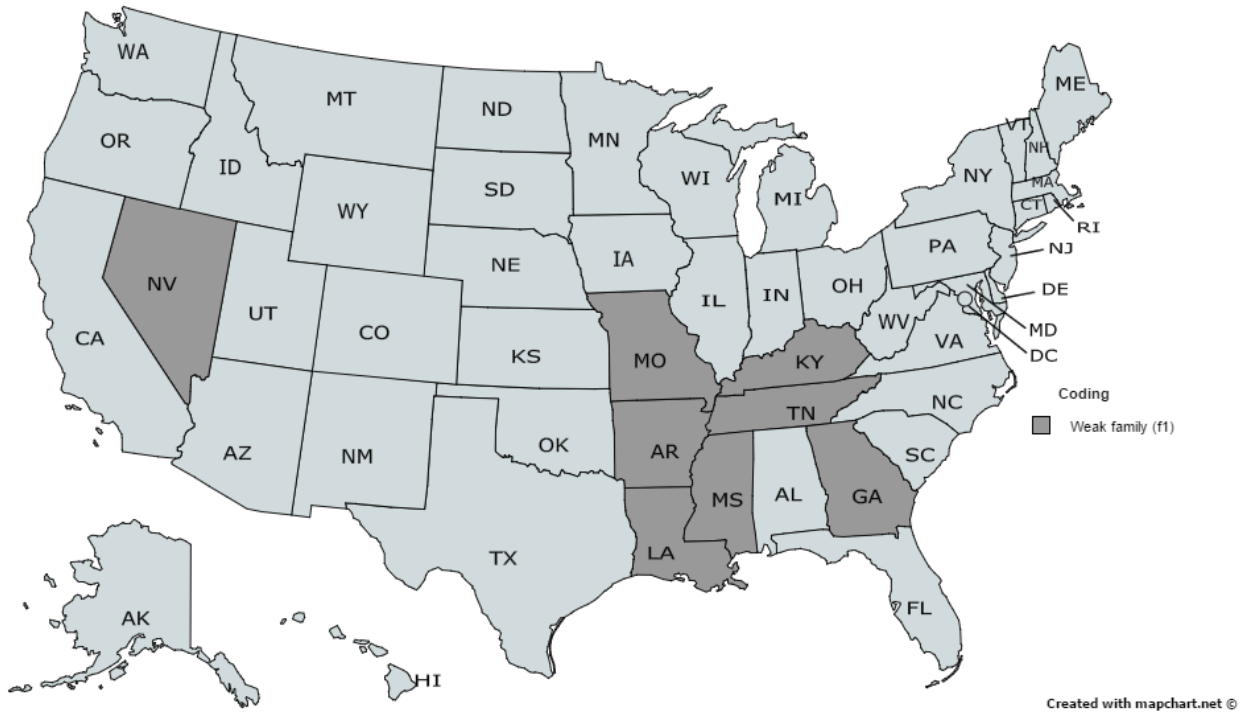
Figure 7.1: Weak Family Coded with Workfare and High Bankruptcy

Next, I coded weak family with workfare and the second indicator of debtfare, the

ratio of total debt per capita to median income in each state. Figure 7.2 (below) shows

the states 16 states coded as weak family, including Arizona, Colorado, Delaware,

Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Maryland, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, New York,

North Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Virginia.
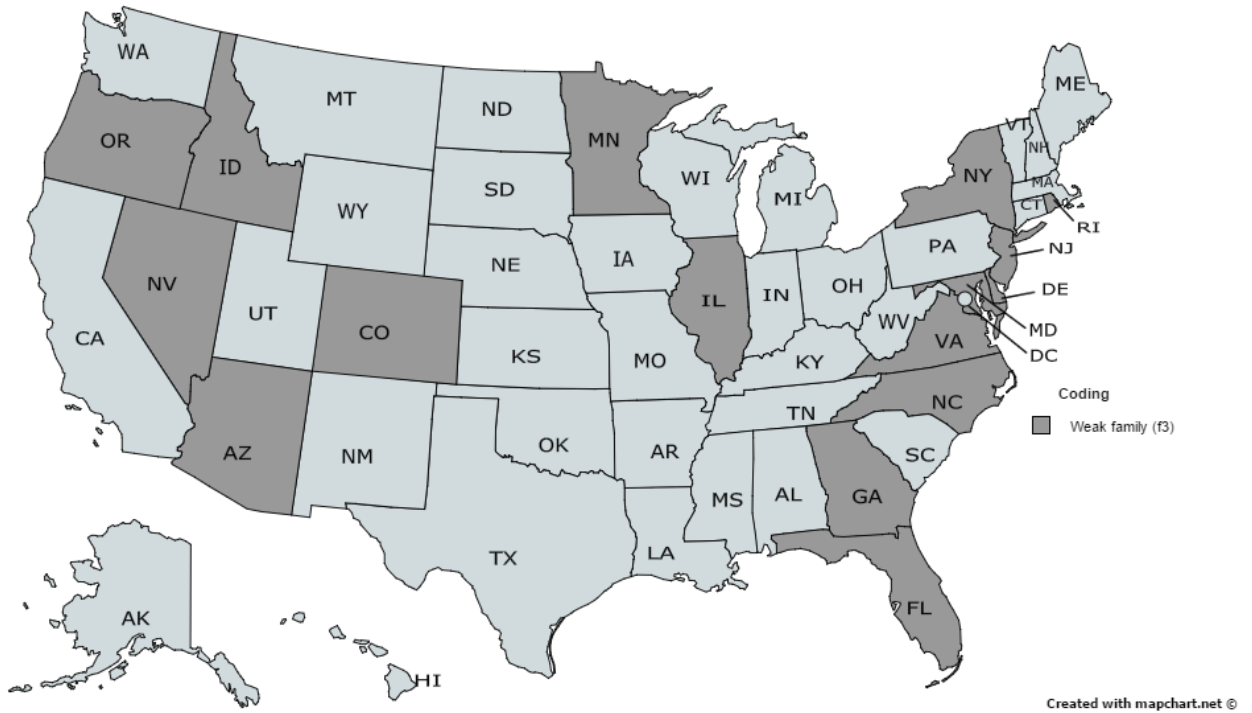
Figure 7.2: Weak Family Coded with Workfare and High Total Debt Ratio

Finally, I coded weak family with workfare and the presence of either indicator of debtfare. Figure 7.3 (below) shows the 22 states coded as weak family, including Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Virginia. I will determine which of these three sets to use in the analysis in Chapter 8.
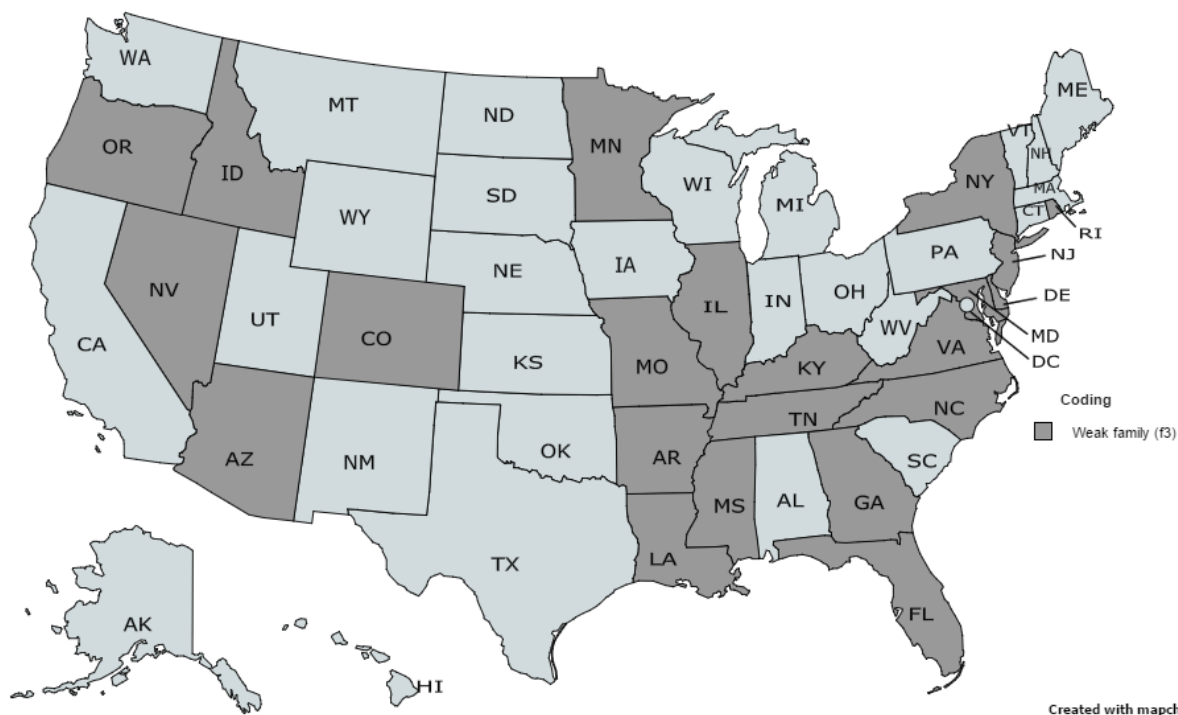
Figure 7.3: Weak Family Coded with Workfare and Debtfare

Set Construction of Weak Religion

Religion, similar to family, is another social institution that performs the function of transmitting norms and values in society, as well as informal social control of crime. The strength of religion is often downplayed in criminological research. More specifically, in IAT research, the strength of religion has been measured as the number of adherents per 1,000 population (see Chamlin and Cochran 1995 and Baumer and Gustafson 2007). This measure is inadequate to the task of assessing the degree of economic-domination of religion because it assumes that membership is a suitable proxy for participating in religious activities. Further, as I discussed in Chapter 4, this measure does not address the ways that the economy has changed religion in the United States. One example of economic devaluation of religion is when individuals are forced to give

priority to work-related obligations over religious activities. In the following sections, I

describe the process that I used to construct the set of weak religion.

Selection of Indicators/Attributes

Since the majority of my religion indicators are quantitative, I chose to begin

constructing the set of weak religion with cluster analysis. While many indicators could

demonstrate weak religion, the first step in this analysis was to winnow down the list of

theoretically acceptable indicators to a set of indicators that best discriminate between the

clusters.

The Pew Center's (2008) *Religious Landscape Survey* (RLS) is one of the few

studies with adequately sized state samples to draw conclusions about religion for each

state. This survey includes responses from more than 35,000 individuals. For each state,

I measured religious behavior with a summated scale of the z-scores for religious service

attendance, time spent praying, and participation in church-related social activities. I

constructed the scale for individuals (Cronbach's $\alpha = .804$) and then aggregated up to the

state level (mean = 1.16, standard deviation = 1.27).

In addition, I used the RLS to create a religious index of qualitative variation

(IQV) to measure religious heterogeneity within states (mean = .816, standard deviation

= .051). States with values close to one indicate religious heterogeneity, while states with

values close to zero indicate religious homogeneity. High heterogeneity indicates that

individuals are confronted with divergent norms and values with the potential for anomie,

value conflict, and a situation where individuals are looking elsewhere for normative

guidance, such as the economy. Further, religious heterogeneity is a measure of the

religious marketplace. Much heterogeneity could indicate many choices are available or

a strong market. Finally, I used the RLS to determine the percentage of individuals in each state claiming no religious affiliation (mean = 16.86, standard deviation = 5.40). Table 7.2 (below) shows the summary statistics for the religion indicators.

Table 7.2: Religion Indicator Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Religious IQV (IQV15)	.816	.051	.658	.893
Religious Behavior Index (RBI)	1.159	1.1274	-1.640	4.100
Unaffiliated, percentage (Unaffil)	16.864	5.404	5.800	27.500

Standardization/Weighting

All three indicators are measured in different units and the standard deviation of those claiming no religious affiliation is much larger than that of the RBI and IQV. Thus, I standardized the indicators with z-scores. While there are many other forms of standardization available, including range standardization, I chose to use z-scores for ease of interpretation. Milligan and Hirtle (2012) suggest that range standardization may work better than other forms of standardization, but for McQuitty's method there was no adverse effects created for cluster results. There was no theoretical justification for one indicator to be more important than the other in discriminating between clusters, therefore, I used no variable weighting.

Selection of Proximity/Distance Measures

The scatter-plots of the indicators show no extreme outliers, so use of Euclidean and squared Euclidean distance is appropriate. These are preferable as they give equal weight to all variables in calculating distance.

Selection of Clustering Methods

I used hierarchical (agglomerative) clustering methods to obtain an initial three-cluster solution and then used the resulting centroids as the initial seeds in k-means (disjointed) cluster analysis to fine-tune the cluster assignments of cases. This approach is recommended in the literature (e.g., Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Hair et al. 1998; Milligan and Sokol 1980). Simulation studies show that two hierarchical clustering methods, Ward's and beta flexible, are superior in recovering cluster structures under a variety of conditions (Milligan 1996; Milligan 1989; Milligan and Hirtle 2012). However, Everitt et al. (2011) suggests that McQuitty's method works well when researchers suspect clusters of differing sizes. Therefore, I used McQuitty's method with squared Euclidean distances (default and preferred distance measure for McQuitty's method). I fine-tuned the cluster analysis results with the k-means clustering method.

Weak Religion Cluster Analysis Results

The dendrogram suggested that the seven-cluster solution is appropriate for this analysis. Table 7.3 (below) shows the cluster analysis results. Figures 7.4 - 7.6 show the cluster analysis results graphically.

Table 7.3: Weak Religion Cluster Analysis Results

Cluster 1: n = 14

Arizona, California, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Virginia, Washington

Cluster 2: n = 10

Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Wyoming

Cluster 3: n = 7

Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee

Cluster 4: n = 9

Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas, West Virginia

Cluster 5: n = 8

Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont

Cluster 6: n = 1

North Dakota

Cluster 7: n = 1

Utah

Cluster Means

	Religious IQV	RBI	Unaffiliated (percentage)
Cluster 1	.864	1.261	19.264
Cluster 2	.822	.075	15.100
Cluster 3	.735	2.869	10.243
Cluster 4	.815	1.882	13.800
Cluster 5	.824	-.264	25.500
Cluster 6	.773	.540	7.100
Cluster 7	.658	4.100	15.500

Based on these results, groups 1, 2, 5, and 6 conformed to my conception of weak religion.
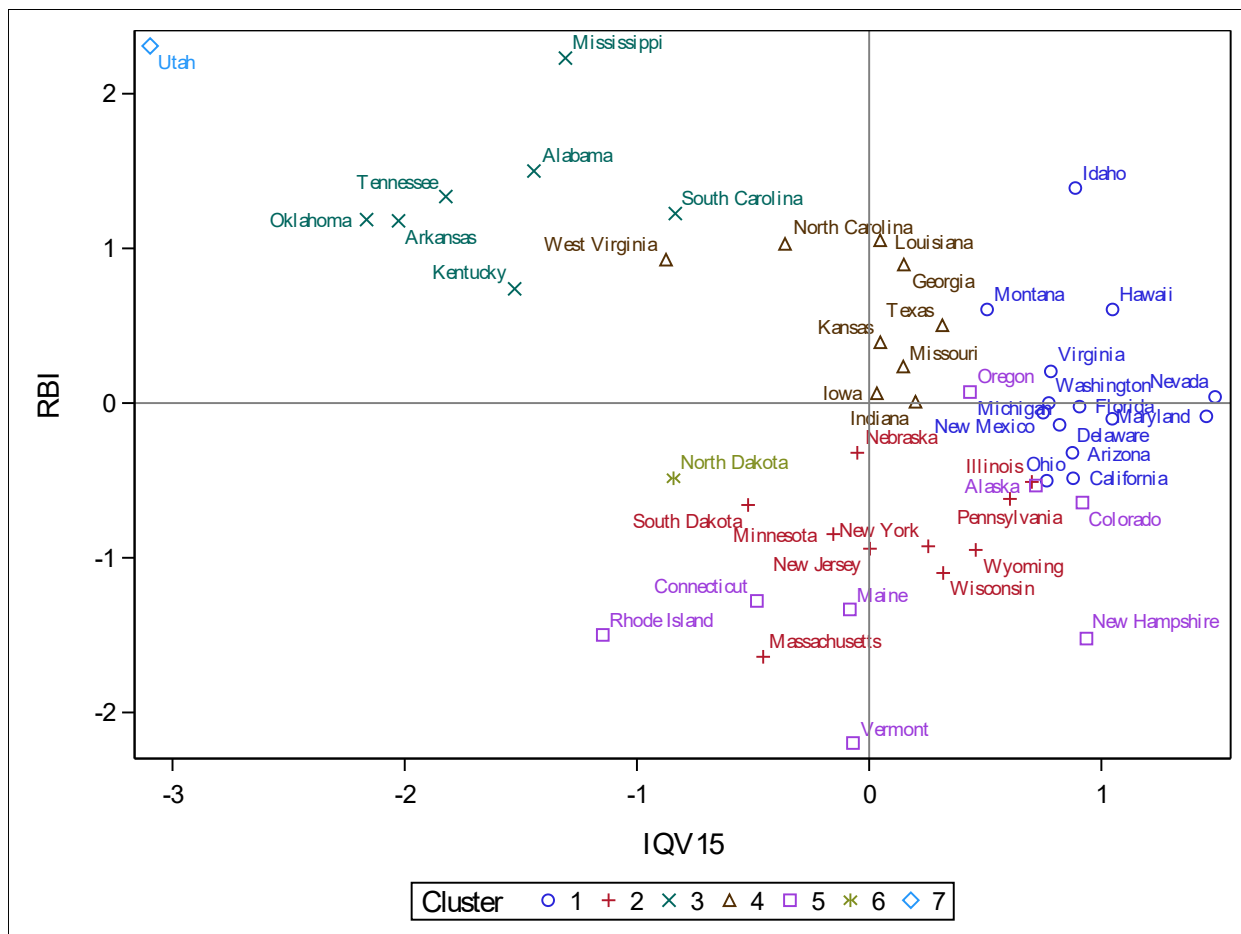
Figure 7.4: Scatter-plot of Cluster Analysis Results with Religious Behavior Index and Religious IQV
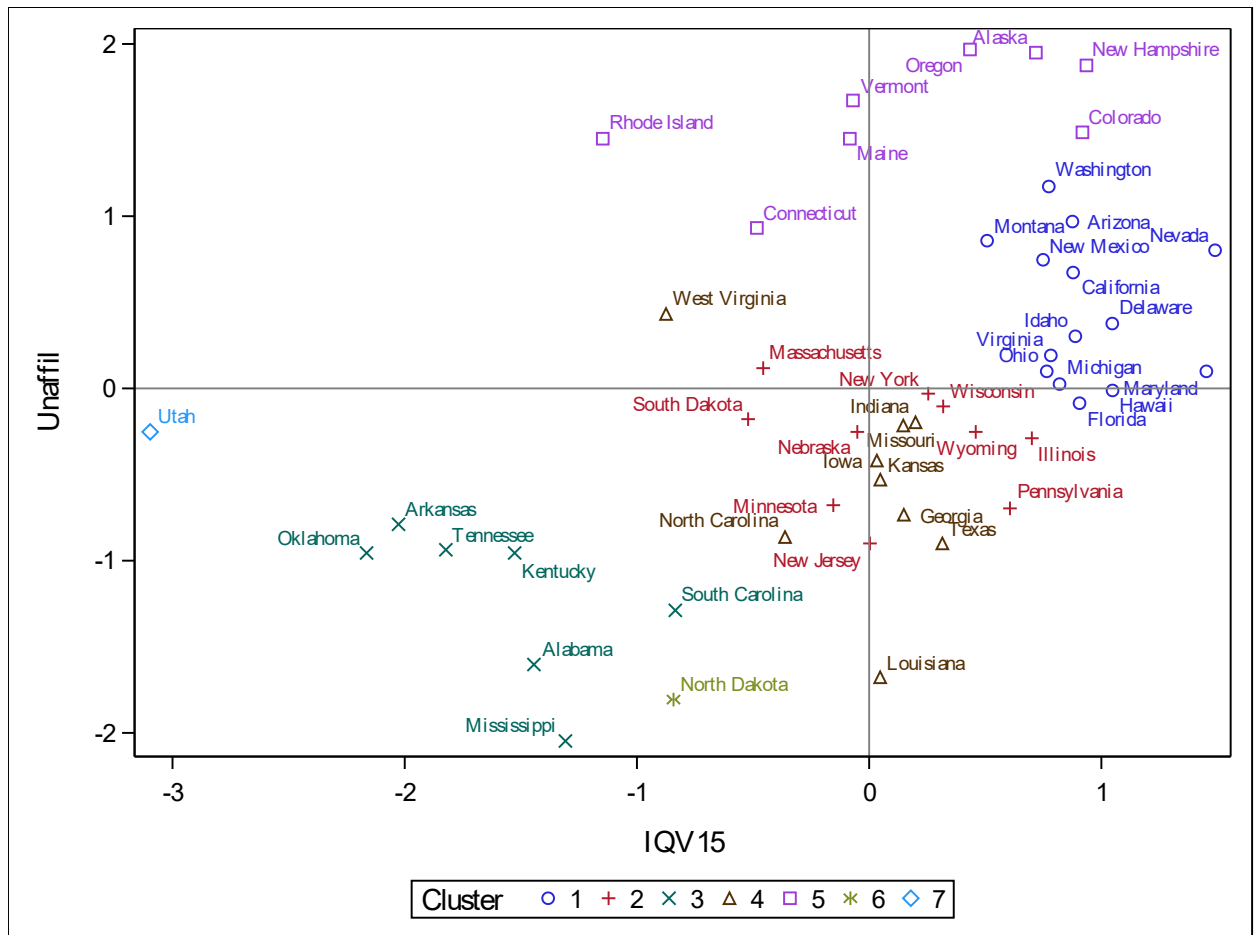
Figure 7.5: Scatter-plot of Cluster Analysis Results with Unaffiliated and Religious IQV
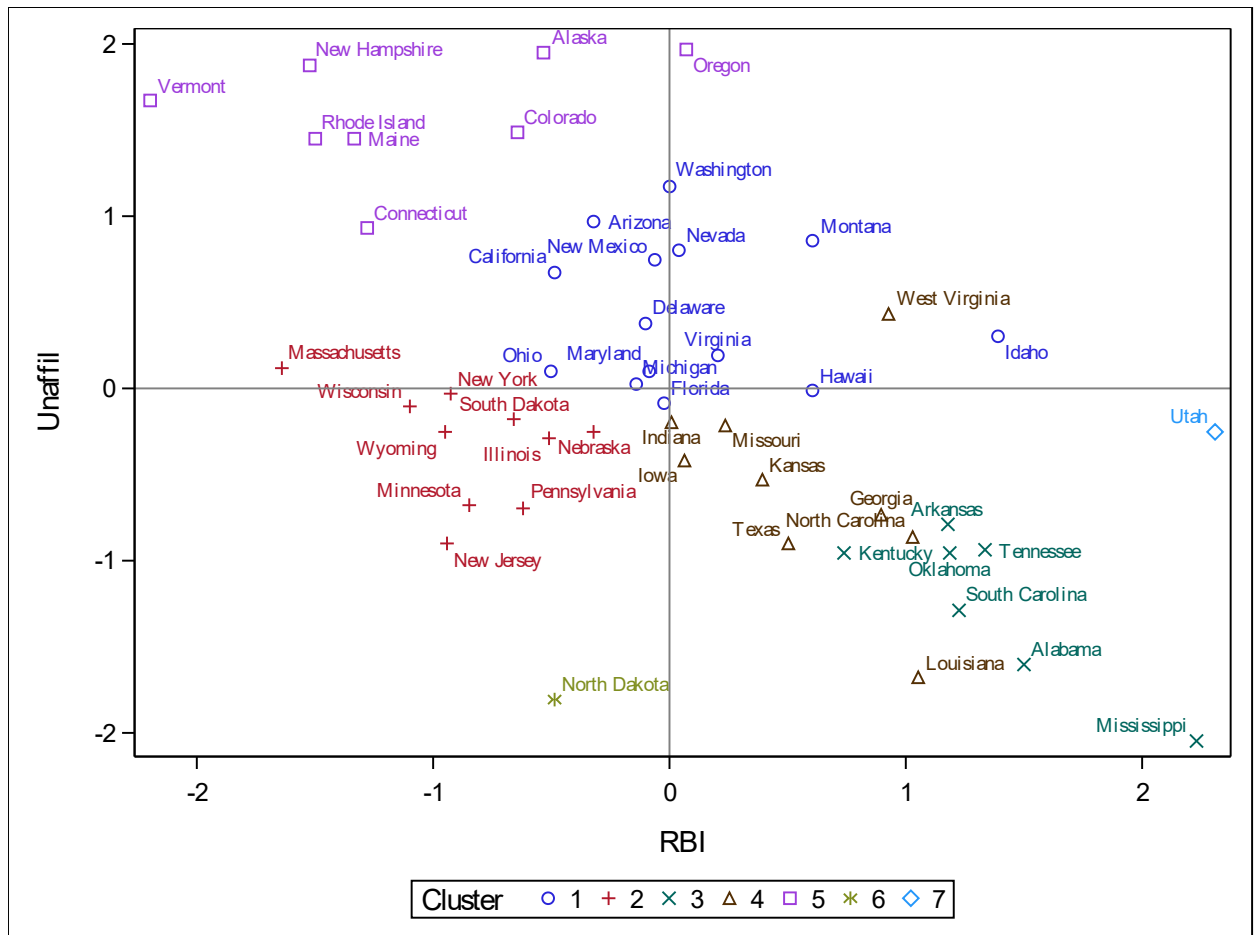
Figure 7.6: Scatter-plot of Cluster Analysis Results with Unaffiliated and Religious Behavior Index

Final Coding of Weak Religion

Once I determined the clusters that conformed to the concept of weak religion with low religious behavior, high heterogeneity, and high percentage unaffiliated, I refined the results with the absence of blue laws. I coded 21 states as belonging to the set of weak religion, including Alaska, California, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Maine, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Figure 7.7 (below) maps these results.

170
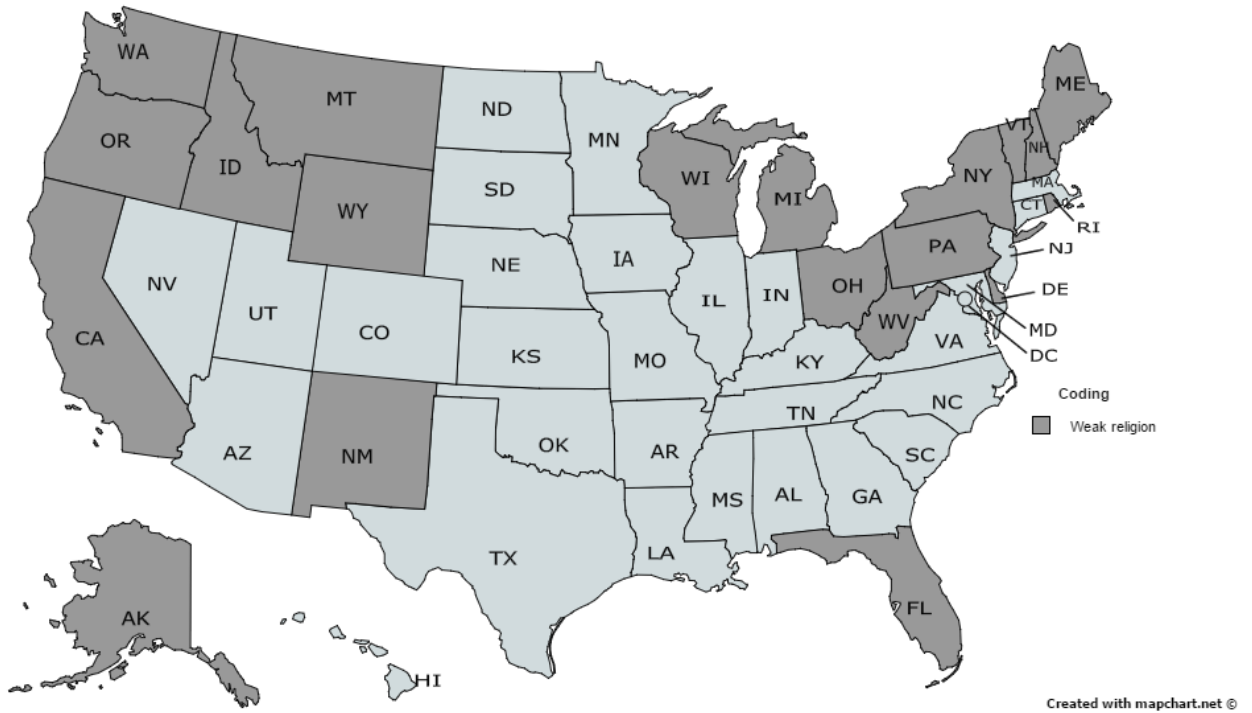
Figure 7.7: Weak Religion in the 50 U.S. States

Set Construction of Weak Education

Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) argue that education is one of the core institutions that has become dominated by the economy. Interestingly, the institutional strength of education has only been included in half of the studies applying IAT. These studies rely on economic measures of the strength of education such as funding for K-12 education and comparative teachers' salaries. Other studies have used measures, including pupil-teacher ratio, percentage of high school dropouts, and the percentage of the population attending post-secondary education. Previous research has not considered the underlying policies driving these indicators. As I discussed in Chapter 4, during the neoliberal SSA, Congress passed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act. This federal policy changed the criteria used to fund K-12 education throughout the United States. NCLB created choice and accountability standards for schools, teachers, and students. Both choice and

accountability characterize the free market and, thus, the dominance of the economy over education. I focus on K-12 education for two reasons. First K-12 education is public and free throughout the United States. Higher education, on the hand, is not available to all citizens and has not experienced a direct policy change to the degree that K-12 education has experienced. Second, and related, K-12 education is a site of secondary socialization. Children are exposed to socialization outside of their families and teachers provide informal social control.

Since the policies that I reviewed for constructing the set of weak education are primarily qualitative, I approached the coding in a qualitative manner. I used several sources of information in order to code whether each state embraces NCLB. For student accountability, I reviewed each state for policies related to high school exit examinations and if school administrators used the results of those examinations for determining scholarship eligibility, the presence of "no pass/no play" and/or "no pass/no drive" legislation, the presence of learnfare policies, and if the state mandated k-12 entrepreneurial education. These data came from the Education Commission of the States (ECS) 2007 *State Notes and Policy Briefs*. For teacher accountability, I reviewed each state's policy regarding the content and frequency of teacher evaluations, the presence of "value-added" assessments, the presence of pay-for-performance policies, and the number of years for teachers to earn tenure. These data came from the National Council on Teacher Quality's 2007 *State Teacher Policy Yearbook* for each state. Finally, I assessed school choice with the presence of open enrollment legislation, the presence of voucher laws, the presence of tax credit laws, and the presence of charter school laws. I reviewed state laws for states with charter schools in order to determine

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the degree of charter school oversight and the percentage of charter schools in relation to

the total number of public schools. Data came from the ECS Choice database and

National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. I coded states as belonging to the set of

weak education if the state's education policies possessed at least two characteristics of

NCLB, student accountability, teacher accountability, and/or choice.

Weak Education Coding

　　　Twenty-three states were coded as embracing NCLB and, consequently, as

belonging to the set of weak education. These states include Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas,

California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota,

Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma,

Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. Figure 7.8 maps the results below.
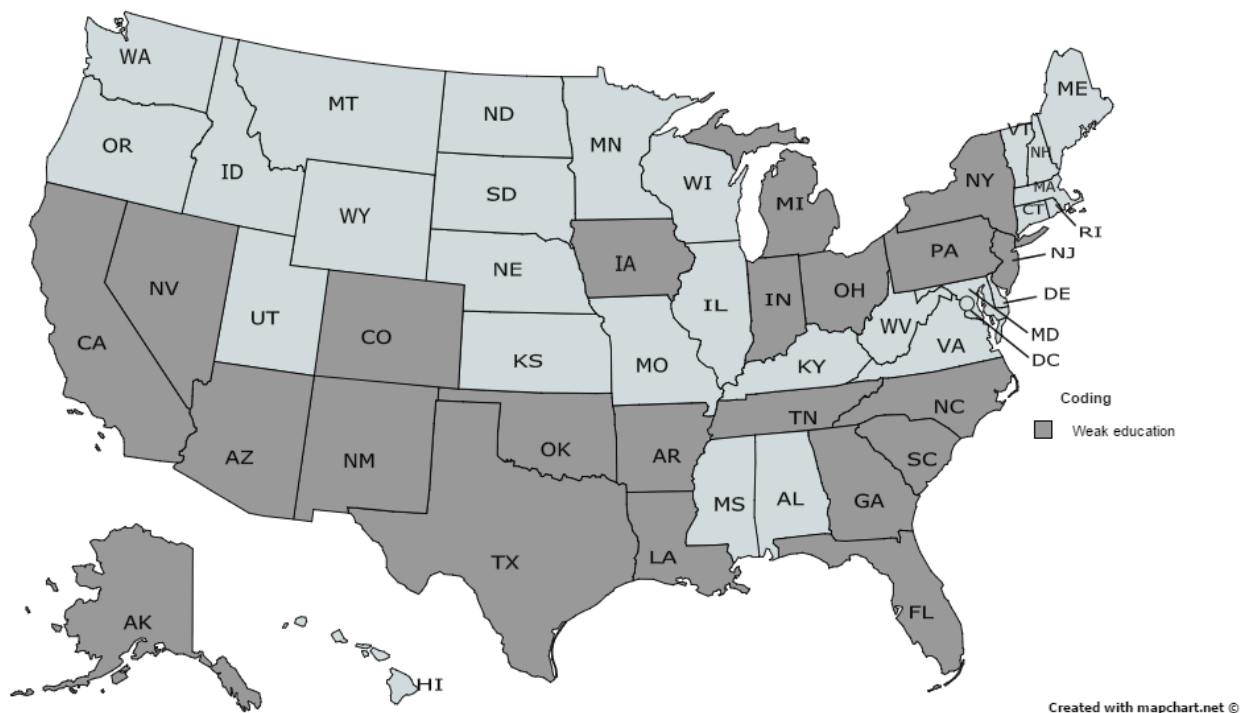
Figure 7.8: Weak Education in the 50 U.S. States

In order to best understand the coding results, I'll describe several states that met the criteria for being coded as weak education and several states that did not meet the criteria. I coded Arizona as belonging to the set of weak education because it met all three criteria. Students are held accountable in multiple ways. Arizona requires students to pass an exit examination in order to graduate from high school. The results of this exit examination are used to determine scholarship eligibility for in-state universities. Further, students are held accountable with "no pass, no play" policies that prohibit students with failing grades from participating in sports. Arizona, also, has learnfare policies that penalize students receiving welfare benefits for failing grades or not attending school. Teachers are held accountable through annual review and the use of pay-for-performance. Teachers whose students are high achievers earn additional pay. Finally, Arizona has a charter school law. Charter schools are not overseen by local school districts in Arizona and charter schools make up 24 percent of all public schools in Arizona.

Another state that met all three criteria for inclusion in the set of weak education is Florida. Florida holds students accountable through exit examinations, "no pass, no play" and "no pass, no drive" policies, learnfare, and required entrepreneurial education. Teachers are held accountable through annual evaluations, pay-for-performance plans, and the use of student outcomes in evaluations. Florida has a charter school law, but charter schools are overseen by local school districts. Finally, charter schools make up 9.9 percent of public schools in Florida.

I coded 27 states as not belonging to the set of weak education. North Dakota exemplifies the states that have not embraced NCLB. North Dakota does not hold

students accountable with exit examinations or grade polices. The state does not hold teachers accountable. It does not have a state evaluation policy or pay-for-performance plan. Further, teachers earn tenure after one year. Finally, North Dakota does not have charter schools.

States vary in the degree to which they embrace NCLB. Some states, such as Virginia, hold students accountable, but not teachers. The use of charter schools varies greatly. Some states have charter school laws and many charter schools, while others have charter school laws, but very few charter schools. By taking a qualitative approach to the coding of weak education, I was able to take these nuances into account when constructing the set of weak education.

Set Construction of Weak Polity

IAT research tends to use percentage voting as the primary means of determining economic domination of the polity (see Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Piquero and Piquero 1998; Maume and Lee 2003; and Schoepfer and Piquero 2005). While this is an important facet, and an indicator that I use, voting percentages only provide one piece of the puzzle as it focuses on the behaviors of individuals who may be reacting to other influences. Additional measures of the economic domination of polity must include business interests in voting outcomes. Therefore, in order to determine which states belong to the set of weak polity, I used two indicators: poor support for voting and business interests in governance.

Selection of Indicators

First, I assessed state support for voting with the percentage not voting in the

2006 congressional elections. I calculated the percentage not voting by subtracting the

percentage voting from 100. I obtained the percentage voting in the 2006 congressional

election from the *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*. A high percentage not voting

in the 2006 congressional elections demonstrates weak state support for voting because

people are disillusioned by the impact that their vote may have and there is little shame

for not voting. Further, some studies report that people fail to vote due to structural

barriers such as voter ID laws and polling place locations and hours (Alvarez, Baily, and

Katz 2007).

The second type of indicator for weak polity is how welcoming each state is to

business and the relative influence of business on voting through campaign contributions.

The State Business Tax Climate Index (SBTCI) for 2007 provides the data for how

welcoming each state is to business, while FollowtheMoney.org provides the data for

industry campaign contributions. The SBTCI is built from five indices, including the

corporate tax index, the individual tax index, the sales tax index, the unemployment tax

index, and the property tax index. States that score higher on the SBTCI are more

welcoming to business than states that score lower (Dubay and Atkins 2007). Campaign

contributions are categorized into 16 industry types. I determined the top three industries

by percentage contributed for each state. States with "uncoded"[32] or labor contributions

making a significant portion of the total contributions were viewed as having less

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[32] Uncoded contributions refer to contributions made by individuals or political action
committees (PACs). Individual contributions make up the majority of these
contributions.

business influence in politics than states with other industries making the majority of contributions. Table 7.4 (below) shows the summary statistics for the polity indicators.

Table 7.4: Polity Indicator Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Not voting in 2006 congressional election, percentage	60.248	8.175	43.200	75.700
Business contributions, percentage	69.110	13.147	36.198	85.899
State Business Tax Climate Index (SBTCI) Score	5.361	.894	3.780	7.710

I included the percentage not voting and percentage of campaign contributions from business in the cluster analysis. Best practice for cluster analysis suggests that including composite indices, such as the SBTCI score, as an indicator can be problematic as it can mask or cancel out discriminatory power of the individual indicators. Therefore, I used it to refine the assignment of cases from the cluster analysis.

Standardization/Weighting of Indicators

Both indicators used in the cluster analysis are in the same unit of measurement (percentages), and differences in means and variances are not extreme. Standardization might diminish the differences between the variables, thus obscuring or masking the cluster structure. I also expected the cluster structure to be in unstandardized rather than standardized variable space (Milligan and Hirtle 2012). Therefore, I used unstandardized indicators in the analysis. There was no theoretical justification for one indicator to be more important than the other in discriminating between clusters, therefore, I used no variable weighting.

Selection of Proximity/Distance Measures

The graphs show no extreme outliers, so use of Euclidean and squared Euclidean distance is appropriate. These are preferable as they give equal weight to both variables in calculating distance. Other measures such as Canberra would give more weight to indicators with lower values, while those that are standardized weight variables in inverse proportion to their respective variances.

Selection of Clustering Methods

I used hierarchical (agglomerative) clustering methods to obtain an initial two-cluster solution and then used the resulting centroids as the initial seeds in k-means (disjointed) cluster analysis to fine tune the cluster assignments of cases. This approach is recommended in the literature (e.g., Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Hair et al. 1998; Milligan and Sokol 1980). Simulation studies show that two hierarchical clustering methods, Ward's and beta flexible, are superior in recovering cluster structures under a variety of conditions (Milligan 1996; Milligan 1989; Milligan and Hirtle 2012). Therefore, I used Ward's method with squared Euclidean distances (default and preferred distance measure for Ward's method).

Weak Polity Cluster Analysis Results and Coding

The dendrograph in the initial, hierarchical cluster analysis suggested that the two-cluster solution was the most appropriate for the construction of the set of weak polity. I used the cluster means from the initial cluster analysis as the initial seeds in the k-means cluster analysis. There are 39 states in the weak polity cluster and 11 states in the not weak polity cluster. The cluster analysis results are summarized in Table 7.5 and Figure 7.9 (below).

Table 7.5: Weak Polity Cluster Analysis Results

Cluster 1: n = 39

Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin

Cluster 2: n = 11

Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Vermont, Wyoming

Cluster Means

	Business Contributions, percentage	Not voting in 2006 congressional election, percentage
Cluster 1	75.214	61.500
Cluster 2	47.471	55.809
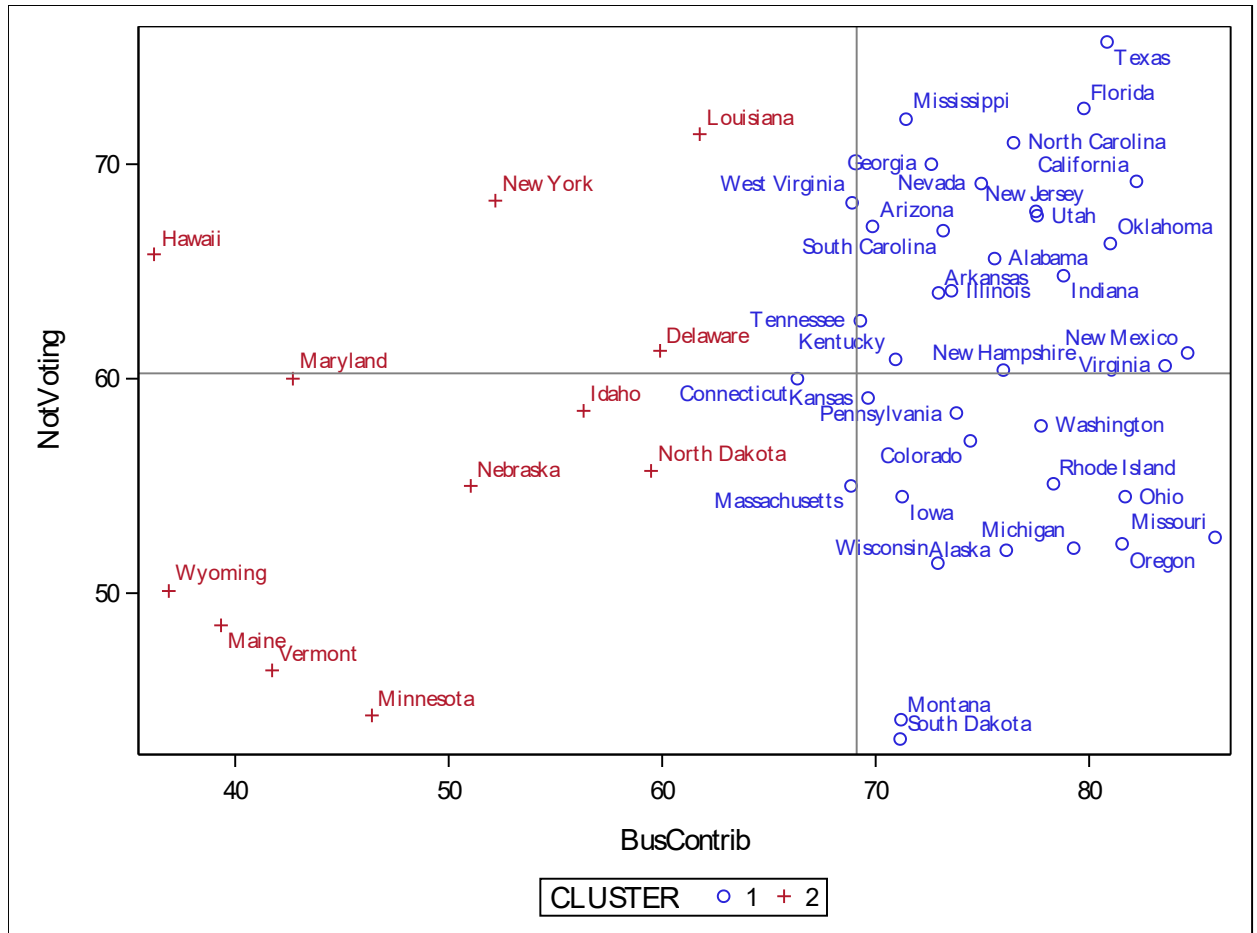
Figure 7.9: Scatter-plot of Cluster Analysis Results with Percentage Not Voting and Percentage Campaign Contributions from Business

Once I had determined the states that potentially belonged to the set of weak polity as those states in cluster 1, my next step was to refine the results with how welcoming each state was to business. The SBTCI score measures how welcoming each state is to business through various tax incentives. Absent theoretical research to guide my selection of the threshold for high welcoming to business, I used the SBTCI score mean (5.361).

I coded states that belonged to cluster 1 with an SBTCI score greater than the mean as belonging to the set of weak polity. Nineteen states met these criteria, including

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Alabama, Alaska, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and Washington. Figure 7.10 (below) maps these results.
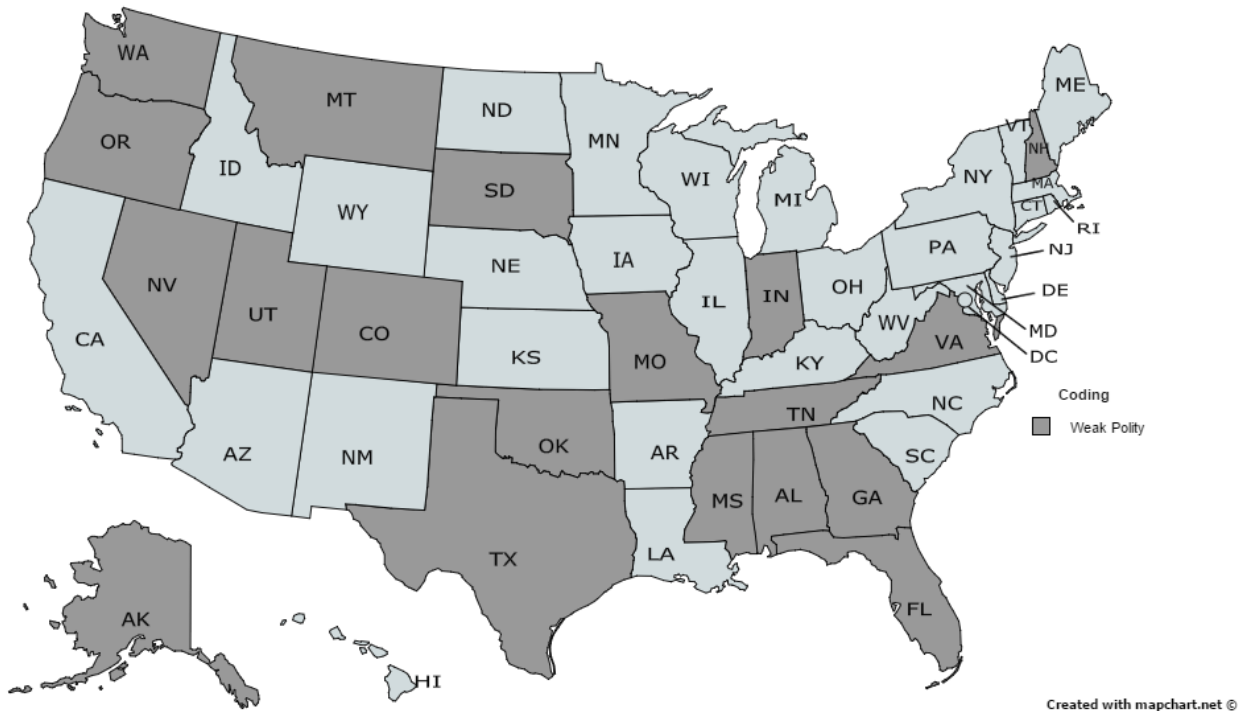
Figure 7.10: Weak Polity in the 50 U.S. States

Set Construction of High Inequality

The final condition included is high inequality. Typically, IAT research has not included measures of inequality for the purpose of ascertaining access to opportunity. Some studies of IAT have included the Gini coefficient or percent living in poverty as measures of the strength of the economy (see Chamlin and Cochran 1995; Piquero and Piquero 1998; and Maume and Lee 2003). Yet, both measures are outcomes of an economy that favors neoliberal policy. Further, economic inequality is not the only form

of inequality that is detrimental to the development of strong social institutions and well-adjusted individuals.

In the construction of the set of high inequality states, I was concerned with determining the states in which high relative and high absolute poverty exist. Messner (1982:104) defines relative poverty as a condition where "people are poor when they cannot live in ways which are ordinary for their own communities." Absolute poverty refers to a condition "when their incomes are so low that they are unable to purchase the necessities for a healthy life" (1982:103). Taken together, high inequality exists in states where there are many people who are unable to obtain the basic requirements for living and where there is a wide gap between the wealthy and the poor. In the following sections, I describe my use of cluster analysis to construct the set of high inequality.

Selection of Indicators

The potential indicators for this analysis include the percentage of families living in poverty in 2007 (FamPov), the median state income averaged from 2006 - 2008 (MedInc), the household Gini coefficient for 2007 (Gini), the ratio of the top 20 percent household income to the bottom 20 percent household income (Top_Bot), and the ratio of the top 20 percent household income to the middle 20 percent household income (Top_Middle). The percentage of families living in poverty in 2007 was the only indicator of absolute poverty, while the remaining indicators were measures of relative poverty. I obtained the percentage of families living in poverty, median income, and the household Gini coefficient from the U.S. Census Bureau and the household income ratios from the Economic Policy Institute. Table 7.6 (below) shows the summary statistics for the inequality indicators.

Table 7.6: Inequality Indicator Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Ratio of top-to-middle household income	2.650	0.219	2.300	3.100
Families living in poverty, percent	9.112	2.708	4.600	16.300
Gini coefficient	.450	.020	.409	.500
Median income, dollars	55769.62	8449.84	40481.00	73038.00
Ratio of top-to-bottom household income	7.812	1.095	5.800	9.800

Next, I reviewed the bivariate scatterplots for each of the combinations of absolute poverty and relative poverty indicators. Since the Gini coefficient, the ratio of top-to-bottom household income, and the ratio of top-to-middle household income are each measures of relative poverty, I only included one of them in each analysis. Further, the Gini coefficient and ratio of top-to-bottom household income are highly correlated (r = .893) suggesting that these two measures are measuring the same construct. Median household income and the percentage of families living in poverty are also highly correlated (r = -.829). This finding makes sense because both indicators are based on the amount of income available to families. Based on the scatterplots, I included the percentage of families living in poverty and the ratio of top-to-bottom household income in the cluster analysis.

Standardization/Weighting of Indicators

Since all of the indicators in this analysis were in different units of measurement, I standardized each by their respective ranges. Range standardization is preferred over other methods of standardization, such as standardizing by standard deviation, because it does not give importance to indicators with more variation. There was no theoretical

justification for one indicator to be more important than the other in discriminating between clusters; therefore, I used no variable weighting.

Selection of Distance/Proximity Measures

The scatterplots show no extreme outliers and each of the indicators are measured at the interval level, so use of Euclidean and squared Euclidean distance is appropriate. These are preferable as they give equal weight to both variables in calculating distance.

Selection of Clustering Method

I used hierarchical (agglomerative) clustering methods to obtain an initial three-cluster solution and then used the resulting centroids as the initial seeds in k-means (disjointed) cluster analysis to fine-tune the cluster assignments of cases. This approach is recommended in the literature (e.g., Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Hair et al. 1998; Milligan and Sokol 1980). Simulation studies show that two hierarchical clustering methods, Ward's and beta flexible, are superior in recovering cluster structures under a variety of conditions (Milligan 1996; Milligan 1989; Milligan and Hirtle 2012). Therefore, I used Ward's method with squared Euclidean distances (default and preferred distance measure for Ward's method) and beta flexible with Euclidean distances and betas ranging from -.25 to -.50 in increments of .05 (i.e., six total analyses).

High Inequality Cluster Analysis Results and Coding

The dendrograph from the initial cluster analysis suggested that the two-cluster solution was appropriate for the set construction of high inequality. I used the initial cluster results as the initial seeds for fine-tuning with k-means clustering. Fifteen states are in the high inequality cluster and 35 states are in the not high inequality cluster. Table 7.7 and Figures 7.11 and 7.12 (below) graphically display the results.

Table 7.7: High Inequality Cluster Analysis Results

High Inequality Cluster: *n* = 15
Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia

Not High Inequality Cluster: *n* = 35
Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming

Cluster means

	Families Living in Poverty, percentage	Ratio of Top-to-bottom household income	Gini Coefficient
High Inequality Cluster	12.520	8.633	.467
Not High Inequality Cluster	7.651	7.460	.442

Consistent with my expectations for the set construction of high inequality, the high inequality cluster has a higher percentage of families living in poverty, higher ratio of top-to-bottom household income inequality, and higher Gini coefficient than the not high inequality cluster. I conducted t-tests for the Gini coefficient to determine if there were statistically significant differences between the cluster means. There was a statistically significant difference between the high inequality and not high inequality clusters for the Gini coefficient ($t_{(48)}$ =5.02, p=.000). Thus, there is evidence for the validity of the two-cluster solution.
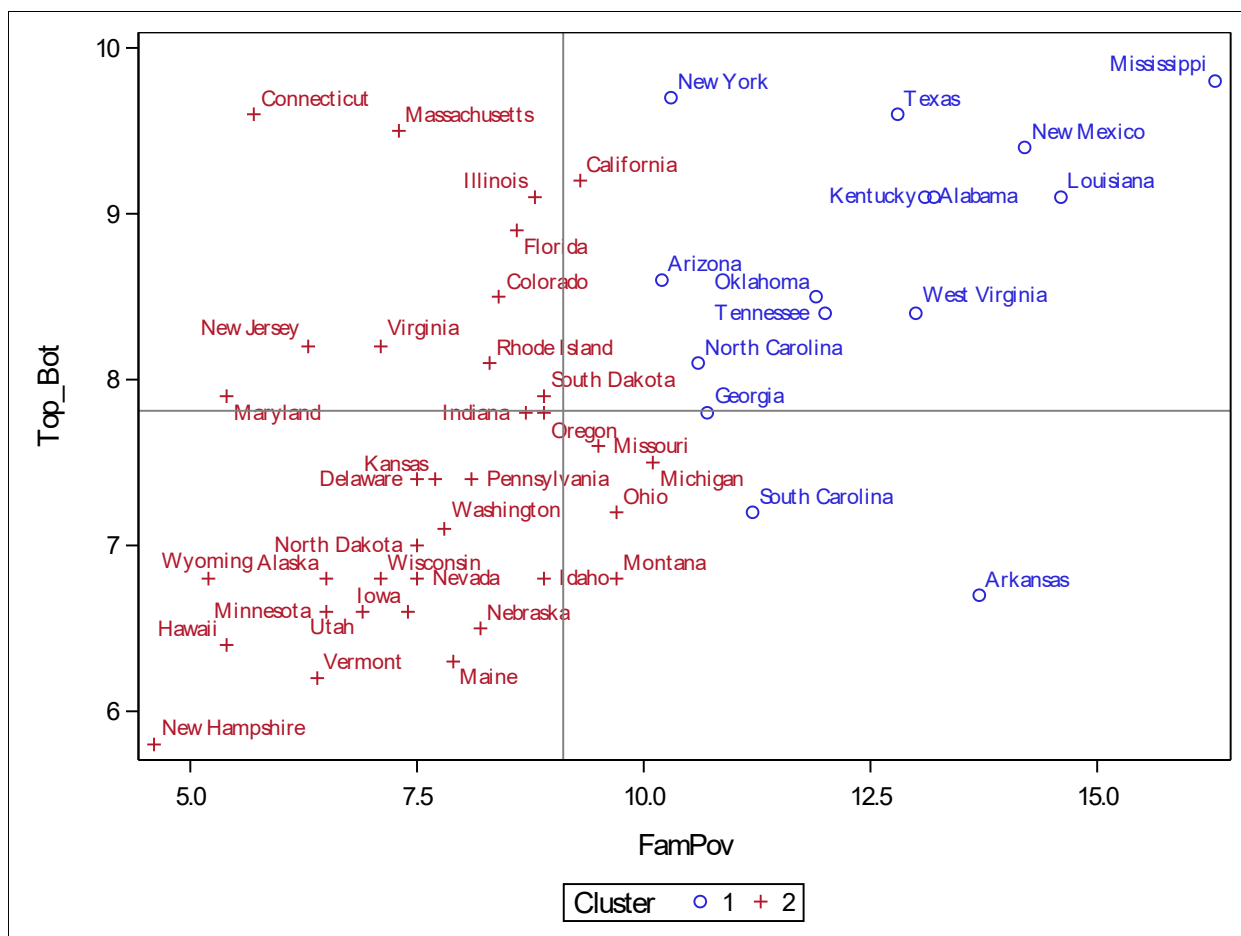
Figure 7.11: Scatter-plot of Cluster Analysis Results with Ratio of Top-to-Bottom Household Income and Percentage of Families Living in Poverty
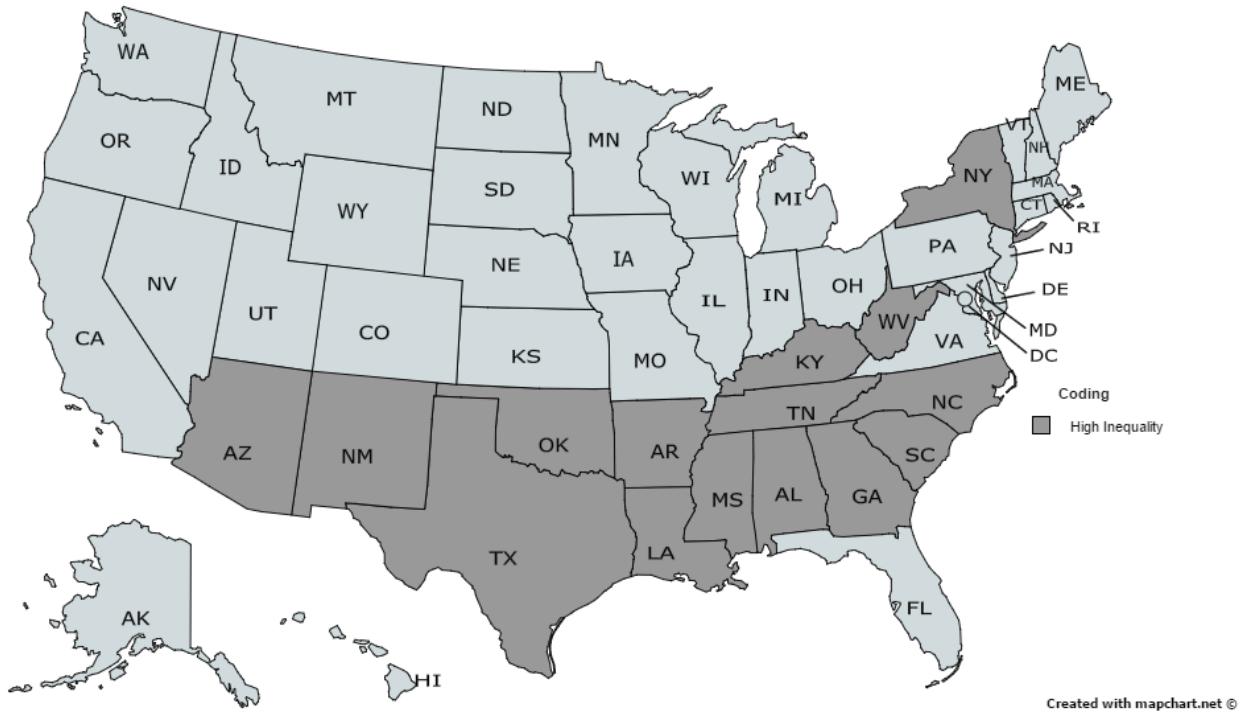
Figure 7.12: High Inequality in the 50 U.S. States

Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the initial coding process and results for coding the five conditions in this study – weak family, weak religion, weak education, weak polity, and high inequality. The results from this initial coding are summarized in Table 7.8 (below). In the following chapter, I discuss how I constructed the initial truth table and resolved the contradictions to create the final truth tables and results.

Table 7.8: Initial Coding Summary.

State		f1	f2	f3	r	e	i	p
Alabama	AL	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Alaska	AK	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Arizona	AZ	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
Arkansas	AR	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
California	CA	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Colorado	CO	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Connecticut	CT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delaware	DE	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Florida	FL	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
Georgia	GA	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Hawaii	HI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Idaho	ID	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Illinois	IL	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Indiana	IN	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Iowa	IA	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kansas	KA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	KY	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
Louisiana	LA	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
Maine	ME	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Maryland	MD	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Massachusetts	MA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Michigan	MI	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Minnesota	MN	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
Mississippi	MS	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
Missouri	MO	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Montana	MT	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Nebraska	NE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nevada	NV	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
New Hampshire	NH	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
New Jersey	NJ	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
New Mexico	NM	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
New York	NY	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
North Carolina	NC	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
North Dakota	ND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ohio	OH	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Oklahoma	OK	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Oregon	OR	0	1	1	1	0	0	1

Table 7.8—Continued

State		f1	f2	f3	r	e	i	p
Pennsylvania	PA	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Rhode Island	RI	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
South Carolina	SC	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
South Dakota	SD	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tennessee	TN	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
Texas	TX	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Utah	UT	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Vermont	VT	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Virginia	VA	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Washington	WA	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
West Virginia	WV	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Wisconsin	WI	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wyoming	WY	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Key:

f1: Weak family coded with workfare and bankruptcy

f2: Weak family coded with workfare and total debt ratio

f3: Weak family coded with workfare and both debtfare indicators

r: Weak religion

e: Weak education

p: Weak polity

i: High inequality

CHAPTER 8

RESOLVING THE CONTRADICTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL PATHWAYS TO
HIGH SERIOUS CRIME AND NOT HIGH SERIOUS CRIME

In the preceding two chapters, I discussed my coding for high serious crime and

the five conditions of weak family, weak religion, weak education, weak polity, and high

inequality. In this chapter, I transition from QCA as a research method to QCA as an

analytic moment. I first review the truth table generated by Messner and Rosenfeld's

IAT. Then I discuss my methods for resolving the contradictions when all five

conditions are included in the model. Finally, I discuss the results of the analytic moment

for the two resulting models for both high serious crime and not high serious crime.

Assessing Messner and Rosenfeld's IAT

Messner and Rosenfeld (1994; 2013) argue that the most important social

institutions for understanding high serious crime in the United States are family,

education, and polity. Therefore, the first step in this QCA is to review the truth table

(Table 8.1 below) constructed for high serious crime with only these three social

institutions. I have boldfaced the names of the high serious crime states. Recall there are

three potential sets for weak family. In this baseline analysis, I used the set of weak

family coded with the presence of workfare and high bankruptcy rates.[33] The high

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[33] For this initial truth table, I used the weak family set that was coded with workfare and high bankruptcy
rates. In the sections that follow, I present two separate analyses. In Analysis 1, I continue to use this set.

serious crime outcome that I used for the initial analysis is the high serious crime set with

states that appeared in either the homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault cluster

analysis, or the homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary cluster analysis

(C4).[34]

Table 8.1: Truth Table based on Messner and Rosenfeld's IAT

f1	e	p	O	State
0	0	1	C	**AL**, MT, NH, OR, SD, UT, VA, WA
0	1	1	C	**AK**, CO, **FL**, IN, **OK**, **TX**
0	1	0	C	**AZ**, **CA**, IA, **MI**, MN, NJ, **NM**, **NY**, **NC**, **OH**, **PA**, SC
1	1	0	1	**AR**, **LA**
0	0	0	C	CT, **DE**, HI, ID, **IL**, KS, ME, **MD**, MA, NE, ND, RI, VT, WV, WI, WY
1	1	1	1	**GA**, **NV**, **TN**
1	0	0	0	KY
1	0	1	1	MS, MO

Since there are three conditions in the model, the maximum number of rows in the

truth table is eight (2^k, where k equals the number of conditions). All eight rows are

observed in this initial truth table. However, four of the rows contain contradictions, or

both high serious crime and not high serious crime states.[35] Truth tables containing

contradictions cannot be minimized using Boolean techniques, therefore, the analysis

cannot be completed. In the next section, I describe my process for resolving the

contradictions.

In Analysis 2, I use the weak family set coded with workfare and both measures of debtfare. Ultimately, I decided to exclude the weak family set coded with workfare and total debt ratio only because it excluded states that, based on my case knowledge, belonged to the set of weak family.

[34] I chose to use the high serious crime set with states in either cluster analyses because it was the least restrictive of the possible sets. Further, when I reviewed multiple models and substituted in the other high serious crime sets the contradictions could not be resolved.

[35] I also ran the truth table analysis in Table 8.1 using weak family coded with workfare and both indicators of debtfare. In the resulting truth table, seven of the eight rows contained contradictions. The only row not containing contradictions was coded with all zeros leading to not high serious crime.

This truth table validates my concerns with Messner and Rosenfeld's original theory. First, the combinations of weak social institutions matter. Some combinations of social institutions lead to high serious crime, while others do not. The row that we would expect to result in high serious crime, weak family AND weak education AND weak polity (111), does lead to high serious crime. Perhaps more troubling for the theory, the row that we would expect to lead to not high serious crime, not weak family AND not weak education AND not weak polity (000), is a contradictory row. Some states in this row are high serious crime states, while others are not. Overall, these initial findings suggest that other social institutions should be included in the model.

Resolving the Contradictions

As previously noted, a contradiction occurs when two or more cases in the same row (i.e., with the same causal configuration) of a truth table lead to different outcomes (Ragin 1987; 2008). Before additional analysis can occur, I must resolve the contradictory rows. According to Rihoux and De Meur (2009:48-49), there are eight potential ways to resolve contradictions, including: (1) adding conditions to the analysis; (2) removing conditions from the model and/or replacing them; (3) reexamining the initial coding of the conditions; (4) reexamining the coding for the outcome; (5) reexamining the cases in the contradictory row(s) more "thickly"; (6) eliminating cases that are not truly members of the population of interest; (7) recoding contradictory rows with a zero for the outcome; and/or (8) recoding the contradictory rows by the frequency of the outcome. Not all of these approaches may be required. It is up to the researcher to choose the approach(es) that make the most sense for his/her study. Whichever way the

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contradictions are resolved, there are potential consequences for the analysis. I address each potential resolution in the context of this study in the following sections.

Adding Conditions to the Model

The first step that I took to resolve the contradictions was to consider adding one or more conditions to the analysis. The benefits of adding conditions include adding more detail to the cases to have a fuller understanding of the case and using this knowledge to have a more complete truth table. Possible limitations are that each additional condition doubles the number of possible rows in the truth table and can lead to rows with single cases. Berg-Schlosser and De Meur (2009:28) suggest that for an "intermediate-N analysis (say, 10 to 40 cases) [it] would be [acceptable] to select from 4 to 6-7 conditions." The initial truth table contained three conditions. Therefore, adding one or two would not cause too many problems.

Since my revised institutional anomie theory (RIAT) argues that, in addition to family, education, and polity, we need to consider the roles of weak religion and high inequality, my first step was to add these conditions to the model. Table 8.2 (below) displays the resulting truth table. With five conditions in the model, the maximum number of rows possible is 32. Nineteen rows (59.4 percent) are observed in the data. Under the principle of limited diversity, I expected to not observe all of the possible combinations of social institutions because social phenomena tend to group together (see Ragin 1987; 2008).

Table 8.2: Truth Table with Family, Religion, Education, Inequality, and Polity

f1	r	e	p	i	O	State
0	0	0	1	1	1	**AL**
0	1	1	0	1	1	**AK**, **FL**
0	1	1	1	0	1	**AZ**, **NM**, **NY**
1	0	1	1	0	1	**AR**, **LA**
0	1	1	0	0	1	**CA**, **MI**, **OH**, **PA**
0	0	1	0	1	0	CO, IN
0	0	0	0	0	C	CT, HI, **IL**, KS, MA, **MD**, NE, ND
0	1	0	0	0	C	**DE**, ID, ME, RI, VT, WI, WY
1	0	1	1	1	1	**GA**, **TN**
0	0	1	0	0	0	IA, MN, NJ
1	0	0	1	0	0	KY
1	0	0	1	1	1	**MS**
1	0	0	0	1	1	**MO**
0	1	0	0	1	0	MT, NH, OR, WA
1	1	1	0	1	1	**NV**
0	0	1	1	0	1	**NC**, **SC**
0	0	1	1	1	1	**OK**, **TX**
0	0	0	0	1	0	SD, UT, VA
0	0	0	1	0	0	WV

The addition of weak religion and high inequality resolved the majority of the contradictions, but two contradictory rows still remained. Therefore, I attempted additional approaches.

Removing and Replacing Conditions in the Model

Removing and replacing conditions in the model encourages researchers to return to the theory and cases in order to see if another condition could be used instead of those already in the model. RIAT argues that the combinations of weak social institutions within a liberal social structure of accumulation and high inequality will result in high serious crime rates. In this dissertation, I constructed each of the conditions with attention to the changes in the social institutions wrought by the neoliberal SSA. Since

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the conditions and outcome present in this model are driven by theory, removing and replacing conditions was inappropriate.

Reexamining the Coding for the Outcome

The QCA literature suggests that reviewing the set construction for the outcome may be just as valuable as reviewing the set construction for the conditions when working towards resolving the contradictions in the truth table. In Chapter 6, I presented four potential set constructions for high serious crime. Thus far in the analysis, I have used the high serious crime set coded with states appearing in either of the cluster results for homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault and homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary (C4, N=24). The three other sets that I constructed for high serious crime were coded with states appearing in the cluster results for homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault (C1, N=22), states appearing in the cluster results for homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary (C2, N=21), and states appearing/overlapping in both cluster results (C3=19).

Table 8.3 (below) show the truth table for C1. Table 8.3 has three contradictions. Since this truth table is not an improvement over the previous models, I did not use C1 in further analyses.

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Table 8.3: Truth Table with Alternative Crime Outcome (C1)

f1	r	e	p	i	O(C1)	State
0	0	0	1	1	1	**AL**
0	1	1	1	0	1	**AK**, **FL**
0	1	1	0	1	1	**AZ**, **NM**, **NY**
1	0	1	0	1	1	**AR**, **LA**
0	1	1	0	0	C	**CA**, **MI**, OH, **PA**
0	0	1	1	0	0	CO, IN
0	0	0	0	0	C	CT, HI, **IL**, KS, MA, **MD**, ND, NE
0	1	0	0	0	C	**DE**, ID, ME, RI, VT, WI, WY
1	0	1	1	1	1	**GA**, **TN**
0	0	1	0	0	0	IA, MN, NJ
1	0	0	0	1	0	KY
1	0	0	1	1	0	MS
1	0	0	1	0	1	**MO**
0	1	0	1	0	0	MT, NH, OR, WA
1	1	1	1	0	1	**NV**
0	0	1	0	1	1	**NC**, **SC**
0	0	1	1	1	1	**OK**, **TX**
0	0	0	1	0	0	SD, UT, VA
0	0	0	0	1	0	WV

Next, I substituted in the second high serious crime alternative (C2). Table 8.4 (below) has five contradictory rows. Since this is not an improvement over the previous models, I will did not use C2 in further analyses.

Table 8.4: Truth Table with Alternative Crime Set (C2)

fl	r	e	p	i	O(C1)	State
0	0	0	1	1	1	**AL**
0	1	1	1	0	C	AK, **FL**
0	1	1	0	1	C	**AZ**, **NM**, NY
1	0	1	0	1	1	**AR**, **LA**
0	1	1	0	0	C	**CA**, **MI**, **OH**, PA
0	0	1	1	0	0	CO, IN
0	0	0	0	0	C	CT, HI, **IL**, KS, MA, **MD**, ND, NE
0	1	0	0	0	C	**DE**, ID, ME, RI, VT, WI, WY
1	0	1	1	1	1	**GA**, **TN**
0	0	1	0	0	0	IA, MN, NJ
1	0	0	0	1	0	KY
1	0	0	1	1	1	**MS**
1	0	0	1	0	1	**MO**
0	1	0	1	0	0	MT, NH, OR, WA
1	1	1	1	0	1	**NV**
0	0	1	0	1	1	**NC**, **SC**
0	0	1	1	1	1	**OK**, **TX**
0	0	0	1	0	0	SD, UT, VA
0	0	0	0	1	0	WV

By exploring three alternative high serious crime sets for the outcome, I was able to confirm that including burglary in the definition of serious crime is important in this analysis.[36] The remainder of the analyses used C4 only.

Reexamining the Cases in the Contradictory Rows More "Thickly"

Since the previous approaches did not resolve the contradictions in the truth table, my next step was to investigate the contradictory rows in Table 8.2 more "thickly." This entailed considering what was different about the cases in the contradictory rows and recoding if warranted.

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[36] For the sake of completeness, I also ran the truth table for C3, overlapping states in the two cluster analyses. This resulted in the same five contradictions as in Table 8.4. Therefore, I do not use C3 in further analyses.

In Table 8.2 there are two contradictory rows, (1) not weak family AND not weak religion AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND not high inequality (00000) and (2) not weak family AND weak religion AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND not high inequality (01000). RIAT would suggest that the first contradictory row (00000) should result in not high serious crime. There are eight states in this row. Illinois and Maryland are the high serious crime states and the remaining six states are not high serious crime states. RIAT also suggests that the second contradictory row (01000) should result in not high serious crime. There are seven states in this row. Delaware is the only high serious crime state in this row. Since these rows only differ in one condition, I considered them together. What stood out about the three high serious crime states (DE, IL, and MD) is that they tend towards weak family. All three states have embraced workfare. Illinois almost met the threshold for high bankruptcy. All three states have high total debt ratios. As a result of these findings, I recoded Delaware, Illinois, and Maryland as belonging to the set of weak family. By recoding these states, the contradictions in the truth table were resolved (Table 8.5 below).

Table 8.5: Truth Table with Resolved Contradictions

f1	r	e	p	i	O	State
0	0	0	1	1	1	**AL**
0	1	1	1	0	1	**AK**, **FL**
0	1	1	0	1	1	**AZ**, **NM**, **NY**
1	0	1	0	1	1	**AR**, **LA**
0	1	1	0	0	1	**CA**, **MI**, **OH**, **PA**
0	0	1	1	0	0	CO, IN
0	0	0	0	0	0	CT, HI, KS, MA, ND, NE
1	1	0	0	0	1	**DE**
1	0	1	1	1	1	**GA**, **TN**
0	1	0	0	0	0	ID, ME, RI, VT, WI, WY
1	0	0	0	0	1	**IL**, **MD**
0	0	1	0	0	0	IA, MN, NJ
1	0	0	0	1	0	KY
1	0	0	1	1	1	**MS**
1	0	0	1	0	1	**MO**
0	1	0	1	0	0	MT, NH, OR, WA
1	1	1	1	0	1	**NV**
0	0	1	0	1	1	**NC**, **SC**
0	0	1	1	1	1	**OK**, **TX**
0	0	0	1	0	0	SD, UT, VA
0	0	0	0	1	0	WV

Twenty-one of the possible 32 rows (65.6 percent) are observed in this truth table with 13 rows leading to high serious crime and eight rows leading to not high serious crime.

Eliminating Cases that are Not Part of the Population of Interest

One of the suggestions for resolving contradictions is to remove cases from the analysis. The logic behind taking this step is that once a researcher learns more about a case through the process of constructing the conditions and outcome sets, s/he may find that one or more of the cases do not truly belong to the population of interest (Berg-Schlosser and De Meur 2009). Since the cases selected for this study are the 50 U.S.

states, removing a case cannot be justified as all of the states truly belong to the

population of interest. Had I included the District of Columbia in the initial population of

cases, this may have been warranted. However, I made the choice to exclude the District

of Columbia from this analysis at the outset because it is not a state.

Recoding the Contradictory Rows with a Zero for the Outcome and/or Recoding the

Contradictory Rows by Frequency

The last two methods of resolving contradictions in the truth table are problematic

and should be avoided because both deny the results that the truth table is showing the

researcher. In other words, the data are telling a story that the researcher is choosing to

ignore. Through the previous methods, I was able to resolve the contradictions.

Analysis 1 – Non-Regional Results

Before I present the results of Boolean minimization for the resolved truth table, I

first review the available QCA software and the three types of QCA solutions provided

by fsQCA 2.5 and QCAGUI.

QCA Software and Three Types of QCA Solutions

Once the truth tables contained zero contradictions, the next step was to run the

analysis with QCA software. There are several QCA programs available, each with

strengths and weaknesses.[37] I used Tosmana (Cronqvist 2011) to create and inspect the

initial truth tables for contradictions because it readily identifies the cases in each row. I

used fsQCA 2.5 (Ragin and Davey 2014) to run the initial solutions because it was

developed by Ragin for use with his method, is user-friendly, and can calculate

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[37] For additional discussion of the various QCA programs available see Thiem and Dusa (2013).

intermediate solutions. I further supplemented my findings with QCAGUI (Dusa 2007), R-based software that can calculate complex, intermediate, and parsimonious solutions, and generates useful Venn diagrams. Unfortunately, none of the currently available software is able to complete QCA on its own and none of the software display the simplifying assumptions used in creating intermediate solutions.

The three types of solutions provided by fsQCA 2.5 and QCAGUI are complex, intermediate, and parsimonious. Each of the solutions differ by the types of truth table rows used when conducting Boolean minimization. The complex solution only uses rows observed in the truth table that lead to the outcome of interest. The intermediate solution uses rows observed in the truth table and logical remainders, or easy counterfactuals. The parsimonious solution uses rows observed in the truth table and all counterfactuals, whether easy or not (Ragin et al. 2006).

While the complex and parsimonious solutions make intuitive sense as one includes only observed data and the other includes everything, the intermediate solution requires some additional discussion. The purpose of the intermediate solution is to simplify the complex solution with remainders that theory and the observed rows indicate should be included in the analysis. Schneider and Wagemann (2010) argue that all QCA research should at least report the complex and intermediate solutions. However, there is some concern about the utility of the intermediate solution when an entire population, such as the 50 U.S. states in the present study, comprises the cases. In this analysis, I present the complex solution.

Pathways to High Serious Crime

Table 8.6 shows the complex pathways to high serious crime for this model. There are four columns in the table. The pathway column shows the configurations of weak social institutions that lead to high serious crime. The raw coverage column displays the proportion of high serious crime states that the pathway explains. The unique coverage column displays the proportion of high serious crime states that belong only in that pathway. For example, Georgia is included in the first two pathways, (1) not weak religion AND weak education AND high inequality and (2) not weak religion AND weak polity AND high inequality.

Table 8.6: Complex Pathways to High Serious Crime for Analysis 1

Pathways	Raw Coverage	Unique Coverage	States
r*E*I	0.333	0.167	AR, GA, LA, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX
r*P*I	0.250	0.042	AL, GA, MS, OK, TN, TX
F*e*p*i	0.125	0.042	DE, IL, MD
f*R*E*p	0.292	0.292	AZ, CA, MI, NM, NY, OH, PA
R*E*P*i	0.125	0.125	AK, FL, NV
F*r*e*i	0.125	0.000	IL, MD, MO
F*r*e*P	0.083	0.000	MO, MS

There are seven pathways that lead to high serious crime, including (1) not weak religion AND weak education AND high inequality, (2) not weak religion AND weak polity AND high inequality, (3) weak family AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND not high inequality, (4) not weak family AND weak religion AND weak education AND not weak polity, (5) weak religion AND weak education AND weak polity AND not high inequality, (6) weak family AND not weak religion AND not weak education AND not high inequality, and (7) weak family AND not weak religion AND not weak education AND weak polity. The fact that multiple pathways to high serious

crime were found provides evidence for the research question that there are multiple

institutional configurations that lead to high serious crime.

The first pathway, not weak religion AND weak education AND high inequality,

has the highest raw coverage (.333), indicating this pathway contains the highest

percentage of high serious crime states. While this pathway explains the presence of high

serious crime for the most states, the unique coverage of .167 indicates that some of these

states are included in additional pathways. The fourth pathway explains high serious

crime for 29.2 percent of the high serious crime states, but those states are only explained

by that pathway (unique coverage = .292). Finally, the last two pathways have zero

percent unique coverage and only explain states contained in the other pathways. Since

this study is exploring which combinations of weak institutions lead to high serious

crime, I consider all of the pathways to be relevant.

While there was not a single condition present in all seven of the pathways, there

were similarities between some of the pathways. For example, factoring weak family

from those pathways provides the following formula, $F*e (i*p + r*e + r*P) \rightarrow$ high

serious crime. In addition to weak family, three of the pathways also have not weak

education in common. Another commonality shared by two of the pathways is weak

religion AND weak education. The factored solution with these terms is, $E*R (f*p + i*P)$

$\rightarrow$ high serious crime. Two pathways have not weak religion AND high inequality in

common, $r*I (E + P) \rightarrow$ high serious crime. Finally, three pathways have not high

inequality in common. The factored solution for these terms is i $(F*e*p + R*E*P +$

$F*r*e) \rightarrow$ high serious crime. Thus, not only are there multiple pathways to high serious

crime, but the theory needs to take into account specific combinations of conditions.

Cases may appear in multiple pathways. Figure 8.1 (below) shows a map of the 50 U.S. states with the high serious crime states highlighted according to the pathway(s) that lead to high serious crime. This map indicates that states in close geographic proximity to each other tend to contain similar social institutional configurations that lead to high serious crime.
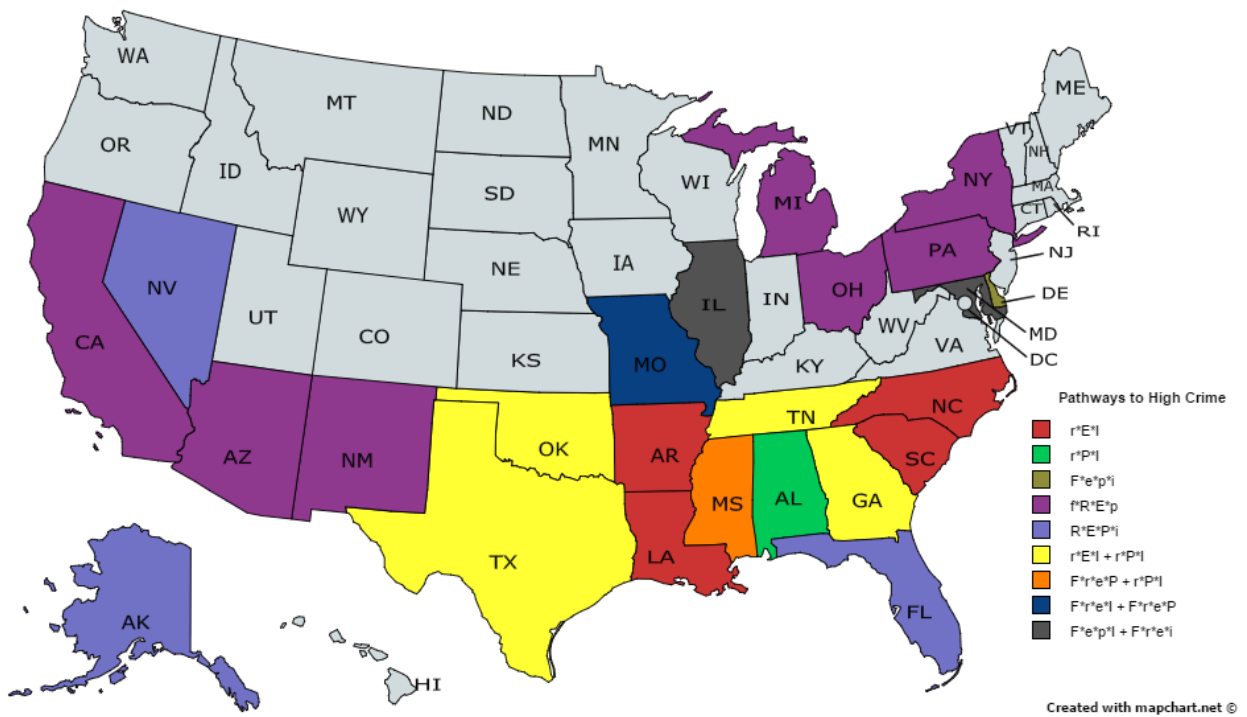
Figure 8.1: Complex Pathways to High Serious Crime in the 50 U.S. States for Analysis 1

Pathways to Not High Serious Crime

Unlike traditional quantitative methods, QCA does not assume that symmetry will appear in the findings (Ragin 1987). In other words, simply reversing the pathways that lead to high serious crime will not necessarily result in the pathways that lead to not high serious crime. In terms of what RIAT can actually explain and potential policy

outcomes, determining the pathways to not high serious crime is just as, if not more, important than determining the pathways to high serious crime.

Table 8.7 and Figure 8.2 (below) show the results for the complex solution. There are three pathways that lead to not high serious crime, including: (1) not weak family AND not weak education AND not high inequality; (2) not weak family AND not weak religion AND not high inequality; and (3) not weak religion AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND high inequality. The first pathway covers 73.1 percent of the not high serious crime states, the second pathway covers 53.8 percent of the not high serious crime states, and the third pathway covers 7.7 percent of the not high serious crime states.

Table 8.7: Complex Pathways to Not High Serious Crime for Analysis 1

Pathways	Raw Coverage	Unique Coverage	State
f*e*i	0.731	0.385	CT, HI, ID, KS, MA, ME, MT, ND, NE, NH, OR, RI, SD, UT, VA, VT, WA, WI, WY
f*r*i	0.538	0.192	CO, CT, HI, IA, IN, KS, MA, MN, ND, NE, NJ, SD, UT, VA
r*e*p*I	0.077	0.077	KY, WV

The first two pathways have both not weak family and not high inequality in common. The factored solution for these two pathways is: f*i (e + r) → not high serious crime. The third pathway, that covers Kentucky and West Virginia only, is interesting as well, because these states are located in the South, as are many of the high serious crime states. For Kentucky and West Virginia, the pathway to not high serious crime is the combination of not weak religion AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND high inequality. This pathway shows that, despite the presence of high inequality, the

combination of the other social institutions still leads to not high serious crime. Virginia, another Southern state, is in both non-South specific pathways. All three of these pathways provide guidance for possible policy solutions for the southern high serious crime states.
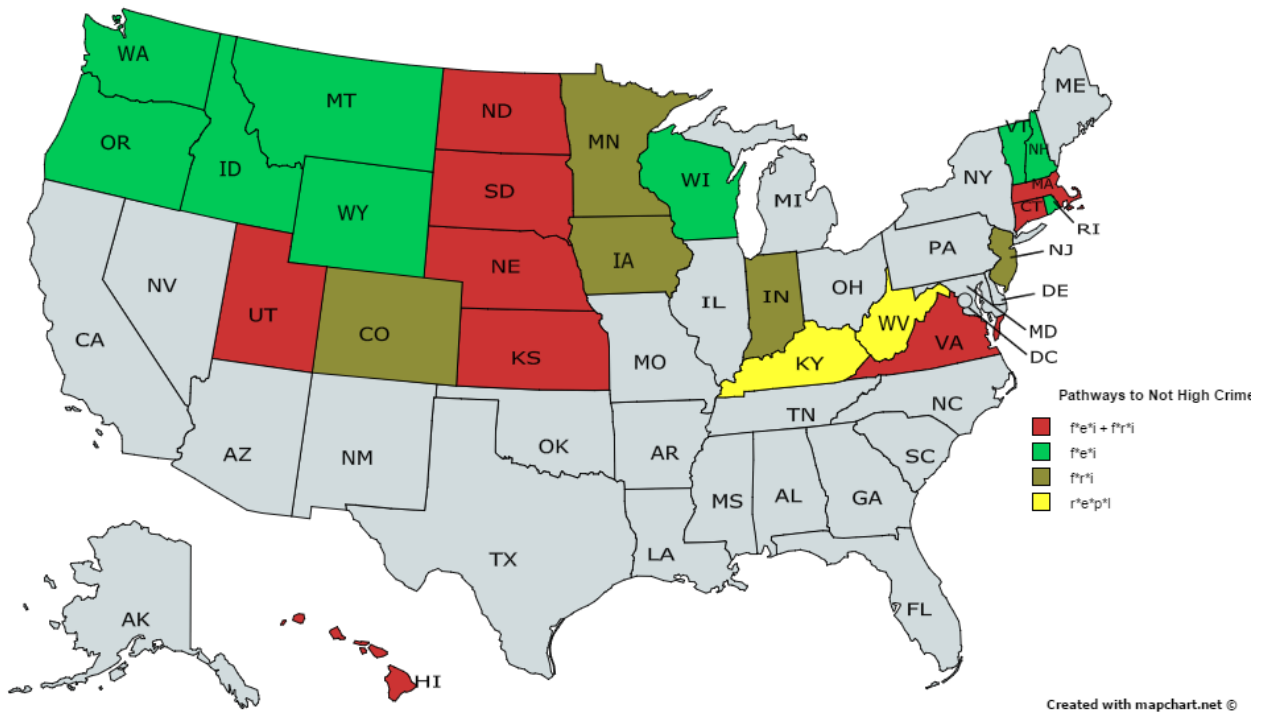
Figure 8.2: Complex Pathways to Not High Serious Crime in the 50 U.S. States for Analysis 1

Analysis 1 Summary

While the truth table for Analysis 1 was resolved, several of the findings indicate that additional work is needed with the truth table. I was able to resolve the truth table by recoding three states (DE, IL, and MD) as weak family. However, the coding for weak family seems overly restrictive as only eight states were initially coded as weak family. Recall that the set of weak family was coded with workfare and high bankruptcy rates. I did construct two alternatives for weak family that may be fruitful to explore. A second

finding that leads to me to reconsider the truth table is the regional specificity of the pathways to high serious crime. Figure 8.1 shows that there is much overlap in the pathways in the South. Further, these pathways are not shared by the non-southern states. In the next section, I discuss my process for re-resolving the truth table.

Analysis 2 – Regional Results

Minimizing Table 8.5 led to the results presented above. However, these results create more questions than answers. Thus, I returned to the methods for resolving contradictions in the truth table and used the knowledge gained from Analysis 1 to refine the truth table.

One method advocated for by Rihoux and De Meur (2009) is reexamining the initial coding. The QCA literature advises researchers to be transparent in their construction of sets. When using quantitative indicators in the construction of sets, researchers must be mindful of where they set the threshold for belonging in the set. One way I addressed the threshold issue was by using cluster analysis to construct some of the sets. Doing so allowed me to determine set membership without predetermining criteria for membership. Another solution to the threshold issue was to create multiple sets for the same condition, when appropriate. Recall that I proposed three different potential sets for weak family. Thus far in the analysis, I have used weak family coded with workfare and high bankruptcy rates. However, I suggested that two other ways of coding weak family may be valid. Upon further reflection, I decided to exclude the weak family set with workfare and high total debt ratio because this coding does not reflect the expression of total strain experienced by families as bankruptcy does. Further, using this set for

weak family excludes several cases from weak family that does not comport with what I know about the cases. Table 8.8 below shows the truth table when I replaced the initial weak family condition (f1) with the set of weak family coded with workfare and both debtfare indicators (high bankruptcy rates and high total debt ratio [f3]). Twenty-five of the possible 32 rows (78.1 percent) are observed in this truth table.

Table 8.8: Truth Table with Alternative Weak Family, Weak Religion, Weak Education, Weak Polity, and High Inequality

f3	r	e	p	i	O	State
0	0	0	1	1	1	**AL**
0	1	1	0	1	1	**AK**
1	1	1	1	0	1	**AZ, NY**
1	0	1	1	0	1	**AR, LA**, NC
0	1	1	0	0	1	**CA, MI, OH, PA**
1	0	1	0	1	0	CO
0	0	0	0	0	0	CT, HI, KS, MA, ND, NE
1	1	0	0	0	C	**DE**, ID, RI
1	1	1	0	1	1	**FL, NV**
1	0	1	1	1	1	**GA, TN**
1	0	0	0	0	1	**IL, MD**
0	0	1	0	1	0	IN
0	0	1	0	0	0	IA
1	0	0	1	0	0	KY
0	1	0	0	0	0	ME, VT, WI, WY
1	0	1	0	0	0	MN, NJ
1	0	0	1	1	1	**MS**
1	0	0	0	1	C	**MO**, VA
0	1	0	0	1	0	MT, NH, WA
0	1	1	1	0	1	**NM**
0	0	1	1	1	1	**OK, TX**
1	1	0	0	1	0	OR
0	0	1	1	0	1	**SC**
0	0	0	0	1	0	SD, UT
0	0	0	1	0	0	WV

In Table 8.8, there are two contradictory rows, (1) weak family AND weak religion AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND not high inequality (11000) and (2) weak family AND not weak religion AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND high inequality (10001). RIAT does not provide any guidance as to whether these rows should lead to high serious crime or not. The two high serious crime states in these rows are Delaware and Virginia. These states are both located in the southern United States. The criminological literature has consistently found higher rates of crime in the South. Some theorists, such as Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) and Nisbitt and Cohen (1997), advance arguments that the subculture of violence in the South may explain high rates of serious crime in the South. Further, the initial results from Analysis 1 suggest that there is a regional component to the pathways. Finally, Ragin (2014:xxi-xxii) states, "If a truth table reveals contradictions, they should be resolved, primarily by identifying omitted causal conditions." Thus, I created a new condition for states located in the southern United States by coding all states identified by the U.S. Census Bureau as located in the South with a one. Table 8.9 shows the resolved truth table with the addition of the new condition, South.

Table 8.9: Resolved Truth Table with Alternative Weak Family and South

f3	r	e	p	i	s	O	State
0	0	0	1	1	1	1	**AL**
0	1	1	1	0	0	1	**AK**
1	1	1	0	1	0	1	**AZ**, **NY**
1	0	1	0	1	1	1	**AR**, **LA**, NC
0	1	1	0	0	0	1	**CA**, **MI**, **OH**, **PA**
1	0	1	1	0	0	0	CO
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	CT, HI, KS, MA, ND, NE
1	1	0	0	0	1	1	**DE**
1	1	1	1	0	1	1	**FL**
1	0	1	1	1	1	1	**GA**, **TN**
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	ID, RI
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	**IL**
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	IN
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	IA
1	0	0	0	1	1	0	KY
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	ME, VT, WI, WY
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	**MD**
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	MN, NJ
1	0	0	1	1	1	1	**MS**
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	**MO**
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	MT, NH, WA
1	1	1	1	0	0	1	**NV**
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	**NM**
0	0	1	1	1	1	1	**OK**, **TX**
1	1	0	1	0	0	0	OR
0	0	1	0	1	1	1	**SC**
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SD, UT
1	0	0	1	0	1	0	VA
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	WV

There are 29 observed rows of the possible 64 rows (45.4 percent). Sixteen of the observed rows lead to high serious crime and 13 rows lead to not high serious crime. In the following two sections, I present the complex results for Boolean minimization of Table 8.9.

Pathways to High Serious Crime

Table 8.10 (below) shows the complex pathways to high serious crime for

Analysis 2. There are seven pathways that lead to high serious crime, including: (1) not

weak religion AND weak education AND high inequality AND south, (2) not weak

religion AND weak polity AND high inequality AND south, (3) weak family AND not

weak religion AND not weak education AND not high inequality AND not south, (4) not

weak family AND weak religion AND weak education AND not high inequality AND

not south, (5) weak family AND not weak education AND weak polity AND high

inequality AND not south, (6) weak religion AND weak education AND not weak polity

AND high inequality AND not south, and (7) weak family AND weak religion AND

weak education AND weak polity AND not high inequality.

Table 8.10: Complex Pathways to High Serious Crime for Analysis 2

Pathways	Raw Coverage	Unique Coverage	States
South			
r*E*I	.333	.167	AR, GA, LA, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX
r*P*I	.250	.083	AL, GA, MS, OK, TN, TX
F*e*p*i	.083	.083	DE, MD
Non-South			
F*r*e*i	.083	.083	IL, MO
f*R*E*i	.208	.208	AK, CA, MI, OH, PA
R*E*p*I	.125	.125	AZ, NM, NY
Region Non-Specific			
F*R*E*P*i	.083	.083	FL, NV

The obvious factoring concern in Analysis 2 is the presence or absence of being

located in the South. When location in the South is included as a condition, two of the

pathways observed in Analysis 1 still appear with the solution factoring as r*I (E + P) →

high serious crime. This finding is important to note because it shows that the two

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analyses are somewhat consistent and my previous observation about location in the South held true. There is one additional pathway for states located in the South, F*e*p*i. For the states not located in the South, there are three pathways to high serious crime. These pathways do not have a single condition in common. Two of the pathways have weak religion AND weak education in common, R*E (f*i + p*I) + F*r*e*i → high serious crime and two pathways had not high inequality in common, i (F*r*e + f*R*E) + R*E*p*I → high serious crime. Finally, two states –Florida and Nevada – have the same institutional configuration, F*R*E*P*i, but one is located in the South and the other is not. Therefore, location did not matter for that configuration.
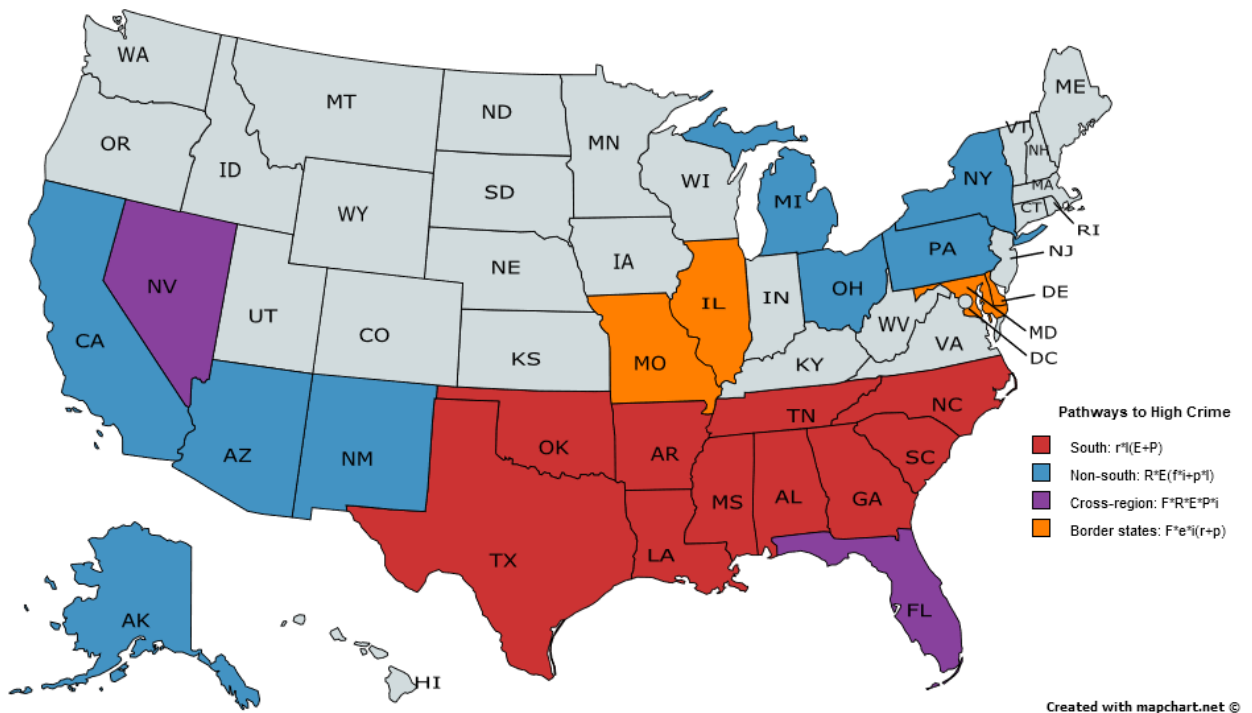

Figure 8.3: Complex Pathways to High Serious Crime

Figure 8.3 (above) maps the complex pathways to high serious crime for Analysis 2. States located in the deep South (red) share the factored solution of r*I (E + P) → high

serious crime. Thus, states in the deep South all have not weak religion coupled with high inequality in common. States not located in the South (blue) share the factored solution of R*E (f*i + p*I) → high serious crime. Thus, these states are characterized by weak religion combined with weak education. Border states (orange), or those states sharing borders with both South and non-South states, share the factored solution of F*e*i (r+p) → high serious crime. Thus, states that share borders with southern and northern states share weak family AND not weak education AND not high inequality in common. Finally, the cross-region pathway (purple) is F*R*E*P*i. This pathway is closest to the IAT hypothesis as all four social institutions are weak.

Pathways to Not High Serious Crime

Table 8.11 (below) shows the complex solution for pathways leading to not high serious crime. There are six pathways that lead to not high serious crime, including: (1) weak religion AND not weak education AND not high inequality AND not south, (2) not weak religion AND weak education AND not high inequality AND not south, (3) not weak religion AND not weak education AND not weak polity AND high inequality AND south, (4) weak family AND not weak religion AND not weak education AND weak polity AND not high inequality AND south, (5) not weak family AND not weak education AND not high inequality AND not south, and (6) not weak family AND not weak religion AND not high inequality AND not south.

Table 8.11: Complex Pathways to Not High Serious Crime for Analysis 2

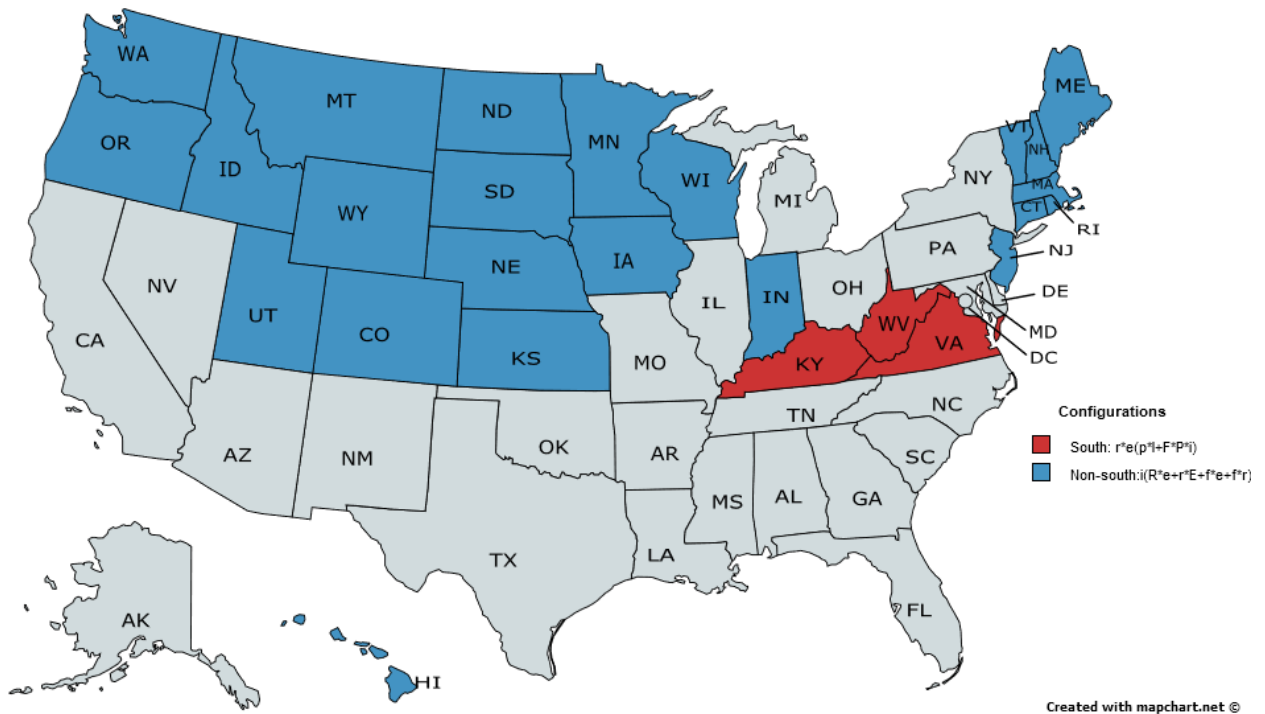| Pathways	Raw Coverage	Unique Coverage	States
South			
r*e*p*I	0.077	0.077	KY, WV
F*r*e*P*i	0.038	0.038	VA
Non-South			
R*e*i	0.385	0.115	ID, ME, MT, NH, OR, RI, VT, WA, WI, WY
r*E*i	0.192	0.115	CO, IA, IN, MN, NJ
f*e*i	0.577	0.000	CT, HI, KS, MA, ME, MT, ND, NE, NH, SD, UT, VT, WA, WI, WY
f*r*i	0.385	0.000	CT, HI, IN, IA, KS, MA, ND, NE, SD, UT

Figure 8.4: Complex Pathways to Not High Serious Crime in the 50 U.S. States for Analysis 2

Figure 8.4 (above) maps the results. I factored these results with focus whether states are located in the South or not. Note that for the not high serious crime analysis that border states are not a consideration and that all of the pathways have a geographic

component. For the pathways including location in the South (red), the factored solution is r*e (p*I + F*P*i) → not high serious crime. Thus, for states located in the South, their pathways to not high serious crime share the combination of not weak religion AND not weak education in common. For the pathways not including location in the South (blue), the factored solution is i (R*e + r*E + f*e + f*r) → not high serious crime. Thus, the pathways for the states not in the South had not high inequality in common.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this section, I discuss the findings in terms of how they relate to the theory in general. Then I relate the findings back to the cases. Since the second analysis is much stronger in terms of how the contradictions in the truth table were resolved, I focus my discussion there.

In Chapter 2, I argued that Messner and Rosenfeld's (1997; 2013) institutional anomie theory was flawed because it (1) did not include religion as a relevant social institution, (2) did not include inequality, and (3) substituted the American Dream for a complete discussion of and linking to the political economy. In Chapter 4, I rectified these theoretical deficiencies by arguing that high serious crime rates are the result of the neoliberal social structure of accumulation that promotes high inequality and weak social institutions. In Chapter 8, I was able to test both IAT and my revised theory.

In the first part of the present chapter, I began my analysis by assessing Messner and Rosenfeld's IAT. My hypothesis was that I would not be able to complete the QCA due to contradictions in the truth table when only weak family, weak education, and weak polity were included in the model. As I suspected, there were many contradictions in the

truth table constructed from IAT's original propositions. Thus, my theoretical reasons for reconstructing IAT were confirmed.

Next, I tested my reconstructed IAT by adding high inequality and weak religion to the model. Following the approaches recommended by the QCA literature, I first resolved the truth table by recoding the high serious crime states in the contradictory rows as weak family. The first truth table included weak family, weak religion, weak education, weak polity, and high inequality. The results of minimizing this truth table led me to conclude that the initial construction of weak family was too restrictive and that an important condition, location in the South, was missing from the analysis. Thus, I re-resolved the truth table to include an alternate set construction for weak family and location in the South. In addition, the second truth table included weak religion, weak education, weak polity, and high inequality. Since I was able to resolve the contradictions with minimal, albeit important, changes to reconstructed IAT, I conclude that reconstructing IAT was the correct approach.

My second hypothesis was that multiple pathways exist for high serious crime and not high serious crime. In other words, different configurations of the conditions should lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime. This hypothesis was confirmed by the findings of Analysis 1 and Analysis 2 with multiple pathways leading to both high serious crime and not high serious crime. As a result, the 50 U.S. states should not be treated as a homogenous whole.

RIAT would hypothesize that one pathway to high serious crime should include weak family AND weak religion AND weak education AND weak polity AND high inequality, but this pathway was not observed in the complex pathways to high serious

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crime for either analysis. However, as noted above, one pathway to high serious crime,

the one covering the cross-regional states of Nevada and Florida, did include all the weak

social institutions, but not high inequality. The absence of this full pathway indicates that

when we consider theory, we need to be open to the possibility that the combination of

conditions, in this study social institutions, matters.

Connecting the High Serious Crime Findings Back to the Cases

For states located in the deep South, the pathway to high serious crime was r*I (E

+ P). In other words, in the South, high serious crime is the result of the combination of

not weak religion AND high inequality AND weak education OR weak polity. Thinking

broadly about the history of the South, these findings make sense. Religion in the South

is strongly valued. However, it is also connected to racism and slavery. Some have

argued that Christianity condoned slavery (Selby 2002), while others have made

distinctions between religion performed by whites and religion performed by slaves.

Both believed that God was on their side and religion, as an institution, has remained

strong in the South. High inequality, constructed with absolute and relative deprivation

indicators, was present in the Southern states with high serious crime. Again, the South's

history of racism adds context to this finding. Consider the effects of unequal treatment

of African Americans after the Civil War that, while illegal now, has persisted culturally.

Either weak education OR weak polity contribute to high serious crime. Weak education

speaks to a lack of informal control and lack of prosocial transmission of norms and

values. Considered in combination with not weak religion AND high inequality, an

environment where resolving conflict in a peaceful manner does not exist. Weak polity

indicates a lack of political legitimacy. In combination with not weak religion AND high

inequality, weak polity creates an environment where conflict can be resolved through violent means without fear of law enforcement. Consider the actions of the Ku Klux Klan where there was little fear of formal punishment for lynching African Americans or burning their churches.

For states not located in the South, a different set of pathways leads to high serious crime, $R*E (f*i + p*I)$. High serious crime is the result of weak religion AND weak education along with not weak family AND not high inequality OR not weak polity AND high inequality. Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York have a history of industrialization. During the post-Civil War era, many newly freed slaves moved north for employment, which led to increased racial tensions in these states that have carried on throughout the years. Likewise, Alaska, Arizona, California, and New Mexico have experienced an influx of others over time. In the late 1800s, settlers were urged to "Go West" in search of their fortunes. Of course, these lands were already settled by Native American tribes and/or Mexican natives, thus setting the stage for years of tension and inequality. More recently, deindustrialization in the rustbelt led to unemployed industrial workers seeking jobs in the West and Southwest.

For the border states, the pathway to high serious crime is $F*e*i (r+p)$. High serious crime is the result of the combination of weak family AND not weak education AND not high inequality combined with not weak religion OR not weak polity. The border states are Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, and Missouri. Each of these states share characteristics with southern and non-southern states. For example, both Illinois and Missouri have not weak religion. They are the only non-southern states with not weak religion. This may be a result of bordering the South and/or migration from the South to

these states. Similarly, Delaware and Maryland are both weak family states and the nearby by southern, not high serious crime states also share weak family.

Finally, for the cross-regional states, the pathway to high serious crime is F*R*E*P*i. There are only two states in this pathway, Florida and Nevada. Florida, while located in the South, does not have the same history as the other southern states. The French, not the British, first settled it. Florida shares weak education AND weak polity with the southern states, but differs in terms of family, religion, and inequality. Today, Florida is diversity-rich which contributes to much of its culture and social institutions. In terms of history, Nevada is quite similar to its southwestern counterparts. It shares weak religion AND weak education AND not high inequality with these states. The differences for Nevada are weak family AND weak polity.

Connecting the Not High Serious Crime Findings Back to the Cases

QCA cautions researchers against assuming that symmetry exists in the pathways. For the states located in the South, the pathway to not high serious crime is r*e (p*I + F*P*i). Not high serious crime results from the combination of not weak religion AND not weak education with either not weak polity AND high inequality OR weak family AND weak polity AND not high inequality. For the three southern, not high serious crime states (KY, VA, and WV) the combination of not weak religion AND not weak education is important. IAT was originally based on three criminological traditions: anomie-strain, social disorganization, and social learning. Previous IAT research has emphasized the anomie-strain component of the theory. However, these findings suggest that the social disorganization and social learning components must be brought back into the theory. Both religion and education play important roles in providing informal social

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control and transmitting norms and values. If these social institutions are strong, then the undesirable effects of weak family AND weak polity can be overcome.

For states not located in the South, the pathway to not high serious crime is i (R*e + r*E + f*e + f*r). Importantly, high inequality is absent in all of the non-southern, not high serious crime states. Related to the findings of the South, not high serious crime states, the role of religion and education is notable. When at least one of these two social institutions is not weak, high serious crime is absent. For these states, not weak family is also important. Many of these states have not fully embraced workfare. In doing so, families continue to have access to welfare support.

Reconsidering Revised Institutional Anomie Theory

The various pathways to high serious crime and not high serious crime suggest that reconstructing IAT was the correct choice. These findings show that different combinations of weak social institutions, high inequality, and geographic location lead to different outcomes.

Including both weak religion and South were both culturally important for the theory. Messner and Rosenfeld (1994; 2013) argued that the primary cultural component of IAT should be the concept of the American Dream. However, this concept is actually part of the neoliberal ideology that supports the neoliberal social structure of accumulation. Messner and Rosenfeld focus on the American Dream though because, in this most recent formulation, it is based on material and monetary success. If we consider culture more broadly, we need to concern ourselves with the ways that norms and values are transmitted. Religion is one social institution that challenges people to consider questions of higher power and morality. Social bond theory suggests that strong

bonds to social institutions are likely to result in lower rates of serious crime. The inclusion of location in the South as a condition is another way that I considered culture in this study. One cannot deny the history of racism and slavery in the United States, and specifically the South. By taking culture into account more fully, the findings suggest that the pathways that lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime should lead to more culturally-sensitive and geographically-specific policy recommendations.

Including South as a condition also led to one other interesting finding with regards to legitimacy of government. Both Analysis 1 and 2 found that the combination of weak polity AND high inequality lead to high serious crime. Visually, I noted in Analysis 1 that this combination was found only in the southern states. In Analysis 2, I confirmed that this was true for only the southern high serious crime states. It would appear that high serious crime is likely to occur in states where the government, the institution responsible for making and applying law, is not legitimate. Not surprisingly, this is coupled with high inequality. Considering differential application of criminal justice policies, including incarceration and the death penalty, the South has a history of legitimacy issues and unequal treatment of groups.

In the next chapter, I conclude this study with a complete restatement of revised IAT that takes the findings into consideration and a review of the study's contributions to theory, the discipline, and the method. I discuss the limitations of the research and suggest possible avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Revised institutional anomie theory (RIAT) argues that high serious crime rates in the United States are the result of the combination of weak social institutions and high inequality during the neoliberal social structure of accumulation (SSA). One of the primary goals of this dissertation was to situate Messner and Rosenfeld's institutional anomie theory within its political-economic historical context by arguing that IAT was developed during the neoliberal SSA and should take that specific historical moment into account. The specific research questions under investigation in this dissertation were: (1) What are the configurations of economically-dominated social institutions that lead to high serious crime in the 50 U.S. states? (2) What are the configurations of economically-dominated social institutions that lead to not high serious crime in the 50 U.S. states?

In this chapter, I first discuss my reconstruction of revised institutional anomie theory (RIAT). The configurations that lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime in the 50 U.S. states in Chapter 8, suggest some additional changes to the theory are needed. Then, I describe the contributions my study has made to the theory and the QCA method. With RIAT, I kept the concept of a weak social institutional structure causing high serious crime from Messner and Rosenfeld's original IAT, but removed the concept of the American Dream from the theory. By doing so, I was able to use social

structure of accumulation theory to provide a historical understanding to the theory. My

methodological contribution consisted of using cluster analysis to assist with constructing

the sets for qualitative comparative analysis. Next, I discuss the policy implications of

my findings. QCA allowed me to determine the pathways that lead to not high serious

crime. The institutional pathways constitute the basis of my policy recommendations.

Finally, I address the limitations of the study and possible avenues for future research.

<p style="text-align:center">Refining Revised Institutional Anomie Theory</p>

Messner and Rosenfeld (1994; 2013) argued that the high serious crime rates

experienced by the United States, in comparison with other advanced, industrialized

countries, is the result of the combination of weak social institutions with a culture that

overvalues material success. However, in Chapter 2, I argued that Messner and

Rosenfeld's (1994; 2013) institutional anomie theory needed to be reconstructed for three

main reasons. First, it did not include religion as a social institution of relevance.

Second, it did not include high inequality or an understanding of structural blockages to

success that was emphasized in Robert Merton's anomie theory. Third, and finally, it

substituted the concept of the American Dream for a fuller understanding of the changing

nature of capitalism. In Chapter 4, I presented revised institutional anomie theory where

I theorized that high serious crime rates are the result of the combination high inequality

and weak social institutions in the neoliberal social structure of accumulation. When

social institutions become weak, they are unable to provide optimum socialization and

informal social control. The inability to provide informal social control comes from a

social structure of accumulation that shifts the balance of power towards capital and away

from labor. As a result, capital accumulation and/or profit maximization are overemphasized to the detriment to the non-economic social institutions.

Based on my findings, I must refine RIAT further. Messner and Rosenfeld's (1994; 2013) IAT drew upon three criminological traditions: (1) anomie-strain, (2) cultural-social learning, and (3) social disorganization-social control. However, Messner and Rosenfeld, and the empirical research literature, have focused on the contributions of anomie-strain over the other two traditions. In the following sections, I describe the contributions of each of these criminological traditions to RIAT.

Anomie-strain theories are the foundation of RIAT because they join social structure and culture. According to Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:88),

> At the cultural level, the dominant ethos of the American Dream stimulates criminal motivations and at the same time promotes a weak normative environment (anomie). At the institutional level, the dominance of the economy in the institutional balance of power undermines the vitality of non-economic institutions, reducing their capacity to control disapproved behavior and support approved behavior.

I argued in Chapter 4 that Messner and Rosenfeld's fixation on the American Dream as the sole feature of culture is faulty because they fail to look at the bigger picture – the neoliberal social structure of accumulation. Anomie is present in society as a result of the ideologies and institutions that form the neoliberal SSA. Messner and Rosenfeld seem to assume that there was, at some point in time, a balance of power among the social institutions. This may be a result of fact that Messner and Rosenfeld claim to not be Marxists (Rosenfeld and Messner 2011). Their rejection of that label may have caused them to overlook the ways in which the social institutions support the economy by forming the superstructure (see Chapter 4).

From social learning theory, Messner and Rosenfeld (2013:54) borrow the idea that "how the very conspiracy of the normal—the intensity and effectiveness of a group's efforts to promote conformity to its norms—produces the abnormal." While the idea that "crime *is* conformity" (Messner and Rosenfeld 2013:53, emphasis in original) suggests that, in the wider sense, the dominance of the economy has somehow changed the culturally approved goals and as a result people will do whatever it takes to achieve those goals, it ignores the fact that most people *do* conform to society while *not* committing crime. Not committing crime is just as much of a learned behavior as committing crime. My findings show that in states where the social institutions, such as family, religion, and education, are able to perform their functions of informal social control and transmission of norms and values that not high serious crime is the likely result.

Finally, social disorganization-social control theories are focused on informal controls on criminal behavior. Social disorganization theory is a macro-level theory that argues high serious crime is likely in neighborhoods with high racial/ethnic heterogeneity, high residential mobility, and high economic deprivation. When these three conditions occur, the social institutions are less able to perform their role of informal social control. Social control theory, proposed by Hirschi (1969), seeks to understand why some individuals do not commit crime. He argues that strong social bonds to the community – attachment, belief, commitment, and involvement – create the environment necessary for law abiding. These two theories work together to suggest that the noneconomic social institutions play an important role in creating an environment either conducive to high serious crime or not high serious crime.

RIAT integrates these theoretical traditions by emphasizing the importance of informal social control and transmission of norms and values provided by the noneconomic social institutions. By considering the combinations of social institutions that lead to high serious crime and not high serious crime, researchers can pinpoint the types of policy interventions that may lead to a reduction in crime rates.

Contributions to the Theory and Discipline

My work is a departure from the existing IAT theory and literature. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the theory does not include all of the relevant social institutions or consider the role of inequality. More troubling, the theory is rooted in the neoliberal SSA in terms of data used for examples and the concept of the American Dream, but Messner and Rosenfeld do not acknowledge the role of capitalism nor the fact that capitalism has changed throughout history. I used social structure of accumulation theory to add much needed historical context to the theory. I noted several research gaps in Chapter 3, including: (1) lack of agreement about how to measure high serious crime; (2) no discussion about the point at which not high serious crime transitions to high serious crime; (3) inconsistent inclusion of non-economic social institutions; (4) inconsistent measurement of the social institutions; and (5) two-way interaction effects have been used to assess configurations.

In this dissertation, I attempted to address many of these issues by first reconstructing institutional anomie theory to take into account the historical moment when it was developed, the neoliberal SSA, considering religion as a relevant social institution, and by considering high inequality as contributing to high serious crime.

Then I used qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) to address the myriad of methodological issues in past research. QCA is uniquely situated to determine which configurations of economically-dominated social institutions produce high serious crime and not high serious crime. I created several alternative codings of crime and institutional conditions in order to determine which measurement made the most sense going forward. My findings showed that high serious crime should be measured with homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary. By using cluster analysis to construct the sets of high serious crime, I was able to determine which states experienced high serious crime and which states experienced not high serious crime.

When considering criminological theory, we must consider the historical context during which it was written. Messner and Rosenfeld conceived of institutional anomie theory in the early 1990s. This was during the consolidation phase of the neoliberal SSA. The data and examples that they used for their explanation of high serious U.S. Crime were drawn from the exploration phase of the neoliberal SSA. It would appear, then, that we must consider the role of capitalism, particularly neoliberal capitalism, in the theory. I have done so in two ways. First, the neoliberal SSA has led to high rates of relative and absolute poverty. I captured this issue with the high inequality condition. The second way that I addressed the history of capitalism within this study is by building neoliberalism, and the changes wrought by it, into the construction of social institutional conditions. Previous studies have focused primarily on monetary expenditures for the social institutions (i.e., K-12 expenditures per pupil), but have not considered the policies that have changed the social institutions (i.e., No Child Left Behind). By considering the influence of neoliberalism on policy, and the effects of neoliberal policy on the social

institutions, I have taken the theory to a deeper place where concern for history and ideology reside.

Finally, and related to the previous point, I removed the concept of the American Dream from the theory. I did this for several reasons. First, Messner and Rosenfeld's theory has always been an institutional analysis of high serious crime rates. This can be seen in their subsequent 1997 article that only focuses on institutions. The majority of the empirical research has only focused on social institutions as well. Research including variables for the American Dream has not yielded significant results (Jenson 2002; Cullen, Parboteeah, and Hoegl 2004; Baumer and Gustafson 2007; Bame-Aldred et al. 2013; Hirtenlehner, Farrall, and Bacher 2013). Second, Messner and Rosenfeld use the American Dream as a stand-in for ideology that supports the existing social structure of accumulation. In Chapter 2, I outlined the historical evolution of the American Dream. As each SSA came to pass the American Dream changed to support capital accumulation and/or profit maximization. For example, the American Dream during the postwar SSA emphasized attaining the good life of a home and employment with a company that provided secure retirement. The goal of the good life encouraged families to purchase homes and consumer goods that fueled the postwar economy. During the neoliberal SSA, the American Dream shifted from acquiring the good life to acquiring the status symbols of middle class through financing. By shifting the means to achieve the American Dream, the neoliberal SSA emphasized profit maximization on the backs of workers. By not attending to the evolution of the American Dream and the changes to capitalism, Messner and Rosenfeld unwittingly rooted their theory to a single historical moment. Third, and lastly, I removed the American Dream from the theory because it is

an inadequate conception of culture in the United States. Instead, I replaced it with conditions for weak religion and location in the South.

My contributions to the theory suggest a way forward for criminology. Future researchers should carefully consider other criminological theories with concern for the configurations that lead to the outcome of interest. For example, QCA could be used to investigate the pathways to high serious crime for social bond theory, social learning theory, social disorganization theory, etc. The findings from this research could lead to reconstructed theories. Future researchers should also consider the historical context during which theories were developed. For example, Merton's anomie theory was first developed in the 1930s and he continued working on it throughout the 1960s. As a result, future criminologists would want to consider both the post-WWI SSA and the post-WWII SSA when working with the theory.

Policy Implications

QCA provided me with the opportunity to determine the pathways that lead to high serious crime in 2007 and, more importantly, it allowed me to determine the pathways that *did not* lead to high serious crime in 2007. As a result, several policy implications exist that I have drawn from the pathways to high serious crime and not high serious crime.

The factored solution that leads to not high serious crime for states located in the South was r*e (p*I + F*P*i). With the exception of Delaware and Florida, states located in the South already possess not weak religion. States located in the South should first work to strengthen education as all three states covered by the pathways to not high

serious crime had not weak education in common, and pathways to high serious crime in these states involved high inequality with either weak education or weak polity. This can be accomplished by not fully embracing No Child Left Behind. Specifically, states could change their education policies to be more supportive of teachers by not linking student performance to pay, reducing and/or removing standardized testing so that teachers can focus on teaching content and not "teaching to the test," and increasing job stability through reducing teacher turnover and making tenure achievable. States could change their education policies to be more supportive of students by reducing and/or removing high stakes testing and repealing "learnfare" policies that link school and welfare. Of course, reforming education is just one piece of "crime" reform. As noted, all pathways to high serious crime in the deep South involved high inequality, therefore, reducing inequality is a worthwhile goal that should be worked towards, as all of the high serious crime states located in the South have high inequality for many of the historical reasons described in Chapter 8. I constructed the set of high inequality with absolute and relative deprivation with the former measured with the percentage of families living in poverty and the latter with the ratio of top 20 percent household income to bottom 20 percent household income. Policies for reducing inequality could focus on increasing the minimum wage to a living wage and increasing access to quality employment. If inequality reduction policies are unlikely to occur, states located in the South could also focus on strengthening the polity. This could be accomplished by increasing voter participation rates by ensuring that polling places are accessible for voting, not requiring identification to vote, and reducing felon disenfranchisement. In addition, states located

in the South should work towards reducing the influence of business and, more generally, money in politics.

The factored solution for states not located in the South that led to not high serious crime was i (R*e + r*E + f*e + f*r). All of the not high serious crime states not located in the South had not high inequality in common. Two of the pathways to high serious crime include not high inequality. The high serious crime states covered by these pathways are IL, MO, AK, CA, MI, OH, and PA. The pathway to high serious crime for IL and MO is F*r*e*i. These states would be best served by developing policies that strengthen family. Some examples of policies that could be adopted are uncoupling welfare from work, increasing the minimum wage to a living wage, and/or removing means testing from bankruptcy requirements. The pathway to high serious crime for AK, CA, MI, OH, and PA is f*R*E*i. These states already have not weak family and not high inequality. Therefore, policy solutions should focus on strengthening religion and education. Since it is easier to make policy recommendations for education, I focus there. As in the southern states, states not located in the South could change their education policies to be more supportive of teachers by not linking student performance to pay, reducing and/or removing standardized testing so that teachers can focus on teaching content and not "teaching to the test," and increasing job stability through reducing teacher turnover and making tenure achievable. States could change their education policies to be more supportive of students by reducing and/or removing high stakes testing and repealing "learnfare" policies that link school and welfare. Finally, the pathway to high serious crime for AZ, NM, and NY is R*E*p*I. Again, policy changes that target religion are difficult to enact. Therefore, I focus on education and inequality.

For education, these states could change their education policies as I have previous suggested by creating policies that are supportive of both teachers and students. In order to reduce inequality, these states could adopt policies that focus on increasing the minimum wage to a living wage and increasing access to quality employment.

In summary, the pathways to high serious crime and not high serious crime guided the policy suggestions that I have for specific states and regions. By focusing on specific changes to the social institutions, these policy suggestions may be able to gain the political will needed to enact them. Some policy changes, such as any changes to bankruptcy law, must be enacted at the federal level as states do not determine bankruptcy law. While states have great latitude in adopting federal legislation, such as No Child Left Behind and the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, it would be helpful for the federal government to replace these acts with legislation that is pro-education and pro-family.

Going beyond the state specific policy interventions, another change that may result in lower rates of serious crime may be for a new social structure of accumulation to emerge. Some, such as Kotz (2015), have argued that in the post-Great Recession era, the neoliberal SSA has entered the decay phase. During this SSA phase, capitalists become concerned because they are no longer able to maintain high profits and will begin exploring new ways to accumulate capital and/or maximize profits. Exploring for new institutional arrangements may eventually lead to consolidation of a new SSA. According to Kotz (2015:198), there are four potential directions for future change, including: (1) maintaining neoliberal capitalism, (2) "rise of a form of regulated capitalism in which business regulates the economy, through some combination of state

and non-state institutions," (3) "regulated capitalism based on capital-labor compromise,"

or (4) "the replacement of capitalism by an alternative socialist system." Based on RIAT,

the preferred future would consist of option three or four because the first two options

allow the neoliberal SSA to continue unchallenged (or with minor modifications), or for

business to regulate the economy which could lead to additional economic-domination of

the non-economic social institutions.

Methodological Contributions

This dissertation was concerned with the configurations, or pathways, of weak

social institutions and inequality that lead to high serious crime and not high serious

crime. Both traditional quantitative and qualitative methods were unsuited for this

research question for a variety of reasons. Quantitative methods, the traditionally

preferred approach to IAT and criminology in general, was inappropriate for this

dissertation because such methods focus on determining the net effects of independent

variables on dependent variables. Two-way interaction terms are sometimes used in the

IAT research, but these are difficult to interpret and often create collinearity issues.

Ragin (2014) observes that part of the reason he developed QCA was to address problems

associated with interaction effects. Qualitative methods are inappropriate because there

are far too many cases in this study to be adequately addressed and the purpose of this

study was to determine the configurations.

QCA has been infrequently used within criminology. Miethe and Drass (1999)

used QCA with instrumental and expressive homicides, but this was an application of

large-N fuzzy set QCA. In short, it was a departure from the ideals of QCA as a case-

based method. To date, QCA has not been used to test the assumptions and propositions of criminological theory. As this study has demonstrated, QCA can be used to both test and reconstruct theory.

In terms of the method itself, my approach to QCA was novel. First, I used multiple indicators to construct the sets for both the outcome and conditions. The majority of QCA research uses only one indicator for complex social phenomena, such as inequality. This is problematic because, as I argue, one indicator cannot completely capture the nature of social constructs. For example, for the set construction of weak family, I used the degree to which states embraced workfare and debtfare because I understand family to be a complex social institution tasked with providing informal social control and socialization for the next generation (see Chapters 2 and 4). Using either workfare or debtfare alone would have not captured the concept completely. The second improvement that I made in constructing the sets was using cluster analysis, a case-based method that locates cases within clusters by minimizing the space between cases while maximizing the space between clusters. Cluster analysis was useful because a major criticism of QCA is that researchers arbitrarily set criteria, or thresholds, for set membership. QCA best practice encourages researchers to choose theoretically-informed thresholds (Schnieder and Wagemann 2010). However, this is difficult when the existing literature does not indicate valid thresholds or when one is using multiple indicators. Cluster analysis helps by determining which cases belong together, but the researcher is responsible for interpreting the cluster results. Third, when it made sense or when the data indicated additional possibilities, I constructed multiple sets for the conditions and outcome. In Chapter 6, I presented four different ways that the set of high serious crime

could be constructed. In Chapter 7, I presented three different ways that weak family could be constructed. By being proactive and considering alternatives, I was prepared to resolve the truth table when contradictions were present.

Finally, this dissertation treated the entire research process as part of the analysis. I reported every decision I made during the construction of the outcome and sets, and the rationale for those decisions. Due to space limitations in traditional journal articles, most QCA research is unable to provide the detail needed to fully understand the choices made by researchers.

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations
for Future Research

This dissertation was a cross-sectional study that used data from 2007. In future research, I will repeat this study with data from different time points in order to determine if the pathways to high serious crime and not high serious crime are consistent across different phases of the neoliberal SSA and other SSAs. I have currently theorized with RIAT that the neoliberal SSA is necessary because this SSA promotes an ideology of individualism and free-market solutions to social problems (see Chapter 4). Future research should also investigate pathways to high serious crime during regulated SSAs.

Messner and Rosenfeld (1994; 2013) proposed institutional anomie theory as an explanation for high serious crime in the United States when compared with other advanced, industrialized nations. Approximately half of the existing research testing IAT, including a study by Messner and Rosenfeld (1997), uses countries as the unit of analysis (see Jenson 2002; Pratt and Godsey 2003; Cullen, Parboteeah, and Hoegl 2004; Bjerregaard and Cochran 2008; Bame-Aldred et al. 2013; Hirtenlehner, Farrall, and

Bacher 2013). Future research testing RIAT should use countries as the unit of analysis

and consider if pathways to high serious crime vary by country.

RIAT is primarily concerned with the ability of non-economic social institutions

to provide informal social control. However, another important aspect of social control is

the formal control provided by the criminal justice system. Carlson, Gillespie, and

Michalowski, and Gillespie (2010) argue that the criminal justice system is a social

institution that has changed during each SSA. As such, future theorizing and research

should consider the role of the criminal justice system in providing social control, how

the criminal justice system varies within the United States and between countries, and the

combinations of formal and informal control that result in high serious crime and not high

serious crime.

Conclusion

Revised institutional anomie theory argues that high serious crime occurs when

there is a combination of weak social institutions and high inequality during the

neoliberal SSA. There are several pathways to high serious crime and not high serious

crime in the 50 U.S. states. By determining the pathways to high serious crime and not

high serious crime, I outlined possible ways forward for the high serious crime states that

may result in lower rates of high serious crime. However, each of the suggested policy

changes will requires political goodwill and grassroots desire for change.

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