# Women's Pathways to Crime:

A taxonomy of common pathways among habitual women offenders

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#### **Concerns over Gender and Classification methods** in crime / corrections agencies

#### Standard research focuses on global male/female 1. differences - oversimplifies women

- Mostly examines single variable differences; patterns mostly ignored
- Develops global profile of "average" female offender; How realistic or informative ?
- 2. Heterogeneity among women offenders rarely studied
  - Do different women offenders follow different pathways to crime and incarceration?
  - What key differences or fault-lines separate different pathways? How prevalent? How common?
- 3. THE ETHICAL CONCERN: The inertia of correctional institutional classifications;
  - Most jails, prisons, parole, probation STILL rely on gender neutral classification and need assessments developed FOR MALES

  - Challenges emerged over a decade ago..... to risk/needs assessment regarding predictive validity, relevance, etc

# Current issues regarding women's pathways and crime

- 1. Do specifically "gendered pathways" of women offenders exist?
  - · How many separate "pathways" exist?
  - Can they be reliably identified? (Using Quantitative methods)
    What are their constituent elements (Events, dispositions,
  - turning points; Social and cultural factors; etc)
- 2. What gender-specific risk need factors are critical for women?
  - Are they predictively valid?Are they more powerful predictors than gender neutral factors
- 3. Do standard gender-neutral theories apply to
  - women?

    - Do they explain women's pathways to crime?Do standard theories need to be changed, revised or rejected?
- 4. What are treatment implications of pathways?

#### INTER-DISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO WOMEN'S PATHWAYS Qualitative Research: Kathleen Daly's Feminist Pathways; Case studies of Owen, Bloom, Chesney-Lind, Richie, Belknap and 1. others Insightful and compelling qualitative pathways Mostly small sample qualitative studies; Holisic, person-centered Most have still NOT been quantitatively identified, validated Developmental psychopathology - from infancy, adolescence, to 2. adulthood Terrie Moffitt's Developmental Taxonomy (2 pathways) 3. Criminal Career Research: Highly Quantitative Research Latent path analysis on criminal offense data · Several studies of women's criminal career pathy Taxonomic research on Women's Pathways - Mostly Cluster Analysis (10 to 15 studies 1960's - present) 4. Diverse classification methods using social, psychological, biographical data Several taxonomic studies on women offender bio-profiles Life Course Developmental studies (Bergman, Cairns, Sampson and Laub, Farrington, and others) 5.

- Large N Longitudinal Cohort studies
   Emphasis on males and Gender-Neutral theory and measures
  - Women's gender-responsive factors mostly omitted

## Problems and Opportunities in a multidisciplinary topic

# 1. New conceptual approaches

- Moffitt's Developmental pathways
  Life Course Criminology Mental Illness "Course"
- · Sociological studies of "career pathways"

#### 2. New methods

4.

#### · Sequence Analysis:

- Event History and Survival analysis, Latent path models, Markov chains, State-Transition studies, etc
   Cyclical processes disease course studies / O-factoring
   "Process Tracing" in case studies; N = 1 case studies

- Data Collection:
   Life Course Questionnaires, Experience sampling diaries, etc
- 3. Problems What IS a pathway? Different concepts
  - · Are we talking about the same concept?
  - Different disciplines use different methods, theories, conceptual definitions, measures
  - · What are the key conceptual features of pathways?

# What are pathways? Some conceptual features

- 1. Holistic integrity: Person centered analysis is needed Person centered approach - "life unity" or "whole life" approaches - context is key, person-environment interactions must be retained
- Non-global Need disaggregaton into different pathways
  Diff. women follow different pathways disaggregation is needed "average"
  is misleading 2.
- 3. Theoretical focus - Developmental pathways in different life
  - arenas
    - Different disciplines examine kinds of pathways and emphasize different factors e.g.
       Mofifit's Biosocial focus Social & genetic factors
       Criminological pathways Social, Psychological, cultural, elements
  - Central narratives: Internal homogeneity: Well Trodden Pathways
  - Exemplar profiles a "typified" pathway "defines" a common pathway What elements, events, dispositions, are common on the pathway?
- 5. Internal heterogeneity: People don't walk in "lockstep"
- 6.
- Temporal sequences & time units: Macro vs Micro studies Macro/Micro time structures - broad life stages v. short term changes and event sequences - cyclical events, life turning points etc.
   Diverse designs from Large N Longitudinal cohorts....to N = 1 "within person" studies,

### Qualitative Research on Female Pathways -Rich profiles, Replication is still needed

#### 1. CHALLENGES

- Small samples How representative? Difficulty of Generalizing from case studies
- No knowledge of prevalence Danger of researcher bias (favored interpretations)
- Replication studies are needed using larger samples

#### 2. BENEFITS

- Compelling Case Narratives Complex sequences
- Rich in causal & sequential detail
- Identifies many KEY factors for women
- New Theories/explanations "implicit" within each pathway narrative

WE DECIDED TO TEST PATHWAYS ON A LARGE FEMALE PRISON SAMPLE

## Consensus Gender Neutral Factors -Predictors of Recidivism

- 1. Criminal History (Early onset, Seriousness, Versatility, Overall amount)
- 2. **Criminal Peers**
- 3. Criminal Opportunity / High Risk Lifestyle
- Anti-Social Personality 4.
- 5. Criminal Thinking—e.g., Anti-Social Cognitions
- 6.
- Drug Abuse / Promiscuity—e.g., Early Onset Work/Educational Failure—e.g., Low Social Capitol 7.
- 8. Family Risk Factors-e.g., Parenting Failure
- 9. Environmental Factors-e.g., Community, Stress

\*\*4G instruments include most of these factors

# Daly's Feminist Pathways

#### Street-Women: Escape and survival 1.

- Escape abuse, sexual victimization, runaways Coping strategies may include drug dealing, prostitution, etc May become stuck in this lifestyle, Massive loss of human/social capital
- Drug-connected women offenders

2.

3.

- :
- Battered Women Violent abuse SO's
- 4. Crimes quite unlikely except for violent Significant Other Similar to "1", escapes and then commits minor crimes for survival
- Economic offenders two categories 5. erty), No MH probs
- Poor marginalized women (dealing with pover Women motivated by greed/social aspirations

# Terrie Moffitt's Developmental Pathways 1. Adolescent Limited (AL) - Large numbers Normal upbringing, healthy children, OK School - Family Life OK Adolescent affiliation with anti-social peers Social learning, Mimics peers Mostly Normative delinquency, Drugs, Sex Desists from Delinquency by late teens (18) \_ 2. Life Course Persistent (LCP) - Very few (< 2%) Extreme childhood problems, fearlessness, ADHD,

- Parents driven to distraction, Ineffective parenting, Frustration
- Problems at school, failure, disruptive, violent \_ Serious delinquency continues into adulthood
- Neuro-Physiological origin, Personality problems, hostile, aggressive, mistrusful

Moffitt et al 2001; and others

# **Questions about Moffitt's dual** developmental pathways and women

- 1. Do LCP's exist among women? (Moffitt et al 2001)
- 2. If YES, What are their characteristics? Are they the same as male LCP's
- 3. Do some AL's have more extended adult criminal careers? (Snares)
- 4. Are 2 pathways enough? (Piquero and Moffitt 2005 2005; Some studies say no!)



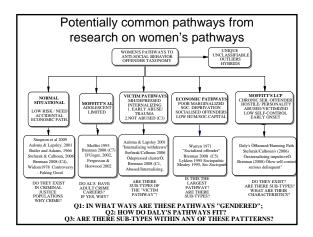
### 1. Social Exclusion/Social Capital (Strain) - "Triple

- Party (Bloom & others) Human & Social Capital Pathway/Social Exclusion (Salisbury and Van Voorhis CJB 2009 Daly Economic Offenders poor women
- 2. Social Learning/Moffitt's AL

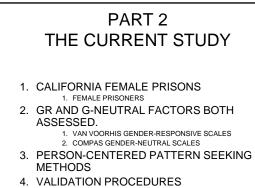
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- Moffitt's AL Snares producing "cumulative disadvantage" Sub-cultural offenders/Criminal Peers (Sociopathic?)
- 3. Moffitt's LCP Pathway Serious and Chronic Offenders
  - Widom's Primary Psychothic women....and others Daly's Harmed & Harming Pathway
- 4. Victimization and Escape Pathways
- Runaways sexual/physical abuse (Trauma) & Internalizing neurotic path
- Daly's Battered women path Adult victims, escape & retaliation
   Relational Pathway Feminist Theories 5.

  - Daly's Drug Connected and Relational pathways Attachment and Relational theories
- Normal Situational Offenders Low risk/Low Need 6.







5. RESULTS - 8 PATHWAYS

# 2.1 Goals

- To explore replications of prior theoretical and feminist 1. pathways in a large female prison sample
  Do Daly's pathways exist? Do they need revision?
  Do Moffitt's developmental types show up in a prison sample
- 2. To explore "how many" pathways exist in a female prison sample
- 3. To assess prevalence of each pathway
- 4. To find constituent pattern / defining factors of each pathwqy

  Using both GR and Gender Neutral factors; and criminal histories Using point Gr and Gender recently recently and the second second recently Patterns
   Using a person-centered profiling methods to identify Patterns
- To establish factors that differentiate between pathways -5. find "fault lines" separating women's pathways
- To develop a person-centered "Internal Classification" for women inmates in Jails/Prisons. That takes women's needs and GR factors into account That has TREATMENT RELEVANCE for women 6.

# 2.2 Sample

- 1. From 2 California Women's Prisons during 2007-2008
- 2. 915 random selection from rosters of soonto-be-released women prisoners
- 3. 715 had complete data used in taxonomic analysis
  - 1. All had prior felonies
  - 2. Average 8-15 prior arrests
  - 3. Dominant offences drug related

## 2.3 Gender-Responsive factors **NIC/Van Voorhis Instrument**

- 1. Trauma, victimization and abuse
- Childhood sexual abuse, Childhood physical abuse
   Adult sexual abuse, Adult physical abuse
   Housing Safety (v. violent/unsafe)
- 2. History of Mental illness,
- Instory of Mental Infless,
   I. Current Depression/Anxiety,
   C. Current psychosis/suicide risk/ideation
   S. Relationships:
   I. Support from Significant Other,
   Conflict with Significant Other,
   Dysfunctional relationship,
   A. Support v. Conflict from Family of Origin

- 4. Parenting issues

- 1. Parenting Insolvement
   2. Stress Anxiety of parenting
   5. Personal Factors:
   1. Anger/Hostilty, Self Esteem, Self Efficacy,
   2. Employment/Financial (weakness) in Prison, Educ Strengths.

Salisbury and Van Voorhis (2009) "Gendered Pathways: A quantitative investigation" Criminal Justice and Behavior, v 36 (6), 541-566.

# 2.4 COMPAS Reentry Scales

## 1.Criminal History:

- 1. Age of Onset, Adolescent Delinquency;
- 2. Overall Criminal Involvement, Curent Offence (s)
- Hist. of Non-Compliance, History of Violence,
   Prison Misconduct. Substance Abuse, Gang Affiliation.

## 2.Social/environmental:

- - 1. Housing Problems (unstable residence), Financial Problems 2. Vocational/Educ History (adolescent, child), Family Support,
  - 3. Parental Family Crime,
- 4. Social Environment (High crime area).

#### 3.Psychosocial:

- 1. Anti-social Attitudes, Anti-social Personality 2. Antisocial peer relationships
- 3. Low Self-Efficacy, Empathy
- Social Isolation vs. Social Support
   Life Goals/Aimlessness

# 2.5 Methods for pattern seeking and validation testing 1. Pattern Recognition and discovery Z-score transformation on all classification factors Bootstrapped K-Means (1000 samples) - Several hierarchical levels examined (K = 3 through 10)

- · Cross-sample validation at each K level (McIntyre-Blashfield)
- Consistentiate and the constraint of the second statement of the
- 3. Pattern verification and testing Internal Validity
- 8 level solution had highest Kappa (Contingency Coeff,
  Internal validation: Ued McCintyre-Blashfield test at each level (3 thru10) 4. Structural features of 8 level pathways
  - Discriminant Function analysis "fault lines"
    Graphic plots: Category Boundaries and Outliers
- 5. External validation ANOVA's External Vars

For method details see: Brennan T. et al (2008) Towards an explanatory typology of adolescent delinquents. J. of Quantitative Criminology. Vol 24, 2, 179-203

# 2.6 Results

- 1. Internal Validation: Reliability tests
- 2. External Validation: External variables
- 3. Structure of Pathway Typology -**Discriminant Function Analysis**
- 4. Links to prior Women's Pathways

#### Developing and Testing the pathways Bootstrapped Aggregation K-Means across multiple solutions

- · How many pathways? 6 and 8 pathways strongly suggested by the analysis
  - Successive cross-verified K-means analyses produced stable solutions at 6 and 8 pathway levels
- Internal Stability Test:
  - Kappa Coefficients of 0.85 and 0.75 respectively at 6 and 8 pathways
- Interpretability Tests

Both levels were substantively meaningful, thus we examined continuity-stability from 6 to 8 levels

- · Cross level stability test
  - 6 and 8 levels were strongly nested, (Contingency Coeff = .903 p <.000; Cramer's V = .86)</li>
  - High continuity & overlap between 6 and 8 pathway solutions -Therefore we retain and interpret both!

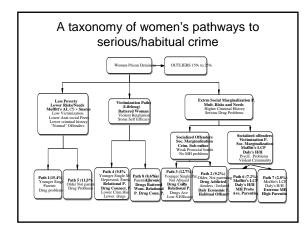
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	Funct ion						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Parenting Prob s	1.027	023	025	052	008	071	.040
Victimize d Chil /Adu It	035	.953	074	.007	.066	179	.274
E-on set HiR ate Crim Dis cPrb	050	.151	033	028	.005	025	.084
MHD epSu ic	024	047	1.020	082	.000	.012	029
Family support	.033	005	.052	897	044	.079	090
Low Emp ath y	.059	.151	044	.359	148	.231	089
Early on set	108	169	.043	.295	.146	.229	.114
Crime/Drugs	031	.003	.026	.088	.879	.019	.103
VocEd C apital	103	147	.121	.130	508	063	.465
Pessi mis m/Ant i-social attitud e	.084	.176	021	.203	049	846	261
Passi ve Pow erless	108	.350	051	.314	.040	.581	503
SigOth er Relation s	.018	.064	018	.043	.031	.059	.567
Variables ord ered by absolute	size of correl	ation within!	funct ion.				
". Largest absolute coefficient	of the variabl	e among the	d is crimin a n	func tion s			
a. % of varia no e by funct ion 1 = 5.7, funct ion 7 = 3.4	= 33.4, funct i	on 2 = 23.3 .	funct ion 3 =	19.1 , funct ior	n 4 = 8.0 , fun	ct ion 5 = 7.1	, func tion 6



# Seven Main Factors differentiating

Women's Pathways (DF Loading coefficients in parens)

- 1. DF 1: Parenting Problems (1.00)
- Includes both parenting involvement and extreme stress/anxiety of parenting
   DF 2: Lifelong victimization and Abuse
   Child and adult victimization (.95) and low self-efficacy (.35).
- 3. DF 3: Mental health/depression (1.02) is dominant.
- 4. DF 4: Poor family support (-.89) is dominant
- DF 5: <u>Criminal and drug history</u> (.83) Low <u>Vocational-Educational/Human Capital</u> (-.51) also adds to this Df dimension
- 6. DF 6: Pessimism/low self efficacy is dominant (-.77)
- DF 7: <u>Conflicted SO relations</u> (.51) and <u>low human capital</u> (.48) jointly contribute to this dimension





	Violent, Well Func	tioning (?), Chronic Drugs
ate	ory 1 (15.4%) Categ	jory 5 (11.3)
	<ul> <li>Main profile</li> </ul>	
	<ul> <li>Lower risk/Lower Nee marginalized than all of</li> </ul>	d - More Education/vocational resources - Less other female pathways
	<ul> <li>No housing problems</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Mostly job ready - Safe Housing</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Higher self efficacy - N</li> </ul>	lo apparent psychological issues
	<ul> <li>No abuse/victimization</li> </ul>	Have social supports/OK families and SO
	<ul> <li>Main Problems</li> </ul>	
	<ul> <li>Habitual drugs (.54) M non-violent</li> </ul>	lostly drug offences - Some property crime - All
	<ul> <li>Average 8 arrests -</li> </ul>	Mostly 1st time in Prison
	<ul> <li>Category 1: are Single</li> </ul>	e parents (but well managed, apparently)
1.	Possible Case Formula	ation / Explanation/Matches
	1. Moffitt's AL with "Sn	ares" explanations(Drugs, Single Parents)
	2. Drug Addiction pron	eness (?)
	3. Most standard theori	ies (Gender Neutral) may be ruled out
	<ol> <li>Daly's economic pati female offenders)</li> </ol>	hway (?) - but less marginalized than most
2.	Treatment Goals - Disc	cuss ? Treatment Plan - Discuss ?

Pathway 2: Older, marginalized, isolated - V.Hi Crim Hist, Socialized offenders - Lo Social Bonds - Addicted

V. Hi Criminal history (Ave. prior Arrests = 15) Habitual drugs - Hi. Trafficking - Prop. offences - Mult. Incarcerations Hi. History of Non-compliance - Many Prob and Par. Revocations Hi. History of Non-compliance - Many Prop and Par. Revocation
 Social Exclusion/Extremely Marginalized
 Poor and marginalized, few skills, poor work history
 High crime neighborhood - Drug-Subculture - homelessness
 Socially isolated - Not parenting - Not married - Not working

### Psychological profile:

- No evidence of MH problems or psychological issues
   No evidence of abuse

# - BUT: V.Lo Self-efficacy - Aimless, few life goals

- 1. Possible Case Formulation / Explanation 1. Daly's Economic path Strain theory (Economic Marginalization, crime pattern)
  - 2. Lykken's Subcultural Socialized Offenders Soc. Learning

  - Social Control explanation (Few pro-social bonds, social isolation)
     Routine Activity theory (Street life, High opportunity, Hi. Trafficking
- 5 Addiction Prone 2. Treatment Goals - Discuss ? Treatment Plan - Discuss ?

Pathway 3: Young Stressed Single Mothers -Marginalized - Socialized/Sub-cultural - Not Victimized -Criminal domineering SO - Low self efficacy Criminal Pattern:

- 12 prior arrests drugs , trafficking, property, non-violent
- Social Exclusion .

  - Poor, low skills, low Educ marginalized Unstable/unsafe housing Unsupportive/Conflicted relationship Children U18 Hi stress ٠ • No abuse as child or adult
  - Hi Crim family Criminal SO
- Psychological profile
  - No evidence of MH or Psych. Issues Low self efficacy Extreme stress (parenting, SO, poverty) .

#### 1. Possible Case Formulation / Explanation

- Sible Case Formulation / Explanation
   Case Formulation / Explanation
   Social Learning/ Socialized Offender: Drug Subculture + SO +
   Family crime/drugs + orim. neghborhood
   Daly's Economic path Strain theory (Economic Marginalization)
   Daly's Relational Path (Strong Criminal SO + Trafficking)
   Aodity's Relational Path (Strong Criminal SO + Lo self-efficacy)
   Routine Activity theory (Street life, High opportunity, Hi. Trafficking
   Addiction Prone? + Few Prosocial Bonds (Social Control Theory)
   Imment Goals Discures?
   Trafficking Discures?
- 2. Treatment Goals Discuss ? Treatment Plan Discuss ?

#### Pathway 4 - Younger Single Mothers - Lifelong Victims - Addicted -Depressed/Anxious - Angry Retaliative Violence

Criminal History: Ave. 9 arrests - Most have prior probations and Jail incarcerations - Mainly drugs, property, fraud + Angry Dom Viol. / Weapons

Social Exclusion/Marginalization: Average for female prisoners

#### Relational and Family Context

Sexual & Physical abuse as child & adult - Conflicted/Abusvie SO SO has criminal record - Domineering - Coopts woman into crime

#### Psychological profile

Depressed/Anxious - Hi Parenting stress - SO Conflict - Feel Mistreated No evidence of MH. Psychosis

#### 1. Possible Case Formulation / Explanation/Matches

- 1. Daly's Battered Woman Victimization Pathway
  - 2. Daly's Drug Connected + Relational Pathways (Dominant Criminal SO + Trafficking + Iow self efficacy)
  - Daly's Economic path Strain theory (Fraud, trafficking, property) 3.
  - Social Learning Drug Subculture Socialized Offenders
  - 5. Routine Activity theory (Street life, High opportunity, Hi. Traffickng

Discuss 2 Troa nt Dian Coale

## Pathways 6, 7: Hi need/hi risk - Lifelong Victims - Poor unskilled marginalized - Drugs - Antisocial Personality

PROFILE

.

- Final History: Most severe, more violence, more probation/parole revocations Highest crim. Hist. (Ave: 15 arrests) drugs, property, mostly non-violent Highest violent infractions disciplinary problems Mult.prior incarcerations Non-compliance Drunk/High at time of current offence Crir
- Psychological MH history/Psycholis Low self-esteem Lo S. Efficacy Depressed/Anxious Antisocial personality Angry/hostile -Socio-economic : Extreme poverty, marginalization, unskilled, often homeless
- Relations
   Relations

Treatment Plan - Discuss

• Treatment Goals - Discuss

#### Pathway 8: Older Addicted women - Lifelong victims (Child and Adult) - Domineering/Exploitative SO -

• PROFILE (11%)

- Criminal History: Dominated by Drugs, Current and prior Trafficking; above ave.prior felony viol. arrest (42%) Above average criminal history, multiple probation and parole revocations, non-compliant
- Psychological
- Life "out of control" High anger/hostility No MH or other Psych. Issues
- Lite out of semantic series is a semantic series of the semantic series (skills, education, job experience, etc)
   Relations:
   The semantic series abusive family Non-supportive Extreme abuse
- High crime abusive family Non-supportive Extreme abuse
   Conflicted violent criminal SO Unsafe housing

- Possible Explanations and Matches
   Viclimization pathway: Daly's battered, Relational and Drug-connected pathways
   Socialized / Sub-cultural / Social Learning: Crim. Family, Crim SO, and Sub-cultural affiliations/trafficking, multiple incarcerations

  - Drug Dependency (multiple failures, habitual arrests for drugs)
     Moffitt's LCP Daly's Harmed and Harming (? But, Gives no signs of broader traits)
- Treatment Goals Discuss Treatment Plan - Discuss

# **Group Exercise**

• Discuss

- 1. treatment goals (set these first)
- 2. Treatment plans
- · Select one or two of the following prototypes:
  - Normal/AL women (Pathways 1 or 5)
  - Victimized battered dug connected Pathway 4
  - Socialized Subcultural non-victimized (Pathway 2)
  - Harmed and Harming/LCP (Pathway 6)

#### Conclusions about links to prior pathways

- 1.
- Do "gendered" pathways exist it would appear so! GR factors are critical in 6 out of the 8 profiles Moffitt's Dual Taxonomy AL and LCP Analogues seem partially identified. AL: Paths 1 and 5 have far less problems, more resources, no victimization/abuse and are "snared" by the same problems Moffitt identified forder acreation future). 2. identified (single parenting, drugs)
  - LCP: This shares many key features with pathway 6, and to some degree 7 and may replicate Molfitt's LCP and Daly's Harmed and Harming
  - AL's do seem to extend into adulthood just in the way Molfitt suggests Are two pathways enough? This research says "no" and identifies several other pathways of women offenders
- 3
- Daly's pathways These are all identified and thus supported
- However, they tend to coalesce with other factors and collapse into each other (e.g. relational + drug connected + battered woman (See path 4)

### **Conclusions - Theoretical Issues**

Pathways are far more complex than expected
 Multiple co-occurring causal components

- Perhaps a result of the person centered approach and our sample
   Implications for theoretical integration These holistic patterns suggest various theoretical combinations and hybridizations
- Perhaps reflecting Hirschi's "side-by-side" and end-to-integration
- These diverse pathways may challenge the idea of "General Theories"
   For example, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) General Theory of Crime.
  - For example, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) General Theory of Crime. Path 6 supports most tenets of G/H General Theory exhibiting many key features specified by the theory *e.g.* abusive/inept criminal parents, unstable family, out-of-home placements, hostile and aggressive antisocial personality, habitual crime, etc. However, path 6 and its analogue 7 apply only to a small % of this sample. Paths 1 and 5 challenge the "generality" of the theory with NONE of the required features.