

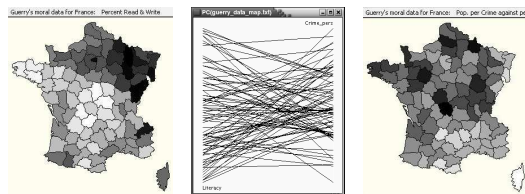
André-Michel Guerry and the Rise of Moral Statistics

Challenges for Multivariable Spatial Analysis

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Joint Statistical Meetings



Outline

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Essai sur la statistique moral de la France

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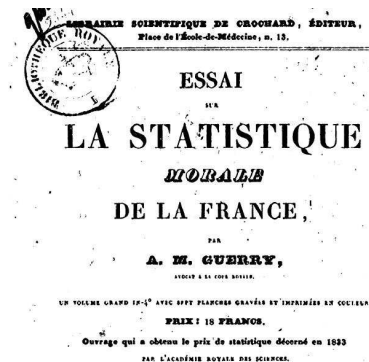
Blended color maps

Conditioned choropleth maps

Essai sur la statistique moral de la France

The launching pad of modern social science

- ▶ Presented to Academie des Sciences Français July 2, 1832
- ▶ First systematic analysis of comprehensive data on crime, suicide, and other social variables.
- ▶ Along with Quetelet (1831, 1835), established the study of "moral statistics"
 - ↳ modern social science, criminology, sociology



The discovery of "social facts"

Stability and Variation

Guerry's results were both compelling and startling:

- ▶ Rates of crime and suicide remained **remarkably invariant** over time, yet **varied systematically** by region, sex of accused, type of crime, etc.
- ▶ In any given French city or department, almost the same number committed suicide, stole, gave birth out of wedlock, etc.

Year	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	Avg
Sex						
All accused (%)						
Male	79	79	78	77	78	78
Female	21	21	22	23	22	22
Age						
Accused of Theft (%)						
16–25	37	35	38	37	37	37
25–25	31	32	30	31	32	31
Crime						
Committed in summer (%)						
Indecent assault	.	36	36	35	38	36
Assault & battery	.	28	27	27	27	28

The discovery of “social facts”

Social laws á la physical laws

Do crime and other moral variables represent:

- ▶ structural, lawful **characteristics of society**, or are they
- ▶ simply indicants of **individual behaviour**?

Guerry argued:

Each year sees the same number of crimes of the same degree reproduced in the same regions. (Guerry, 1833, p.10)

*... We are forced to recognize that the **facts of the moral order** are subject, **like those of the physical order**, to invariable laws (Guerry, 1833, p14)*

Guerry's Life

Sources

- ▶ **Primary**: Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire*, 1866; necrology and notices by A. Maury, H. Diard, E. Vinet, 1867
- ▶ **Secondary**: Whitt, translation of Guerry (1833), Beirne (1993, Ch 4), *The Social Cartography of Crime*, brief mentions, often in relation to Quetelet by criminologists (Radzinowicz), sociologists (Lazarsfeld), historians (Porter, Hacking), ...

Basic facts

- ▶ Born: Tours, 25 Dec 1802; Died: Paris, 9 Apr 1866
- ▶ Father: Michel Guerry, entrepreneur
- ▶ Studied law, literature and physiology at Univ. Poitiers
- ▶ Admitted to the bar in Paris, becomes *Advocat Royale*
- ▶ 1827: Assigned to work with the crime data collected by the Ministry of Justice
- ▶ 1830: Appointed Director of Criminal Statistics in Ministry of Justice

Social context of crime

What to do about crime?

- ▶ Crime a serious concern: Explosive growth in Paris, widespread unemployment, emergence of the “dangerous classes.”
- ▶ **Liberal** (*philanthrope*) view: increase education, better prison conditions, religious instruction, better diet (bread *and* soup!)
- ▶ **Conservative** view: build more prisons, harsher treatment for recidivists!

Guerry's results were startling

- ▶ Crimes against persons and crimes against property showed **different distributions** over departments of France
- ▶ Crimes against persons **unrelated** to literacy
- ▶ Crimes against property **increased** with literacy!

Guerry's Life

Accomplishments

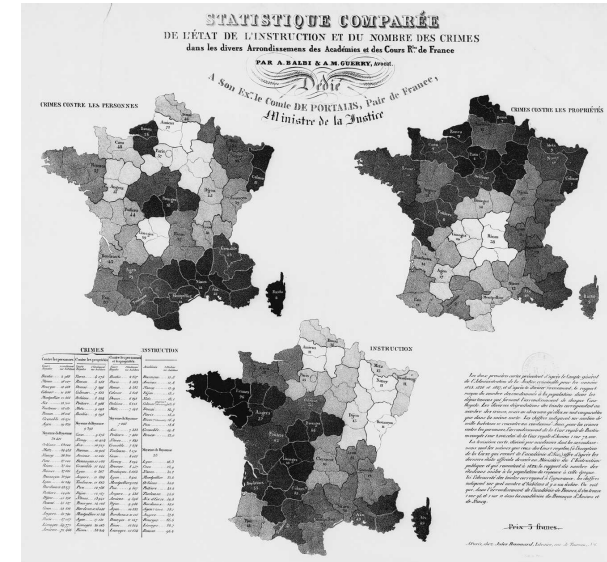
- ▶ Three major works on moral statistics:
 - ▶ 1829: *Statistique comparée de l'état de l'instruction...*;
 - ▶ 1833: *Essai sur la statistique morale...*;
 - ▶ 1864: *Statistique morale de l'Angleterre comparée...*
 - ▶ 1833 & 1864 awarded the **Moynton Prize** for work in statistics by the Academie des Sciences
- ▶ Invented the *ordonateur statistique*, to facilitate calculation and tabulation of these data (no details survive). [“*Ordonateur*” adopted by IBM France to avoid the *franglais* “*computeur*.”]
- ▶ First analysis of the motives for suicide (**content analysis** of all suicide notes found by police in Paris) [Adopted, with little credit, by Durkheim]
- ▶ Developed methodological ideas for defining **indicators** of moral variables
 - ▶ How to measure crime: # of accused? convictions?
 - ▶ National standards for statistics on literacy, education?
 - ▶ How to determine **relations** between variables?

Guerry's data

- ▶ **Compte général** de l'administration de la justice criminelle en France
 - ▶ The first national compilation of official justice data (1825)
 - ▶ detailed data on all charges and disposition
 - ▶ collected quarterly in all 86 departments.
 - ▶ Other sources: Bureau de Longitudes (illegitimate births); Parent-Duchâtelet (prostitutes in Paris); Compte du ministère du guerre (military desertions); ...
- ▶ **Moral variables:** Scaled so 'more' is 'better'
 - Crime_pers Population per Crime against persons
 - Crime_prop Population per Crime against property
 - Donations Donations to the poor
 - Infants Population per illegitimate birth
 - Literacy Percent who can read & write
 - Suicides Population per suicide
- ▶ **Other variables:** Ranks by department: wealth, commerce, ...

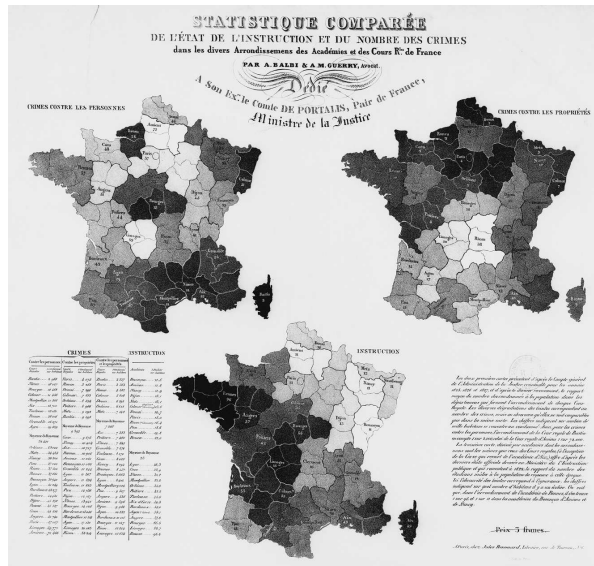
1829: Statistique comparée de l'état de l'instruction...

- ▶ Done with Adriano Balbi
- ▶ Single-sheet set of three shaded maps (**darker = worse**)
- ▶ Crime against persons, property (pop per crime)
- ▶ Instruction (# male school children)



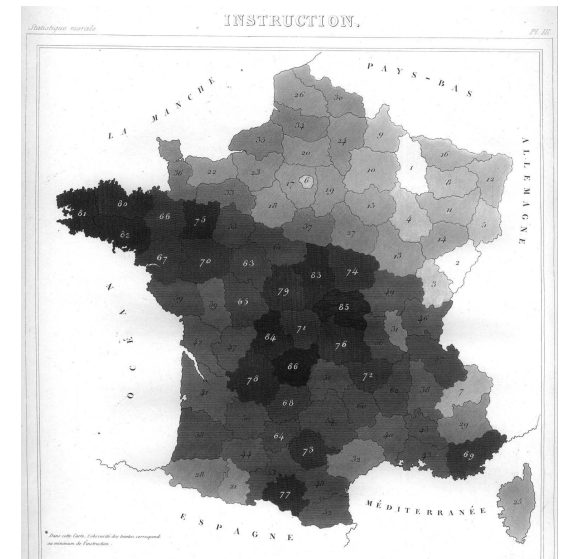
1829: Statistique comparée de l'état de l'instruction...

- ▶ First shaded thematic maps of **crime** data
- ▶ First **comparative** maps of social data
- ▶ ↳ crime against persons seemed **inversely related** to crime against property!
- ▶ Instruction: ↳ *France obscure* and *France éclairée* (Dupin, 1826)
- ▶ North of France highest in education, but also in property crime!



1833: Essai sur la statistique morale de la France

- ▶ Divided the 86 departments into 5 regions
- ▶ Supplemented data from the *Compte général* with:
 - ▶ Suicides in Paris, 1794–1832
 - ▶ Prostitutes in Paris (Parent-Duchâtelet)
 - ▶ Wealth (taxes per inhabitant)
 - ▶ Distribution of clergy
 - ▶ ...
- ▶ First study to use crime data to 'test' hypotheses
- ▶ Attracted widespread interest in Europe



Guerry's 1833 map of literacy in France

1833: *Essai sur la statistique morale de la France*

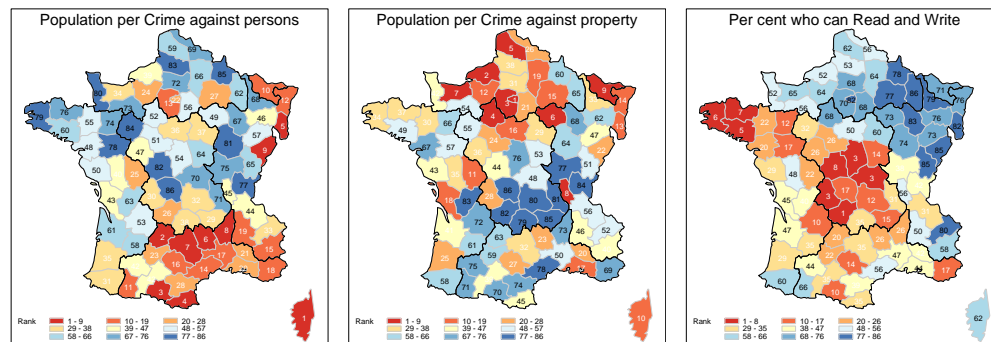
First comprehensive, national data on moral variables

dept	Reg	Department	Crime_pers	Crime_prop	Liter	Donation	Infants	Suicides	Wealth	Commer	Clergy	Infanticid	Lottery	Desertio	Prostitut
1	E	Ain	26870	15890	37	5098	33120	35039	73	58	11	60	41	55	13
2	N	Aisne	26226	5521	51	8901	14572	12831	22	10	82	82	38	82	327
3	C	Allier	26747	7925	13	10973	17044	114121	61	66	68	42	66	16	34
4	E	Basses-Alpes	12935	7289	46	2733	23018	14238	76	49	5	12	80	32	2
5	E	Hautes-Alpes	17488	8174	69	6962	23076	16171	83	65	10	23	79	35	1
7	S	Ardeche	9474	10263	27	3188	42117	52547	84	1	28	47	70	19	1
8	N	Ardennes	35203	8847	67	6400	16106	26198	33	4	50	85	31	62	83
9	S	Ariege	6173	9597	18	3542	22916	123625	72	60	39	28	75	22	3
10	E	Aube	19602	4086	59	3608	18642	10989	14	3	42	54	28	86	207
11	S	Aude	15647	10431	34	2582	20225	66498	17	35	15	35	50	63	1
12	S	Aveyron	8236	6731	31	3211	21981	116671	50	70	3	5	81	10	4
13	S	Bouches-du-R	13409	5291	38	2314	9325	8107	2	26	30	74	3	23	25
14	N	Calvados	17577	4500	52	27830	8983	31807	10	48	7	56	13	12	194
15	C	Cantal	18070	11645	31	4093	15335	87338	59	7	6	83	82	1	20
16	W	Charente	24964	13018	36	13602	19454	25720	86	47	79	7	60	61	8
17	W	Charente-Inferi	18712	5357	39	13254	23999	16798	18	5	86	38	35	74	27
18	C	Cher	21934	10503	13	9561	23574	19497	63	56	83	11	44	51	26

1833: *Essai sur la statistique morale de la France*

Reproduced maps (good=blue, middle=yellow, bad=red)

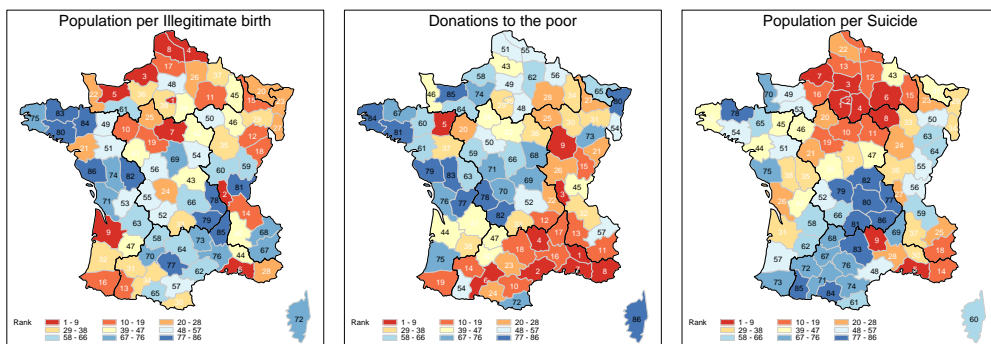
- ▶ Crimes against persons
- ▶ Crimes against property
- ▶ Literacy



1833: *Essai sur la statistique morale de la France*

Reproduced maps (good=blue, middle=yellow, bad=red)

- ▶ Illigitimate births (*enfants naturelles*)
- ▶ Donations to poor
- ▶ Suicide



1864: *Statistique morale de l'Angleterre comparée...*

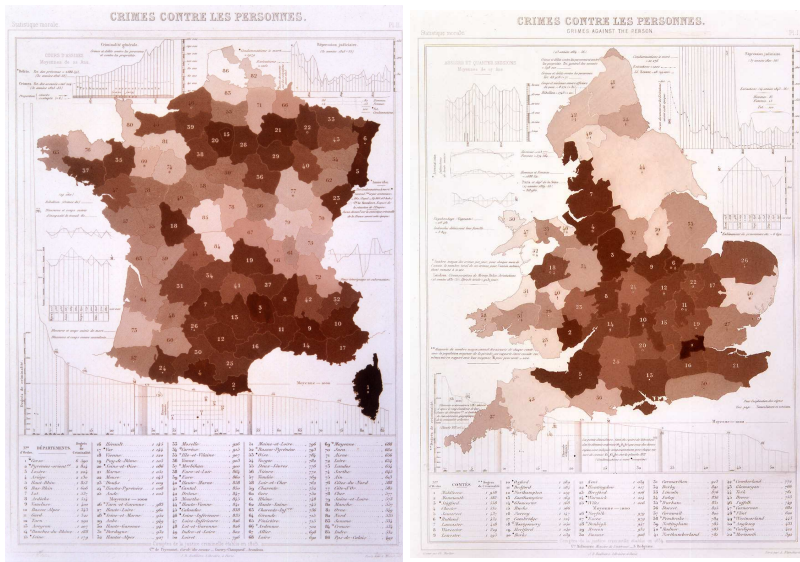
Dayenu!

- ▶ Proposes to replace simple “moral statistics” (tables) with “analytical statistics”
 - ▶ calculation, graphic display
 - ▶ ↳ **general**, abstract results
- ▶ 17 large color plates (56 × 39 cm):
 - ▶ data for France (1825–1855), England (1834–1855)
 - ▶ crimes against persons and property decomposed in various ways
 - ▶ first attempt to delineate **multivariate relations** among moral variables
- ▶ Voluminous data:
 - ▶ 85,564 suicide records (1836–1860), classified by motive
 - ▶ 226,224 accused of personal crime
 - ▶ numbers, in a line → 1170 meters!



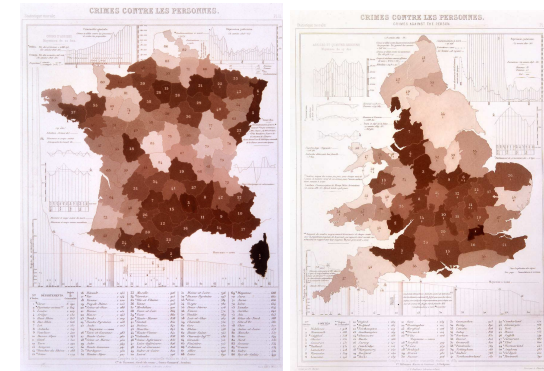
1864: *Statistique morale de l'Angleterre comparée...* Comparing France and England

Comparing France and England



Maps for:

- ▶ crimes against persons,
- ▶ crimes against property,
- ▶ murder,
- ▶ rape,
- ▶ larceny by servants (*vol domestique*),
- ▶ arson,
- ▶ instruction,
- ▶ suicide (only for France)



1864: *Statistique morale de l'Angleterre comparée...* Statistique analytique

1864: *Statistique morale de l'Angleterre comparée...* Statistique analytique

- ▶ Special symbols & annotations used to mark noteworthy patterns, circumstances (↑, ↓ shows increase/decrease)

- ▶ Surrounding line graphs designed to decompose overall facts or relate to other facts

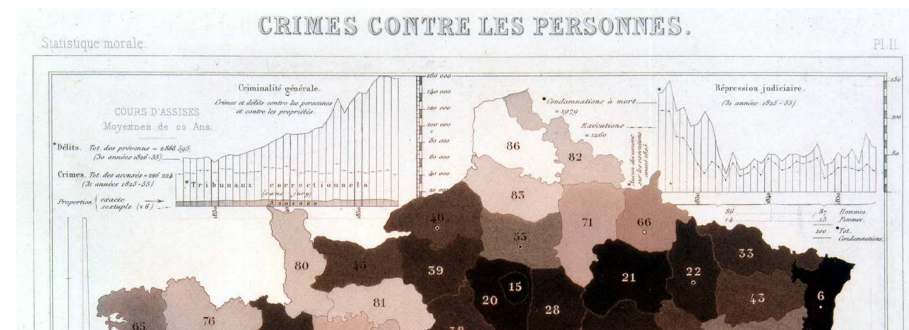
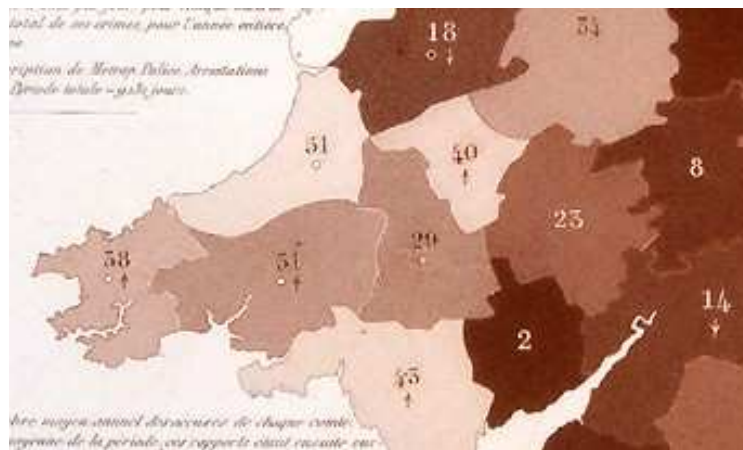
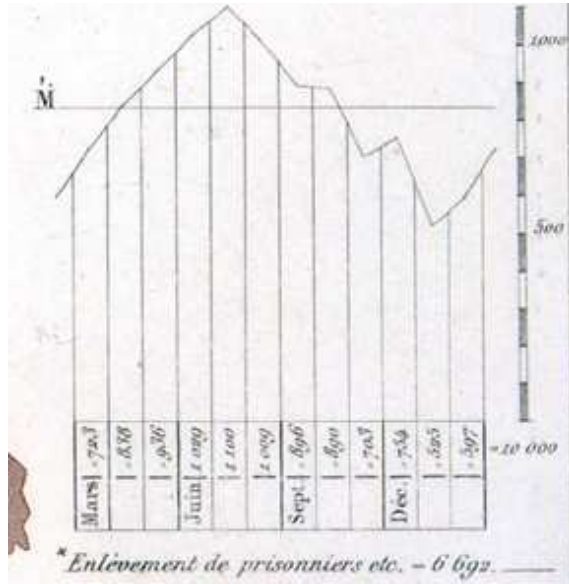


Figure: Detail from Plate II: Increase and Decrease in Crime

Figure: Detail from Plate I: Time series of (L) Crimes, (R) Condemned to death

1864: *Statistique morale de l'Angleterre comparée...*

Statistique analytique



Crimes against persons by month
(Detail from Plate II)

Methodological Questions

- ▶ How to define **valid** and **reliable** social indicators?
 - ▶ Education
 - ▶ Reported levels of instruction (# male children in primary school) were suspect.
 - ▶ More uniform data from Ministry of War: exams for new recruits → % who could read and write.
 - ▶ Crimes
 - ▶ Number of convictions (*condamnés*) subject to factors that affect juries (severity of punishment, place where accused is judged)
 - ▶ Better to use number of indictments (*accusés*): Indictment doesn't necessarily → guilt, but it reasonably → a crime was committed.
- ▶ **Migration and bias**: Can one attribute crimes in a department to inhabitants (vs. strangers)?
 - ▶ Data from 1828+ → 72% of accused either born or lived in each department
 - ▶ Only 3% committed by foreigners
- ▶ **Interpretive issues**:
 - ▶ Shows some awareness of issues related to **ecological fallacy** and **spurious correlation**: e.g., literacy of *actual* prisoners

Graphical Comparisons

- ▶ Guerry worked before ideas of correlation, regression, scatterplots
- ▶ → Used direct comparison of pairs of maps or ranked lists



(a) Literacy

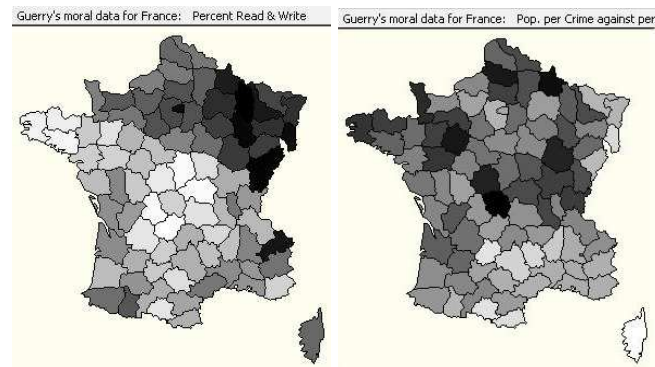
(b) Ranked lists

(c) Crimes against persons

Figure: Comparison of crimes against persons with literacy (% who can read and write)

Graphical Comparisons

- No evidence for relation between crime and literacy
 - ▶ Corsica highest on crime, ~ middle on literacy
 - ▶ Literacy lowest in west and central France, but crime varies considerably
 - ▶ "Clearly the relationship people talk about does not exist" (Guerry, 1833, p. 90)



→ similar analyses for other variables (suicides, illegitimate births, ...)

1833: Semi-graphic tables

How does type of crime vary with age?

- ↳ Used ranked tables of crime/1000 connected by colored lines
- ↳ First instance of modern parallel coordinates plot

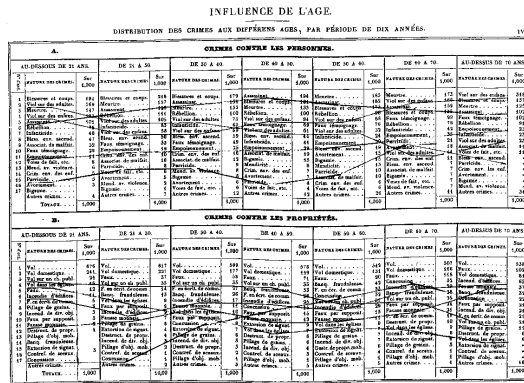


Figure: Relative ranking of crimes at different ages

1833: Semi-graphic tables

Crimes against persons

- ▶ Indecent assault on adults (*viol sur des adultes*) decreases with age
- ▶ Indecent assault on children increases with age (top for 70+)
- ▶ Paricide rises to max at age 60–70

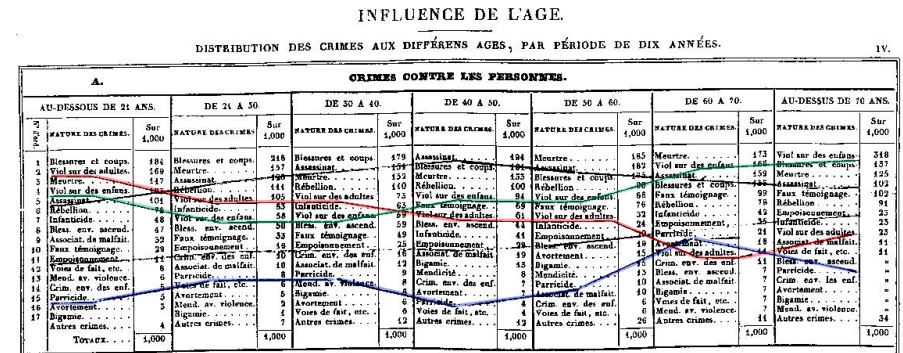
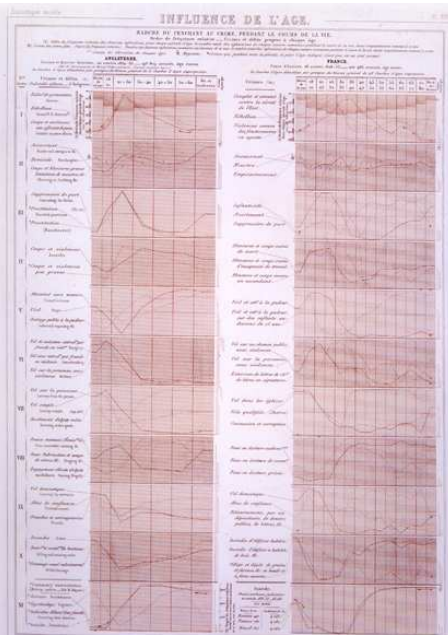


Figure: Ranking of crimes against persons at different ages

1864: Statistique Analytique: Influence of Age

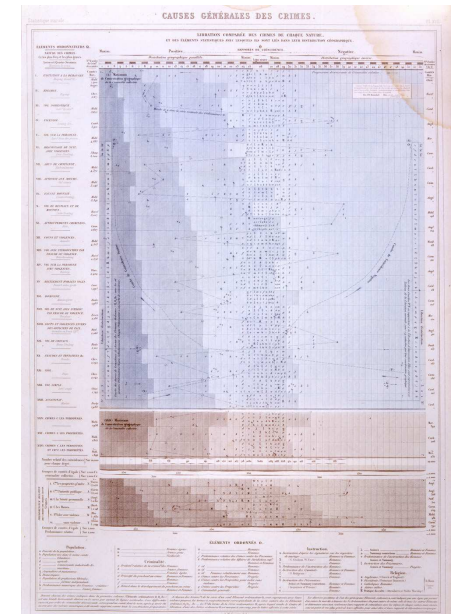
- ▶ Age distributions of criminals in England vs. France
- ▶ 10 categories of crime broken down by subtype
 - ▶ *Viol* → rape, indecent exposure
 - ▶ *Vol* → burglary, housebreaking, ...
 - ▶ *Assassinat* → murder, manslaughter, shooting, stabbing, ...



Statistique Analytique: General Causes of Crime

Plate XVII: M. Guerry's Magnum Opus

- ▶ Analysis of the factors associated with crimes and their geographic distribution
- ▶ Rows: 23 crimes, ordered by frequency and seriousness
 - ▶ keeping bawdy house, bigamy, cattle stealing, ...
 - ▶ ... fraud, rape, murder
- ▶ Cols: Rank order of degree of criminality of English counties
- ▶ Entries: Symbols for associated moral aspects
 - ▶ Population (% Irish, agricultural, domestics, ...)
 - ▶ Criminality (Male, young, ...)
 - ▶ Religion (Anglicans, "dissenters", ...)



Guerry's Challenge

- ▶ What can we learn from reanalysis of Guerry's data?
- ▶ What could we do for Guerry as a consultant?

Statistical historiography

- ▶ Understanding through reproduction
- ▶ What was he thinking?

Statistical graphics

- ▶ How to visualize and understand relations among many variables?
- ▶ How to relate these to geographic information?

▶ Summary

Graphical methods for multivariate data

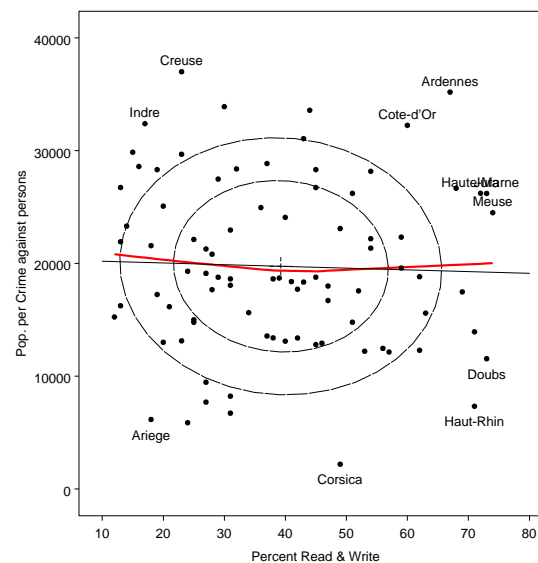
- ▶ **Bivariate displays:** Can be enhanced to show statistical relations more clearly and effectively
 - ▶ Scatterplots with data (concentration) ellipses and smoothed (loess) curves
 - ▶ Scatterplot matrices
- ▶ **Reduced-rank displays:** Multivariate visualization techniques can show the statistical data in simple ways, using dimension reduction techniques.
 - ▶ Biplots - show variables and observations in space accounting for greatest variance
 - ▶ Canonical discriminant plots - show variables and observations in space accounting for greatest between-group variation

▶ Reduced rank

Bivariate plots: Data ellipse and smoothing

Scatterplot with 40% and 68% data ellipses, and smoothed (loess) curve

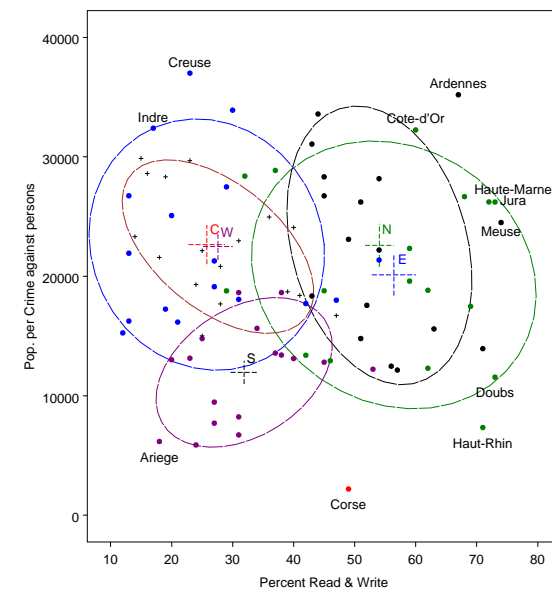
- ▶ No linear relation between crimes against persons and literacy
- ▶ No indication of non-linear relation
- ▶ Substantial number of unusual departments



Bivariate plots: Region differences

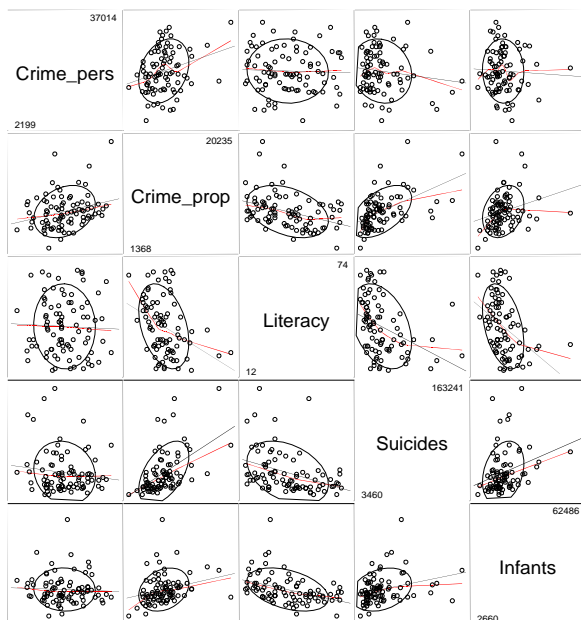
Summary ellipses for each region

- ▶ Biggest differences (C, W) vs. (N, E) on literacy
- ▶ South low on both crime and literacy



Bivariate plots: Scatterplot matrices

- ▶ Crime vs. persons and property: ↗!
- ▶ Literacy ↘ most others
- ▶ Suicide ↗ out of wedlock



Multivariate analyses: Reduced rank displays

- ▶ Multivariate visualization techniques can show the statistical data in simple ways, using dimension reduction techniques.
 - ▶ **Biplots** - show variables and departments in space accounting for greatest variance
 - ▶ **Canonical discriminant plots** - show variables and departments in space accounting for greatest between-region variation
- ▶ Show geographic location by color coding or other visual attributes.
 - ▶ Color code by region
 - ▶ Data ellipse to summarize regions
- ▶ → **Data-centric displays**: The multivariate data is shown directly; geographic relations indirectly

Biplots

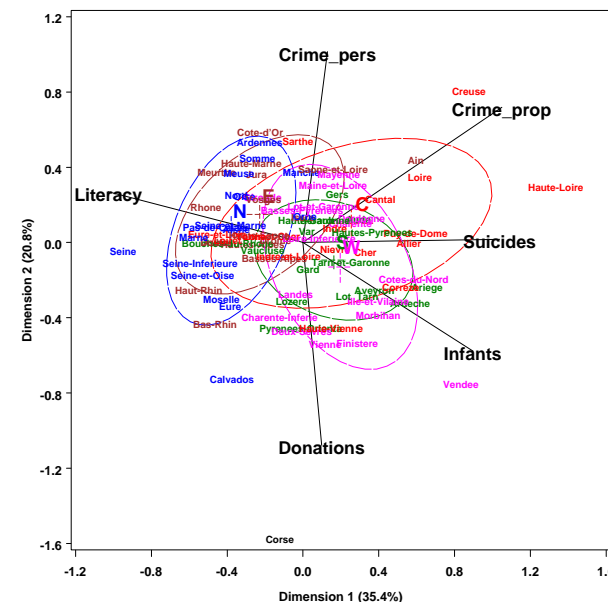
- ▶ Biplots represent both **variables** (attributes) and **observations** (departments) in the same plot— a low-rank (2D) approximation to a data matrix

$$Y^* \approx AB^T = \sum_{k=1}^d a_k b_k^T$$

- ▶ Variables usually represented by **vectors** from origin (mean)
- ▶ Observations usually represented by **points**
- ▶ Can show clusters of observations by **data ellipses**
- ▶ Properties:
 - ▶ **Angles** between vectors show correlations ($r \approx \cos(\theta)$)
 - ▶ **Length** of variable vectors \sim % variance accounted for
 - ▶ $y_{ij} \approx a_i^T b_j$: projection of observation on variable vector
 - ▶ Dimensions are **uncorrelated** overall (but not necessarily within group)

Biplots: Guerry data

- ▶ Dim 1 (34.5%): *France obscure vs. France éclairée*
- ▶ Dim 2 (20.8%): Personal crime vs. Donations (benevolence?)

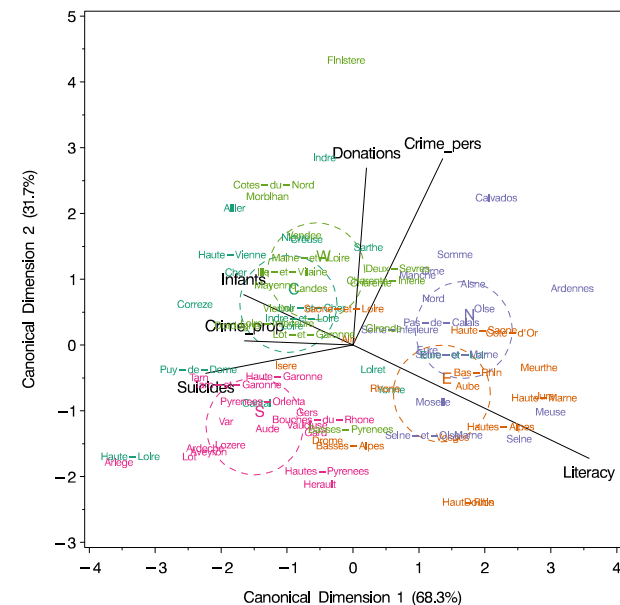


Canonical discriminant plots

- ▶ Project the variables into a low-rank (2D) space that maximally discriminates among regions
 - ▶ Visual summary of a MANOVA
 - ▶ Canonical dimensions are linear combinations of the variables with maximum univariate F -statistics.
 - ▶ Vectors from the origin (grand mean) for the observed variables show the correlations with the canonical dimensions
- ▶ Properties:
 - ▶ Canonical variates are uncorrelated
 - ▶ Circles of radius $\sqrt{\chi_2^2(1-\alpha)/n_i}$ give confidence regions for group means.
 - ▶ Variable vectors show how variables discriminate among groups
 - ▶ Lengths of variable vectors \sim contribution to discrimination

Canonical discriminant plots: Guerry data, by Region

- ▶ Dim 1 (61.9%): *France obscure vs. France éclairée*
- ▶ Dim 2 (28.8%): Donations; (S, E) vs. (N, C, W)



Multivariate mapping: Map-centric displays

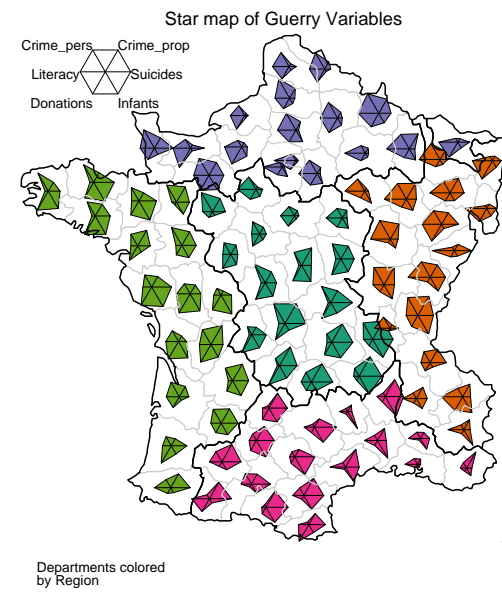
How to generalize choropleth maps to many variables?

- ▶ **Star maps:** Show multivariate data on the map using star icons, variable \sim length of ray
- ▶ **Blended RGB displays:** $(V1, V2, V3) \mapsto (R, G, B)$ shading
- ▶ **Conditioned choropleth maps:** Stratify by two variables, show conditioned maps in a trellis-like display

▶ Summary

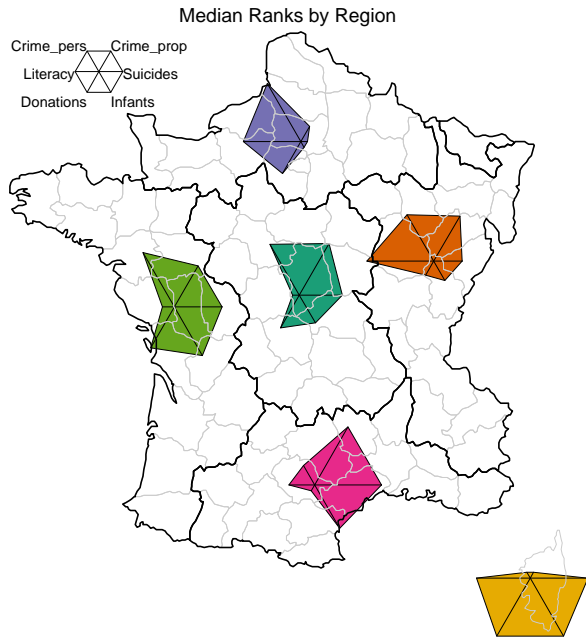
Star maps

- ▶ Bigger \mapsto better
- ▶ Variables ordered as in biplot
- ▶ \mapsto identify unusual depts.



Departments colored by Region

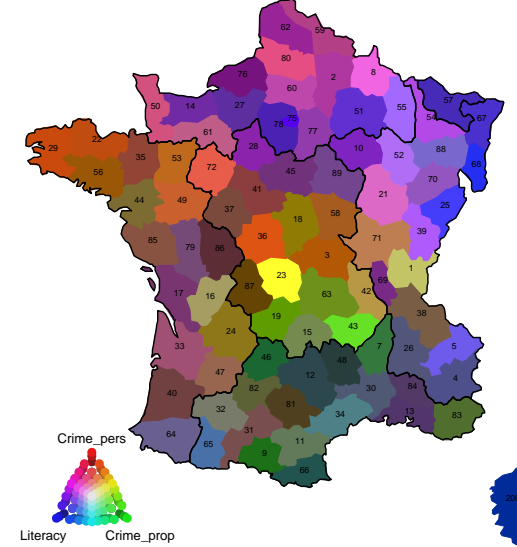
Star maps: Medians by region



RGB map

Crime against persons, Crime against property, Literacy

RGB map: R=Crime_pers, G=Crime_prop, B=Literacy

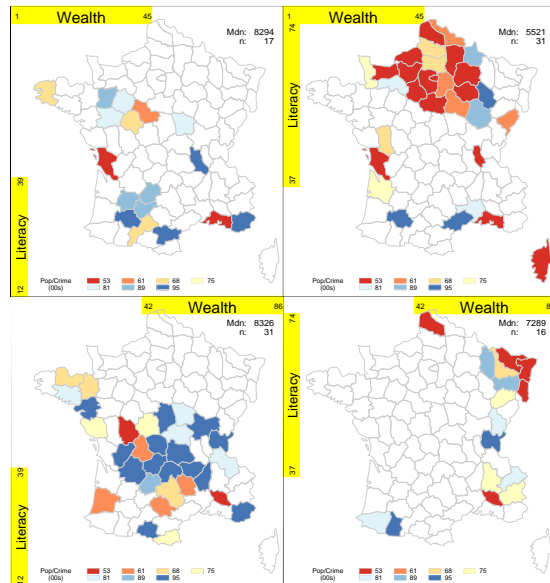


- ▶ N: Hi lit & personal crime
- ▶ Creuse (23), Ain (1): Hi pop/crime, low lit.

Conditioned choropleth maps

Crime against property | % Literacy and Wealth (rank)

- ▶ Crime: good = blue; bad = red
- ▶ Control for two background variables
- ▶ e.g., UR: High Lit, Wealth → (N, High crime)
- ▶ Dynamic version: choose ranges with sliders



Summary

Guerry's place in history

- ▶ (Along with Quetelet) Guerry's work established the empirical study of moral statistics → "Moral statistics movement" → modern criminology, sociology, social science.
- ▶ The 1833 *Essai* broke new ground in thematic cartography and data visualization.
- ▶ The 1864 comparative study contemplated multivariate explanations beyond available theory and methods.
- ▶ Guerry's questions, methods and data still present challenges for multivariate spatial data visualization today.

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BNF: GR FOL-N-319; SG D/4330; BL: Maps 32.e.34; SBB: Fe 8586; LC: 11005911.