PLSC 473: American Judicial Behavior

Christopher Zorn

November 5, 2015

The Issue: Habeas Corpus

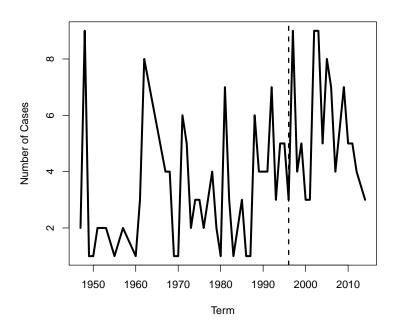
Some history:

- Federal habeas over state detainees established in 1867 (28 USC §2254)
- Suspension at various times...
- Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (1996) limited federal habeas

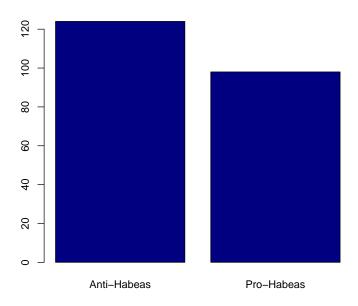
The data:

- Votes in SCOTUS cases addressing habeas corpus (issue = 10020), 1946-2014 (N = 223)
- Coded: 1 = pro-habeas ("liberal"), 0 = anti-habeas ("conservative")

Habeas Corpus Cases Per Term, 1946-2014



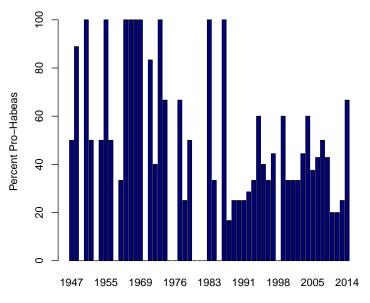
Habeas Corpus Case Outcomes, 1946-2014



Habeas Corpus: Influences

- Judge's Ideology (expectation: positive)
- Prisoner Petition (expectation: ?)
- Involve Federal Habeas Applicability? (expectation: positive)
- Lower Court Disagreement (expectation: positive)
- AEDPA (1996) (expectation: negative)

Habeas Corpus Case Outcomes By Term



Term

Number of Habeas Cases by lawSupp

> table(HCases\$lawSupp)

121 207 230 231 314 341 377 400 509 600 900 1 1 6 1 2 122 1 4 1 13 3

Law	Frequency
Suspension of habeas	1
Fifth Amendment	1
Due Process	6
Equal Protection	1
§1 983	2
Federal habeas statutes	122
UMCJ	1
FRAP	4
Treaty law	1
"Infrequently litigated statutes"	13
No legal provision	3

Data Work

Pro-habeas vote: Habeas\$ProVote<-Habeas\$direction-1 # Defendant petitioner: Habeas\$CrimPet<-ifelse(Habeas\$petitioner==126,1,0)</pre> # Habeas law applicability: Habeas\$HabLaw<-ifelse(Habeas\$lawSupp==341,1,0)</pre> # Lower court disagreement: Habeas\$Disagree<-Habeas\$lcDisagreement # AEDPA: Habeas\$AEDPA<-ifelse(Habeas\$term>1996,1,0)

Correlations

```
> Vars<-with(Habeas, data.frame(ProVote,ideology,CrimPet,
                           HabLaw,Disagree,AEDPA))
+
> cor(Vars,use="complete.obs")
         ProVote ideology CrimPet
                                     HabLaw Disagree
                                                       AEDPA
         1.00000
                 0.32471
                           0.20161 -0.05657 -0.02536 -0.05508
ProVote
                 1.00000 -0.06511 -0.05306 -0.02742 -0.31579
ideology
        0.32471
CrimPet
        0.20161 -0.06511 1.00000 0.11177 -0.03967 -0.04598
Habl.aw
                                                     0.14075
        -0.05657 -0.05306 0.11177 1.00000 0.03437
Disagree -0.02536 -0.02742 -0.03967
                                   0.03437
                                            1.00000
                                                     0.12298
AEDPA
        -0.05508 -0.31579 -0.04598
                                   0.14075
                                            0.12298 1.00000
```

> options(digits=4)

Regression Model

```
Pro-Habeas Vote<sub>ij</sub> = \beta_0 + \beta_1(Justice Liberalism)<sub>j</sub> + \beta_2(Detainee Petitioner)<sub>i</sub> + \beta_3(Habeas Law Applicability)<sub>i</sub> + \beta_4(Lower Court Disagreement)<sub>i</sub> + \beta_5(AEDPA)<sub>i</sub> + u_{it}
```

Regression Results

```
> Regression <- with(Habeas, lm(ProVote~ideology+CrimPet+
                  HabLaw+Disagree+AEDPA))
> summary(Regression)
Call:
lm(formula = ProVote ~ ideology + CrimPet + HabLaw +
   Disagree + AEDPA)
Coefficients:
          Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
                      0.0373 4.43 1e-05 ***
(Intercept) 0.1654
ideology 0.5970 0.0433 13.80 <2e-16 ***
CrimPet 0.2558 0.0271 9.43 <2e-16 ***
HabLaw -0.0907 0.0305 -2.97 0.003 **
Disagree -0.0147 0.0270 -0.54 0.587
AEDPA
      0.0820 0.0266 3.09 0.002 **
Signif. codes: 0 *** 0.001 ** 0.01 * 0.05 . 0.1 1
Residual standard error: 0.456 on 1358 degrees of freedom
  (923 observations deleted due to missingness)
Multiple R-squared: 0.165, Adjusted R-squared: 0.162
F-statistic: 53.8 on 5 and 1358 DF, p-value: <2e-16
```

Habeas Corpus Findings

- More liberal justices are substantially more likely to vote in a pro-habeas direction than are conservatives.
- Justices are also more likely to vote in a pro-habeas direction in cases where the detainee is bringing the petition (that is, when a pro-habeas vote is a vote to reverse the lower court).
- Justices are also (all else equal) more likely to vote in a pro-habeas direction in cases decided after the passage of the AEDPA in 1996.
- Justices are somewhat less likely to vote in a pro-habeas direction when the case involves a question of the applicability of federal habeas law.
- We find no conditional association between pro-habeas votes and lower court disagreement.