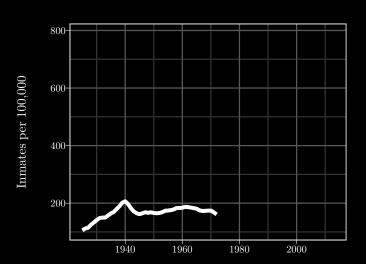
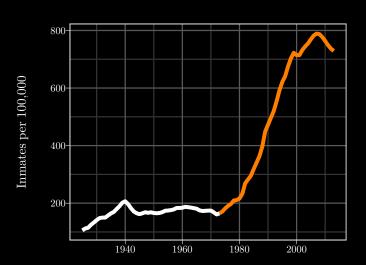
# The Origins of Mass Incarceration

#### Adaner Usmani

Postdoctoral Fellow Watson Institute Brown University

November 2018





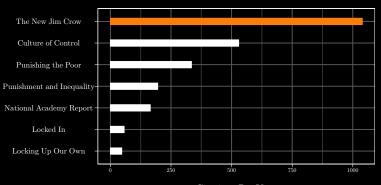
Why the punitive turn?

### An Influential View

"Law-and-order campaign appeals combined with a covert emphasis on the links between race and street crime used to overcome Republican electoral disadvantages seem to provide the most plausible explanations for the rapid increase in U.S. imprisonment rates..."

Jacobs and Jackson, "...A Review of Systematic Findings" (2010)

### An Influential View

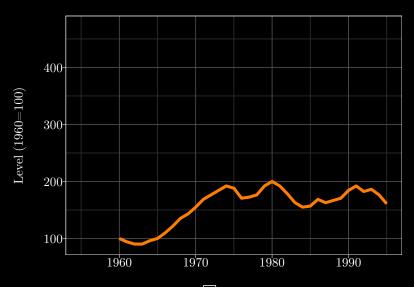


Citations Per Year

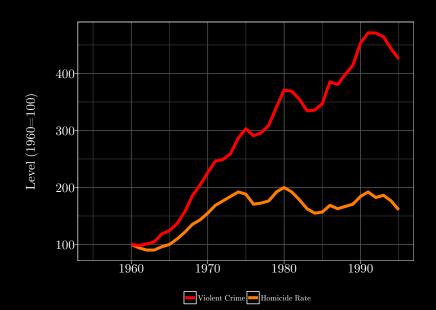
### The Assertion



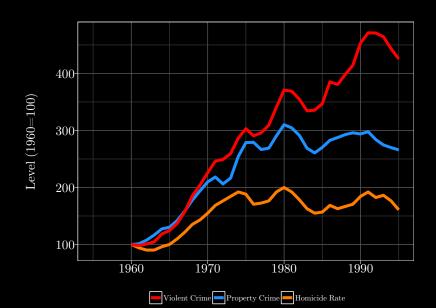
## Homicides Rose



### Violence Rose



## Crime Rose



## Most Are Not Drug Offenders



# Fewer Are Low-Level Drug Offenders



"To omit violence from the analysis was to misunderstand the social inequality on which mass incarceration rests."

Bruce Western, Homeward (2018)

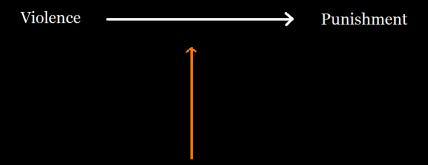
## **Not** The Argument

Violence —————————————————Punishment

# The Developing View



# My Argument



There is no social democracy in the US

### Roadmap

- 1. The Puzzle
- 2. The Influential View
- 3. New Evidence Why did public opinion change? Why did politicians turn punitive? Why did prisons and police grow? Interpretation
- 4. Refining the Question
- 5. In Sum

### Roadmap

- 1. The Puzzle
- 2. The Influential View
- New Evidence
   Why did public opinion change?
   Why did politicians turn punitive?
   Why did prisons and police grow?
   Interpretation
- 4. Refining the Question
- 5. In Sur

- Due to the Civil Rights Movement, black Americans made gains
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Data: 300,000 respondents to 39 different questions over 176 different public opinion surveys about crime and punishment, 1955-2014

Method

Summarize levels and white-black gap
 Estimate trends by race 1955-2014

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#### Two Dimensions

#### Punitiveness, e.g.

- In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?
- Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

#### Anxiety, e.g.

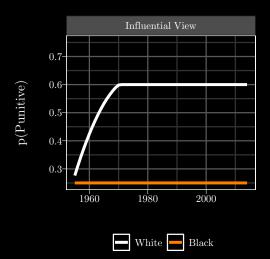
- ....'d like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money, too little money, or about the right amount on halting the rising crime rate.
- Is being a victim of crime something you personally worry about?

### The Model

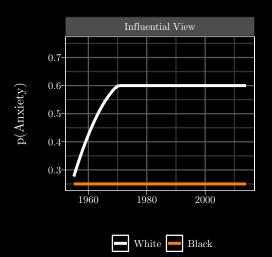
Challenge: Different questions in different years
Solution: Multilevel models with (raceX)question-level random effects

# As if Nonprobability Sampling

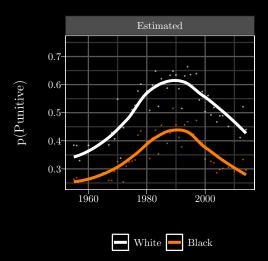
Challenge: Sample weights are difficult to harmonize Solution: Predictions for  $sex \times race \times ed \times age \times year$  cells, weighted by share of population in year t to obtain representative estimate



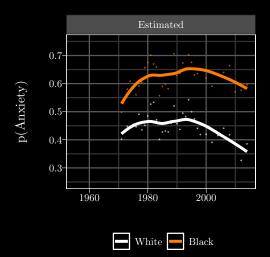
## Why did public opinion change?

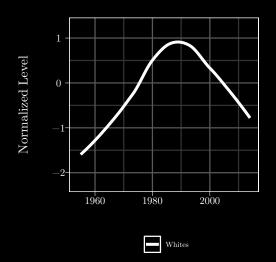


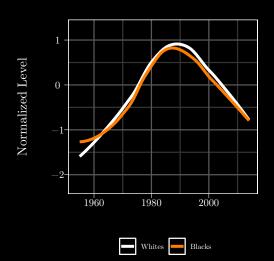
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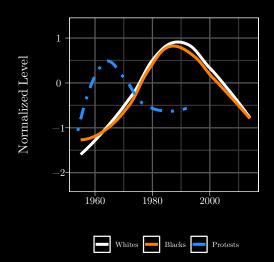


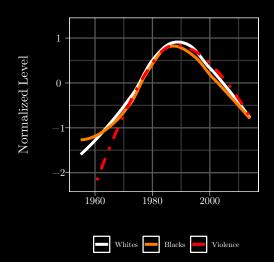
## Why did public opinion change?











Data: Roll call data from the House of Representatives, 30 punitive bills, 1968-2015

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Summarize level and white-black gap for each punitive bill
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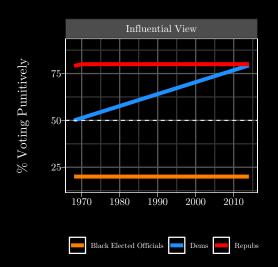
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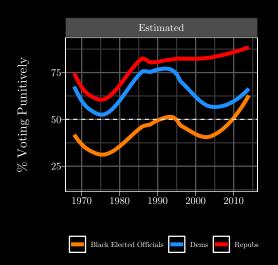
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### Was this representation or selling-out?

#### Why support Clinton's 1994 Crime Bill?

- 63% of African Americans supported, only 20% opposed
- Many objections, but "[t]he crime bill's promise of more police, more prisons and more money for crime prevention was too important to jeopardize by holding out for the racial-justice provision." (Alan Wheat, D-MO)

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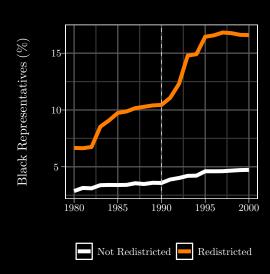
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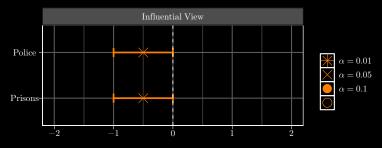
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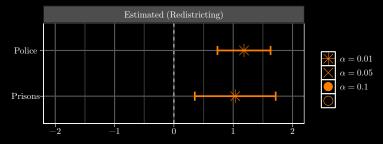
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### A Natural Experiment



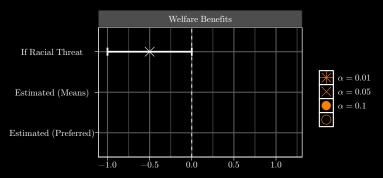


Impact of Redistricting in SDs  $\,$ 



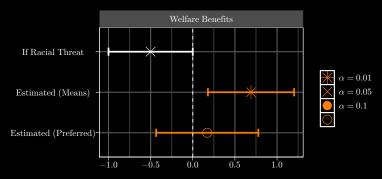
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### Was this just racial threat?



Standardized Impact of Black Representation

## Was this just racial threat?



Standardized Impact of Black Representation

#### The Influential Account

- 3. These racial anxieties led white Americans to fear crime
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- Due to white politicians' support of punitive policy, the rate of incarceration and policing increased

#### My Account

- 3. The rise in violence drove the rise in public punitiveness
- As a result, politicians supported punitive policies in greater numbers
- 5. White *and* black elected officials were responsible for the increase in the rate of incarceration and policing

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### My Interpretation

The rise in violence mattered.

#### Roadmap

- 1. The Puzzle
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Why the punitive turn?

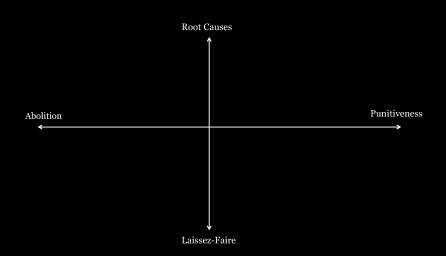
# Penal Policy



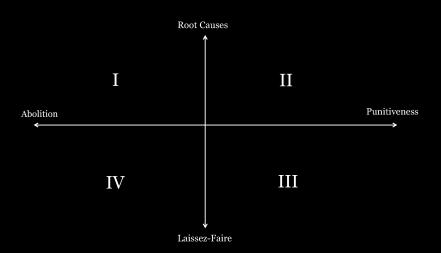
#### What Is To Be Done?

"The ecological concentration of ghetto poverty, racial segregation, residential mobility and population turnover, family disruption, and... local social organization... are fruitful areas of future inquiry... Our framework suggests the need to take a renewed look at social policies that focus on prevention. We do not need more after-the-fact (reactive) approaches." Sampson and Wilson, "Towards a Theory of Race, Crime, and Urban Inequality" (1995)

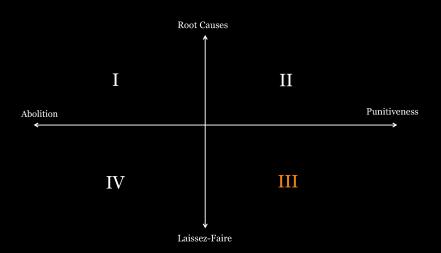
# Penal Policy and Social Policy



## Four Quadrants



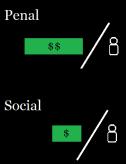
# Why Quadrant III?



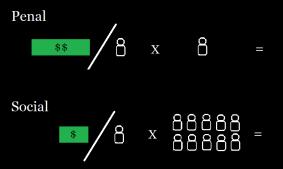
Why the punitive turn?

Why did America fight violence with penal policy?

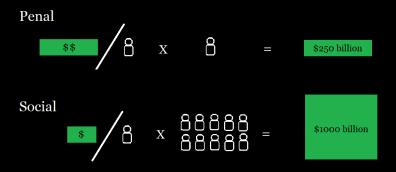
# Penal Policy vs. Social Policy



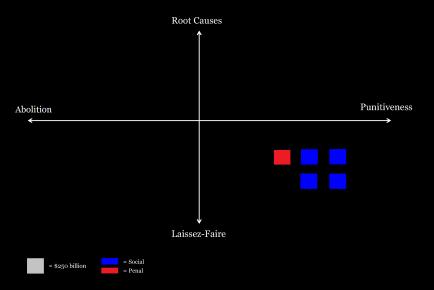
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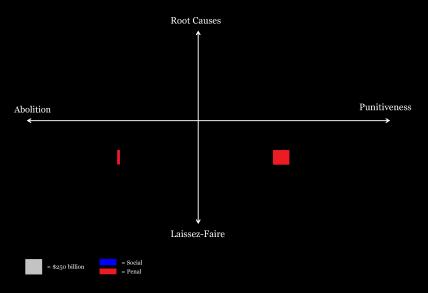
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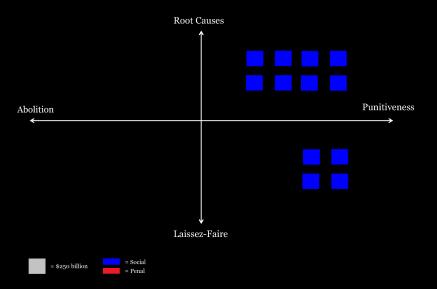
# Cost of Quadrant III



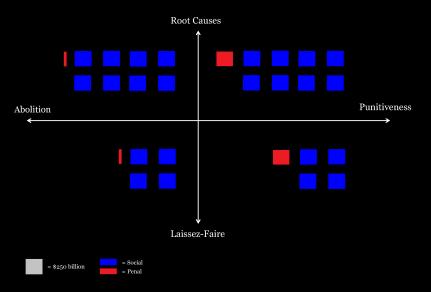
#### Abolition vs. Punitiveness



#### Laissez-Faire vs. Root Causes



## Cost in Four Quadrants



Why did America fight violence with penal policy?

Why did America fight violence on the cheap?

#### Some Deductions

- 1. The state requires economic resources
- 2. Because the rich have greater capacities to disrupt the economy, they have greater leverage over the state
- 3. But the poor sometimes gain capacities to disrupt, and so they gain leverage over the state
- 4. As the poor gain leverage, redistribution from rich to poor becomes more likely

"Democracy and the Class Struggle", American Journal of Sociology, 124(3):1-41

#### A Conclusion

Redistribution = f(Balance of Disruptive Capacities)

"Those who against the public weal have power cannot be expected to yield save to superior power."

W.E.B Du Bois, Black Reconstruction (1935)

Why did America fight violence on the cheap?

### A Hypothesis

The poor lacked the capacity to win social policy.

- A working-class divided by race
- Institutions that enable elite veto (And behind both, slavery..)

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#### Capacities of the powerless declined

The Civil Rights movement faded, the labor movement ossified

The economy sputtered, Vietnam drained the Federal budget

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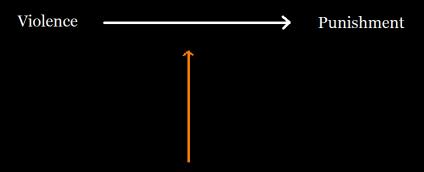
#### The Influential View



# The Developing View

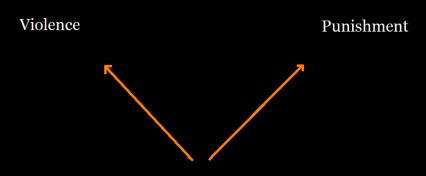


### A Tale of Two Exceptions



There is no social democracy in the US

### A Tale of Two Exceptions



There is no social democracy in the US

# A Research Agenda in Six Claims

#### **Punitiveness**

- 1. Risk of Victimization → Public Punitiveness(/Anxiety)
- 2. Public Punitiveness  $\rightarrow$  Punitiveness of Politicians

#### Policy

- 3. Balance of Power  $\rightarrow$  More Social Policy
- **4**. More Social Policy  $\rightarrow$  Less Penal Policy

#### Outcomes

- 5. More Social Policy  $\rightarrow$  Less Violence
- **6**. Mass Incarceration  $\rightarrow$  Macrosociological Outcomes

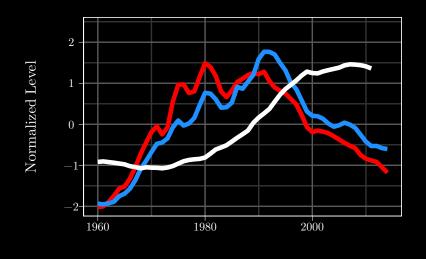
#### Ideas

- ML models estimating risk of victimization using sex × race × ed × age × year info, enter as predictor in p(anxiety|punitive|mistrustful)
- 1.,2. Survey experiments to prime respondents to risk of victimization, some given social policy options
  - 3. Analysis of utterances in Congress to place legislators on penal/social 2x2
  - 3. Bartik-like instruments for labor capacity using industry-level growth rates and county  $\times$  industry employment shares
- 4., 5. Trade shocks to labor markets, to simulate 'as if' social policy
  - 6. Bartik-like instruments for growth in incarceration using sex × race × ed × age × year institutionalization rates and county-level demographic shares

adaner\_usmani@brown.edu http://bit.ly/au\_jobtalkrepo

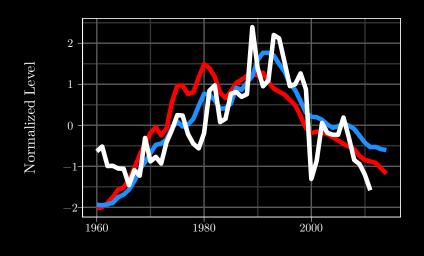
# Appendix

### Crime and Punishment, Stock

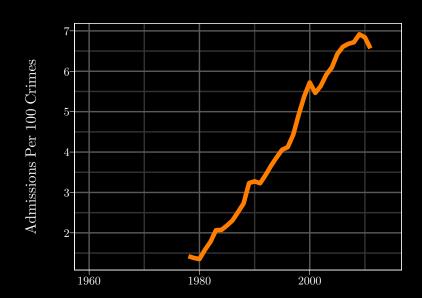


Property Crime Violent Crime Incarceration

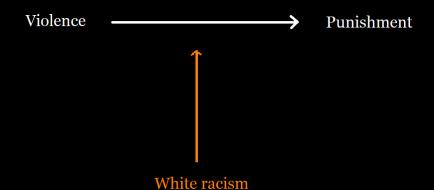
### Crime and Punishment, Flow



### Admissions Per Crime



### The Influential View?



## The Developing View

- Racism (Forman Jr, 2017)
- Culture, Legal History (Whitman, 2005; Garland, 2010)
- Media (Enns, 2016)
- Democracy in CJ (Savelsberg, 1994; Lacey, 2008; Garland, 2010; Lacey and Soskice, 2015)
- Discretion in CJ (Pfaff, 2017)
- Federalism (Miller, 2008; Miller, 2016)
- Liberal Market Economy (Lacey and Soskice, 2015; Garland, 2018)

### Racial Threat

- Due to the Civil Rights Movement, black Americans made gains
- 2. Due to black gains, white Americans grew anxious
- These racial anxieties led white Americans to fear crime
- To exploit this fear of crime, white politicians proposed punitive policies
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### Evidence via Racial Threat

- 2-5. Due to Af-Am gains, ... the rate of incarceration and policing increased
  - %black correlated with punitive outcomes across and within cities/states

### Evidence for Claim 3

- 3. These racial anxieties led white Americans to fear crime
  - Over-time: The rise in punitiveness is correlated with the success of the Civil Rights movement
  - Cross-individual: More racially-anxious people are more punitive

### Evidence for Claim 4

- 4. To exploit this fear of crime, white politicians proposed punitive policies
  - Over-time: The dawn of punitive policy is correlated with the rise of punitive opinion
  - Cross-politician: Those closest to the abandoned white voter are also the most punitive

### Evidence for Claim 5

- 5. Due to white politicians' support of punitive policy, the rate of incarceration and policing increased
  - Over-time, national-level: Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan played a leading role
  - Cross-state/over-time, state-level: More Republican, more incarceration

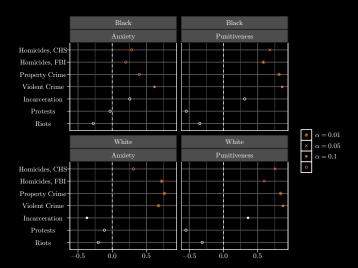
### Decomposition, Incarceration Rate

```
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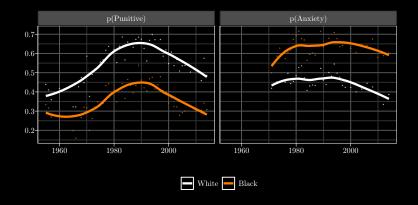
### Decomposition, Influential View

```
Incarceration Rate = Behavior \times p(Crime|Behavior) \times p(Arrest|Crime) \times p(Charge|Arrest) \times p(Conviction|Charge) \times E(Time Served)
```

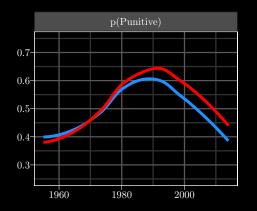
# Correlates of Public Opinion



# Trends by Race, Subtrends Model

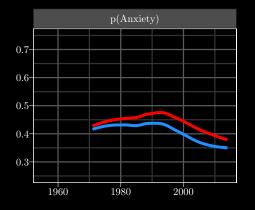


# White Southerners vs. White Non-Southerners, Punitiveness



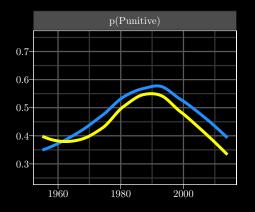
White, College, Not South White, HS Drop, S

## White Southerners vs. White Non-Southerners, Anxiety



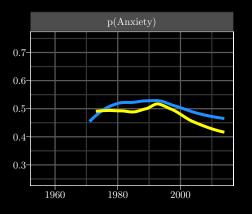
White, College, Not South White, HS Drop, S

# Is black punitiveness driven by elites?



Black, HS Dropout Black, College Grad

# Is black anxiety driven by elites?





## Public Opinion Model, Standard

$$\begin{split} \Pr(y_i = 1) &= logit^{-1}(\beta^0 + \beta^{\mathit{race}} RACE_i + \beta^{\mathit{sex}} SEX_i + \beta^{\mathit{ed}} ED_i + \\ & \beta_{\mathit{age}} AGE_i + \alpha^{\mathit{question}}_{q[i]} + \alpha^{\mathit{division}}_{s[i]} + \alpha^{\mathit{year}}_{t[i]} + \alpha^{\mathit{race.sex}}_{j[i],k[i]} + \\ & \alpha^{\mathit{race.age}}_{j[i],m[i]} + \alpha^{\mathit{race.question}}_{j[i],l[i]} \alpha^{\mathit{race.ed}}_{j[i],t[i]} + \alpha^{\mathit{race.year}}_{j[i],s[i]} + \alpha^{\mathit{race.division}}_{j[i],s[i]}) \end{split}$$

## Public Opinion Model, Subtrends

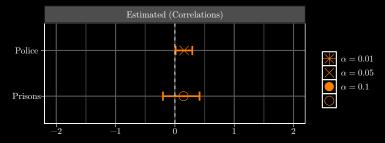
$$\begin{split} \Pr(y_i = 1) &= logit^{-1}(\beta^0 + \beta^{\textit{race}} \textit{RACE}_i + \beta^{\textit{sex}} \textit{SEX}_i + \beta^{\textit{ed}} \textit{ED}_i + \\ &\beta_{\textit{age}} \textit{AGE}_i + \alpha^{\textit{question}}_{q[i]} + \alpha^{\textit{division}}_{s[i]} + \alpha^{\textit{year}}_{t[i]} + \alpha^{\textit{race.sex}}_{j[i],k[i]} + \\ &\alpha^{\textit{race.age}}_{j[i],m[i]} + \alpha^{\textit{race.question}}_{j[i],q[i]} + \alpha^{\textit{race.ed.year}}_{j[i],t[i]} + \alpha^{\textit{race.division.year}}_{j[i],s[i],t[i]} ) \end{split}$$

### Differences-in-Differences Model

$$DV_{st} = (RD_s \times PD_t)\theta + x'_{st-1}\beta + \delta_s + \mu_t + \epsilon_{st}$$

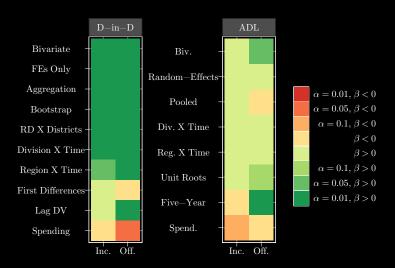
Controls: Violent Crime, Partisanship, % Black, GDP per capita, Growth Rate, Tax Collections, Gini Coefficient, Enns' Punitiveness Index

# Why did prisons and police grow?

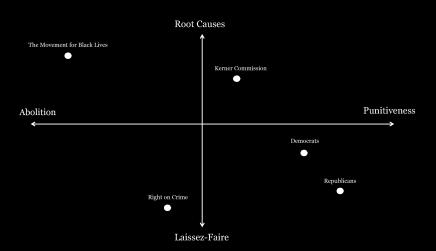


 ${\bf Standardized\ Impact\ of\ Black\ Representation}$ 

## Robustness Tests, Panel Regressions



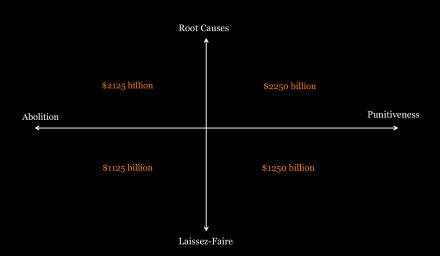
# Penal Policy and Social Policy



### Cost in Four Quadrants

Penal Policy, Punitiveness = \$250 billion Penal Policy, Abolition = \$50 billion Social Policy, Laissez-Faire = \$1000 billion Social Policy, Root Causes = \$2000 billion

### Cost in Four Quadrants



### The Four Puzzles

- 1. Longitudinal: Why the punitive turn?
- 2. Crossnational: Why the US?
- 3. Subnational: Why some parts but not others?
- 4. Cross-individual: Why some people but not other people?