**plan**

1. **thanks and friends**
   - support from JEHT, NIJ, and RWJF

2. **current projects**
   - extravagant claims
   - edge of stigma
   - epic records
   - health spillovers
   - piling on
   - productive addicts
   - stretching boundaries

3. **policy and outreach vision**

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**revolution in life course criminology**

- **fluidity and identity shifts**
  - adult transition and desistance
  - from prisoner to adult citizen in good standing

- **sticky labels and status groups**
  - public/private information
  - out-groups, in-groups, and social integration

- **interventions**
  - two-decade crime drop, but harsh justice
  - seeking non-CJ solutions to social problems

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**delinquency & adulthood**

- **must we settle down to reach adult status?**
  - prisoners woefully off-time on markers
  - from “hell-raiser” to family man or woman, standing shoulder-to-shoulder with fellow citizens

- **age norms and measuring up as adult**
  - symbolic interaction
  - relative to community standards and one’s own past

- **subjective adulthood**
  - collective adherence to domain-specific roles
  - behavioral and labeling effects
arrest and feeling on time
(MN YDS 30-year-olds)

minnesota exits & entries project
(corrections creep; pre- and post; 18-25; individualized)

from discreditable to discredited

• proliferation of records
  – 30% by 23; most males

• 14m US arrests/year
  – often go no farther, but appear on formal record

• dissemination change
  – most jobs now check
  – "discredited"

• consequential for felonies (Pager)
  – misdemeanor arrests?
**Annual Arrest v. Imprisonment Rate per 1000, Minnesota 2007**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Annual Arrest Rate per 1000 Population</th>
<th>Imprisonment Rate per 1000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian/Alaskan</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Overall Callbacks by Race and Arrest**

- **Misdemeanor Arrest Has Smaller Effect on Entry-Level Hiring Than Felony Prison**
  - 4 percentage point callback reduction
    - 15% for African Americans; 11% for Whites
    - Not a disqualifying condition
  - **What Mitigates?**
    - Personal contact (enormous)
    - Workplace diversity (significant)
    - Policy guidelines (intriguing)

**Design**

- Recruit: HS grads with basic work record (hotel, restaurant)
- Rehearse: 3-year old disorderly conduct arrest
- Apply: 600 entry-level jobs in twin cities
- Audit
growth of people “on paper”

US growth of felons and ex-felons, 1948-2010

1980 ex-felons (2.1% of VAP)

2010 ex-felons (6.4% of VAP)

1980 African American ex-felons (5.5%)

2010 African American ex-felons (18.3%) (mn mass probation)
incarceration & health spillovers

- incarceration -> joblessness -> uninsurance
- burden felt in health care available to others
  - lower revenues for providers and facilities
  - strong effects for some services (e.g., emergency medical services, trauma care)

Beyond uninsured

- increased need and demand for health services
  - infectious disease and stress
  - detecting previously undiagnosed conditions
  - "taste" and appreciation for healthcare

Effect on system capacity (CPS; SHADAC; Kaiser data; state FE)

Effect on system quality (mechanisms: uninsured, ER, beds)
effect on TB, STD, HIV rates

- effect of ex-prisoners depend on prison care
  - health benefit where prisons test and treat (TB, syphilis)
  - health cost otherwise (chlamydia)
- caveats, but disturbing questions
  - still undifferentiated; controls; lags
- generating but also mitigating inequalities
  - good prison care (relative to lousy community baseline)
- can arrange institutions “in here” to redress inequalities “out there”
  - continuity of care as reentry and cost challenge

work, money, and crime

[Diagram: WORK \rightarrow \text{MONEY} \rightarrow \text{CRIME}]

supported work “ex-addicts”
time to (any) arrest

[Graph: Time to Arrest for Robbery or Burglary]

significant reduction

[Graph: Time to Arrest]

robbery and burglary?
**welfare bans and female crime**

- **welfare reform (PRWORA) – 1996**
  - Federal ban on TANF and food stamps for people convicted of felony drug offenses
  - Gramm: "if we are serious about our drug laws, we ought not to give people welfare benefits who are violating the nation’s drug laws"
  - States could modify or “opt out” of ban
- **how did the felony drug ban affect female arrest rates?**
  - Targeted crime- and drug-involved women
  - Motivation and control mechanisms (stings)
female property arrests
(burglary, larceny-theft, auto theft, arson, forgery, fraud, embezzling, stolen goods, vandalism; red v. purple, no tvc; mean 4.7; sd 2)

female violent arrests
(murder, rape, robbery, agg. assault, assault; mean 2.3; sd 1.2)

female drug arrests
(total sale/manufacture, possession; mean 1.3; sd .8)

problems with “piling on”
• Q: to increase crime, which recipients would you cut off?
  - Those with greatest criminal capital
• to decrease crime...
  - Ease transition to taxpaying citizen in good standing
  1. Reduce the scope of unnecessary collateral sanctions
  2. Redirect low-level offenses away from criminal justice
• But sanctions aren’t just driven by crime control
  - Criminal deportation and labor markets

Fig. 2: Change in Criminal Deportations and Unemployment by Year, 1941-1973
Fig. 3b.—Criminal deportations and unemployment by year, 1941–86
(AJS 2012 w/ King, Massoglia)
Rwanda and modern gacaca

• > 1 million killed in 1994 genocide [can’t equate]
  – millions implicated, devastated legal infrastructure, and need to bring perpetrators to justice
• hybrid courts (2002-12)
  – community members elected as judges
  – innovative transitional justice mechanism, but many criticisms
• “ordinary” perpetrators? a random draw?
  – or, age and gender distribution

---

gacaca data (Nyseth-Brehm)

• HNB helped compile data set from 10,000+ gacaca courts
• almost 2 million cases
  – 1: planning, organization, supervising, people in positions of leadership, rape and sexual torture
  – 2: murder, intent to murder, torture
  – 3: property offenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number Found Guilty</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Appeals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category 1</td>
<td>66,552</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>35,428</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>19.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 2</td>
<td>67,536</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>36,1,560</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>136.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 3</td>
<td>1,320,554</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1,216,532</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>25.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,003,634</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1,083,648</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>176.741</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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age of 1.96m gacaca perpetrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1.645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>1.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looting</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>1.681</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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sex comparison

Looting (Category 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looting</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Burglary (1994 U.S. Arrests)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looting</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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sanctions for property crimes?

• 87% fines
  – median 7,100 RWF ($11 US), to victim or family
• 9% “agreement” (Ubwumvikane)
  – negotiated settlement between family and perpetrator
• 2% exemption (Gusonerwa)
  – perpetrator asks forgiveness, exempted from fine if victim agrees
• 1% restitution
  – return or pay back goods (wood, cow, shoes, beans, clothes, pans, etc.)
• >1% forgiveness, daily work, building house...
alternatives to CJ solutions?

- prison sentences for killing
  - severity-graded punitive and restorative responses
  - fewer years than US homicide
  - 29% reduced time via community service
- dualisms in gacaca
  - formal and informal
  - community-based and state-driven
  - traditional and contemporary
- duality invites criticism
  - cannot meet strict standards of either ideal type
- processed astounding number of cases
  - hybrid model for other cases of mass atrocity
  - from transitional justice to community courts

making US records less

- work: 10 states, 52 cities now "ban the box"
  - MN, no criminal records until "finalist" (interviews)
- health: ACA and baseline community health
  - continuity of care and spillover
- welfare: more opting out of ban
  - 12 states "opted out" or reduced scope of ban
- enfranchisement: VA as latest change
  - 24 states expanded voting rights to over 1m since 1997
- alternatives: peccadillos to crime of crimes
  - US crime and justice problems in perspective

2 visions

1. thanks and friends
   - Support from JEHT, NIJ, and RWJF
2. research projects
3. policy (research) and outreach (TSP)
   - extravagant claims -> easing transition
   - edge of stigma -> timing of visibility
   - epic records -> narrow criminal sanction
   - health spillovers -> institutional change
   - piling on -> reduce gratuitous punishment
   - productive addicts -> pragmatic harm reduction
   - stretching bounds -> restorative alternatives