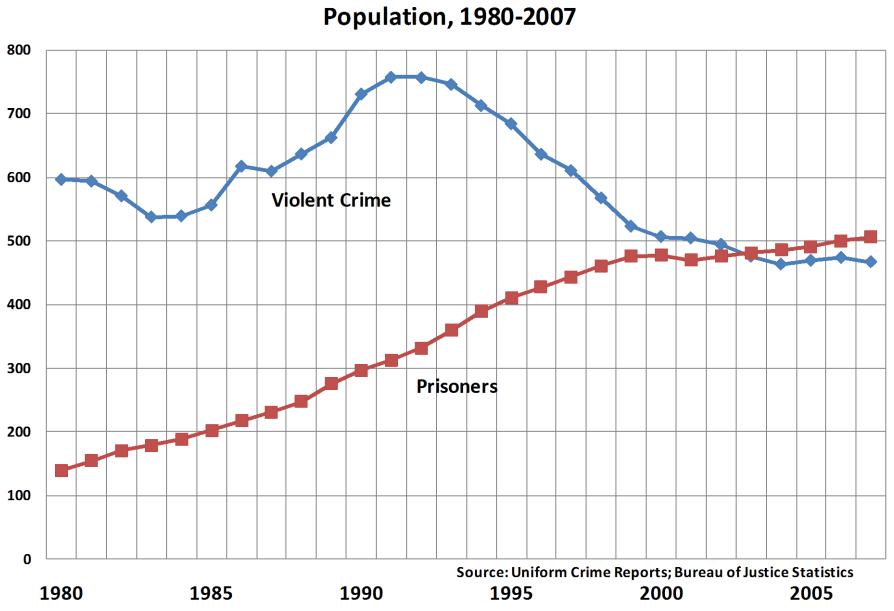
Mass Imprisonment and Crime Trends

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Growth in State Prisoners in the United States, 1980 - 2009

1800000			
1600000		1524513	
1400000			
1200000			
1000000	+ 377%		
800000			
600000			
400000	319598		
200000			
0	1000	2000	
	1980	2009	1.67



State and Federal Prisoners and Violent Crimes per 100,000 US Population, 1980-2007

Theoretical Expectations: Crime Reduction Effects of Imprisonment

- Imprisonment reduces crime by
 - -Rehabilitating inmates
 - -Deterring crime
 - Specific deterrence
 - General deterrence
 - -Interrupting criminal careers
 - -Incapacitating offenders

Theoretical Expectations: Crime Enhancement Effects

- Imprisonment increases crime by
 - -Strengthening criminal socialization
 - -Reducing legitimate opportunities
 - -Cementing criminal identities
 - -Disrupting families and communities
 - -Reducing punishment stigma

Research Results

- Consistent result from state panel regressions: Growth in imprisonment decreases crime
- Prison admissions associated with crime reductions; prison releases associated with crime increases
- *But*
 - Effects vary by state
 - DeFina, Robert H. and Thomas M. Arvanites. 2002. "The Weak Effect of Imprisonment on Crime: 1971-1992." *Social Science Quarterly* 83: 635-653.
 - Effects dissipate with increasing scale of imprisonment
 Liedka, Raymond V., Anne Morrison Piehl, and Bert Useem. 2006. "The Crime Control Effect of Incarceration: Does Scale Matter? "*Criminology and Public Policy* 5: 245-276.

Endogeneity

• Imprisonment reduces crime but crime increases imprisonment

Prison $\xrightarrow{-}$ Crime

• Failing to control for crime in the prison equation may bias the prison effect on crime downward

Spelman, William. 2008. "Specifying the Relationship Between Crime and Prisons." Journal of Quantitative Criminology 24:149-178.

• Imprisonment growth *not* the result of increasing crime (Blumstein and Beck)

Has the Effect of Imprisonment on Crime Been Exaggerated?

• Western's critique of Levitt (1996)

Levitt, Steven F. 1996. "The Effect of Prison Population Size on Crime Rates: Evidence From Prison Overcrowding Litigation." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 111:319-351.

- How much of the 1990s crime drop is explained by imprisonment growth?
 - Western (2006) ~10%
 - Spelman (2006) ~25%
 - Spelman, William. 2006. "The Limited Importance of Prison Expansion." In Alfred Blumstein and Joel Wallman, eds. *The Crime Drop in America*. Revised edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
 - Rosenfeld and Fornango (2007) 19% 23%

Joining Issues

- Imprisonment growth since 1980 associated with modest crime reduction (10% - 20% of 1990s crime drop)
 - Uncertainty regarding effect size
- Specific deterrence not responsible for crime-reduction effects
- Uncertainty regarding general deterrence vs. incapacitation effects
- Imprisonment growth *not* a policy variable
- The marginal effectiveness of imprisonment vs. community supervision not known
- Imprisonment costly; "front end" deterrence a better bet