



#### Discussion of Steven Raphael's

# "Employment Challenges Faced by People with Criminal Histories"

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- 1. Challenges of empirical exercise
- 2. New research opportunities
- 3. Policy prescriptions

# Challenges of empirical exercise



Goals of paper cut to the core concerns of those who study the U.S. justice system:

- How much worse are economic outcomes for justice-involved individuals?
- Why are they worse?
- What can we do about breaking the cycle of recidivism?
- Fundamental challenge faced by this field of work:
- Lack of data integration to put the dynamics of justice-involvement in conversation with socio-economic outcomes
- Especially challenging at the national level

Solution:

- Predict likelihood of incarceration based on characteristics available in national survey data

# Pro's and Con's of prediction



Traits like sex, race/ethnicity, age, educational attainment, and state of residence predict institutionalization rates well:

Table 1						
Descriptive Statistics for Non-Institutionalized Adults 22 to 55 by Deciles of Group-Specific Institutionalization Rates						
Prop. of the institutionalized	0.038	0.035	0.061	0.106	0.186	0.576

If we are interested in the broader question of how justice-involvement impacts employment dynamics, is this enough?

## Pro's and Con's of prediction



Ample research demonstrates important connections between broader forms of justice-involvement (e.g. criminal records) and labor market outcomes

- Pager (2003), Uggen et al. (2014), Jackson & Zhao (2017), Agan & Starr (2018), Mueller-Smith & Schnepel (2021), Finlay, Mueller-Smith, & Street (2023), Mueller-Smith, Pyle, & Walker (2023)
- In recent decades, for every 1 person under institutional supervision (jail/prison) there was more than 2 individuals under community supervision

And, we think there are scarring effects associated with justice-contact

 Prediction model will discount long-term impacts since age-crime profile concentrates most contemporaneous justice-involvement among younger individuals

# Pro's and Con's of prediction



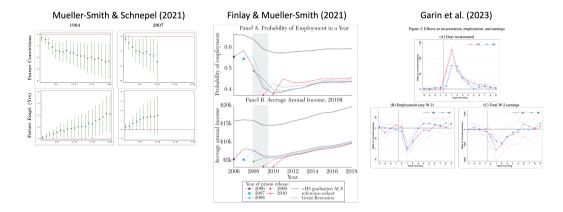
Finally, the exercise is complicated by the role of statistical discrimination

- If non-justice-involved individuals suffer because many people with similar backgrounds are inmates, how do we interpret the relationship between prediction and realized employment outcome?
- Surely an impact of the justice system, but not exactly a direct effect
- Not necessarily remediated by interventions to improve outcomes for justice-involved individuals, but potentially made worse (e.g. ban-the-box)

## New research opportunities



New opportunities to study the intersection of justice-involvement and labor markets:



Common theme: integrating restricted administrative crime data with earnings data

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## Challenges



New generation of research has drawbacks:

- Long and opaque data request processes
- Significant restrictions on access mechanisms
  - $\Rightarrow$  Limited output and inequality across researchers

To help resolve some of these concerns, CJARS is launching a new data portal in 2024q1:

# **Justice Outcomes Explorer**





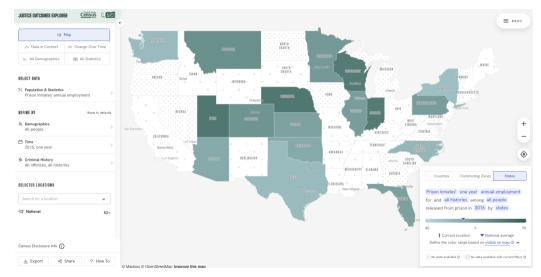
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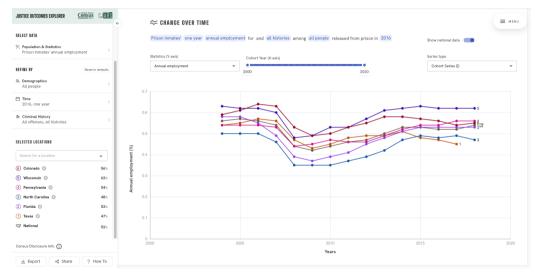




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# Not a perfect solution for Steve's goals



- 1. Less granular employment information:
  - Annual periodicity will miss some transitions, fewer years to track
  - Can't differentiate unemployed versus NILF
- 2. Still working on complete national coverage
  - Existing "national" estimates weight states according to observable traits
- 3. Some socio-demographic breakouts (race/ethnicity, sex, age-bin) but not all
  - Less perfect prediction if wanting to explore spillovers from statistical discrimination
- Perhaps a useful benchmark to gauge results from CPS + ACS-prediction.
  - ightarrow Also, CPS is available for record-level merge with CJARS through the FSRDC system!



# Policy prescriptions

Quick final thoughts on policy prescriptions:

- 1. Ex-ante (diversion) versus ex-post (expungment) solutions
- 2. Employer liability through negligent hiring laws:
  - See Pyle (2023); consistent with Cullen et al. (2023)
- 3. Limitations for Certificates of Rehabilitation
  - Inconsistent with evidence on subsidized employment efforts
  - What to do for non-institutionalized folks?





- Great paper on an important topic
- Lots of potential opportunity to deepen the analysis
- Will be of interest to many who currently work on reform efforts in the justice system