

**VOTING AND SUBSEQUENT CRIME AND ARREST: EVIDENCE FROM A
COMMUNITY SAMPLE***

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VOTING AND SUBSEQUENT CRIME AND ARREST: EVIDENCE FROM A COMMUNITY SAMPLE*

A number of recent studies have examined the origins and consequences of felon disenfranchisement laws in the United States (Behrens, Uggen, and Manza 2003; Ewald 2002; Fellner and Mauer 1998; Uggen and Manza 2002). These studies have demonstrated that there is a large and growing group of citizens who have lost the right to vote because of current or past felony convictions. The burden has fallen particularly heavily on minority citizens, with nearly 2 million African Americans currently disenfranchised (U.S. Department of Justice 2003), and it has been shown that American laws are uniquely restrictive on the international scene (Ewald 2003; Manza and Uggen forthcoming). Since laws regulating voting rights for felons and ex-felons are specific to each state -- ranging from states with no restrictions whatsoever to states where lifetime bans on participation are enforced unless the offender is pardoned -- there is wide variation in the size and distribution of the disenfranchised population (Fellner and Mauer 1998; Manza and Uggen forthcoming, chap. 3). A number of studies have suggested that disenfranchisement is likely to have impacted both electoral turnout and even, in a handful of cases, electoral outcomes (e.g., McDonald and Popkin 2001; Uggen and Manza 2002).

The existing research literature has primarily concerned the *political* implications of disenfranchisement. Yet this hardly exhausts the range of important questions that should be considered. One of the most important issues yet to be systematically addressed concerns the relationship between political participation and subsequent criminal activity or recidivism. If voting is unrelated to later criminal behavior, then legal changes that extend the franchise to

convicted felons are unlikely to affect crime or desistance rates. In that case, current policy debates over felon disenfranchisement laws should pivot primarily on questions of political rights and democracy. However, if those who vote are actually less likely to commit new crimes, legal changes easing the right to vote for felons (or even all nonincarcerated felons) may facilitate efforts to reintegrate offenders and reduce rates of recidivism.

Questions about the reintegrative effects of voting can also be framed more broadly. Casting a ballot is merely one type of participation in the civic life of the community, albeit an important one. The right to vote is one of the defining elements of citizenship in a democratic polity (Shklar 1991), and participation in democratic rituals such as elections affirms membership in the larger community for individuals and groups. Yet voting may also be a proxy for other kinds of civic engagement – whether involving activity of some kind or more abstract psychological commitment – which are associated with the avoidance of illegal activity.

Establishing a causal relationship between voting, or civic reintegration more generally, and recidivism would require a large-scale longitudinal survey that tracked released offenders in their communities and closely monitored changes in their political and criminal behavior. At present, no such data exist.¹ Nevertheless, it is possible to bring some empirical data to bear on this question now. In this paper, we present a simple analysis of the

¹ There are longitudinal studies such as the National Longitudinal Study of Youth or the Panel Study of Income Dynamics that include some information about criminal background, but these surveys do not include information about political participation. The handful of election panel studies, such as the panels associated with the American National Election Study, do not include any information about criminal history.

relationship between voting and crime using data we have collected from the Youth Development Study, a prospective longitudinal investigation of a cohort of former Minnesota public school students.

In the paper, we first establish a correlation between voting and crime by examining whether those who voted in the 1996 presidential election had lower rates of arrest, incarceration, and self-reported crime than those who did not participate in this election. We then conduct a logistic regression analysis to test whether this correlation is spurious due to factors that are associated with both voting and crime. By statistically controlling for prior self-reported and official criminal behavior and background factors such as race, gender, education, employment, and marital status, we can learn the extent to which the raw correlation is due to the self-selection of persons at low risk of crime into voting. While this approach cannot firmly establish political participation as a cause of desistance from crime, it allows us to adjust the observed effects of voting for the most important alternative hypotheses and sources of spuriousness.

CIVIC REINTEGRATION AND DESISTANCE FROM CRIME

Insights from Criminology and Prior Research

Why might we expect there to be a relationship between political participation and recidivism? We have solid empirical evidence that former criminal offenders who enter stable work (Sampson and Laub 1990; Uggen 2000) and family relationships (Laub, Nagin, and Sampson 1998) are most likely to desist from crime. In addition to finding solid employment and family situations, convicted felons are expected to return to their

communities and either resume or begin their lives as active and law-abiding citizens. The primary causal mechanism hypothesized in these studies is one of age-graded informal social controls, in which attachment to social institutions such as families and labor markets increase the reciprocal obligations between people and provide individuals with a stake in conforming behavior (Sampson and Laub 2003). Social-psychological theories of symbolic interactionism, while differing from informal social control theories in some respects, make a similar prediction that the assumption of work and family roles facilitates the development of an identity as a productive and responsible law-abiding citizen (Matsueda and Heimer 1997; Uggen, Manza, and Behrens 2003).

Although they have received scant research attention in the study of desistance from crime, reintegration as a voting member of one's community would appear to be a logical analog to work and family reintegration. As Shadd Maruna notes in a recent study of desistance, the desire to "be productive and give something back to society" appears to be critical to the desistance process (2001, p. 88). However, much of the research on this question has been based on small-scale interview projects, or correlational studies based on highly selected samples.

We first encountered the possibility that civic reintegration may be connected to motivations for desistance in a series of in-depth interviews we conducted with convicted felons in Minnesota (Uggen, Manza, and Behrens 2003). The offenders we interviewed often spoke passionately about the stigma of a felony conviction and told us that losing the right to vote, in particular, was a powerful symbol of their status as "outsiders." As Steven, an older male probationer, told us: "on top of the whole messy pile, there it was. Something that was hardly mentioned, and it meant a lot." Pamela, a female prisoner, felt the loss of voting rights

as additional “salt in the wound” and “another loss to add to the pile” of problems she was encountering as a result of her criminal convictions. In that study, we argued that civic reintegration and the adoption of a role identity as an active citizen may facilitate desistance from crime and reintegration into other social institutions.

Yet while many of the prisoners, probationers, and parolees we met regretted the loss of their ability to participate as citizens in their communities, they were often skeptical about drawing any direct connection between voting and subsequent criminality. Andrew, a probationer in his twenties, thought it “would be a stretch” to tie voting to recidivism:

To me that would be a stretch...I think that people who are more likely to vote are, you know, just at different points in their life, and I just think that the people [who] are more likely to commit crimes aren't gonna either commit those crimes or not commit those crimes because they have the ability to, to vote. I just don't think that voting's gonna be a priority to them.

Larry, a young prisoner, echoed these sentiments in arguing that “people that are gonna get into crime are gonna do it whether they have the right to vote or not.” Similarly, Alex, in the midst of a long prison sentence, doubted the link between voting and recidivism:

I don't think that would have anything to do with it [committing future crime], the right to vote.... I mean I had the right to vote before I came to prison, but I still let my crime happen. I don't go around beating up on people as a hobby or anything. But it just happened. But I don't see voting as having an effect on criminal behavior.

Other felons described voting as “a small factor,” or as a possible deterrent to committing future felonies. In short, our interviews showed us that while many convicted felons care deeply about disenfranchisement and other civil disabilities, they were on the whole unconvinced that voting in itself would affect subsequent criminal behavior.

Insights from Democratic Theory

A second source of inspiration for the idea that political participation may be linked to reduced likelihood of criminal behavior comes from the literature on democracy. While conventional theories of why democracy is valued typically center on either the uses of democracy as an instrument for citizens to control their government – through elections, public opinion, or popular revolts – the benefits of democracy for the individuals who participate in democratic processes has also been passionately argued by some democratic theorists (Mill 1977; Pateman 1970; Barber 1984). In this view of democracy, individuals become citizens in part through the “educative” or “constitutive” impact of political participation.

This view was first suggested by Tocqueville and Mill, with the latter’s classical statement explicitly referencing Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America*. For Mill (1977), when citizens participate regularly in politics they develop an explicit identification with the polity and its values. In this sense, democracy fosters citizenship, the capacities of individual citizens, and their identification with the polity and its norms. In the narrowest reading of the constitutive argument, political participation produces citizens who believe that they have a stake in the political system with a generalized sense of efficacy, and this in turn fosters continued political participation (Conway 2000, pp. 185-86). Some classical studies have provided some evidence in support of this view (cf. Almond and Verba 1963; Milbraith 1977; Jennings and Niemi 1981). More recently, the National Commission on Electoral Reform endorsed the idea that the more individuals participate in the political process, the more likely they are to consider it fair (Hansen 2001).

Theories of “expressive voting” (Winkler 1993; Scheussler 2000; cf. Thompson 2001, chap. 1) and communitarian and republican theories of government (such as McIntyre 1981; Levinson 1988; Michelman 1989; Sandel 199x) hold that the right to vote is important precisely because it helps make individuals into democratic citizens. In the words of one legal theorist, “the vote should be protected not simply because it enables individuals to pursue political ends, but also because voting is a meaningful participatory act through which individuals create and affirm their membership in the community and thereby transform their identities both as individuals and as part of a greater collectivity” (Winkler 1993, p. 331). The expressivist theories are now probably the leading response to rational choice models of voter turnout, suggesting that people participate in part because elections give them an opportunity to express their identities (Schuessler 2000; Thompson 2002, pp. 22-24).

More expansive views of the impact of participation have also been developed, but typically in relation to forms of participation that extend beyond the mere act of voting. In her modern reconstruction of the idea of participatory democracy, for example, Pateman (1970, p. 14) argues that

...the major function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is...an educative one...including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of experience in democratic skills and procedures...For a democratic polity to exist it is necessary for a participatory society to exist, i.e., a society where all political systems have been democratized and socialization through participation can take place in all areas.

Other advocates of “strong democracy” (Barber 1984) and deliberative democracy (Habermas 198x; see also Perrin 200x) emphasize forms of participation that go beyond the “mere” act of voting and involve citizens talking about politics (cf. Eliasoph 1998; Perrin 200x). McAdam’s (1988, 1989) analysis of the impact of social movement activism on the

lives of activists and non-activists provides powerful evidence of the constitutive and life-changing experience of high-risk activism.

DATA AND MEASURES

The previous criminological and political theory literatures reviewed in the previous section suggest some possible linkages between civic participation and desistance, but to this point the case remains unproven. Qualitative data from in-depth interviews that we have presented elsewhere (Uggen, Manza and Behrens 2003) are suggestive but not, however, ideally suited for testing ideas about the possible impact of civic integration. And indeed, our interview results hardly provide unambiguous evidence in support of such an impact. To develop a better assessment, we examine some longitudinal survey data containing information about both voting and criminal behavior.

We first explore whether voting is at all related to crime and arrest and then address the thornier issue of whether voting is an independent cause of desistance from crime. We analyze data from the Youth Development Study (YDS), a survey of 1000 persons who began the study in 1988 as ninth-graders in St. Paul, Minnesota public schools. The YDS thus represents a general sample, rather than a focused study of convicted felons. It is useful for our purposes, however, because it is among the very few existing data sets (if not the sole data set) that includes information on both criminal behavior and voting. Self-reported crime and arrest data were collected between 1988 and 2000. Political participation questions for the 1996 election are taken from the twelfth survey wave in 2000, when a total of 757 respondents, aged 26 to 27, remained in the sample. Subsequent criminal behavior is

measured by self-reported indicators of property crimes and violence (reported in 1998 and 1999 for the years 1997 and 1998) and arrest and incarceration (reported in 2000 for the 1997-2000 period). Information on marital status, employment, and educational attainment were taken from the 1995 survey so that these background characteristics would precede both the 1996 voting data and the 1997-2000 information on subsequent criminal behavior. Finally, self-reported crime and arrest data, important statistical controls in this analysis, were taken from retrospective reports of arrest prior to 1996, self-reported drunk driving, shoplifting, and violence.

These longitudinal data are important because a negative statistical association observed between voting and arrest may be an artifact of some unmeasured characteristic such as “propensity for antisocial behavior” that is reflected in both processes. We therefore exploit the longitudinal nature of the YDS to examine the effects of voting on subsequent arrest after statistically controlling for measures of antisocial propensity. In addition to race, sex, education, marital status, and employment, we control for arrest prior to 1996 and three indicators of common self-reported deviance: drunk driving, shoplifting, and hitting or threatening to hit another person. Our goal in this analysis is to determine whether the voting effect is signaling a real “prosocial orientation” linked to desistance from crime, or whether it is simply capturing stable, underlying differences across respondents in social background and criminal history.

Variable descriptions and summary statistics for each of these measures are shown in Table 1. Self-reported turnout rates were relatively high for this Minnesota cohort, with 65 percent of respondents reporting that they voted in 1996, one of the first federal elections in which they would have been eligible to cast ballots, as against XX% of people aged 18-XX

in that election in Minnesota (a high-turnout state).² At the time of the most recent wave of data collection in 2000, approximately 57 percent of the remaining sample was female and about three-fourths of respondents were White.³ By 1995, the cohort had achieved an average of 13.6 years of education and a good number were currently enrolled in post-secondary education. Only 12 percent were married by 1995 and approximately 82 percent were employed.

With regard to official measures of crime, about 9 percent reported being arrested and 7 percent reported being incarcerated at some point in the four years following the 1996 election. Prior to 1996, about 19 percent reported being arrested. With regard to self-reported criminality, we consider both property and violent offenses. About 38 percent of the sample indicated that they had committed at least one property crime or act of violence in the 1997-

² There are a number of methodological issues raised by reliance on self-reported turnout.

Some non-voting survey respondents claim to have voted, although overreporting rates tend to be higher among better-educated and more privileged groups with much lower levels of criminal activity (Bernstein et al. 2001).

³ As in other longitudinal surveys, race and family income are associated with sample attrition in the YDS. In supplementary analysis, however, we found no evidence that estimates reported here are biased by sample selectivity or attrition. For example, the magnitude and direction of the voting effects appear to be consistent across income and racial groups, although the estimated standard errors are larger and fewer of the relationships are statistically significant in the subgroup analyses. More complete information about YDS sample attrition can be found in Mortimer (2003), and further details about the crime measures are reported in Uggen and Janikula (1999).

1998 period. The property crime indicator flags those who reported shoplifting, theft, forgery, and burglary. Overall, approximately 13 percent of the sample reported at least one of these offenses in 1997 or 1998. The violence indicator measures those reporting hitting or threatening to hit someone, being involved in a physical fight, or robbing someone by force. The prevalence of this indicator is about 38 percent overall.

[Table 2 about here]

In sum, the YDS sample reflects the St. Paul, Minnesota community from which it is drawn (see Mortimer 2003, p. 241; Finch et al. 1991), tracking a cohort of young adults as they gain eligibility to vote, transition to adult work and family roles, and desist from crime and minor deviance. As in other samples of young adults from the general population (see, e.g., Elliott 2002; Johnston, Bachman, O'Malley, and Schulenberg 2001), we find high rates of self-reported crime and deviance, low rates of arrest, and age-appropriate levels of marital formation, employment, and educational attainment.

RESULTS

Bivariate Relationships

We first examine the most basic question about the relationship between political participation and criminality. Is there any correlation between voting and crime, arrest, and incarceration? Figure 1 shows the bivariate relationship between voting in 1996 and

subsequent arrest and incarceration. The figure shows clear differences in arrest and incarceration by levels of political participation. Approximately 16 percent of the non-voters were arrested between 1997 and 2000, relative to about 5 percent of the voters. Similarly, approximately 12 percent of the non-voters were incarcerated in jail or prison between 1997 and 2000, relative to less than 5 percent of the voters. Both of these contrasts represent statistically significant differences ($p < .001$) between those who participated in the 1996 election and those who did not participate.

[Figure 1 about here]

The YDS is a heterogeneous sample with regard to criminal history, but approximately 80 percent of the respondents had no prior arrests at the time of the 1996 election. We therefore split the sample into two groups to distinguish those with a prior arrest history from those with no such history. This allows us to learn whether the bivariate correlation shown in Figure 1 holds across levels of criminal history. Figure 2 suggests that this is indeed the case. Among former arrestees, about 27 percent of the non-voters were rearrested, relative to 12 percent of the voters. These results suggest that there is at least a correlation between voting in 1996 and recidivism in 1997-2000 among people who have had some official contact with the criminal justice system.

[Figure 2 about here]

In Minnesota, those convicted of felonies may not vote until they have completed all prison, parole, or probation supervision. Therefore, it may be the case that the differences in rearrest by voting status are due to *legal* restrictions on the ability of arrestees to vote – some of them may have been ineligible to vote in the 1996 election. The contrast shown in the right-hand side of Figure 2, however, suggests that this is unlikely to explain the correlation between voting and subsequent arrest. Among those with no prior arrest history, about 10 percent of the non-voters were arrested, compared to less than 4 percent of the voters. Although there is less statistical power to detect these effects in the subgroup analysis in Figure 2 than in the analysis shown in Figure 1, both of these contrasts are again statistically significant ($p < .05$). Therefore, the relationship between voting and subsequent arrest does not appear to depend on criminal history.

Arrest is an important measure of official contact with the criminal justice system, but a flawed measure of criminal behavior (see, e.g., Huizinga and Elliott 1986). Many crimes go unreported and official arrest data may be subject to biases relating to class, race, and other factors. If civic participation is truly related to desistance from crime, however, voting effects should be visible on self-reported criminal behavior as well as arrest and incarceration. Figure 3 considers the relationship between voting and common property crimes and violent behavior. The figure indicates that about 11 percent of the voters reported a property crime, compared to about 18 percent of the non-voters. Similarly, about 27 percent of the voters reported violence, relative to about 42 percent of the non-voters. Both of these contrasts represent statistically significant differences ($p < .01$).

[Figure 3 about here]

After examining Figures 1, 2, and 3, the answer to our first question about the basic relationship between crime and voting is clear: there is a bivariate relationship. Those who vote are significantly less likely to be arrested and incarcerated, and significantly less likely to report committing a range of property and violent offenses.

[Figure 3 about here]

Multivariate Analysis

Although Figures 1, 2, and 3 present an intriguing pattern of results, they show a correlation that may or may not be indicative of an underlying causal relationship. As our interviews with prisoners suggested, it seems likely that voting is correlated with other factors that are closely related to arrest. For example, race and sex are related to both processes. Women and whites had significantly higher turnout rates than men and African Americans in the 1996 election (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003:253) as well as significantly lower rates of arrest (U.S. Department of Justice 2003:354-56). Similarly, education is a very strong predictor of voter turnout in these data (Uggen and Manza 2002) and is also linked to crime and arrest (U.S. Department of Justice 2000b).

[Table 2 about here]

Table 2 shows the effects of 1996 voter turnout on arrest in 1997-2000. Model 1 shows the significant bivariate association reported above in Figure 1. The exponentiated logistic regression coefficients may be interpreted as changes in the odds of arrest in these equations, such that the -1.044 voting effect in Model 1 indicates a rate of arrest for voters that is a little more than one-third the corresponding rate for non-voters ($e^{-1.044} = .35$). Model 2, however, shows that a good portion of this voting effect on arrest is explained by differences in race, gender, and education levels of voters and non-voters. Net of education, marital and employment status are only weak predictors at this stage of the life course (most respondents were approximately 21-22 years of age in 1995). Whites, females, and those with greater education are unlikely to be arrested, relative to non-whites, males, and those with fewer years of education. Nevertheless, the effect of voting is not rendered spurious by the inclusion of these background characteristics.

Finally, in Model 3, we no longer detect a statistically significant voting effect ($p = .110$) when the effects of prior criminal behavior and arrest are statistically controlled. This suggests that the voting effect is at least partially a product of antisocial propensity – insofar as we can name and measure this construct with prior arrest and deviance indicators. Although the effect of voting is no longer statistically significant in Model 3 in either the arrest or incarceration models (the latter is not shown, but available upon request), this should not lead to the conclusion that it is irrelevant to desistance or reintegration. It is difficult to detect significant differences in predicting a relatively rare event such as arrest in a sample of this size. Moreover, the magnitude and direction of the voting effect suggest that further investigation is warranted.

We next consider the relation between voting and self-reported crime and deviance in Table 3. Voting in 1996 is again a strong negative predictor in the equation predicting any self-reported crime in 1997-1998. For this analysis, the indicator flags any crime, whether it is a property offense (shoplifting, theft, forgery, and burglary) or an act of violence (hitting or threatening to hit, fighting, and robbery). Although the voting effect is partially mediated by background characteristics and prior criminal behavior in Models 2 and 3, respectively, political participation remains a statistically significant predictor in all models. In the final model, which adjusts voting effects for the effects of prior official and self-reported criminal history, the odds of committing any self-reported crime are approximately .60 times as high for voters as for non-voters ($e^{-.508} = .60$).

As with the arrest outcome, the self-reported crime results again show a strong correlation between voting and criminal behavior. In contrast to the final arrest model, however, a statistically significant voting effect remains in all 3 models predicting any crime of property or violence. When the crime items are examined individually, or added in a summative scale and analyzed using ordinary least squares regression, the results tend to parallel those shown in the figures and Tables 2 and 3. A large bivariate relationship is partially mediated by indicators of socioeconomic status (mainly education) and prior official and self-reported criminal behavior. Regardless of the particular crime outcome we examined, the voting effect is consistently negative in direction but does not consistently reach standard levels of statistical significance ($p < .05$) in the final models that include all of the relevant statistical controls.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Taken as a whole, this analysis suggests that a relationship between voting and subsequent crime and arrest is not only plausible, but also that it receives some degree of empirical support. We find consistent differences between voters and non-voters in rates of subsequent arrest, incarceration, and self-reported criminal behavior. While the single behavioral act of casting a ballot is unlikely to be the single factor that turns felons' lives around, it is likely that voting is tapping something real, such as a desire to participate as a law-abiding stakeholder in a larger society. At the very least, our multivariate analysis suggests that not all of the effect of political participation is due to preexisting differences in criminal history or race, class, and gender differences between voters and non-voters.

Nevertheless, a substantial portion of the association between voting and subsequent criminality appears to be due to these processes of selection, mostly a result of the greater educational attainment of voters and their less serious criminal histories. While criminal histories are not amenable to intervention, education is at the heart of ongoing correctional efforts to reintegrate felons. Moreover, a general education program that worked in concert with citizenship education and political participation may be especially effective in facilitating desistance from crime. For example, Larry, one of the prisoners we interviewed, advocated strongly for greater educational resources:

I think education is underrated. There's not enough of it. They don't think about it enough. I mean there should be more education. They keep taking it away. You know, I was going to [names university] through their program in [names city], and they took the program away. About a year later they brought a smaller version of it back, but still it's not the same as it was.

When asked about whether civics education might be effective in prison, Larry responded:

I think that'd be a really good idea though because most of us, and, you know, me included, don't really think about my place in society as a citizen. ... It's

just about, “What’s going with me and my immediate surroundings? ,” you know? “What’s going to affect me?” Instead of, “Where do I stand as a citizen?” That’d be interesting.

While these ideas are largely speculative, we can take from this study both provisional support for the idea of civic reintegration through voting, and confirmation of the skepticism expressed by some of the prison inmates and probationers we interviewed. Voting appears to be part of a package of prosocial behavior that is linked to desistance from crime, but its unique independent contribution is likely to be small relative to pressing socioeconomic needs, family support, and other factors. With this caveat in mind, however, voting remains the most powerful symbol of stake-holding in our democracy. To the extent that felons begin to vote and participate as citizens in their communities, it seems likely that many will bring their behavior into line with the expectations of the citizen role, avoiding further contact with the criminal justice system.

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Table 1. Variable Descriptions and Descriptive Statistics for Youth Development Study

Variable	Description	Percentage/ Mean
<i>Voting</i>		
1996 voting	Percentage reporting voting in the 1996 presidential election.	65.2
<i>Background</i>		
Female	Percentage female	56.5
White	Percentage reporting white race	76.7
Years education in 1995	Number of years of education	13.6 (1.8)
Marriage in 1995	Percentage married	11.6
Employed in 1995	Percentage employed	82.3
<i>Subsequent Crime</i>		
Arrested 1997-2000	Percentage reporting arrest in 1997, 1998, 1999, or 2000	8.82
Incarcerated 1997-2000	Percentage reporting incarceration in jail or prison in 1997, 1998, 1999, or 2000	7.39
Violent crime 1997-1998	Percentage reporting hitting or threatening to hit someone, fighting, or robbing someone	32.3
Property crime 1997-1998	Percentage reporting shoplifting, theft, check forgery, or burglary.	13.4
Any crime 1997-1998	Percentage reporting at least one property or violent offense in 1998 or 1999.	38.3
<i>Prior Deviance</i>		
Arrest prior to 1996	Percentage arrested prior to 1996	18.7
Prior drunk driving	Percentage reporting driving after having too much to drink during high school (1988-91)	28.4
Prior shoplifting	Percentage reporting shoplifting during high school during high school (1988-91)	38.0
Prior violence	Percentage reporting hitting or threatening to hit someone during high school (1988-91)	41.4

Table 2: Logistic Regression Predicting 1997-2000 Arrest Preference

<i>Variable</i>	<i>ARRESTED 1997-2000</i>		
	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>
<i>Political Participation</i>			
1996 voting (1=voted)	-1.044** (.321)	-.677* (.340)	-.563 (.353)
<i>Background</i>			
White (vs. nonwhite)		-.945** (.350)	-1.156** (.377)
Female		-.976** (.346)	-.692* (.379)
1995 years education		-.366** (.108)	-.368** (.112)
1995 married		-.076 (.529)	-.007 (.543)
1995 employed		-.208 (.424)	-.209 (.436)
<i>Prior Deviance</i>			
Arrest prior to 1996			.696# (.382)
Prior drunk driving			.676# (.384)
Prior shoplifting			.847* (.383)
Prior violence			-.610 (.388)
Constant	-1.928** (.218)	3.828** (1.445)	3.213* (1.544)
Number of Cases	579	579	579
-2 Log Likelihood	295.8**	263.7**	248.4**

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. Models also include two dichotomous indicator variables for cases missing education and marital status information.

$p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 3: Logistic Regression Predicting 1997-1998 Self-Reported Crime

<i>ANY PROPERTY/VIOLENCE 1997-98</i>			
<i>Variable</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>
<i>Political Participation</i>			
1996 voting (1=voted)	-.857** (.181)	-.617** (.194)	-.506** (.210)
<i>Background</i>			
White (vs. nonwhite)		-.921** (.222)	-1.002** (.244)
Female		-.503** (.183)	-.110 (.208)
1995 years education		-.154** (.056)	-.129* (.060)
1995 married		.277 (.270)	.479 (.213)
1995 employed		-.347 (.234)	-.304 (.257)
<i>Prior Deviance</i>			
Arrest prior to 1996			.770** (.265)
Prior drunk driving			.253 (.225)
Prior shoplifting			.671** (.208)
Prior violence			1.095** (.202)
Constant	.095 (.146)	3.223** (.786)	1.530 [#] (.858)
Number of Cases	588	588	588
-2 Log Likelihood	760.8**	711.7**	633.7**

Note: Standard errors in parentheses Models also include two dichotomous indicator variables for cases missing education and marital status information.

[#] $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Figure 1. Percentage Arrested and Incarcerated in 1997-2000 among Voters and Non-Voters in 1996

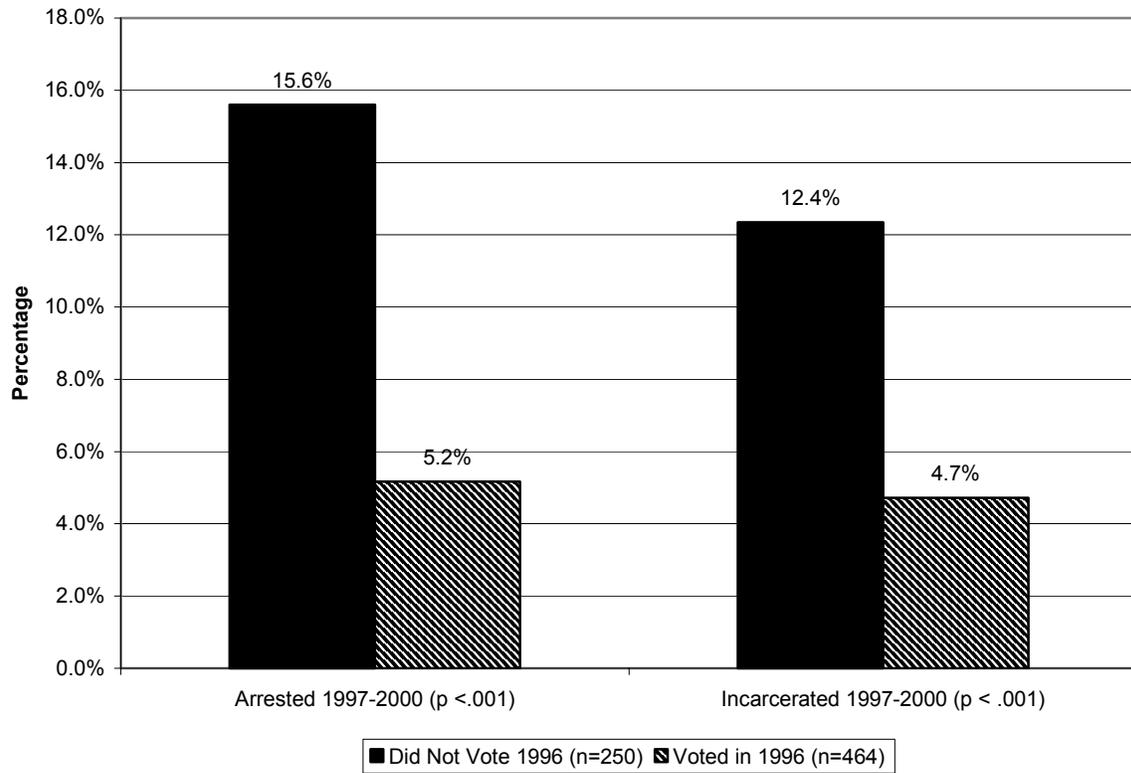


Figure 2. Percentage Arrested in 1997-2000 among Voters and Non-Voters in 1996, by Arrest History

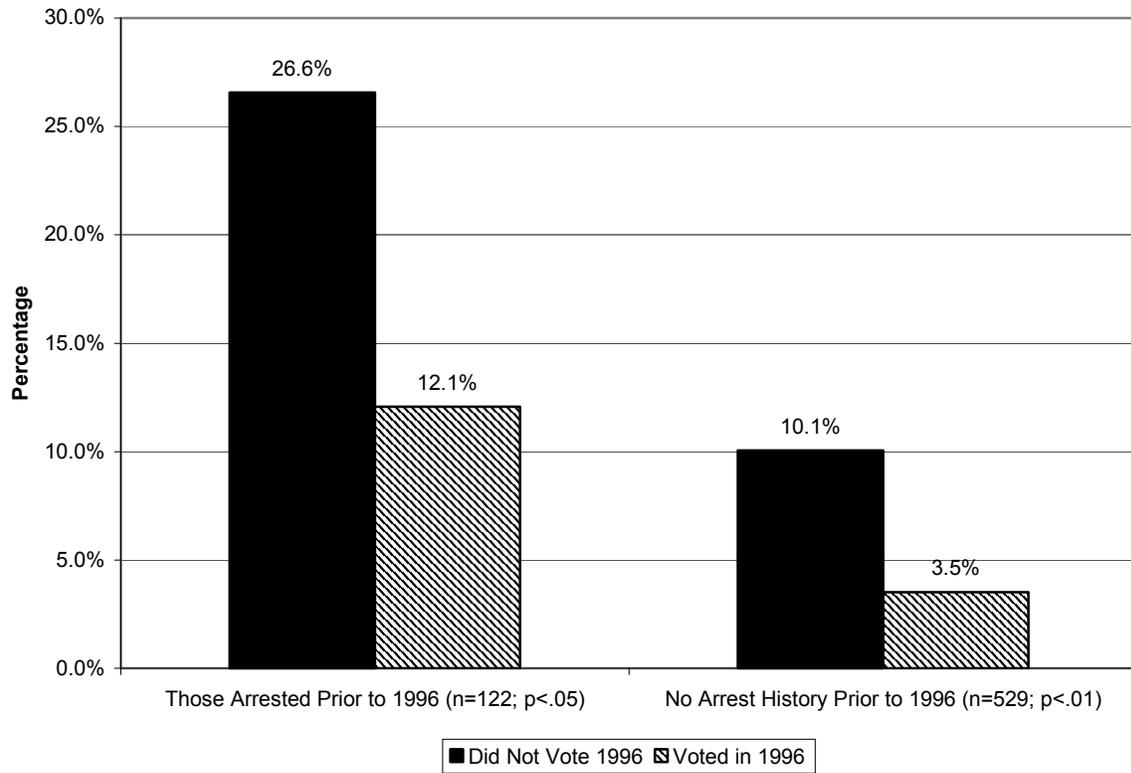


Figure 3. Self-Reported Property Crimes and Violence in 1997-1998 among Voters and Non-Voters in 1996

