Relations before Transactions

Miller Lecture, Georgia State University Law School

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Trend in Median Family Income by Race: 1980-1999

Figure 2. Median Income: Family Households

	Black	White
1980	26,312	44,583
1981	25,203	43,780
1982	24,253	43,154
1983	24,679	43,366
1984	25,221	44,758
1985	26,404	45,527
1986	27,609	47,189
1987	27,608	47,924
1988	27,916	48,194
1989	28,095	48,804
1990	27,914	47,442
1991	27,159	46,762
1992	25,780	46,413
1993	25,620	45,934
1994	28,638	46,466
1995	29,339	47,296
1996	29,196	48,188
1997	31,052	49,258
1998	31,313	50,880
1999	33,805	51,912

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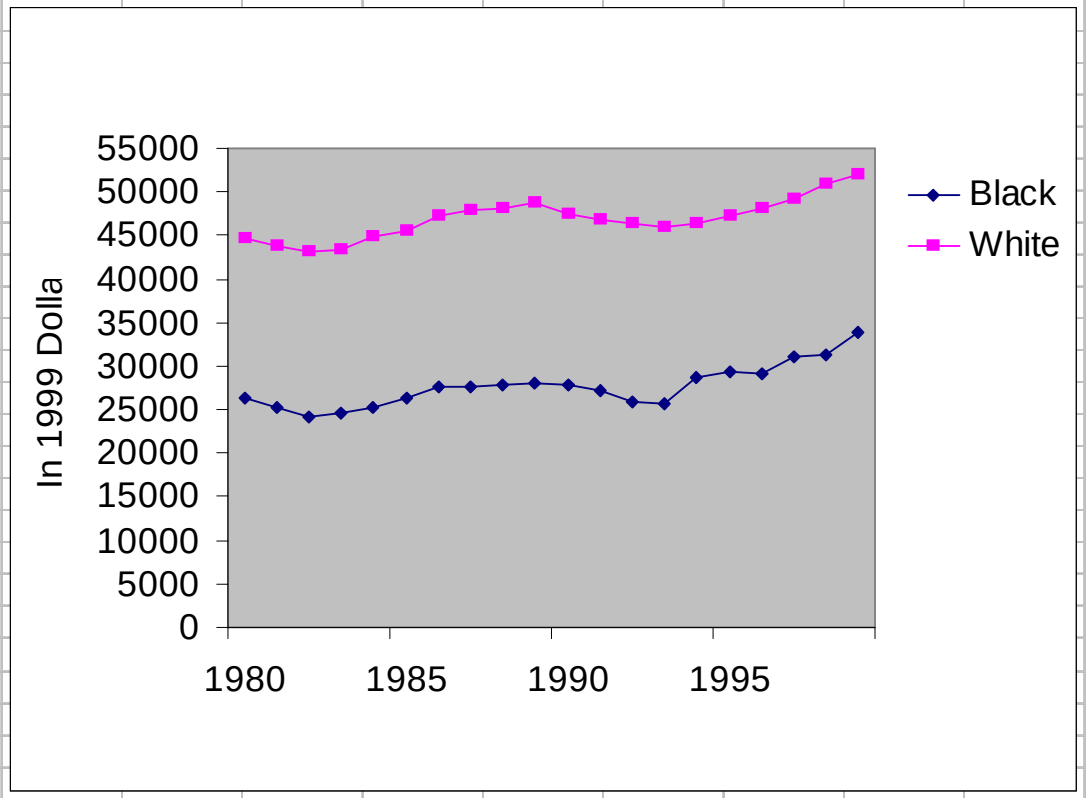

Poverty Rate (Children)

Figure 8. Poverty Rate: Children Under 18

Year	Black	White
1970	41.5	10.5
1971	40.4	10.9
1972	42.7	10.1
1973	40.6	9.7
1974	39.6	11
1975	41.4	12.5
1976	40.4	11.3
1977	41.6	11.4
1978	41.2	11
1979	40.8	11.4
1980	42.1	13.4
1981	44.9	14.7
1982	47.3	16.5
1983	46.2	17
1984	46.2	16.1
1985	43.1	15.6
1986	42.7	15.3
1987	44.4	14.7
1988	42.8	14
1989	43.2	14.1
1990	44.2	15.1
1991	45.6	16.1
1992	46.3	16.5
1993	45.9	17
1994	43.3	16.3
1995	41.5	15.5
1996	39.5	15.5
1997	36.8	15.4
1998	36.4	14.4
1999	32.7	12.9

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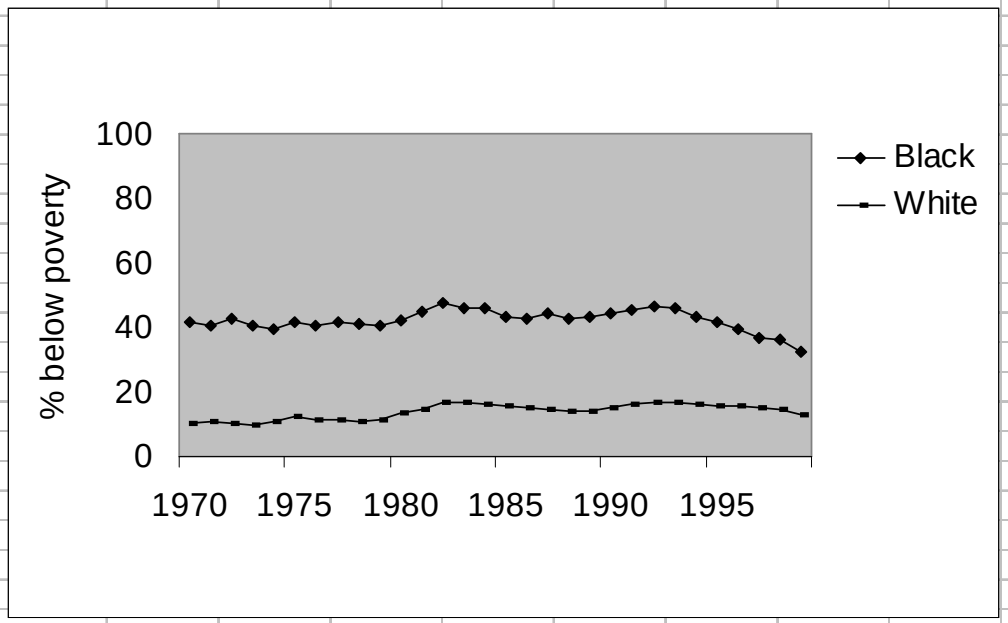


Test Scores

Table 6. Average Test Scores: National Assessment of Educational Progress Tests.

	Mathematics					
		Black			White	
	Age 9	13	17	Age 9	13	17
1973	190	228	270	225	274	310
1978	192.4	229.6	268.4	224.1	271.6	305.9
1982	194.9	240.4	271.8	224	274.4	303.7
1986	201.6	249.2	278.6	226.9	273.6	307.5
1990	208.4	249.1	288.5	235.2	276.3	309.5
1992	208	250.2	285.8	235.1	278.9	311.9
1994	212.1	251.5	285.5	236.8	280.8	312.3
1996	211.6	252.1	286.4	236.8	281.2	313.4
1999	210.9	251	283.3	238.8	283.1	314.8

Scale from 0 to 500:
150-Simple arithmetic facts
200-Beginning skills and understanding
250-Numerical operations and beginning problem solving
300-Moderately complex procedures and reasoning
350-Multi-step problem solving and algebra

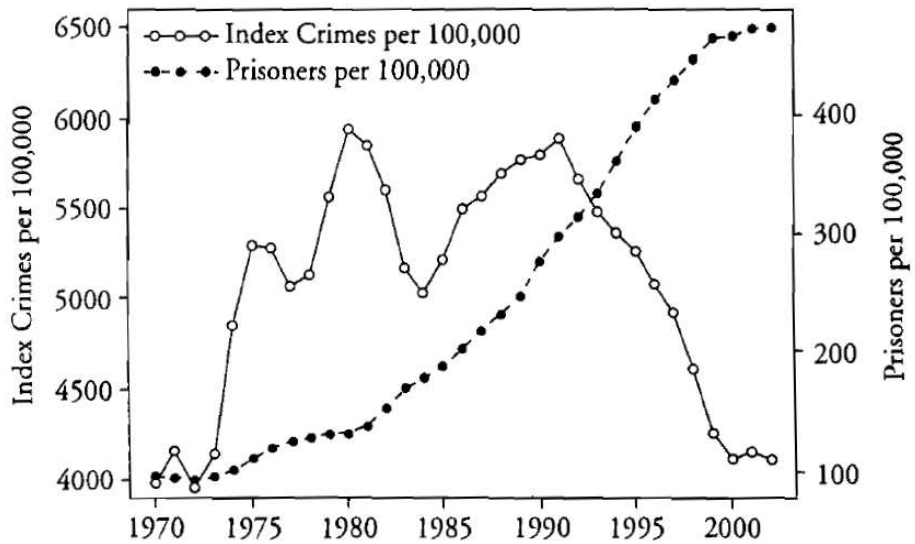
	Reading					
		Black			White	
	Age 9	13	17	Age 9	13	17
1971	170.1	222.4	238.7	214	260.9	291.4
1975	181.2	225.7	240.6	216.6	262.1	293
1980	189.3	232.8	243.1	221.3	264.4	292.8
1984	185.7	236.3	264.3	218.2	262.6	295.2
1988	188.5	242.9	274.4	217.7	261.3	294.7
1990	181.8	241.5	267.3	217	262.3	296.6
1992	184.5	237.6	260.6	217.9	266.4	297.4
1994	185.4	234.3	266.2	218	265.1	295.7
1996	190.9	234	266.1	219.6	265.9	295.1
1999	185.5	238.2	263.9	221	266.7	294.6

Scale from 0 to 500:
150-Simple, discrete reading tasks
200-Partially developed skills and understanding
250-Interrelate ideas and make generalizations.
300-Understand complicated information
350-Learn from Specialized Reading Materials

Source: Campbell, Jay R. , Catherine M. Hombe and John Mazzeo (2000) *NAEP 1999 Trends in Academic Progress: Three decades of student performance.* U.S Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement. National Center for Education Statistics. Washington D.C, Table B.8, B.9 and pages 17, 18

The 1990s: Falling Crime Rates and Rising Imprisonment Rates

Figure 2.1 Trends in Index Crime Rate and Imprisonment



Sources: Crime in the United States (1977, 1991, 2004); Pastore and Maguire (2005, table 628).

Crime Trends: ‘73-’91 vs ‘91-’01

National Trends in Specific Categories of Crime

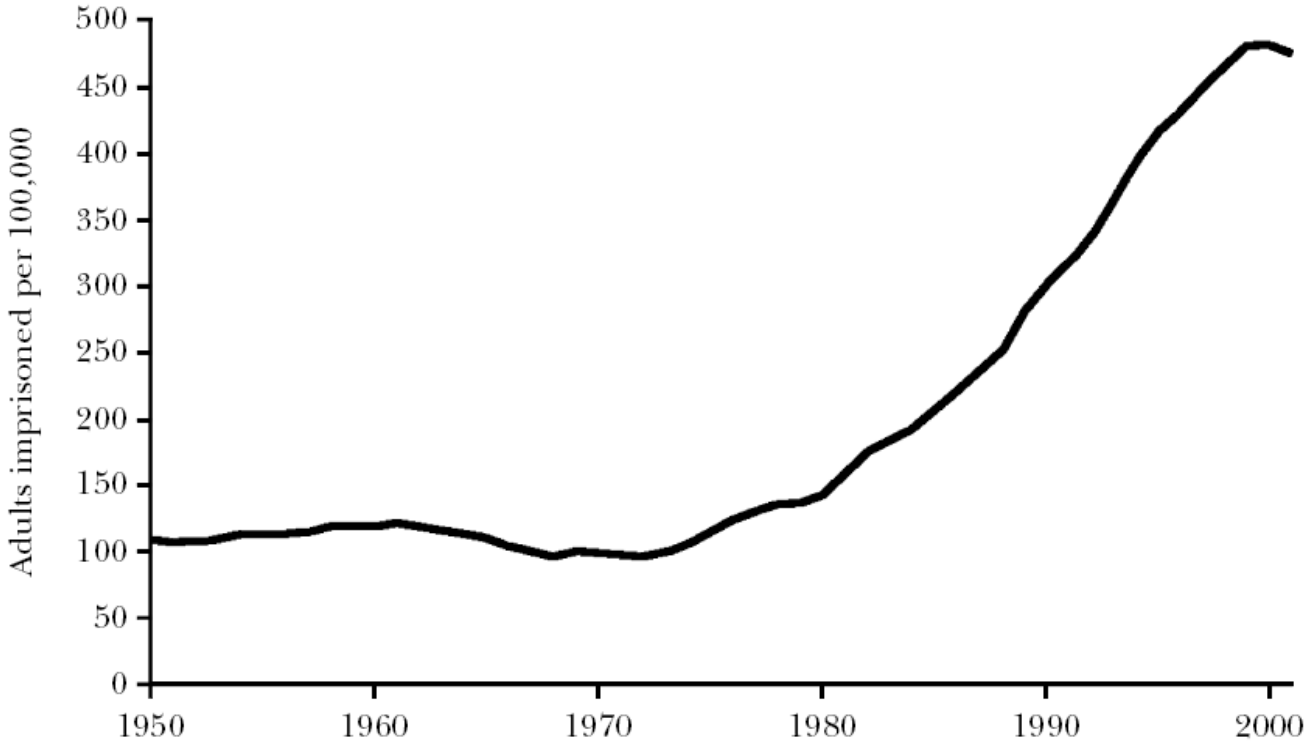
Crime category and data source	*Percentage change in crime category, 1973–1991*	*Percentage change in crime category, 1991–2001*
Crimes reported to the police from UCR		
Violent crime	+82.9	−33.6
Homicide	+5.4	−42.9
Rape	+73.4	−24.8
Robbery	+50.0	−45.8
Aggravated assault	+118.1	−26.7
Property crime	+38.2	−28.8
Burglary	+3.0	−40.9
Larceny	+56.7	−23.2
Motor vehicle theft	+49.8	−34.6
Criminal victimizations from NCVS		
Violent crime	+1.6	−50.1
Rape	−20.0	−45.0
Robbery	−15.5	−53.3
Aggravated assault	−3.9	−56.9
Simple assault	+10.7	−47.0
Property crime	−32.0	−52.8
Burglary	−41.3	−55.6
Theft	−46.5	−51.6
Motor vehicle theft	+16.2	−58.6

Notes: All values in the table are percentage changes in crime rates. Entries in the top panel of the table are based on Uniform Crime Report data collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These changes are defined in terms of victimization rates per capita. Entries in the bottom panel are from the National Crime Victimization Survey. For violent crime, the reported values are percentage changes in crime per person age 12 and older. For property crime, the percentage changes are per household. The calculations in the table correct for the redesign of NCVS that occurred in 1993. Uniform Crime Report data from recent years is available online at ⟨http://www.fbi.gov⟩. NCVS data is available from ⟨http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs⟩.

Imprisonment Rises Sharply

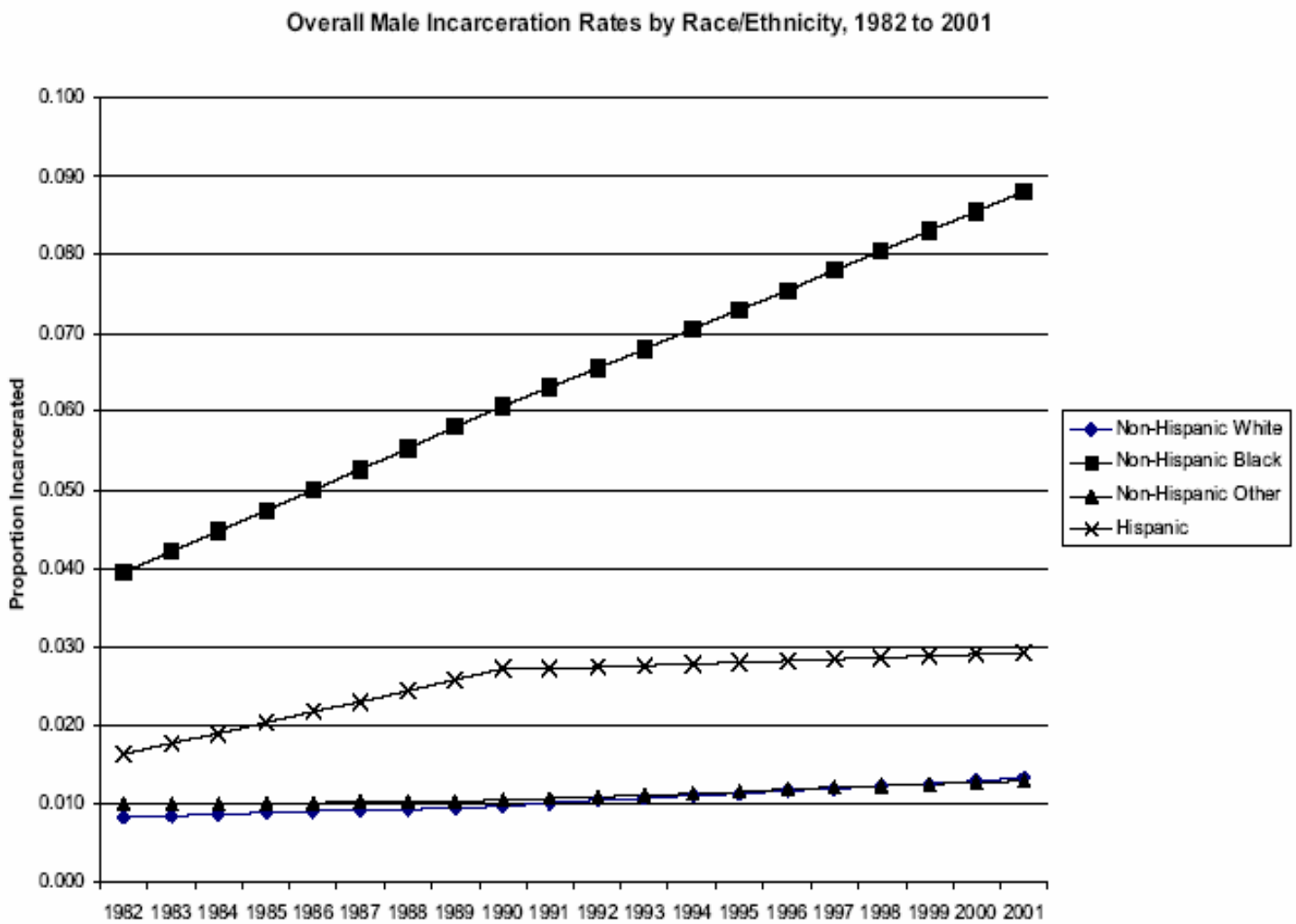
Figure 3

Adult Incarceration Rate, 1950–2001



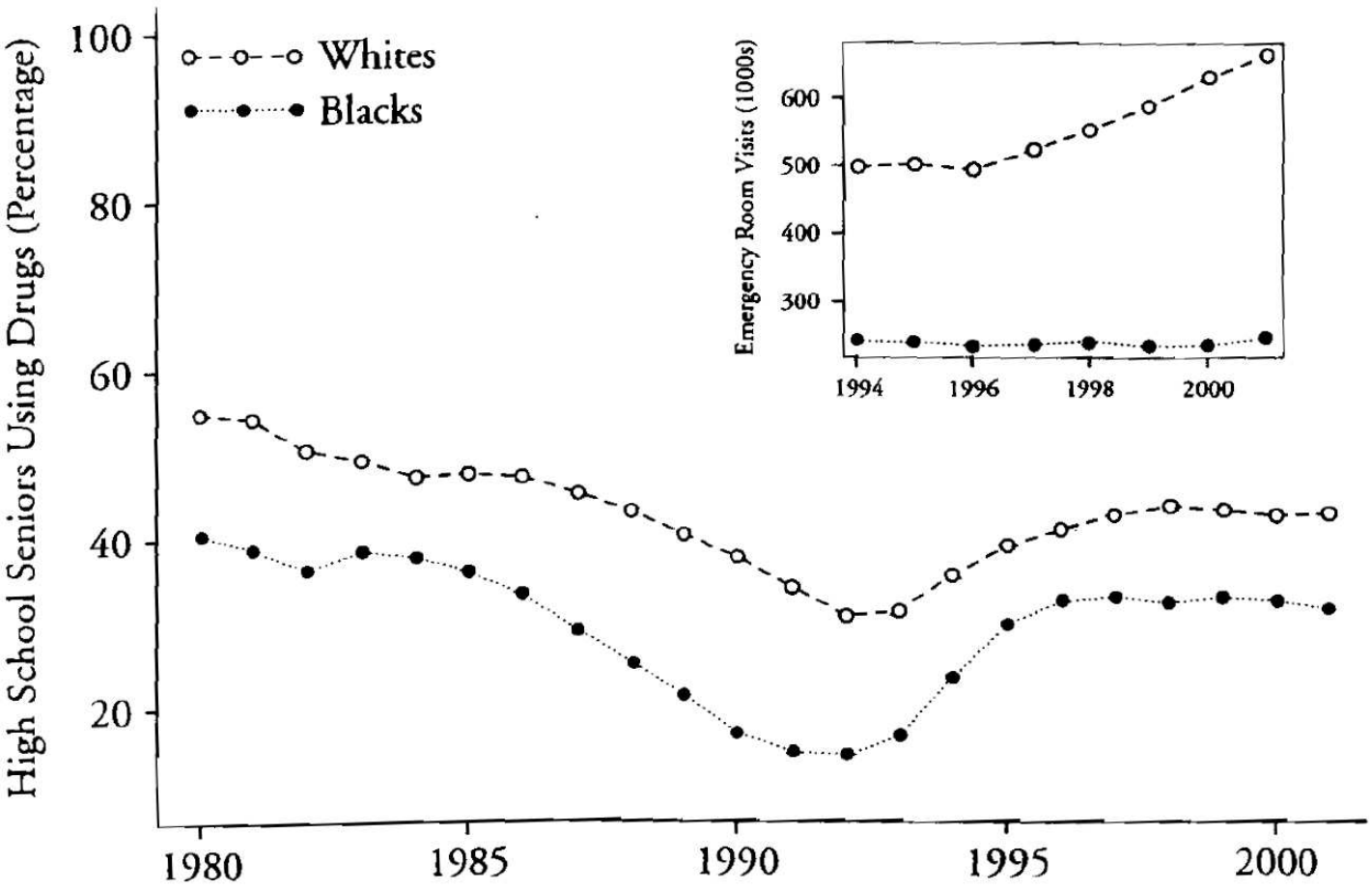
A Huge Racial Disparity in Incarceration

Figure 11



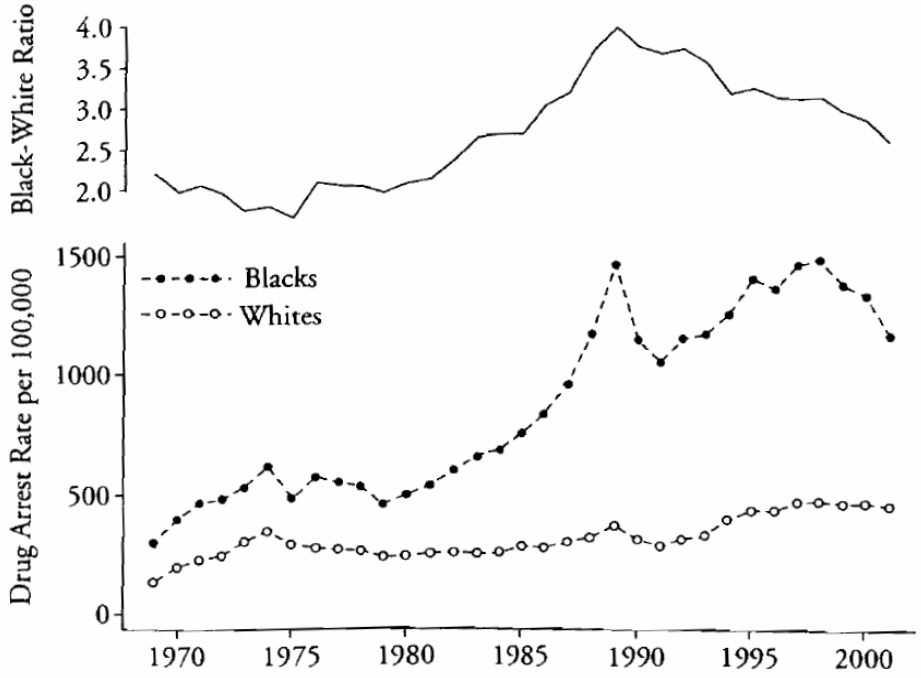
Whites use drugs more than blacks

Figure 2.3 High School Seniors Reporting Drug Use



Blacks arrested more than whites

Figure 2.2 Drug Offenses and Arrest Rate Ratio



Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (1993, 2003).

Notes: Bottom panel shows arrests for drug offenses per 100,000, 1970 to 2001, blacks and whites. Top panel shows black-white ratio of drug arrest rates, 1970 to 2001.

Drug Prices, Emergency Treatment and Incarceration Rates: 1980-2000

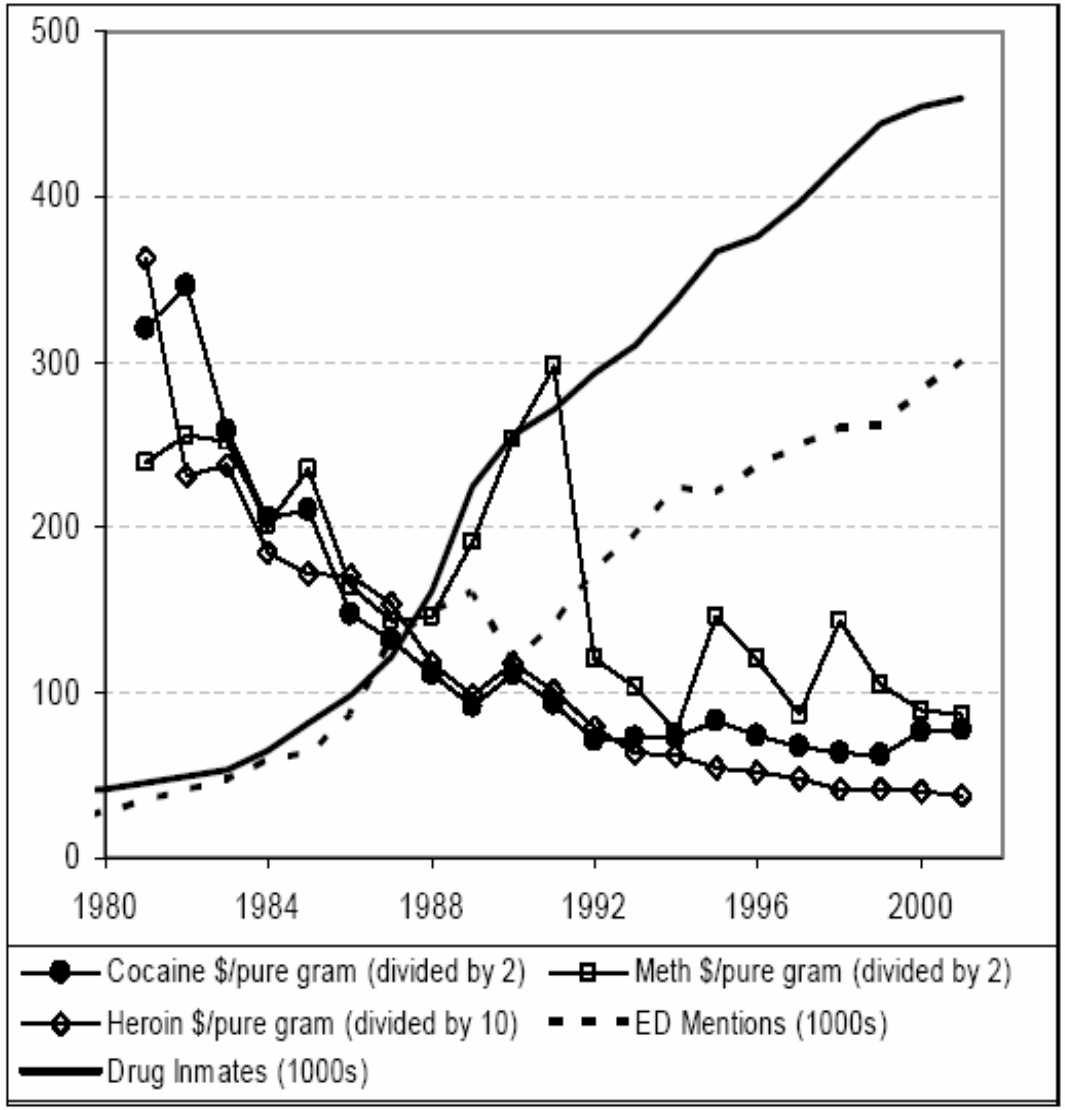
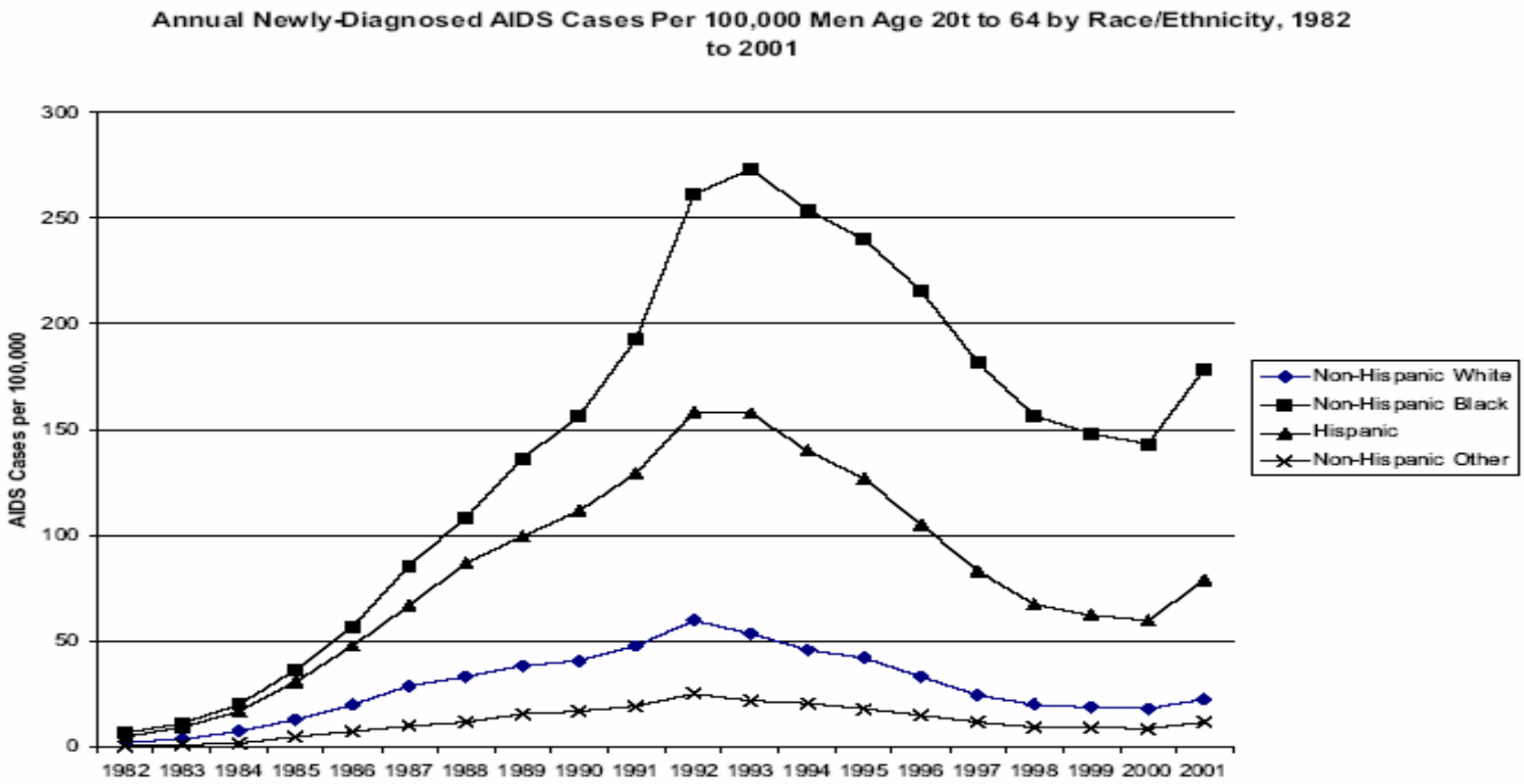


Figure 1. Drug Prices, Drug-Related Emergency Department Mentions and Total Drug-Related Incarceration, 1980-2000.

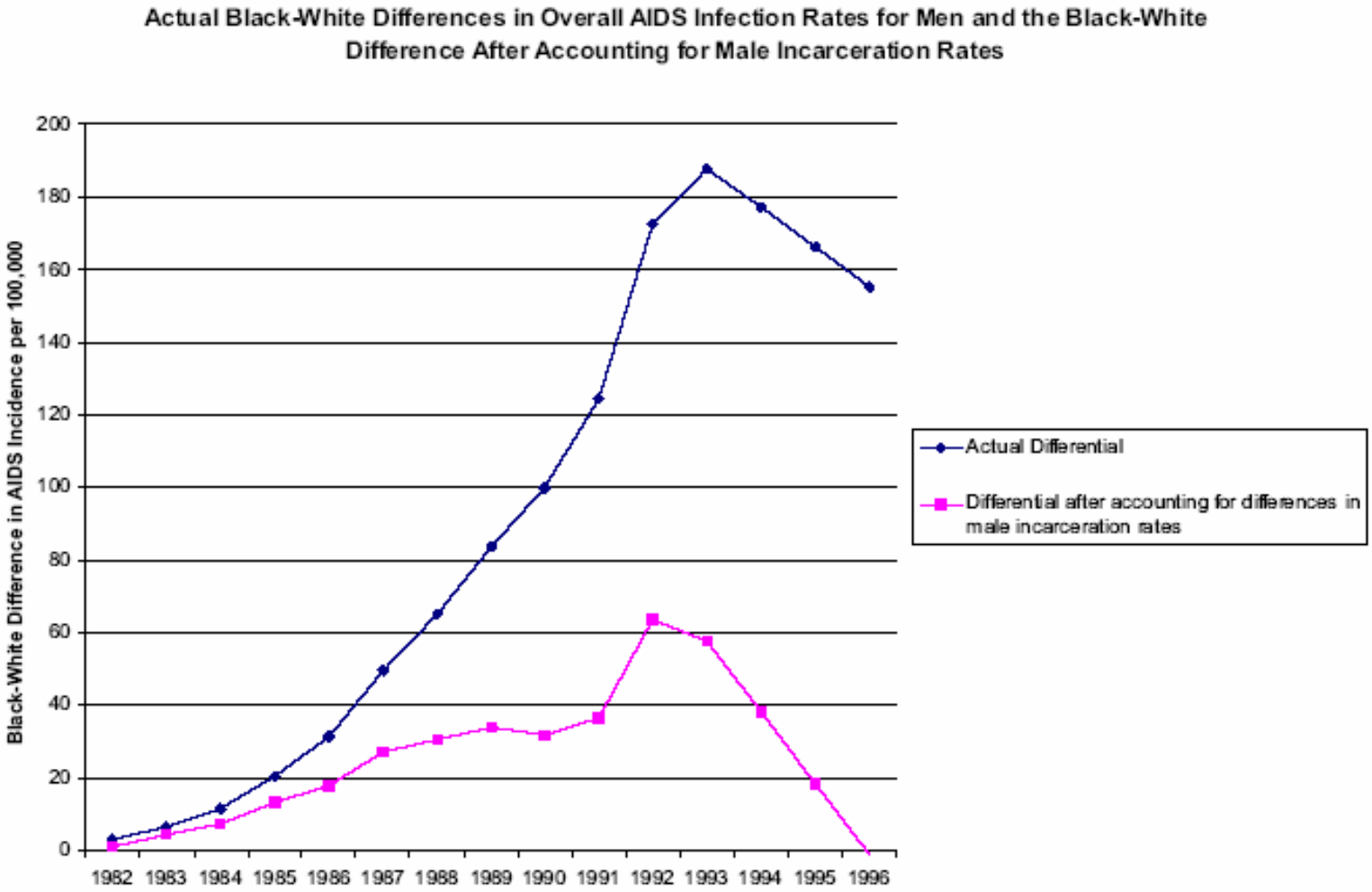
Incarceration and HIV Transmission (Source: Johnson and Raphael 2005)

Figure 1



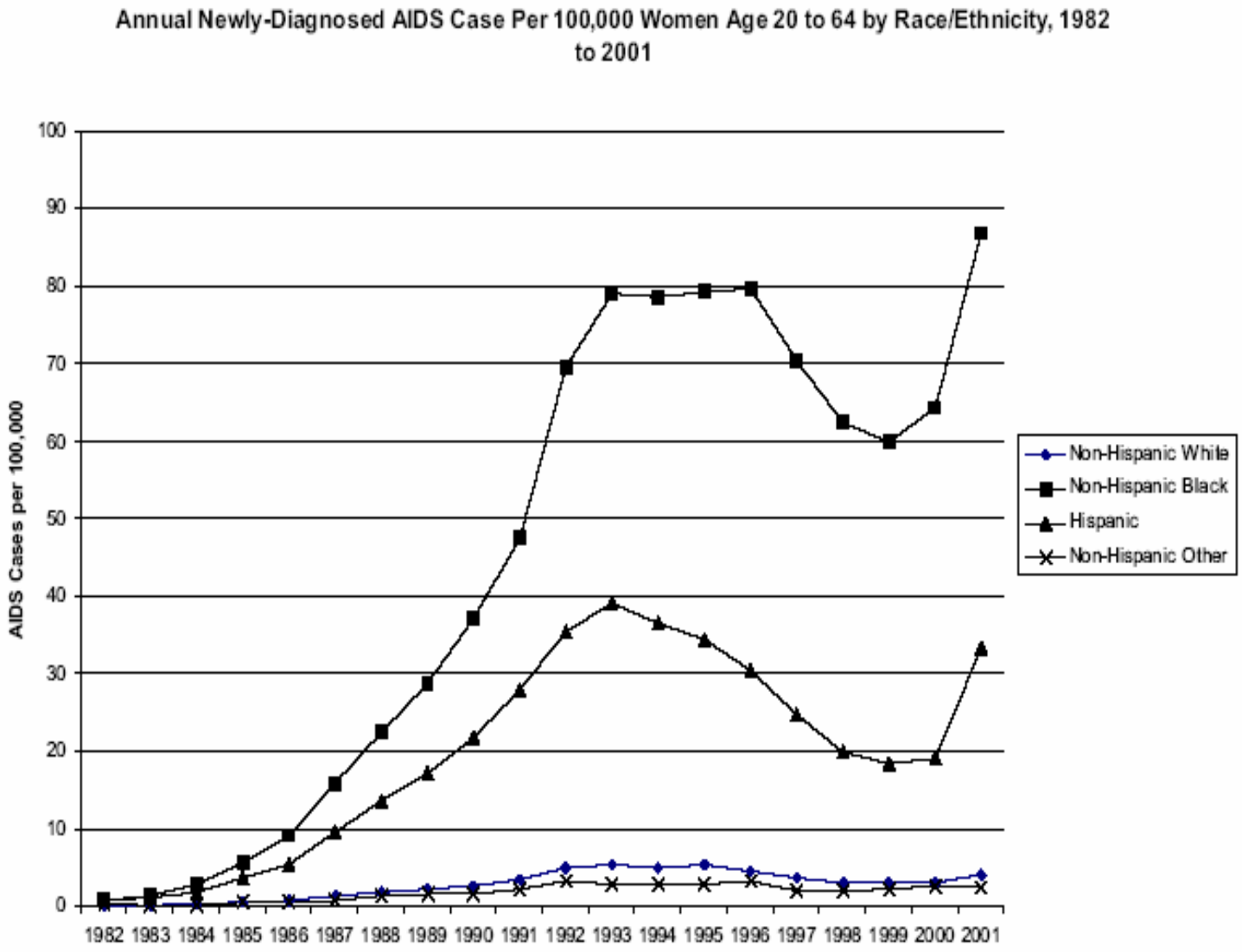
What if no racial disparity in incarceration? (Men)

Figure 15



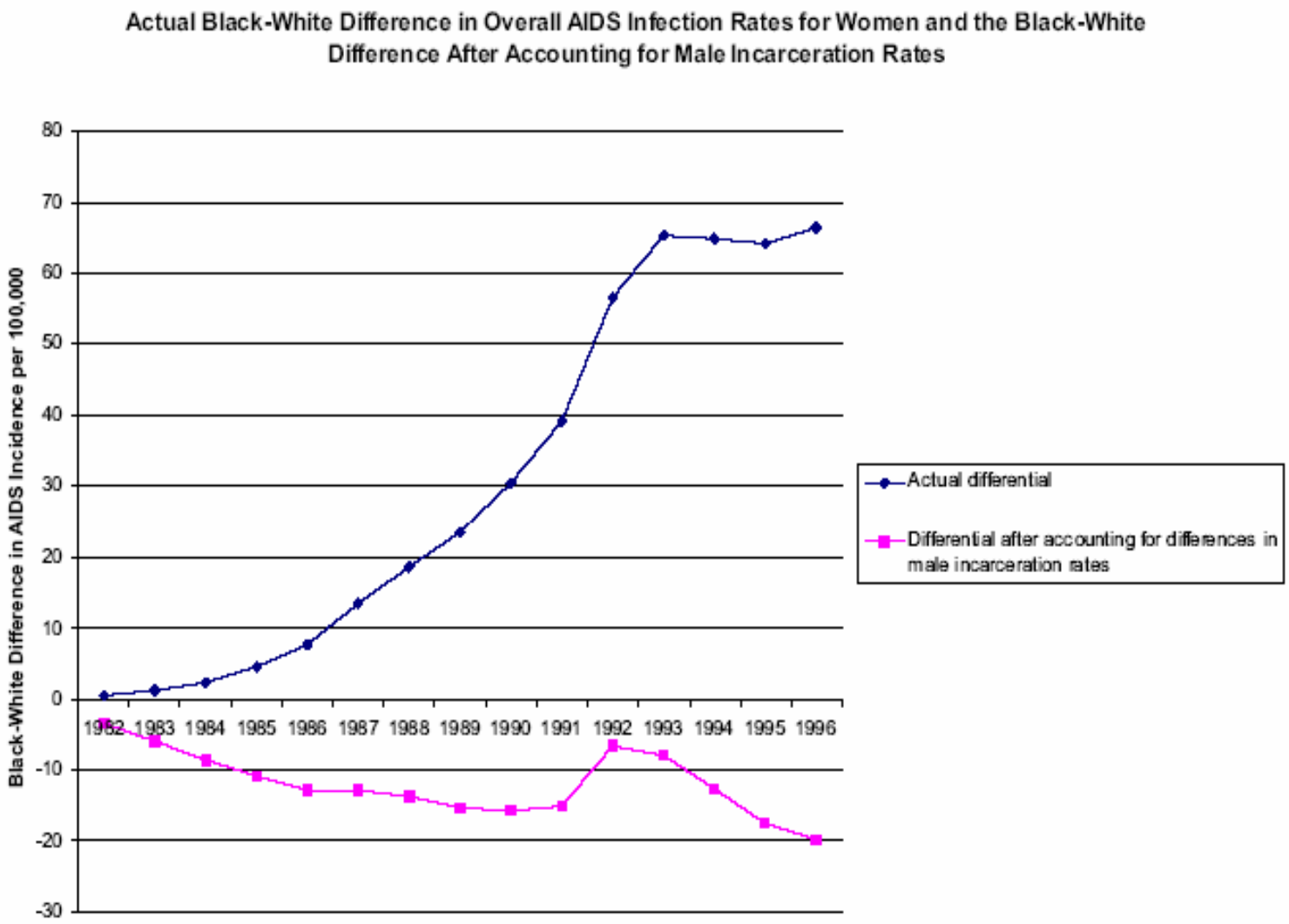
Annual Newly-Diagnosed AIDS Cases (Women)

Figure 2



What if no racial disparity in incarceration? (Women)

Figure 16



Public Policy and Racial/Ethnic Disparities

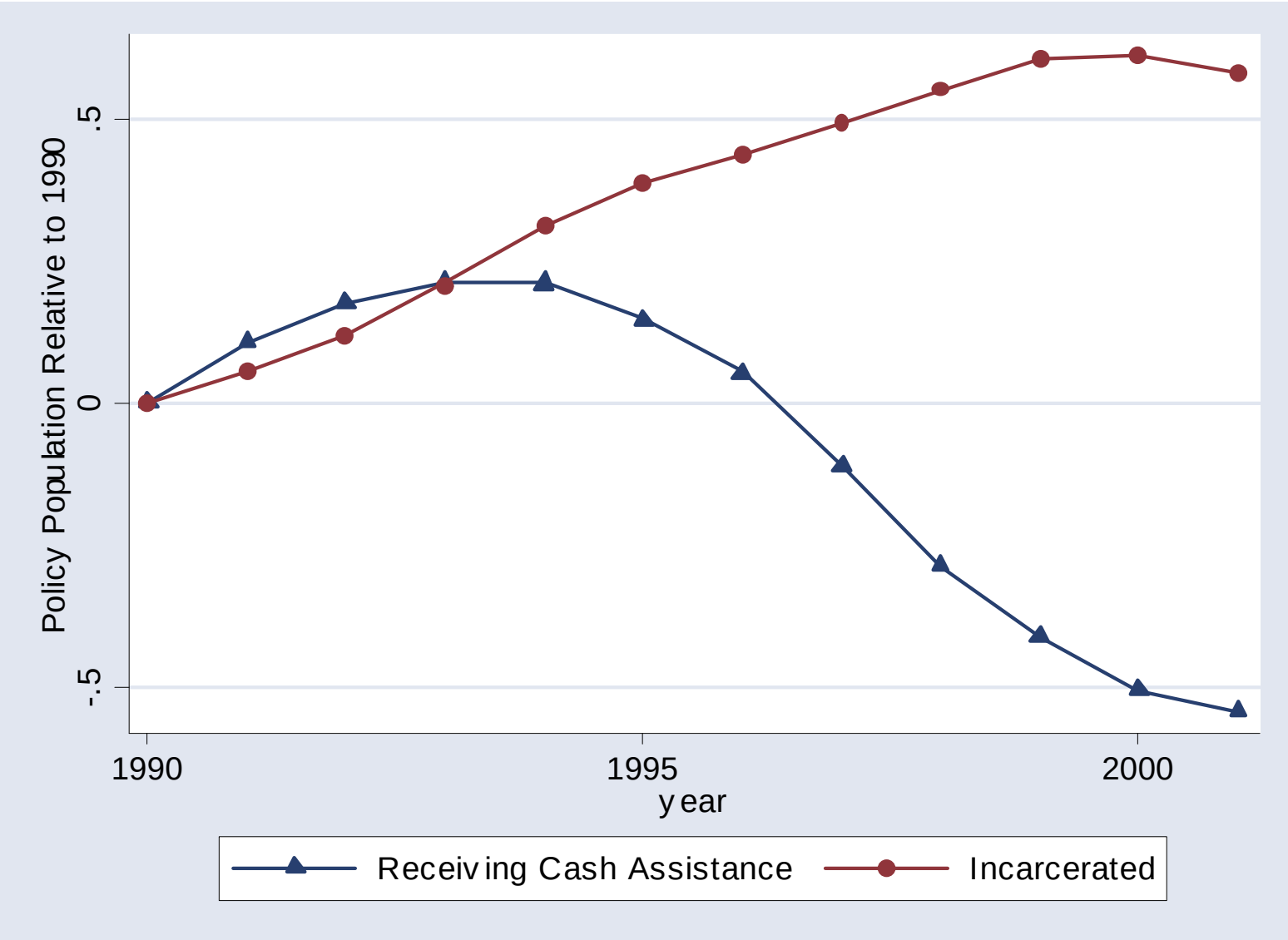
Distributive Disparities: who gets more or less, and why

Civic Disparities: how groups are positioned in relation to one another and vis-à-vis major societal institutions

The Social Question: How can solidarity (or inclusive and equal membership) be achieved in a society divided by ethnic identities as well as material inequalities?

How do public policies organize governance and define terms of membership for different social groups?

The New Poverty Governance: Change in Numbers Incarcerated and Receiving Cash Aid:1990-2000



Civic Incorporation as a Goal of Poverty Policy

Europe

- Unemployment and welfare dependence as problems of “social exclusion”
- Labor activation as a strategy for incorporation into the societal “mainstream”

United States (The New Paternalism)

- Social dysfunction, behavioral pathology, and personal disorganization as sources of societal marginality
- “Telling the Poor What to Do” (Help and Hassle)
  - Directive, supervisory, and punitive policies
  - Supports to enable preferred behavior

Mid-1960s: a policy long racialized *in practice* becomes racialized in media coverage and in the public mind

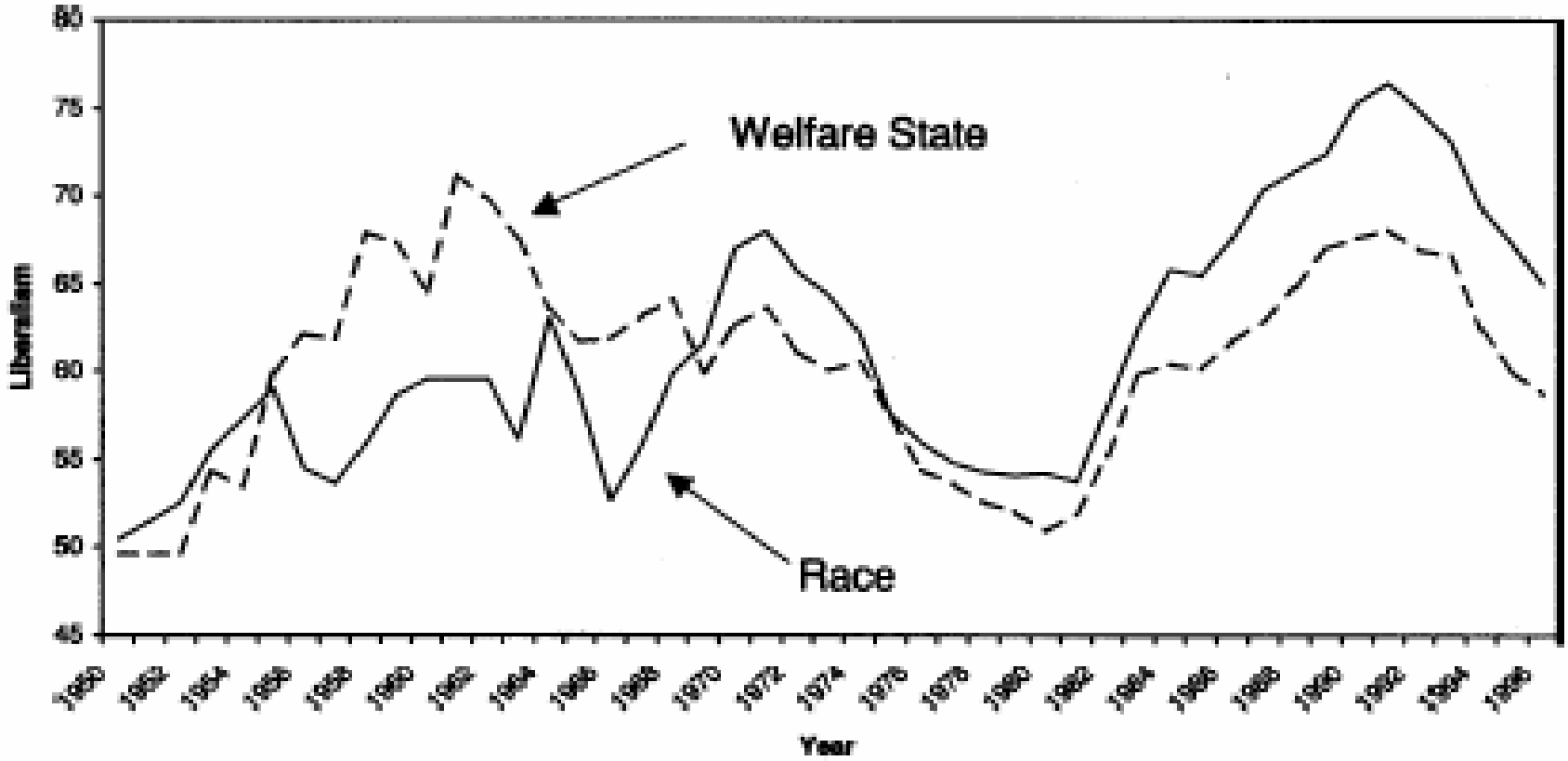
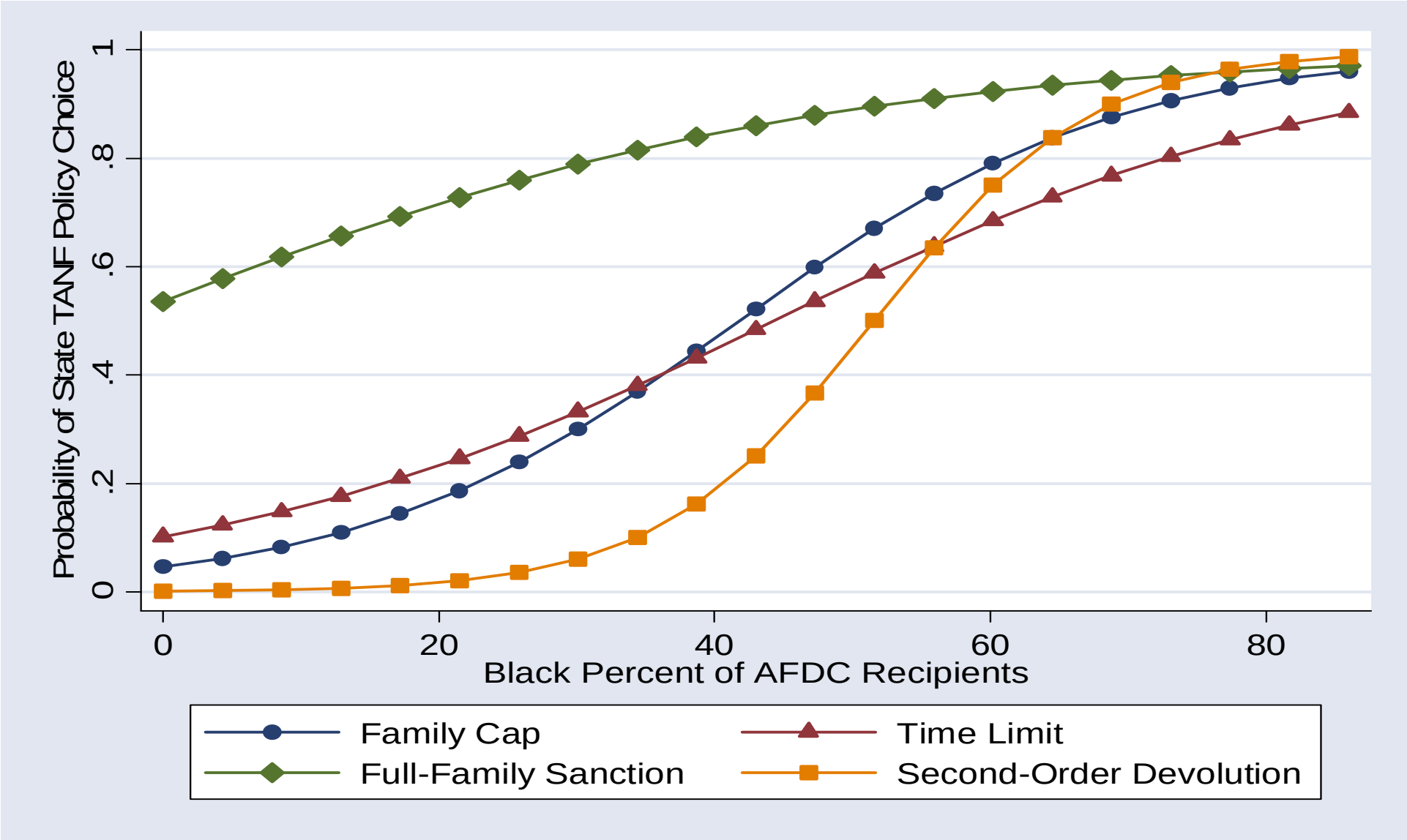


FIGURE 3.7. Racial and Welfare-State Policy Preferences, 1950-1996

Correlation: r = .03 (1950-65) r = .68 (1966-96)

Race Matters: The Effect of Black Caseload Percentage on Welfare Policy Choices in an "Average State"