

THE COMPETING ROLES OF LEGAL AND SOCIAL OPPRESSION ON BLACK
AMERICANS

by

Katherine Wilson McCoy

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of

College for Design & Social Inquiry

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science

Florida Atlantic University

Boca Raton, FL

December 2019

Copyright 2019 by Katherine Wilson McCoy

THE COMPETING ROLES OF SOCIAL AND LEGAL OPPRESSION ON BLACK
AMERICANS

by

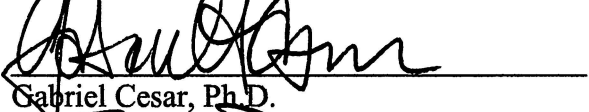
Katherine Wilson McCoy

This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's thesis advisor, Dr. Lisa Dario, Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, and has been approved by all members of the supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the College for Design and Social Inquiry and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Criminology and Criminal Justice.

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE:

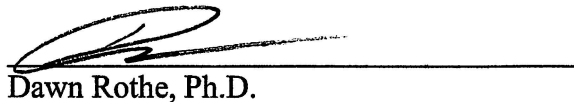

Lisa Dario, Ph.D.

Thesis Advisor

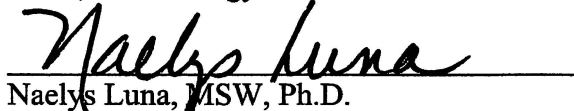

Gabriel Cesar, Ph.D.


Seth Fallik, Ph.D.

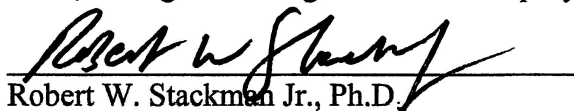

Bruce Arneklev, Ph.D.


Dawn Rothe, Ph.D.

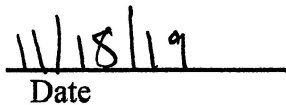
Chair, Criminology and Criminal Justice


Naelys Luna, MSW, Ph.D.

Dean, College for Design and Social Inquiry


Robert W. Stackman Jr., Ph.D.

Dean, Graduate College


Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my family, thank you for your love and support throughout this entire process. To my thesis committee, Dr. Gabriel Cesar, Dr. Seth Fallik, and Dr. Bruce Arneklev, thank you for your guidance and encouragement; it has truly been invaluable. To my thesis committee chair, Dr. Dario, thank you for believing in me, encouraging me, and challenging me to achieve my full potential. If it were not for you, I would have never considered pursuing a thesis. Last, but not least, thank you to the entire Criminology and Criminology Justice department. My matriculation through this program has provided me the knowledge and skills to complete this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Author: Katherine Wilson McCoy
Title: The Competing Roles of Legal and Social Oppression on Black Americans
Institution: Florida Atlantic University
Thesis Advisor: Dr. Lisa Dario
Degree: Master of Science
Year: 2019

It is an axiom among both researchers and the public that American perceptions of the police are racially divided. Previous studies have traditionally focused on inter-racial perceptions, and have found support for social variables (e.g. education) and legal variables (e.g. prior arrest). The current study seeks to determine if legal oppression or social oppression are better predictors of negative attitudes toward the police among a sample of black university students. Ordinary least squares regression seeks determine which set of factors better predict police perceptions. This intra-racial examination allows future research to parse nuances among police perceptions in the black community. The implications of these results and future directions are discussed, in particular for the continued development of a black criminology (Unnever, Gabbidon, & Chouhy, 2019).

THE COMPETING ROLES OF LEGAL AND SOCIAL OPPRESSION ON BLACK
AMERICANS

LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER 1	1
Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER 2	6
Literature Review.....	6
Conflict Theory.....	6
Conflict Theory & Legal Oppression	10
Sentencing.....	14
Incarceration/Arrest Rates	17
Police Stops/Racial Profiling	21
Conflict Theory & Social Structural Oppression.....	23
Employment Inequality.....	24
Income Inequality & Neighborhood Disadvantage	26
Education Inequality	30
Police Legitimacy & Attitudes Toward Police	32
Prior Research	42
Black Criminology.....	42
The Current Study.....	42

Hypotheses.....	48.
CHAPTER 3.....	50
Sample.....	50
Dependent Variable	51
Attitudes Toward Police	51
Independent Variables	51
Social Structural Oppression.....	51
Legal Oppression	53
Control Variables	54
Analytic Technique.....	55
CHAPTER 4	56
Results.....	56
Assumptions Testing.....	56
Univariate Results	60
Binary Results	63
Multivariate Results	69
CHAPTER 5	71
Discussion	71
Limitations	76
Areas for Future Research/Theoretical Implications.....	76
Policy Implications.....	79
CONCLUSION.....	80
APPENDIX.....	82

REFERENCES.....87

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Variance Inflation Factors	59
Table 2. Descriptive Statistics.....	63
Table 3. Correlation Matrix	65
Table 4. Regression Analysis.....	70
Table 5: Frequency	78

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual.....	57
Figure 2 Regression Standardized Residual: Scatterplot	57

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The history of blacks in America is fraught with disparate social and legal oppression. This notion has been explored by several studies, within and outside of criminology, seeking to determine if the application of the law is colorblind (Coviello & Persico, 2013; Epp, Maynard-Moody, & Haider-Markel, 2014; Franklin, 2018) and if social conditions vary by race (Holmes, 2000; Mustard, 2001; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Historically, public perceptions of the criminal justice system have always been racially divided. “Whites generally see the criminal justice system as being somewhat unjust but not entirely discriminatory. Blacks see the criminal justice system as being unjust and discriminatory” (Debro & Taylor, 1978). Specifically in regard to law enforcement in America, the first point of contact in the criminal justice system, only 40% of black civilians in the United States hold favorable attitudes toward police compared to 68% of Caucasian-Americans and 59% of Hispanic-Americans (Cato Institute, 2016). Black Americans not only experience racial inequality from a legal standpoint, but from a social standpoint. For example, a recent survey by the Economic Policy Institute found that among both blacks and whites with less than a high school education, 17.9% of blacks are unemployed compared to 9.8% of whites (Economic Policy Institute, 2017). Additionally, a large majority (88%) of blacks feel that the country still needs to continue making progress toward racial equality, with almost half

(43%) of blacks being skeptical that the necessary changes to give blacks equal rights as whites will ever occur (Pew Research Center, 2016).

Understanding which set of oppressive factors, that is social or legal, have more explanatory power is important because it may help identify which areas of policy are most urgent. From a theoretical perspective, understanding the nuances among police perceptions in the black community is necessary because it will allow for the continued development of a black criminology. General theories of crime (i.e., strain, social control) have largely ignored how specific factors, such as systemic racism, uniquely affect the black community. Historically, black perspectives have generally been excluded from the larger academic community (Debro & Taylor, 1978). Today, when race is discussed, it is often used to argue the racial invariance thesis, that blacks are exposed to the same criminogenic risk factors as whites, but more often (McNulty, 2001; Parker, 2008; Peterson & Krivo 2005, Shaw & McKay, 1942). Unnever and Gabbidon (2011)'s race-specific theory states that the racial variation in crime and deviant behavior is caused by African Americans' development of a racialized perspective of society due to their experience of historical and present-day oppression by Euro-Americans (see also Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005). This oppression includes slavery, Jim Crow laws (Winant, 2015), disadvantage in segregated neighborhoods, generational racial socialization, personal and vicarious experiences with racial discrimination, and the racial disparities within the criminal justice system (Unnever, Gabbidon, & Chouhy, 2019). Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) argue that continued exposure to discrimination is the principal feature in the development of African Americans' understanding of what it means to be black in a racist society. also contend that race-specific theory does not apply to white Americans or

other racial groups and only seeks to explain offending among African Americans (Unnever & Gabbidon (2011). This is because minorities' association with discrimination or other forms of racial oppression varies across different racial/ethnic groups.

Theorists argue that the negative and racially disparate perceptions of the criminal justice system held by blacks may be the result of a greater social conflict between the dominant majority population and the subordinate population (Anderson, Reinsmith-Jones, & Brooks, 2016; Hagan & Shedd, 2005; Seabrook & Wyatt-Nichol, 2006). A derivative of conflict theory, the racial threat hypothesis, states that as the racial minority population (i.e., blacks) increases, the racial majority (whites) are more likely to perceive blacks as a threat and use methods of social control to oppress minority groups (Tolbert & Grummel, 2003). Donald Blalock (1967) identified two forms of these threats: economic and political. The economic threat refers to the fear that as blacks compete for social equality in jobs, housing, and education, the economic dominance of whites will diminish. The political threat refers to the idea that whites' interests are threatened by blacks enhancing their political power (Blalock, 1967). As a response to these perceived threats, Blalock (1967) hypothesized that whites will demand more social control to maintain their dominance in society. Researchers later extended Blalock's (1967) initial propositions, suggesting that a criminal threat also exists; that as the population of blacks increases, crime will increase (specifically interracial crime) (Bontrager, Bales, & Chiricos, 2005; Quillian & Pager, 2001; Taylor, 1998). Two of these perceived threats, economic and criminal, are used to oppress minorities in the form of social and legal oppression. Social oppression may take the form of a lack of adequate housing, lack of an

equal quality education, and income inequality. Legal oppression may include racial profiling by police, the overrepresentation of black men sentenced to death, etc.

Several studies have attempted to understand this disparity in perceptions by examining factors that may influence attitudes toward police (ATP), and have found support for such variables as education, socio-economic status, neighborhood context, and prior encounters with police (Mbuba, 2010; Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008; Smith et. al, 1984; Rosenbaum et al., 2005). These studies, however, are limited by the examination of general factors that affect ATP among all racial groups, with the issue being exacerbated by such things as the preferred reference category in racial analysis (Caucasian-American), for example. These studies have not considered the specific cultural and social structural factors that affect ATP within the black community. Using Karl Marx's conflict theory, the current study seeks to extend the existing literature by determining which factors (if any) predict ATP within the black community: oppression by legal authorities (e.g., racial disparities in arrest rates and racial profiling) or social structural oppression (e.g., educational achievement and income measures).

In this thesis, the predictive ability of oppression by legal authorities was compared to oppression by the American social structure on ATP among a sample of black college students. Several studies have attempted to understand the racial disparity in perceptions of police and have found support for such variables as education, socio-economic status, neighborhood context, and prior encounters with police (Mbuba, 2010; Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008; Smith et. al, 1984; Rosenbaum et al., 2005). The determination of which factors are more important will not only provide researchers a better understanding of how specific factors uniquely affect the black community, but

will allow for the continued development of a black criminology. Furthermore, studies examining ATP among African Americans are minimal and the findings are largely inconsistent. The use of a solely black sample will allow researchers to parse nuances within the black community and will make a unique contribution to the extant criminological literature in this area.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Conflict Theory

Philosophical theories have long been used to explain social phenomena, including how social systems affect the general operation of society. Conflict and consensus are two of the most commonly analyzed sociological theories that have been used to explain a wide range of phenomenon including class and crime control (Chamlin, 2009; Jacobs, 1979; Liska & Chamlin, 1984). Consensus theory posits that values, social norms, and rules must be accepted and shared for a group to function. All members of society must uphold this agreement, and in exchange, this agreement provides individuals with expectations of how others will behave (Lewis, 1969). Conversely, the conflict perspective, originated by Karl Marx, posits that society operates in a state of constant conflict because resources, status, and power are unevenly distributed between social classes (Marx, 1847).

The structural functional perspective was derived from the consensus theory in the 1800s by the French and British philosophers Comte, Spencer, and Durkheim to better understand the operation of society (Potts, Vella, Dale, & Sipe, 2016). The perspective states that “society is a system of interacting parts that promote stability or transformation through their interactions” (Potts et al., 2016, p. 9). Society is built upon structures that work together (Radcliffe-Brown, 1935) to meet the functional needs of a system (Merton, 1949). As it pertains to race and policing, the structural-functional

theories of law and the police state that crime primarily predicts police expenditures and the racial makeup of a population predicts police expenditures only through crime (Jackson & Carroll, 1981). Criticisms of structural functionalism include its oversimplification and its inability to address the possibility of self-reference or conflict (Alexander & Colomy, 1990; Clark, 1972; Luhman, 1982).

According to Karl Marx, conflict is a fundamental component of society in which social groups compete for dominance to enact or maintain a structure most beneficial to their interests (Simmel, 1950). This conflict was created by the bourgeoisie (the social elite) who have used their economic power to exploit the proletariat (the working class) by charging more for the goods produced by the proletariats. As a result, the bourgeoisie will continue to maintain their dominance in society as long as the proletariat group remain oppressed (Marx, 1847). In 1956, sociologist C. Wright Mills expanded conflict theory by developing the idea of the power elite, a single elite subgroup of society that includes the military, members of corporate society, and members of political institutions. This elite group uses their economic influence to develop social policies that allows them to maintain their wealth and dominance in society. The decision-making of this group has profound implications for society as a whole as they have authority over governmental, financial, educational, social, civic, and cultural institutions (Mills, 1956). Earlier versions of conflict theory represent a criticism of the structure of the political economy, with later iterations including the effects of law and race.

The conflict theory of law posits that society operates in a state of conflict as members of society compete for limited resources in terms of employment, housing, social status, etc. To maintain their dominance, the majority population will use various

social structural and legal apparatuses to oppress populations whom they feel threaten their interests (Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003). As previously mentioned, Donald Blalock (1967) and later theorists identified three forms of threats: economic, political, and criminal. In this thesis, the economic and criminal threats are examined. Economic threat is the fear that as blacks compete for social dominance in jobs, housing, and education, the economic dominance of whites will diminish. The criminal threat theory suggests that as the population of blacks increases, crime will increase, specifically interracial crime. As a response to these perceived threats, Blalock (1967) hypothesized that whites will demand more social control to maintain their dominance in society. A derivative of conflict theory, Donald Black's (1967) racial threat hypothesis¹ states that as the racial minority population (i.e., blacks) increases, the racial majority (whites) are more likely to perceive blacks as a threat and will use methods of social control to oppress minority groups (also see Tolbert & Grummel, 2003).

Theorists have questioned the empiricism of conflict theory and have found several limitations. The first limitation concerns the identity of the elite group and in what manner the elite use their dominance to control legal institutions (Bierne, 1979; Liska, 1992; Spitzer, 1975). Second, the majority of extant research fails to measure direct indicators of intergroup threat in model indicators. This is because direct measures of racial threat are difficult to identify and observe (Chamlin, 2009). As a result, most

¹ The racial threat hypothesis is generally considered to be a macro-level theory (Parker, Stults, & Rice, 2005; Schuman & Hatchett, 1974), however, recent studies have examined this theory at the micro-level (Quillian, 1995, 1996; Stolzenberg, D'Alessio, Eitle, 2004). According to Quillian (1996), "the most direct test of the [racial threat] hypothesis would be to examine if percent black is related to an individual-level measure of threat and then to see if that measure of threat is related to prejudice and discrimination" (p. 820).

studies examine the relationship between the population size of racial and ethnic minorities and the size and behavior of crime control systems (Liska & Chamlin, 1984; Parker, Stults, & Rice, 2005). Third, the few studies that do include measures of intergroup threat only focus on serious behaviors that would be condemned by all segments of society (Eitle et al., 2002; McCall & Parker, 2005). This suggests that behaviors that cause serious harm (e.g., murder, rape, and robbery) would naturally invoke discriminatory responses by police. Furthermore, if disapproval of such behavior is pervasive, it is unclear if changes in police activities is designed to protect the interests of the community as a whole or the interests of only the elite group (Chamlin, 2009).

Two of the threats perceived by majority populations, economic and criminal, are used to oppress minorities in the form of social and legal oppression. For example, in terms of legal oppression, according to a 2011 report by the U. S. Department of Justice, “black drivers were three times as likely to be searched during a stop as white drivers and twice as likely as Hispanic drivers” (The Sentencing Project, 2013, p. 5). Further, black drivers were twice as likely to experience use of force or be threatened by police officers to use violent force as both white and Hispanic drivers (The Sentencing Project, 2013). In terms of structural social oppression, a 2017 survey by the Economic Policy Institute found that among both blacks and whites with less than a high school education, 17.9% of blacks are unemployed compared to 9.8% of whites (Economic Policy Institute, 2017). A seminal piece by Devah Pager (2003) found that only 14% of blacks without a criminal record received a callback interview, compared to 34% of white non-criminals. Further, whites with a criminal record received more favorable treatment during their interviews

than black auditors who did not have a criminal record. Overall, the effect of a criminal record is 40% stronger for blacks than whites for callbacks (Pager, 2003).

Conflict Theory & Legal Oppression

As previously mentioned, conflict theory states that the majority population (whites) uses agents of state control, such as legislation or law enforcement, to maintain dominance over the minority population (blacks). Historically, Jim Crow laws and slavery were used to oppress blacks in America (Higginbotham, 1996; Kennedy, 1997). Today, the method is the criminal justice system (Alexander, 2010; Tonry & Melewski, 2008; Wacquant, 2001).

According to Chambliss and Seidman (1971), the structure of the legal system derives from the conflict inherent in economically and politically stratified societies. The legal system reflects the norms and practices that will best maintain and enhance the interests of society's power holders (Chambliss & Siedman, 1971). Specifically examining policing, Chambliss and Siedman (1971) outlined a framework to describe the processes of police in society. The following propositions are used to guide this framework:

- 1) The agencies of law enforcement are bureaucratic organizations;
- 2) An organization and its members tend to substitute for the official goals and norms of the organization ongoing policies and activities which will maximize rewards and minimize the strains on the organization;
- 3) This goal substitution is made possible by:

a) the absence of motivation on the part of the role-occupants to resist pressures toward goal substitution;

b) the pervasiveness of discretionary choice permitted by the substantive criminal law, and the norms defining the roles of the members of the enforcement agencies; and of the members of the enforcement agencies; and

c) the absence of effective sanctions for the norms defining the roles in those agencies

4) Law enforcement agencies depend for resource allocation on political organizations;

5) It will maximize rewards and minimize strains for organization to process those who are politically weak and powerless, and to refrain from processing those who are politically powerful;

6) Therefore, it may be expected that the law enforcement agencies will process a disproportionately high number of the politically weak and powerless, while ignoring the violations of those with power. (Chambliss & Siedman, 1971, p. 269)

It is difficult to examine direct measures of racial threat, therefore, previous studies have examined the relationship between the economic and racial makeup of neighborhoods and the use of police resources (Greenberg, Kessler, & Loftin, 1985; Jacobs, 1979; Jackson & Carroll, 1981). One of the earliest studies to test the validity of conflict theory involved a cross-sectional analysis of police employment, economic inequality, and other control variables to examine if the size of a police force was

positively associated with the level of economic inequality in a metropolitan area. U.S. cities with a population of at least 50,000 in 1960 and cities of at least 50,000 between 1960 and 1970 were observed. Jacobs (1979) theorized that this relationship would be positive because the powerful elite prefer large police forces to discourage the poor from threatening their property, and that this relationship is greater when economic inequality is greater. Jacobs (1979) found that percent black or nonwhite is positively related to police strength. These findings have been replicated by criminologists since this initial endeavor (Kent & Jacobs, 2005; Ruddell & Thomas, 2010).

Jackson and Carroll (1981) examined the relationship between police expenditures per capita and the black population in a sample of 90 cities outside the South. They measured the per capita police expenditures in 1971, the per capita total index crime rate from 1968-1970 and the per capita city revenue from 1970-1971. Findings indicated a significant positive relationship between expenditures for police salaries, operations and capital expenditures and the size of the black population. The level of black political influence was also a significant predictor of police capital expenditures. Further, the authors found that the response from the white population to the black population is affected by the racial disparity in socio-economic status; when the disparity is large, whites perceive blacks as a more of a threat and police expenditures increase (Jackson & Carroll, 1981). This racial disparity exists in the investigatory phase as well, as cases with a minority suspect are more likely to be investigated and investigated longer (Fallik, Victory, & Dobrin, 2019).

Greenberg and colleagues (1985) examined the relationship between race, income inequality, and police strength. The authors included measures of income inequality, the

racial makeup of the community, mean income, per capita city revenue, and the crime rate for the years 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. They found that percent black and non-white was positively associated with police strength. This finding is consistent with the tenets of conflict theory, that whites perceive blacks and non-whites as a threat regardless of involvement in crime and will respond to this perceived threat by manipulating legal institutions (Greenberg et al., 1985).

Several studies have examined the relationship between the minority threat perspective and crime control (or police behavior that falls within the legal limits of discretion) (Holmes, Smith, Freng, & Munoz, 2008; Stults & Baumer, 2007; Wang, 2012). Holmes (2000) builds on this prior literature by examining whether the number of police brutality civil rights criminal complaints increase as the minority threat population and their actions increase. Using data obtained from the Department of Justice Police Brutality Study (1985-1990), Uniform Crime Reports (1985-1990), and the 1990 Census report, Holmes (2000) regressed the index crime rate, city population, percent black, percent Hispanic, majority/minority income inequality, and region on the dependent variable, and civil rights complaints. Holmes (2000) found that percent black, percent Hispanic in the Southwest, and majority/minority income inequality were significant predictors of average annual civil rights criminal complaints.

There are other facets of the criminal justice system in which, according to conflict theory, the dominant population use the criminal justice system to as a method to control the minority population. There is a research consensus that racial discrimination is reflected in most every aspect of the American criminal justice system. For instance, arrest/stop-and-frisk rates (Gau & Brunson, 2010; Mauer, 2006) sentencing outcomes

(e.g., Curry & Corral-Camacho, 2008; Mustard, 2001; Spohn & Holleran, 2000) the juvenile justice system (e.g., Morrow, Dario, & Rodriguez, 2014), incarceration rates (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998), are all areas of the criminal justice system that disproportionately affect African Americans, more so than any other racial group. Several of these other forms of legal suppression are examined in the following sections.

Sentencing

Research has found support for the existence of a racial disparity in sentencing outcomes. Steffensmeier and colleagues (1998) examined the relationship between sentencing severity in Pennsylvania and race, gender, and age. They found that race, gender, and age had a significant effect on the likelihood of incarceration and the length of sentencing. Black offenders were sentenced more harshly than white offenders, younger offenders were sentenced more harshly than older offenders, and male offenders were more likely to be sentenced harshly than female offenders. Further, they found that three characteristics interacted to influence sentencing more than any other demographic combination: being young, being black, and being male. According to the focal concerns theory of sentencing, judges' decision-making is influenced by their assessment of the culpability of the offender, their desire to protect the community, and their general concerns about the social consequences of their sentencing decisions. As judges are unable to accurately determine an offender's culpability, they develop a perpetual shorthand based on stereotypes associated with offender characteristics such as race, gender, or age. Therefore, these extra-legal factors interact and influence sentencing outcomes because of attributes associated with social groups that are perceived as dangerous or prone to criminal behavior (Steffensmeier et al., 1998).

Spohn and Holleran (2000) expanded on the Steffensmeier et al. (1998) study and found that factors other than race, gender, and age interact and influence sentence outcomes. Their study draws from the premise that judges' decision-making is influenced by the perception that certain groups are more deviant, more prone to criminal behavior, and more likely to recidivate. If these perceptions are based in either implicit or explicit bias, then offenders with characteristics other than young/black/male should also be subjected to harsher sentencing than their white counterparts. The authors included Hispanics, rather than only blacks and whites as in their sample because Hispanics are also stereotyped as being prone to criminal behavior (Marin, 1984). They found that variables such as race, age, gender and unemployment all interact to predict harsher sentence outcomes for young black and Hispanic males. Young black and Hispanic males are more likely to be incarcerated than middle-aged white males. Unemployed black and Hispanic males are significantly more likely to be sentenced to prison than employed white males (Spohn & Holleran, 2000).

Curry and Corral-Camacho (2008) examined the effects of race/ethnicity, gender, and sentence severity by using a random sample of drug offenders in Texas who were sentenced in 1991, during the height of the War on Drugs. The study was based on the focal concerns theory and macro-level theories of inter-group conflict and threat. The authors found support for both theories with certain exceptions. Blacks were 9% more likely to receive a prison sentence, and those sentences were 19% longer than for whites. However, there was no effect observed for Hispanics. The likelihood for black males and Hispanic males being incarcerated was 17-18% higher than whites, but black males were the only group with longer sentences among those who were incarcerated. Hispanic

males between the ages of 31-40 were 31% more likely to be sentenced to prison and black males between the ages of 22-30 were 30% more likely to be sentenced to prison. These findings align with the focal concerns theory in that, black drug offenders are considered to be more threatening, more culpable for their crimes, more of a danger to society, and more likely to be penalized (despite mitigating circumstances). The long-held stereotype, that blacks are more prone to criminal behavior, has caused judges to perceive blacks as being as more threatening to the elite class and a danger to society. Therefore, they are punished more severely than their white counterparts (Curry & Corral-Camacho, 2008).

Mustard (2001) examined 77,236 sentence outcomes for federal offenders sentenced under the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984. The purpose of the act was to provide guidelines to ensure the appropriate sentences for federal criminal offenders, ensure sentence uniformity, and minimize the sentence disparity being imposed by different federal courts for similar crimes. The guidelines dictate that “sentences for individuals with the same offense level and criminal history cannot differ by more than the greater of 25% or 6 months” (Mustard, 2001, p. 5). The determination of the sentencing range is based on an offense level score and a criminal history score. The study analyzed the extent to which two offenders who are sentenced in the same district court, for the same offense, with the same criminal history and offense level receive different sentences. Factors examined included race, gender and ethnicity, education, income and citizenship.² Findings indicated that sentence outcomes were influenced by

² Age, race, and gender disparities are manifested in youth, with several studies finding that race and ethnicity are the most salient predictors of treatment in the juvenile justice

race, gender, education, income, and citizenship. They also found that more than half of the unaccounted for differences in sentences were departures from the guidelines, rather than from differential sentencing within the guidelines. Blacks, males, and offenders of a lower educational attainment level were more likely to receive substantially longer sentences. Blacks and males were also less likely to not be sentenced to prison when that option was made available; were less likely to receive a downward departure in terms of the applicable sentencing guideline range for a minimum sentence; were more likely to receive upward adjustments in terms of sentencing guidelines; and, were more likely to receive smaller reductions than whites and females (Mustard, 2001).

Incarceration/Arrest Rates

Over the past 50 years, blacks have been disproportionately represented in the American correctional system. More troubling still, the rate of blacks incarcerated in 2016 has almost tripled since 1968. In 2016, blacks only made up about 12% of the U.S. population yet represented 33% of the prison population. Conversely, whites accounted for 64% of the U.S. population and represented 30% of the prison population. In 1968, blacks were almost 5.4 times more likely than whites to be incarcerated. In 2016, blacks were 6.4 times more likely than whites to be incarcerated (Jones, Schmitt, & Wilson, 2018). In 2001, 22% of black males between the ages of 35-44 had ever been incarcerated in state or federal prison compared to 3.5% of white males. Today, one in three black males can expect to be incarcerated in their lifetime, compared to one in 17 white males (Department of Justice, 2003).

system (e.g., Engen, Steen, & Bridges, 2002; Frazier & Cochran, 1986; Leiber & Johnson, 2008; Morrow, Dario, & Rodriguez, 2014; Rodriguez, 2010).

These statistics are not a reflection of the myth that blacks are more prone to criminal behavior, but rather the product of policies and practices that disproportionately affect blacks (Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Elkavich, 2008 & Mauer, 2011; Moore, 2008). For example, the War on Drugs was enacted in 1968 to prohibit the “sale, distribution and consumption of illicit drugs in the United States” (Moore & Elkavich, 2008, p. 176). This policy, however, has proven to be ineffective in decreasing drug use, has resulted in the overcrowding of prisons, and has created innumerable hardships for families of color and black communities. Since 1972, the prison population has increased five-fold (Mauer, 2011) and there are no indications of a decrease in crime or drug use (Gainsborough & Mauer, 2000). The incarceration rate of blacks nearly tripled between 1980 and 2000. Blacks comprised 21% of the drug arrests in 1980 and 36% in 1992 (Mauer, 2006), which was disproportionate to the national black population (Mauer, 2011). In 1999, almost one in 10 black males in their 20s were incarcerated (Blumstein, 2001). Despite the fact that blacks use illicit drugs at about the same rate as whites (7.4% and 7.2%, respectively), the police more often profile communities in urban neighborhoods where the black population is largest (Moore & Elkavich, 2008).

Three Strikes laws are another example of legislation that has disproportionately affected racial minorities’ incarceration rates (Chen, 2014; Tonry & Melewski, 2008; Western, 2008). Enacted in the 90s, the purpose of three strikes laws was to deter crime, incapacitate recidivists, and mandate stricter punishments for offenders with prior convictions. In essence, the legislation states that offenders convicted of a third violent offense are required to serve a life imprisonment sentence without the possibility of

parole. These punishments can vary from a life sentence without parole to 25 years for a third violent felony to life without parole (Kovandzic, Sloan, & Vieraitis, 2004).

Though support for Three Strikes legislation was based on empirical research (Figlio, & Sellin, 1972; West & Farrington, 1977; Wolfgang; Shannon, McKim, Curry, & Haffner, 1988), studies have found that not only are these laws ineffective at reducing crime, they disproportionately affect communities of color. One of the provisions of Three Strikes legislation is to enhance the punishment for drug, gun, and violent crime. In an analysis of new state prison commitments by race and offense, Tonry and Melewski (2003) found that 53.7% of whites committed violent, drug, or gun crimes compared to 69.4 of black offenders. Black inmates committed 37.5% of drug crimes compared to 25.4% of whites (Tonry & Melewski, 2003). Chen (2008) examined individual-level data on over 171,000 California prison inmates to determine the effects of race and ethnicity on the application of California's "Three Strikes and You're Out" Law. Chen (2008) controlled for legal variables such as the nature of the offense, the defendant's criminal history, and parole status and found that blacks are 85% more likely than whites to be handed third-strike sentences. Further, the study indicated a significant disparity between blacks and whites in terms of wobbler offenses (offenses that can be charged as a misdemeanor or a felony) than for non-wobbler offenses. If the prosecutor chooses to charge a crime as a felony, the punishment would include a prison sentence and a second or third strike sentence with a prior serious or violent conviction. The odds ratio for blacks and whites in wobbler offenses is 1.56 compared to the odds ratio for blacks and whites in non-wobbler offenses, 1.44. This has serious implications as a wobbler charged as a misdemeanor would only receive a one-year jail sentence or less compared to 24

months in prison, for standard, non-strikes sentences charged as felonies. The 24-month sentence would then be doubled to 48 months for a second-strike. A third strike would trigger a mandatory 25 to life prison sentence. These findings suggest that racial demographics are a significant factor in sentence outcomes due to the role of focal concerns and the decision-making of criminal justice officials (Chen, 2008).

The racial disparity in the American correctional system has had profound implications for the black community. First, the disparity has resulted in the dissolution of black families and overall family stress (Mauer, 2011). Affected families are forced to deal with the financial stress of a single parent household and the emotional stress of possibly growing up without a stable male role model in their lives. Mass incarceration also perpetuates the cycle of poverty in which young men and women with incarcerated parents may feel the need to resort to criminal behavior to financially sustain their families. Second, the disparity has resulted in the fracture of black neighborhoods due to the high mobility of residents transitioning in and out of prison. Third, those with a criminal record face difficulties in finding gainful employment (Mauer, 2011; Pager, 2003). According to a Pew report, incarceration has resulted in the reduction of wage earnings of black males by 44% by the age of 48 (Pew Charitable Trusts, 2003). These pervasive racial disparities and resulting collateral consequences also have implications regarding the perception of the criminal justice system among blacks, including legitimacy (Mauer, 2011). If communities of color feel they are disproportionately punished for the same crimes as their white counterparts, this could result in distrust of the criminal justice system and more specifically the police, as they are essentially the

face of the criminal justice system. This could also result in community chaos and lack of communication and support for the police by blacks (Tyler, 2002).

Police Stops/Racial Profiling

According to conflict theory, agents of social control will work to oppress racial minorities when the majority's interests are threatened. One method of governmental control is the police institution. Police stops, specifically, are among the most cited incident of racial profiling among blacks³ (Epp, Maynard-Moody, & Haider-Markel, 2014). A recent survey found that higher income African Americans reported being stopped about 1.5 times the rate of higher income white Americans. Further, lower-income African Americans reported being stopped slightly more often than lower-income whites (Cato Institute, 2016). Shjarback and colleagues (2017), drawing on Black's (1976) theory of law, suggest that, "police officers who hold more prestige and social status than a particular group become power brokers and are more likely to apply law to those in more disadvantaged social positions" (p. 50). Black's theory has been used to contextualize why police are more likely to stop, search, and arrest black citizens than any other racial group (e.g., Shjarback et al., 2017), and may be a source of the contempt for police in the black community.

Studies have found that certain groups are targeted by police practices, particularly in stop, question, frisks (SQF) (Chambliss, 1994; Hetey, Monin, Maitreyi, & Eberhardt, 2016; Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003). Among them, Chambliss (1994)

³ Fallik (2018) asserts in an analysis of police vehicle stop data that methodological issues exist in racial profiling studies, relating to causality. Departmental, vehicle, passenger, and temporal variables are rarely considered. For example, the officer may not know the race of the person(s) stopped prior to initiating the stop (see also Alpert et al., 2007).

participated in a series of ride-a-longs in Washington, D.C. to observe the Rapid Deployment Unit, designed to target drugs and quell riots. He found that the unit focused their efforts on the “urban ghetto”, specifically areas inhabited by the young, black, males in the prison population. This resulted in a negative impact on black families in a myriad of ways, including the disruption of education, the creation of moral panic, and an increase in the prison population (Chambliss, 1994). In 1999, the New York Attorney General’s Office analyzed more than 181,000 field interrogation cards completed by NYPD officers from 1998-1999 and found that although blacks only make up 25.6% of the New York population, 50.6 of persons stopped by the NYPD were black (Petrocelli et al., 2003). In a more recent analysis of New York City, Goel, Rao, and Shroff (2016) analyzed three-million stops in New York City between 2008 and 2012. The analysis involved cases in which police suspected that the stopped individual was in possession of a weapon. They found that blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately stopped compared to their white counterparts. The authors theorized that this disparity in stop rates may be due to the lower threshold for stopping suspects in high crime predominately minority neighborhoods, and the lower threshold overall for stopping minorities in comparison to their white counterparts. In an analysis of traffic and pedestrian stops in Oakland, California over a 13-month time period, Hetey and Eberhardt (2018) found that 60% of police stops involved blacks, despite the fact that blacks comprised only 28% of the Oakland population. Hetey, Monin, Maitreyi, and Eberhardt (2016) examined the 2013-2014 Oakland Police Department stop reports and found that when blacks were stopped, they were significantly more likely to be handcuffed, searched, and arrested than whites.

Not only are blacks more likely to be stopped than any other racial group, but they are also more likely to have a negative experience with a police officer in these encounters than whites. Voight and colleagues (2017) analyzed transcribed body camera footage from 981 vehicle stops of citizens in Oakland, California. They found that police officers spoke significantly less respectfully to blacks than whites in traffic stops, even after controlling for officer race, infraction severity, stop location, and stop outcome. More specifically, they found that officers were 57% more likely to use a respectful utterance (i.e., apologizing, gratitude, and expression of concern for citizen safety) to a white citizen. Conversely, black citizens were 61% more likely to hear a less respectful utterance than a white citizen (Voight et al., 2017). Likewise, when Epp and colleagues (2014) analyzed survey and interview data from drivers in the Kansas City metropolitan area who had been stopped in the previous year, they found that blacks feel that they are treated with less deference than whites in routine investigatory stops (Epp, Maynard-Moody, & Haider-Markel, 2014). The verbal mistreatment of blacks by police is just as important of a predictor of negative ATP as physical mistreatment because citizens perceive disrespect or verbal harassment as a reflection of an unjust criminal justice system (Tyler, Boeckmann, Smith, & Huo, 1997).

Conflict Theory & Social Structural Oppression

The racial majority not only uses legal means to oppress minorities, but social structural barriers manifest this conflict, as well. Seabrook and Wyatt-Nichol (2016) succinctly note that in America “[i]nstitutional oppression and structural racism have been the overarching form of social control used to maintain dominance over the African American community” (p. 20). According to conflict theory, elite groups in society use

their economic influence to maintain order over subordinate, less economically influential groups (Jacobs, 1979). In a 2016 Pew Research survey on perceptions of race and inequality in America, the majority of black participants stated that blacks in the U.S. are treated unfairly in several different institutional settings, including the criminal justice system, the workplace, and financial institutions (Pew Research Center, 2016a). Black participants were asked about their perceptions of the underlying causes of why African Americans struggle in achieving at the same rate as white Americans; 66% of respondents cited a lack of jobs, 70% cited racial discrimination, and 75% of participants cited failing schools (Pew Research Center, 2016). Members of economically disadvantaged groups experience and perceive discrimination and inequality in several aspects of society, including employment opportunities, socioeconomic status, and educational opportunities.

Employment Inequality

According to Pager (2003, p. 958)“...race continues to play a dominant role in shaping employment opportunities, equal to or greater than the impact of a criminal record”. Indeed, a recent survey found that in 47 of the past 54 years, the black unemployment rate was almost twice as high as the unemployment rate for whites (Pew Research Center, 2016a). In 2016, the unemployment rate for whites was 4.5% compared to 10.3% for blacks (Pew Research Center, 2016a). Further, among all racial and gender groups, black men have the highest unemployment rates; 11.6 %of black men are unemployed compared to 5.1% of white men, 9.3% of black women, and 3.8% of white women (Pew Research Center, 2016). Blacks are also more likely to experience discrimination in the workplace compared to whites, with 64% of blacks recently

reporting being treated unfairly in the workplace compared to 22% of whites. About one in five blacks reported being treated unfairly by an employer in the past year specifically because of their race or ethnicity. Twenty-one % of blacks reported that in the last year they were treated unfairly in hiring, pay, or promotion compared to only 4% of whites (Pew Research Center, 2016a).

Several studies have found that individuals who are unemployed tend to be less satisfied with the police (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Dowler & Sparks, 2008; Goudriaan, 2006; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Skogan, 1976a, 1976b; Weitzer, 2000), and this has been found to be directly associated with ATP in extant literature (Avdija, 2010; Wilson & Dunham, 2001; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Perhaps this is because evidence suggests that interaction with the criminal justice system, specifically incarceration, is associated with limited employment opportunities and earnings potential (Freeman, 1987; Western, 2002) – which are significant predictors of recidivism (Sampson & Laub, 1993; Shover, 1996; Uggen, 2000). When this population of offenders are released into the community, they will more than likely face difficulty in finding gainful employment and becoming financially self-sufficient (Freeman & Holzer, 1986; Western & Beckett, 1999; Western & Pettit, 2005).

Bendick and colleagues (1994) conducted an audit study of 149 job applications in the Washington, DC area to measure racial discrimination in the workplace. The sample involved six pairs of auditors in which each team paired one black auditor and one white auditor of the same gender, approximate gender, appearance, articulateness and manner. Findings indicated that blacks were 24% less likely to receive a job offer compared to their white counterparts (Bendick, Jackson & Reinoso, 1994). Pager (2003)

also conducted an audit study to determine whether a criminal record can affect employment opportunities. The study also attempted to assess whether the outcome differed for black and white applicants. The sample involved two white, male auditors and two black, male auditors who were instructed to apply for entry-level positions and were paired by race, physical appearance, and general style of self-presentation. All auditors possessed similar educational attainment levels and work experience. Within each pairing, one auditor was assigned a criminal record for the first week. The pair then rotated the assignment of a criminal history for the successive weeks of employment searches. Among blacks without a criminal record, only 14% received callbacks, compared to 34% of white non-criminals. Further, white auditors with a criminal record received more favorable treatment than black auditors who did not have a criminal record. Overall, the effect of a criminal record is 40% higher for blacks than whites (Pager, 2003). These findings are suggested to be the effect of racial stereotypes, as employers are already reluctant to hire blacks and this reluctance is compounded by a criminal record (Pager, 2003).

Income Inequality & Neighborhood Disadvantage

According to Donald Blalock, if money is the automatic designator of power (Blalock, 1967), then the unequal distribution of money will lead to preferable outcomes for the wealthy (Jacobs, 1979). Therefore, if there are inequalities in the distribution of wealth and power in society, it is expected that social control will conform to the interests of the economically advantaged. Black Americans' income has consistently been lower than white Americans' income throughout U.S. history. In 1992, white households with incomes between \$7,500 and \$15,000 had a higher net worth and net financial assets than

black households with incomes between \$45,000 and \$60,000 (Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1996). Over 20 years later, in 2014, the median household income for blacks was \$43,300 compared to \$71,300 for whites (Pew Research Center, 2016).

According to Wilson's (1987) seminal book on disadvantage, individuals living in poor communities are restricted from access to social institutions, resources, and networks. Individuals' behavior is developed by the communities in which they live, levels of unemployment and crime, inadequate housing and the lack of quality role models (Wilson, 1987). Studies suggest that neighborhood disadvantage is a significant predictor of an individual's quality of life, including employment opportunities, social mobility opportunities, and educational attainment (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Using data from the 1968–1993 waves of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Crowder & South (2003) found neighborhood disadvantage increases the likelihood of dropping out of high school, particularly among black adolescents from single-parent homes. These findings have profound implications because individuals who do not complete a high school diploma are more likely to become involved in criminal behavior (Lochner & Moretti, 2004). They are also less likely to find gainful employment and earn decent wages (Murnane et al., 1995; Pallas, 1987; Rumberger, 1987).

Previous studies have used socioeconomic status as an operational definition of neighborhood disadvantage (Sampson et al., 1997; Sucoff & Upchurch, 1998). Cutrona et al. (2000) found socioeconomic status to be a significant predictor of neighborhood disadvantage among blacks. Several studies have used other indicators of neighborhood disadvantage, including the percentage of families below the poverty line, the percentage

of households receiving public assistance, the percentage of households headed by women, the percentage of the population that is unemployed, and the percentage of the population older than 25 years of age lacking a high-school diploma (Vogel & South, 2016; also see Crowder & South, 2011).

Several studies have found that individuals of a lower socio-economic status tend to have a negative perception of police (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008; Wilson & Dunham, 2001; Wu, Sun, & Tripplett, 2009). The negative perception of police by these individuals may be based on the fact that police tend to be more present in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods and in neighborhoods where the black population is largest (Jacobs, 1979; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). This is supported by conflict theory, as members of the dominant group of society (e.g. whites and the power elite) will use their authority to influence agents of social control to protect their interests against subordinate groups (e.g. black, Latinos, and the working-class). These elite groups use law enforcement because it is the most direct way for them to maintain order and their status in society.

The source of blacks' negative attitude toward the police may also be because police tend to be less proactive in black neighborhoods, and more responsive to white victims of crime. Social inequality is greatly reflected generations of research documenting how police officers economically disadvantaged neighborhoods. In a study almost 60 years ago examining this issue, Goldstein (1960) reported that the police would often fail to take reports or make arrests for crimes in "urban ghettos" that would normally prompt a formal response in other neighborhoods. During a one-month period, police in one "ghetto area" took no formal action in 38 of the 43 felony-grade assaults

(Goldstein, 1960). About 35 years ago, Smith, Visher, and Davidson (1984) conducted an analysis of direct observations of police-citizen encounters on 900 patrol shifts in 60 neighborhoods. The sample included officers from 24 police agencies in St. Louis, Missouri, Rochester, New York, and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida. They found that police officers are more likely to make an arrest when white victims or complainants are involved compared to black victims in similar situations. Smith and colleagues (1984) theorized that a potential reason for the racial disparity in police action is because of the social distance between police and blacks, and the police perception that non-whites are hostile to and resentful of police. Overall, findings from this study suggest that police invoke the law selectively, depending on the social standing of the neighborhood. Police more severely punish offenders encountered in lower status neighborhoods (Smith, Visher, & Davidson, 1984).

According to data obtained by the American for Civil Liberties Union, inequitable police services exist in Chicago-area police departments. Police are over-deployed in predominately white neighborhoods, whereas residents living in Chicago's West and South neighborhoods (majority black and Latino neighborhoods) experience fewer police assigned to minority neighborhoods for emergency calls than in white neighborhoods, more officer-involved violent crimes than in white neighborhoods, and much longer 911 dispatch response rates. For example in July 2013, residents in Grand Crossing, a majority black neighborhood, experienced an average of 10 minutes and 41 seconds for Priority 1 Calls (the most serious of calls) compared to an average wait time of 2 minutes and 26) seconds for residents in Jefferson Park, a predominantly white neighborhood (ACLU Illinois, 2014).

Education Inequality

Both conflict theory and social functionalism theory have been used to explain social and educational inequality. These ideas diverge as conflict theory posits that educational inequality is a result of powers who use their dominance to claim scarce social rewards, whereas structural functionalism posits that educational inequality is a result of society's objective opportunity structure. Structural functionalists believe that the social opportunity structure accommodates talent. Inequality is a necessity to encourage those with potential to dedicate themselves to train for important and demanding jobs. Conflict theorists believe that social and educational inequality are the product of elite and sub-elite groups manipulating the educational system and the labor market to their advantage. Schools teach students the "myth" of equal opportunity and consequently, the subordinate population blames themselves for failing in a system never designed for them to succeed (Jacob, 1981). Brown and Brown (2012) argued that dominant rhetoric blames communities of color for the lack of academic achievement, suggesting that that black families improve their behavior (e.g., parents should read more to their children) rather than improving systemic policies and structures that fail black students (e.g., lack of resources).

Studies support the existence of a racial gap in academic achievement that has persistently plagued the U.S. educational system (Carter & Welner, 2013; Coleman et al., 1966; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Valencia, 2015). Minority children and children from low-income families have performed worse in comparison to their white counterparts on virtually all indicators of academic success, including standardized test scores, high school graduation rates, and college matriculation rates (Zhao, 2016). Blacks are also less

likely than whites to complete high school and graduate from college (Pew Research Center, 2016a).

One of the reasons for the lack of progress in closing the racial achievement gap or improving the education of the poor is because the schools these students attend, the neighborhoods in which they reside, and their home environments are comparatively worse than those of white students living in suburban neighborhoods (Plucker et al., 2013; Reardon, 2011; Valencia, 2015). According to Flores (2007), African American and Latino students are less likely than white students to have access to “teachers who emphasize reasoning and nonroutine problem solving; computers; and, teachers who use computers for simulations and applications” (p. 32). Schools with predominately African American and Latino students are twice as likely to employ inexperienced teachers (three years of experience or less) as schools with predominately white students (Wilkins et al., 2006). The same is true of schools in low poverty areas: the rate of inexperienced teachers in low poverty schools is 11% compared to schools in high poverty areas (20%) (Mayer, Mullens, & Moore, 2000). According to Darling-Hammond (2010), schools with predominately minority students receive fewer resources than white students and Berliner (2006) found that minority students are more likely to lack access to early learning programs than their wealthier counterparts (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Nichols, Glass, & Berliner, 2006). Another drawback of the racial achievement gap is that racial discrimination encourages criminal offending by increasing the likelihood of students dropping out of school and increasing association with delinquent peers (Unnever, Francis, & Barnes, 2016).

Educational suppression is certainly a hindrance to the overall success of the black community, but in some cases even college educated blacks experience discrimination based on their race despite their educational attainment. According to a 2016 Pew Research Survey, among those with a bachelor's degree, black households earn less (\$82,300) than white households (\$106,600). In 2016, 52% of blacks with some college education reported that within the last 12 months, someone treated them as though they were unintelligent compared to 37% of those with a high school diploma or less. A large majority of blacks with some college experience (81%) are more likely to have experienced discrimination because of their race compared to a little over half of blacks (59%) who have never attended college. Fifty-five% of blacks with a 4-year college degree believed that their race has negatively affected their ability to succeed (Pew Research Center, 2016).

Studies have found mixed results on whether education is a predictor of ATP. For example, some studies have found that more educated individuals tend to have positive attitudes toward police (Frank et al., 2005; Huang & Vaughn, 1996). According to a 2016 Cato Institute national survey, 67% of college graduates gave the police high ratings for enforcing the law compared to only 55% of high school graduates (Cato Institute, 2016). Prior research has found a negative relationship between educational attainment and ATP (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999) and other studies have found no relationship between the two variables (Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Ho & McKean, 2004).

Police Legitimacy & Attitudes Toward the Police

The relationship between the police and the communities they serve has long been contentious. Issues with police misconduct have been the source of citizens' outrage and

indictment of police practices and mistrust. The relationship between communities of color and the police have been even more contentious as racial minorities tend to have more negative attitudes toward police and express distrust and lower confidence in institutions of social control (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). According to Bobo and Thompson (2006), over the past two-three decades, the United States has enacted a series of policies that have reinforced a historically troubled link between race, crime, and the criminal justice system. This has resulted in blacks questioning the legitimacy of the legal system and equality in the law. Many law enforcement practices and policies are perceived as unfair among African Americans, from the disproportionate incarceration rates of blacks to the racial disparity in sentence outcomes (Bobo & Thompson, 2006). A legal system that is perceived as illegitimate is likely to face suspicion, guardedness, and open resistance (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Police legitimacy contends that citizens' perception of police as legitimate agents of authority is based on how they are treated by police. If citizens feel they are being treated fairly by police, they are more likely to perceive police as legitimate agents of control and are therefore more likely to comply to orders and cooperate with police to fight crime. However, if an individual feels they are being unfairly treated by police, they are more likely to perceive the police as illegitimate and will hold unfavorable attitudes toward law enforcement (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Police legitimacy is essentially citizens' perception of police fairness (Noppe, Verhage, & Van Damme, 2017).

The procedural justice perspective, a central component of police legitimacy, states that the legitimacy of police is based on citizens' perception of the fairness of the process in which police make decisions and exercise their authority. If citizens feel that

the police exercise their authority in fair manner, they will perceive the police as legitimate and comply and cooperate with policing efforts. However, if the public feels that the police are unfairly exercising their authority, it can result in alienation, defiance, and non-cooperation (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Tenets of the procedural justice perspective include the citizen inclusion in decision-making, the quality and fairness of citizen treatment by police, and the quality of officer decision-making (Mastrofski et al., 1996; Mazerolle et al., 2013b; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Prior research supports the connection between police legitimacy/procedural justice and citizen cooperation (Reisig, Bratton, & Gertz, 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2005; Tyler & Fagan, 2006). Furthermore, citizens' likelihood of complying and cooperating with the police is associated with evaluations of police performance, risk, and judgments about distributive justice. The instrumental perspective states that police gain citizens' acceptance when they create credible sanctioning threats for those who participate in illegal behavior (risk), effectively control crime (performance) and fairly distribute police services to citizens and the communities they serve (distributive fairness) (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In one such examination of the procedural justice-legitimacy link, White, Mulvey, and Dario (2016) interviewed 2,200 recently booked arrestees in Maricopa County, Arizona from 2010 to 2012. Participants were asked to respond to a series of statements used to measure distributive fairness such as, "police generally do not treat racial or ethnic minorities differently" and police effectiveness such as "police try to solve problems or do something when called" (White et al., 2016). Participants were also asked to respond to a series of statements used to measure procedural fairness such as, "police treat citizens with respect". Last,

participants were asked to respond to a series of statements used to gauge their likelihood of cooperating with the police such as, “you should accept police decisions, even if you think they are wrong,” and “you should do what police tell you to do, even if you disagree” (White et al., 2016). The authors found that there is a strong relationship between procedural justice and views of police legitimacy, even for a criminal justice involved population. Furthermore, results indicated that procedural justice is a significant predictor of willingness to cooperate with police (White et al., 2016).

It has been well established in criminological literature that blacks report more negative interactions with police than any other racial group (Epp et al., 2014; Hurwitz & Peffley, 2010; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004), therefore it should be expected that blacks will harbor negative attitudes toward the police and the criminal justice system as a whole (Smith et al., 2003). Blacks should be more inclined than whites to have a negative perception of police because the police represent majority domination (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969) by contributing to their oppression through legal and extralegal practices (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). For example, the police mistreatment of blacks in investigatory stops has serious implications for the perception of police in stops and the perception of the police in general (Epp et al., 2014). Routine traffic stops are one of the most common interactions the police have with citizens and serve as opportunities to build or erode perceptions of legitimacy and procedural justice between the police and the communities they serve (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Studies have found that the police are overly deployed in urban neighborhoods as a result of an increase in minority presence (Blalock, 1967; Jackson, 1989; Liska et al., 1981) or economic inequality (Jacobs & Helms, 1997), regardless of actual criminal

activity or non-service crime requests. The increase in police presence and the resulting increased contact between urban residents and police may lead to decreased perceptions of legitimacy of police. The over deployment of police and their coercive strategies may lead to skepticism of police legitimacy and antagonism between police and racial minorities. As policing is a reinforcing tool of authority, it triggers resentment in those without resources. Subordinate groups perceive the police as a repressive tool of the dominant group and is the source of their hostility and violent behavior (Jackson, 1989).

Gau and Brunson (2010) examined the perception of police legitimacy among a sample of 45 young black and white men living in disadvantaged St. Louis neighborhoods. Respondents were interviewed and asked about their current involvement or about their potential risk for involvement in delinquent activities. The study was designed to target youths who would likely have more involuntary contacts with police and whose experiences may have been unfavorable. Almost half of the participants reported experiencing police harassment and six out of ten of the respondents claimed they knew someone who had been harassed or treated poorly by police. Respondents were resentful of aggressive police tactics, especially when they knew that they had not committed a crime. Their results show that fewer than one in six participants felt that the police were often easy to talk to, fewer than one in 13 felt that the police were polite and fewer than one-third felt that the police almost never harass or mistreat people in their communities. Respondents felt that their neighborhoods had been besieged by police and that law enforcement efforts primarily consisted of stop-and-frisks. Many of the respondents felt that this tactic was overly aggressive, demeaning, and imposed with inordinate frequency. Almost 78% of respondents reported being stopped at least once in

their lives. The number of times respondents reported being stopped ranged from 1 to 100. White participants reported less troubled interactions and more positive views of the police than black respondents. Respondents also reported that the police in their neighborhoods were discourteous and verbally abusive (Gau & Brunson, 2010).

Not only does a negative encounter with police have a direct effect on ATP but the experience of one's peers that share a common bond can shape attitudes, as well. According to Tyler's (2006) process-based model, perceptions of police can be developed through indirect experiences involving shared experiences of others' encounters with police (Brunson, 2007; Horowitz, 2007). The group-position thesis maintains that racial attitudes cannot be solely examined at the individual level. When members of a subordinate group witness a fellow member being mistreated, it is common for those members to feel that pain vicariously, as if it happened to them. The vicarious experience is increased when the victim shares the incident with family, friends, and neighbors. In addition, the effect of differential identification with someone of the same racial background occurs as well. This dynamic is particularly important when the person(s) who caused the harm is a member of the dominant racial group and an authority figure (e.g., white police officer) (Weitzer, 2017). According to a national survey, blacks were 3-11 times "more likely than whites to report that someone in their household [...] had been stopped by the police solely because of their race; treated unfairly by the police [...]; and verbally or physically abused by an officer" (Weitzer, 2017, p. 1131). A poll of young adults 18-30 years old found that 44% of blacks, 22% of Hispanics, and 19% of whites reported that "someone I know" had experienced either harassment or violence from the police (Weitzer, 2017).

Researchers have attempted to understand the factors that affect interactions between the police and citizens and, therefore, influence police legitimacy (Rosenbaum et al., 2017). There are four traditions of theory and research on perceptions of police: 1) service quality, 2) justice (procedural, interactional, and distributive), 3) citizen satisfaction with government services, and 4) police legitimacy. The measure of service quality involves the use of standardized instruments to measure quality of interactions with police, typically used in the service industry (Parasuraman et al., 1988). While this tradition has been found to be effective, its application is limited in policing because police, unlike members in the service industry, are legally sanctioned to use lethal force and have almost complete control of their field – including their ability to render their services involuntary to their communities (e.g., arrest, use-of-force) (Maguire & Johnson, 2010). A few studies have applied this tradition to policing (Donnelly, Kerr, Rimmer, & Shiu, 2006; Reisig & Chandek, 2001; Webb, 1998).

In terms of justice, theorists have identified three types of justice as directly associated with perceptions of police: procedural, interactional, and distributive (Greenberg, 1987). Procedural justice is the citizen perceived fairness of police decision-making to reach an outcome (Thibaut & Walker, 1975; Lind & Tyler, 1988). Interactional justice is the citizen perceived fairness and quality of citizen-police interactions (Bies, 2005; Bies & Moag, 1986; Brockner & Greenberg, 1990). Last, distributive justice is the perceived fairness of an outcome in comparison to a related outcome (Brockner & Siegel, 1996; McFarlin & Sweeney, 1992).

Citizen satisfaction with government agencies is described as the satisfaction with or confidence in government institutions. This tradition does not rely on the assumption

that a citizen has had an interaction with a specific institution but focuses on general perceptions about the institution (e.g., Brandl et al., 1994; Frank, Smith, & Novak, 2005) or the quality of policing in their community at the local or national level (Maguire & Johnson, 2010).

Last, and as previously mentioned, legitimacy refers to the extent to which citizens perceive police as legitimate agents of authority, often measured as citizens' willingness to cooperate with police and obey orders voluntarily (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Researchers have traditionally measured legitimacy by conducting public opinion survey to examine citizens' willingness to obey the law, distrust in legal authorities, or the extent of their trust or support in the police (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Other methods include indirect measures to examine confidence, trust, or support in the police (Jackson & Sunshine, 2006; Reisig & Holtfreter, 2007). This process-based model is based on the idea that police legitimacy and the citizen outcome is determined by survey respondents' obligation to cooperate with police. Outside of the process-based model are measures associated with the citizens' perception of the equal distribution of police services or distributive fairness as this idea is believed to influence whether citizens are willing to report a crime to police, etc. (Reisig et al., 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2005; Tyler & Fagan, 2006). When members of a subordinate group witness a fellow member being mistreated, it is common for those members to feel that pain vicariously, as if it happened to them. The vicarious experience is increased when the victim shares the incident with family, friends, and neighbors. This dynamic is particularly important when the person(s) who caused the harm is a member of the dominant racial group and an authority figure (e.g., white police officer) (Weitzer, 2017). Systemic racism engrained

deep within the American criminal justice system has resulted in the historical and racialized experiences unique to only African Americans (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Feagin & Elias, 2013; Gines, 2014). There is a research consensus that racial discrimination is reflected in most every aspect of the American criminal justice system. For instance, sentencing outcomes (e.g., Curry & Corral-Camacho, 2008; Mustard, 2001; Spohn & Holleran, 2000) the juvenile justice system (e.g., Morrow, Dario, & Rodriguez, 2014), incarceration rates (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998) and arrest/stop-and-frisk rates (Mauer, 2006; Gau & Brunson, 2010) are all areas of the criminal justice system that disproportionately affect African Americans, more so than any other racial group.

To summarize, several studies have examined factors that predict ATP (Alberton, & Gorey, 2017; Miller & Davis, 2008; Mbuba, 2010; Peek, Lowe, & Alston, 1981; Scaglione & Condon, 1980; Tuch & Weitzer, 1997). Studies in this area have traditionally focused on inter-racial perceptions and have not examined the specific factors that are unique to the black community that may affect ATP. These studies have found support for variables such as education, socio-economic status, neighborhood context, and prior encounters with police. The current study builds on prior research as it seeks to determine by examining how legal oppression (e.g., racial disparities in the criminal justice system) or social oppression (e.g., income inequality) are better predictors of attitudes toward the police among the black population.

The consensus among the majority of criminological literature is that blacks hold more negative perceptions of police than whites ⁴ (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Hagan &

⁴ In a study on confidence in the police by race, Cao & Wu (2019) found that when interactions with police and concentrated disadvantage are controlled for, the effect of race tends to be reduced and/or sometimes disappears. Wheelock, Strohshine, & O'Hear

Albonetti, 1982; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Frank et al., 1996; Weitzer, 1999; Weisburd et al., 2000). The source of this perception, however, is inconsistent. In an examination of satisfaction with police protection and the perception of police community relations using data from the 1979-80 National Survey of Black Americans (NBSA), findings indicated that almost 67% of respondents were satisfied with police protection and 85% of respondents indicated that they felt that the police-community relations were positive. Factors such as perceptions of crime frequency, age, and gender better predicted the distribution of blacks' ATP than occupational status, family income, and education (Regulus, Taylor, & Jackson, 2001). According to Boggs & Galliher (1975), however, in a survey of black street respondents and black households, blacks hold negative attitudes toward the police and factors such as gender, age, residential mobility, education, occupation, and employment are significant predictors of ATP. In addition, individuals of a higher SES held more favorable attitudes toward police than individuals of a lower SES.

It does appear that indirect and direct experiences with police are significant predictors of ATP. Findings from Brunson (2007) suggest that perceptions of police are developed by indirect and direct experiences with police. Brunson (2007) conducted interviews of 40 black males in disadvantaged areas and found that 83% of respondents personally experienced harassment by police and over nine out of ten of respondents reported knowing someone who had experienced harassment by police. Novich & Hunch (2016) examined the perception and experiences of black and Hispanic youth gang

(2019) examined the aggregate and individual factors that may predict ATP and found strong support for the police nationwide. Satisfaction with police among blacks, however, was significantly lower than for any other racial group.

members with police using data from 253 in-depth interviews. They compared positive encounters and negative encounters and found that both male and female gang members regularly experienced physical and verbal abuse from police officers. Rosenbaum et al. (2005) analyzed survey data from African American, Hispanic, and white respondents prior to and after direct and indirect encounters with police. They found that respondents' vicarious experiences with police affected their perception of police and were most significant among African Americans. Further, both African American and Hispanic respondents were most likely to obtain vicarious negative information from family, friends, and neighbors compared to whites who received information from the media.

Prior Research

Black Criminology

Throughout history, researchers have attempted to explain the relationship between race and crime. The general consensus in criminological literature is that blacks constitute the largest racial group of criminal offenders. The 1976 Uniform Crime Report suggests that blacks represented 54% of arrests for murder and non-negligent homicide, despite constituting 12% of the population (Kelley, 1977). In 1997, there were 1, 240, 962 inmates incarcerated in correctional institutions. Of those inmates, 47% were black (US Department of Justice, 2000), despite blacks only comprising just over 12% of the population (US Census, 2002). More recently, a 2002 census of the 3701 inmates sentenced to the death penalty (NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 2002), found that 45% were white and 43% were black (US Department of Justice, 2000).

These findings have prompted researchers to understand the underlying causes of this behavior (Debro & Taylor, 1978). Some researchers have found that blacks are more

criminally prone than other racial groups, while others researchers have determined that the overrepresentation of blacks in the criminal justice system is the result of poverty (Debro & Taylor, 1978). Prior to the development of a black criminology, prominent philosophies such as eugenics, Darwinism and Lombrosian, described black crime as pathological (Moynihan, 1965) or biological (Wilson & Hernstein, 1985). Traditional criminological theories such as social control, anomie, phenomenology, and conflict have attempted to explain black crime, but because these theories mostly focus on class issues, they fail to assess how the present effects of past discrimination shapes the perception of the criminal justice system for black Americans (Penn, 2003). These theories have also largely been presented and evaluated by white, male theorists, rather than from the black perspective (Debro & Taylor, 1978).

Prior to the 1970s the works of black researchers were mostly excluded from mainstream publications. Most writings by black authors only appeared in black publications and were not well known in the larger academic community. Early black criminologists dedicated their work to disproving claims that blacks are inherently criminal by examining the social causes behind black crime. White intellectuals during this time claimed that black crime stemmed from inherent promiscuity, poor family structure and child rearing, drug and alcohol abuse, laziness, and lack of structure after freedom from slavery. Black intellectuals asserted that the underlying causes of black crime were due to the transition from slavery to freedom, prejudice, restricted legal rights and a racial disparity in how laws were applied (Debro & Taylor, 1978).

It is impossible to discuss Black criminology without first examining the term 'black' as a social construct (Penn, 2003). On June 7, 1494, Pope Alexander VI signed

the Treaty of Tordesillas, declaring Spanish and Portuguese ownership over all “heathen people”, specifically people of color, and their resources (Hunter & Adams, 1987).

Christians later sanctioned the slave trade to fulfill the amount of labor needed to harvest resources. Race was used as a construct by capitalists to exploit labor as a convenience and over time became “ingrained into philosophy, law and practice whereas one group becomes inferior to another” (Penn, 2003, p. 318). Today, black or African American is defined as an individual whose ancestral origin can be traced to any of the black racial groups in Africa (Office of Management and Budget, 1997). Based on this definition, persons from North African countries are white. Thus, black as a social construct can easily be misinterpreted and can result in methodological issues for criminal justice research due to relativism (Penn, 2003).

‘Black Criminology’ as a subfield was created by Russell (1992) to explore why blacks commit crimes, beyond race, and examines ‘black’ as a social construct to “explain or refute disproportionality” (Penn, 2003, p. 319). It examines the shared history of blacks in the U.S., including the experience of slavery, Jim Crow laws, segregation, and how the disproportionate rate of blacks in the criminal justice system affects crime among blacks (Penn, 2003). Black Criminology is not a monolithic theory and does not seek to explain all crimes committed by blacks. It acknowledges that blacks’ experiences in the U. S. vary in intensity, time span, and immensity based on geographic region, assimilation, socio-economic status, skin complexion and social distance. Instead, it seeks to measure the effects of black shared experiences on criminal behavior (Penn, 2003).

Early black criminological literature can be traced back to 1892 with Ida Wells-Barnett’s writings on lynching laws and the criminalization of blackness (Taylor, Greene

& Gabbidon, 2000). In the late 1890s and early 1900s, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois examined how slavery affected social disorganization within the black community (Taylor, Greene & Gabbidon, 2000). In the early 1900s, Monroe Work discussed how the migration of blacks to the industrialized north produced strain and social disorganization (Taylor, Greene & Gabbidon, 2000). E. Franklin Frazier furthered this work in the 30s and 40s by examining black migration and how the urbanization of blacks has affected crime, the home environment and delinquency (Taylor, Greene & Gabbidon, 2000). In the 30s, Earl Moses examined the environmental factors associated with delinquency among black youth (Taylor, Greene & Gabbidon, 2000). Last, in the 40s, Oliver Cox examined the disadvantaged and disenfranchised urban black community (Hunter & Abraham, 1987).

More contemporary writings include the works of Laurence-McIntyre (1993), Russell (1998), and Onwudiwe & Lynch (2000), whom examined how black as a social construct is perceived as a criminal variable. The writings of Wright (1987), Mann (1993), Higginbotham (1996), and Gabbidon, Taylor, Greene and Wilder (2002) cited specific examples of blacks receiving harsher treatment within the criminal justice system. Georges-Abeyie (1981) used the ecological perspective to explain black crime. Staples (1975) and Tatum (1994) examined the colonial model and how imperialism has produced isolation and crime. Joseph (2000), Ward (2001), and Penn (2004) cited historical and modern-day events to explain the disproportionate rate of blacks in the juvenile justice system.

In 2011, Unnever and Gabbidon introduced the Theory of African American Offending, which posits that African Americans share a unique perspective of the world,

due to their experiences with “discrimination and racism within American institutions” (Said & Feldmeyer, 2019, p. 2) (i.e., the criminal justice system, the educational system, and the workplace). Ultimately, this perspective leads to a higher likelihood of criminal offending. For example, recent evidence indicates that experiences with discrimination and racism can lead to a higher likelihood of criminal offending among African American students, increasing their chance of dropping out of school (Unnever, Cullen, & Barnes, 2016). To mitigate the increased chance of becoming involved in criminal offending, the Theory of African American Offending proposes that African American children be exposed to the process of racial socialization, to teach them how to cope with experiences of racial discrimination. A recent study attempted to examine this theory through a series of interviews of African American male college students (Said & Feldmeyer, 2019). Participants indicated that they received racial socialization messages from family members (parents, grandparents, etc.) and non-family members (teachers, peers, etc.). Messages involved physical and emotional safety, how to avoid the police, how to interact with the police, and racial pride, among other topics. According to the respondents, their parents chose to share this information with their kids due to concerns over safety and concerns with their children developing low self-esteem and confidence as a result of exposure to discrimination and racism. Participants reported developing coping strategies as a result of racial socialization, with the common strategy being to have joined a minority student organization. Further, participants claimed that these racial socialization messages, in addition to joining minority student organizations, helped them to feel closer with the University community. These findings are encouraging because according to the Theory of African American offending, poor social connection with

schools can develop if students are not taught to have a positive racial identity, lack the proper coping mechanisms to deal with racism, or receive more messages of distrust than messages of racial equality and fairness attended (Said & Feldmeyer, 2019).

The sole inclusion of black college students as a sample population is crucial because the social and historical experiences of black students in higher education are often neglected and desensitized (Benyehudah, 2019). According to Giroux (2004), despite the increasing racial diversity of students in higher education, there still exists a lack of “curricular sensitivity to the multiplicity of economic, social, and cultural factors, that uniquely affects black students” (p. 101). Proponents of Black Studies believe that by not examining how racial experiences affect personal identities, academia contributes to institutional racism (Phillips, 2010). Not affording black students the educational opportunity to analyze their experiences may cause them to struggle in trusting and connecting with individuals outside of their race (Hyttén & Bettez, 2011). From an epistemic standpoint, black students, as members of marginalized groups, not only hold a perspective that differs from that of white students (Janack, 1997) but also have the privilege of speaking to their knowledge of oppression, based on their personal experiences (Kotzee, 2010). Members of oppressed groups “have a systematically clearer view on political reality than their oppressors” (Kotzee, 2010, p. 274).

Current Study

While prior research has examined how different factors affect attitudes toward police, these studies have mostly examined these perceptions among either racially mixed or mostly white samples (Dowler & Sparks, 2008; Hurst, Frank, & Browning, 2000; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Scaglione & Condon, 1980; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Webb &

Marshall, 1995; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004a; Weitzer et al., 2008). In fact, most general theories of crime suggest a “one size fits all” approach (Penn, 2003, p. 318) and disregard the unique factors that shape the African American community’s relationship with the criminal justice system (Unnever, Gabbidon, & Chouhy, 2019). According to Russell (1992), the failure to acknowledge and further develop a Black Criminology will “limit the discipline’s ability to explain [...] the relationship between race and crime and to guide policy accordingly” (Russell, 1992, p. 675).

To summarize, systemic racism engrained deep within the American criminal justice system has resulted in historical and racialized experiences unique to only African Americans (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Feagin & Elias, 2013; Gines, 2014). Additionally, among the handful of samples that do explore the perceptions of African Americans, the findings are largely inconsistent. This study seeks to compare oppressive factors that affect the black, community by surveying a random sample of black college students at a mid-sized southeastern university. The findings in this study will provide a better understanding of the nuances that affect attitudes toward police within the black community and ultimately lend toward advancing the study of a Black Criminology. This study does not argue that non-African Americans do not experience oppression of myriad form, but rather argues that African Americans may perceive oppression differently from other racial groups due to their historically oppressive experiences in America (Unnever, Gabbidon, & Chouhy, 2019).

Hypotheses

H₁: Younger students will have more positive attitudes toward police than older students.

H₂: Respondents in graduate school will have more positive attitudes toward police than undergraduates.

H₃: Respondents with a higher household income will have more positive attitudes toward police than respondents with a lower household income.

H₄: Respondents who are unemployed or underemployed will have more of a negative attitude toward police than respondents who are employed.

H₅: Respondents who live in socially disorganized neighborhoods will have a more negative attitude toward police than respondents who live in socially organized neighborhoods.

H₆: Legal oppression is a better predictor of attitudes toward police than social structural oppression

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Sample

Data for this study was obtained through a convenience sample of undergraduate and graduate college students. The students were enrolled in face-to-face and online courses within the same academic college at a mid-sized southeastern university. Surveys were administered to 2,290 students enrolled in courses during the Spring 2019 and Summer 2019 semesters, beginning in April 2019 and ending in September 2019. The study participants consisted of all classification levels (i.e., freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors, and graduate students). The inclusion criteria for the study were adults over the age of 18. No adults who were incapable of informed consent were recruited or allowed to participate in the study. All responses were kept confidential. Though students of all races were surveyed, data was partitioned by race for analyses.

After receiving IRB approval, the researcher contacted professors of various social science majors within the mid-sized southeastern university, via email, requesting their permission to administer the surveys to students at an agreed upon date during the semester. The researcher visited each class and discussed the purpose of study, answered the students' questions, and provided instructions. The survey was administered to online students via Survey Monkey. The survey took each student no more than five minutes to complete. As participation was voluntary, students had the option to either complete the

survey in-class or not participate. Students were able to access the survey on their personal computer or cellular device (see Appendix section).

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable examined in this study is attitudes toward the police (ATP). To measure attitudes toward police, participants were asked to respond agree, strongly agree, neutral, disagree or strongly disagree to the following questions/statements (Brandl, Frank, Wooldredge, & Watkins, 1997):

- In general, I trust police.
- In general, I like the police.
- In general, I am satisfied with the police in my neighborhood.
- In general, police officers do a good job.
- The police do a good job of stopping crime.
- The police do a good job of stopping people from using drugs.
- The police do a good job of stopping people from selling drugs.
- The police do a good job in keeping my neighborhood quiet at night.
- The police will help you if your car is broken down and you need help.
- If the police see someone who is sick and needs help, they will do their best to help.

The responses were coded so that a higher score indicates a positive perception of police.

Independent Variables

The independent variables of interest examined in this study are social structural oppression and legal oppression. Social oppression was measured by educational

attainment, socio-economic status (measured by household income), employment status, and neighborhood disorganization. To measure *educational attainment*, participants were asked to indicate their highest level of educational attainment from the following categories: (1) undergraduate; (2) graduate. A dummy variable was created for this measure, with undergraduate as the reference group. To measure *socio-economic status*, participants were asked to indicate their household income from the following categories: (1) less than \$10,000; (2) \$10,000-\$20,000; (3) \$20,001-\$30,000; (4) \$31,001-\$50,000; and (5) Greater than \$50,000 (Frank, Smith, & Novak, 2005). Dummy variables were created for each of these categories, with less than \$10,000 as the reference. To measure *employment*, participants were asked to indicate their employment status as either: (0) unemployed; (1) employed (part-time); (2) employed (full-time). A dummy variable was then created, with unemployment as the reference category.

To measure *neighborhood disorganization*, participants were asked to respond (1) yes or (0) no to the following statements (Winstanley, Steinwachs, Ensminger, Latkin, Stitzer, & Olsen, 2008):

- There is a lot of crime in your neighborhood.
- There is a lot of drug selling that goes on in your neighborhood.
- People in your neighborhood often help each other out.
- There are lots of street fights in your neighborhood.
- There are many empty or abandoned buildings in your neighborhood.
- People in your neighborhood often visit in each other's homes.
- There is a lot of graffiti in your neighborhood.
- People move in and out of your neighborhood often.

The statements, “people in your neighborhood often help each other out” and “people in your neighborhood often visit in each other's homes” were reverse coded so that the responses to all questions in the measure are summative in the same direction. A high score on this measure indicates more neighborhood disorganization.

Measures of *legal oppression* include (1) personal negative interaction with police; (2) vicarious experience of a negative encounter with police, and (3) arrest experience. The survey questions used to measure personal and vicarious negative interactions with police are based on the work of Weitzer & Tuch (2004b), which examined several demographic, micro-, and macro-level variables, to determine if and how race affects ATP (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004b).

To measure *personal negative encounters with police* participants were asked to respond (1) yes or (0) no to the following questions:

- Have you ever been stopped by police on the street without good reason?
- Have the police ever used insulting language toward you?
- Have police ever used excessive force against you?
- Have you ever seen a police officer engage in any corrupt activities (such as taking bribes or involvement in drug trade)?
- Have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the police specifically because of your race in [your city/your own neighborhood]?
- Have you ever felt that you were stopped by the police just because of your race or ethnic background?

A higher score on this measure indicates more negative personal encounters with police.

To measure *vicarious negative encounters with police*, participants were asked to respond yes (-1) or no (-0) to the following questions:

- Have police, without good reason, ever stopped anyone else in your household on the street?
- Have the police ever used insulting language toward anyone else in your household?
- Have police ever used excessive force against anyone else in your household?

A higher score on this measure indicates the respondent having more negative vicarious encounters with police.

To measure *arrest* experience, another indicator of legal oppression, participants were asked to indicate yes (-1) or (-0) no to the following question (Fite, Wynn, & Pardini, 2009):

- Have you ever been arrested?

Control Variable(s)

The control variables examined in this study are age and gender to demonstrate non-spuriousness. Previous studies have found that age (Cato Institute Survey, 2016; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Ivkovic, 2008; Peek, Lowe, & Alston, 1981; Reisig & Parks, 2000) and gender (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Hurst, Browning, & Frank, 2000; Ivkovic, 2008) affect attitudes toward police. To measure age, participants were asked to indicate their age from the following categories: 18-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 46-50, 51-55, 56-60, and +60. The response categories above the age of 26 were collapsed into one age group for statistical

power purposes. A dummy variable was created for the 18-25 year old age group, with 26 older than 60 as the reference group. To measure gender, respondents were asked to select their gender among the following categories: male, female, nonbinary, and transgender. Gender is often measured as a male-female binary, which results in the miscategorization of individuals who do not identify with either category. Moreover, correct gender identification is crucial at every stage of the criminal justice process, for safety reasons (Valcore & Pfeffer, 2018). None of the respondents in the black sample identified as nonbinary or transgender. A gender dummy variable was created with female participants being the reference category.

Analytic Technique

Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression was employed because the dependent variable in this study, attitudes toward police, is measured on a continuous scale (Avdija, 2010; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & King, 2005). IBM SPSS Statistics 26 was used to analyze the data and perform the analyses.

CHAPTER 4

Results

Assumptions Testing

Assumptions tests were performed to check for normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, and absence of multicollinearity. To check for normality, or if the residuals of the regression follow a normal distribution, the normal Predicted Probability (P-P) plot was examined. While a slight deviation did occur, there are no drastic deviations and the vast majority of the data points follow the normality line (see Figure 1). Since the independent variables in the regression follow a straight linear relationship with the dependent variable, and are normally distributed, linearity can also be assumed. To check for homoscedasticity, the scatterplot of the residuals was analyzed. The data points do not follow a pattern and are not equally distributed on the x or y axis, indicating homoskedasticity (see Figure 2). The Breusch-Pagan test was then performed; the null hypothesis that there is constant variance among the residuals was not rejected, indicating homoscedasticity, ($F(2,77) = 2.24, p = .113$). To check for the absence of multicollinearity, the variance inflation factors (VIFs) were examined. Multicollinearity does not appear to be introduced into the model, as all of the (VIFs) are less than 5 (refer to Table 1 for a complete list of the VIFs).

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual

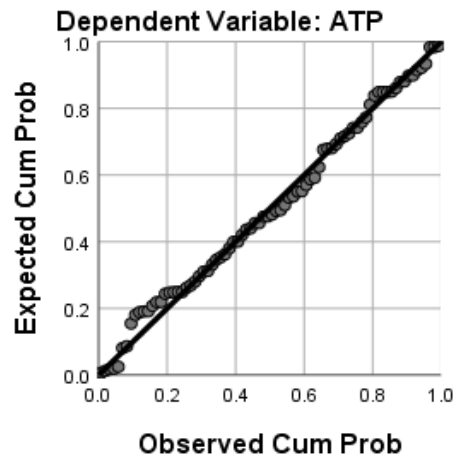


Figure 1

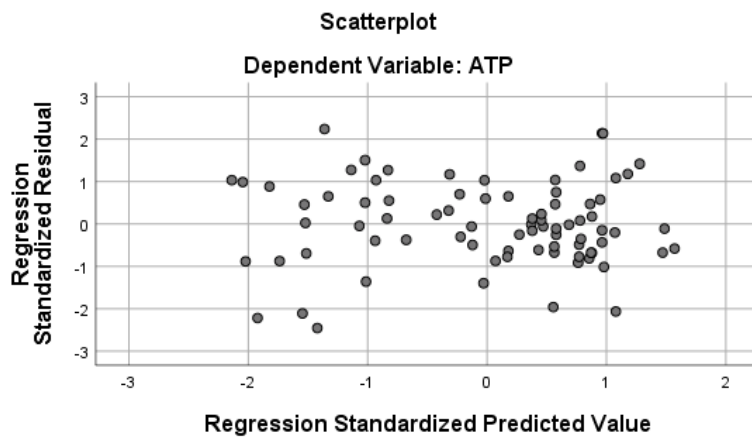


Figure 2

Variable	VIF
Age	1.465
Gender	1.650
<i>Social Oppression</i>	
Undergraduate	1.370
Graduate	1.670
Employment Status	1.581
Household Income	1.593
<i>Neighborhood Disorganization</i>	
There is a lot of crime in your neighborhood	3.417
There is a lot of drug selling that goes on in your neighborhood	2.882
People in your neighborhood help each other out	1.420
There are lots of street fights in your neighborhood	2.292
There are many empty or abandoned buildings in your neighborhood	2.655
People in your neighborhood visit each other homes	1.532
There is a lot of graffiti in your neighborhood	2.372
People move in and out of your neighborhood often	1.566

Legal Oppression

Have you ever been arrested?

1.387

Have you ever been stopped by police on the street without good reason?

3.691

Have the police ever used insulting language toward you?

2.320

Have the police ever used insulting language toward anyone else in your household?

2.943

Have police ever used excessive force against you?

1.606

Have you ever seen a police officer engage in any corrupt activities (such as taking bribes or involvement in drug trade)?

1.532

Have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the police specifically because of your race in [your city/your own neighborhood]?

2.208

Have you ever felt that you were stopped by the police just because of your race or ethnic background?

4.495

Have police, without good reason, ever stopped anyone else in your household on the street?

2.198

Have police ever used excessive force against anyone else in your household?

2.289

Table 1: Variance Inflation Factors

Univariate Results

Among the 2,290 students invited to participate in this study, 473 students responded, for a response rate of 20.6%. A little over 65% were white and 3% of students were Asian. Though students of all races were surveyed, data was partitioned by race. Therefore, only the responses of black students were analyzed ($n = 144$). About 67% of respondents were between the ages of 18-25, and mostly undergraduate students (93.8%). The respondents were predominately female (72.2%) and reported an income of less than \$10,000 (23.2%). The majority of students also reported working a full-time job (41.7%).

Slightly over 80% ($n = 116$) of respondents reported favorable personal interactions with police. 53.5% ($n = 77$) had favorable vicarious experiences with police. Almost 50% ($n = 75$) had not experienced mistreatment or racial discrimination by police. Almost 48% ($n = 69$) reported disorganization in their neighborhoods (see Table 2 for full results).

Variable	N	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Age	144	1.75	1.446	1	8
Gender (Male=1)	144	1.72	.449	1	2
<i>Social Oppression Variables</i>					
Undergraduate	138	3.28	.861	1	4
Graduate	86	1.77	1.308	1	6

Employment Status	144	1.19	.784	0	2
Household Income	142	2.89	1.430	1	5
<i>Neighborhood Disorganization</i>					
There is a lot of crime in your neighborhood	144	.16	.368	0	1
There is a lot of drug selling that goes on in your neighborhood	144	.24	.430	0	1
People help each other out	144	.67	.471	0	1
There are lots of street fights in your neighborhood	144	.10	.307	0	1
There are many empty or abandoned buildings in your neighborhood	144	.11	.315	0	1
People in your neighborhood often visit in each other's homes	144	.39	.489	0	1
There is a lot of graffiti in your neighborhood	144	.06	.243	0	1
People move in and out of your neighborhood often	144	.38	.486	0	1
<i>ATP</i>					
In general, I trust police	144	3.14	.913	1	5
In general, I like the police	144	3.33	.884	1	5
In general, I am satisfied with the police in my neighborhood	144	3.41	.934	1	5

In general, police officers do a good job	144	3.42	.905	1	5
The police do a good job of stopping crime	143	3.13	.933	1	5
The police do a good job of stopping people from using drugs	144	2.45	.960	1	5
The police do a good job of stopping people from selling drugs	144	2.66	.955	1	5
The police do a good job in keeping my neighborhood quiet at night	144	3.37	1.108	1	5
The police will help you if your car is broken down and you need help	144	3.46	.967	1	5
If the police see someone who is sick and needs help, they will do their best to help	143	3.29	.903	1	5

Legal Oppression Variables

Have you ever been arrested?	144	.07	.255	0	1
Have you ever been stopped by police on the street without good reason?	144	.28	.449	0	1
Have the police ever used insulting language toward you?	144	.22	.412	0	1
Have police ever used excessive force against you?	144	.05	.216	0	1
Have you ever seen a police officer engage in any corrupt activities (such as taking bribes or involvement in drug trade)?	144	.13	.332	0	1
Have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the police specifically because of your race in [your city/your own neighborhood]?	143	.36	.483	0	1
Have you ever felt that you were stopped by the police just because of your race or ethnic background?					

	144	.35	.478	0	1
Have police, without good reason, ever stopped anyone else in your household on the street?					
	144	.41	.493	0	1
Have the police ever used insulting language toward anyone else in your household?					
	144	.28	.449	0	1
Have police ever used excessive force against anyone else in your household?					
	144	.20	.402	0	1

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

Binary Results

A factor analysis was performed to determine if the items used to measure neighborhood disorganization⁵, reflect a lower number of unobserved variables, or factors. The factorability of the six neighborhood disorganization items was examined. Several criteria were used to determine the factorability of a correlation. The value for the Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin measure was .801, above the recommended value of .6. The Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant ($p < .001$). Only one eigenvalue was identified and explained 49% of the variance. Regarding the Component Matrix, only one component was extracted so the solution was not rotated. The extraction method used was the Principal Component Analysis, with varimax rotation.

A reliability analysis was performed to test the internal consistency of the items used to measure legal oppression. The Cronbach’s alpha score described good internal consistency ($\alpha = .825$)⁶, indicating that the items measure a single latent construct. This is

⁵ The items, “People in your neighborhood help each other out” and “People in your neighborhood often visit in each other’s’ homes were removed after performing a factor analysis. The statements were fundamentally different than the other six statements and both loaded on the same construct.

⁶ Nunnally (1978) is credited with developing the rule of thumb that requires a Cronbach’s alpha of .70 or higher to use an instrument.

consistent with the findings of Weitzer & Tuch (2004b), of which the survey questions were derived. The authors found that two composite indices emerged from the ten items, and that questions generally clustered around personal experiences⁷ and vicarious experiences⁸. In this data, three composite indices emerged and were accordingly recoded. Personal: (Have you ever been arrested?; Have police ever used excessive force against you?; Have you ever seen a police officer engage in any corrupt activities (such as taking bribes or involvement in drug trade?). Vicarious: (Have police, without good reason, ever stopped anyone else in your household on the street?; Have police ever used excessive force against anyone else in your household?; Have the police ever used insulting language toward anyone else in your household? Experiences with police mistreatment/racial discrimination: have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the police specifically because of your race in [your city/your own neighborhood]?; Have you ever felt that you were stopped by the police just because of your race or ethnic background?; Have the police ever used insulting language toward you?; Have you ever been stopped by police on the street without good reason?). A factor analysis was then performed and none of the variables were too highly correlated: the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure was .614, the p-value for Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is .000, <.001, and it was statistically significant.

The items used to measure ATP were not transformed because the scale was summative, the responses were normally distributed, and all of the assumptions were met.

⁷ (1) In general, I trust police; (2) In general, I am satisfied with the police in my neighborhood; (3) The police do a good job of stopping crime; and (4) The police do a good job of stopping people from selling drugs.

⁸ (1) I like the police; (2) In general, police officers do a good job; and (3) The police do a good job of stopping people from using drugs.

A correlation matrix was performed to determine if the variables were too highly correlated. None of the values were problematic (see Table 3).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Graduate_Dummy									
Pearson Correlation	1	.015	.102	.063	.029	-.104	.025	.052	-.082
Sig. (2-tailed)	.861	.224	.455	.735	.865	.772	.772	.542	.329
N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
2 Mistreatment_RacialDiscrimination									
Pearson Correlation	.015	1	.500**	.372**	-.121	.185*	-.014	.017	-.080
Sig. (2-tailed)	.861		.000	.000	.155	.028	.869	.839	.343
N	143	143	143	143	141	141	141	141	141
3 Vicarious Interactions with Police									
Pearson Correlation	.102	.500**	1	.271**	.009	.125	.109	-.135	-.096
Sig. (2-tailed)	.224	.000		.001	.916	.138	.198	.110	.255
N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
4 Personal Interactions with Police									
Pearson Correlation	.063	.372**	.271**	1	-.066	.189*	-.163	.082	-.065
Sig. (2-tailed)	.455	.000	.001		.436	.025	.052	.330	.441
N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	14
5 Greaterthan50k									
Pearson Correlation	.029	-.121	.009	-.066	1	-.243**	-.198*	-.233**	-.248**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.735	.155	.916	.436		.004	.018	.005	.003
N	142	141	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
6 Dummy31k1_50k									
Pearson Correlation	-.014	.185*	.125	.189*	-.243**	1	-.237**	-.279**	-.297**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.865	.028	.138	.025	.004		.004	.001	.000
N	142	141	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
7 Dummy20k1_30k									
Pearson Correlation	.025	-.014	.109	-.163	-.198*	-.237**	1	-.228**	-.242**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.772	.869	.198	.052	.018	.004		.006	.004
N	142	141	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
8 Dummy10k_20k									
Pearson Correlation	.052	.017	-.135	.082	-.233**	-.279**	-.228**	1	-.285**

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.542	.839	.110	.330	.005	.001	.006		.001
	N	142	141	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
9 Lessthan10kDummy										
	Pearson Correlation	-.082	-.080	-.096	-.065	-.248**	-.297**	-.242**	-.285**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.329	.343	.255	.441	.003	.000	.004	.001	
	N	142	141	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
10 FullTimeDummy										
	Pearson Correlation	.044	.145	.109	.115	.001	.229**	.211*	-.051	-.362**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.603	.083	.195	.172	.990	.006	.012	.544	.000
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
11 UnemployedDummy										
	Pearson Correlation	-.064	.031	.127	-.001	.117	-.130	-.100	-.197*	.302**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.446	.715	.128	.994	.167	.124	.237	.019	.000
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
12 PartTimeDummy										
	Pearson Correlation	.011	-.176*	-.224**	-.117	-.103	-.123	-.130	.224**	.109
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.894	.035	.007	.161	.224	.146	.123	.007	.195
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
13 ND_Reduced										
	Pearson Correlation	.126	.201*	.213*	.208*	-.174*	-.026	.018	.139	.030
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.131	.016	.010	.012	.039	.762	.833	.100	.722
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
14 Dummy36_60										
	Pearson Correlation	-.109	.083	.116	.026	.103	.104	.047	-.171*	-.070
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.194	.323	.167	.759	.223	.217	.579	.042	.407
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
15 Dummy31_35										
	Pearson Correlation	.078	.028	-.060	.050	-.002	.079	.073	-.095	-.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.354	.740	.478	.551	.982	.353	.391	.260	.576
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
16 Dummy26_30										
	Pearson Correlation	-.218**	.105	.093	.177*	-.129	.072	.207*	.038	-.175*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.213	.266	.033	.127	.392	.014	.650	.037
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
17 Dummy18_25										

	Pearson Correlation	.187*	-.148	-.108	-.179*	.031	-.167*	-.227**	.137	.203*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025	.078	.197	.032	.713	.047	.007	.104	.016
	N	144	143	144	144	142	142	142	142	142
			10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1 Graduate_Dummy										
	Pearson Correlation	.044	-.064	.011	.126	-.109	.078	-.218**	.187*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.603	.446	.894	.131	.194	.354	.009	.025	
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
2 Mistreatment_RacialDiscrimination										
	Pearson Correlation	.145	.031	-.176*	.201*	.083	.028	.105	-.148	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.083	.715	.035	.016	.323	.740	.213	.078	
	N	143	143	143	143	143	143	143	143	143
3 Vicarious										
	Pearson Correlation	.109	.127	-.224**	.213*	.116	-.060	.093	-.108	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.195	.128	.007	.010	.167	.478	.266	.197	
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
4 Personal										
	Pearson Correlation	.115	-.001	-.117	.208*	.026	.050	.177*	-.179*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.172	.994	.161	.012	.759	.551	.033	.032	
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
5 Greaterthan50k										
	Pearson Correlation	.001	.117	-.103	-.174*	.103	-.002	-.129	.031	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.990	.167	.224	.039	.223	.982	.127	.713	
	N	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
6 Dummy31k1_50k										
	Pearson Correlation	.229**	-.130	-.123	-.026	.104	.079	.072	-.167*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.124	.146	.762	.217	.353	.392	.047	
	N	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
7 Dummy20k1_30k										
	Pearson Correlation	.211*	-.100	-.130	.018	.047	.073	.207*	-.227**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.012	.237	.123	.833	.579	.391	.014	.007	
	N	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
8 Dummy10k_20k										
	Pearson Correlation	-.051	-.197*	.224**	.139	-.171*	-.095	.038	.137	

Sig. (2-tailed)	.544	.019	.007	.100	.042	.260	.650	.104
N	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
9 Lessthan10kDummy								
Pearson Correlation	-.362**	.302**	.109	.030	-.070	-.047	-.175*	.203*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.195	.722	.407	.576	.037	.016
N	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
10 FullTimeDummy								
Pearson Correlation	1	-.461**	-.626**	-.032	.151	.153	.090	-.253**
Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.705	.072	.067	.284	.002
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
11 UnemployedDummy								
Pearson Correlation	-.461**	1	-.404**	.159	-.012	.075	-.038	-.008
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.058	.890	.373	.651	.923
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
12 PartTimeDummy								
Pearson Correlation	-.626**	-.404**	1	-.107	-.145	-.223**	-.059	.268**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.203	.083	.007	.481	.001
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
13 ND_Reduced								
Pearson Correlation	-.032	.159	-.107	1	-.076	-.079	-.109	.177*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.705	.058	.203		.366	.344	.194	.034
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
14 Dummy36_60								
Pearson Correlation	.151	-.012	-.145	-.076	1	-.099	-.136	-.471**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.072	.890	.083	.366		.238	.105	.000
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
15 Dummy31_35								
Pearson Correlation	.153	.075	-.223**	-.079	-.099	1	-.125	-.433**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.067	.373	.007	.344	.238		.137	.000
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
16 Dummy26_30								
Pearson Correlation	.090	-.038	-.059	-.109	-.136	-.125	1	-.594**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.284	.651	.481	.194	.105	.137		.000
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
17 Dummy18_25								

Pearson Correlation	-.253**	-.008	.268**	.177*	-.471**	-.433**	-.594**	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.923	.001	.034	.000	.000	.000	
N	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3 Correlation Matrix

Multivariate Results

The purpose of this study is to determine whether legal oppression or social structural oppression is a better predictor of attitudes toward police. Since independent variables are being used to predict the dependent variable, attitudes toward police, regression analysis was utilized. 28 percent of the variance can be explained by the model and the model is also significant $p < .001$ (see Table 4). The R^2 value is reported because the scales and correlations are more conservative. The regression model is also significant (see Table 4). The variables that were found to be statistically significant were gender $< .01$, vicarious experiences with police $< .01$, and experiences with mistreatment and racial discrimination $< .01$. The regression model predicts that for every 1 unit increase in the responses of males, positive ATP will increase by .338, compared to females. For every vicarious interaction with police, negative ATP increased by -.495. For every experience with mistreatment and racial discrimination, negative ATP increased by -.517 (see Table 4).

OLS Regression Analysis for the effect of Legal Oppression Variables and Social Oppression Variables on Supportive Attitudes Toward the Police (Controlling for Gender and Age) (N=144 African American respondents).

<u>Legal Oppression Variables</u>	<u>Dependent Variable</u>		
	Supportive Attitudes Toward the Police		
	β	SD	Sig. Level
Personal Interactions with Police	-.110	.330	.05
Vicarious Interactions with Police	-.272*	.170	.05
Mistreatment (Racial Discrimination)	-.279*	.184	.05
<u>Social Structural Oppression Variables</u>			
Education (1=Graduate)	-.071	.230	.001
Income (1=\$10,001-\$20,000)	.000	.166	.001
Income (1=\$20,001-\$30,000)	.028	.198	.001
Income (1=\$30,001 to \$50,000)	.077	.171	.001
Income (1=\$50,001 or more)	.014	.175	.001
Neighborhood Social Disorganization	.068	.239	.001
Employment Status (1=Part time)	.032	.158	.001
Employment Status (1=Full time)	.054	.158	.001
<u>Control Variables</u>			
Age (1=19-60)	-.123	.132	.001
Gender (Male=1)	.221*	.126	.05
Constant	-----	.253	
R =.530 ^a			
R ² =.280			

Note * = p<.05

Table 4: Regression Analysis

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine whether social structural oppression or legal oppression is a better predictor of attitudes toward police among African Americans. Though prior research has examined how different factors affect attitudes toward police, these studies have mostly examined these perceptions among either racially mixed or mostly white samples (Dowler & Sparks, 2008; Hurst, Frank, & Browning, 2000; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Scaglione & Condon, 1980; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004a; Weitzer et al., 2008). This study seeks to compare factors that affect the black community (i.e., measures of legal and social oppression) by surveying a large, random sample of black, college students at a mid-sized southeastern university. Data for this study was obtained through a convenience sample of undergraduate and graduate college students. The students were enrolled in face-to-face and online courses within the same academic college at a racially and ethnically diverse public university in the mid-sized southeastern United States.

The variables that were found to be statistically significantly related to ATP were gender ($p < .01$), vicarious experiences with police ($p < .01$), and experiences with mistreatment and racial discrimination ($p < .01$). The first hypothesis that younger students will have more positive attitudes toward police, was not supported by the model. The second hypothesis, that respondents in graduate school will have more positive

attitudes toward police than undergraduates, was not supported by the model. The third hypothesis, that respondents with a higher household income will have more positive attitudes toward police than respondents with a lower household income, was supported by the model. The fourth hypothesis, that respondents who are unemployed or underemployed will have more of a negative attitude toward police than respondents who are employed, was supported by the model. The fifth hypothesis, that respondents who live in socially disorganized neighborhoods will have a more negative attitude toward police than respondents who live in socially organized neighborhoods, was not supported by the model. The sixth hypothesis, that legal oppression is a better predictor of attitudes toward police than social structural oppression, was supported by the model (see Table 4).

In line with extant research, gender is a significant predictor of ATP (see: Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Correia, Reising, & Lovrich, 1996; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Hurst, Browning, & Frank, 2000; Ivkovic, 2008). Overall, legal oppression is was found to better inform ATP among black Americans than social oppression. Of note, the majority of social oppression variables were found to be non-significant (see Table 4).

The finding that vicarious interactions with police is highly significant aligns with previous studies which found that indirect and direct experiences with police are significant predictors of ATP (Brunson, 2007; Novich & Hunch, 2016; Rosenbaum et al., 2005). When members of a subordinate group witness a fellow group member being mistreated, it is common for the directly unaffected to feel that pain vicariously, as if it happened to them. The impact of the vicarious experience increases when the victim shares the incident with their social network (i.e., family, friends, and neighbors). This

dynamic is particularly salient when the person(s) who caused the harm is a member of the dominant racial group and an authority figure (e.g., white police officer) (Weitzer, 2017). Further, the police essentially represent the face of the criminal justice system. If African Americans have constantly been told stories by their loved ones of police mistreatment, a natural consequence is that they develop negative perceptions of not only the police but the criminal justice system as a whole. The impact of vicarious encounters with police, as well as police mistreatment and racial discrimination, can be explained by the historical relationship between the police and the black community detailed in this thesis. Systemic racism engrained deep within the American criminal justice system has resulted in historical and racialized experiences unique to only African Americans (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Feagin & Elias, 2013; Gines, 2014).

Last, it is important to note that this thesis used *attitudes toward police* as the outcome measure, rather than *legitimacy/procedural justice*, which is the more traditional measure used in criminological research. In line with the theoretical underpinnings of a Black Criminology, procedural justice, as put forth by Tyler (1990) presents “as a theory that applies equally across subgroups of people” (McManus, Shafer, & Graham, 2019, p. 326). McManus and colleagues (2019), suggest a procedural justice model that considers the unique historical and present-day experiences of African Americans, suggesting “it is possible that Black Americans have a racialized interpretation or understanding of procedural justice itself” (p. 333). The history of blacks in America cannot be measured, but understanding the racialized variation in global and specific ATP requires “asking Black Americans what they want and what they expect from authorities in the criminal justice system”-as this thesis sought to examine (McManus et al., 2019, p. 333). Prior

research also suggests a need for more attention to this area, as some extant research has found the existence of racial differences in the perceptions of, and experiences with, police (Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004a, 2006). The current procedural justice model is constructed around vicarious and personal interactions with police. Knowing that the relationship between the police and the African American community has historically been negative, the general model cannot be validly applied to measure African American perceptions of police. Though researchers have suggested that procedural model is applicable to all racial groups (Tyler & Huo, 2002), it is appropriate for criminological literature to identify racial nuances in the measure itself.

The Black Criminology model of procedural justice, according to McManus, Shafer, & Graham (2019), emphasizes

“exploration of the unique factors that influence Black Americans’ global attitudes toward police, examination of the impact of these attitudes on perceptions of procedural justice in police encounters and subsequent outcomes depicted in the procedural justice model of policing... and discussion concerning the implications of procedural justice for police relations with minority communities” (p. 330).

The model identifies three factors that shape global ATP among Black Americans: general discrimination, experience with police, and legal socialization (McManus et al., 2019). The model recognizes that global attitudes among African Americans are the result of accumulated discrimination, that include slavery and mass incarceration. Furthermore, the police have historically been relied upon to enforce the oppression of minority groups (Tolbert & Grummel, 2003). For this reason, blacks perceive the police, from a racialized standpoint, forcing them to become more adept at identifying discriminatory behavior (Unnever et al., 2019). Relatedly, legal socialization has been found to predict ATP (McManus, Shafer, & Graham, 2019). For many black

families, a conversation is held between parents/guardians and their children to discuss how to conduct themselves in interactions with police. During these conversations, personal experiences are shared, as well as the “do’s” and “don’ts”, of interacting with law enforcement, to ensure that the child leaves the future encounter unharmed. This conversation is a key part of the legal socialization of black youth, who are taught to be leery of police. This suspiciousness, or trepidation, carries on into adulthood, shaping ATP. Finally, the Black procedural justice model acknowledges that blacks are not a monolith. The model does, however, consider the commonly encountered racialized experiences of the vast majority of African Americans to better understand the factors that shape ATP, and interactions more broadly between the African American community and the police (Unnever et al., 2019).

Limitations

To provide an accurate depiction of whether social structural oppression or legal oppression is a better predictor of attitudes toward police among African Americans, it is important to note the limitations of this study. As the sample is non-representative, it cannot be generalized to a larger population. Further, as the study used a convenience sample of criminology and criminal justice majors at one University, the sample may not be representative of the entire study body population or other institutions. Despite this issue, research has suggested that concerns about student samples may be overstated (Druckman & Kam, 2011), and that student samples are valid samples for criminal justice research (Wieko, 2010). Additionally, extant literature supports the use of convenience surveys to examine theoretical hypotheses; several studies have used convenience

samples to examine attitudes toward the police (Brown & Benedict, 2005; Mbuba, 2010; Nadal & Davidoff, 2015).

Another limitation of this study is the conceptualization and operationalization of the educational attainment measure. A true indication of educational suppression may not have been measured because the respondents are currently in college, and continuing their education. Future research should measure the educational attainment of the respondents' parents. Students whose parents are more educated are more likely to be more academically successful than students whose parents are less educated.

Areas of Future Research and Theoretical Implications

This study can be characterized as an exploratory study in the area of black criminology, and as such, there are several areas for future research. To address the issue of generalizability, future studies should use a larger sample size of black college students to ensure statistical power. Second, there is a paucity of literature on how nationality affects perception of police. Though the majority of the black population in the U.S. hold unfavorable attitudes toward police, black people are not a monolithic group. Inter-cultural experiences and ideas may play a role in shaping perceptions of police, regardless of race. Most studies do not indicate the nationality of the participants involved, only race and ethnicity (e.g., African American, Caribbean-American, African, etc.). Future studies should explore if nationality affects this outcome by examining how different nationalities within the African diaspora perceive the police. Political party affiliation is another avenue of research that should also be explored. According to a recent Pew Research Center survey, 78% of Republicans feel that the police treat all racial and ethnic groups equally, compared to 26% of Democrats (Pew Research Center,

2016b). As the majority of African Americans are Democrats, perhaps, political party affiliation will have a significant effect on attitudes toward police (Gallup, 2008).

A longitudinal study examining ATP among black respondents is another avenue of inquiry to pursue. One recent study by Peyton, Sierra-Arévalo, and Rand (2019), examined the effects of community-oriented policing on citizens' perceptions of their local police. The authors found that positive, non-enforcement related encounters improved respondents' legitimacy perceptions of the police. These effects persisted for 21 days after the first encounter with police, with the effects being strongest among non-white citizens. There does not appear to be any extant research that has conducted a longitudinal study on ATP among black respondents. A longitudinal design would allow assessment of the stability of these effects.

An interesting finding of note was that the responses varied based on the focus of the survey questions (Brandl, Frank, Wooldredge, & Watkins & 1997). For example, with general attitudinal statements, (e.g. "I trust the police" or "I like the police"), about a third of respondents indicated "strongly agree" or "agree" with questions pertaining to specific police functions (i.e., "The police do a good job of stopping people from using drugs") only 10.4% of the respondents indicated agreement. Only 3.5% of respondents agreed with the statement, "The police do a good job of stopping people from selling drugs". This finding indicates that attitudes toward specific police goals or duties appear to be less favorable than general statements on police (see Table 5). Perhaps certain police tasks betray the historically oppressive and discriminatory nature of specific crime-fighting objectives against the Black community, like drug enforcement. This suggests that future studies should consider including questions based on specific police

functions, rather than general statements, to flesh this out (Brandl, Frank, Wooldredge, & Watkins, 1997).

In general, I trust police.

Strongly disagree	10 (6.9%)
Disagree	11 (7.6%)
Neutral	82 (56%)
Agree	31 (21.5%)
Strongly agree	10 (6.9%)
Total	144 (100%)

In general, I like the police.

Strongly disagree	7 (4.9%)
Disagree	7 (4.9%)
Neutral	74 (51.4%)
Agree	44 (30.6%)
Strongly agree	12 (8.3%)
Total	144 (100%)

The police do a good job of stopping people from using drugs.

Strongly disagree	27 (18.8%)
Disagree	43 (29.9%)
Neutral	59 (41%)
Agree	12 (8.3%)
Strongly agree	3 (2.1%)
Total	144 (100.0%)

The police do a good job of stopping people from selling drugs.

Strongly disagree	17 (11.8%)
Disagree	42 (29.2%)
Neutral	63 (43.8%)
Agree	17 (11.8%)
Strongly agree	5 (3.5%)

Total 144(100.0%)

Table 5 Frequency

The findings from this study also suggest a need for the continued development of a black criminology. General theories of crime (i.e., strain and social control) have largely ignored how specific factors, such as systemic racism, uniquely affect the black community. Historically, black perspectives have generally been excluded from the larger academic community (Debro & Taylor, 1978). The sole inclusion of black college students as a sample population is crucial to advancing this area of inquiry, because the social and historical experiences of black students in higher education are often neglected and desensitized (Benyehudah, 2019). Proponents of Black Studies believe that by not examining how racial experiences affect personal identities, academia contributes to institutional racism (Phillips, 2010). Not affording black students the educational opportunity to analyze their experiences may cause them to struggle in trusting and connecting with individuals outside of their in-group (Hyttten & Bettez, 2011). From an epistemic standpoint, black students are members of a marginalized group, and hold a perspective that differs from that of the dominant group (Janack, 1997). Black students have the privilege of speaking to their knowledge of oppression, based on their personal experiences (Kotzee, 2010). Members of oppressed groups “have a systematically clearer view on political reality than their oppressors” (Kotzee, 2010, p. 274).

Policy Implications

The finding that males tend to have more positive ATP than women suggests that the police should focus on improving their relationship with all minority groups and create efforts to specifically target women. The previously discussed finding that responses varied based on the focus of the survey questions, whether they were specific

or general, suggests that to repair the relationship with the black community, the police should focus on specific duties rather than their general perception. For example, identify which duties are causing the issues b/w the police and the black community. The finding that legal oppression is a better predictor of ATP than SO suggests that there is a need to correct the racial disparities within the CJ system and should receive a greater priority than socially oppressive factors. Last, the policy implications for this study suggest more of an emphasis on community-oriented policing. Civilian surveys on attitudes toward police have been utilized to assess police effectiveness as well as to determine the strengths and weaknesses of police tactics (Brandl, Frank, Wooldredge, & Watkins, 1997; Hurst, Frank, & Browning, 2000). More specifically, a study recently found that positive interactions with police significantly improved citizens' perceptions of police, their willingness to cooperate, and their willingness to perceive the police as legitimate agents of control. These effects were largest among non-white citizens (Peyton, Sierra-Arévalo, & Rand, 2019). To target African Americans in community policing efforts, a racial group that has persistently held mostly unfavorable attitudes toward police, will positively contribute toward bridging the gap between African Americans and the police.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to determine whether legal or social factors better predict ATP among black Americans. In this thesis, the predictive ability of oppression by legal authorities is compared to the oppression by the American social structure on ATP among a sample of black college students. Several studies have attempted to understand the racial disparity in perceptions of police and have found support for such variables as education, socio-economic status, neighborhood context, and prior

encounters with police (Mbuba, 2010; Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008; Smith et al., 1984; Rosenbaum et al., 2005). This thesis not only provides researchers a better understanding of how specific factors uniquely affect the black community but also allows for the continued development of a black criminology. Further, studies examining ATP among black Americans are minimal and the findings are largely inconsistent. The use of a solely black sample allows researchers to parse nuances within the black community and adds considerably to the criminological literature in this area. Using linear regression, the model predicted that legal oppression is a better predictor of ATP than social oppression. More specifically, vicarious encounters with police and experiences with police mistreatment/racial discrimination were the legal predictors of significance. This intra-racial examination will allow future research to parse nuances among police perceptions in the black community, and move criminology beyond solely conducting inter-racial, comparative analysis.

APPENDIX

Appendix A Survey Questions

1. Have you completed or started this survey in another class?

IF YES, END SURVEY.

IF NO, CONTINUE SURVEY.

2. Please indicate your age from the following categories:

a. 18-25

b. 26-30

c. 31-35

d. 36-40

e. 41-45

f. 46-50

g. 51-55

h. 56-60

i. +60

3. Please indicate your gender from the following categories

a. Male

b. Female

c. Nonbinary

d. Transgender

4. Which race do you identify as? (You may select more than one.)

a. White

b. Black

c. Asian

5. Do you identify as:

a. Hispanic

b. Non-Hispanic

6. Were you born in the U.S.?

a. Yes

b. No

7. Please indicate your current academic status from the following categories:

a. Undergraduate

b. Graduate

IF A, SKIP TO #8.

IF B, SKIP TO #9.

8. If you responded “Undergraduate”, which of the following best describes you?

a. Freshman

b. Sophomore

c. Junior

d. Senior

9. If you responded “Graduate”, which of the following best describes your year in graduate school?

a. Year One

b. Year Two

c. Year Three

d. Year Four

e. Year Five+

10. Please indicate your employment status from the following categories:

a. Unemployed

b. Employed Part-Time

c. Employed Full-Time

11. Please indicate your household income from the following categories (Frank, Smith & Novak, 2005):

a. Less than \$10,000

b. \$10,000-\$20,000

c. \$20,001-\$30,000

d. \$31,001-\$50,000

e. Greater than \$50,000

Please respond yes or no to the following statements:

12. There is a lot of crime in your neighborhood.

13. There is a lot of drug selling that goes on in your neighborhood.

14. People in your neighborhood often help each other out.

15. There are lots of street fights in your neighborhood.

16. There are many empty or abandoned buildings in your neighborhood.

17. People in your neighborhood often visit in each other's homes.

18. There is a lot of graffiti in your neighborhood.

19. People move in and out of your neighborhood often.

Please respond yes or no to the following questions:

20. Have you ever been arrested?

Please respond yes or no to the following questions:

21. Have you ever been stopped by police on the street without good reason?

22. Have the police ever used insulting language toward you?

23. Have police ever used excessive force against you?

24. Have you ever seen a police officer engage in any corrupt activities (such as taking bribes or involvement in drug trade)?

25. Have you ever felt that you were treated unfairly by the police specifically because of your race in [your city/your own neighborhood]?

26. Have you ever felt that you were stopped by the police just because of your race or ethnic background?

27. Have police, without good reason, ever stopped anyone else in your household on the street?

28. Have the police ever used insulting language toward anyone else in your household?

29. Have police ever used excessive force against anyone else in your household?

Please respond strongly agree, agree, neutral, strongly disagree or disagree to the following statements:

30. In general, I trust police.

31. In general, I like the police.

32. In general, I am satisfied with the police in my neighborhood.

33. In general, police officers do a good job.

34. The police do a good job of stopping crime.

35. The police do a good job of stopping people from using drugs.
36. The police do a good job of stopping people from selling drugs.
37. The police do a good job in keeping my neighborhood quiet at night.
38. The police will help you if your car is broken down and you need help.
39. If the police see someone who is sick and needs help, they will do their best to help.

REFERENCES

- ACLU Illinois. (2014). *Newly-released data shows city continues to deny equitable police services to South and West side neighborhoods*. Retrieved from: <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/press-releases/newly-released-data-shows-city-continues-deny-equitable-police-services-south-and>
- Alberton, A. M., & Gorey, K. M. (2017). Contact is a stronger predictor of attitudes toward police than race: A state-of-the-art review. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 41(1), 2-23.
- Alexander, J. & Colomy, P. (1990). Neofunctionalism: Reconstructing a theoretical tradition. *Frontiers of Social Theory: The New Syntheses*. (pp. 33–67). New York: Columbia University Press,.
- Alexander, M. (2010). *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York: The New Press.
- Anderson, J. F., Reinsmith-Jones, K. & Brooks Jr., W.M. (2016). Black shootings, conflict theory, and policy implications. *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 4(5), 10-20.
- Ardaiz, J. A. (2000). California's Three Strikes law: History, expectations, consequences. *McGeorge Law Review*, 32(1).
- Avdija, A. S. (2010). The role of police behavior in predicting citizens' attitudes toward the police. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice*, 6(2), 76-90.

- Barlow, D. E., & Hickman Barlow, M. (2002). Racial profiling: A survey of African American police officers. *Police Quarterly* 5, 334-358.
- Bayley, D., & Mendelsohn, H. (1969). *Minorities and the police*. New York: Free Press.
- Bendick, Jr., M., Jackson, C. W., & Reinoso, V. A. (1994). Measuring employment discrimination through controlled experiments. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 23(1), 25-48.
- Bennett, R. R., & Wiegand, B. R. (1994). Observations on crime reporting in a developed nation. *Criminology*, 32 (1), 135-148.
- Benyehudah, K. (2011). *Where Do We Go From Here: On the Future of Black Studies*. The Hampton Insitute. Retrieved from: <http://www.hamptoninstitution.org/on-the-future-of-black-studies.html?fbclid=IwAR19Aazc2uOmwVFIZjHphtTienJdAvXVms-cNkhJkCvT93RbLuJD64pe7Og#.XNwyAo5KjIX>
- Bierne, P. (1979). Empiricism and the critique of Marxism on law and crime. *Social Problems* 26, 373–385.
- Bies, R. J. & Moag, J. F. (1986). *Interactional justice: Communication criteria of fairness*. JAI Press: Greenwich, CT.
- Bies, R.J. (2005). *Are procedural justice and interactional justice conceptually distinct?* Mahwah, NJ:Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Blalock, H. M. (1967). *Toward a theory of minority-group relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Blumstein, A. (2001). Race and Criminal Justice. *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences*. Washington D.C.: National Academy Press.

- Bobo, L., Kluegel, J.R. & Smith, R. A. (1996). Laissez fair racism: The crystallization of a 'kinder, gentler' anti-Black Ideology. *Racial attitudes in the 1990s: Continuity and Change*, 15, 23-25.
- Bobo, L. D., Thompson, V. (2006). Unfair by design: The war on drugs, race, race and the criminal justice system. *Social Research*, 73(2), 445-472.
- Boggs, S. L., & Galliher, J. F. (1975). Evaluating the police: a comparison of black street and household respondents. *Social Problems*, 22(3), 393-406.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). The structure of racism in color-blind, “post-racial” America. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(11), 1358–1376.
- Bontrager, S., Bales, W. & Chiricos, T. (2005). Race, ethnicity, threat, and the labeling of convicted felons. *Criminology* 43, 589–622.
- Brandl, S., Frank, J., Wooldredge, J., & Watkins, R. C. (1997). On the measurement of public support for the police: a research note. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategy and Management*, 20(3), 473-480.
- Brockner, J. & Greenberg, J. (1990). *The impact of layoffs on survivors: An organizational justice perspective*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: Hillsdale, NJ.
- Brockner, J., & Siegel, P. (1996). *Understanding the interaction between procedural and distributive justice: The role of trust*. Trust in Organizations Frontiers of Theory and Research. Beverly Hills, CA:Sage.
- Brown, B., & Bendict, W. R. (2002). Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and policy implication. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 25(3), 543-580.

- Brown, B., & Bendict, W. R. (2005). Classroom cops, what do the students think? A case study of student perceptions of school police and security officers conducted in an Hispanic community. *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, 7(4), 264-285.
- Brown K. D., & Brown A. L. (2012). Useful and dangerous discourse: Deconstructing racialized knowledge about African American students. *Educational Foundations*, 26(1/2), 11-25.
- Brunson, R. K. (2007). "Police don't like Black people": African American young men's accumulated police experiences. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 6, 71-101.
- Cao, L., & Wu, Y. (2019). Confidence in the police by race: Taking stock and charting new directions. *Police Practice and Research*, 20(1), 3-17.
- Cao, L., Frank, J., & Cullen, F. T. (1996). Race, community context and confidence in the police. *American Journal of Police*, 15(1), 3-22.
- Carter, P. L., & Welner, K. G. (Eds.). (2013). *Closing the opportunity gap: What America must do to give every child an even chance*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Cato Institute. (2016). Policing in America: Understanding public attitudes toward the police. Results from a national survey. Retrieved from: <https://www.cato.org/survey-reports/policing-america>.
- Chambliss, W. J. (1976). *The state and criminal law. Whose law? What order? A conflict approach to criminology*. New York: Wiley.
- Chambliss, W. J. (1994). Policing the ghetto underclass: The politics of law and law enforcement. *Social Problems*, 41(1), 177-194.
- Chambliss, W.J., & Siedman, R. D. (1971). *Law, order and power*. MA:Addison-Wesley.

- Chamlin, M. B. (1989). Conflict theory and police killings. *Deviant Behavior, 10*(4), 353-368.
- Chamlin, M. B. (2009). Threat to whom? Conflict, consensus, and social control. *Deviant Behavior, 30*, 539–559.
- Chen, E. Y. (2008). The liberation hypothesis and racial and ethnic disparities in the application of California's Three Strikes Law. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 6*(2), 83-102.
- Chen, E. Y. (2014). *Three Strikes Legislation*. African Americans and the Criminal Justice System: An Encyclopedia. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 551- 555.
- Chilcott, J. (1998). Structural-functionalism as a Heuristic Device. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 29*(1), 103-111.
- Clark, T. (1972). Structural-functionalism, exchange theory, and the new political economy: institutionalization as a theoretical linkage. *Sociological Inquiry, 42*(3), 275–298.
- Cohen, D. S. (1996). Official oppression: A historical analysis of low-level police abuse and a modern attempt at reform. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review, 28*(1), 165-199.
- Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. Q., Hobson, C. J., McPartland, F., Mood, A. M., Weinfeld, F. D., et al. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Correia, M., Reisig, M. D., & Lovrich, N. P. (1996). Public perceptions of state police: An analysis of individual-level and contextual variables. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 24*, 17–28.

- Crowder, K., & South, S. J. (2003). Neighborhood distress and school dropout: the variable significance of community context. *Social Science Research, 32*, 659-698.
- Crowder, K., & Scott, J. S. (2011). Spatial and temporal dimensions of neighborhood effects on high school graduation. *Social Science Research, 40*, 87-106.
- Curry, T. R. & Corral-Comacho, G. (2008). Sentencing young minority males for drug offenses. *Punishment and Society, 10*(3), 253-276.
- Cutrona, C. E., Russell D. W., Hessling, R. M., Brown, P. A., & Murry, V. (2000). Direct and moderating effects of community context on the psychological well-being of African American women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(6), 1088-1101.
- Dale, A., Vella, K., Pressey, R. L., Brodie, J., Yorkston, H. & Potts, R. (2013). A method for risk analysis across governance systems: A Great Barrier Reef case study. *Environmental Research Letters, 8*(1): 1-16.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education: How America's commitment to equity will determine our future*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Decker, S. H. (1981). Citizen attitudes toward the police: A review of past findings and suggestions for future policy. *Journal of Police Science and Administration, 9*(1), 80-87.
- Gallup. (2008). *Democrats racially diverse; republicans mostly white*. Retrieved from: <https://news.gallup.com/poll/160373/democrats-racially-diverse-republicans-mostly-white.aspx>

- Donnelly, M., Kerr, N.J., Rimmer, R., & Shiu, E.M. (2006). Assessing the quality of police services using SERVQUAL. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 29(1), 92-105.
- Dowler, K., & Sparks, R. (2008). Victimization, contact with police, and neighborhood conditions: Reconsidering African American and Hispanic attitudes toward the police. *Police Practice and Research*, 9(5), 395-415.
- Druckman, J. N., & Kam, C. D. (2011). Students as experimental participants: A defense of the 'narrow data base'. In J. N. Druckman, D. P. Green, J. H. Kuklinski, & A. Lupia (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of experimental political science* (pp. 41-57). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Eitle, D., D'Alessio, S. J., & Stolzenberg, L. (2002). Racial threat and social control: A test of the political, economic, and threat of black crime hypotheses. *Social Forces* 81, 557-576.
- Engen, R., Steen, S., & G. Bridges. 2002. "Racial disparities in the punishment of youth: A theoretical and empirical assessment of the literature". *Social Problems*, 49, 194-220.
- EPI analysis of Current Population Survey microdata. 2017. *Economic Policy Institute*.
- Epp, C.R., Maynard-Moody, S., & Haider-Markel, D. P. (2014). *Pulled over: How police stops define race and citizenship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ernst, A. F., Albers, C. J. (2017). Regression assumptions in clinical psychology research practice-a systematic review of common misconceptions. *Peer Journal*, 2-16.

- Fallik, S. W. (2018). The methodological struggles of racial profiling research: A causal question that automobile stop data has yet to answer. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 32(1), 32-49.
- Feagin, J., & Sean E., S. (2013). Rethinking racial formation theory: A systemic racism critique. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(6), 931-960.
- Fite, P. J., Wynn, P., & Pardini, D. A. (2009). Explaining discrepancies in arrest rates between Black and White male juveniles. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 77(5), 916-927.
- Flores, A. (2007). Examining disparities in mathematics education: Achievement gap or opportunity gap? *The High School Journal*, 91(1), 29-42.
- Frank, J., Brandl, S. G. Cullen, F. T., & Stichman, A. (1996). Reassessing the impact of race on citizens' attitudes toward the police: a research note. *Justice Quarterly*, 13, 321-334.
- Frank, J., Smith, B. W., & Novak, K. J. (2005). Exploring the basis of citizens' attitudes toward the police. *Police Quarterly*, 8, 206-228.
- Franklin, T. W. (2018). The state of race and punishment in America: Is justice really blind? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 59, 18-28.
- Freeman, R. B. (1987). The relation of criminal activity to black youth employment. *Review of Black Political Economy*, 16 (1-2), 99-107.
- Gabbidon, S., Taylor Greene, H. & Young, V. (2002). *African American classics in Criminology and Criminal Justice*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Gainsborough, J., & Mauer, M. (2000). Diminishing returns: Crime and incarceration in the 1990s. *The Sentencing Project*. Report.

- Gau, J.M., & Brunson, R. K. (2010). Procedural justice and order maintenance policing: A study of inner-city young men's perceptions of police legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly*, 27(2), 255-279.
- Georges-Abeyie, D. (1981). Toward the development of a realistic approach to the study of Black crime. In P. Brantingham and P. Brantingham (Eds.), *Environmental Criminology* (pp. 97–109). Beverly Hills: SAGE.
- Georges-Abeyie, D. (1990). The myth of a racist criminal justice system? In B. MacLean and D. Milovanovic (Eds.), *Racism, Empiricism, and Criminal Justice* (pp. 11-14). Vancouver: Collective Press. 11–14.
- Gines, K. T. (2014). A critique of postracialism: Conserving race and complicating blackness beyond the black-white binary. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 11(1), 75-86.
- Giroux, H. A., & Giroux, S. S. (2004). *Take back higher education: Race, youth, and the crisis of democracy in the post-civil rights era*. Macmillan.
- Goldstein, J. (1960). Police discretion not to invoke the criminal process: Low-visibility decisions in the administration of justice. *The Yale Law Journal*, 69(4), 543-594.
- Greenberg, D. F., Kesler, R. C. & Loftin, C. (1985). Social inequality and crime control. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 76(3), 684-704.
- Goel, S., Rao, J. M., & Shroff, R. (2016). Precinct or prejudice? Understanding racial disparities in New York City's stop-and frisk policy. *The Annals of Applied Statistics*, 10(1), 365-394.
- Goudriaan, H. (2006). *Reporting crime: Effects of social context on the decision of victims to notify the police*. Veenendaal: University Press.

- Greenberg, J. (1987). A taxonomy of organizational justice theories. *Academy of Management Review*, (12)1, 9-22.
- Hagan, J., & Albonetti, C. A. (1982). Race, class, and the perception of criminal injustice in America. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88(2), 329-355.
- Hagan, J. & Shedd, C. (2005). A socio-legal conflict theory of perceptions of criminal injustice. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 2005(1), 261-287.
- Hagan, J., Shedd, C., & Payne, M. R. (2005). Race, ethnicity, and youth perceptions of criminal injustice. *American Sociological Review*, 70, 381-407.
- Hawdon, J., & Ryan, J. (2003). Police-resident interactions and satisfaction with police: An empirical test of community policing assertions. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 14(1), 1-20.
- Hetey, R. C., & Eberhardt, J. L. (2018). The numbers don't speak for themselves: Racial disparities and persistence of inequality in the criminal justice system. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 183-187.
- Hetey, R. C., Monin, B., Maitreyi, A., & Eberhardt, J.L. (2016). Data for change: A statistical analysis of police stops, searches, handcuffings, and arrests in Oakland, Calif., 2013-2014. *Stanford Social Psychological Answers to Real-World Questions (SPARQ)*.
- Higginbotham, A. L. (1996). *Shades of freedom: Racial Politics and Presumptions of the American Legal Process*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Ho, T., & McKean, J. (2004). Confidence in the police and perceptions of risk. *Western Criminology Review*, 5, 108–118.
- Holmes, M. D. (2000). Minority threat and police brutality: Determinants of civil rights criminal complaints in U.S. municipalities. *Criminology*, (38)2, 343-368.
- Holmes, M. D., Smith, B. W. Freng, A. B., & Munoz, E. A. (2008). Minority threat, crime control, and police resource allocation in the Southwestern United States. *Crime & Delinquency*, 54, 128–152.
- Horowitz, J. (2007). Making every encounter count: Building trust and confidence in the police. *NIJ Journal*, 256, 8-11.
- Huang, W.S.W., & Vaughn, M.S. (1996). Support and confidence: Public attitudes towards the police. In T. J. Flanagan & D. R. Longmire (Eds.), *Americans view crime and justice: A national public opinion survey* (pp. 31–45). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hunter, H., & Abraham, S. (1987). *Race, class and the world system: The sociology of Oliver Cox*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Hurst, Y. G., Frank, J., Browning, S.L. (2000). The attitudes of juveniles toward the police: A comparison of black and white youth. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 23(1), 37-53.
- Hurst, Y. G., & Frank, J. (2000). How kids view cops: The nature of juvenile attitudes toward the police. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 28, 189-202. Income and poverty in the United States: 2015, Current Population Reports. *United States Census Bureau*.

- Hyttén, K. & Bettez, S.C. (2011). Understanding education for social justice. *Educational Foundations*, 25. 7-24.
- Ivkovic', S. J. (2008). A comparative study of public support for the police. *International Criminal Justice Review*, 18(4), 406-434.
- Fallik, S. W., Victory, D., & Dobrin, A. (2019). Detective effort among complainant and suspect racial and ethnic dyads: an exploration. *Race & Justice*, 20(10), 1-19.
- Frazier, C. E., & Cochran, J. C. (1986). Detention of juveniles: Its effects on subsequent juvenile court processing decisions. *Youth & Society*, 17, 286-385.
- Jackson, P. I. & Carroll, L. (1981). Race and the war on crime: The sociopolitical determinants of municipal police expenditures in 90 non-southern U.S. cities. *American Sociological Review*, 46(3), 290-305.
- Jackson, J., & Sunshine, J. (2006). Public confidence in policing: A neo-Durkheimian perspective. *British Journal of Criminology*, 47, 214-233.
- Jacob, J. C. (1981). Theories of social and educational inequality: From dichotomy to typology. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 2(1), 71-89.
- Jacobs, D. (1979). Inequality and police strength: Conflict theory and coercive control in metropolitan areas. *American Sociological Review*, 44(6), 913-925.
- Janack, M. (1997). Standpoint epistemology without the "standpoint?": An examination of epistemic privilege and epistemic authority. *Hypatia*, 12 (2), 125-139.
- Jencks, C. & Mayer, S. E. (1990). The social consequences of growing up in a poor neighborhood. *Inner-city poverty in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 111–186.

- Jones, J., Schmitt, J., & Wilson, V. (2018). 50 years after the Kerner Commission. *Economic Policy Institute*.
- Joseph, J. (2000). Overrepresentation of minority youth in the juvenile justice system: Discrimination or disproportionality of delinquent acts. Markowitz and Jones–Brown (Eds.), *The system in Black and White*. (pp. 227-239). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Kamer-Ainur, A., & Marioara, M. *Errors and limitations associated with regression and correlation analysis*. Retrieved from <http://steconomiceuoradea.ro/anale/volume/2007/v2-statistics-and-economic-informatics/1.pdf>
- Kappeler, V.E., Sludder, R.D., & Alpert, G.P. (1994). *Forces of deviance: understanding the dark side of policing*. 2nd Edition. Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Kelley, C. (1977). *Crime in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Print.
- Kennedy, R. (1997). *Race, crime, and the law*. New York: Pantheon.
- Kent, S. L., & Jacobs, D. (2005). Minority threat and police strength from 1980 to 2000: a fixed-effects analysis of nonlinear and interactive effects in large U.S. cities. *Sociology & Criminology Faculty Publications*, 113.
- Kieselhorst, D. C. (1974). *A theoretical perspective of violence against police*. Norman, OK: Bureau of Government Research.
- Kotzee, B. (2010). Poisoning the well and epistemic privilege. *Argumentation*, 24(3), 265-281.

- Kovandzic, T. V., Sloan, J.S. & Vieraitis, L. M. (2004). "Striking out" as crime reduction policy: The impact of "three strikes" laws on crime rates in U.S. cities. *Justice Quarterly*, 21(2), 207-239.
- Lai, Y., & Zhao, J.S. (2010). The impact of race/ethnicity, neighborhood context, and police/citizen interaction on residents' attitudes toward the police. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38, 685-692.
- Laurence–McIntyre, C. (1993). *Criminalizing a race: Free blacks during slavery*. New York: Kayode Publications.
- Lewis, D. (1969). *Convention: A philosophical study*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Leiber, M. J., & Johnson, J.D. (2008). "Being young and black: What are their effects on juvenile justice decision making?" *Crime & Delinquency*, 54, 560-581.
- Lind, E.A., & Tyler, T.R. (1988). *The social psychology of procedural justice*. Plenum Press:
New York, NY.
- Liska, A. E. (1987). A critical examination of macro perspectives on crime control. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, 67-88.
- Liska, A.E., & Chamlin, M.B. (1984). Social structure and crime control among microsocial units. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 90(2), 383-395.
- Liska, A. E. (1992). *Social threat and social control*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Lochner, L., & Moretti, E. (2004). The effect of education on crime: Evidence from prison inmates, arrests, and self-reports. *American Economic Review*, 94, 155-189.

- Maguire, E. R., & Johnson, D. (2010). Measuring public perceptions of the police. *Policing An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 33(4),703-730.
- Males, M., Macallair, D., & Taqi-Eddin, K. (1999). *Striking out: The failure of California's "Three Strikes and You're Out" law*. Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute.
- Mann, C. (1993). *Unequal justice: A question of color*. Indiana: Indiana Press.
- Marin, G. (1984). Stereotyping Hispanics: The differential effect of research method, label, and degree of contact. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 817-827.
- Marx, G. T. (1969). *Protest and prejudice*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Marx, K. (1847). *Wage labour and capital, the original 1891 pamphlet*. Retrieved from:<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/wage-labour-capital.pdf>
- Mastrofski, S. D., Snipes, J. B., & Supina, A. E. (1996). Compliance on demand: The public's response to specific police requests. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 33, 269-305.
- Mayer, D. P., Mullens, J. E., & Moore, M. T. (2000). Monitoring school quality: An indicators report, NCES 2001-030. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from: <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2001/2001030.pdf>
- Mauer, M. (2006). *Race to incarcerate*. New York, NY: New Press.
- Mauer, M. (2011). Addressing racial disparities in incarceration. *The Prison Journal*, 91(3), 875-101.

- Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Tyler, T. R. (2013). Shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: A randomized field trial of procedural justice. *Criminology*, *51*, 33-63.
- Mbuba, J. (2010). Attitudes toward the police: The significance of race and other factors among college students. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, *8*(3), 201-215.
- McCall, P. L., & Parker, K. F. (2005). A dynamic model of racial competition, racial inequality, and interracial violence. *Sociological Inquiry* *75*, 273–293.
- McFarlin, D.B. & Sweeney, P.D. (1992). Distributive and procedural justice as predictors of satisfaction with personal and organizational outcomes. *The Academy of Management Journal*, *35*(3), 626-637.
- McManus, H. D., Shafer, J. G., Graham, A. K. (2019). Race and the Procedural Justice Model in Policing. *Building a black criminology: Race, theory, and crime*. (1st edition, vol. 24). New York, NY: Routledge.
- McNulty, T. (2001). Assessing the race-violence relationship at the macro level: the assumption of racial invariance and the problem of restricted distributions. *Criminology*, *39*, 467–489.
- Merton, R. (1949). *Social theory and social structure*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Miller, J., Davis, R. C. (2008). Unpacking public attitudes to the police: contrasting perceptions of misconduct with traditional measures of satisfaction. *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, *10*(1), 9-22.
- Mills, C.W. (1956). *The power elite*. New York. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Moore, L. D. & Elkavich, A. (2008). Who's using and who's doing time: Incarceration, the War on Drugs, and public health. *American Journal of Public Health, 98*(5), 782-786.
- Morrow, W.J., Dario, L.M., Rodriguez, N. (2014). Examining the prevalence of a 'youth discount' in the juvenile justice system. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 38*(4), 1-18.
- Moynihan, D. (1965). *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. Washington, DC: Office of Planning and Research, US Department of Labor.
- Murnane, R., Willett, J. B., Levy, F. (1995). The growing importance of cognitive skills in wage determination. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, 77*(2), 251-266.
- Mustard, D. B. (2001). Racial, ethnic, and general disparities in sentencing: Evidence from the U.S. federal courts. *Journal of Law and Economics, 44*(1), 285-314.
- NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (2002). *Death Row USA: Spring 2002*. New York: NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
- Nadal, K. L., & Davidoff, K.C. (2015). Perceptions of police scale (POPS): Measuring attitudes towards law enforcement and beliefs about police bias. *Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Science, 3*(2),1-9.
- National Research Council. (2004). *Fairness and effectiveness in policing*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.
- Nichols, S. L., Glass, G. V., & Berliner, D. C. (2006). High-stakes testing and student achievement: Does accountability pressure increase student learning? *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 14*(1), 1-172.
- Noppe, J., Verhage, A., Van Damme, A. (2017). Police legitimacy: An introduction. *Policing: An International Journal, 40*(3), 474-479.

- Novich, M., Hunt, G. (2016). "Get Off Me": Perceptions of disrespectful police behavior among ethnic minority youth gang members. *Drugs (Abingdon, England)*, 24(3), 248-255.
- Nunnally, J.C. (1978). *Psychometric theory*, 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Office of Management and Budget. (1997). Revisions to the standards for classification of federal data on race and ethnicity. *Federal Register*, 62.
- Onwudiwe, I. & Lynch, M. (2000). Reopening the debate: A reexamination of the need for a Black criminology. *Social Pathology: A Journal of Reviews*, 6(3), 182–198.
- Pager, D. (2003). The mark of a criminal record. *American Journal of Sociology* (108)5, 937-975.
- Parasuraman, A., Zeithaml, V. & Berry, L. (1985). A conceptual model of service quality and its implications for future research. *Journal of Marketing*, 49(4), 41-50.
- Parker, K. (2008). *Unequal crime decline: Theorizing race, urban inequality and criminal violence*. New York: New York University Press.
- Parker, K. F., Stults, B. J. & Rice, S. K. (2005). Racial threat, concentrated disadvantage and social control: considering the macro-level sources of variation in arrests. *Criminology*, 43, 1111–1134.
- Peck, J.H. (2015). Minority perceptions of the police: a state of the art review. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 33, 173-203.
- Peek, C.W., Lowe, G.D. & Alston, J.P. (1981). Race and attitudes toward local police another look. *Journal of Black Studies*, 11(3), 361-374.
- Peffley, M., & Hurwitz, J. (2010). *Justice in America: the separate realities of blacks and whites*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Penn, E.B. (2003). On black criminology: Past, present, and future. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 16(4), 317–327.
- Peterson R., & Krivo L. (2005). Macrostructural analyses of race, ethnicity, and violent crime: recent lessons and new directions for research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31:331–356.
- Petrocelli, M., Piquero, A.R. & Smith, M.R. (2003). Conflict theory and racial profiling: An empirical analysis of police traffic stop data. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31, 1-11.
- Pew Charitable Trusts. (2010). Collateral costs: Incarceration’s effects on economic mobility.
Retrieved from:
https://www.pewtrusts.org/~media/legacy/uploadedfiles/pcs_assets/2010/collateralcosts1pdf.pdf
- Pew Research Center. (2016a). *On views of race and inequality, blacks and whites are worlds apart*. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/06/27/on-views-of-race-and-inequality-blacks-and-whites-are-worlds-apart/>
- Pew Research Center. (2016b). *Republicans more likely than police to have confidence in police*. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/13/republicans-more->

Likely-than-democrats-to-have-confidence-in-police/ft_16-01-12_policepartisan_rating/

- Peyton, K., Sierra-Arévalo, M., & Rand, D. G. (2019). A field experiment on community policing and police legitimacy. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *116* (40), 19894-19898.
- Phillips, M. (2010). Black studies: Challenges and critical debates. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, *34*(2), 273.
- Plucker, J. A., Hardesty, J., & Burroughs, N. (2013). Talents on the sidelines: Excellence gaps and America's persistent talent underclass. Center for Education Policy Analysis, University of Connecticut.
- Potts, R., Vella, K., Dale, A. & Sipe, N. (2016). Exploring the usefulness of structural-functional approaches to analyse governance of planning systems. *Planning Theory*, *15*(2), 162–189.
- Quillian, L. (1995). Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review*, *60*, 586-611.
- Quillian, L. (1996). Group threat and regional change in attitudes to African Americans. *American Journal of Sociology* *102*, 816-860.
- Quillian, L., & Pager, D. (2001). Black neighbors, higher crime? The role of racial stereotypes in evaluations of neighborhood crime. *American Journal of Sociology* *107*, 717–67.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. (1935). On the concept of function in social science. *American Anthropologist*, *37*(3), 394–402.

- Reardon, S. F. (2011). *The widening academic achievement gap between the rich and the poor: new evidence and possible explanations*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation/Spencer Foundation.
- Regulus, T. A., Taylor, R. J., Jackson, J.S., Katz, D. (2001). The structure of black Americans' attitudes toward the police. *African American Research Perspectives*, 7 (1), 185-205.
- Reisig, M. D. & Parks, R. B. (2000). Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: a hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with police. *Justice Quarterly*, 17(3), 607-630.
- Reisig, M. D., & Holtfreter, K. (2007). Fraud victimization and confidence in Florida's legal authorities. *Journal of Financial Crime*, 14, 113-126.
- Reisig, M. D., Bratton, J., & Gertz, M. (2007). The construct validity and refinement of process-based policing measures. *Criminal Justice & Behavior*, 34, 1005-1028.
- Rodriguez, N. (2010). The cumulative effect of race and ethnicity in juvenile court outcomes and why preadjudication detention matters. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 47, 391-413.
- Rosenbaum, D. P., Schuck, A. M., Costello, S. K., Hawkins, D. F., & Ring, M. K. (2005). Attitudes toward the police: The effects of direct and vicarious experience. *Police Quarterly*, 8(3), 343-365.
- Rosenbaum, D.P, Maskaly, J., Lawrence, D., Escamilla, J. H., Enciso, G., Christoff, T. E., Posick, C. (2017). The police-community interaction survey: measuring police performance in new ways. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 40(1), 112-127.

- Ruddell, R., & Thomas, M.O. (2010). Minority threat and police strength: An examination of the Golden State. *Police Practice and Research* 11(3), 256-273.
- Rumberger, R. W. (1987). High school dropouts: A review of issues and evidence. *Review of Educational Research*, 57(2), 101–121.
- Russell, K. K. (1992). Development of a black criminology and the role of the black criminologist. *Justice Quarterly*, 9,4, 667-683.
- Russell, K. (1998). *The Color of crime: racial hoaxes, white fear, black protectionism, police harassment and other macroaggressions*. New York, NY: New York Press.
- Said, I., & Feldmeyer, B. Unpacking the theory of African American offending: A qualitative exploration of racial socialization processes and their effects on African American male college students. *Race and Justice*, 20(10), 1-28.
- Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (1993). *Crime in the making: pathways and turning points through life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sampson, R. J., & Bartusch, D. (1998). Legal cynicism and tolerance of deviance. *Law and Society Review*, 32, 777-804.
- Sampson, R.J, Morenoff J.D, Gannon-Rowley T. (2002). Assessing neighborhood effects: social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 443–478.
- Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S.W. & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277(5328), 918-924.
- Scaglione, R., Condon, R. (1980). The structure of black and white attitudes toward police. *Human Organization*, 39(3), 280-283.

- Schiardi, V., Colburn, J. & Lotke, E. (2004). 3 Strikes & You're Out: an examination of the impact of 10 years after their enactment. *Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute*. Retrieved from: <http://www.justicepolicy.org/research/2024>.
- Schuck, A. M., Rosenbaum, D. P. & Hawkins, D. F. (2008). The Influence of race/ethnicity, social class and neighborhood context on residents' attitudes toward the police. *Police Quarterly, 11*(4), 496-519.
- Schuman, H., Steeh, C. G., & Bobo, L. (1985). *Racial attitudes in America: trends and interpretations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Seabrook, R., & Wyatt-Nichol, H. (2016). The ugly side of America: Institutional oppression and race. *Journal of Public Management and Social Policy, 23*(1), 20-46.
- Shaw C., McKay, H. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shjarback, J. A., Pyrooz, D. C., Wolfe, S. E., & Decker, S. H. (2017). De-policing and crime in the wake of Ferguson: Racialized changes in the quantity and quality of policing among Missouri police departments. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 50*, 42-52.
- Shover, N. (1996). *Great pretenders: pursuits and careers of persistent thieves*. Boulder, CO: Westview
- Simmel, G. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel. (Translation and Introduction by K.H. Wolff)*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Shannon, L., McKim, J.L., Curry J.P., & Haffner, L.J. (1988). *Criminal career continuity: Its social context*. New York, NY: Human Sciences Press.

- Skogan, W. G. (1976a). Citizen reporting of crime: Some national panel data. *Criminology*, 13 (4), 535-551.
- Skogan, W. G. (1976b). *Crime and crime rates*. In W. G. Skogan (Ed.), *Sample surveys of the victims of crime* (pp. 105-120). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co.
- Skogan, W. and Frydl, K. (2004). *Fairness and effectiveness in policing: The evidence*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.
- Smith, B. W., & Holmes, M. D. (2003). Community accountability, minority threat, and police brutality: An examination of civil rights criminal complaints. *Criminology*, 41(4), 1035-1064.
- Smith, D. A., Visher, C. A., Davidson, L. A. (1984). Equity and discretionary justice: the influence of race on police arrest decisions. *Criminal Law and Criminology*, 75(1), 234-249.
- Smith, W.R., Tomaskovic-Devey, D., Zingraff, M.T., Mason, H.M., Warren, P.Y., Wright, C.P...Felson, C.R. (2003). *The North Carolina Highway Traffic Study: Final Report*. Washington, DC.: *National Institute of Justice*, Retrieved from: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/204021.pdf>.
- Spitzer, S. (1975). Toward a marxian theory of deviance. *Social Problems*, 22, 638–651.
- Spohn, C. & Holleran, D. (2000). The imprisonment penalty paid by young, unemployed blacks and Hispanic male offenders. *Criminology*, 38(1), 281-306.
- Staples, R. (1975). White racism, Black crime and American justice: An application of the colonial model to explain race and crime. *Phylon*, 36, 14–22.

- Stults, B. J., & Baumer, E. P. (2007). Racial context and police force size: Evaluating the empirical validity of the minority threat perspective. *American Journal of Sociology, 113*, 507–46.
- Steffensmeier, D., Ulmer, J. & Kramer, J. (1998). The interaction of race, gender, and age in criminal sentencing: The punishment cost of being young, black, and male. *Criminology, 36*, 763-797.
- Stolzenberg, L., D' Alessio, S.J., & Eitle, D. (2004). A multi-level test of racial threat hypothesis. *Criminology, 42*(3), 673-698.
- Su coff, C. A., & Upchurch, D. M. (1998). Neighborhood context and the risk of childbearing among metropolitan-area Black adolescents. *American Sociological Review, 63*, 571-585.
- Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law and Society Review, 37*(3), 513-548.
- Stewart, E.A., Baumer, E. P., Brunson, R.K., & Simmons, R. L. (2009). Neighborhood racial context and perception of police-based racial discrimination among Black youth. *Criminology, 47*, 847-887.
- Suresh, K.P., & Chandrashekara, S. (2012). Sample size estimation and power analysis for clinical research studies. *Journal of Human Reproductive Sciences, 5*(1), 7–13.
- Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing things differently: The dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy. *Criminology, 51*(1), 103-135.
- Tatum, B. (1994). The colonial model as a theoretical explanation of crime and delinquency. In A. Sulton (Ed.) *African American perspectives on: crime*

causation, criminal justice administration and crime prevention. (pp. 33–52).

Englewood, CO: Sulton Books

Taylor, M. (1998). How white attitudes vary with the racial composition of local populations: Numbers count. *American Sociological Review* 63, 512–35.

Taylor Greene, H. & Gabbidon, S. (2000). *African American criminological thought*. New York: State University of New York Press.

The Sentencing Project. (2013). *Report of the Sentencing Project to the United Nations Human*

Rights Committee regarding racial criminal disparities in the United States

Criminal

Justice System. Retrieved from

<https://sentencingproject.org/wpcontent/uploads/2015/12/Race-and-Justice-Shadow-Report-ICCPR.pdf> .

Thibaut, J., & Walker, L. (1975). *Procedural justice*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Tolbert, C.J., & Grummel, J.A. (2003). Revisiting the racial threat hypothesis: White voter support for California's proposition 209. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 3(2), 183-202.

Tonry, M. & Melewski, M. (2008). The malign effects of drug and crime control policies on black Americans. *Crime and Justice*, 37(1), 1-44.

Tyler, T.R. (2003). Procedural justice, legitimacy, and the effective rule of law. *Crime and Justice*, 30, 283-357.

- Tyler, T. (2005). Policing in black and white: Ethnic group differences in trust and confidence in the police. *Police Quarterly*, 8, 322-342.
- Tyler, T., & Huo, Y. (2002). *Trust in the law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and Courts*. New York, NY: Russell Sage.
- Tyler, T.R., Boeckmann, R.J., Smith, H.J. & Huo, Y.J. (1997). *Social justice in a diverse society*. CO: Westview Press.
- Tyler, T., & Fagan, J. (2006). Legitimacy and cooperation: Why do people help the police fight crime in their communities? *Public Law & Legal Theory Working Paper Group (Paper No. 06-99)*. New York: Columbia Law School.
- Tyler, T. R., Fagan, J.F. (2008). Legitimacy and cooperation: why do people help the police fight crime in their communities? *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law*, 6, 231-275.
- Tuch, S. A., Weitzer, R. (1997). Trends: Racial differences in attitudes toward the police. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61(4), 642-663.
- Uggen, C. (2000). Work as a turning Point in the life course of criminals: a duration model of age, employment, and recidivism. *American Sociological Review*, 65(4), 529-546.
- United States Census. (2002). *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved from: www.census.gov.
- Unnever, J. D., & Gabbidon, S. L. (2011). *A theory of African American offending: Race, racism, and crime*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Unnever, J. D., Cullen, F. T., & Barnes, J. C. (2016). Racial discrimination and pathways to delinquency: Testing a theory of African American offending. *Race and Justice*, 7(4), 350–373.
- Unnever, J. D., Gabbidon, S. L., Chouhy, C (2019). *Building a black criminology: Race, theory, and crime*. (1st edition, vol. 24). New York, NY: Routledge.
- US Department of Justice (2000). *Correctional populations in the United States*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Justice. (2003). *Prevalence of imprisonment in the U.S. population, 1974-2001*. Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report. U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from: <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/piusp01.pdf>
- Valcore, J. & Pfeffer, R. (2018). Systemic error: Measuring gender in criminological research. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 1-19.
- Valencia, R. R. (2015). *Students of color and the achievement gap: Systematic challenges, systematic transformations*. New York: Routledge.
- Voight, R., Camp, N. P., Vinodkumar, P., Hamilton, W. L. Hetey, R. C., Griffiths, C. M., Jurgens, D...Eberhard, J. L. (2017). Language from police body camera footage shows racial disparities in officer respect. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(25), 6521-6526.
- Vogel, M., & South, S. J. (2016). Spatial dimensions of the effect of the neighborhood disadvantage on delinquency. *Criminology*, 54(3), 434–458.

- Wacquant, L. (2001). Deadly symbiosis when ghetto and prison meet and mesh. *Punishment and Society*, 3(1),: 95–133.
- Wang, X. (2012). Undocumented immigrants as perceived criminal threat: a test of the minority threat perspective. *Criminology*, 50(3), 743-776.
- Webb, V. J. (1995). The relative importance of race and ethnicity on citizen attitudes toward the police. *American Journal of Police*, 14(2), 45-66.
- Webb, D. A. (1998). Segmenting police customers on the basis of their service quality expectations. *The Services Industries Journal*, 18(1), 72-100.
- Webb, V.J. & Marshall, C. E. (1995). The relative importance of race and ethnicity on citizen attitudes toward the police. *American Journal of Police*, 14, 45-66.
- Weisburd, D., Greenspan, R., & Hamilton, E.E. (2000). Police attitudes toward abuse of authority: *Findings from a national study*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Institute of Justice.
- Weitzer, R. (1999). Citizens' perceptions of police misconduct: Race and neighborhood context. *Justice Quarterly*, 16, 819–846.
- Weitzer, R. (2000). Racialized policing: Residents' perceptions in three neighborhoods. *Law & Society*, 34, 129-155.
- Weitzer, R. (2017). Theorizing racial discord over policing before and after Ferguson. *Justice Quarterly*, 34(7), 1129-1153.
- Weitzer, R. & Tuch, S. (2002). Perceptions of racial profiling: Race, class, and personal experience. *Criminology*, 40, 435-456.
- Weitzer R. & Tuch, S. (2004a). Race and perceptions of police misconduct. *Social Problems*, 51(3), 305-325.

- Weitzer, R. & Tuch, S. (2004b). Rethinking minority attitudes toward the police. Summary Report. *National Institute of Justice. Department of Justice. Grant no. 2001-IJ-CX-0016*. Retrieved from: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/207145.pdf>.
- Weitzer, R., Tuch, S. A. (2006). *Race and policing in America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- West, D.J., & Farrington, D.P. (1977). *The delinquent way of life*. London, UK: Heinemann.
- Western, B. (2002). The impact of incarceration on wage mobility and inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 67(4), 526-546.
- Western, B. & Beckett, K. (1999). How unregulated is the U.S. labor market? The penal system as a labor market institution. *American Journal of Sociology*, 104 (4), 1030-1060.
- Western, B., & Pettit, B. (2005). Black-white wage inequality, employment rates, and incarceration. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(2), 553–578.
- Wheelock, D., Strohshine, M.S., & O’ Hear, M. M. (2018). Disentangling the relationship between race and attitudes toward the police: Police contact, perceptions of safety and procedural justice. *Crime & Delinquency*, 18-26.
- White, M. D., Mulvey, P. & Dario, L. M. (2016). Exploring procedural justice, legitimacy, and willingness to cooperate with police across offender types. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 43(3), 343–364.
- Wilkins, A., & Education Trust Staff. (2006). *Yes we can: Telling truths and dispelling myths about race and education in America*. Washington, DC: The Education

Trust. Retrieved from: <http://edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/YesWeCan.pdf>.

Wilson, G., & Dunham, R. (2001). Race, class and attitudes toward crime control: the views of the African American middle class. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 28(3), 259-278.

Wilson, J. & Hernstein, M. (1985). *Crime and human nature*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Wilson, J. Q. (1975). *Thinking about crime*. New York: Vintage Books.

Wilson, J. W. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Winant, H. (2015). The dark matter: race and racism in the 21st century. *Critical Sociology*, 41, 313-324.

Winstanley, E.L. Steinwachs, D. M. Ensminger, M.E. Latkin, C. A., Stitzer, M. L. & Olsend, Y. (2008). The association of self-reported neighborhood disorganization and social capital with adolescent alcohol and drug use, dependence, and access to treatment. *Drug Alcohol Dependence*, 92(1-3), 173-182.

Wright, B. (1987). *Black robes, white justice*. Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stewart.

Wu, Y., Sun, I. Y. & Triplett, R.A. (2009). Race, class or neighborhood context: which matters more in measuring satisfaction with police? *Justice Quarterly*, (26)1, 126-156.

Wolfgang, M.E., Figlio, R.M., & Sellin, T. (1972). *Delinquency in a birth cohort*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zhao, Y. (2016). From deficiency to strength: Shifting the mindset about education inequality. *Journal of Social Issues*. 72, 720-739.