

Florida State University Libraries

Electronic Theses, Treatises and Dissertations

The Graduate School

2019

Modern Day Racism: Examining the Relationship between Minority Threat and the Racial and Ethnic Typification of Crime

Leah Fikre Butler

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

MODERN DAY RACISM:
EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MINORITY THREAT
AND THE RACIAL AND ETHNIC TYPIFICATION OF CRIME

By

LEAH FIKRE BUTLER

A Dissertation submitted to the
College of Criminology and Criminal Justice
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2019

Leah Fikre Butler defended this dissertation on July 8, 2019.

The members of the supervisory committee were:

Marc G. Gertz

Professor Directing Dissertation

Martin Kavka

University Representative

Eric Stewart

Committee Member

William Bales

Committee Member

The Graduate School has verified and approved the above-named committee members, and certifies that the dissertation has been approved in accordance with university requirements.

To My Grandparents
Wesley, Ida Mae, Fikre, And Meaza,
For Instilling The Value Of Education

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people I would like to thank for supporting me on my journey through graduate school. First, and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Marc Gertz. Thank you for being my major professor, my committee chair, and most of all, my mentor. The advice and support you have provided me over the years are something that I can never repay, but I will try my best through my 24-hour tech support services. I know you take pride in being the best major professor you can be, and it shows. You have taught me to think like a researcher and helped me find joy in lecturing. Thank you for keeping me focused on the end goal, encouraging me through the low points, and celebrating the victories. I will be sure to visit in New York City.

Thank you to my committee members Dr. Eric Stewart, Dr. Bill Bales, and Dr. Martin Kavka. Your notes and critiques were necessary and greatly appreciated. I am extremely grateful for the time and energy you put into my dissertation. In addition to my committee, I would also like to thank Dr. Cecilia Chouhy. My analyses would not be possible without your STATA knowledge and troubleshooting.

In addition to the professors that helped me throughout my dissertation, I would like to thank Sally Gertz. Thank you for inviting me to delicious Shabbat dinners, but most importantly, thank you for rooting for me. It did not go unnoticed. I would also like to thank Dr. Wanda Leal. You selflessly put time into helping me prepare for comps, and I thank you for that.

To my family, there are no words to describe the amount of gratitude I have towards you all. Mom, this degree is yours. Everything I do is to make you proud and to make all of the sacrifices you have made worth it. Dad, the OG Dr. Butler, thank you for believing in me during times I did not believe in myself. I am proud to be Dr. Butler knowing that you paved the way. Markose, without you this dissertation would not be possible. You are my toughest critic and my

go-to for help. Thank you for being the best big brother I could have asked for and for dealing with my last-minute proofread requests.

To my friends, these last 5 years in Tallahassee would not have been the same without you guys. Alexa, we made it! Despite the setbacks and frustration, we managed to navigate through our PhDs together. Thank you for our shared procrastination, your intellect, and most of all, your friendship. Nicole, thank you for the fun memories, laughs, and inside jokes (Thank MEH!). We might be the only ones who understand each other when we say the wrong words, but that's what makes our friendship unique. Tadius, my newfound brother, thank you for always checking in on me and always providing encouraging words. The friendship you have brought into my life will stand the test of time. I appreciate you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Why Is This Research Important?	3
1.2 Outline	6
CHAPTER 2: CONFLICT PERSPECTIVES ON RACE AND CRIME	7
2.1 History	8
2.2 Expansion of the Conflict Theory	12
CHAPTER 3: PRIOR LITERATURE	15
3.1 Racial Threat	15
3.2 Racial Typification	22
CHAPTER 4: DATA AND METHODS	25
4.1 Research Questions	25
4.2 Data.....	26
4.3 Variables	27
4.4 Analytic Plan	34
CHAPTER 5: RESULTS	36
5.1 Results: Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations	36
5.2 Results: Black Threat and Black Typification.....	37
5.3 Results: Hispanic Threat and Hispanic Typification.....	42
5.4 Results: Black and Hispanic Threat and Minority Typification.....	44
5.5 Results: Minority Threat and Punitiveness.....	45
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	55
6.1 Summary of Results	56
6.2 Policy Implications	60
6.3 Limitations of Study	63
6.4 Directions for Future Research and Conclusion.....	65
APPENDIX A IRB APPROVAL AND SURVEY INSTRUMENT	67
APPENDIX B MISSINGNESS AND SENSITIVITY ANALYSES	79
REFERENCES	82
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	90

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Descriptive Statistics.....	38
Table 2.	Bivariate Correlations	39
Table 3.	Examining the Effects of Perceived Black Threat on Black Typification of Crime ..	47
Table 4.	Examining the Effects of Perceived Hispanic Threat on Hispanic Typification of Crime	48
Table 5.	Examining the Effects of Perceived Black and Hispanic Threat on Minority Typification of Crime	49
Table 6.	SEM: Effects of Black Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views	50
Table 7.	SEM: Effects of Hispanic Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views.....	51
Table 8.	SEM: Effects of Black Threat, Hispanic Threat, and Racial Threat on Punitive Views	52
Table 9.	Percent Missingness of Each Variable.....	79
Table 10.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Political Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views	79
Table 11.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Economic Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views	80
Table 12.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Criminal Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views	80
Table 13.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Political Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views	80
Table 14.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Economic Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views	80
Table 15.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Criminal Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views	80
Table 16.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views	80
Table 17.	Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views	80

Table 18. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Racial Threat and Minority Typification on Punitive Views 81

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Relationship Between Black Threat, Black Typification, and Punitiveness	53
Figure 2. Relationship Between Hispanic Threat, Hispanic Typification, and Punitiveness	53
Figure 3. Relationship Between Minority Threat, Minority Typification, and Punitiveness	54

ABSTRACT

The history of racial threat theory can be traced back to the works of early conflict theorists. Past literature has determined that racial threat stems from political, economic, and criminal threat perceived by those in the majority. As the minority population increases, those in the majority begin to feel as if their position of power is threatened. Despite the identification of political, economic, and criminal threat as the three sources of racial threat, past studies have focused solely on criminal threat as a source of racial threat. The omission of political and economic threat from previous literature is a shortcoming of past works. In addition, the racial and ethnic typification of crime has been studied as a predictor of public attitudes but has not been examined as a dependent variable. Studies have suggested that the typification of crime can be one of many microprocesses that form the chain between racial threat and the mobilization of social controls to minimize the threat presented by minorities. This dissertation explores the relationship between all three sources of racial threat and the racial typification of crime. The findings suggest that racial threat has a significant effect on racial and ethnic typification, although it does vary based on the source of threat. In addition to this primary analysis, this dissertation examines the mediating effect of racial typification on racial threat and punitive sentiment. The findings suggest that typification does not mediate the effect of racial threat on punitive sentiment. This dissertation also discusses implications for policy, theory, and future research.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

... [W]e must remember that crime is not normal; that the appearance of crime among Southern Negroes is a symptom of wrong social conditions – of a stress of life greater than a large part of the community can bear. The Negro is not naturally criminal; he is usually patient and law-abiding. If slavery, the convict lease system, the traffic in criminal labor, the lack of juvenile reformatories, together with the unfortunate discrimination and prejudice in other walks of life, have led to that sort of social protest and revolt we call crime, then we must look for remedy in the sane reform of these wrong social conditions...

- W.E.B. Du Bois (1901/2002)

Although there is a wide array of research on race and crime, recently researchers have begun to put emphasis on the study of racial threat and racial typification. Racial threat suggests that as the minority population increases, the majority begins to feel threatened politically, economically, and criminally. This perceived threat then results in the mobilization of social controls in order to regulate the behavior of minorities and minimize their threat. Racial typification has been described as the presumed link between crime minorities, specifically black men. The theoretical origins of racial threat theory and racial typification lie within the conflict perspective proposed by Sellin (1938), Simmel (1950), and Vold (1958).

Since the birth of the conflict perspective, studies on racial threat have included research on the effects of race on police force size, police behavior, arrest likelihood, sentencing, interracial crime, political disenfranchisement, punitiveness, and fear of crime (Stults & Baumer, 2007; Liska & Yu, 1992; Liska, Lawrence, & Benson, 1981; Chamlin, 1989; Jackson, 1992; Kent & Jacobs, 2005; Greenberg, Kessler, & Loftin, 1985; Smith, 1986; Novak & Chamlin, 2012; Worden & Shepard, 1996; Kane, 2003; Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003; Chamlin,

1989; Jacobs & O'Brien, 1998; Stults, Parker, & Lane, 2010, Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Stolzenberg, D'Alessio, & Eitle, 2004; Liska & Chamlin, 1984; Liska, Chamlin, & Reed, 1985; Parker, Stults, & Rice, 2005; Ousey & Lee, 2008; Eitle & Monahan, 2009; Eitle, Stolzenberg, & D'Alessio, 2005; Crawford, Chiricos, & Kleck, 1998; Jacobs & Carmichael, 2005; Caravelis, Chiricos, & Bales, 2011; Caravelis, Chiricos, & Bales, 2013; Wang & Mears, 2010; Feldmeyer & Ulmer, 2011; D'Alessio, Stolzenberg, & Eitle, 2002; Behrens, Uggen, & Manza; Eitle & Taylor, 2008; Eschholz, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003; Chiricos, Hogan, & Gertz, 1997; Chiricos, McEntire, & Gertz, 2001).

Along with the continued research on racial threat, recent race and crime literature has begun to explore racial typification of crime. The previous literature on racial typification of crime has focused on typification as an independent variable. More specifically, studies have focused on the effects of racial typification on punitiveness, fear of crime, and perceived crime threat (Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Welch, 2004; Pickett, Chiricos, Golden, & Gertz, 2012).

Although there has been research conducted on the effects of racial threat and racial typification, much of the previous research has several limitations. Perhaps the most important and prevalent limitation found in the racial threat literature is the failure to measure all three sources of threat (political threat, economic threat, and criminal threat) proposed by Blalock (1967), and later reinforced by Liska (1992). The racial typification literature has been narrow in its scope because of the limited data available that measures typification and due to the newness of the subject.

Racial threat theory operates under the presumption there are several micro-processes that operate at the individual level that help activate and make structural relationships possible (Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Chiricos et al., 2001). For example, these micro-processes

include individuals who find Blacks threatening and call the police. By calling the police, individuals are aiding in the mobilization of social controls (Warner, 1992). Based on this presumption, the racial typification of crime can be affected by or result from a racial threat. This dissertation aims to address this presumption and fill a gap found in both the racial threat literature and the racial typification literature.

More specifically, this dissertation will treat the perception of threat from the political, economic, and criminal siloes as measures of racial threat. Moreover, the effect of these threat measures will be gauged against three forms of typification: black, Hispanic, and minority (Black and Hispanic).

1.1 Why Is This Research Important?

While the public opinion literature across all disciplines has been well established, there has been little to no research within the field of criminology that attempts to explain what influences racial typification. This dissertation aims to determine if racial typification is influenced by racial threat. Simply put, this research will answer the question, “Is the way individuals associate crime with certain races influenced by the level of racial threat they feel?”

1.1.1 Major Gaps in the Racial Threat Literature

Although researchers have identified several shortcomings in the racial threat literature, this dissertation’s aim is to address two of the major gaps in the literature. First, previous literature has focused on measuring the effects of racial threat on various aspects of social control and informal mechanisms of social control. Because of the paucity of literature examining the effects of racial threat on public opinion, this paper addresses a severe limitation in the literature by measuring the effects of racial threat on racial typification.

The prior literature on racial threat theory has focused on testing the effects of racial threat on the amount of social control police direct towards Blacks (Stults & Baumer, 2007; Liska, Lawrence, & Benson, 1981; D'Alessio, Eitle, & Stolzenberg, 2005; Greenberg, Kessler, & Loftin, 1985; Chamlin, 1989; Sever, 2001; Kent & Jacobs, 2005; Jackson & Carroll, 1981; Jacobs, 1979; Kane 2002; Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003; Stults, Parker, & Lane, 2010, Liska & Yu, 1992; Jacobs & O'Brien, 1998; Stewart, Baumer, Brunson, & Simons, 2009). Although this literature has been crucial to the development of the racial threat perspective, its full explanatory power has yet to be unveiled. By analyzing the effects of racial threat on a public opinion measure like racial typification, researchers can begin to discover the underlying reasoning behind the majority's feeling of threat, which may reveal racism is an underlying factor in perceived group threat.

Second, the racial threat literature has primarily used the minority population percentage or an increase in the minority population as a measure of racial threat. This aggregate level of measurement relies heavily on assumptions and inferences on the individual's micro-processes that contribute to their perceived threat. Although Blalock (1967) states a large Black population can be associated with high levels of social control, the question remains whether the findings using the Black population as a measure of threat can be interpreted as support for racial threat theory (Jacobs & Helms, 1999; Eitle et al., 2002). This methodological and conceptual limitation should make researchers question the validity of previous research on racial threat theory. Despite the identification of economic competition, political mobilization, and interracial crime (Liska, 1987; Liska & Chamlin, 1984; Blalock, 1967) as distinct manifestations of racial threat, researchers (with the exception of Eitle et al. [2002]) have continued to use the minority population size as an influence of threat. Therefore, prior studies have interpreted the

relationship between the Black population size and the mobilization of social controls as a result of racial threat. Eitle and colleagues (2002) have described this pattern as a "... lack of conceptual precision in the measurement of racial threat [that] has fostered a research literature that is ill defined and disorganized" (pp. 558). This dissertation addresses this major methodological and conceptual limitation found in past research by using measures of political, economic, and criminal threat as measures of racial threat; thus, fulfilling the original proposed theoretical guidelines of racial threat theory (Blalock, 1967; Liska et al. 1981, Eitle et al. 2002).

1.1.2 Major Gaps in the Racial Typification Literature

Racial typification is a relatively new and underdeveloped research area of criminology. By determining what, if any, effect racial threat has on racial typification, this research can then determine if racial typification is a measure of threat or a mediating factor in the chain of threat. In addition, this dissertation will shed light on some possible variables that lead to racial typification.

Prior literature on racial typification has focused on racial typification as an independent variable rather than a dependent variable. Due to a lack of available data and causal order issues, past researchers have not examined possible variables, such as racial threat, that lead to racial typification. Most applicable data sets have measures of racial threat or racial typification, but rarely both. Additionally, the data sets that have measures of both racial threat and racial typification are cross sectional creating a lack of longitudinal data making it difficult to establish temporal order.

As stated previously, prior research has focused on the effects of racial typification on punitive attitudes, fear of crime, and crime concern; but, as suggested by Chiricos and colleagues (2001), racial typification can be a part of the presumed micro-processes within the effect of

racial threat on social controls. This supported statement by Chiricos and colleagues should lead researchers to believe racial typification can be a result of racial threat. By measuring the effect of racial threat indicators on racial typification, this dissertation will be tapping into the unmeasured micro-processes occurring within the racial threat theory, thus, establishing temporal order.

1.2 Outline

The remaining chapters proceed as follows: Chapter 2 will describe conflict theory by providing an overview of the history and development of the perspective as the foundation for racial threat theory. Within this chapter will be a discussion of the additions made to conflict theory that influenced Blalock and the creation of racial threat theory. Chapter 3 will discuss the development and prior literature on racial threat theory and the prior literature on racial typification. This chapter will not only discuss the development of the literature and the current state of the empirical evidence, but it will also highlight the limitations and shortcomings of prior research. Chapter 4 will outline the data and methods used in this dissertation. Chapter 5 will provide the results of the analyses conducted. As a conclusion, chapter 6 will provide a discussion of the results and summarize the findings of the analyses. This chapter will also discuss the policy implications of this research, the limitations of this study, and the areas of future research that need to be explored.

CHAPTER 2

CONFLICT PERSPECTIVES ON RACE AND CRIME

One of the most popular theories used to describe the relationship between race and crime is conflict theory. This lens is popular because conflict theories in general focus on different power differential struggles between individuals and groups (Gabbidon, 2007). Conflict theories operate under the assumption societal relations are determined through conflicts over power, money, and status. Therefore, society is held together through conflict rather than consensus. Specifically, the conflict experienced in society is considered “a dynamic equilibrium of opposing group interests and efforts” (Vold, 1958:204).

The outcome of this conflict is determined by the amount of power an individual or group wields over the opposition. Those who are in power have the ability and influence to control the law and the individuals the law governs. The less powerful continue to abide by their internal group norms, although the less powerful remain under the law determined by the powerful, thus, violating the law and creating conflict (Akers and Sellers, 2013).

When applying conflict theory to crime, one would observe if punishment is distributed equally, or done in a discriminatory matter. As conflict theory continued to develop, more specialized approaches to explaining conflict surrounding specific powerless groups arose. For example, Marxist theory centralized around conflicts across classes, and feminist theories focused on conflicts across genders (Akers and Sellers, 2013). More recently, contemporary conflict theory has been centralized around the White power structure as opposed to conflicts within class or gender.

William Bonger is attributed as the pioneer in relating race, crime, and conflict theories, although the origins of the conflict perspective can be traced back to the writings of Karl Marx,

George Simmel, and Max Weber. In consequence, this chapter will describe the development of the conflict perspective on race and crime starting with the works of Bonger.

2.1 History

2.1.1 William Bonger (1905)

William Bonger was the first to apply the conflict perspective specifically to criminological theory. The works of Bonger closely mirrored the works of Marx. For example, Bonger also believed humans were inherently social (Lilly, Cullen, and Ball, 2011). Additionally, similarly to Marx, Bonger argued the decline of social integration and rise of individualism could be attributed to capitalism.

Bonger believed capitalism was the root of the division between the powerful and the powerless. Specifically, he believed the innate differences between the rulers and the ruled were not the cause of the division, but rather, the economic system (Bonger, 1905). The economic division pitted people against one another, and individual goals became prioritized over group goals. In particular, capitalism encouraged individuals to seek pleasure, many times, at the expense of others. This led to what Marx refers to as egoism (Bonger, 1905). Bonger argued egoism within society allowed individuals to commit crimes against one another.

In addition, Bonger attributed the crime committed by those in poverty as a response to capitalism and the inability to succeed in a monetary driven society (Bonger, 1905). Despite observing ‘crime is necessary for the survival of the subordinate class’, Bonger acknowledged higher-class bourgeoisie also committed crimes. Therefore, his ultimate conclusion was crime was the result of the decline of morality and the potential to gain power that accompanied capitalism. In the words of Lilly, Cullen, and Ball (2013), Bonger viewed crime as, “a product of an economic system that fostered a greedy, egotistic, ‘look out for number one’ mentality while

at the same time making the rich richer and the poor poorer” (pp. 169). Bonger also noted actions labeled as crime were not only acts considered immoral, but also were the actions threatening the interests of the powerful.

Despite Bonger’s attempt to apply the conflict perspective to criminological theory, in his original 1905 manuscript titled *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, he did not discuss the relation between race and crime (Gabbidon, 2007). Bonger attributed the extreme length of his text (706 pages) as the reasoning behind the omission of race. Following criticism for his omission, in 1943, Bonger produced the classic known as *Race and Crime* in an attempt to address the relationship between the conflict perspective, race, and crime.

2.1.2 Thorsten Sellin (1938) and George Vold (1958)

In 1938, Thorsten Sellin created the culture conflict theory. Within his theory, he developed the phenomenon known as conduct norms –behaviors that are accepted within a group or culture. Sellin argued society is comprised of several different cultures and groups, and because conduct norms vary across cultures, behaviors that are violations to the norm in one culture may be acceptable in another.

Sellin (1938) went on to say the conduct norm was developed and established by those in power, individuals in the top ranks of the social hierarchy had control over what was deemed as crime. The power that came with the privilege of controlling the conduct norm left the potential for culture conflict.

Sellin (1938) identified racial heterogeneity and residential instability as the two factors contributing to the conflict found within a society. More specifically, he identified three ways cultural conflict arises: “(a) when the codes clash on the border of the contiguous cultural areas; (b) when, as may be the case with legal norms, the law of one cultural group is extended to cover

the territory of another; or (c) when members of one cultural group migrate to another” (Gabbidon, 2007, pp. 148; Sellin, 1938).

In addition to cultural norms, Sellin (1938) identified two types of culture conflict: primary conflict and secondary conflict. Primary conflict refers to when the differences between an immigrant’s conduct norms and the conduct norms of the society they are entering are due to the immigrant’s cultural origin rather than their economic status. Secondary conflict arises when a single culture evolves because of its adaptation of new conduct norms through social differentiation.

Ruche and Kirchheimer (1939) later expanded on the works of Sellin (1938) by emphasizing the bigger the gap between the powerful and the powerless became, the harsher the social controls and punishments became. Ruche and Kirchheimer believed the punishments had to become harsher in order to get minorities to comply, because certain social controls became less effective in a state that does not give minorities the means for success or survival.

In the late 1950s, Vold developed the most extensive and detailed application and explanation of criminological theory through the conflict perspective. Vold (1958) argued conflict was not abnormal, but rather conflict was a part of the societal structure. He described social order as the equilibrium of forces in opposition. This state of equilibrium is found through social interaction processes that slowly adjust towards relative stability. Therefore, Vold assumed that society was not held together by consensus, but rather, society was characterized by conflict.

Due to society’s state of ongoing conflict, the group in power has a constant feeling of threat of replacement by the inferior group. Therefore, in situations of group crisis, group loyalty increases to extreme heights. Members of the group in power will act in any means necessary in

order to ensure their group's status does not waiver. Simultaneously, less powerful groups will show their devotion to their group by behaving in ways that can potentially lead to an increase in power (Vold, 1958). Vold summarized his ideas as follows:

The logical outcome of group conflict should either, on the one hand, conquest and victory for one side with the utter defeat and destruction or subjugation for the other side; or, on the other hand, something less conclusive and decisive, a stalemate of compromise and withdrawal to terminate the conflict with no final settlement of the issue resolved (Vold, 1958, p. 207).

2.1.3 The 1960s

During the 1960s, the popularity of the conflict perspective grew. The Civil Rights Movement, the Prisoner Rights Movement, Watergate, and the Vietnam War characterized the 1960s. Conflict theory highlighted and explained these newly exposed patterns of social division. In 1974, Sykes explained the three most important factors that contributed to the rise of conflict theory's popularity.

First, Sykes (1974) identified the Vietnam War and the impact it had on American society as a pivotal event. The Vietnam War surfaced feelings of distrust and doubt in the American public who increasingly began to question the motives and credibility of those in power. Doubt caused by the discovery of disinformation and pre-existing opposition to the war led to protests beyond the government's control.

Second, Sykes (1974) suggested there was a growth of the counter-culture. The 1960s were a time of government distrust and rebelling against authority. As a result, society was hesitant and skeptical to abide by the social controls and laws enforced by those in power. In this context, conflict theory provided an explanation for the division across society highlighted in the 1960s. Thus, because of this rise in conflict and threat, research on the conflict perspective increased.

Sykes' (1974) third explanation for the increased popularity in the 1960s was the rise of social movements aimed at eliminating discrimination. The 1960s experienced an increase in the mobilization of feminist, LGBT, and civil rights activists; and as these social movements became more politicized and organized, they received attention from the public. In particular, the civil rights movement led people to believe in order for Blacks to gain social equality, civil disobedience was necessary.

The Vietnam War, the growth of the counter-culture, and the increase in social movements led to an increase in the popularity of conflict theory. Researchers began to believe society was comprised of groups in conflict, and those in power began to view the powerless as criminals who threaten the social hierarchy. Consequently, the 1960s was a prime time for the development of conflict theory.

2.2 Expansion of the Conflict Theory

In 1969, Turk expanded upon the conflict perspective with his “theory of criminalization.” Turk suggested those in power begin to criminalize the acts of minorities in order to maintain their privileged position. Specifically, they enforced laws and regulations punishing behaviors that are characteristic of minorities. The behaviors of minorities were criminalized because they were seen as threatening and unpredictable. Behaviors were criminalized relative to the power of the privileged and were seen as a means to gain power or success or seen as a specific characteristic of minorities (Turk, 1969).

Later, Quinney (1970) expanded on the work of Turk. Quinney found evidence to support the claims of Turk, but also found the behaviors criminalized were often seen as acceptable if conducted by the privileged.

Blalock (1969) can be attributed as one of the first criminologists to provide measurable definitions of the abstract concept of threat. Blalock suggested threat could be measured by the actual or perceived percentage of minorities in a given area relative to the percentage of the majority. His argument hinged on the premise that the percentage of minorities in the population created a perception of threat amongst the majority. Subsequently, those in power mobilized social controls as a response to this threat.

Liska et al. (1981) added two elements to this perspective. They added that as the minority population increases, Whites begin to experience increased fear of inter-racial crime rather than intra-racial crime, because the former is characterized by unknown and uncertainty. They also added as areas become more segregated, there is less intra-racial crime and more inter-racial crime. This idea, which will be further explained in a subsequent chapter, is known as the benign neglect hypothesis.

Chambliss and Seidman (1971) applied the conflict perspective to the criminal justice system by using the perspective as a lens to view the process of making laws and regulations. Chambliss and Siedman suggested lawmakers created laws based on their experience and what they know and because the lawmakers were members of the majority, the laws reflected the views of that majority. Because law enforcement officials (i.e., police, politicians, etc.) must keep their constituents happy in order to secure their positions, they enforce the laws in ways aimed at keeping the preference of their constituencies. Thus, the privileged majorities are able to maintain their power through such officials by their control over the purse and ballot box.

Black (1976) later applied a broader perspective of the conflict perspective, finding similarly to Ruche and Kirchheimer (1939), that as the gap between the privileged and the powerless increases, punishments became harsher. By the same token, Black (1976) found as the

gap increases, the amount of disadvantage also increases. Ultimately Black (1976) concluded the gap between the privileged and non-privileged has an inverse relationship vis a vis the amount of disadvantage an individual experiences.

In sum, the conflict perspective suggests as an area becomes more diverse, there will be different opinions and interests and those in power will mobilize social controls in order to maintain their privileged position. The threats presented can be seen through the lenses of the political, economic, and social status. On top of that, laws reflect the interests of those in power and in order for law officials to maintain their position, they enforce the interests and beliefs of their political constituents. Lastly, as areas become more segregated, there is an increase in inter-racial crime and a decrease in social controls. The scholars who developed the threat perspective would argue the application of formal social controls and the development of laws are a function of social and community context.

CHAPTER 3

PRIOR LITERATURE

3.1 Racial Threat

Blalock's (1969) racial threat theory, also referred to as minority-group threat or power threat theory, has received support over time. His theory argues there is a disproportionate use of social controls within society because of the threat felt by the controlling group from the minority. Blalock (1967) attributes this relationship to "the success of one implies a reduced probability that others will also attain their goals" (pg. 73). In his work, Blalock primarily used the percentage of non-White people in a given area as a macro-level measure of threat. In addition, he highlighted three sources of threat: status, economic, and power.

The idea of status, economic, and power threat operates under the assumption all social groups desire to be the dominant social group. Those who are in the minority group seem to be a status threat by appearing as competition over resources. There is a finite amount of resources, and those who pose as perceived or actual competition over the resources are considered threats to the hierarchical order. A growing minority population is a threat to those in the majority. In order to combat the minority threat to the status quo, those in power implement targeted social controls in order to maintain their privileged position.

The specific micro-processes that contribute to the relationship between the increase in the minority population and the amount of social controls imposed on minorities have been debated throughout the literature. The "modern" racial threat theory that is fundamental to the most recent works can be attributed to the works of Blalock (1967) and Liska (1992). Together, Blalock (1967) and Liska (1992) explained there are three threat-based hypotheses that attempt to explain this phenomenon: political threat, economic threat, and criminal threat (specifically

black-on-white crime). Although these three measures are hypothesized to explain the effect, they conflict over where the threat occurs.

The political threat hypothesis stems from the ideas of Blalock's (1967) power threat concept. The political threat hypothesis argues as the minority population increases in an area, Whites begin to perceive their political dominance is threatened (Blalock, 1967; Eitle et. al, 2002). The perceived political threat produced by the increase in the minority population leads state actors to implement social controls in order to reduce minorities' political mobility. Blalock (1967) emphasized the relationship between political threat and social controls is curvilinear. He stated social controls that are a result of political threat are commissioned rapidly, thus, increasing the positive slope. By the same token, subsequent work by Horowitz (1985) suggested that if the minority population surpasses the White population, the amount of social controls experienced by the minority should decline because of the newly increased political mobility of minorities.

The economic threat hypothesis also stems from Blalock's original 1967 piece. The economic threat hypothesis suggests the competition for economic resources, such as jobs, evolves from the increase in the minority populations and leads to an increase in the amount of social controls inflicted on the minority. Similar to political threat, the effect of economic threat is predicted to be curvilinear. Specifically, the relationship is positive, but declining in slope. Other work attributes the progressive decline of the slope to economic exclusion strategies, occupational niches, and split labor market strategies (Barth, 1969; Bonacich, 1972; Olzak, 1990; Jacobs & Wood, 1999).

In 1992, Liska expanded on Blalock's work by adding criminal threat as one of the sources of threat felt by the majority. Unlike the political and economic threat hypotheses, the

criminal threat hypothesis emphasizes the amount of black-on-white crime perceived by Whites as the cause of an increase in social controls (Liska, 1992). Similar to the other two hypotheses, the criminal threat hypothesis presumes the level of threat is linked to an increase in the minority population. Although, it should be mentioned Liska (1992) suggested that there is a threshold effect when describing the relationship between threat and social controls.

Liska and Chamlin (1984) argued the threat minorities cause increased social controls, but only to a certain point. After the population percentage of minorities reached a certain percentage, the threat presented by the increased minority population creates a decrease in social controls. Specifically, as the black population increases, the amount of black-on-white crime decreases and the amount of black-on-black crime increases. This non-linear effect was thought to be a result of the police, or other agents of social control, no longer caring about the control of minorities because of the lack of White people in the area. This idea is known as the benign neglect hypothesis.

Although political, economic, and criminal threat have been identified as the micro-processes that explain the effect of the increase in minority population on the increase of social controls, these micro-processes are rarely directly tested. Instead, scholars have primarily used the percentage of the black population, as suggested by Blalock (1967), as a proxy measure of racial threat. With the use of this proxy measure, scholars have tested the effects of racial threat on police force size, police behavior, punitive attitudes, arrest likelihood, and sentencing decisions.

3.1.1 Empirical Evidence

Overall, there has been support for the notion racial threat effects police force size, police behavior, and punitive attitudes. Despite this evidence, there is mixed evidence on the effects of racial threat on arrest likelihood and sentencing decisions.

There has been support that measures of racial threat effect the police force size in a given area (Stults & Baumer, 2007; Liska, Lawrence, & Benson, 1981; D'Alessio, Eitle, & Stolzenberg, 2005; Greenberg, Kessler, & Loftin, 1985; Chamlin, 1989; Sever, 2001; Kent & Jacobs, 2005; Jackson & Carroll, 1981; Jacobs, 1979). Stults and Baumer (2007), Liska et al. (1981), D'Alessio et al. (2005), Greenberg, Kessler, & Loftin (1985), Chamlin (1989), Jackson and Carroll (1981), Kent and Jacobs (2005) and Sever (2001), all found the percentage of Blacks in a neighborhood increased the police force size in that area. Further, Liska et al. (1981) and Greenberg, Kessler, & Loftin (1985) explored the potential moderators of this effect. The effect of racial threat on police force size increased during the 1960s and in the South. Specifically, Liska et al. (1981), Greenberg, Kessler, & Loftin (1985), and D'Alessio et al. (2005) believed this increased effect could be attributed to the cultural climate that characterized the 1960s. Whites were threatened during this time because of the civil rights movement and Blacks attempting to climb the social hierarchy. The gap in the hierarchy between Blacks and Whites in the South was much greater than other regions, and there was a higher percentage of Blacks in the South. Therefore, the effect of the percentage of the black population on police force size was greater in the South.

Stults and Baumer (2007) explored the potential mediators between racial threat and police force size. Although they did not find any mediators, they did find a direct effect between the percentage of black population on police force size. In addition to the direct effect, they

found that as an area becomes more segregated, the effect of the black population on police force size reverses. They found as segregation increases, police force size decreases, providing support for the benign neglect hypothesis. Kent and Jacobs (2005) also found support for the benign neglect hypothesis. Their research concluded that although there is a positive relationship between the black population percentage and police force size, this relationship is weaker in racially segregated neighborhoods.

In addition to the effects on police force size, the percentage of the black population has an effect on police behavior (Chamlin 1989; Kane 2002; Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003; Stults, Parker, & Lane, 2010, Liska & Yu, 1992; Jacobs & O'Brien, 1998; Stewart, Baumer, Brunson, & Simons, 2009). Chamlin (1989) finds an increase of the black population has a positive effect on reported police misconduct. Further, Kane (2002) found in New York City the percentage of Hispanics in an area increased the amount of reported police brutality. Similarly, Liska & Yu (1992) and Jacobs & O'Brien (1998) both found racial threat to be a predictor of police use of deadly force, net of other factors. Also, Petrocelli et al. (2004) found that Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to get stopped in White neighborhoods and Blacks are more likely to get searched in predominately White neighborhoods. Further, Stults et al. (2010) found in Miami the percentage of Hispanics in an area increased the stops and searches of both Blacks and Hispanics; however, in areas with a high percentage Blacks population, only Blacks were stopped and searched more often. It should be noted a recent study found that white motorists are more likely to be stopped by police in predominately Black neighborhoods (Novak & Chamlin, 2012). Novak and Chamlin (2012) suggest these findings can be explained as an increase in social controls against those who are inconsistent with the racial composition of the area.

Although the effects of racial threat on punitive attitudes have not been heavily researched, there has been consistent evidence that suggests there is a positive effect (Stewart, Martinez, Baumer, & Gertz, 2015; McEntire, 2007; King & Wheelock, 2007; Barkan & Cohn, 2004; Baumer, Messner, & Rosenfeld, 2003; Unnever & Cullen, 2010). Stewart and colleagues (2015) found Latino criminal and economic threat is predictive of punitive Latino sentiment. This effect was even greater within areas with a recent growth in the Latino population. Baumer et al. (2003) found areas with higher criminal threat, political threat, and a high black population also experienced increased support for the death penalty. Unnever and Cullen's (2010) comparative study found within a number of European countries and Canada, racial animus was predictive of punitive attitudes.

Despite the overwhelming support for the effect of racial threat on police force size, police behavior, and punitive attitudes, there has been mixed support for the effects on other formal social controls, such as, arrest likelihood and sentencing decisions.

Early studies commonly relied on the black population percentage as a measure of racial threat. Those studies found support for the effect of the Black population percentage on arrest likelihood (Liska & Chamlin, 1984; Liska, Lawrence, & Benson, 1981). Recent studies have found racial threat does not affect one's likelihood of arrest (Eitle, D'Alessio, Stolzenberg, 2002; Stolzenberg, D'Alessio, Eitle, 2004; Parker, Stults, & Rice, 2005; Thomas, Moak, & Walker, 2012; Ousey & Lee, 2011; Andersen, 2015). The most recent research has been able to incorporate measures of economic, political, and/or criminal threat into their studies. For example, Eitle et al. (2002) found the amount of Black-on-White crime in an area had a positive effect on the arrest likelihood of Blacks, but Black-on-Black crime did not. These findings suggest the devaluing of Black lives among police. Despite the support found for criminal threat,

Eitle and colleagues (2002) did not find support for the effects of political threat nor economic threat on arrest likelihood. It is important to note of the studies listed above, those that did not find support for the effect of the Black population percentage on arrest likelihood did find support for the benign neglect hypothesis.

Lastly, there is mixed support on the effect of the minority population on sentencing decisions (Tittle & Curran, 1988; Bridges, Crutchfield, & Simpson, 1987; Britt, 2000; Wang & Mears, 2010; Ulmer & Johnson, 2004; Johnson, Stewart, Pickett, & Gertz, 2011, Caravelis, Chiricos, & Bales, 2011; Myers, 1990; Crawford, Chiricos, & Kleck, 1998; Feldmeyer and Ulmer, 2011; Feldmeyer, Warren, Siennick, & Neptune, 2015).

Tittle & Curran (1988), Bridges, Crutchfield, & Simpson (1987), Ulmer & Johnson (2004), Wang & Mears (2010), Johnson et al. (2011), and Caravelis et al (2011) found support for the minority population having an effect on sentencing decisions. Johnson et al. (2011) found increases in the Hispanic population in the area had a positive effect on the public's support for using ethnicity as a contributing factor to an individual's sentencing decisions. Also, Caravelis et al. (2011) found an increase in the Hispanic population led to an increase in Hispanics and Blacks receiving the Habitual Offender status and receiving a label. Lastly, Feldmeyer and colleagues (2015) found in the state of Florida, Blacks and Hispanics were sentenced harsher than Whites. This effect was even greater for Blacks in areas that experienced a growth in the Black population.

On the contrary, Britt (2000), Meyers et al. (1990) Crawford et al. (1998), and Feldmeyer and Ulmer (2011) did not find support for the effect of minority population on sentencing decision. Britt (2000) found although Blacks in Pennsylvania are sentenced harsher than Whites, racial threat does not interact with this effect. Meyers et al. (1990) and Crawford et al. (1998)

both found as the black population in an area increases, the percentage of Blacks incarcerated decreases. Feldmeyer and Ulmer (2011) found a threshold effect. They found as the black population increases there is an increase in black incarceration, but when it reaches a certain level, the black incarceration rate begins to decrease. Therefore, the evidence on the effects of minority population on sentencing is inconclusive.

3.2 Racial Typification

As previously mentioned, in comparison to the racial threat literature, the racial typification literature is a relatively new area of study. What little research that has been conducted has focused on racial typification as an independent variable. Specifically, the studies testing the effects of racial typification have primarily focused on punitive sentiment (Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Welch, Payne, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2011; Unnever & Cullen, 2012; Devers, Gertz, Piquero, & Kraus, 2012; Pickett, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2014; Metcalfe, Pickett, Mancini, 2015).

Using a national random sample of adults, Chiricos and colleagues (2004) conducted a study that tested the effects of a person's racial typification of crime and its effects on their support for punitive measures. Aside from the standard demographic variables, Chiricos et al. (2004) included measures of racial prejudice, conservatism, crime salience, and region of residence. Using an OLS regression, they found independent of the included control variables, racial typification is a significant predictor of support for punitive measures. This effect was most prevalent among Whites, those who are conservative, less prejudiced, not southern, and for whom crime salience is low.

Welch, Payne, Chiricos, and Gertz (2011) studied the effects of racial typification on punitive attitudes but focusing on Hispanic typification. Their study was unique in that they were

the first study on the topic of typification to use hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). In addition to the individual measures used by Chiricos et al. (2004), Welch et al. (2011) accounted for crime concern, perceived violent crime rates, and fear of victimization. In addition to the individual level variables, Welch et al. (2011) controlled for state level variables like the crime rate, percent foreign born, whether it is a border state, and the Hispanic composition. The authors came to the following conclusions: (1) those who typify crimes disproportionately towards Hispanics are more supportive of punitive crime policies, (2) racial prejudice, fear of victimization, typifying criminals as black, political ideology, and parental status are individual level variables that moderate the relationship between Hispanic typification and punitive attitudes, (3) percentage born in Latin America was the only state-level variable that affected the individual relationship between Hispanic typification and punitiveness.

Unnever and Cullen (2012) observed the effects of stereotyping through a trend analysis using data from the 1990 and 2000 General Social Surveys. Using a racial-ethnic prejudice scale and stereotype measures of both Blacks and Hispanics, the authors created a measure of typification. Using their created measure of typification, Unnever and Cullen (2012) observed its effects on respondent's favor of the death penalty for those convicted of murder. Their study revealed Black and Hispanic prejudice increases Whites' support for capital punishment during both 1990 and 2000. Despite these findings, the authors also found stereotypes that typify Blacks and Hispanics as violent exerted an effect on support for the death penalty in 1990, but not in 2000. Their findings suggest despite the belief of Black's and Hispanic's inclination towards violence has decreased over time, the amount of racial animus appears to be stable.

Devers, Gertz, Piquero, and Kraus' (2012) study is a replication of Chiricos, Welch, and Gertz's (2004) pivotal study on racial typification, but with the use of a sample of Arabs in

Israel. With the use of intra-ethnic threat as the theoretical foundation for their analysis, the authors examined the effects of ethnic typification on punitive attitudes. Devers et al. (2012) hypothesized the findings on the effects of racial typification on punitiveness presented by Chiricos et al. (2004) would be comparable to the possible ethnic typification found in Israel. The results suggested the contrary. Ethnic typification of crime was not found to be predictive of punitive attitudes. Remarkably, concern for crime was the biggest and most consistent predictor of punitiveness net of other control variables.

Pickett, Chiricos, and Gertz (2014) and Metcalfe, Pickett, & Mancini (2014) both analyzed the effects of racial typification on punitive attitudes through the lens of juvenile rehabilitation or “child saving.” Pickett et al. (2014) used two variables of child saving by measuring the respondent’s support for juvenile treatment programs (absolute support) and support for punitive youth justice policies (relative support). Pickett and his colleagues (2014) concluded Whites who typify crimes with Blacks are less supportive of rehabilitation in absolute and relative terms. Similarly, Metcalfe and her colleagues (2014) found those who racially typify crime “are more likely to attribute juvenile crime to dispositional causes, empathize less with violent offenders, and believe that violent offenders possess adult criminal intentions, which in turn, leads to increased punitiveness” (p.699).

Overall, although there is minimal research published on racial typification, there is support for its effects on punitive attitudes. The overwhelming support and novelty of this topic leads to the belief that much more research is to come.

CHAPTER 4

DATA AND METHODS

Prior chapters have discussed the importance of this research, the major gaps within the racial threat and racial typification literature, the history and development of the conflict perspectives on race and crime, and the state of the prior literature on racial threat and racial typification of crime. Next, the research questions, the data that was used in this study, along with the construction and operationalization of its variables, and the analytic strategy will be presented.

4.1 Research Questions

4.1.1 Primary Analyses

There are three primary research questions that will be addressed. Q1: Are individuals who experience criminal threat, economic threat, and political threat from Blacks more likely to perceive that Blacks commit most crimes? Q2: Are individuals who experience criminal, economic, and political threat from Hispanics more likely to perceive that most crimes are committed by Hispanics? Q3: Are individuals who experience criminal threat, economic threat and political threat from both Blacks and Hispanics more likely to perceive that minorities commit most crimes? The research questions were developed based on Blalock's (1969) suggestion racial threat can be experienced through criminal, economic, and political threat.

4.1.2 Exploratory Analyses

In addition to the three primary research questions, there are three additional exploratory research questions that will be addressed: Q4: Does Black typification of crime mediate the relationship between Black threat and punitiveness? Q5: Does Hispanic typification of crime

mediate the relationship between Hispanic threat and Punitiveness? Q6: Does Minority typification mediate the relationship between Minority threat and Punitiveness?

Past research shows a direct link between racial threat and punitiveness in addition to the link between racial typification and punitiveness. (Stewart, Martinez, Baumer, & Gertz, 2015; McEntire, 2007; King & Wheelock, 2007; Barkan & Cohn, 2004; Baumer, Messner & Rosenfeld, 2013; Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Welch, Payne, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2011; Unnever & Cullen, 2012; Pickett, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2014; Metcalfe, Pickett, & Mancini, 2015). The inspiration for the exploratory analyses stem from the gap in the literature examining the influence of racial threat on racial typification.

4.2 Data

This dissertation uses data collected by The Research Network in 2008. The data were collected through a nationwide study beginning on March 1st and ending on July 9th, 2008. Trained interviewing staff at The Research Network conducted 425 household interviews. Respondents were limited to one adult resident over the age of 18 of a particularly selected household. A list-assisted sampling method was used to develop the random-digit dial sample (Tourangeau, 2004, pp. 778 – 779). Random household respondents were selected by interviewing the person in the household over 18 with the “most recent birthday” (Kish, 1965).

The survey consisted of 20 substantive and 10 demographic and background questions (see Appendix A). The overall response rate for this research was 41.5%¹. Cases of unknown eligibility, such as answering machines, busy signals, no answer, and known ineligibility, such as disconnected numbers, businesses, and fax numbers, were excluded from this calculation as recommended by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) (2008).

¹ AAPOR response rate calculation RR6 (counting completes and partials).

Additionally, a five-callback rule before substitution was implemented for records of unknown eligibility².

Several measures were taken to increase the response rate and the completion rate in this survey. Those who initially refused were contacted again three days later and asked to complete the survey again. Household respondents who continued to refuse were later contacted by a supervisor and encouraged to participate. Of those beginning the survey, 95.1% completed the interview. Only 4.9% of those beginning the survey finished less than 100% of the questions, resulting in 22 partial completes. This completion rate was substantially higher than the 60% average for national telephone interviews (Weisberg, Krosnick, and Bowen, 1989).

Trained supervisors monitored the interviews from on-site and off-site locations. In order to minimize interviewer error, 10% of completed interviews were reviewed by supervisors for accuracy by comparing selected responses to digitally recorded excerpts of interviews or during live monitoring. An additional 5% were called back to verify selected answers with the respondent. Interviewers were monitored on a daily basis and provided feedback to ensure consistent administration across interviews.

4.3 Variables

The questions used to measure the primary variables of this study were constructed by The Research Network, and most of the questions, especially those measuring racial typification, are original. This section will describe the independent, dependent, and control variables used in

² Of increasing concern to survey researcher is the use of call-screening devices (Tuckell and O'Neill, 2002). The Data-Tel predictive dialer used in this research anticipates call-screening devices used to indicate that a household is ineligible, commercially known as a "Tele-Zapper." Additionally, this software passes calls that it deems as screened through the use of privacy blockers and screening services to an operator to determine the appropriate disposition code or action. This operator then continues the call normally.

this study. The variables were selected based on what prior literature found to be correlated with racial threat, racial typification, racial prejudice, and punitiveness (Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Welch, Payne, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2011; Unnever & Cullen, 2012; Devers, Gertz, Piquero, & Kraus, 2012; Pickett, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2014; Metcalfe, Pickett, Mancini, 2015, Nielsen, Bonn, & Wilson, 2010; Wilson and Nielsen, 2011). This section is broken up into three categories: racial typification measures, racial threat measures, and control variable measures.

4.3.1 Racial Typification Measures

Respondents of the survey were asked about their views on those who commit crimes. The following statement was read to the respondents, “Now I will ask you a series of questions about crime. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?” Using their responses to questions about their views on crime, the variables Black typification, Hispanic typification, and minority typification were created. Below is a description of how each typification variable was created.

4.3.1.1 Black Typification. The scale of Black typification denotes the level in which respondents agree Blacks commit most of the crime in the United States. Lower values on this scale represent disagreement with this notion. Specifically, respondents were asked if they strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement, “Blacks commit most of the crime in the United States.” Each response category was given a value of 1 through 4, starting with 1 as strongly disagree to 4 as strongly agree. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.1.2 Hispanic Typification. The scale of Hispanic typification denotes the level in which respondents agree Hispanics commit most of the crime in the United States. The Hispanic typification variable was coded in the same fashion as the Black typification variable. Each

respondent was asked to determine their level of agreement with the statement, “Hispanics commit most of the crime in the United States.” Responses ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.1.3 Minority Typification. The scale of minority typification is a combined average measure of the responses to both of the questions measuring Black typification and Hispanic typification. As stated previously, the responses to the question about racial typification were coded 1 through 4. strongly disagree was coded as 1, somewhat disagree was coded as 2, somewhat agree was coded as 3, and strongly agree was coded as 4. In order to create the minority typification variable, the values of the responses given by the respondent were averaged. For example, a person who strongly agreed with the statement, “Blacks commit most of the crime in the United States” and somewhat agreed with the statement, “Hispanics commit most of the crime in the United States” received a value of 3.5 on the minority typification scale. Therefore, the possible values of minority typification range from 1 through 4. Those who failed to respond to either question about Black typification or Hispanic typification were coded as missing.

4.3.2 Racial Threat Measures

4.3.2.1 Political Threat. The variable political threat was measured on a scale. First, respondents were read the statement, “Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve.” Next, the respondents were asked, “Do you think that White people have too much influence, the right amount of influence, or too little influence?” Followed by, “Do you think that Black people have too much influence, the right amount of influence, or

too little influence?” And finally, “Do you think that Hispanic people have too much influence, the right amount of influence, or too little influence?” The responses to the questions about Black people and Hispanic people were used in this analysis. Both Black political threat and Hispanic political threat were measured on a scale of 1 to 3. Too little influence was coded as 1, the right amount of influence was coded as 2, and too much influence was coded as 3. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.2.2 Economic Threat. The scale of economic threat denotes respondents’ level of agreement Blacks or Hispanics take away economic resources. Respondents were asked, “Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, Neither agree or disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements? Blacks take away economic resources that should go to others. Hispanics take away economic resources that should go to others.” The responses were coded on a scale of 1 through 6, starting with strongly disagree as 1 and ending with strongly agree as 6. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.2.3 Criminal Threat. The variable criminal threat is measured on a scale of 1 through 4. Respondents were instructed, “Now I will ask you a series of questions about crime. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?” The respondents were asked for their level of agreement with the statements, “Whites pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other racial/ ethnic groups,” “Blacks pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other racial/ ethnic groups,” and “Hispanics pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other racial/ ethnic groups.” strongly agree was coded as 1, somewhat disagree was coded as 2, somewhat agree was coded as 3, and agree

was coded as 4. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.3 Control Variables

4.3.3.1 Neighborhood Segregation. The scale of neighborhood segregation denotes the respondent’s views on segregation within a neighborhood. The scale was created using seven questions. Respondents were asked on a scale from 1 through 4 if they agreed with the following statements: 1) “I think that Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods”; 2) “I think that Whites and Hispanics should live in separate neighborhoods”; 3) “I prefer to live in a neighborhood that has no Blacks”; 4) “I prefer to live in a neighborhood that has no Hispanics”; 5) “I am uncomfortable with Blacks in my neighborhood”; 6) “I am uncomfortable with Hispanics in my neighborhood”; and 7) “I feel more comfortable in racially segregated neighborhood.” The seven statements were indexed to create a *Neighborhood Segregation* index with an alpha coefficient of .872. Each response category was given a value of 1 through 4, starting with 1 as strongly disagree to 4 as strongly agree.

4.3.3.2 Neighborhood Safety. The scale of neighborhood safety denotes the respondents fear for their safety when Blacks or Hispanics enter their neighborhood. Respondents were asked, “Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements? More than any other racial/ethnic group, I fear for my safety when Blacks are in my neighborhood. More than any other racial/ethnic group, I fear for my safety when Hispanics are in my neighborhood.” The responses were coded on a scale of 1 through 4, starting with strongly disagree as 1 and ending with strongly agree as 4. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.3.3 *Punitiveness*. The variables of punitiveness were measured on a scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Respondents were asked about their level of agreement towards statements about current crime policies. The statements were, “The United States needs tougher penalties for all violent crime offenders,” and, “The United States needs to lock up more juvenile offenders. “strongly agree” was coded as 1, “somewhat disagree” was coded as 2, “somewhat agree” was coded as 3, and “strongly agree” was coded as 4. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing. The two statements were indexed to create a *Punitiveness index* with an alpha coefficient of .554.

4.3.3.4 *Racial Bias*. The scale of racial bias denotes the respondent’s view on characteristics of minorities (Blacks and Hispanics). Respondents were asked to rate three characteristics of first Blacks, then Hispanics, on a 7-point scale. The first characteristic measured was each group’s work ethic. A 1 denotes “almost all people in [that] group are hard working.” A score of 7 denotes that “all most all people in [that] group are lazy.” The second characteristic measured was each group’s intelligence. A score of 1 denotes that “people in [that] group tend to be very intelligent.” A score of 7 denotes “people in [that] group tend to be unintelligent.” The third characteristic measured was the respondent’s feeling of warmth towards each group. A score of 1 denotes feeling “very warm” and a score of 7 denotes feeling “very cool.” The six scores from each respondent were indexed to create the variable *racial bias* index with an alpha coefficient of .818.

4.3.3.5 *Employment Bias*. The variable employment bias was measured on a scale. Respondents were asked to rank these two statements on their likelihood of happening “these days”: “A White person will not get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified Black person gets one instead” and “A White person will not get a job or promotion while an equally or

less qualified Hispanic Person gets one instead.” Not Very Likely was coded as 1, somewhat Likely was coded as 2, and Very Likely was coded as 3. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.3.6 Concern. An ordinal measure of the respondent’s concern about crime in general. This variable has 4 response categories: Not At All Concerned coded as 1, Just A Little Concerned coded as 2, somewhat Concerned coded as 3, and Very Concerned coded as 4. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.3.7 Walk Alone. An ordinal measure of the respondent’s fear of walking alone in their neighborhood at night. The variable had four response categories: Not At All Afraid coded as 1, Just A Little Afraid coded as 2, somewhat Afraid coded as 3, and Very Afraid coded as 4. Those who responded as “do not know” or refused to answer were marked as missing.

4.3.3.8 Age. A continuous measure of the respondent’s age at the time of the survey.

4.3.3.9 Marital Status. A dichotomous measure of whether the respondent is married. Those who were married at the time of the survey were coded as 1, and those who were not married were coded as 0.

4.3.3.10 Political Conservatism. A dichotomous measure of self-reported political conservatism. Those who considered themselves conservative were coded as 1, and those who did not consider themselves conservative were coded as 0.

4.3.3.11 Black. A dichotomous measure of the respondent’s race as indicated in the survey. Those who reported themselves as Black were coded as 1, and those who did not report themselves as Black were coded as 0.

4.3.3.12 Hispanic. A dichotomous measure of the respondent's race as indicated in the survey. Those who reported themselves as Hispanic were coded as 1, and those who did not report themselves as Hispanic were coded as 0.

4.3.3.13 College Degree. A dichotomous measure that indicated whether a respondent had a 4-year college degree at the time of the survey. Those who have a college degree were coded as 1, and those who did not have a degree were coded as 0.

4.3.3.14 Annual Income. An ordinal measure of the respondent's annual household income of the previous year. This variable had six response categories: Less than \$15,000; \$15,000 to less than \$35,000; \$35,000 to less than \$50,000; \$50,000 to less than \$75,000; \$75,000 to less than \$100,000; and More than \$100,000.

4.3.3.15 Male. A dichotomous measure of whether a respondent is male or female. Males were coded as 1 and females were coded as 0.

4.3.3.16 Region. A nominal variable of whether the respondent resides in the southern region of the United States. The states included in this region are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The respondents that reside in one of the states listed above were coded as 1, and all other respondents were coded as 0.

4.4 Analytic Plan

The analysis is divided into five sections. The first section will focus on the univariate and bivariate statistics. Second, the results of the analysis pertaining to research question #1 is presented. Third, will be the analysis for research question #2. The fourth section addresses the analysis of the third research question Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression will be used for the analyses of the primary research questions. The fifth section presents the results of the

exploratory research questions. These questions will be examined using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM).

It should be noted that multiple imputation was used in order to account for the missingness found throughout the data. Multiple imputation allowed the preservation of the sample size and biases that may arise with the use of other deletion methods (Allison, 2002). Using the multiple imputations with chained equations command on STATA 14, twenty imputations were generated using all of the variables in the data set. The command “*mi estimate*” was then used to calculate pooled parameter estimates. Through multiple imputation, variables that experienced missingness of up to 19.2% reduced to as low .02%. The percentage of missingness found in each variable before and after imputing can be found in Appendix B.

Due to the imputed nature of the data, the structural equation models used for the exploratory analyses were run using the non-imputed version of the data set. In order to account for the missingness the models were estimated using Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML). FIML allows the handling of missing data without imputing or replacing. FIML accounts for missing data by estimating the population parameters that would most likely produce the estimates from the non-imputed data. The command “*,method(mlmv)*” was used in order to implement FIML across all of the structural equation models

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The results of this dissertation are presented in five sections labeled 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5. In section 5.1, the descriptive statistics and the bivariate correlations will be presented. In section 5.2, the results of the analyses concerning the effects of Black threat on the Black typification of crime (research question #1) will be presented. In section 5.3, the results of the analyses concerning the effects of Hispanic threat on the Hispanic typification of crime (research question #2) will be presented. In section 5.4, the results of the analyses concerning the effects of Black and Hispanic threat on minority typification (research question #3) will be presented. Lastly, in section 5.5 the results of the path analyses concerning the effects of minority threat on punitive views (research questions #4, #5, & #6) will be presented.

5.1 Results: Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for all of the variables included in the analyses. Due to the imputed nature of the data, the standard deviations provided are estimates of the average standard deviation across all imputed value sets. The univariate statistics show the sample was primarily female, White, and married. In addition, only 37.4% of this sample had a college degree, 33.6% identified as being politically conservative, and 28.5% lived in the South. The average household income of this sample was between \$35,000 and \$50,000, while the average age was approximately 55 years old.

Overall, the sample had high average levels of crime concern, but low levels of fear of walking alone in their neighborhoods. In addition, the respondents on average had low levels of support for neighborhood segregation. On a scale of 1 (non-punitive sentiment) to 4 (punitive sentiment), the sample had an average of 2.860, thus deeming this group slightly punitive. This

sample also averaged a 3.545 level of racial bias on a scale of 1 to 7. Finally, the overall belief of employment bias towards minorities was slightly higher than the scale's median.

The descriptive statistics of the dependent variable show on a scale of 1 to 4, the individuals averaged between 1.640 and 1.822 on their levels of racial typification. This indicates on average, the respondents had low levels of racial typification. Similar to the racial typification measures, the level of Black and Hispanic criminal threat was low. On a scale of 1 to 4, the average level of Black criminal threat was 1.639 and the average level of Hispanic criminal threat was 1.557. Further, when measuring Black and Hispanic political influence, the sample averaged 1.627 and 1.536 respectively. On average, this sample believes both Blacks and Hispanics have "the right amount of influence." Additionally, respondents "disagree" and "somewhat disagree" that Blacks and Hispanics take away economic resources that should go to others. Respondents scored an average of 2.748 and 3.003 on a scale of 1 to 6.

Table 2 shows the results of the bivariate correlations of all of the variables included in the analyses. The bivariate correlation matrix demonstrates most of the variables are significantly correlated with each other at the .05 level. Therefore, the variables included in the analyses are necessary in order to control for any potential sources of spuriousness.

5.2 Results: Black Threat and Black Typification

The analyses presented in the following sections uses the analytic strategy discussed in chapter 5. This analysis aims to answer research question #1: Are individuals who experience criminal threat, economic threat, and political threat from Blacks more likely to perceive that Blacks commit most crimes? Table 3 provides 4 models testing the effects of black threat variables and control variables.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	SD*	Min	Max
<i>Racial Typification Measures</i>				
Black Typification	1.822	0.952	1	4
Hispanic Typification	1.640	0.816	1	4
Minority Typification	1.731	0.791	1	4
<i>Racial Threat Measures</i>				
Black Political Threat	1.627	0.660	1	3
Hispanic Political Threat	1.536	0.652	1	3
Black Economic Threat	2.748	1.333	1	6
Hispanic Economic Threat	3.003	1.510	1	6
Black Criminal Threat	1.639	0.873	1	4
Hispanic Criminal Threat	1.557	0.800	1	4
<i>Control Variables</i>				
Crime Concern	3.201	0.906	1	4
Walk Alone	1.494	0.828	1	4
Neighborhood Segregation	1.477	0.606	1	4
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	1.480	0.756	1	4
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	1.427	0.662	1	4
Punitiveness	2.860	0.887	1	4
Racial Bias	3.545	1.110	1	7
Employment Bias (Black)	1.709	0.758	1	3
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	1.667	0.754	1	3
Marital Status	0.647	0.478	0	1
Political Conservatism	0.336	0.472	0	1
Black	0.087	0.282	0	1
Hispanic	0.047	0.212	0	1
Age	55.301	17.186	18	93
College Degree	0.374	0.484	0	1
Annual Income	3.665	1.636	1	6
Male	0.431	0.495	0	1
Region	0.285	0.451	0	1

* Average standard deviation across all imputed value sets

Model 1 in Table 3 indicates the effects of *Black political threat* on the outcome variable, *Black typification* of crime. In this model, *Black political threat* is not a significant predictor. Although, *neighborhood segregation*, *neighborhood safety (Black)*, *racial bias*, and *region* are positive and significant predictors of *Black typification*. The variables included in this model account for 37% of the variation found in the dependent variable.

Model 2 in Table 3 indicates the effects of *Black economic threat*. The data suggests that *Black economic threat* is not a significant predictor of *Black typification*. Similar to the previous model, *neighborhood segregation*, *neighborhood safety (Black)*, *racial bias*, and *region* were

Table 2. Bivariate Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Black Typification	1.000									
2. Hispanic Typification	0.601*	1.000								
3. Minority Typification	0.911*	0.877*	1.000							
4. Black Political Threat	0.189*	0.167*	0.200*	1.000						
5. Hispanic Pol. Threat	0.168*	0.175*	0.191*	0.471*	1.000					
6. Black Eco. Threat	0.157*	0.116*	0.154*	0.197*	0.106*	1.000				
7. Hispanic Eco. Threat	0.203*	0.226*	0.238*	0.148*	0.170*	0.695*	1.000			
8. Black Criminal Threat	0.516*	0.341*	0.486*	0.236*	0.156*	0.226*	0.223*	1.000		
9. Hispanic Crim. Threat	0.404*	0.419*	0.459*	0.182*	0.191*	0.146*	0.211*	0.693*	1.000	
10. Crime Concern	0.049*	0.075*	0.068*	0.011	-0.028*	0.122*	0.144*	0.096*	0.063*	1.000
11. Walk Alone	0.055*	0.145*	0.108*	0.043*	-0.028*	0.090*	0.070*	0.158*	0.145*	0.187*
12. Neigh. Segregation	0.469*	0.412*	0.494*	0.168*	0.193*	0.331*	0.303*	0.560*	0.505*	0.099*
13. Neigh. Safety (Black)	0.495*	0.391*	0.500*	0.187*	0.159*	0.295*	0.271*	0.576*	0.508*	0.095*
14. Neigh. Safety (Hisp)	0.426*	0.550*	0.539*	0.096*	0.139*	0.233*	0.261*	0.456*	0.557*	0.032*
15. Punitiveness	0.162*	0.205*	0.201*	0.169*	0.127*	0.271*	0.254*	0.127*	0.118*	0.369*
16. Racial Bias	0.244*	0.190*	0.245*	0.123*	0.078*	0.104*	0.095*	0.196*	0.129*	0.044*
17. Employ. Bias (Black)	0.253	0.269*	0.291*	0.221*	0.120*	0.265*	0.296*	0.292*	0.221*	0.120*
18. Employ. Bias (Hisp)	0.181	0.244*	0.235*	0.130*	0.117*	0.204*	0.264*	0.224*	0.157*	0.175*
19. Marital Status	-0.057*	-0.125*	-0.099*	-0.006	-0.046*	0.038*	0.036*	0.050*	0.027*	0.020
20. Pol. Conservatism	0.068*	0.144*	0.115*	0.259*	0.231*	0.130*	0.128*	0.142*	0.087*	0.064*
21. Black	-0.003*	0.139*	0.071*	-0.074*	-0.036*	0.022*	0.065*	-0.058*	-0.009	0.133*
22. Hispanic	-0.002*	-0.060*	-0.033*	-0.036*	-0.062*	0.054*	0.019	-0.005	-0.039*	0.084*
23. Age	0.166*	0.045*	0.123*	0.176*	0.231*	0.074*	0.045*	0.219*	0.183*	0.038*

Table 2. (Continued)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
24. College Degree	-0.114*	-0.202	-0.173*	-0.094*	-0.050*	-0.181*	-0.236*	-0.062*	-0.095*	-0.107*
25. Annual Income	-0.037*	-0.112*	-0.080*	0.025*	0.020	-0.141*	-0.122*	0.063*	-0.013	-0.074*
26. Male	0.086*	0.004	0.054*	0.040*	0.057*	-0.045*	-0.043*	0.074*	0.085*	-0.101*
27. Region	0.163*	0.069*	0.134*	0.148*	0.012	0.067*	0.099*	0.108*	0.045*	0.168*
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11. Walk Alone	1.000									
12. Neigh. Segregation	0.082*	1.000								
13. Neigh. Safety (Black)	0.167*	0.619*	1.000							
14. Neigh. Safety (Hisp)	0.161*	0.584*	0.689*	1.000						
15. Punitiveness	0.103*	0.136*	0.118*	0.161*	1.000					
16. Racial Bias	0.024*	0.249*	0.179*	0.163*	0.134*	1.000				
17. Employ. Bias (Black)	0.051*	0.275*	0.287*	0.241*	0.247*	0.166*	1.000			
18. Employ. Bias (Hisp)	0.074*	0.235*	0.220*	0.172*	0.195*	0.156*	0.661*	1.000		
19. Marital Status	-0.082*	-0.037*	-0.035*	-0.058*	-0.004	-0.048*	-0.032*	0.007	1.000	
20. Pol. Conservatism	-0.015	0.176*	0.138*	0.102*	0.070*	0.081*	0.090*	0.103*	0.008	1.000
21. Black	0.056*	-0.025*	0.006	0.082*	0.099*	0.050*	0.051*	0.045*	-0.134*	-0.014
22. Hispanic	0.096*	0.015	0.027*	-0.009	0.018	-0.021*	-0.032*	-0.010	-0.012	-0.109*
23. Age	-0.008	0.191*	0.057*	0.100*	0.003	-0.007	0.029*	-0.053*	0.001	0.054*
24. College Degree	-0.115*	-0.115*	-0.124*	-0.153*	-0.194*	-0.098*	-0.102*	-0.158*	0.093*	-0.072*
25. Annual Income	-0.204*	-0.094*	-0.080*	-0.121*	-0.094*	-0.098*	-0.089*	-0.034*	0.437*	-0.065*
26. Male	-0.261*	0.079*	0.076*	0.014	-0.098*	0.044*	-0.061*	-0.025*	0.036*	0.016
27. Region	0.069*	0.049*	0.033*	0.076*	0.134*	0.031*	0.093*	0.069*	0.047*	0.037*

Table 2. (Continued)

	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
21. Black	1.000						
22. Hispanic	-0.065*	1.000					
23. Age	-0.115*	-0.166*	1.000				
24. College Degree	-0.045*	-0.046*	-0.078*	1.000			
25. Annual Income	-0.115*	-0.088*	-0.112*	0.430*	1.000		
26. Male	-0.065*	-0.049*	0.042*	0.072*	0.180*	1.000	
27. Region	0.131*	-0.039*	0.096*	-0.017	-0.004	0.031*	1.000

found to be significant predictors of typification. The Model 2 variables explained 36.7% of the total variance found in the dependent variable.

Model 3 in Table 3 indicates the effect of Black criminal threat on *Black typification*. *Black criminal threat* is significant in the positive direction. Although *neighborhood segregation* loses significance, *neighborhood safety (Black)*, *racial bias*, and *region* remained positive and significant. The variables included in this model explain 40.3% of the variation in the typification measure.

Model 4 in Table 3 indicates the effects of all of the measured racial threat variables. Of the primary independent variables, *Black criminal threat* appears to be the only threat variable with a positive and significant effect on Black typification of crime. In reference to the control variables, *racial bias*, *neighborhood safety (Black)*, and *region* also had a positive and significant effect on *Black typification of crime*. These results indicate individuals who perceive Blacks as criminal threats, are racially biased, live in the south, and fear for their safety when black people enter their neighborhood are more likely to believe that Blacks commit most of the crime in the United States. The strongest predictor of typification appears to be *Black criminal threat*, with a Beta coefficient of .253. Overall, the variables include in the analysis explain 41% of the variation in an individual's level of Black typification.

5.3 Results: Hispanic Threat and Hispanic Typification

This analysis aims to address research question #2: Are individuals who experience criminal, economic, and political threat from Hispanics more likely to perceive most crimes are committed by Hispanics? Table 4 provides 4 models to address this question.

Model 1 in table 4 indicates the effect of *Hispanic political threat* on *Hispanic typification*. The primary independent variable, *Hispanic political threat*, was not a significant

variable. Two variables were found to be significant, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)* and *college degree*, while three variables were found to be marginally significant, *neighborhood segregation*, *marital status*, and *Hispanic*. Approximately 39% of the variation in the dependent variable can be explained by the variables in this model.

Model 2 in table 4 indicates the effect of *Hispanic economic threat*. The focal independent variable *Hispanic economic threat* was non-significant. The variables that were significant or marginally significant in the previous model remained the same. Lastly, the variables in this model explained 38% of the variance in *Hispanic typification*.

Model 3 in table 4 examined the effect of *Hispanic criminal threat*. *Hispanic criminal threat* was found to be a positive and significant predictor of *Hispanic typification*. Additionally, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)*, *marital status*, and *college degree* remained significant. Forty percent of the variation in *Hispanic typification* can be explained by the variables included in this model.

Model 4 in Table 4 indicates the effect of all of the measures Hispanic threat variables on *Hispanic typification*. Of the primary independent variables, Hispanic criminal threat is the only measure of threat that is significant in the positive direction. In addition, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)*, *marital status*, *college degree*, and *region* were also significant. These results indicate those who perceive Hispanics as criminal threats, are married, do not have a college degree, live in the south, and fear for their safety when Hispanics enter their neighborhood are more likely to believe Hispanics commit the most crimes in the United States. Of the significant variables, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)* is the strongest predictor of *Hispanic typification* with a Beta coefficient of .409. The R^2 of .400 indicates that 40% of the variation in *Hispanic typification* can be explained with the variables included in this analysis.

5.4 Results: Black and Hispanic Threat and Minority Typification

This analysis aims to address research question #3: Are individuals who experience criminal threat, economic threat, and political threat from both Blacks and Hispanics more likely to perceive that minorities commit most crimes? Table 5 displays 4 models to answer this question.

Model 1 in Table 5 indicates the effect of both Black and Hispanic political threat on *minority typification*. The results show neither *Black political threat* nor *Hispanic political threat* are significant predictors of minority typification. It should be noted *neighborhood segregation*, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)*, and *racial bias* were found to be significant predictors, while *neighborhood safety (Black)* was marginally significant. The variables included in this model accounted for 41.8% of the variation in *minority typification*.

Model 2 in Table 5 indicates the effect of *Black economic threat* and *Hispanic economic threat* on *minority typification*. In this model, *Black economic threat* was significant in the negative direction and *Hispanic economic threat* was marginally significant and positive. Of the control variables, *neighborhood segregation*, *neighborhood safety (Black)*, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)*, and *racial bias* were all significant and positive. The Model 2 variables explain 42.1% of the variation in *minority typification*.

Model 3 in Table 5 indicates the effect of *Black criminal threat* and *Hispanic criminal threat*. In this model, *Black criminal threat* was a significant, positive predictor of *minority typification*. On the contrary, *Hispanic criminal threat* was not a significant variable in this model. In addition, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)* and *racial bias* were found to be positive and significant control variables. Finally, 43.8% of the variation in the dependent variable can be explained by the variables in this model.

Model 4 in Table 5 indicates the effect of racial threat on *minority typification*. *Black economic threat* and *Black Criminal threat* were significant. While *Black criminal threat* and *Hispanic economic threat* were in the positive direction, *Black criminal threat* was significant in the negative direction. Therefore, this suggests individuals who believe Blacks pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other racial groups are more likely to believe Blacks commit the most crimes in the United States, while individuals who believe that Blacks are taking away economic resources are *less* likely to believe Blacks commit the most crimes in the United States.

In addition to the significant primary independent variables, *neighborhood segregation*, and *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)* were found to be positive and significant. Specifically, individuals who agree with neighborhood segregation and those who fear for their safety when Hispanics enter their neighborhoods are more likely to typify crimes towards minorities. It should also be noted racial bias was found to be marginally significant in the positive direction.

According to the Beta coefficient, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)* is the strongest predictor of *minority typification* with a Beta of .259. Lastly, 45% of the variation in *minority typification* can be explained by the variables included in this analysis.

5.5 Results: Minority Threat and Punitiveness

Table 6 to addresses research question #4: Does Black typification mediate the relationship between sources of Black political, economic, and criminal threat and punitive sentiment? Each section within the table represents a Structural Equation Model (SEM) that illustrates the relationship between a measure of black threat, *Black typification* and *punitiveness*. Across all three SEMs, *Black typification* does not mediate the relationship between *Black political threat*, *Black economic threat*, or *Black criminal threat* and *punitiveness*. Despite the

absence of an indirect effect, a number of control variables have a direct effect on punitive views. These variables include *crime concern*, *neighborhood safety (Hispanic)*, *employment bias (Black)*, and *college degree*. The conceptual model is presented in Figure 1.

Table 7 addresses research question #5: Does Hispanic typification mediate the relationship between sources of Hispanic political, economic, and criminal threat and punitive sentiment? Each section within the table represents a SEM that illustrates the relationship between a measure of Hispanic threat, *Hispanic typification*, and *punitiveness*. Similar to the analysis on Black threat and punitive sentiment, there appears to be no indirect effect between the variables analyzed. Specifically, across all three SEMs, *Hispanic typification* does not mediate the relationship between *Hispanic political threat*, *Hispanic economic threat*, or *Hispanic criminal threat* and *punitiveness*. It should be noted that *Hispanic political threat*, *Hispanic economic threat*, and a number of control variables had a direct effect on *punitiveness*. The conceptual model is presented in Figure 2.

Table 8 presents the analyses aimed at answering research question #6: Does minority typification mediate the relationship between minority group threat and punitive sentiment? Each section represents a SEM that illustrated the relationship between minority group threat, *minority typification*, and *punitiveness*. Across all three models, significant indirect effects were not found. The conceptual model is presented in Figure 3.

Table 3. Examining the Effects of Perceived Black Threat on Black Typification of Crime

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹
Black Political Threat	0.100	0.074	0.070	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.085	0.072	0.059
Black Economic Threat	--	--	--	-0.043	0.036	-0.061	--	--	--	-0.043	0.035	-0.061
Black Criminal Threat	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.281**	0.067	0.261	0.273**	0.067	0.253
Crime Concern	-0.033	0.054	-0.031	-0.041	0.053	-0.039	-0.039	0.052	-0.037	-0.034	0.052	-0.032
Walk Alone	-0.022	0.055	-0.020	-0.018	0.055	-0.016	-0.054	0.054	-0.048	-0.055	0.054	-0.049
Neighborhood Segregation	0.258**	0.099	0.165	0.276**	0.100	0.177	0.162	0.098	0.103	0.185 [†]	0.100	0.119
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	0.357**	0.092	0.292	0.382**	0.092	0.313	0.262**	0.095	0.214	0.264**	0.095	0.216
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	0.125	0.095	-0.090	0.108	0.095	0.078	0.104	0.092	0.075	0.109	0.092	0.078
Punitiveness	0.059	0.054	0.055	0.081	0.054	0.075	0.062	0.052	0.059	0.066	0.053	0.062
Racial Bias	0.104*	0.042	0.125	0.107*	0.042	0.128	0.094*	0.041	0.112	0.090*	0.041	0.108
Employment Bias (Black)	0.050	0.081	0.040	0.072	0.080	0.057	0.031	0.079	0.025	0.026	0.080	0.021
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	0.003	0.076	0.002	0.004	0.076	0.003	0.001	0.075	0.000	0.005	0.075	0.004
Marital Status	-0.089	0.101	-0.045	-0.088	0.102	-0.045	-0.113	0.099	-0.057	-0.091	0.099	-0.046
Political Conservatism	-0.104	0.100	-0.052	-0.064	0.097	-0.032	-0.088	0.095	-0.044	-0.108	0.099	-0.054
Black	-0.013	0.151	-0.004	-0.034	0.151	-0.010	-0.001	0.149	0.000	0.018	0.149	0.006
Age	0.004 [†]	0.003	0.079	0.005 [†]	0.003	0.091	0.003	0.003	0.050	0.002	0.003	0.043
College Degree	-0.060	0.096	-0.031	-0.073	0.096	-0.037	-0.076	0.094	-0.039	-0.073	0.094	-0.037
Annual Income	0.023	0.035	0.039	0.024	0.034	0.042	0.004	0.034	0.007	-0.004	0.034	-0.008
Male	0.067	0.092	0.035	0.066	0.092	0.034	0.057	0.090	0.030	0.050	0.090	0.026
Region	0.238*	0.101	0.114	0.259*	0.099	0.124	0.235*	0.098	0.113	0.224*	0.099	0.108
	R ² =.370			R ² =.367			R ² =.403			R ² =.409		

[†]p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

¹ Average standard coefficient across all imputed value sets

Table 4. Examining the Effects of Perceived Hispanic Threat on Hispanic Typification of Crime

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹
Hispanic Political Threat	0.088	0.068	0.070	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.073	0.067	0.058
Hispanic Economic Threat	--	--	--	0.014	0.027	0.025	--	--	--	0.010	0.027	0.019
Hispanic Criminal Threat	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.150**	0.060	0.148	0.144*	0.060	0.142
Crime Concern	0.023	0.047	0.025	0.016	0.047	0.017	0.016	0.046	0.017	0.022	0.046	0.023
Walk Alone	0.049	0.050	0.050	0.048	0.050	0.049	0.035	0.049	0.036	0.037	0.049	0.038
Neighborhood Segregation	0.154 [†]	0.085	0.113	0.154 [†]	0.086	0.113	0.114	0.085	0.083	0.107	0.085	0.078
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	-0.079	0.075	-0.074	-0.076	0.075	-0.071	-0.092	0.075	-0.086	-0.096	0.075	-0.089
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	0.554**	0.078	0.454	0.553**	0.079	0.453	0.498**	0.080	0.408	0.500**	0.080	0.409
Punitiveness	0.045	0.045	0.048	0.050	0.045	0.053	0.051	0.045	0.054	0.042	0.045	0.045
Racial Bias	0.041	0.035	0.056	0.044	0.035	0.060	0.043	0.035	0.059	0.042	0.035	0.057
Employment Bias (Black)	0.073	0.069	0.067	0.070	0.069	0.064	0.062	0.070	0.057	0.060	0.070	0.055
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	0.049	0.071	0.045	0.053	0.070	0.048	0.060	0.070	0.055	0.054	0.071	0.049
Marital Status	-0.169 [†]	0.088	-0.097	-0.186*	0.090	-0.107	-0.194*	0.088	-0.112	-0.185*	0.088	-0.106
Political Conservatism	0.071	0.084	0.040	0.093	0.082	0.053	0.098	0.081	0.056	0.077	0.084	0.044
Hispanic	-0.307 [†]	0.174	-0.080	-0.300 [†]	0.174	-0.079	-0.285	0.173	-0.075	-0.294 [†]	0.173	-0.077
Age	-0.002	0.002	-0.044	-0.001	0.002	-0.028	-0.002	0.002	-0.045	-0.003	0.002	-0.057
College Degree	-0.173*	0.084	-0.101	-0.170*	0.084	-0.100	-0.170*	0.084	-0.099	-0.165*	0.083	-0.096
Annual Income	0.013	0.031	0.026	0.019	0.032	0.037	0.013	0.032	0.024	0.009	0.032	0.018
Male	-0.004	0.079	-0.002	-0.002	0.079	-0.001	-0.018	0.079	-0.011	-0.018	0.079	-0.011
Region	0.024	0.083	0.025	0.022	0.083	0.012	0.029	0.082	0.016	0.027	0.082	0.015
	R ² =.387			R ² =.383			R ² =.396			R ² =.400		

[†]p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

¹ Average standard coefficient across all imputed value sets

Table 5. Examining the Effects of Perceived Black and Hispanic Threat on Minority Typification of Crime

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹	b	se	Beta ¹
Black Political Threat	0.088	0.064	0.073	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.081	0.063	0.067
Black Economic Threat	--	--	--	-0.085**	0.037	-0.142	--	--	--	-0.082*	0.036	-0.138
Black Criminal Threat	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.158*	0.068	0.173	0.165*	0.069	0.181
Hispanic Political Threat	0.030	0.068	0.025	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.025	0.068	0.020
Hispanic Economic Threat	--	--	--	0.054 [†]	0.033	0.104	--	--	--	0.050	0.032	0.097
Hispanic Criminal Threat	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.062	0.064	0.064	0.035	0.065	0.036
Crime Concern	-0.008	0.044	-0.009	-0.022	0.044	-0.024	-0.016	0.043	-0.018	-0.012	0.044	-0.013
Walk Alone	0.012	0.046	0.013	0.018	0.045	0.019	-0.010	0.045	-0.011	-0.008	0.046	-0.009
Neighborhood Segregation	0.212**	0.081	0.160	0.228**	0.081	0.173	0.140 [†]	0.080	0.106	0.163*	0.082	0.123
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	0.136 [†]	0.074	0.132	0.166**	0.074	0.161	0.083	0.078	0.080	0.085	0.079	0.082
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	0.337**	0.077	0.286	0.315**	0.076	0.267	0.298**	0.078	0.253	0.305**	0.078	0.259
Punitiveness	0.049	0.043	0.054	0.072 [†]	0.044	0.080	0.056	0.042	0.062	0.057	0.043	0.064
Racial Bias	0.071*	0.034	0.101	0.075**	0.034	0.106	0.067*	0.033	0.095	0.062 [†]	0.033	0.088
Employment Bias (Black)	0.056	0.066	0.053	0.068	0.065	0.065	0.045	0.065	0.043	0.033	0.066	0.032
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	0.027	0.063	0.026	0.026	0.064	0.024	0.029	0.063	0.028	0.027	0.063	0.026
Marital Status	-0.121	0.082	-0.073	-0.127	0.083	-0.076	-0.149 [†]	0.082	-0.089	-0.123	0.081	-0.073
Political Conservatism	-0.023	0.079	-0.013	0.023	0.075	0.014	0.006	0.074	0.004	-0.021	0.078	-0.012
Black	0.103	0.126	0.037	0.078	0.126	0.028	0.103	0.125	0.037	0.115	0.125	0.041
Hispanic	-0.119	0.165	-0.032	-0.079	0.165	-0.021	-0.115	0.165	-0.031	-0.109	0.165	-0.030
Age	0.001	0.002	0.028	0.002	0.002	0.049	0.001	0.002	0.011	0.000	0.002	0.000
College Degree	-0.114	0.078	-0.069	-0.110	0.078	-0.067	-0.124	0.077	-0.075	-0.107	0.077	-0.065
Annual Income	0.018	0.029	0.037	0.021	0.029	0.042	0.009	0.029	0.019	-0.002	0.029	-0.003
Male	0.032	0.074	0.020	0.031	0.074	0.019	0.022	0.073	0.013	0.017	0.073	0.010
Region	0.117	0.081	0.067	0.131	0.080	0.075	0.123	0.079	0.070	0.106	0.080	0.060
	R ² =.418			R ² =.421			R ² =.438			R ² =.400		

[†]p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

¹ Average standard coefficient across all imputed value sets

Table 6. SEM: Effects of Black Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views

	DV= Punitiveness											
	Black Political Threat				Black Economic Threat				Black Criminal Threat			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Black Political Threat	0.17*	0.07	0.00	0.01	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Black Economic Threat	--	--	--	--	0.12***	0.03	0.00	0.00	--	--	--	--
Black Criminal Threat	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.02
Black Typification	0.07	0.06	--	--	0.09	0.06	--	--	0.07	0.06	--	--
Crime Concern	0.33***	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.32***	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.32***	0.05	0.00	0.00
Walk Alone	-0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00
Neighborhood Segregation	0.00	0.09	0.02	0.02	-0.06	0.09	0.03	0.01	-0.01	0.10	0.01	0.01
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	-0.14†	0.08	0.02	0.02	-0.16†	0.08	0.03	0.02	-0.13	0.08	0.02	0.02
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	-0.17*	0.08	-0.01	0.01	-0.16†	0.09	-0.01	0.01	-0.16†	0.09	-0.01	0.01
Racial Bias	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.04	0.01	0.01
Employment Bias (Black)	0.17*	0.08	0.01	0.01	0.17*	0.08	0.01	0.01	0.20*	0.08	0.01	0.01
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	-0.02	0.08	0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.08	0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.08	0.00	0.01
Marital Status	0.04	0.10	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.10	-0.01	0.01	0.02	0.10	-0.01	0.01
Political Conservatism	-0.03	0.09	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0.09	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.09	-0.01	0.01
Black	0.10	0.15	-0.01	0.01	0.06	0.15	-0.01	0.01	0.07	0.15	0.00	0.01
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
College Degree	-0.23*	0.09	-0.01	0.01	-0.22*	0.10	-0.01	0.01	-0.25**	0.10	-0.01	0.01
Annual Income	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.00
Male	-0.09	0.09	0.00	0.01	-0.07	0.09	0.00	0.01	-0.09	0.09	0.00	0.01
Region	0.08	0.09	0.02	0.02	0.09	0.10	0.02	0.02	0.10	0.09	0.02	0.02
R ² (Punitive)												
R ² (Black Typification)												

†p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

Table 7. SEM: Effects of Hispanic Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views

	DV= Punitiveness											
	Hispanic Political Threat				Hispanic Economic Threat				Hispanic Criminal Threat			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Hispanic Political Threat	0.16*	0.07	0.01	0.01	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hispanic Economic Threat	--	--	--	--	0.07*	0.03	0.00	0.00	--	--	--	--
Hispanic Criminal Threat	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.01	0.07	0.00	0.01
Hispanic Typification	0.07	0.06	--	--	0.07	0.07	--	--	0.08	0.05	--	--
Crime Concern	0.33***	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.32***	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.33***	0.05	0.00	0.00
Walk Alone	-0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.10	0.00	0.00
Neighborhood Segregation	-0.01	0.09	0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.09	0.01	0.10	-0.01	0.08	0.01	0.10
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	-0.09	0.08	0.01	0.01	-0.09	0.08	-0.01	0.00	-0.09	0.09	-0.01	0.01
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	-0.13	0.09	-0.01	0.04	-0.12	0.08	-0.04	0.04	-0.12	0.04	-0.04	0.04
Racial Bias	0.06	0.04	-0.04	0.00	0.06 [†]	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.08	0.00	0.00
Employment Bias (Black)	0.19*	0.08	0.00	0.01	0.16*	0.08	0.01	0.01	0.19*	0.08	0.01	0.01
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	-0.04	0.08	0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.08	0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.10	0.01	0.01
Marital Status	0.07	0.10	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.10	-0.01	0.01	0.04	0.10	-0.01	0.01
Political Conservatism	-0.04	0.09	-0.01	0.02	0.00	0.09	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.01
Hispanic	-0.12	0.20	0.01	0.02	-0.11	0.20	-0.02	0.02	-0.1	0.20	-0.02	0.02
Age	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
College Degree	-0.22*	0.09	0.00	0.02	-0.20*	0.10	-0.01	0.01	-0.23*	0.10	-0.01	0.02
Annual Income	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00
Male	-0.08	0.09	0.00	0.01	-0.08	0.09	0.00	0.01	-0.09	0.09	0.00	0.01
Region	0.12	0.09	0.00	0.01	0.11	0.09	0.00	0.01	0.12	0.09	0.00	0.01
R ² (Punitive)	.237				.239				.226			
R ² (Hispanic Typification)	.392				.386				.399			

[†]p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

Table 8. SEM: Effects of Black Threat, Hispanic Threat, and Racial Threat on Punitive Views

	DV= Punitiveness											
	Black Threat				Hispanic Threat				Minority Threat			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Black Political Threat	0.14 ⁺	0.07	0.00	0.01	--	--	--	--	0.09	0.08	0.01	0.00
Black Economic Threat	0.11 ^{***}	0.03	0.00	0.00	--	--	--	--	0.11 [*]	0.04	-0.01	0.01
Black Criminal Threat	0.01	0.07	0.02	0.02	--	--	--	--	0.02	0.08	0.01	0.01
Hispanic Political Threat	--	--	--	--	0.14 [*]	0.07	0.00	0.01	0.11	0.08	0.00	0.01
Hispanic Economic Threat	--	--	--	--	0.06 [*]	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.00
Hispanic Criminal Threat	--	--	--	--	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.01
Black Typification	0.07	0.06	0.00	--	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hispanic Typification	--	--	--	--	0.06	0.07	--	--	--	--	--	--
Minority Typification	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.10	0.07	--	--
Crime Concern	0.32 ^{***}	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.33 ^{***}	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.33 ^{***}	0.05	0.00	0.00
Walk Alone	-0.01	0.05	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00
Neighborhood Segregation	-0.06	0.10	0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.09	0.01	0.01	-0.07	0.10	0.02	0.01
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	-0.17 [*]	0.08	0.02	0.02	-0.1	0.08	-0.01	0.01	-0.16 [*]	0.08	0.01	0.01
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	-0.18 [*]	0.09	-0.01	0.01	-0.12	0.10	-0.03	0.03	-0.15	0.10	-0.03	0.02
Racial Bias	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.01
Employment Bias (Black)	0.15 ⁺	0.08	0.01	0.01	0.17 [*]	0.08	0.00	0.01	0.15 [†]	0.08	0.01	0.01
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	-0.03	0.07	0.00	0.01	-0.04	0.08	0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.08	0.00	0.01
Marital Status	0.00	0.10	-0.01	0.01	0.04	0.10	-0.01	0.01	0.03	0.10	-0.01	0.01
Political Conservatism	-0.04	0.09	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.09	0.01	0.01	-0.07	0.09	0.00	0.01
Black	0.09	0.15	0.00	0.01	--	--	--	--	0.05	0.15	0.01	0.02
Hispanic	--	--	--	--	-0.12	0.20	-0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
College Degree	-0.21 [*]	0.09	-0.01	0.01	-0.19 [*]	0.09	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.01
Annual Income	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Male	-0.07	0.09	0.00	0.01	-0.08	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Region	0.06	0.09	0.02	0.02	0.11	0.09	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	R ² (Punitive)		.262		.247				.269			
	R ² (Typification)		.399		.404				.450			

†p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

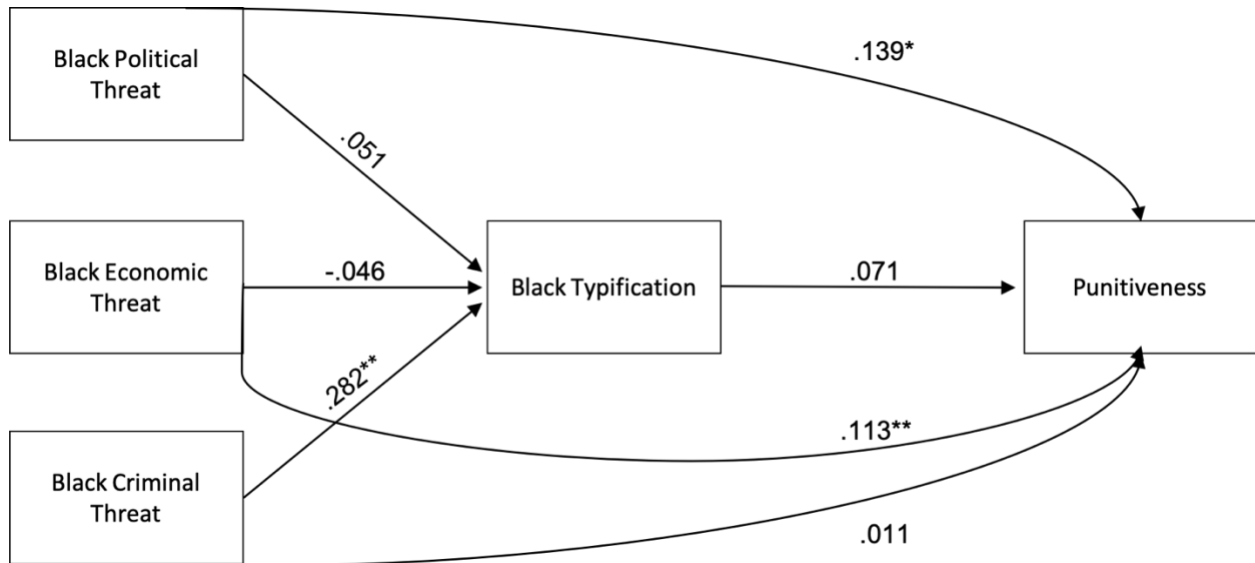


Figure 1 Relationship Between Black Threat, Black Typification, and Punitiveness

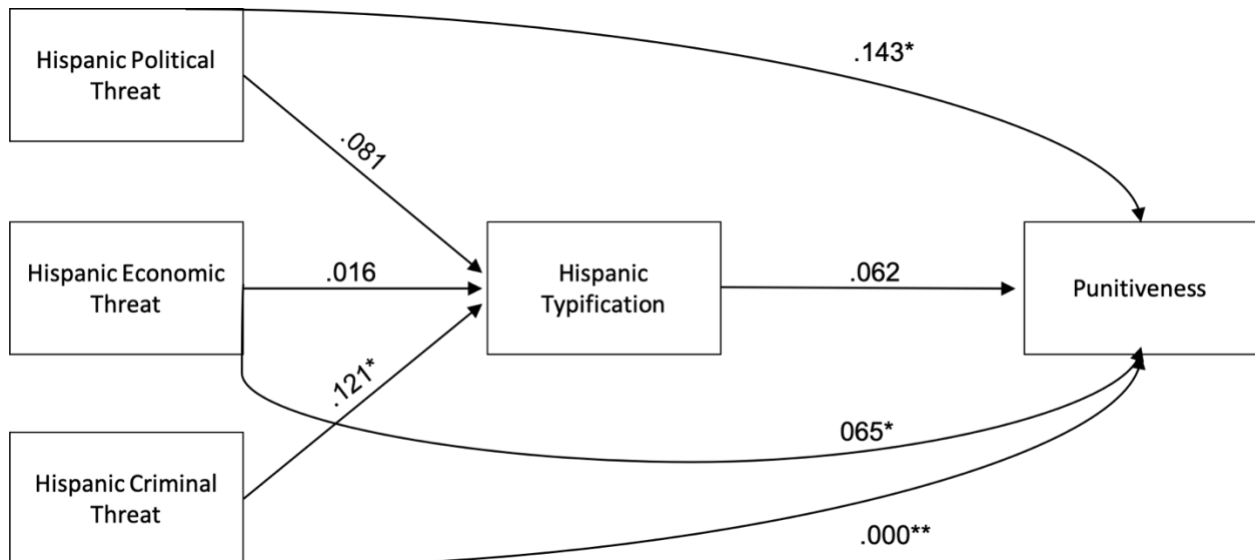


Figure 2 Relationship Between Hispanic Threat, Hispanic Typification, and Punitiveness

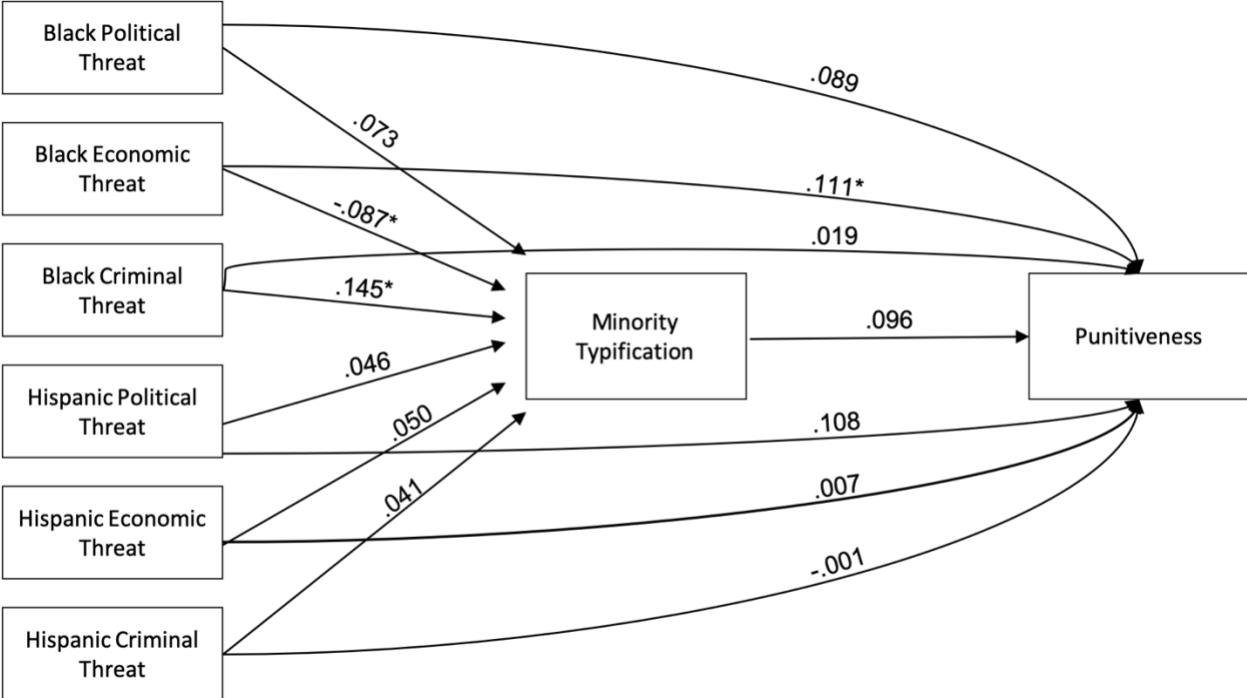


Figure 3 Relationship Between Minority Threat, Minority Typification, and Punitiveness

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study presented here used a public opinion survey to examine the possible effect perceived threat has on the nature in which people typify crimes towards minorities. While the primary focus of this research has never been previously studied, the inspiration for this dissertation stems from Blalock's original work in 1967, Liska's supplemental book in 1992, Eitle, D'Alessio and Stolzenberg's 2002 article, and an article written by Chiricos, McEntire, and Gertz in 2001.

The unprecedented work of Blalock (1967) established there are two threat-based hypotheses, political and economic, that attempt to explain the phenomenon known as minority-group threat, power threat theory, or racial threat theory. Later, Liska's (1992) book, *Social Threat and Social Control*, added criminal threat as a third source of threat. Despite the identified sources of threat, theorists have continued to use the minority population size as a proxy measure for threat. This pattern can be attributed to the lack of data that contains the described threat variables. Eitle and colleagues (2002) highlighted this pattern of mismeasurement and described it as a trend that "... has fostered a research literature that is ill defined..." (p. 558). This study is one of the few studies to use political, economic, and criminal threat as a measure of racial threat.

Chiricos and Colleagues (2001) provided the foundational work for the racial typification literature. They described racial typification as an antecedent element necessary for the mobilization of social controls, as conflict theory suggests. Through the influence of these particular previous works, as well as the expansive public opinion and racial threat literature, the theoretical foundation for this dissertation was created.

The ideas behind the exploratory analyses stem from gap in the literature examining the predictors and results of the typification of crime. Past research shows a direct link between both racial threat and punitiveness (Stewart, Martinez, Baumer, & Gertz, 2015; McEntire, 2007; King & Wheelock, 2007; Barkan & Cohn, 2004; Baumer, Messner & Rosenfeld, 2013) and racial typification and punitiveness (Chiricos, Welch, & Gertz, 2004; Welch, Payne, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2011; Unnever & Cullen, 2012; Pickett, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2014; Metcalfe, Pickett, & Mancini, 2015). In addition, the present research indicates the influence of racial threat on racial typification. As a result, the current study was interested in whether there is a relationship between racial threat, racial typification, and punitiveness, such that racial typification mediates the relationship between the two. Exploratory SEM equations were used to determine the effect of racial threat on punitiveness as it operates through racial typification.

The final chapter of this dissertation will be divided into four sections. The first section will provide a summary of the results of both the primary analyses and exploratory analyses along with a discussion within the context of prior literature. The second will present the policy implications of this dissertation. Third, the limitations of this study will be noted. The final section will discuss the directions for future research within the area of racial threat and racial typification.

6.1 Summary of Results

6.1.1 Primary Analyses

There were six research questions this dissertation answered. The findings of the primary analyses can be summarized as follows:

1. The first research question asks if Black threat has an effect on the way people perceive crime. The answer to this question is partially, yes. The analysis gives reason to believe

those who experience Black criminal threat are more likely to perceive Blacks commit most crimes. On the contrary, those who experience political and economic threat from Blacks are not likely to perceive threat Blacks commit most crimes. This partial support for this research question aligns with the work and conclusions drawn by Liska (1992) stating perceived interracial crime is a source of threat that contributes racial threat and increased social controls towards minorities.

2. The second research question asks if Hispanic threat has an effect on individuals' perceptions of crime. Again, the answer to this question is partially, yes. The results presented in Table 4 show similar results to those found in Table 3. While the variables measuring Hispanic political threat and Hispanic economic threat were not significant predictors of Hispanic typification, Hispanic criminal threat was a significant predictor. Therefore, individuals who perceive Hispanics as a criminal threat are more likely to believe that Hispanics commit most of the crimes in the United States. Although Liska (1992) focused on Black criminal threat, it appears that Liska's hypotheses can be broadened to the threat of perceived Hispanic-on-White crime.
3. The third research question asks if minority threat has an effect on societies perception of crime. Once again, the answer to this question is partially, yes. The results presented in Table 5 show mixed support for research question #3. The only significant variable in the expected direction is Black criminal threat. The significant effect of Black criminal threat implies that those who perceive Blacks as a criminal threat are more likely to believe both Blacks and Hispanics commit most crimes. Black economic threat was found to be significant, but in the opposite direction of what theory suggests. The negative effect Black economic threat has on minority typification insinuates that those who believe

Blacks are *not* economic threats are *more* likely to believe most crimes are committed by minorities.

The overall findings of these analyses suggest there are some underlying notions of threat that lead people to associate threat with crime. One of the control variables that was found to have a significant effect on typification was the neighborhood safety variable. To reiterate, the neighborhood safety variable was created by the respondent's agreement to the statements, "More than any other racial/ethnic group, I fear for my safety when Blacks are in my neighborhood," and "More than any other racial/ethnic group, I fear for my safety when Hispanics enter my neighborhood." The consistent significant effect of the neighborhood safety variable and criminal threat across models, leads one to believe that fear manifested by minorities is prevalent, similarly to overt racism or bias. This "subtle" form of racism is what theorists refer to as modern racism (McConahay, 1986; Sears 1988; Entman, 1990; Sears & Jessor, 1996; Chiricos et al. 20014).

6.1.2 Exploratory Analyses

The findings of the exploratory analyses can be summarized as follows:

4. The fourth research question asks if Black typification of crime mediates the relationship between Black threat and punitive sentiment. The answer to this question is no, the structural equation models presented in Table 6 show no support for Black typification as a mediator between Black political, economic, or criminal threat and punitive sentiment. Despite the lack of an indirect effect, both Black political threat and Black economic threat have a direct effect on an individual's level of support for punitive punishment towards violent criminals and juveniles.

5. The fifth research question is similar to the fourth research question, except it focuses on Hispanic threat and Hispanic typification. Table 7 presents the structural equation model that addresses research question #5. The answer to the research question is no. There appears to be no indirect effect detected across all models. In particular, Hispanic typification does not mediate the relationship between Hispanic political, economic, or criminal threat and punitiveness. Similar to the previous model, Hispanic political threat and Hispanic economic threat have a direct effect on an individual's level of punitiveness.
6. The sixth and final research question addresses the possibility of minority typification mediating the relationship between minority threat and punitive views. The structural equation models presented in Table 8 implies that the answer is no. The data suggests that there is no evidence to support the notion that Black, Hispanic, or Minority typification mediates the relationship between minority threat and punitive reactions. Of the measures of Black threat, economic threat was found to have a significant direct effect, while political threat has a marginally significant direct effect. Of the Hispanic threat measures, both political threat and economic threat had significant direct effects on punitiveness. In the model that combines both Black threat and Hispanic threat, Black economic threat was the only source of threat to have a direct effect on punitiveness.

Across all of the SEMs that observe the effect of threat on punitiveness, none of the models found typification as a mediator in this relationship. Conceivably, the lack of mediation indicates typification is similar to punitiveness in that it's a response from threat, but antecedent to the mobilization of social controls. Thus, rather than threat leading to typification, then leading to punitiveness, and ultimately leading to the mobilization of social controls, perhaps threat leads to

typification *or* punitiveness, and *then* the mobilization of social controls. This particular study cannot speak to the mobilization of social control but can only consider the possible antecedent variables. Despite the lack of evidence that supports a mediating relationship, threat variables were found to have a direct effect on punitiveness. This evidence supports past literature on the subject (Stewart, Martinez, Baumer, & Gertz, 2015; McEntire, 2007; King & Wheelock, 2007; Barkan & Cohn, 2004; Baumer, Messner & Rosenfeld, 2013).

6.2 Policy Implications

Over time, it seems as if minorities and crime have become synonymous. People associate minorities with fear, being criminally threatening, and punitive attitudes. The racial typification of crime, or equating minorities with criminal acts, has been observed to be a form of what has been termed “modern racism” (McConahay, 1986; Sears 1988). Modern racism is characterized by a “general hostility toward [B]lacks” (Entman, 1990, p. 332) as opposed to overt racism (i.e., segregation, racial slurs, violence against people of color, etc.). Acts of modern racism result from feelings of racial superiority and a tendency to “lump all or most [B]lacks into categories with negative characteristics” (Entman, 1992, p. 345). Chiricos et al. (2004) argues racial typification, in which minorities are associated with crime, is an example of modern racism. Similarly, the results of this study, which show some forms of racial threat predict racial typification, may also be indicative of modern racism.

Sears and Jessor (1996) outline three different manifestations of modern racism. The first potential source is the wide array of group conflict theories that are rooted in the notion Whites are continuously on defense, protecting their dominance and privilege. The second school of thought is society has had a change of heart towards minorities, but their “old- fashioned, ‘redneck’ racism has been replaced with a new, more modern version of white racism...” (Sears

& Jessor, 1996, p. 1). This indicates people are not openly racist but may still hold more private racist attitudes. The third framework sees the opposition to the invasion of privacy and the government as an excuse for certain individuals to oppose policies that endorse racial equality. The form of modern racism evident in the results from this study likely manifest for reasons related to the first reason. Given this study is rooted in conflict theory, it may be the case that criminal threat predicts racial typification by Whites due to feelings of white superiority in combination with hostility, rejection, and denial by Whites towards the behaviors and upward mobility of minorities, hallmarks of modern racism (Entman, 1992). Policies, such as affirmative action, where preference in areas (such as hiring) is given to groups who have experienced past discrimination have been implemented with the goal of combating modern racism. The results of this study confirm the need for this type of legislation as individuals belonging to minority groups continue to be viewed negatively, and in this case, even criminally and economically threatening.

Although policies have been created that attempt to fight the influence of racism, the United States also has a long history of implementing policies *because* of racism. U.S. drug policy displays racial typification in action. Studies show Whites use drugs the most, but minorities are most punished for drug use (Duster, 1997; Bewley-Taylor, Trace, & Stevens, 2005; King & Mauer, 2006²; Bewley-Taylor, Hallam, & Allen, 2009; Gross, 2010). This notion is especially evident with President Nixon's War on Drugs. President Nixon declared a War on Drugs, but the racial motivations of the declaration were not revealed until years later. His domestic policy chief, John Ehrlichman, admitted the racial motivations behind the War on Drugs in an interview with a Harper's Magazine reporter in 1994 (Baum, 2016). In that interview Ehrlichman admits:

The Nixon campaign in 1968, and the Nixon White House after that, had two enemies: the antiwar left and black people. You understand what I'm saying? We knew we couldn't make it illegal to be either against the war or black, but by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and [B]lacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did. (Baum, 2016, p.22).

Nixon's War on Drugs exemplifies the theoretical underpinnings of racial typification resulting from generalizations about entire groups of people—hippies and Blacks. Through their drug policies, the Nixon Administration established a link between minorities and crime, particularly drug crime, exhibiting and encouraging racial typification on a national scale. Nixon's War on Drugs was followed decades later by Reagan's War on Drugs that created the 1984 Federal Sentencing Reform Act, establishing stricter mandatory minimums by the 1986 Anti-Drug Abuse Act that zeroed in specifically on cocaine and its solid form, crack. This law imposed a sentence of five to forty years for cocaine possession, a sentence that could not be suspended or be commuted to probation or parole (Belenko, 2000). These mandatory minimums applied to 500 grams (about one pound) of powder cocaine, but only five grams of crack cocaine, creating a sentencing disparity of 100:1, despite the chemical components of the two drugs being identical (King & Mauer, 2006)¹. The primary difference between these drugs is the race of the user. Crack is favored by lower income (predominantly black or minority) individuals, and cocaine is the drug of choice for white elites. It is apparent then, these mandatory minimums were put in place with the goal of targeting specific groups of people, in other words, racially typifying the use of crack cocaine as a black or minority activity.

These harsh penalties for crack compared to cocaine continued until 2010 when President Obama passed the Fair Sentencing Act (Graham, 2010). This reduced the sentencing disparity from 100:1 to 18:1, significantly closing the gap in sentencing severity between these two drugs.

These drug policies that were arguably created out of Whites feeling threatened by racial groups and subsequently typifying them as criminal show how influential racial typification can be for U.S. policy.

The results of this study show racial typification is indeed a result of certain types of threat, and this has implications for future policies that may be created. If these racially motivated attitudes exist, and policy is often informed by public opinion, it is important to address the racial typification of crime to prevent the creation of future policies that target specific populations. Therefore, policies such as the Fair Sentencing Act and Affirmative Action should be expanded and the roots of other older policies, such as the drug policies mentioned above, should be reexamined to ensure they do not stem from either overt or modern racism.

6.3 Limitations of Study

In spite of filling a major gap in the racial threat literature and expanding the restricted racial typification literature, this study had several limitations. The following six limitations will be outlined and described below: 1) the potentially tautological nature of this research, 2) the inability to establish causal order, 3) data limitations, 4) issues with missing data, 5) the limited scope of the punitiveness measure, and 6) the cross-sectional nature of these data.

One of the largest concerns about this study is it relies on potentially tautological reasoning. It could be argued racial threat is simply a measure of racial typification meaning, this study is measuring racial typification with racial typification as opposed to measuring two distinct concepts, with one predicting the other. Though this argument has merit, racial typification is a theoretically distinct concept from racial threat because it is one of the microprocesses that exists to explain why racial threat occurs and is a necessary antecedent variable in order to mobilize social controls.

This study also suffers from issues with causal order. It is unclear whether racial threat produces racial typification or racial typification produces racial threat. In other words, it is possible feeling threatened by a certain racial group leads individuals to associate the group as being criminal. The reverse may also be true, and individuals may have racialized attitudes about the types of people who commit crimes which may increase their feelings of threat from these groups. This is only a limitation for the OLS models, as SEM accounts for simultaneous reverse causation.

A third limitation in this study relates to issues with the data used in these analyses. For example, there is a lack of availability of some potentially key measures. There are no measures of TV crime media viewing (e.g., type or frequency of viewing) available in these data. TV viewing has been associated with both racial threat and racial typification and may be a source of spuriousness that was unable to be accounted for in this study. (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002; Eschholz, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003). Similarly, these data did not have a large enough sample of white respondents to isolate the influence of their threat on racial typification. Ideally, Whites would have been oversampled to allow for disaggregation and supplementary analyses.

Although there was a high completion rate of the survey used in this study (95.1%), there were many items that provided respondents with answer choices of “I don’t know” and “prefer not to answer.” Unfortunately, this created missingness that had to be addressed through the use of multiple imputation. Had concrete answer choices been available, missingness would not have been as large of an issue.

Finally, the punitiveness measured used in this research was limited. It was only able to gauge individual’s punitive attitudes toward juveniles and violent criminals. As these are not the only two groups individuals may hold punitive attitudes toward, this study is unable to answer

questions about more broad instances of punitiveness. In consequence, a punitiveness question that asked about harsh attitudes toward a larger number of groups may have yielded different results.

6.4 Directions for Future Research and Conclusion

The results from this study lend themselves to several directions for future research. First, the influence of crime media on racial typification should be explored. Crime media including various forms of TV viewing (e.g., TV news, fictional crime TV, and true crime TV), use of print media, and internet news may have pronounced effects on determining whether racial typification of crime could occur. The media is often a source of fear and fear of crime for many individuals (Holbert, Shah, & Kwak, 2004; Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000; Chiricos, Eschholz, & Gertz, 1997; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004; Eschholz, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003), inciting moral panic and heightening the public's fear for often baseless reasons (Thompson, 2005; Meinhof & Richardson, 2005). In addition, prior research has shown exposure to crime-related media influences individuals' punitive attitudes (Callanan, 2005). Given the influence of media on public attitudes and the media's role in creating fear, future research should address the link between consuming crime related media and racial typification. This will provide insight into the extent to which the media is responsible for the public's association of minorities with crime.

A second area for future research involves the problem of modern racism, racial typification as a form of modern racism, and Affirmative Action as a policy instituted to correct it. Research should examine the effectiveness of Affirmative Action to better understand its ability to reduce instances of modern racism. The data in the current study were collected long after Affirmative Action was implemented in many workplaces and universities, yet, evidence of racial typification remains. Therefore, it is important to understand what impact, if any, these

policies have had on easing the issue of modern racism displayed through the racial typification of crime.

Finally, to expand on the theoretical mechanisms described in racial threat theory, future research should examine the full causal chain. Racial threat theory argues when members of majority feel threatened by an increase in minority presence, they respond with the mobilization of social controls, such as increasing police force sizes and likelihood of arrest. Scholars have argued there are micro processes that occur between these two steps—minority threat and mobilization of social controls—this research argues racial typification is one of those processes. The current study was unable to measure this full causal model because of a lack of measurements of social controls. Future research should attempt to build on the work to examine the influence of racial typification on the mobilization of social controls.

There is still research that needs to be done in order to explore the chain of racial threat and the micro-processes that occur within it. This dissertation explores racial typification as a microprocess and lays some foundational work in this area. Although the findings of this study indicate perceived criminal threat is predictive of the racial typification of crime, future research needs to discover additional predictive variables in order to combat modern racism

APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL AND SURVEY INSTRUMENT

p 1 of 1

FLORIDA STATE
UNIVERSITY



OFFICE *of the* VICE PRESIDENT *for* RESEARCH

June 5, 2019

To: Leah Butler
From: Florida State University Institutional Review Board
Study Title: #2019.27493: The Effects Of Perceived Racial Threat On Racial Typification

The Office of Human Subjects at Florida State University has received your application for the above-referenced project.

It has been determined that your project does not constitute "human subjects research" as defined by DHHS and/or FDA regulations, and thus does not require IRB review or approval.

Note that this determination applies only to the activities submitted as part of application 2019.27493, and does not apply should any changes be made to your project. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these activities are research involving human subjects, please submit a new request to the Office of Human Subjects for a determination.

Please retain a copy of this memo for your

records. Thank you.

Institutional Review Board, Human Subjects Office
humansubjects@fsu.edu/850-644-7900

QUESTIONS

=====
Question Name: Q1
=====

Type: Select (Radio Button)

Hello my name is _____ and I am calling on behalf of The Research Network and professors at Florida State University. We are asking people to give us their opinions as a part of a research project about issues here in the United States. The survey only takes ten minutes and I assure you we are not selling anything.

For this interview, I need to talk to the person 18 years or older in your household who had a birthday most recently? Is that you?

[Response Options]:

List Name: Q1List

Type: Predefined

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

IF ASKED HOW DID YOU GET MY PHONE NUMBER: "The phone number is randomly generated and dialed by a computer.")

(IF ASKED WHY BIRTHDAY METHOD: "There are many different statistical methods to select someone to speak to. This one is fairly simple so we have chosen it for this survey.")

=====
Question Name: Q1a
=====

Can that person come to the phone now?

[Response Options]:

List Name: Q1aList

Type: Predefined

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

=====
Question Name: Q2
=====

(IF NEW PERSON ON PHONE)

Hello my name is _____ and I am calling on behalf of The Research Network and professors at Florida State University. We are asking people to give us their opinions as a part of a research project about issues here in the United States. The survey only takes ten minutes and I assure you we are not selling anything.

(READ TO ALL)

All answers are confidential.

=====
Question Name: Q4
=====

We are going to ask some questions about your neighborhood preferences, and crime policies in the United States. Do you Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with the following statements?

- 1 I think that Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.
- 2 I think that Whites and Hispanics should live in separate neighborhoods.
- 3 I prefer to live in a neighborhood that has no Whites.
- 4 I prefer to live in a neighborhood that has no Blacks.
- 5 I prefer to live in a neighborhood that has no Hispanics.
- 6 I am uncomfortable with Whites in my neighborhood.
- 7 I am uncomfortable with Blacks in my neighborhood.
- 8 I am uncomfortable with Hispanics in my neighborhood.
- 9 I feel more comfortable in racially segregated neighborhoods.

List Name: AgreeDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q5
=====

Now I will ask you a series of questions about crime. Do you Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with the following statements?

- 1 Whites pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other racial/ ethnic groups.
- 2 Blacks pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other racial/ ethnic groups.
- 3 Hispanics pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other racial/ ethnic groups.

List Name: AgreeDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q6
=====

(CONTINUE READING LIST OF CHOICES)

List Name: Q6RowList
Type: Predefined
Randomized: YES

- 1 More than any other racial/ethnic group, I fear for my safety when Blacks are in my neighborhood.
- 2 More than any other racial/ethnic group, I fear for my safety when Whites are in my neighborhood.
- 3 More than any other racial/ethnic group, I fear for my safety when Hispanics are in my neighborhood.

List Name: AgreeDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q7
=====

(CONTINUE READING LIST OF CHOICES)

- 1 Whites commit most of the crime in the United States.
- 2 Blacks commit most of the crime in the United States.
- 3 Hispanics commit most of the crime in the United States.

List Name: AgreeDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q8
=====

(CONTINUE READING LIST OF CHOICES)

- 1 Whites commit most of the burglaries in the United States.
- 2 Blacks commit most of the burglaries in the United States.
- 3 Hispanics commit most of the burglaries in the United States.

List Name: AgreeDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q9
=====

Now I'm going to ask a few questions about your feelings towards current crime policies. Do you Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with the following statements?

- 1 The United States needs tougher penalties for all violent crime offenders.
- 2 The United States needs to lock up more juvenile offenders.

List Name: AgreeDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q10
=====

- 1 The United States needs to put more police on the streets, to protect law abiding citizens from Whites.
- 2 The United States needs to put more police on the streets, to protect law abiding citizens from Blacks.
- 3 The United States needs to put more police on the streets, to protect law abiding citizens from Hispanics.

List Name: AgreeDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q11
=====

Now I'm going to ask a few questions about crime in general How afraid are you, or would you be, to walk alone in your neighborhood at night? Would you say you are... (READ LIST)

List Name: Q13List
Type: Predefined

- 1 Very afraid
- 2 Somewhat afraid
- 3 Just a little afraid
- 4 Not at all
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q12
=====

How concerned are you about the issue of crime in general? Would you say you are... (READ LIST)

List Name: Q14List
Type: Predefined

- 1 Very concerned
- 2 Somewhat concerned
- 3 Just a little concerned
- 4 Not at all concerned
- 5 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q13
=====

Now I have some questions about different groups in society. I want you to rate the characteristics of each group on a seven- point scale. In the first statement, a score of 1 means you think almost all people in that group are hard-working. A score of 7 means you think almost all people in that group are lazy. A score of 4 means you think that the groups is not towards one end or the other, and of course you can choose any number in between.

=====
Question Name: Q13a
=====

Where would you rate Whites on this scale?

=====
Question Name: Q13b
=====

Where would you rate Hispanics?

=====
Question Name: Q13c
=====

Where would you rate Blacks on this scale?

=====
Question Name: Q14
=====

The next set of questions asks if people in each group tend to be intelligent or unintelligent. Please you that scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being very intelligent and 7 being unintelligent.

=====
Question Name: Q14a
=====

Where would you rate Whites?

=====
Question Name: Q14b
=====

Where would you rate Blacks?

=====
Question Name: Q14c
=====

Where would you rate Hispanics?

=====
Question Name: Q15
=====

On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being very warm and 7 being very cool in general... (READ SELECTION)

=====
Question Name: Q15a
=====

How warm or cool do you feel toward White Americans?

=====
Question Name: Q15b
=====

How warm or cool do you feel toward Black Americans?

=====
Question Name: Q15c
=====

How warm or cool do you feel toward Black Americans?

=====
Question Name: Q16
=====

Now I'm going to make a series of statements about Hispanic Americans followed by the same series of statements about Black Americans. Please respond with whether you Strongly Agree with the statement, Agree, You are Neutral, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.

- 1 Hispanics tend to have worse jobs, income and housing than whites due to discrimination
- 2 Hispanics tend to have worse jobs, income and housing than whites because Hispanics just do not have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty.
- 3 Hispanics tend to have values different from those required to be successful.

List Name: AgreeNeutralDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 You are Neutral
- 4 Disagree
- 5 Strongly Disagree
- 6 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q17
=====

Now I will ask you the same questions about Black Americans. Please respond with whether you Strongly Agree with the statement, Agree, You are Neutral, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.

- 1 Blacks tend to have worse jobs, income and housing than whites due to discrimination
- 2 Blacks tend to have worse jobs, income and housing than whites because Blacks just do not have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty.
- 3 Blacks tend to have values different from those required to be successful.

List Name: AgreeNeutralDisagree
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 You are Neutral
- 4 Disagree
- 5 Strongly Disagree
- 6 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q18
=====

Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve.

- 1 Do you think that White people have too much influence, the right amount of influence, or too little influence?
- 2 Do you think that Black people have too much influence, the right amount of influence, or too little influence?
- 3 Do you think that Hispanics people have too much influence, the right amount of influence, or too little influence?

List Name: Q26ColList1
Type: Predefined

- 1 Too much influence
- 2 The right amount of influence
- 3 Too little influence
- 4 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q19
=====

Do you Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with the following statements?

- 1 Whites take away economic resources that should go to others?
- 2 Blacks take away economic resources that should go to others?
- 3 Hispanics take away economic resources that should go to others?

List Name: Neither
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Neither Agree or Disagree
- 4 Disagree
- 5 Somewhat Disagree
- 6 Strongly Disagree
- 7 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q20
=====

- 1 Whites reduce home property values?
- 2 Blacks reduce home property values?
- 3 Hispanics reduce home property values?

List Name: Neither
Type: Predefined

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Neither Agree or Disagree
- 4 Disagree
- 5 Somewhat Disagree
- 6 Strongly Disagree
- 7 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: Q21
=====

Please rank each of the following questions as Very Likely, Somewhat Likely, or Not Very Likely to happen these days.

- 1 A White person will not get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified Black person gets one instead?
- 2 A White person will not get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified Hispanic person gets one instead.

List Name: Q30ColList
Type: Predefined

- 1 Very Likely
- 2 Somewhat Likely
- 3 Not Very Likely
- 4 (DNR) Don't know/ Refused

=====
Question Name: D2
=====

Okay, we're almost done. Thank you for your patience. I have a few questions to ensure that individuals from all walks of life are represented in our survey.

Do you rent or own the home where you currently live?

List Name: D2List
Type: Predefined

- 1 Rent
- 2 Own
- 3 (DNR) DK/Refused

=====
Question Name: D3
=====

What is your age? (RECORD AGE IN YEARS 18-100. 0=DK/REFUSED)

=====
Question Name: D4
=====

Are you currently married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

List Name: D4List
Type: Predefined

- 1 Married
- 2 Widowed
- 3 Divorced
- 4 Separated; married but living apart
- 5 Never married
- 6 (DNR) DK/Refused

=====
Question Name: D5
=====

How would you describe yourself politically? Very liberal, liberal, middle of the road, conservative, or very conservative?

List Name: D5List
Type: Predefined

- 1 Very liberal
- 2 Liberal
- 3 Middle of the road
- 4 Conservative
- 5 Very conservative
- 6 (DNR) DK/Refused

=====
Question Name: D6
=====

What race do you consider yourself? (DO NOT READ LIST. SELECT CATEGORY THAT BEST FITS)

List Name: D6List
Type: Predefined

- 1 White
- 2 Black
- 3 Hispanic or Latino
- 4 Asian or Pacific Islander
- 5 American Indian
- 6 Other [Respondent Specify]
- 7 (DNR) DK/Refused

=====
Question Name: D6b
=====

Are you of Latino or Hispanic origin?

List Name: D6bList
Type: Predefined

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 (DNR) DK/Refused

=====
Question Name: D7
=====

What is the highest grade or year of formal education that you completed? (DO NOT READ LIST. SELECT CATEGORY THAT BEST FITS)

List Name: D7List
Type: Predefined

- 1 1st through 7th grade
- 2 8th grade

- 3 9th through 11th grade
- 4 12th grade (finished high school)
- 5 Some college, no degree, AA Degree
- 6 Bachelor's degree
- 7 Master's degree, law, or similar graduate degree, not Ph.D.
- 8 Ph.D., M.D., other degree beyond Master's
- 9 Other [Respondent Specify]
- 10 (DNR) DK/Refused

=====
 Question Name: D8
 =====

Could you please tell me your zip code?
 (RECORD EXACTLY. DK/REFUSED = 99999)

=====
 Question Name: D9
 =====

Finally, please tell me which category corresponds with your household's total annual income for 2007? (READ LIST)

List Name: D9List
 Type: Predefined

- 1 Less than \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000 to less than \$35,000
- 3 \$35,000 to less than \$50,000
- 4 \$50,000 to less than \$75,000
- 5 \$75,000 to less than \$100,000
- 6 More than \$100,000
- 7 (DNR) DK/Refused

=====
 Question Name: D10
 =====

Type: Select (Radio Button)

Thank you for your time. Those are all the questions we have. Have a nice day.

(RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX)

[Response Options]:
 List Name: D10List
 Type: Predefined

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

APPENDIX B

MISSINGNESS AND SENSITIVITY ANALYSES

Table 9. Percent Missingness of Each Variable			
	Missing	Total	Percent Missing
Black Typification	70	425	16.47%
Hispanic Typification	74	425	17.41%
Minority Typification	82	425	19.29%
Black Political Threat	42	425	9.88%
Hispanic Political Threat	50	425	11.76%
Black Economic Threat	14	425	3.29%
Hispanic Economic Threat	18	425	4.24%
Black Criminal Threat	14	425	3.29%
Hispanic Criminal Threat	16	425	3.76%
Crime Concern	4	425	0.94%
Walk Alone	5	425	1.18%
Neighborhood Segregation	0	425	0%
Neighborhood Safety (Black)	16	425	3.76%
Neighborhood Safety (Hispanic)	16	425	3.76%
Punitiveness	43	425	10.12%
Racial Bias	0	425	0%
Employment Bias (Black)	38	425	8.94%
Employment Bias (Hispanic)	43	425	10.12%
Marital Status	2	425	0.47%
Political Conservatism	21	425	4.94%
Black	4	425	0.94%
Hispanic	4	425	0.94%
Age	0	425	0%
College Degree	0	425	0%
Annual Income	108	425	25.41%
Male	0	425	0%
Region	0	425	0%

Table 10. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Political Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	0.001	0.006	0.915
Direct Effect	0.173	0.006	0.915
Total Effect	0.173	0.092	0.059

Table 11. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Economic Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	-0.001	0.003	0.679
Direct Effect	0.070	0.047	0.142
Total Effect	0.068	0.047	0.148

Table 12. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Criminal Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	0.012	0.025	0.651
Direct Effect	-0.021	0.087	0.813
Total Effect	-0.010	0.083	0.913

Table 13. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Political Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	-0.001	0.001	0.923
Direct Effect	0.183	0.088	0.038
Total Effect	0.182	0.088	0.038

Table 14. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Economic Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	0.001	0.003	0.711
Direct Effect	0.064	0.041	0.115
Total Effect	0.065	0.041	0.011

Table 15. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Criminal Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	0.013	0.016	0.410
Direct Effect	-0.000	0.091	0.997
Total Effect	0.013	0.090	0.883

Table 16. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Black Threat and Black Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	0.002	0.008	0.818
Direct Effect	0.160	0.094	0.090
Total Effect	0.161	0.093	0.084

Table 17. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Hispanic Threat and Hispanic Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	-0.001	0.006	0.740
Direct Effect	0.204	0.089	0.022
Total Effect	0.202	0.089	0.023

Table 18. Sobel-Goodman Test SEM: Effects of Racial Threat and Minority Typification on Punitive Views

	Coefficient	Std. Error	P> Z
Indirect Effect	0.002	0.005	0.737
Direct Effect	0.072	0.106	0.494
Total Effect	0.075	0.106	0.482

REFERENCES

- Akers, R. L., & Sellers, C. S. (2013). *Criminological theories: Introduction, evaluation, and application*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Allison, P. D. (2002). Missing data: Quantitative applications in the social sciences. *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology*, 55, 193–196.
- American Association for Public Opinion Research (2008). *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys*. Ann Arbor: AAPOR.
- Andersen, T. S. (2015). Race, ethnicity, and structural variations in youth risk of arrest: Evidence from a national longitudinal sample. *Criminal justice and behavior*, 42(9), 900-916.
- Baum, D. (2016). Legalize it all. *Harper's Magazine*, 24.
- Baumer, E. P., Messner, S. F., & Rosenfeld, R. (2003). Explaining spatial variation in support for capital punishment: A multilevel analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(4), 844-875.
- Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries*. Little, Brown and Company.
- Behrens, A., Uggen, C., & Manza, J. (2003). Ballot manipulation and the “menace of Negro domination”: Racial threat and felon disenfranchisement in the United States, 1850–2002. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(3), 559-605.
- Belenko, S. R. (Ed.). (2000). *Drugs and drug policy in America: A documentary*
- Bewley-Taylor, D., Hallam, C., & Allen, R. (2009). The incarceration of drug offenders: an overview.
- Bewley-Taylor, D., Trace, M., & Stevens, A. (2005). Incarceration of drug offenders: costs and impacts. *Briefing Paper Seven, June 2005: The Beckley Foundation Drug Policy Programme*.
- Black, D. (1976). *The behavior of law*. New York: Academic Press.
- Blalock, H. M. (1967). *Toward a theory of minority-group relations* (Vol. 325). New York: Wiley.
- Blalock, H.M. (1969). *Toward a theory of minority-group relations*.
- Bonacich, E. (1972). A theory of ethnic antagonism: The split labor market. *American sociological review*, 547-559.

- Bonger, Wilhelm. (1905). *Criminality and Economic Conditions*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Brandl, S. G., Chamlin, M. B., & Frank, J. (1995). Aggregation bias and the capacity for formal crime control: The determinants of total and disaggregated police force size in Milwaukee, 1934–1987. *Justice Quarterly*, *12*(3), 543-562.
- Bridges, G. S., Crutchfield, R. D., & Simpson, E. E. (1987). Crime, social structure and criminal punishment: White and nonwhite rates of imprisonment. *Social Problems*, *34*(4), 345-361.
- Britt, C. (2000). Social context and racial disparities in punishment decisions. *Justice Quarterly*, *17*:707-32.
- Callanan, V. J. (2005). *Feeding the fear of crime: Crime-related media and support for three strikes*. LFB Scholarly Pub..
- Caravelis, C., Chiricos, T., & Bales, W. (2011). Static and dynamic indicators of minority threat in sentencing outcomes: A multi-level analysis. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *27*(4), 405-425.
- Caravelis, C., Chiricos, T., & Bales, W. (2013). Race, ethnicity, threat, and the designation of career offenders. *Justice Quarterly*, *30*(5), 869-894.
- Chamlin, M. B. (1989). A macro social analysis of change in police force size, 1972–1982. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *30*(4), 615-624.
- Chambliss, W. J., & Seidman, R. B. (1971). *Law, order, and power* (p. 3). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Chiricos, T., & Eschholz, S. (2002). The racial and ethnic typification of crime and the criminal typification of race and ethnicity in local television news. *Journal of research in crime and delinquency*, *39*(4), 400-420.
- Chiricos, T., Hogan, M., & Gertz, M. (1997). Racial composition of neighborhood and fear of crime. *Criminology*, *35*(1), 107-132.
- Chiricos, T., McEntire, R., & Gertz, M. (2001). Perceived racial and ethnic composition of neighborhood and perceived risk of crime. *Social Problems*, *48*(3), 322-340.
- Chiricos, T., Padgett, K., & Gertz, M. (2000). Fear, TV news, and the reality of crime. *Criminology*, *38*(3), 755-786.
- Chiricos, T., Welch, K., & Gertz, M. (2004). Racial typification of crime and support for punitive measures. *Criminology*, *42*(2), 358-390.

- Cohn, S., & Barkan, S. (2004). Racial prejudice and public attitudes about the punishment of criminals. *For the common good*, 33-47.
- Crawford, C., Chiricos, T., & Kleck, G. (1998). Race, racial threat, and sentencing of habitual offenders. *Criminology*, 36(3), 481-512.
- D'Alessio, S. J., Stolzenberg, L., & Eitle, D. (2002). The effect of racial threat on interracial and intraracial crimes. *Social Science Research*, 31(3), 392-408.
- D'Alessio, S. J., Eitle, D., & Stolzenberg, L. (2005). The impact of serious crime, racial threat, and economic inequality on private police size. *Social Science Research*, 34(2), 267-282.
- Devers, L., Gertz, M., Piquero, N. L., & Kraus, B. (2012). The ethnic typification of crime and support for punitive attitudes: An exploratory analysis of Arabs in Israel. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 10(4), 245-266.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (2002). The spawn of slavery. *African American classics in criminology and criminal justice*, 83-88.
- Duster, T. (1997). Pattern, purpose and race in the drug war. *Crack in America: Demon drugs and social justice*, 60-87.
- Eitle, D., & Monahan, S. (2009). Revisiting the racial threat thesis: The role of police organizational characteristics in predicting race-specific drug arrest rates. *Justice Quarterly*, 26(3), 528-561.
- Eitle, D., & Taylor, J. (2008). Are Hispanics the new 'Threat'? Minority group threat and fear of crime in Miami-Dade County. *Social science research*, 37(4), 1102-1115.
- 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(2), 557-576.
- Eitle, D., Stolzenberg, L., & D'Alessio, S. J. (2005). Police organizational factors, the racial composition of the police, and the probability of arrest. *Justice Quarterly*, 22(1), 30-57.
- Entman, R. M. (1992). Blacks in the news: Television, modern racism and cultural change. *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(2), 341-361.
- Eschholz, S., Chiricos, T., & Gertz, M. (2003). Television and fear of crime: Program types, audience traits, and the mediating effect of perceived neighborhood racial composition. *Social problems*, 50(3), 395-415.
- Eschholz, S., Chiricos, T., & Gertz, M. (2003). Television and fear of crime: Program types, audience traits, and the mediating effect of perceived neighborhood racial composition. *Social problems*, 50(3), 395-415.

- Feldmeyer, B., & Ulmer, J. T. (2011). Racial/ethnic threat and federal sentencing. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 48(2), 238-270.
- Feldmeyer, B., Warren, P. Y., Siennick, S. E., & Neptune, M. (2015). Racial, ethnic, and immigrant threat: is there a new criminal threat on state sentencing?. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 52(1), 62-92.
- Gabbidon, S. L. (2007). *Criminological perspectives on race and crime*. Routledge.
- Graham, K. (2010). Sorry seems to be the hardest word: The Fair Sentencing Act of 2010, crack, and methamphetamine. *U. Rich. L. Rev.*, 45, 765.
- Greenberg, D. F., Kessler, R. C., & Loftin, C. (1985). Social inequality and crime control. *J. Crim. L. & Criminology*, 76, 684.
- Gross, J. (2010). The effects of net-widening on minority and indigent drug offenders: A critique of drug courts. *U. Md. LJ Race, Religion, Gender & Class*, 10, 161.
- Holbert, R. L., Shah, D. V., & Kwak, N. (2004). Fear, authority, and justice: Crime-related TV viewing and endorsements of capital punishment and gun ownership. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(2), 343-363.
- Horowitz, D. L. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Jackson, P. I. (1992). Minority group threat, social context, and policing. *Social threat and social control*, 89-101.
- Jackson, P. I., & Carroll, L. (1981). Race and the war on crime: The sociopolitical determinants of municipal police expenditures in 90 non-southern US cities. *American Sociological Review*, 290-305.
- Jacobs, D. (1979). Inequality and police strength: Conflict theory and coercive control in metropolitan areas. *American Sociological Review*, 913-925.
- Jacobs, D., Carmichael, J. T., & Kent, S. L. (2005). Vigilantism, current racial threat, and death sentences. *American Sociological Review*, 70(4), 656-677.
- Jacobs, D., & Helms, R. (1999). Collective outbursts, politics, and punitive resources: Toward a political sociology of spending on social control. *Social Forces*, 77(4), 1497-1523.
- Jacobs, D., O'Brien, R. M. (1998). The determinants of deadly force: A structural analysis of police violence. *American journal of sociology*, 103(4), 837-862.
- Jacobs, D., & Wood, K. (1999). Interracial conflict and interracial homicide: Do political and economic rivalries explain white killings of blacks or black killings of whites?. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(1), 157-190.

- Johnson, B. D., Stewart, E. A., Pickett, J., & Gertz, M. (2011). Ethnic threat and social control: Examining public support for judicial use of ethnicity in punishment. *Criminology*, 49(2), 401-441.
- Kane, R. J. (2003). Social control in the metropolis: A community-level examination of the minority group-threat hypothesis. *Justice Quarterly*, 20(2), 265-295.
- 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 US cities. *Criminology*, 43(3), 731-760.
- King, R. D., & Wheelock, D. (2007). Group threat and social control: Race, perceptions of minorities and the desire to punish. *Social Forces*, 85(3), 1255-1280.
- King, R. S., & Mauer, M. (2006)¹. *Sentencing with discretion: Crack cocaine sentencing after Booker*. New York: Sentencing Project.
- King, R. S., & Mauer, M. (2006)². The war on marijuana: The transformation of the war on drugs in the 1990s. *Harm Reduction Journal*, 3(1), 6.
- Kish L. (1965) *Survey Sampling*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Lavrakas, Paul (1993). *Telephone Survey Methods* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- Lilly, J. R., Cullen, F. T., & Ball, R.A. (2011). *Criminological Theory, Context and Consequences*.
- Liska, A. E. (1992). *Social threat and social control*. Suny Press.
- Liska, A. E., & Chamlin, M. B. (1984). Social structure and crime control among macrosocial units. *American journal of sociology*, 90(2), 383-395.
- Liska, A. E., Chamlin, M. B., & Reed, M. D. (1985). Testing the economic production and conflict models of crime control. *Social Forces*, 64(1), 119-138.
- Liska, A. E., Lawrence, J. J., & Benson, M. (1981). Perspectives on the legal order: The capacity for social control. *American Journal of Sociology*, 87(2), 413-426.
- Liska, A. E., & Yu, J. (1992). Specifying and testing the threat hypothesis: Police use of deadly force. *Social threat and social control*, 53-68.
- McEntire, R. (2007). *Race, Ethnicity, Threat, and Punitive Attitudes Toward Criminals*.
- Meinhof, U. H., & Richardson, K. (2005). *Worlds in Common?: Television Discourses in a Changing Europe*. Routledge.

- Metcalfe, C., Pickett, J. T., & Mancini, C. (2015). Using path analysis to explain racialized support for punitive delinquency policies. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 31(4), 699-725.
- Myers, M. A. (1990). Black threat and incarceration in postbellum Georgia. *Social Forces*, 69(2), 373-393.
- Nielsen, A. L., Bonn, S., & Wilson, G. (2010). Racial prejudice and spending on drug rehabilitation: The role of attitudes toward blacks and Latinos. *Race and social problems*, 2(3-4), 149-163.
- Novak, K. J., & Chamlin, M. B. (2012). Racial threat, suspicion, and police behavior: The impact of race and place in traffic enforcement. *Crime & Delinquency*, 58(2), 275-300.
- Olzak, S. (1990). The political context of competition: Lynching and urban racial violence, 1882–1914. *Social forces*, 69(2), 395-421.
- Ousey, G. C., & Lee, M. R. (2008). Racial disparity in formal social control: An investigation of alternative explanations of arrest rate inequality. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 45(3), 322-355.
- 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(4), 1111-1134.
- 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), 1-11.
- Pickett, J. T., Chiricos, T., & Gertz, M. (2014). The racial foundations of whites' support for child saving. *Social science research*, 44, 44-59.
- Pickett, J. T., Chiricos, T., Golden, K. M., & Gertz, M. (2012). Reconsidering the Relationship Between Perceived Neighborhood Racial Composition and Whites' Perceptions of Victimization Risk: Do Racial Stereotypes Matter?. *Criminology*, 50(1), 145.
- Quinney, R. (1970). *The social reality of crime*. Transaction publishers.
- Rusche, G., & O. Kirchheimer (1939) *Punishment and Social Structure*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sears, D. O., & Jessor, T. (1996). Whites' racial policy attitudes: The role of white racism. *Social Science Quarterly*, 77(4), 751-759.
- Sellin, T. (1938). Culture conflict and crime. *American Journal of sociology*, 44(1), 97-103.

- Sever, B. (2001). The relationship between minority populations and police force strength: Expanding our knowledge. *Police Quarterly*, 4(1), 28-68.
- Simmel, G. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel*. (Vol. 92892). Simon and Schuster.
- Smith, D. A. (1986). The neighborhood context of police behavior. *Crime and Justice*, 8, 313-341.
- Stewart, E. A., Baumer, E. P., Brunson, R. K., & Simons, R. L. (2009). Neighborhood racial context and perceptions of police-based racial discrimination among black youth. *Criminology*, 47(3), 847-887.
- Stewart, E. A., Martinez Jr, R., Baumer, E. P., & Gertz, M. (2015). The social context of Latino threat and punitive Latino sentiment. *Social Problems*, 62(1), 68-92.
- Stolzenberg, L., D'Alessio, S. J., & Eitle, D. (2004). A multilevel test of racial threat theory. *Criminology*, 42(3), 673-698.
- 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(2), 507-546.
- Stults, B., Parker, K., & Lane, E. (2010). Space, place, and immigration: New directions for research on police stops. *Race, Ethnicity, and Policing: New and Essential Readings*, 411-434.
- Sykes, G. M. (1974). The Rise of Critical Criminology. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 65:206-13.
- Tittle, C. R., & Curran, D. A. (1988). Contingencies for dispositional disparities in juvenile justice. *Social Forces*, 67(1), 23-58.
- Thomas, S. A., Moak, S. C., & Walker, J. T. (2013). The contingent effect of race in juvenile court detention decisions: The role of racial and symbolic threat. *Race and Justice*, 3(3), 239-265.
- Thompson, K. (2005). *Moral panics*. Routledge.
- Tourangeau, R. (2004). Survey research and societal change. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 55, 775-802.
- Tuckell, P. and O'Neill, H. (2002). The vanishing respondent in telephone surveys. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 42 (5), 26-48.
- Unnever, J. D., & Cullen, F. T. (2010). The social sources of Americans' punitiveness: A Test Of Three Competing Models. *Criminology*, 48(1), 99-129.

- Vold, G. B. (1958). Theoretical criminology.
- Wang, X., & Mears, D. P. (2010). Examining the direct and interactive effects of changes in racial and ethnic threat on sentencing decisions. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 47(4), 522-557.
- Warner, B. D. (1992). The reporting of crime: A missing link in conflict theory. *Social threat and social control*, 71-87.
- Weissberg, H.F., Krosnick, J.A., and Bowen, B.D. (1989). *An Introduction To Survey Research And Data Analysis*. Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.
- Weitzer, R., & Kubrin, C. E. (2004). Breaking news: How local TV news and real-world conditions affect fear of crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 21(3), 497-520.
- Welch, K., Payne, A. A., Chiricos, T., & Gertz, M. (2011). The typification of Hispanics as criminals and support for punitive crime control policies. *Social Science Research*, 40(3), 822-840.
- Wheelock, D., Semukhina, O., & Demidov, N. N. (2011). Perceived group threat and punitive attitudes in Russia and the United States. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 51(6), 937-959.
- Wilson, G., & Nielsen, A. L. (2011). "Color coding" and support for social policy spending: Assessing the parameters among whites. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 634(1), 174-189.
- Worden, R. E., & Shepard, R. L. (1996). Demeanor, crime, and police behavior: A reexamination of the police services study data. *Criminology*, 34(1), 83-105.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Leah Butler graduated in the summer of 2019 with her Ph.D. and Master's in Criminology at Florida State University. She completed her bachelor's degree in psychology from Western Carolina University. Her research interests include public opinion, research methods, public policy, and race as a correlate of crime. Her recent publications appear in the *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* and *Criminal Justice Review*. Leah plans on pursuing a career in user experience research.