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## Association Between Perception Of Police Prejudice Against Minorities And Juvenile Delinquency

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ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POLICE PREJUDICE AGAINST  
MINORITIES AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

by

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Bachelor of Arts  
Dongguk University, 2010

Master of Arts  
Dongguk University, 2012

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## DEDICATION

In dedication to my wife Hyunjin for supporting me all the way,  
and our parents for making us who we are.

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I owe my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Robert Brame. When I requested him to be my supervisor, I only expected him to help me with my study. But I have also received huge emotional support from him, as well as wise advice about my career and this dissertation work.

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## ABSTRACT

Criminologists have long studied police prejudice with the assumption that it is a fundamental problem resulting in discrimination against certain racial and ethnic groups. However, little research has examined how individuals' perceptions of police prejudice (PPP) influences compliance or delinquency behavior among the public. To fill this gap, in this paper, I reviewed relations between police and racial/ethnic groups, theorized an association between PPP and juvenile delinquency, and empirically examined the association.

The long history of racial/ethnic prejudice and discrimination predisposes racial/ethnic minorities to consider themselves targets of discrimination and to feel powerless. Moreover, some minorities justify the current system and tolerate injustice. These mechanisms may then predispose racial/ethnic minorities to internalize police discrimination and prejudice as instrumental factors that potentially threaten their security.

To theoretically associate PPP and delinquency given the asymmetrical relations between police and racial/ethnic groups, I reviewed criminal decision-making theories (procedural justice and deterrence theories). The theories provide consistent implications of PPP on delinquency for racial majorities, in that both theories imply a criminogenic impact of PPP on delinquency. On the other hand, for racial/ethnic minorities, police prejudice has contrasting implications. For minorities, police prejudice may be a deterrent

because it increases sanction risks for minorities, but it may also be a criminogenic influence because it weakens police legitimacy.

To empirically examine the association, I utilized the GREAT dataset and performed a series of group-based trajectory models. I did not find clear associations between longitudinal patterns of PPP and delinquency (e.g., an incremental PPP trend with a decremental PPP trend); nevertheless, membership models show that white juveniles who strongly believe police to be prejudiced tend to belong to criminogenic groups, while there is no association between level of PPP and level of delinquency among African-American juveniles. These results of membership models are consistent with theoretical predictions in this study. That is, both theories of procedural justice and of deterrence predict a high PPP is associated with high involvement in delinquency in racial majorities, and for the implications of PPP to contrast among African-American juveniles. Given these results, I suggested some academic and policy implications.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GREAT .....Gang Resistance Education and Training

PPP ..... Perception of Police Prejudice

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Perception of being a target of prejudice shapes individuals' interactions with others, as well as influencing biological mechanisms (e.g., blood pressure) and intellectual ability (e.g., test-taking ability) (Allport, 1979; Blascovich et al., 2001; Brown & Pinel, 2003; Feagin & Sikes, 1994). While prejudice or discrimination can provoke anger and aggression in their victims (Agnew, 2001; Terrell et al., 2006; Vincent, Parrott, & Peterson, 2011), victims often admit that the prejudice against them exists and they attempt to overcome or adapt to it (Allport, 1979; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Steckler & Rosenthal, 1985; Zebrowitz et al., 1998).

Criminologists have long studied police prejudice with the assumption that it is a fundamental problem resulting in discrimination against certain racial and ethnic groups (Keppeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1998; G. Wilson, Dunham, & Alpert, 2004; Wortley & Homel, 1995). However, little research has examined how individuals' perceptions of police prejudice (PPP) influences compliance or delinquency behavior among the public, while examination of the effects of various perceptions of police (e.g., police fairness and visibility) on criminality or cooperation with police have flourished (Kleck & Barnes, 2014; Koper, 1995; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

The effect of PPP on delinquency may be analogized using literature on the effects of perceptions of other dimensions of the police force, such as police fairness or

experience of police discrimination. Police prejudice may be a source of unfair treatment by police, and the perception that police have a prejudice against a certain people may weaken perceived police legitimacy. Given that perceived police fairness facilitates individual compliance with the law by enhancing perceived police legitimacy (Tyler, 1990; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), PPP may have a criminogenic effect.

Perception of police prejudice, however, has several distinct characteristics from other perceptual dimensions of police. First, perception that police officers are prejudiced is an a priori relational assumption rather than an a posteriori evaluation of police. As with the argument that police prejudice influences police behavior against minorities (G. Wilson et al., 2004), perception of police prejudice is also a stereotype or bias held by the alleged targets of prejudice, and it may shape the targets' attitudes and behaviors toward police. Second, police prejudice is directed at racial minorities. Thus, police prejudice against minorities may be differently interpreted according to the racial group(s) an individual belongs to. For instance, police prejudice may arouse a sense of injustice regardless of individuals' racial memberships; however, racial minorities may feel an additional physical threat.

Given these distinctive characteristics of PPP and that PPP may have a unique effect on delinquency, the effect of which is distinguished from effects of other perceptions of police; and criminogenic effect of PPP may vary according to racial group. The purpose of the current paper is to theorize an association between PPP and juvenile delinquency, and to empirically test the association. To theorize the association, the current paper adopts the procedural justice and deterrence theories. While other crime theories, such as the general strain theory, also can be utilized to associate PPP and

criminal behavior, the procedural justice and deterrence theories have several strengths in theorizing the association. First, these theories directly associate perceived attributes of police and criminal behavior. The procedural justice theory considers perceived quality of police treatment as a significant precursor for police legitimacy and compliance (Tyler, 1990), and the deterrence mechanism also involves individual perception of police behavior (i.e., perceived risk of apprehension) (Nagin, 1998). Thus, compared to other crime theories, these two theories may have the most direct implications on the association between PPP and delinquency. Second, these two theories may be incorporated into a broader explanation of criminal decision making. Both theories consider that individuals evaluate or sense attributes of law enforcement (e.g., fairness and sanction risks), and make criminal decisions based on their evaluations. The difference between them is that the deterrence theory emphasizes instrumental criteria of decision making (e.g., sanction risks), whereas the procedural justice theory focuses on normative aspects of decision making (e.g., police fairness and legitimacy). In the current paper, I review systematic differences in police-citizen relations between racial groups; and I also claim that PPP may be utilized as an instrumental decision-making criterion or as a normative decision-making criterion. In each case, the implications of PPP on delinquency may vary by racial groups.

Following the Scope and Definition, I will examine public perceptions of police, including perception of police prejudice in Chapter 2. PPP can be considered a sort of perception of police, public prejudice against police or prejudgment of police behavior; and it can also be an indicator of victimization by police prejudice and discrimination. I suggest these various implications of PPP in Chapter 2.



In Chapter 3, I will review relations between police and racial minorities, and explain how racial minorities internalize those relationships. In this chapter, I claim that American law enforcement have exerted naked power against racial minorities, whereas they have served as legitimate authorities for racial majorities. I further suggest the ways in which individual racial minorities internalize behaviors of discriminatory law enforcement, given the asymmetry power structure between racial minorities and majorities and between racial minorities and police.

In Chapter 4, I will review existing theories of criminal decision-making and propose a theory of criminal decision-making in order to theorize an association between PPP and delinquency. Specifically, I will review the procedural justice and deterrence theories and incorporate them into a theory of criminal decision-making. In this chapter, I claim that individuals may respond differently to police prejudice and discrimination because individuals have different decision-making frameworks, attributable to their different racial statuses and social conditions.

In Chapter 5, I will propose research methods: research questions and hypotheses, data and samples, analytic methods, and measurements. Briefly, I will utilize a longitudinal version of Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) datasets, and I will test various Group-based Trajectory Models to examine an association between PPP and delinquency.

In Chapter 6, I will present research findings: PPP trajectories and joint trajectories of PPP and delinquency.

In Chapter 7, I will provide summarized results, interpretations of the findings, academic and practical implications, and limitations of my research.

## 1.2. SCOPE AND DEFINITIONS

*Juvenile Delinquency.* The topic of the current study is an examination of the associations between PPP and juvenile delinquency. While public perceptions of police have been theorized to influence public support or cooperation with police (Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Huo, 2002), an examination of these behaviors is beyond the scope of the current paper.

In the current paper, the term juvenile delinquency is used to indicate a broad range of problematic behaviors, including criminal behavior and misconduct. Criminal behavior and criminality are not strictly distinguished from delinquency in this paper. However, in the current paper, “criminal behavior” or “criminal offending” indicate individual behavior that violates criminal laws; while “criminality” refers to a criminal propensity (Gottfredson & Hirshci, 1990) that is not necessarily manifested by actual criminal or delinquent behavior.

*Race and Ethnicity.* Race and ethnicity are different criteria used to categorize humans. Race is a categorization according to biological differences, while ethnicity concerns cultural differences (Walker et al., 2012). While the composition of the U.S. population is very complex with regard to both race and ethnicity, Anglo white (not Hispanic) is generally deemed the racial/ethnic majority of society in terms of both numbers and social influence. Thus, the terms “the mainstream,” “the racial majority,” and “the majority” as used in the current paper generally refers to non-Hispanic Anglo white; whereas “the racial minority” or “the minority” is used to designate groups of people other than non-Hispanic Anglo whites. Also, “white” is generally used for non-Hispanic Anglo whites in this paper.

*Theories.* The major theories in this paper are the procedural justice theory and the deterrence theory. These two theories concern the decision-making process of individuals given the properties of the police, law, or law enforcement. The deterrence theory emphasizes the instrumental decision-making process, while the procedural justice theory focuses on normative concerns in the process. While other crime theories, such as the general strain and social control theories, may possibly explain the association between PPP and delinquent behavior (e.g., PPP may result in criminogenic anger, or PPP may cause mistrust between police and neighborhoods weakening collective efficacy), they are beyond the scope of the present paper.

The term “legitimacy perspective,” in the current paper, includes the procedural justice theory and policing philosophies that emphasize the perceived legitimacy of law enforcement and police-citizen relations, such as community policing. The term “classical school perspective,” in this paper, refers to the deterrence theory and the rational choice theory.

*Instrumental or Normative Decision.* In this paper, an “instrumental decision” is defined as a decision based on calculations of individual-level utilities, and a “normative decision” is defined as a decision based on social/cultural values or group-level utilities. I will further discuss the differences between these two types of decisions in 4.1.1. Normative Decisions vs. Instrumental Decisions.

## CHAPTER 2

### PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE PREJUDICE

The current chapter proposes characteristics of PPP in two different ways. In this first section (Section 2.1), I review perceptions of police in general, and I present characteristics of public perceptions of police prejudice and discrimination as one category among diverse perceptions of police. However, PPP, as well as other perceptions of police, can be considered a public stereotype of or attitudes towards police that result from socialization and learning rather than from mere observation of police behavior. Also, PPP may work as an indicator for victimization by police prejudice among racial minorities. In this respect, the second section (Section 2.2.) characterizes PPP from various perspectives, in addition to the perspective that PPP may be a mere perception.

#### 2.1. PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Public perceptions of the police have long been studied in the U.S. (Bayley & Mendelson, 1969; Dunham & Alpert, 1988; Engel, 2005; Frank et al., 1996), and the literature generally finds that whites view the police more favorably than do racial minorities (Brandl et al., 1994; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Peck, 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). In this chapter, various aspects of the police will be reviewed within two subcategories: perceived general characteristics of the police and perceived unfair treatment by the police. General characteristics of the police, in this paper, include the positive or neutral perceptual dimensions of the police (e.g., police performance and

fairness). Although positive and negative characteristics of the police can be viewed as different ends of a single continuum which can be captured with a single measurement, perceived positive aspects of the police (e.g., respect, flexibility, permissiveness) and negative aspects of police (e.g., disrespect, aggressiveness, threat) may form different perceptual dimensions for racial minorities (Sullivan et al., 1987).

General perceptions specifically include police performance, image (e.g., police friendliness, respectfulness), and perception scales that incorporate both positive and negative items. Although perceived legitimacy is considered an important dimension of the police that influences individuals' criminal behavior, it is not discussed in this section since it is generally operationalized into individuals' trust in the law or law enforcement and obligation to obey the law or law enforcement (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Reisig et al., 2007). These factors refer to individuals' willingness or attitudes toward authorities, rather than to direct perceptions of the police. That is, the public may trust the law enforcement or feel obligation to obey the law based on their observations and evaluations of police. In this regard, the procedural justice theory also considers legitimacy as an outcome of perception of police fairness.

Representations of unfair treatment by police in this paper will be categorized into perceptions of police aggressiveness and discrimination. Police aggressiveness is an attribute in which police use disproportionate levels of force given the behavior of suspects or citizens (treatment considered unfair, given the individuals' behavior). Discussion of police aggressiveness in this paper may include excessive use of force, police brutality, and coercion. Police discrimination is disproportional enforcement of the law against particular groups of people that is usually directed at particular races,

genders, ages, or social classes and economic statuses. Among various types of police discrimination, the current paper focuses on racial discrimination by the police (unfair treatment directed at certain racial groups). Discriminatory practices of the police may also involve aggressiveness or brutality; however, these are not necessarily parts of police discrimination. This classification is important since police discrimination tends to be directed against minorities; whereas, theoretically, police aggressiveness or excessive use of force can be experienced by all subsets of citizens.

#### 2.1.1. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLICE

Many studies have examined public perceptions of the general aspects of the police such as perceived police performance, perceptual/attitudinal scale, and satisfaction (Bayley & Mendelson, 1969; Benson, 1981; Brandl et al., 1994; Hurst, Frank, & Browning, 2000; Sullivan et al., 1987; Taylor et al., 2001). These studies found that individuals' evaluations of the police are associated with their demographic characteristics such as race, gender, age, and neighborhood. Specifically, racial minorities, males, young people, and residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods have relatively lower perceptions of, or make less favorable evaluations of, the police (Berg et al., 2016; Hurst, Frank, & Browning, 2000; Taylor et al., 2001; Wu et al., 2009).

Regarding race, whites' perceptions are generally more positive than minorities' perceptions toward the police (Bayley & Mendelson, 1969; Benson, 1981; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Correia et al., 1996; Decker, 1981; Erez, 1984; Hagen et al., 2005; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Murphy & Worrall, 1999; Reisig & Parks, 2000). While racial minorities consider the police less favorably than do whites,

variations also have been found between minority racial groups. For instance, Asians and Hispanics generally have more positive evaluations or perceptions of the police than do African-Americans (Drakulich & Crutchfield, 2013; Ong & Jenks, 2004; Reitzel et al., 2004; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Sullivan et al., 1987; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Wu, 2014).

While race, gender, and age are found to be associated with perceptions of the police (Cao et al., 1996; Frank et al., 1996; Taylor et al., 2001), race seems to be the most significant factor; it consistently and strongly influences perceptions of the police (Correia et al., 1996; Peck, 2015; Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Taylor et al., 2001; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Wu, 2014). For instance, Taylor and colleagues (2001) examined Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) data and found that white males generally hold less favorable opinions of police than do white females; however, white males still evaluate police more positively than do minority females. Also, when compared with the effects of race on the perception of police, the effects of age and gender are relatively inconsistent. Although J. Wilson (1985) considers age to be the determinant of perceptions of police, rather than race or gender, many studies have found no statistically significant associations between age and perceptions of police (Correia et al., 1996; Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Nevertheless, in studies where age shows a statistically significant association with attitudes toward police, older people's evaluations are generally more positive than younger people's evaluations (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969; Brandle et al., 1994; Scaglione & Condon, 1980; Wu, 2014).

However, racial differences in perceptions of police become more complex when confounders (e.g., neighborhood characteristics and contact with police) are factored in. In particular, young African-American males, who generally have unfavorable perceptions of police, are more likely to live in the most disadvantaged neighborhoods; and they tend to experience negative contacts with police officers (Apple & O'Brien, 1983; Bordua & Tifft, 1971; Cao et al., 1996; Carter, 1985; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). Thus, it may be reasonable to assume that young African-American males have the lowest evaluations of police not simply because they are African-Americans, but because they frequently come into contact with police officers targeting disadvantaged neighborhoods. In fact, several studies (Kusow et al., 1997; Welch, 2001) found that African-American suburban residents' perceptions of police, in particular their satisfaction with police, are more positive than the perceptions of white residents in adjacent urban areas.

In Detroit, MI, multiple studies have found that African-Americans have a more favorable perception than whites of the police. Frank and colleagues (1996) found that African-Americans in Detroit are statistically more satisfied with police and more favorably evaluate police performances than do whites. Welch (2001) also found that, among urbanites, African-Americans have a slightly higher satisfaction rate regarding police protection than do whites. These somewhat exceptional cases may imply that public perceptions of police are not simply functions of individuals' race. Walker and Katz (2012; p.385) argue that African-Americans' greater satisfaction with police in Detroit may be affected by the racial composition of the local police or a political environment that facilitates relationships between the police and minorities. Specifically,



African-American mayors managed Detroit from 1974 to 2013, and the majority of Detroit police are African-American. These situations may have delivered a symbolic message to African-American communities that the Detroit police represent the interests of African-Americans or may actually deliver fair treatment to African-Americans, resulting in favorable evaluations of police by African-Americans.

Overall, while neighborhood characteristics and experiences with police influence individuals' perceptions of police, in general these do not fully account for individuals' evaluations or feelings toward the general characteristics of police (Brandl et al., 1994; Frank et al., 1996; Hurst et al., 2000; Jacob, 1971; Kusow et al., 1997; Smith & Hawkins, 1973; Welch, 2001). Put another way, African-Americans' unfavorable feelings and evaluations may be partly attributed to experiences of brutal policing against them and their neighborhoods; however, individuals' racial affiliations still influence their perceptions of police even after controlling for these confounders.

## 2.1.2. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF UNFAIR POLICE TREATMENT

### 2.1.2.1. POLICE AGGRESSIVENESS

Public perceptions of police aggressiveness, including police brutality and excessive use of force, has been examined utilizing various methods and measurements: individuals' evaluations of police aggressiveness for particular incidents, video-taped scenes or vignette scenarios (Girgenti-Malone et al., 2017; Jefferis et al., 2011; Levin & Thomas, 1997), evaluations or interviews based on personal experiences with police (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Langton & Durose, 2013; Weitzer & Brunson, 2009), and general perceptions of police aggressiveness (Buckler & Unnever, 2008; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Feinstein, 2015; Jefferis et al., 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998).

The patterns of public perceptions of police aggressiveness are similar to the patterns of general perceptions of the police. Racial minorities are generally more likely to evaluate police behaviors as aggressive, regardless of research methods (Buckler & Unnever, 2008; Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Feinstein, 2015; Holmes, 1998; Jefferis et al., 1997; Levin & Thomas, 1997). For instance, Levin and Thomas (1997) examined individuals' evaluations of videotaped arrest situations, and they found that African-Americans perceived police arrest situations to be more violent and illegal than did whites. Regarding general perceptions of police aggressiveness, Jefferis and colleagues (1997) found that non-Caucasians and younger people were more likely to believe that police use excessive force. Among racial minorities, in accordance with their patterns of perceptions regarding general characteristics of police, African-Americans were more likely than Hispanics to consider police to be aggressive and brutal (Buckler & Unnever, 2008). Although some studies found no statistical difference in perception of police aggressiveness between racial groups (Jefferis et al., 2011), the majority of literature reports that racial minorities are more likely than racial majorities to consider police to be aggressive or to use excessive force.

#### 2.1.2.2. POLICE DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE

Police aggressiveness and discrimination can be conceptually distinguished from one another; however, the patterns of public perception are quite similar. That is, racial minorities are more likely than whites to think that police discriminate against racial minorities. In particular, racial minorities feel and experience more unfairness and perceive a greater prevalence of racial profiling and prejudice than do whites (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Buckler & Unnever, 2008; Higgins et al., 2008; Gabbidon & Higgins,

2009; Graziano et al., 2010; MacDonald et al., 2007; Rice et al., 2005; Warren, 2011; Weitzer, 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Worrall, 1999; Wu, 2014). As with the pattern of general perceptions of police, Hispanics' perception of police discrimination lies in between the higher perceptions of whites and the lower perceptions of African-Americans (Higgins et al., 2008; Rice et al., 2005; Weitzer, 2002).

These different levels of perceived police discrimination, as well as other perceptions of police, may be attributed to unique race-based experiences with police. That is, each racial group has unique ideas about police discrimination because each racial group is treated differently by the police. It is well documented that African-Americans and Hispanics report more frequent negative contacts with police (Bordua & Tifft, 1971; Engel, 2005; Mbuba, 2010; Warren, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). These differential experiences with police may predispose racial minorities to believe that racial discrimination is prevalent among the police.

However, researchers frequently find that racial differences in perceptions exist even after controlling for experiences or neighborhood characteristics (Gabbidon, et al., 2009; Higgins et al., 2008; Rice et al., 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). Rice, Reitzel, and Piquero (2005) examined the effects of experiences with police on the perceived prevalence of racial profiling utilizing a sample of New York residents. In their study, they separated racial groups into four different categories (non-black non-Hispanic, black Hispanic, non-black Hispanic, and black non-Hispanic) and examined the different perceptions of racial profiling. In a one-way ANOVA test not considering confounders, they found that 1) non-black non-Hispanics are statistically less likely to believe that racial profiling is widespread than the other three racial groups, and that 2) black non-

Hispanics and black Hispanics are statistically more likely to believe that racial profiling is widespread compared to non-black Hispanics. However, when confounders such as demographic characteristics and several experience-related factors are included in the analysis in logistic regression, the perceptions of Hispanics (black Hispanics and non-black Hispanics) do not statistically differ from that of non-black non-Hispanics. Nevertheless, the perceptions of black non-Hispanics still differ statistically from those of non-black non-Hispanics. That is, even though neighborhood characteristics and individuals' unique experiences are factored in, non-Hispanic blacks still believe more strongly in the prevalence of racial profiling than do non-black non-Hispanics. Thus, the different perceptions of Hispanics and non-black non-Hispanics may be explained by differential experiences with police according to race; nevertheless, neighborhood characteristics and experiences with police do not fully explain the perceptual differences between African-Americans and non-black non-Hispanics.

Regarding the confounding effects of experiences and neighborhoods characteristics, other studies have also found that racial minorities are more likely to consider racial discrimination to be prevalent, controlling for urbanity and region of residence (Gabbidon et al., 2009; Higgins et al., 2008; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999), as well as experience with police (Rice et al., 2005; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002).

### 2.1.3. BEYOND DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Differences in levels of public perceptions between racial groups are not the only differences in perceptions of police between racial majorities and minorities; there are other quantitative and qualitative differences as well. First, racial majorities' perceptions

of police are more stable over time when compared with the perceptions of their counterparts. For instance, whites' perceptions of police brutality are relatively stable over time, and they are less affected by incidents involving police use of excessive force when compared with African-Americans and Hispanics (Jefferis et al., 1997; Lasley, 1994; Tuch & Weitzer, 1997; Weitzer, 2002).

Second, whites tend to “view police misconduct as an aberration and [seek] to rationalize officers' behavior” (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009, p.18; see also Weitzer et al., 2008). This tendency of racial majorities may explain differential perceptual stability between whites and African-Americans. Since whites generally consider police use of excessive force as outliers or rare events, rather than as ordinary practice, their perceptions of police brutality and aggressiveness are less affected by high profile incidents; and they are less likely to see a pattern of pervasiveness in police brutality.

Third, racial majorities and minorities have different relational assumptions or perspectives about police. Whites tend to consider police as their allies, guardians, and friends (Waddington & Braddock, 1991; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005); to attribute different responses by police to the dangers of different neighborhoods; and to consider police brutality as outliers rather than as the default pattern. However, racial minorities tend to consider police as bullies, occupying armies, and perpetrators equivalent to criminals (Anderson, 2000; Blauner, 1969; Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Waddington & Braddock, 1991; Weitzer & Brunson, 2009). Minorities also tend to perceive differential treatment by police to be caused by racial stereotyping (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; pp.880-881) and police aggressiveness and profiling to be common occurrences rather than aberrations

(Buckler & Unnever, 2008; Higgins et al., 2008; Gabbidon & Higgins, 2009; Rice et al., 2005; Warren, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999).

#### 2.1.4. CONCLUSION

Current literature has found that racial majorities have relatively favorable perceptions of police, and that their perceptions of police are stable over time and less likely to be influenced by high-profile police shooting incidents than are the perceptions of minorities. With few exceptions, racial minorities have less favorable perceptions of police, and there are systematic variations across minority racial groups and within each racial group. These race-based differences in perceptions seem to be explained by differential neighborhood contexts and experiences with the police. Satisfaction with the police, in particular, seems to be the perception most influenced by neighborhood characteristics and experiences with police (Kusow et al., 1997; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Welch, 2001). However, experiences and neighborhood characteristics generally do not fully mediate the effects of race on these perceptions.

### 2.2. PPP AS PERCEPTION, PREJUDICE, AND PERCEIVED VICTIMIZATION

#### 2.2.1. PPP AS MERE PERCEPTION

Although public PPP has not been closely examined in current literature, characteristics of PPP can be deduced from the characteristics of other perceptions that have been reviewed. For instance, considering that racial minorities generally have more negative perceptions of police (Gabbidon et al., 2009; Peck, 2015; Weitzer, 2000), racial minorities may be more likely to consider police prejudiced when compared to racial majorities. This perspective usually considers that individuals' perceptions of police, including PPP, reflect their evaluation or observation of police behavior. That is,

individuals' perceptions of police are variant and contingent upon police officers' behaviors and high-profile incidents involving police.

From this perspective, perception of police is a posteriori evaluation of police behavior. The process of forming a perception of police involves three steps: observing police behavior (e.g., direct contact with police and watching cable news), evaluating the behavior, and updating the perception. A young African-American boy, for example, may have a short talk with a school police officer, and the boy may feel that the officer was friendly and treated him fairly. This experience and evaluation may lead the boy to adjust his preexisting negative perception of police and to have less negative or even positive perceptions of police.

#### 2.2.2. PPP AS INDIVIDUAL PREJUDICE

Perceptions of police, however, can be based on public prejudice against police. Gordon Allport (1979; p.13) has pointed out two components of prejudice: "There must be an attitude of favor or disfavor; and it must be related to an overgeneralized (and therefore erroneous) belief" (emphases in original). In other words, prejudice is a belief-based attitude against certain groups of people.

In this perspective, perceptions of police (e.g., perceived procedural fairness and police brutality) generally reflect individuals' attitudes against police, rather than evaluations of police behavior. The levels of the perceptions may depend on individuals' social/racial status or stake in conformity (Nagin & Telep, 2017) and can be considered as attitudes that are shaped in the early developmental period through education (socialization) rather than observation (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Allport, 1979, p. 307-310).

Thus, compared to the previous perspective, this perspective considers public perception of police to be more stable and relatively invariant following its formation.

PPP as individual prejudice has unique implications compared to PPP as mere perception. First, formation of PPP as individual prejudice does not require actual observation of police behavior. Clark (1965) argues that historically accumulated fear and mistrust lead to “distorted perceptions of police motives and operations” (p.308), and these distorted perceptions of police can be transferred to the next generation through socialization. Direct and vicarious observations and experiences do influence PPP as individual prejudice; however, once an individual forms a prejudice against a particular group, a cognitive process of perceptual selectivity predisposes the individual to take in only partial evidence that can reinforce the original prejudice (Allport, 1979; p. 315-317, 335).

Second, from this perspective, PPP can be deemed as an a priori relational assumption or stereotyping of police behavior, rather than a posteriori evaluations of police. While PPP as mere perception is shaped by police behavior, PPP as individual prejudice preemptively defines the initial response or non-response against a police officer because individual prejudice provides expectations regarding the potential behavior of the police officer based on unsupported prejudgment of the police as a whole (Allport, 1979, pp. 6-7, 17-27). In other words, PPP as individual prejudice works as a behavioral framework by anticipating police behavior.



### 2.2.3. PERCEPTION OF POLICE PREJUDICE AS AN INDICATOR OF VICTIMIZATION

Racial prejudice by police falsely categorizes racial minorities as a criminogenic population. Thus, in addition to evaluative and attitudinal aspects of PPP, for racial minorities, PPP may manifest in an individual's psychological victimization by police prejudice. Among racial minorities, individuals who strongly believe police to have prejudice against them can be considered as psychological victims of police prejudice, even though the individuals have not experienced any form of actual discrimination by police. Since police prejudice and discrimination is generally directed at racial minorities, racial majorities are not direct victims of police prejudice even if a majority individual strongly believes that police officers have racial prejudice against racial minorities.

The value of PPP as an independent area of study partly lies in its function as an indicator of victimization by police prejudice. Allport (1979) argues that individuals show various responses against prejudice, and some of those responses have criminological implications (e.g., cunning and aggression).

### 2.2.4. CONCLUSION

Perception of police seems to have contrasting implications according to whether it is categorized as a perception or prejudice. The level of the perception of police as perception may be variable according to one's direct and vicarious experience with police, while the level of it as prejudice may be stable over time regardless of external affairs.

In reality, perception of police may have both characteristics, and may explain unique racial patterns of the perception. Fluctuations in levels of perceptions over time

may reflect characteristics of the perceptions as mere perception, whereas stability of racial differences in perceptions of police among whites, African-Americans, and Hispanic/Latinos may be attributed to attitudinal or prejudicial aspects of perceptions of police. That is, perceptions of police have characteristics of both perception and prejudice.

In addition to these general characteristics of perceptions of police, PPP may work as an indicator of victimization by police prejudice among racial minorities. If one believes police to have prejudice against oneself, one can be considered a victim of police prejudice regardless of whether prejudice or physical victimization by discrimination actually exists. As Allport (1979) suggests, there can be various responses to the victimization; but this mechanism (victimization of and behavioral response against police prejudice) may be exclusive to racial minorities. Thus, hypothetically, the impact of PPP on individual behavior may vary according to one's racial status.

## CHAPTER 3

### POLICE-RACIAL GROUP RELATIONS

Throughout American history, racial disparity in various social institutions, such as the economy, education, public health, and criminal justice, has been stable and concretized (Hardy et al., 2009; Pew Research Center, August 2013; Tonry, 1995; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). These disparities and power gaps between racial majorities and minorities have resulted from historical discrimination against racial minorities and, ironically, become reasons for further discriminations. While racial minorities recognize the injustice of the system, their reactions to the injustice are not fully consistent with what they recognize. To understand the full spectrum of racial minorities' reactions against social discrimination and prejudice, the social structure (racial power gap) and social process (police discrimination and racial socialization)—that are significant precursors of individuals' relations to and reactions against police—should be examined.

In this chapter, I review police relations to racial minorities and racial minorities' internalization of police behaviors. First, I review the discriminatory attribute of American law enforcement from a historical viewpoint. Second, I discuss the current police practice of discrimination and individuals' internalization of discrimination.

#### 3.1. HISTORY OF AMERICAN LAW ENFORCEMENT AND RACIAL RELATIONS

American police have not provided consistent service across neighborhoods and racial/ethnic groups (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Harris, 1997; Smith, 1986; Smith et al.,

1984). In prior centuries, law enforcement forces (e.g., slave patrols) often protected the interests of Anglo-Americans against racial minorities and those of early settlers against immigrants of particular ethnic roots (National Constables Association, 1995; Turner et al., 2006; Walker, 1998). This discriminatory practice of American policing is not limited to historical times and still goes on today.

In this section, I discuss the history of American law enforcement, focusing on how police have established their right to rule and how individuals and groups of individuals react to law enforcement. Specifically, I utilize an Israeli political philosopher Joseph Raz's (2009) conceptualizations of authorities and Samuel Walker's (1998) characterization of American law enforcement for characterizing the history of American law enforcement; nevertheless, this section does not provide chronological explanations of the history of American law enforcement as a whole.

### 3.1.1. POPULAR JUSTICE: A FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTIC OF AMERICAN LAW ENFORCEMENT

In *Popular Justice: A history of American Criminal Justice*, Walker (1998) summarized the characteristic of American law enforcement from past to present as "popular justice." That is, American law enforcement has been democratic and controlled by the will of local political majorities, rather than by a centralized federal government. The expression "democratic" seems complimentary to American law enforcement; however, it involves both triumph and tragedy. In brief, democratic law enforcement has prevented authoritarian rule by the federal government and has respected values of local communities; but law enforcement has also sided with political majorities and efficiently and ruthlessly dismissed the claims of political minorities.

Popular justice may work effectively under homogeneous societies where individuals share moral, social, and religious values. For instance, Colonial Era America, New England in particular, consisted of relatively homogenous communities in terms of racial, ethnic, and religious composition (Hutson, April 1998; Lockridge, 1968). Until the mid-18th century, approximately 80% of Americans attended churches, and many northeastern communities were formed according to religious values (Hutson, April 1998). Before the 1750s, the entire American population, excluding Native Americans, was less than one million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976); and community size was small (Lockridge, 1968). In these small and homogeneous communities, particularly in the young colonies of northeastern America, community order was generally maintained by shared religious values and each colony's own legal codes (Karlsen, 1998, p. 14; Walker, 1998). However, popular justice did not work flawlessly in these homogeneous communities. Authorities targeted poor females who had "resentments it might spawn in them toward the more fortunate members of their community" (Adams, 2008; p. 17) or other females who seemed to threaten the existing social order (Karlsen, 1998; pp.18-19), and they did misuse their power (e.g., in witch hunts) to maintain social order.

The problem of popular justice is more severe for racially or politically divided societies, such as the South during the Colonial Era and the current U.S. In these societies, popular justice can be a source of tension and conflict between diverse groups. In the South during the Colonial Era, societies consisted of multiple racial groups with systematic power differences between racial majority and minority. In addition, slave patrols were established in order to monitor and control African-American slaves (Reichel, 1988; Turner, Giacopassi, & Vandiver, 2006). Slave patrols exerted naked

power against African-Americans, including free African-Americans. For instance, slave patrollers often whipped and harassed African-Americans (Reichel, 1988). Moreover, slave patrol laws explicitly indicated that all African-American, Indian, mulatto, and mestizo including the free people of color should be considered slaves until they proved them to be free (Reichel, 1988 p.63; Georgia General Assembly, 1818). While authorities including religious leaders in Northeastern communities reflected the values of a relatively large proportion of the population, slave patrols reflected the interests of particular subsets of the communities: whites and slave owners. That is, slave patrols did not share values with their subjects (African-American slaves) and targeted particular racial groups rather than deviant individuals.

Racial discrimination in the Colonial Era and early U.S. criminal justice is also manifested by a differential execution rate. During the 18th century, African-Americans accounted for about 15 - 20% of the U.S. population (US Bureau of the Census, 1976). However, according to Espy and Smykla (1987), in that century, 621 African-Americans were executed, whereas 567 Whites were executed during the same period. In other words, while African-Americans constituted only about one-fifth or one-sixth of the U.S. population, they accounted for more than half of the total executions of that era.

These statistics do not simply reflect different criminality among racial groups, but they are also a manifestation of biased criminal justice system. For instance, in colonial and antebellum Virginia, more than sixty-eight offenses could result in death penalty only for slaves and free blacks (Higginbotham & Jacobs, 1992; p.977). Higginbotham and Jacobs (1992) particularly focus on the discrepancies in punishment for rape cases. In Virginia, a white man could receive up to twenty years imprisonment

for raping a white woman, while the same offense could lead a free black man to receive death penalty. This discrepancy is not limited to the colonial and antebellum era, but remained until modern times; as Higginbotham and Jacobs found, “between 1908 and 1962, every man executed for rape in Virginia was black.” (p.1060)

In addition to racial minorities such as African-Americans and Native Americans, some subsets of Anglo-Americans (e.g., Irish, Italian, and Polish immigrants and the labor class) were also discriminated against by law enforcement (Cole, 1999; Harring, 1983). Enactment and enforcement of the Prohibition Law, for instance, had an intention to incapacitate immigrant political machines that were based on saloons (Harring, 1983; Walker, 1998).

Based on the historical discrimination of the immigrant Anglo-Americans by the capitalist-supported police, Marxist scholars including Sydney Harring characterize the U.S. law enforcement as a controlling function, working for the capitalist ruling class. While this perspective contrasts with liberal scholars’ characterization of a democratic American law enforcement, both perspectives share the idea that American law enforcement has been discriminatory. In *What I Saw in America*, G. K. Chesterton (1922, 2008; p. 165), an English writer and journalist, described the Prohibition Law in the U.S. as a controlling method for the labor class, harmonizing the two different perspectives:

No steps are taken to stop the drinking of the rich, chiefly because the rich now make all the rules and therefore all the exceptions, but partly because nobody ever could feel the full moral seriousness of this particular rule. And the truth is, as I have indicated, that it was originally established as an exception and not as a rule. The emancipated negro was an exception in

the community, and a certain plan was, rightly or wrongly, adopted to meet his case. A law was made professedly for everybody and practically only for him. Prohibition is only important as marking the transition by which the trick, tried successfully on black labour, could be extended to all labour.

As Chesterton (2008 [1922]) pointed out, despite the law's ostensible neutrality, which should apply equally to everybody, it actually targeted particular subsets of Americans and was only selectively enforced. For instance, a common feature of the witch hunts, slave patrols, and Prohibition is that these practices were performed for the purpose of controlling particular populations rather than controlling deviant behavior itself; thus, they disproportionately increased official surveillance against racial or political minorities. This observation is even supported by Marxist historians who have different perspectives from liberal scholars (e.g., Samuel Walker) regarding law enforcement history. That is, Marxist historians also assert that the law enforcement has served only part of the population (e.g., capitalists), and has suppressed and controlled the others (e.g., laborers)(Harring, 1983).

### 3.1.2. POPULAR JUSTICE TODAY: DISPROPORTIONATE ENFORCEMENT OF IMPARTIAL LAW

Chesterton's findings, written about one hundred years ago, seem to be true in the current era as well. As institutionalized discrimination had disappeared and as the Supreme Court has repealed law enforcement practices that may be carried out in a discriminatory manner (e.g., the fleeing felon rule), American law and law enforcement



policies have become ostensibly fair and impartial; however, police practice still targets disadvantaged groups such as African-Americans and immigrants.

Researchers have found that African-Americans are more likely than whites to be stopped and arrested on the streets or while driving (Black & Reiss, 1970; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Fagan et al., 2009; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; Warren et al., 2010). For instance, Fagan and colleagues (2009) examined a sample of New York residents and found that African-Americans were about eight times more likely to be stopped by police than whites, and Hispanics were four times more likely to be stopped than whites. In a similar vein, many other studies have found that African-American or Hispanic male drivers have a higher probability than whites of being stopped by police (Harris, 1997; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; Warren et al., 2010). For individuals at the intersection of a minority race and gender—African American females in particular—it is more difficult to pass airport screenings than racial and gender majorities may think. The U.S. General Accounting Office (2000) found that African-American females are nine times more likely to be X-ray searched by the TSA when compared to white females, although white females are almost twice as likely as African-American females to have X-rays test positive for banned items and substances.

Police do not simply enforce laws against racial minorities disproportionately, but they also mistreat minorities (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Department of Justice, 2016; Weitzer & Brunson, 2009; Waddington & Braddock, 1991). Brunson and Weitzer (2009) studied juveniles from three different disadvantaged neighborhoods in St. Louis, MO. They found that, in comparison with juveniles from a white-dominated neighborhood, juveniles from a minority neighborhood or a mixed-race neighborhood were more likely

to claim that police verbally and physically abused them. They reported that some officers even planted fake evidence (e.g., a bag of illegal substance) in their pockets. Furthermore, a recent report on an investigation of the Baltimore police (Department of Justice, 2016) also found that police are not only intentionally profiling racial minorities, but they have used excessive force against minorities and retaliated against minority individuals who demanded their constitutional rights.

Since the 9/11 attack, the scope of law enforcement discrimination and mistreatment has extended to Middle Easterners (Maclin, 2003), who are not only suspected of being terrorists, but are even being framed by law enforcement (Love, 2009; Ravich, 2007).

Considering the categorization of unfair treatment by police in the current paper, racial minorities are victimized both by police discrimination (e.g., racial profiling) and aggressiveness (e.g., excessive use of force). Some people attribute the cause of the disparity to different criminality among racial groups rather than to racial discrimination (H. MacDonald, 2003). They argue that African-Americans are overrepresented as clients of criminal justice simply because criminal behaviors are more prevalent among African-Americans than among other racial groups.

However, others accuse this argument of committing a circular error (Walker & Katz, 2012). That is, historical discrimination against racial minorities has destroyed minority communities, resulting in criminogenic social conditions (e.g., shortage of quality jobs, mistrust of law enforcement, and loss of family providers due to mass incarceration).

Moreover, in some types of crimes, African-Americans are still overrepresented even after accounting for the prevalence of the behaviors. According to recent report from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU; Edwards, Bunting, & Garcia, 2013), marijuana use among 18- to 25-years-olds over the past twelve months was slightly higher for whites than for African-Americans; but between 2005 and 2010, arrest rates for African-Americans accused of marijuana possession were more than three times higher than those of whites.

Still, this differential treatment by police may be attributed to neighborhood or situational characteristics. Disadvantaged neighborhoods, where the proportion of racial minorities tends to be high, may have higher crime rates and, thus, influence differential police tactics (e.g., hot-spot policing on the disadvantaged neighborhoods due to their high crime rates). Alternately, there may be a systematic difference in the characteristics of criminal incidents (e.g., citizen hostility and seriousness of crime) according to race, which in turn may influence differential treatment by police (Pope & Snyder, 2003).

However, characteristics of neighborhoods or incidents do not completely negate the differential treatment of police according to race (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Fagan et al., 2009). The U.S. General Accounting Office's (2000) report that is discussed above is also noteworthy because the confounding effect of neighborhoods can be removed by an airport context. That is, in an airport setting, differential law enforcement treatment according to neighborhood attributes is impossible, and variations of socio-economic status between racial groups may be relatively moderate compared with those of the general population. In this setting, despite the lack of neighborhood effect, African-

American and Hispanic females are almost twice as likely to be searched by law enforcement officers as are white females.

To reiterate, the history of discriminatory policing in America can be traced back to the Colonial Era, and racial minorities are still victimized by disproportionate enforcement of the law today. While the most frequent victims of police discrimination are African-Americans, other minorities, such as Hispanics and Middle-easterners, also experience unfair treatment by police more frequently than do racial majorities.

### 3.1.3. LEGITIMACY OF POPULAR JUSTICE: LAW ENFORCEMENT AS JANIFORM AUTHORITY

In *the authority of law: essays on law and morality*, Raz's (2009) classifies authorities into three groups: "people or groups who exert naked power," "de facto authorities," and "legitimate authorities" (p.9, p.128). For "naked power" authorities, establishment of right to rule is not a significant task; while de facto authorities claim that they have the right to rule; and legitimate authorities are acknowledged by others as having the right to rule (Raz, 1985; 2009). This is not an exclusive categorization and more than one category may apply to a single authority. For instance, most legitimate authorities are commonly de facto authorities.

This status of authority varies according to individuals' membership, especially racial/ethnic affiliation in the U.S. Historically, American law enforcement has existed as naked power and/or de facto authority for racial minorities, whereas, for racial majorities, the law enforcement has been considered de facto and/or legitimate authority. These contrasting images of law enforcement are reasonable considering the fact that the

founders of the U.S. were mainstream Anglo-Americans, and they created law enforcement to serve them rather than to serve every occupant of the U.S. (Harring, 1983; Higginbotham & Jacobs, 1992) For instance, the South established slave patrols in order to control African-American slaves (Reichel, 1988; Turner et al., 2006), the Pennsylvania State Police was created for the purpose of controlling the labor class (Mayo, 1918), and the Texas Rangers suppressed Mexicans and Indians on behalf of frontier pioneers (Samora et al., 1979).

Partly because of this ingrained attribute in U.S. law enforcement, the type of legitimacy (naked power, de facto, or legitimate authority) of an authority may be perceived differently according to an individuals' racial or social membership. Although mainstream Americans of various time periods should have been able to trust the legitimacy of their authorities, African-Americans, Mexicans, Indians, and the labor class of various time periods could view the authorities as exerting naked power.

Only relatively recently has American law enforcement begun attempting to serve as a legitimate authority for racial minorities. Affirmative action has been adopted to hire racial minorities, police-community relations are emphasized, and community policing has been initiated (Radelet & Reed, 1973; Stokes & Scott, 1996; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990). Despite these efforts, given the current tensions and conflicts between police and minority communities, police are not acknowledged by racial minorities as fully legitimate authorities.

## 3.2. RELATIONS BETWEEN POLICE AND RACIAL GROUPS

### 3.2.1. INTERNALIZATION OF DISCRIMINATION

Racial minorities have long been discriminated against by various social institutions such as politics, criminal justice, education, employment, and the real estate market (Higginbotham & Jacobs, 1992; Maclin, 1998; Meier et al., 1989; Zhao et al., 2006). Given African-Americans' unique experience, scholars find a distinctive status of African-Americans from other ethnic minority Americans who came from European countries; and they propose theories of internal colonialism by pointing out similarities in political, social, cultural, and economic conditions (e.g., power dominance by colonizers, coerced acculturation, and racism) between African-American communities and the colonized societies (Blauner, 1969; Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Cruse, 1962). In this perspective of internal colonialism, the U.S. criminal justice system has served as means to concretize the colonizer-colonized relations between racial majorities and minorities (Texeira, 1995).

This section aims to theorize how individual racial minorities internalize these conditions of internal colonialism or popular justice. The long history of racial prejudice and discrimination predisposes racial minorities to consider themselves targets of discrimination, to feel powerless, to justify the current system, and to tolerate injustice (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Shelton et al., 2005; Toorn et al., 2014).

In this section, I argue that police discrimination and prejudice, in conjunction with racial bias imposed on racial minorities from other institutions, are associated with these psycho-cognitive issues (perceptions of being targeted, feeling powerless, and tolerating/justifying injustice) and ultimately lead to asymmetrical relations.

### 3.2.1.1. RECOGNIZING ONESELF AS A TARGET OF POLICE DISCRIMINATION

Racial profiling and other unfair treatment by police make racial minorities believe that they are targets of police discrimination or prejudice (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Radelet & Reed, 1973; Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008). African-Americans believe that police and other law enforcement authorities (e.g., the TSA) utilize race as an important criterion for stop, search and arrest. In addition, African-American juveniles and young adults claim that police monitor and harass young African-American males in their communities without justification (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Gabbidon et al., 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999, 2002). Compared to whites, Hispanics or Latinos are also more likely to perceive a prevalence of police profiling and to have experienced police discrimination (Mucchetti, 2005; Reitzel et al., 2004; Rice et al., 2005).

In this respect, the expressions “driving while black” and “driving while brown” were coined as a way of indicating the perception that racial minorities are targets of police. Weitzer and Tuch (2002) examined a representative sample of continental U.S. residents and found that more than 80% of African-Americans believe that racial profiling against motorists is widespread. Rice and colleagues (2005) report that, among a sample of adult New York City residents, more than 85% of African-Americans (Black Hispanic and Black non-Hispanic) and 79% of non-Black Hispanics believe racial profiling is widespread. These two studies (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Rice et al., 2005) also reported that, among racial minorities, approximately half believe that they have personally experienced police contact that seemed related to racial profiling. That is,

while about half of racial minorities have direct experience of racial profiling, the vast majority of them believe that racial profiling against minorities is prevalent.

Strong perception of the prevalence of racial profiling can be related to racial minorities' feelings of being targeted by police because, in many cases, individuals' racial or ethnic membership is easily detected by their appearance. A New York Times interview with an African-American father describes a dialogue between the African-American father and his son regarding concern about police profiling:

Dwight Raiford, a black Citibank banker, has the usual parental misgivings about buying his 17-year-old son a nice car eventually after he gets his driver's license. His son has his own concerns.

"He said, 'Dad, I know I'm going to be stopped,' " Mr. Raiford recalled. His son is afraid the police will suspect him of driving a stolen car. "We decided he'll carry my business card to say to the police, 'You can call my father if you like.' "

In black and Hispanic homes across New York, from the hardscrabble tenements of the South Bronx to the genteel row houses on the Raifords' Harlem block, mistrust, even fear, of the police is a fact of life.

In this surprisingly calm dialogue about racial profiling, the son recognized himself as a potential target of the law enforcement and his father did not deny his son's anticipation that he will be a target of police racial profiling, but rather let him prepare for the stop.

Durr (2015; p.3) says that African-Americans have continued to experience the "Nigger Moment," that is, "the time when you realize your social position and location in



society comes down to your skin color, embedded in White perceptions, and stereotypes that continue to live, despite the respite of canopies.” That is, the “Nigger Moment” is not exclusive to the disadvantaged African-Americans, but also affects middle-class African-Americans and individuals who have physical characteristics that distinguish them from Anglo-Americans (Allen, 2013; Niemann et al., 1999). For instance, Niemann and colleagues (1999) interviewed 49 people of Mexican descent in America and reported that Mexican-Americans believe that they are targeted by police and that “the black hair of Mexicans” makes police officers stop them.

In addition, despite continual efforts of African-American middle-class families to escape the ghettos, their efforts often come to nothing due to spatial reintegration of middle-class African-American communities and ghettos (Pattillo-McCoy, 2000; Pattillo, 2003) and due to the mainstream society’s racial stereotype that symbolically connects young African-American males or all African-American communities with ghettos (Allen, 2013; Pattillo, 2003; Durr, 2015). In fact, middle-class African-American male students report that they are assumed to be inferior so that they tend to be mistreated by teachers (Allen, 2013; pp.179-182). Allen (2013; p.183) also argues that “Black middle-class families are more likely to report racial discrimination and assume that Whites negatively stereotype Blacks.”

In fact, the three expressions, “The black hair of Mexicans,” “driving while black,” and “driving while brown,” are related to visual characteristics of racial or ethnic minorities and manifest the continuing and widespread discrimination against particular racial/ethnic groups. Therefore, as racial minorities suspect that their race as manifested

by skin color can be considered “probable cause” of crime by the police, they may strongly feel that they are moving targets and victims of police discrimination.

This perception of being the target of police prejudice may limit racial minorities’ behavior. As Berg and colleagues (2016) argue, both police and racial minorities have created stereotypes to represent each other, and these stereotypes may drive how they act toward each other. That is, racial minorities’ idea that police are prejudiced and discriminate against minorities is an *a priori* relational premise that may restrict behavioral options that minorities can take against (expected) attitudes or actions of police.

Since the recognition of oneself as a target of police discrimination is an *a priori* relational premise of the target, it defines the initial response – or the lack of response – in relation to police. For example, given two individuals, one white and one African-American, who both consider police officers performing DUI checks to be illegitimate, an African-American who considers him or herself as a target of police discrimination may show greater compliance behavior to avoid further trouble, while a white individual who believes that the officer would not use unreasonable force may keep his or her windows rolled up. In a similar vein, African-American juveniles often report that they flee from police officers not because they have done something wrong but because they want to fully avoid potential harassment by the police officers (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009).

### 3.2.1.2. POWERLESSNESS

Racial minorities may feel powerless in relation to police due to consistent experiences or expectations of police discrimination (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Kane,

2002; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). The power imbalance between police and racial minorities is quite definite. Police have arresting power, and they can legally use force against citizens if necessary. However, racial minorities (as well as racial majorities) do not have this authority. In addition, minorities' political and social influence is relatively weak compared to that of majorities, leading to racial minorities' greater sense of powerlessness (Ross et al., 2001; Stephanopoulos, 2015). Racial minorities' complaints about police misconduct are frequently ignored by the police, and sometimes their complaints result in severe retaliations (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Department of Justice, 2016; Weitzer & Brunson, 2009). Immigrant minorities have even less power, so that "[t]hey [immigrant Mexicans, for instance,] believe that they cannot complain about injustices with the freedom with which Anglo-Americans and Blacks can." (Niemann et al., 1999; p.54)

The feeling of powerless that racial minorities, whose appearances are distinguished from white Anglo-Saxons, currently experience may be greater than ethnic minorities of the U.S. from various European countries. While Americans of ethnic minorities (e.g., Irish and Italians) from European countries came to the U.S. as immigrants and formed the labor class, African-Americans were brought to America as slaves, and the relations between white and African-Americans can be compared to the "colonizer and colonized." (Blauner, 1969, p.393) In other words, African-Americans have experienced mainstream societies' power dominance (Blauner, 1969), whereas ethnic minorities from European countries may have only experienced power difference between them and the mainstream. In addition, ethnic differences and identities are symbolic and something that individuals can "give up" or temporarily retract from others

considering social or economic conditions (Gans, 1979, p.13; Blauner, 1969); however, in many cases, racial differences are fairly entrenched and hard to hide. That is, the initial associations of white ethnic minorities and racial minorities, African-Americans in particular, to mainstream societies are totally different; and racial minorities are vulnerable to victimization of prejudice and stereotypes due to their telltale appearance.

Although the feeling of being discriminated against may arouse some criminogenic anger (Agnew, 2001), this power difference may prevent racial minorities from violently externalizing their emotions. Brunson and Weitzer's (2009) study shows that African-American juveniles comply with officers' orders even when they believe that the orders violate their constitutional rights, since they believe that challenging the authorities will result in worse treatment. That is, racial minorities believe that their decisions, which are based on normative judgments about police, may potentially result in fatal retaliation due to their power difference (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Niemann et al., 1999). The "voluntary" interviews with Middle Easterners after the September 11 attacks can be seen as another example of how the powerless reacts against injustice. After the attacks, 4,793 people from mostly Middle Eastern countries received a letter from U.S. Attorney Jeffrey Collins:

As you may know, law enforcement officers and federal agents have been acquiring information that may be helpful in determining the persons responsible for the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. ... I am asking that you assist us in this important investigation. ... We have no reason to believe that you are, in any way, associated with terrorist activities. Nevertheless, you may know something

that could be helpful in our efforts. ... While this interview is voluntary, it is crucial that the investigation be broad-based and thorough, and the interview is important to achieve that goal. We need to hear from you as soon as possible -- by December 4 (United States General Accounting Office, 2003).

While the Attorney alleged in the letter that the interview is “voluntary,” the request was neither fair nor impartial; and the legitimacy of the request has been questioned by media, scholars (Harris, 2006; Maclin, 2003), and the U.S. Congress (United State General Accounting Office, 2003). Although the procedure and legitimacy of the request were quite questionable, only a few of the individuals who could be located turned down the request. The GAO’s report (2003) suggests that “8 out of 313 individuals in the Eastern District of Michigan, 1 out of 69 individuals in Oregon, and 1 out of 59 individuals in Minnesota refused to be interviewed ” (p.13). That is, the majority complied with the request regardless of its legitimacy or procedural fairness. The report (GAO, 2003) states that the individuals who complied did worry about the potential consequence of refusal; their compliance seems to have been pressured by the naked power or coerciveness, rather than the legitimacy, of the authority.

Compared to racial minorities, racial majorities may feel greater efficacy and confidence in relation to political or governmental authorities (Stephanopoulos, 2015). As previously suggested, white citizens consider police to be their allies and friends; whereas African-Americans tend to view police as bullies and occupying forces (Anderson, 2000; Waddington and Braddock, 1991; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). These different images of police may reflect the varying power structures that exist between police and different

racial/ethnic groups, and may influence individuals' interactions with police and different assumptions and interpretations of police behavior.

### 3.2.1.3. TOLERATING AND JUSTIFYING POLICE DISCRIMINATION

Lastly, because of the large power gap between police and minorities, racial minorities may tolerate and even justify the current discriminatory system. It is not historically or socially unusual for targets of discrimination to tolerate the harassment. African-American slaves were often described as docile and submissive (Genovese, 1967; Staples, 1971); Japanese-Americans under internment during World War II produced war supplies and entered military service to prove their loyalty to the U.S., which had deprived the internees of their freedom (Becker, 2013; Ng, 2002; pp.61-76); and, almost all Middle Easterners who received the letter from U.S. Attorney Jeffrey Collins requesting "voluntary" interview participated in the investigation (United States General Accounting Office, 2003).

Despite occasional riots and resistance movements, discriminatory practices remain in place, and they continue to oppress individuals who belong to particular racial or ethnic subsets or the working class (Harring, 1983). Moreover, continual imposition of discrimination and the process of colonization have weakened "individual and collective will to resist ... oppression." (Blauner, 1969, p.399) In a similar vein, Higginbotham and Jacobs (1992) also argue that the system of slavery continuously enforced slaves' feelings of powerlessness so that the slaves would "be submissive and dependent in every respect, not only to the master, but to whites in general." (p. 975)

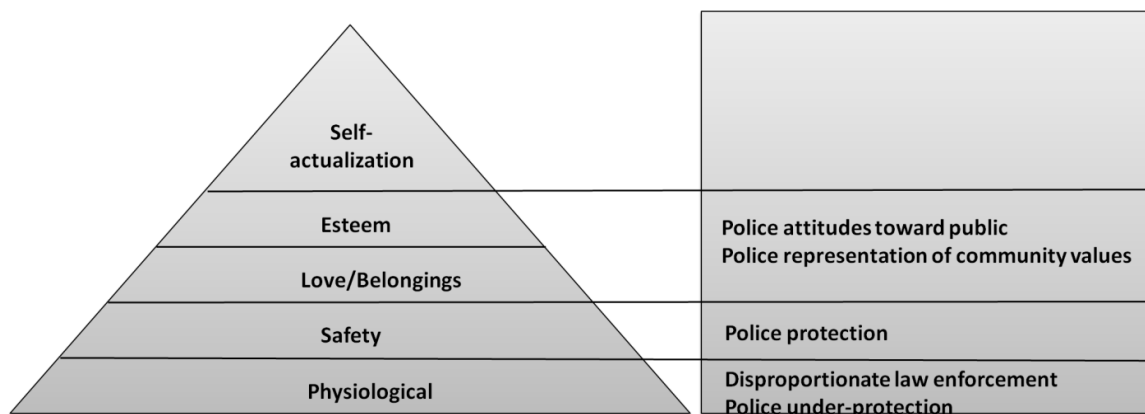
In the area of law enforcement, one reason minorities tolerate discriminatory policing is that they need the police's authority to protect them from actual criminals.

Harring (1983) considers this phenomenon to be an intentional design; from the observation of late 19<sup>th</sup> century policing, he argues that the police publicized their efforts to fight serious crimes in order to establish the legitimacy of their authority; and that they then harassed and controlled the labor class by enforcing minor offenses such as spitting on the ground. In this way, minorities may be forced to legitimize police despite their aggressiveness. Weitzer and Brunson (2009) also found that while some young racial minorities are wary of police patrolling in their neighborhoods, others still want police to maintain order in their neighborhoods. Moreover, young minorities admit that even though they perceive the officers to be unfair, there are incidents when they need police involvement.

More significantly, racial minorities tolerate discrimination because challenging the practice potentially puts their lives at risk. Racial minorities have observed that their community leaders were harassed by law enforcement (Cureton, 2009; p.356; Walker, 1998; p. 174); and, they have heard and seen that their families and friends were treated ruthlessly by police. For racial minorities, an encounter with the police by itself can be equated with some form of harassment (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009).

The recently released story of Lt. Tim McMillan shows how African-Americans are afraid of police stops. One day in the fall of 2016, Lt. McMillan stopped African-American teens in Garden City, Georgia. He described the voice of a “genuinely scared” driver as “quivering,” and the “shaken” driver even asked the officer, “Do you want me to get out of the car?” The question of the African-American driver implies his acceptance of and submission to expected harassment from the police officer.

Perceived brutality and discrimination by police may prevent police from being efficient by reducing legitimacy; however, instant and violent resistance may be rare events because keeping one's life precedes keeping one's dignity. Considering Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs (Figure 3.1), citizens' relations with police may involve safety and esteem needs. In other words, police provide protection services (safety needs), and citizens want to be respectfully treated by police (esteem needs). However, for racial minorities, African-Americans in particular, relations with police are strongly associated with physiological needs (e.g., surviving the potentially fatal force of the police and avoiding deprivation of physical freedom), which are the most fundamental needs of human beings. Thus, racial minorities may be pressured into tolerating injustice since fulfillment of esteem needs—which may be strongly associated with normative aspects of police—can be less urgent than survival.



**Figure 3.1. Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs and related concepts in policing**

In addition to tolerance of injustice, system justification theory explains that racial minorities and disadvantaged people who are powerless in societies tend to approve of



and even justify unfair social systems rather than challenging them (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2004; Van de Toorn et al., 2014). This does not mean that racial minorities directly justify racial profiling and discrimination; rather, they accept police right to rule as de facto authority.

Ross and colleagues (2001; p.572) further explain that the powerless are “unable to recover from mistaken complacency.” Since racial minorities are vulnerable to drastic social change and have fewer political, legal, and material resources (Anderson, 2000; Niemann et al., 1999; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993), they may prefer the status quo rather than social change that requires great costs.

Regarding law enforcement legitimacy, Sunshine and Tyler’s (2003) study of New York citizens found that, compared to white citizens, African-Americans and Hispanics are more likely to consider police to be legitimate, controlling for various factors including perceived procedural justice and demographic characteristics (p. 533, p.534) . Also, Lee and colleagues (2010, 2011) found that, among African-American juvenile offenders, juveniles with strong racial identity have greater perceived police legitimacy than other African-American juveniles, even though they perceive greater police discrimination.

While some scholars argue that the experiences and history of African-Americans are unique, so that their criminal behaviors cannot be accounted for by general explanations of crime (Unnver & Gabbidon, 2011), as Blauner (1969; p.393) claims, “Afro-Americans share [the experience of colonization] with many of the non-white people of the world.” This paper also takes the approach that the psycho-behavioral

reactions of minorities to discrimination can be generalized. That is, the three mechanisms suggested in this paper (perception of being targets of discrimination, a feeling of powerlessness, and tolerance/justification of injustice) may be shared among various racial, ethnic, and political minorities in the U.S. and other societies. These mechanisms may then predispose racial minorities to internalize police discrimination and prejudice as instrumental factors that potentially threaten their security.

By contrast, racial majorities view unfair treatment by police as a practice that is usually directed at minorities and does not pose fatal risks to the majorities' own lives. In other words, racial majorities are less likely to experience feeling of being targeted and powerlessness in their relations with police. Thus, the majorities may be more likely to place the unfair treatment of minorities in the same category as other normative issues involving the police force.

Frederick Douglass's (2014; p.343-344) essay anecdotally but impressively summarizes us the process of internalization of prejudice and discrimination experienced by racial minorities:

On applying for a passage to England, on board the Cambria-, of the Cunard line, my friend, James N. Buffum, of Lynn, Massachusetts, was informed that I could not be received on board as a cabin passenger. American prejudice against color triumphed over British liberality and civilization, and erected a color test and condition for crossing the sea in the cabin of a British vessel. The insult was keenly felt by my white friends, but to me, it was common, expected, and therefore, a thing of no great consequence, whether I went in the cabin or in the steerage.

Moreover, I felt that if I could not go into the first cabin, first-cabin passengers could come into the second cabin, and the result justified my anticipations to the fullest extent.

Although the context of boarding a ship was new to Douglass, it is apparent that he was used to discriminatory treatment, to being submissive in the face of discriminatory authority without losing his dignity, and to justifying the situations. While many racial majorities may show great anger about racial discrimination, the discrimination, as he says, is something common and highly expected among racial and ethnic minorities; and it is something that requires rational and composed decisions to avoid and not to become a victim of fatal abuse.

### 3.2.2. REPRODUCTION OF THE INTERNALIZATION

Racial socialization and neighborhood processes are significant mechanisms that transfer these internalizations to the larger population of racial minorities and to succeeding generations, and they also influence reactions against police prejudice and discrimination.

#### 3.2.2.1. RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

Racial socialization of discrimination is prevalent among racial minorities. Racial socialization studies show that minority parents, African-Americans in particular, teach their children about racial discrimination and societal bias, and that they prepare their children to overcome these obstacles (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Ward, 1991). In some cases, recognition of being a target of societal or police mistreatment can be inculcated by the minority parents. For instance, a

TED speech by Clint Smith<sup>1</sup>, an African-American doctoral candidate at Harvard University, describes one aspect of the racial socialization:

I think of how one night, when I was around 12 years old, on an overnight field trip to another city, my friends and I bought Super Soakers and turned the hotel parking lot into our own water-filled battle zone. We hid behind cars, running through the darkness that lay between the streetlights, boundless laughter ubiquitous across the pavement. But within 10 minutes, my father came outside, grabbed me by my forearm and led me into our room with an unfamiliar grip. Before I could say anything, tell him how foolish he had made me look in front of my friends, he derided me for being so naive. Looked me in the eye, fear consuming his face, and said, *"Son, I'm sorry, but you can't act the same as your white friends. You can't pretend to shoot guns. You can't run around in the dark. You can't hide behind anything other than your own teeth."* (Emphasis is mine)

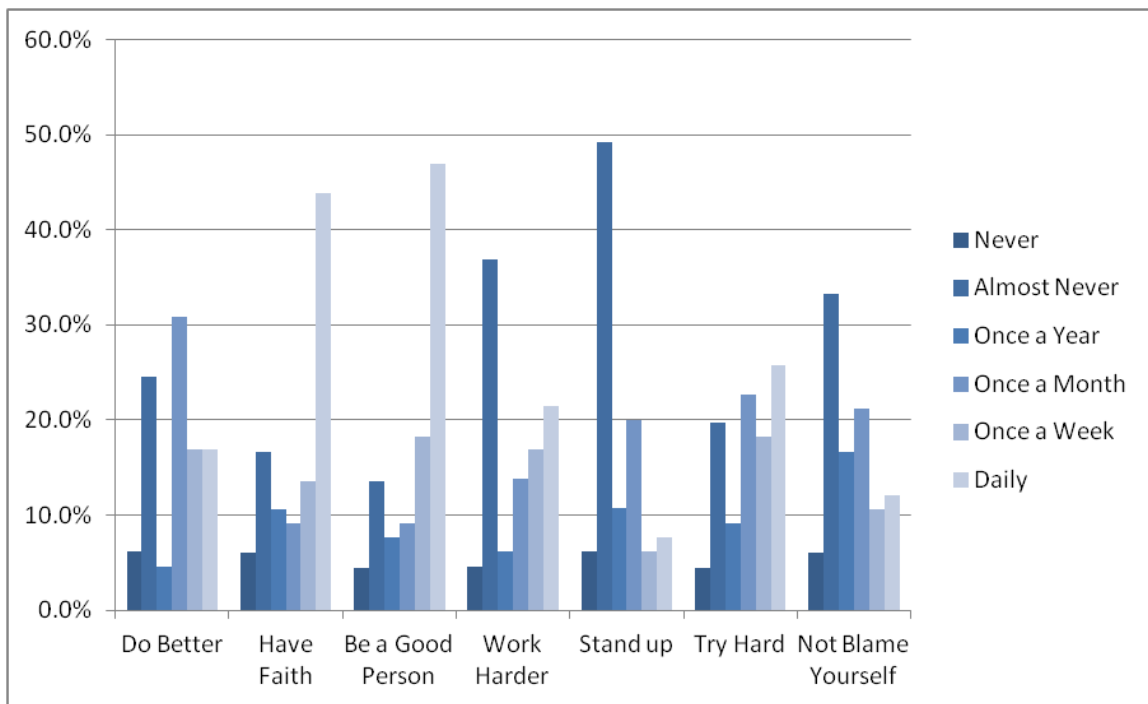
For racial/ethnic minority kids, sermon like this example may be deemed a cliché, but the principle of being targeted by society become deeply internalized, even though the kids become tired of the repeated sermon from their parents.

Frabutt and colleagues' (2002) findings are noteworthy in showing that African-American mothers tend not to teach their children to stand up and demand their rights in the face of racial discrimination. They studied African-American early adolescents and their mothers in two midsized cities in the southeastern U.S. As Figure 3.2 describes, the authors found that about half (49.2%) of the mothers "almost never" taught their children

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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.ted.com/talks/clint\\_smith\\_how\\_to\\_raise\\_a\\_black\\_son\\_in\\_america](https://www.ted.com/talks/clint_smith_how_to_raise_a_black_son_in_america)

to stand up and demand their rights, whereas about 60% of the mothers frequently (once a month, once a week, or daily) suggested their children do better than everyone else in school (64.6%), have faith in God (55.6%), do their best to be good people (74.3%), work harder than others (52.2%), and try hard to get along with other people (66.7%). Although discrimination is misconduct by society or individuals that weakens those parties' legitimacy, many African-American mothers believe that challenging discrimination is not a favorable option; so instead they suggest more personal and indirect solutions for confronting biases. The most frequent daily suggestions were found to be doing one's best (47.0%) and having faith in God (43.9%).



**Figure 3.2. African-American mothers' advice against racial discrimination for their children**

A significant component of racial minorities' socialization is to avoid adverse treatment by police through sound or submissive methods instead of a direct challenge, even when they face seemingly discriminatory stops and accusations by police. These socializations by their parents may predispose children to adopt and endure unjust societal conditions, rather than to challenge them directly. Given that adolescence is a significant developmental period during which juveniles form perceptions and attitudes regarding police (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Taylor et al., 2001), minority adolescents may internalize unfavorable but somewhat submissive attitudes against police through racial socialization.

#### 3.2.2.2. NEIGHBORHOOD AND MEDIA EFFECTS

Neighborhoods and the media play an important role in the continuation of internalization. The media facilitates vicarious but vivid and continual exposure to police discrimination (e.g., news reports about Rodney King and Michael Brown), and social media and the internet provide forums for individuals to discuss and share their emotions and stories (Gil de Zúñiga et. al., 2012; Hermida et al., 2012; Hitlin & Vogt, 2014). The increase in exposure to news about police discrimination may reinforce racial minorities' perceptions of being targeted by the police.

The role of social media has increased with development of mobile video recording system (e.g., iPhones). Individuals can instantly record police misconduct and release the clip to a larger audience. One significant contribution of this phenomena is to hold police officers accountable (Newell, 2014); however, among racial minorities, it may also arouse fear and feeling of being targeted by police. In fact, although the "Black Lives Matter" movement that encourages individuals to use the "#BlackLivesMatter"

hashtag on Twitter was initiated in July 2013, it had almost no impact until the video was released of the fatal victimizations of Eric Garner and Michael Brown by police (Hitlin & Vogt, 2014). According to Hitlin and Vogt (2014), usage of the hashtag peaked at about 200,000 on the day that the prosecutor declared no indictment would be handed down in the Michael Brown case. Although the meaning behind the high hashtag count is somewhat ambiguous (e.g., fear of victimization, reinforcement of feelings of targeting by police, or anger against police use of force), it is clear that victimization of racial minorities by police instantly and vividly spreads today on a national scale in comparison with the old days that we relied on printed news and cable news programs.

In addition to the media, neighborhood processes may facilitate internalization among minority communities. Members of neighborhoods, churches, and families frequently share their stories and ideas about police and discrimination. Given that the majority of African-Americans (70%) and Hispanics (63%) visit churches at least once a month (Gallup, 2009; cf, Non-Hispanic whites for 52%), churches may play an important role in spreading neighborhood affairs including unpleasant encounters with police. According to Feagin and Sikes (1994), these repeated direct and vicarious experiences of discrimination “are stored not only in individual memories but also in family stories and group recollections.” (p. 16) Thus, regardless of whether individual minorities have direct experiences with unfair police treatment, they still may feel that racial profiling and discrimination are prevalent, and that they are targets of the police. Moreover, neighborhood characteristics may even influence reactions to police mistreatment.

## CHAPTER 4

### INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL REACTIONS TO POLICE PREJUDICE

Gordon Allport (1979; pp. 142-161) put forth various reactions of victims against prejudice: ego defenses, obsessive concern, denial of membership, passivity, clowning, strengthening in-group ties, cunning, aggression, prejudice against out-groups, and so on. As he suggested, reactions to prejudice are not uniform; rather there are great variations. Some reactions are related to violent resistance, whereas others are associated with submission to the prejudice.

In this section, I theorize individual reactions against police prejudice utilizing criminal decision-making theories. It should be noted that the interest of the current study is *individual-level* criminal reactions against police prejudice or *expected* police discrimination, rather than individual reactions against the *experience* of discrimination or *aggregate-level* reactions against police prejudice.

While the most visible reactions of police prejudice may be protests and riots (Examples of protests and riots are in Walker, 1998, Harrings, 1983, and Aptheker, 1937), as Robinson (1950) noted earlier, group-level phenomena do not properly explain individual behaviors. For instance, one well-known reaction of slaves to prejudice and discrimination was revolts. Aptheker (1937; p.514) explains that revolts occurred when either or both of these conditions were met: economic depression or “some unusual excitement concerning slavery.” Thus, a change in the number of revolts may result from social and political changes, rather than from changes in individual traits. In addition,



unique precursors of revolts further imply that most of the time individual African-American slaves simply adjusted and endured discrimination and prejudice. This does not mean that individual slaves did not react or struggle against discrimination other than participating in revolts; however, the most favorable individual-level options were submission, flight, and enlistment, resulting in the Sambo stereotype of docility and childish slaves (Aptheker, 1937; Elkins, 1961; Genovese, 1967). That is, prejudice and discrimination did result in violent revolts and protests; however, their impact on individual life decisions should be distinguished from the group-level behavior of the targets.

The current paper also distinguishes reactions to *prejudice and expected discrimination* from reactions to the *experience* of discrimination. The experience of unfair treatment by police seems to have a criminogenic effect for racial minorities, while the current paper argues that perceived police prejudice or expected police discrimination may deter criminal behavior for racial minorities. For example, Unnever (2016) examined the interaction effects of experiences of police discrimination and race on externalizing behaviors (e.g., threatening to hurt people; screaming; and being stubborn, sullen or irritable). The results show that, compared to white juveniles, African-American juveniles have more positive and stronger associations between experiences of police discrimination and externalizing behaviors. Similarly, Caldwell and colleagues (2004) found, from a sample of 325 African-American young adults, that experience of racial discrimination is a strong predictor of violence. That is, these studies show that experiences of discrimination have a criminogenic effect rather than a deterrent effect.

Although these findings seem to contradict the arguments of the current paper, in that they show a criminogenic effect on racial minorities who experienced unfair police treatment, the effect of an experience of discrimination on criminality can differ from the effect of an expectation of prejudice or discrimination. The expectation of police discrimination or prejudice is an *a priori* relational assumption of individuals, while the experience of discrimination is an *a posteriori* end product of the relations. Much as the effect of perceived risk of being punished may differ from the effect of actual punishment (Fagan & Meares, 2008; Sherman, 1993), the perception and experience of unfair police treatment may produce different effects on criminality. That is, the actual experience of police discrimination may stimulate significant criminogenic emotions and strain, while the risk of police discrimination may generate a relatively moderate level of these reactions.

In addition, the measure of perceptions of police prejudice has another benefit. By use of the PPP, I am able to include racial majorities in this research. That is, when researchers utilize measures of experience of police discrimination, they automatically exclude racial majorities because most racial majorities have never been discriminated against by police due to their race.

While researchers have frequently examined the ways in which the U.S. penal system pressures minorities, the advantages gained by majorities due to these discriminatory practices has gone largely unexplored despite the criminogenic implications. Higginbotham and Jacobs (1992, p.979) examine this subject by referencing two historical methods of discrimination : the frequent escape of white murderers of slaves from punishment and planters' cruel treatment of their slaves. As Higginbotham

and Jacobs note, the lack of punishment against planters would encourage them to utilize violent and fatal methods to control slaves, including branding, stabbing and torture.

#### 4.1. THEORIES OF CRIMINAL DECISION MAKING

In this section, I propose a theory of criminal decision-making considering normative and instrumental aspects of the criminal decision-making process. Then I discuss the role of individuals' perceptions of police prejudice in this decision-making process.

##### 4.1.1. NORMATIVE DECISIONS VS. INSTRUMENTAL DECISIONS

Scholars, particularly economists and classical school theorists in criminology, have assumed the rationality of man (Clarke & Felson, 1993; Etzioni, 1988; Simon, 1982; Piliavin et al., 1986). They argue that throughout the instrumental decision-making process, individuals choose their behavior based on factors such as evaluations of the costs and benefits of various behavioral options. Individuals ultimately decide on one of many options that can maximize utility (benefits minus costs). For instance, if several car dealers near your residence have a car that you want to purchase, you may choose the dealership that has the lowest price or that provides the best service when compared with the price. This rational choice is considered the default model for human decision making. In fact, it seems that individuals make decisions based on rationality in many areas of societies, such as stock markets, real estate markets, and job markets.

Other scholars, however, argue that individuals' decisions are not fully based on rationality or utility but are driven by normative evaluations or motivations (Etzioni, 1967, 1988; Tyler, 1990). That is, individuals may make choices based on shared values of societies, religious norms, or their emotional satisfaction. For instance, although eating

meat is an efficient way to gain energy, some groups of individuals do not consume meat because of emotional motivations (e.g., the cruelty of slaughter) or normative or superindividual concerns (e.g., destruction of the ecosystem). These emotion- or value-based decisions are not irrational, but they exclude conventional material-based calculations of utility.

It should be noted that normative and instrumental decisions are not always mutually exclusive. Conforming to particular values (e.g., conventional norm and the code of the street) may benefit individuals in the long run, even though conforming behaviors can deprive the individuals of short-term benefits. The code of the street, for instance, seems to be a shortsighted value; however, it can be an optimal guideline for securing one's life if one is destined to live in an inner city neighborhood for one's entire life (Anderson, 2000). Also, conforming to the code provides an individual with opportunities within a society that has only limited resources. In a conventional society, individuals may have more opportunities to enter college or get a job if they do not have a criminal history, which would be proof of non-conformance. On the other hand, in an inner-city neighborhood, if individuals adopt the code of the street, they may have greater opportunities to deal drugs, which is an important though limited means of success in their society (Anderson, 2000).

Moreover, normative values of societies are associated with aggregate-level instrumental needs. For example, on an individual level, violating traffic signals often helps an individual reach a destination quicker; however, as more individuals violate traffic signals, the efficiency of traffic control ultimately decreases. By encouraging individuals to follow societal rules and norms, societies can keep social order and

increase group-level efficiency. In this way, on an aggregate level, normative values and instrumental needs may go together.

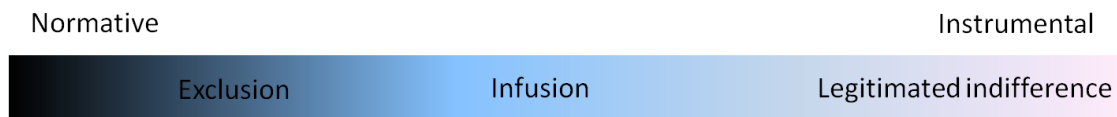
Despite the undetachable association between normative values and instrumental needs especially on the aggregate level, the current study posits 1) that the decision-making process is an individual-level choice of behavior, 2) that has two different orientations: in a normative decision-making process, individuals evaluate and react to external conditions utilizing group values; and in an instrumental decision-making process, individuals evaluate and react to external conditions based on the individual utility. Given the orientation, individuals evaluate and react differently to identical conditions and stimuli (e.g., an unattended wallet, a driver in need on the shoulder of a road, or a misdelivered package).

In criminology, procedural justice theory and deterrence theory explain criminal behavior from either a normative or an instrumental standpoint. In the next sections, I incorporate normative and instrumental decision-making process of crime and delinquency focusing on the procedural justice and deterrence theories.

#### 4.1.2. A THEORY OF CRIMINAL DECISION-MAKING

Scholars have begun to emphasize the role of normative concerns in decision-making processes (Etzioni, 1967, 1988; Hough et al., 2010; Schwartz, 1970; Simon, 1976; Tyler, 1990). In particular, Etzioni (1967, 1988) attempted to replace the default for theoretical inference from rational man to normative man. He (1988) suggested a normative/affective decision-making model and incorporated it into the existing decision-making model, which is based on rational choice. He explains that there are three zones in a choice continuum which consists of normative/affective (N/A) and logical-empirical

(L/E) choices at each end of the continuum. As Figure 4.1 demonstrates, the three zones are “exclusion” (exclusively N/A-based decision-making), “infusion” (N/A prevents fully rational decision-making), and “legitimated indifference” (L/E-based decision-making). That is, there exist variations in decision-making processes and criteria across individuals.



**Figure 4.1. A normative-instrumental continuum for decision making**

Criminologists have also realized the limited explanatory ability of each theory (procedural justice theory and deterrence theory) across populations (Akers, 1990; Reisig et al., 2014; Tankebe, 2009; Piquero et al., 2011; Walsh, 1986). “The bounded rationality of the human” is a frequent criticism for the classic school theories (Akers, 1990; Piquero et al., 2011; Walsh, 1986). That is, individuals’ intellectual ability to assess the utility of a crime is limited and varies among individuals. In addition to this claim, Piquero and colleagues (2011) argue that deterrability of sanction threat varies according to individual and situational differences. Regarding the decision-making process, they consider that different decision-making competence and emotional arousal influence calculation of utility.

The explanatory power of the procedural justice theory may also vary across populations. Reisig and colleagues (2012, 2014) review the literature of the procedural justice theory and argue that the generalizability of the theory may be limited to certain

populations of “industrialized democracies” or “a post-socialist state.” Tankebe (2009) also found that utilitarian factors, rather than procedural fairness and legitimacy, shape Ghanaians’ cooperation with police. Although the findings from the studies of Reisig and colleagues (Reisig & Lloyd, 2009; Reisig & Mesko, 2009; Reisig et al., 2012) and Tankebe (2009) are drawn from international populations rather than the U.S. population, these findings imply that the normative explanations of criminal behaviors may not be generalizable to particular populations.

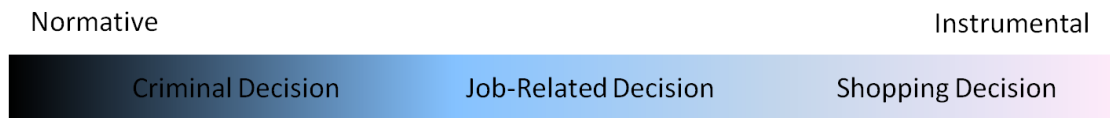
In this respect, to properly explain individuals’ criminal decision-making processes, both normative and instrumental aspects should be simultaneously considered. In the next sections, I will suggest two approaches to incorporate these processes: a continuum approach and a two-step approach.

#### 4.1.2.1. CONTINUUM APPROACH

Criminal decision-making theories can be incorporated utilizing Etzioni’s (1988) choice continuum. This approach assumes that individuals have different criteria for decision making. The choice continuum can vary across situations and individuals. In some situations, or for some individuals, normative concerns may drive their decisions; while in other situations, or for other individuals, instrumental issues may be considered significant criteria for decision making.

Figure 4.2 describes situational differences in decision-making perspectives for a hypothetical person. As the figure shows, when the individual makes criminal-related decisions, he/she generally takes the normative perspective, considering the legitimacy of law and law enforcement. However, when he/she is shopping, he/she only focuses on the

utility of the merchandises and does not care about values related to shopping, such as protection of the environment and business ethics.



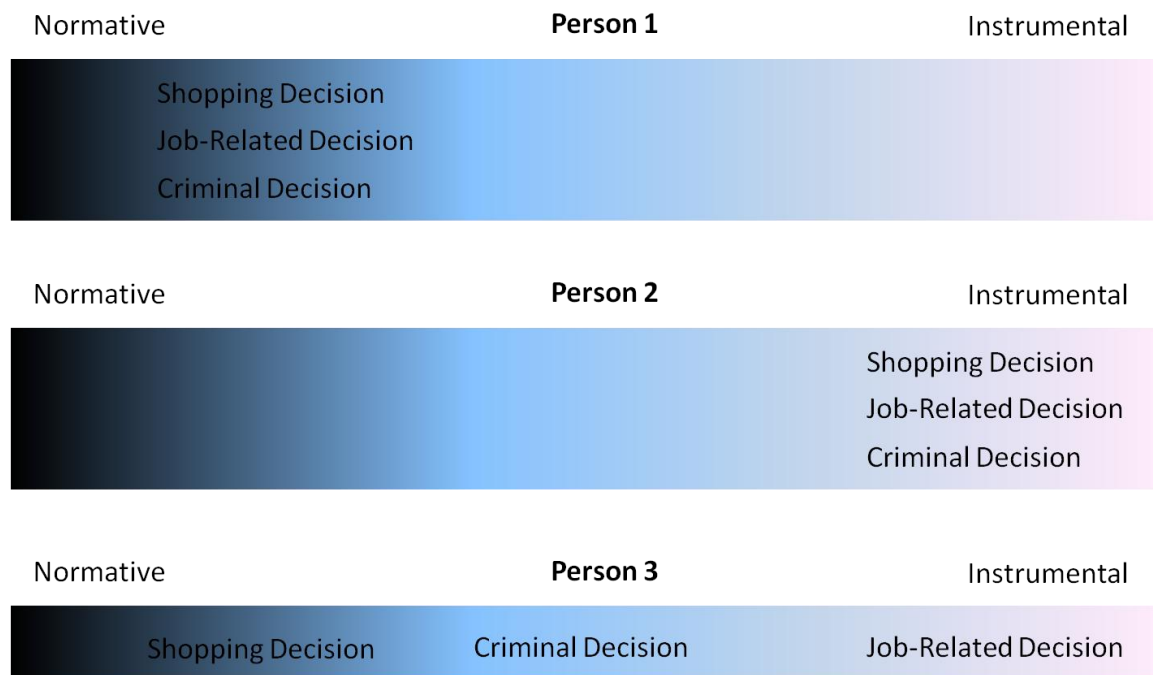
**Figure 4.2. Normative orientations of decision-making conditional on situations for a hypothetical person**

The paths in each theory, the procedural justice and deterrence theories, may be conditioned by the perspective (normative or instrumental) that individuals take in their behavioral choices. That is, for individuals who put a value on normative concerns, perceived legitimacy may strongly affect their compliance with law enforcement; while, for other individuals who tend to make instrumentally-driven decisions, the association may be weak. Thus, if particular groups of people are predisposed to make instrumental decisions for some reason, the compliance behaviors of these groups will be less strongly associated with the legitimacy of law enforcement or the law. It is, therefore, important to identify whether there are patterned adaptations of perspectives across groups of individuals.

Regarding an identical decision-making situation, there can be differences between individuals. For instance, an individual who adopts the code of the street is more likely to evaluate instrumental decision-making criteria, while another individual who focuses on living a decent life or follows religious values tends to adopt a normative perspective. In addition, as Figure 4.3 shows, there can be systematic differences in the



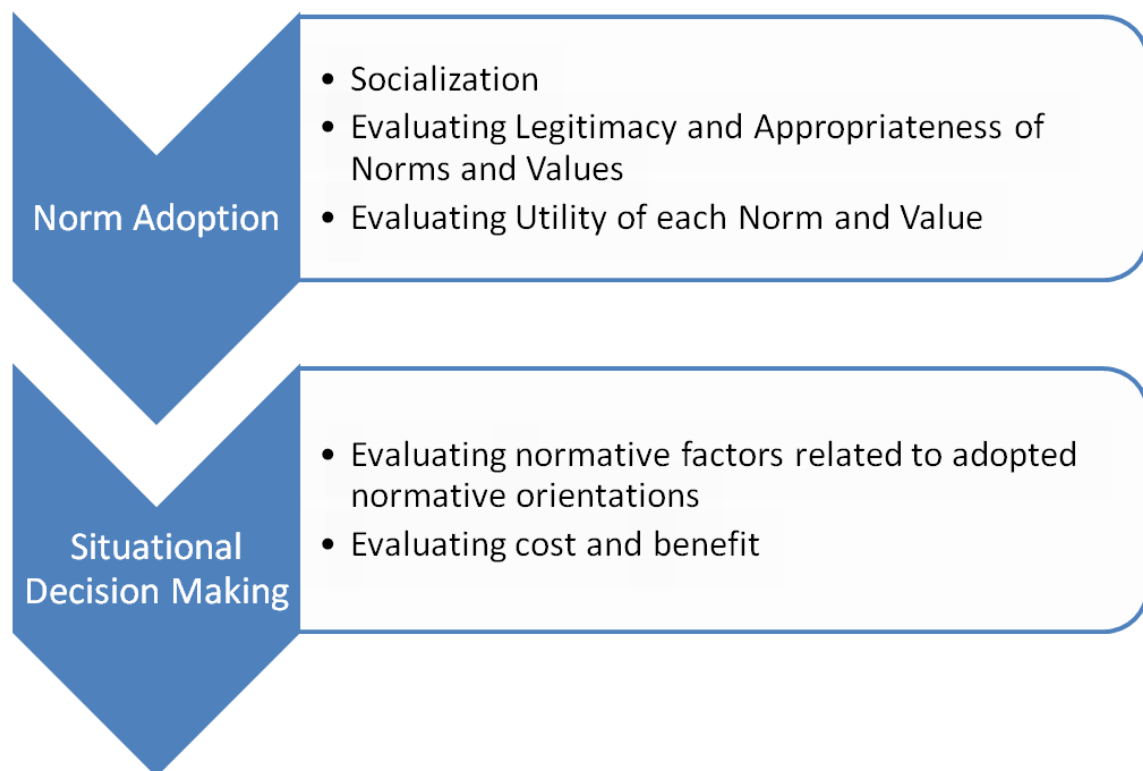
perspective across groups of people for an identical decision-making situation. In other words, each group of people may have their own way of approaching a particular issue.



**Figure 4.3. Normative orientations of decision-making conditional on individuals for three hypothetical persons**

#### 4.1.2.2. TWO-STEP APPROACH

While the previous approach emphasizes individual or group differences in decision-making criteria, whether normative or instrumental, the two-step approach assumes that each criminal decision involves both normative and instrumental components. As Figure 4.4 describes, this approach considers that there are two steps in criminal decision making: norm adoption and situational decision making.



**Figure 4.4. The two-step approach in criminal decision making**

First, norm adoption is a process of adopting particular norms as a best course of action. These norms may include middle-class values, religious or ethnic norms, or the code of the street. Adoption of norms is important in understanding criminal behavior since the norms provide standards for individuals' behavior. If norms that an individual adopts generally align with legal standards (e.g., middle-class values), he/she may be less likely to commit crimes. Alternatively, if someone adopts criminogenic norms that are distant from legal standards (e.g., the code of the street and violent cults), he/she may have a greater chance to commit crimes. In fact, Papachristos, Meares, and Fagan (2012; p.400) found from gun offenders that the offenders' beliefs that "the substance of the law is consistent with their own moral schedules" increase legal compliances. Given that

“most of criminals comply with law most of the time” (Papachristos et al., 2012; p.399), the disparity between legal standards and deviant norms may not be huge; nevertheless, the small disparity has enormous implications for their relations with the criminal justice system.

In many cases, adopting a set of behavioral standards or norms is not an outcome of decision making based on individuals’ assessment of various situational conditions; rather, it is a normative process that involves a learning of particular values from socialization. In other words, norm adoption is closely associated with socialization that defines an individual’s attitudes toward various issues so that individuals do not frequently change the norms that they adopt. From parents, peers, schools and other social institutions, individuals learn how they are supposed to behave. Despite poverty and the devastating conditions of inner-city communities, minority parents teach their children decent values (Anderson, 2000). Despite the risk of victimization due to hate crimes, many Muslim women in the U.S. wear the hijab.

However, the norm adoption process still includes a component of decision making. Even when individuals acknowledge the legitimacy of the law, they can intentionally adopt criminogenic norms. Given that criminals also generally believe the legitimacy of the law (Meares, 2009; Meares & Papachristos, 2009), adoption of criminogenic norms may not indicate a full rejection of the legal standards; but, the adoption is possibly driven by instrumental needs. Individuals adopt particular norms to maximize their utility. For instance, at the group level, Anderson (2000; p.32) describes the advent of the code of the street that is characterized by violence as ordinary reactions to extraordinary life conditions, in addition to counterculture against mainstream values.

The inclination to violence springs from the circumstances of life among the ghetto poor—the lack of jobs that pay a living wage, limited basic public services (police response in emergencies, building maintenance, trash pickup, lighting, and other services that middle-class neighborhoods take for granted), the stigma of race, the fallout from rampant drug use and drug trafficking, and the resulting alienation and absence of hope for the future.

On an individual level, adoption of the code of the street is a fairly rational and instrumental choice to survive because “[s]imply living in such an environment places young people at special risk of falling victim to aggressive behavior.” In a similar vein, keeping hijab and other seemingly unnecessary norms of various cultural/ethnic subsets may help minorities to maintain their social status and interests among their particular sub-societies within the U.S. Alternatively, when individuals feel that their cultural or ethnic norms are inappropriate given conditions, they can temporarily or permanently drop or alter the norms (Gans, 1979). For instance, inner-city residents who adopt norms of “decency” temporarily withdraw their norms and adopt the code of the street given their evaluations of a situation. Anderson (2000) refers to this phenomenon as “code switch.”

Second, individual criminal decision-making involves situational assessment. This process is driven by the normative orientation(s) that individuals adopt, and involves evaluation of utility for individuals who decide to commit a crime. If they adopt conventional norms that are line with legal standards, they may generally acknowledge the legitimacy of the legal standards and practices. Most of the time, they may not even recognize opportunities for delinquency. Due to their general predisposition of

conforming to legal standards, they may not become involved in crime and delinquency as far as the legal standard or practice meets the values and norms that the individuals take.

Even when they evaluate the legal standard or practice to be illegitimate, this does not automatically lead them to violate the law or challenge the practice. Although individuals may conclude that a legal standard or practice is illegitimate and does not stand with the norms and values that the individuals adopt, if the cost of law violation exceeds the benefit of the behavior, the individuals may not violate the law or challenge the practice.

On the contrary, the decision-making process is relatively brief for individuals who adopt norms and values that do not align with legal standards. Their norms do not emphasize the value of complying with particular laws or the entire criminal justice system. For example, for inner-city juveniles who adopt the code of the street, legal standards are considered norms of alien forces and do not provide optimal behavioral standards for surviving in a disadvantaged environment. Also, the illegal or violent attacks of eco-terrorists (e.g., members of the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front) against particular facilities may be normal behavior for them. The particular behaviors of eco-terrorists and inner-city residents are illegal because of the disparity between their norms and legal norms.

In this way, the legitimacy of the legal standards and practices is denied at the norm adoption stage and before individuals face a particular opportunity to commit a crime. At the moment they have criminal opportunities, legitimacy of the law and law enforcement do not constitute significant criteria for decision making. Thus, their

criminal decision-making process may be relatively brief, compared to individuals who adopt conventional values.

#### 4.1.3. CRIMINAL DECISION-MAKING IN RELATION TO LAW ENFORCEMENT

Almost all crime theories may have some implications for these criminal decision-making models (the continuum model and two-step model). However, I will only focus on theories that directly associate crime or delinquency with attributes of the police. This restriction is not because other theories (e.g., rational choice theory and control theories) are irrelevant to the models, but because the purpose of this study is to associate juvenile delinquency with perceived *attributes of police*. The implications of various other theories, however, are briefly discussed in Appendix A.

##### 4.1.3.1. CONTINUUM APPROACH

For criminal decision-making processes *in relation to* law enforcement (e.g., the procedural justice and deterrence theories), political or racial majorities' decision-making processes may be most likely explained by the procedural justice theory, whereas the processes of the minorities tend to be explained by the deterrence perspective. Political or racial majorities may be more likely to evaluate legal standards and practices from a normative perspective and to react according to this evaluation because these standards and practices are designed to reflect their values and interests. For racial majorities and the middle class, as long as these institutions work appropriately, these are expected to enhance the common good among their communities. Alternatively, when these standards and practices are expected not to guarantee the common goods or individual return, the individuals may consider that the standards and practices are illegitimate, so that the standards are more likely to be violated and the practices may be frequently challenged.

Also, instrumental decision-making criteria (e.g., monetary benefit from illegal behavior) are less important for these political/racial majorities or the middle class because they have approximately enough resources to manage their lives, compared with their counterparts. Therefore, legitimacy of the law and law enforcement may be an important decision-making criterion for racial majorities; and they tend to interpret attributes of law enforcement from a normative standpoint whether or not the authorities properly represent their values.

On the contrary, for political/racial minorities and the lower class, the law and law enforcement are less fundamentally likely to align with their values and interests. In some cases, even when law enforcement functions in a prescribed and legitimate way, it can damage the interests of minorities (e.g., enforcement of the Prohibition law weakened Irish political machines; heavier penalties for possessions of crack than powder cocaine disproportionately damaged racial minority communities; strong enforcement of undocumented immigrants may even destroy the interests of documented immigrants and minority communities). That is, following legal norms does not guarantee maximizing either group-level interests or individual utility.



**Figure 4.5. Normative orientations of criminal decision making in relation to law enforcement**

In addition to fundamentally under-representing existing legal standards for minority values and interests, adopting conventional values for criminal decision-making

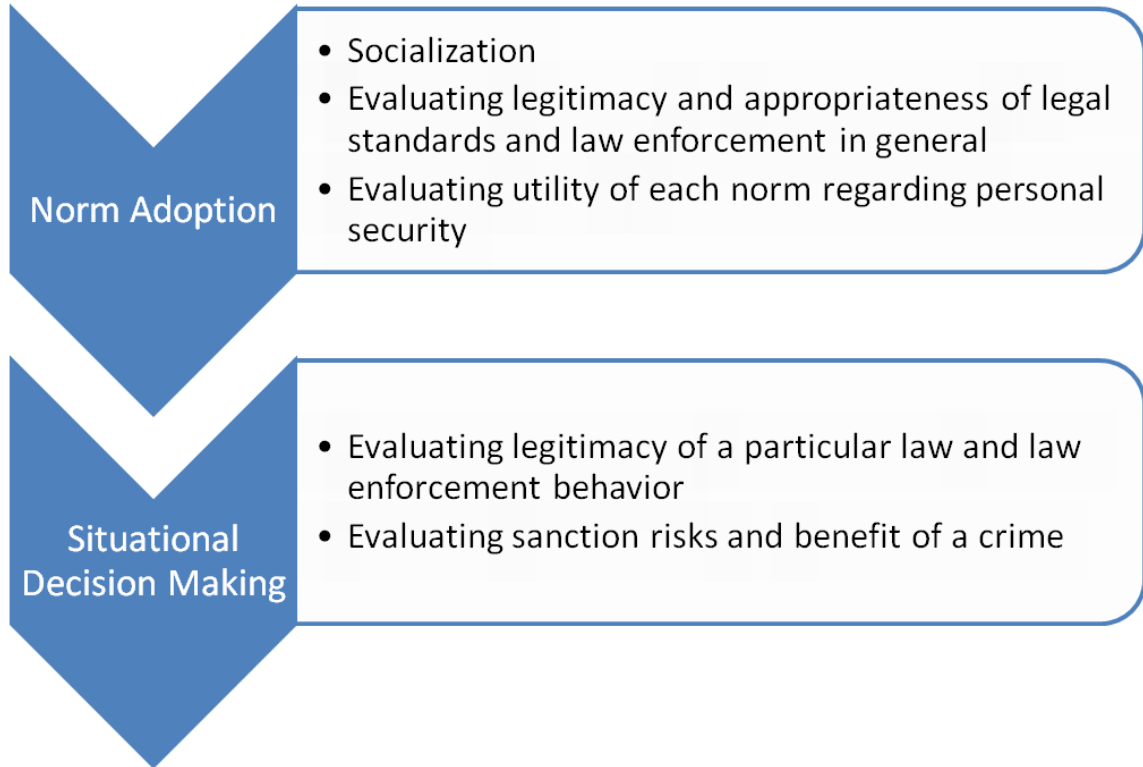
tends not to be practical. Due to racial minorities' relatively weak political power and social influence or powerlessness, claims and reactions based on normative evaluations do not guarantee the optimal outcome; rather, they may potentially harm the individuals (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009).

#### 4.1.3.2. TWO-STEP APPROACH

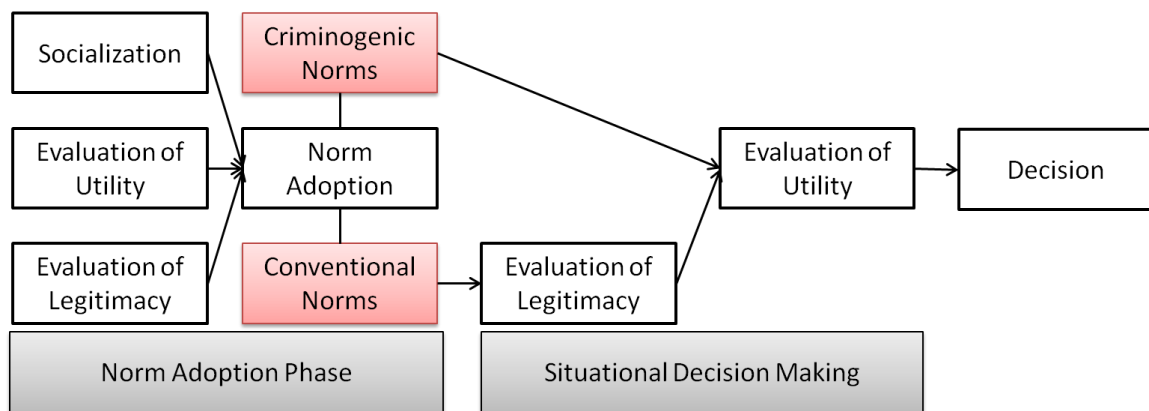
Attributes of law enforcement may be considered in each step of the decision-making process as Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7 describe. In the norm adoption phase, putting aside the influence of socialization, individuals may evaluate utility and legitimacy of the law and law enforcement in general and adopt their standard or norms for behaviors. For instance, individuals who believe that police do not properly protect them may adopt relatively violent norms and values in order to fulfill instrumental needs of security. This under-protection also weakens legitimacy of the law enforcement and predisposes individuals to adopt criminogenic norms. Other individuals who evaluate law enforcement to be legitimate may adopt conventional norms and who are in fear of police over-enforcement may be forced to adopt less criminogenic norms.

In the situational decision-making phase, attributes of law enforcement may be considered as instrumental criteria for the individuals who adopt criminogenic norms, whereas, for the other individuals who adopt conventional norms, the attributes may be utilized to evaluate the legitimacy of law enforcement. For the latter, as Figure 4.7 describes, even though they do not appreciate the legitimacy of a particular law or police practice, it does not automatically lead them to the commission of delinquency; but, they further evaluate utilities of violating the law or regulation.





**Figure 4.6. The two-step approach in criminal decision making in relation to law enforcement**



**Figure 4.7. Criminal decision-making process of the two-step approach**

**(Arrows indicate procedures, not causality)**

## 4.2. FUNCTION OF PPP IN CRIMINAL DECISIONS

I do not claim that individuals' perception of police prejudice is the most significant cause of criminal behavior; nevertheless, the function of PPP in the criminal decision-making process clearly shows that a perceptual construct of police (e.g., PPP, police fairness, and police visibility) may have various roles in the process according to police relations with racial groups.

In the criminal decision-making process, PPP may be utilized to expect and prejudice police behavior in order to identify the best course of action. In particular, for racial minorities, police prejudice can result in over-enforcement and under-protection. Thus, someone who believes that police officers are prejudiced may factor in potential risk of over-enforcement or under-protection.

### 4.2.1. PPP AND NORM ADOPTION PHASE

Given the two-step approach, PPP can be utilized both in the norm adoption phase and the situational decision-making process. In the norm adoption phase, for racial majorities and middle-class minorities, police prejudice may not be a strong force that predisposes them to adopt the code of the street or alternative criminogenic norms. Especially for racial majorities, PPP may not provoke any instrumental concerns, even though it may be related to a moderate level of normative concerns. For middle-class minorities, from the normative perspective, police prejudice may prevent them from fully accepting the legitimacy of criminal justice practices; however, because they are members of the mainstream society, their stake in conformity tend to be greater than their benefits from alternative norms, such as the code of the street. As Nagin and Telep

(2017) claim, individuals' stake in conventional society may cause them to appreciate the legitimacy of the law and law enforcement.

On the other hand, PPP can be a strong factor that leads racial minorities in disadvantaged neighborhoods to adopt criminogenic norms (e.g., the code of the street; Anderson, 2000). As Anderson (2000; p.316) points out, racial prejudice and discrimination is a significant precursor to the adoption of the code of the street, in addition to poor economic conditions. He particularly focuses on inner-city residents' sense of under-protection by police, resulting in inner-city African-Americans' adoption of the code of the street for the purpose of self-protection. According to Anderson, the code of the street is not simply an indulgent counterculture against mainstream cultures; but it is also a set of utility-based rational life skills for inner-city residents to survive, given the general expectation of a lack of police protection and competition for limited resources. Thus, as they believe police are prejudiced against them and do not properly protect them, they are more likely to adopt the code of the street as a means of self-protection.

#### 4.2.2. PPP AND SITUATIONAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Individuals' perception of police prejudice may also be factored into the situational decision-making process. While PPP in norm adoption has a somewhat attitudinal or prejudicial aspect defining stable and fixed attitudes against legal norms, PPP in situational decision-making process tends to have an evaluative aspect or to be indicative of victimization. The situational criminal decision-making process in relation to law enforcement consists of evaluation of the law/law enforcement legitimacy and evaluation of utility. Since each evaluation process is represented by the procedural

justice and deterrence theory, in the next few sections, I present the roles of PPP in situational decision-making as it concerns each theory.

#### 4.2.2.1. PPP AND EVALUATION OF LEGITIMACY

Procedural justice theory represents the normative decision-making process focusing on the role of legitimacy of the law and law enforcement. This theory explains that individual criminal decisions, as well as decisions to cooperate with police, are influenced by evaluations or feelings about the normative aspects of police (Tyler, 1990, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). According to this theory, the procedural fairness of authority is considered a normative issue that shapes perceptions of police legitimacy and drives a normative decision-making process. Specifically, the theory argues that if an individual perceives the police to be procedurally fair, he or she may consider the police as more legitimate; and this increased perception of legitimacy then influences the individual's law-abiding behavior and cooperation with police (Hough et al., 2010; Tyler, 1990; Reisig et al., 2007).

To understand the effect of PPP on individual behavior from the procedural justice perspective, it is important to identify what police prejudice implies for each racial group. If police prejudice is considered to be a normative concern of the decision-making criterion, the procedural justice theory predicts that an increase in PPP will undermine police legitimacy and ultimately increase criminal behavior regardless of individuals' racial identities. Although police prejudice can be a normative issue regardless of individuals' races, there may be systematic differences in the significance of police prejudice as an instrumental issue according to racial groups.

For racial minorities, since they are the targets of discrimination, police prejudice is more than just a normative issue that weakens police legitimacy. For instance, individuals who are not direct targets of police discrimination may assume that the chant “Black Lives Matter” is a normative slogan meant to reflect the idea of humanity at large, and that it can be cynically refuted by saying “All lives matter.” However, for African-Americans, the chant means more than that their lives are just as valuable as the lives of others, since unfair treatment by police is an immediate threat to African-American lives. That is, police prejudice and discrimination are significant instrumental concerns for them and for other racial minorities. Moreover, racial socialization and internalizations of discrimination provide an alternative norm: not challenging the police and instead enduring discrimination. Therefore, even though racial minorities strongly believe that police are prejudiced, the criminogenic effect of PPP may be weakened by instrumental concerns.

For racial majorities, although they “may have an intellectual understanding of the consequences of racial discrimination [against African-Americans]” (Feagin & Sikes, 1994; emphasis is mine), the discrimination does not directly threaten their lives. In this respect, even though some racial majorities may consider unfair treatment by police to be a serious problem, they tend not to understand it as an instrumental issue related to their security. Thus, for racial majorities, instrumental concerns may not weaken the associations among PPP, legitimacy, and criminal behaviors. Therefore, given the procedural justice theory, racial majorities’ PPP may facilitate violations of the law.

#### 4.2.2.2. PPP AND EVALUATION OF UTILITY

Deterrence theory explains that individual evaluations of sanction risks (certainty, severity, and swiftness of punishment) influence criminal behaviors. Controlling for benefits, individuals are more likely to commit crimes if they perceive fewer sanction risks. Among the components of deterrence, certainty of sanction is the most significant factor that prevents individuals from committing crimes, followed by severity and swiftness (Erickson et al., 1977; Nagin, 1998, 2013).

Police prejudice is alleged to be a significant source of unfair treatment by police (Kappeler et al., 1998; Wilson et al., 2004), and there are at least two types of unfair treatment: unfair treatment given the seriousness of the criminal behavior (e.g., excessive use of force) and unfair treatment compared to police practice as imposed on others (e.g., racial discrimination). Although PPP or unfair treatment by police is not suggested as a deterrent in this theory, the deterrent ability of police may come from “threatening punishment for crime” (Cook, 2011; p.103), and the perceived risk of unfair treatment may threaten individuals and influence their criminal behavior (Harcourt, 2004; Hackney & Glaser, 2013).

Each type of unfair treatment can be equated with the components of deterrence. That is, racial profiling is associated with perceived certainty of sanction, and excessive use of force may be connected to severity of punishment. In this respect, PPP and perception of unfair treatment may be positively associated with perceived severity of punishment regardless of racial group, but these perceptions may have a contrasting effect on perceived certainty according to the race that an individual belongs to.

For racial majorities, two types of unfair treatment may have different implications on risk assessment. The perception of the use of excessive force by police may increase the perceived severity of punishment, while the perceived prevalence of racial profiling may decrease the perceived certainty of punishment. The latter is considered “reverse deterrence” (Hackney & Glaser, 2013). That is, since racial profiling is usually directed at racial minorities, and since racial majorities have relatively better relationships with police, racial majorities may perceive racial profiling as leniency toward racial majorities by police and a tendency for police to give relatively little attention to the majorities’ behaviors. Thus, if a majority individual believes police to be prejudiced against racial minorities, he/she is more likely to be involved in delinquency.

However, for racial minorities, both types of unfair treatment may have similarly deterrent effects. Racial minorities may associate racial profiling with increased surveillance and frequent stop-and-frisks. Thus, the perception of racial profiling influences criminal decisions by increasing the perceived certainty of punishment. Racial minorities are also disproportionate victims of the use of excessive force, such as police shootings (Ross, 2015; see also *The Counted: People killed by police in the US* by The Guardian ). Although victimization through use of excessive force is not a formal sanction, the result can be as disastrous as the most severe sentence: the death penalty. Therefore, in conjunction with perceived racial discrimination, the perception of the use of excessive force by police may prevent racial minorities from involvement in crime and delinquency. However, this does not mean that racial minorities will commit fewer crimes due to perceived unfair treatment by police. Rather, it suggests that the association

between PPP and perceived unfair treatment by police and criminal behavior may be negative for racial minorities, controlling for other factors.

From the legitimacy perspective, it is somewhat counterintuitive that negative perceptions of police may have a deterrent effect since these perceptions potentially undermine police legitimacy. However, Yagil (1988) found that, for a military population, negative perceptions of military police officers were positively associated with the perception that military police deter the military population from committing traffic violations. This deterrent effect caused by negative perception might result from instrumental concerns that the military police may report individuals' violations to their military units or supervisors. Thus, it suggests that the negative aspects of police may have some deterrent effect under particular police-citizen relations, if the negative perceptions strongly stimulate instrumental concerns.

Studies of Wetizer and Brunson (2009) and Brunson and Weitzer (2009) also report that African-American juveniles clearly perceive that they have a higher chance of being frisked, searched, and/or mistreated by police due to police discrimination and prejudice; and they try to avoid contact with police. White juveniles also consider that associating with African-American males increases their risk of being stopped by police because of police officers' mistreatment of African-Americans. That is, individuals actually associate unfair police treatment with sanction risk.

In addition, an experiment conducted by Hackney and Glaser (2013) is also noteworthy because it found contrasting effects by race of a racial profiling setting on deviant behavior. The authors tested their reverse deterrence hypothesis utilizing the experimental design of a test-taking situation. Subjects were randomly assigned to one of



three conditions: a black-profiled condition , a white-profiled condition , or a control condition . Then they were tasked to solve very difficult anagrams and were given opportunities to cheat. The results show that white students who received a black-profiled condition cheated more than three times as often as white students who received a white-profiled or control group condition. In other words, white juveniles violated the rules more frequently when they believed the authorities were monitoring African-American students more closely. On the other hand, for both experimental conditions, African-American students' frequencies of cheating were not statistically different from that of the control group. With its a robust research design, the study clearly shows that reverse deterrence can be feasible in particular situations; however, the external validity of an experimental design is not strong, and generalizability of the result across other types of delinquencies needs to be further examined.

#### 4.2.3. POLICE PREJUDICE AS AN UNCERTAINTY

##### 4.2.3.1. UNCERTAINTY AND OVERCOMPLIANCE

To understand individual criminality from a decision-making perspective, the role of perceived uncertainty is also important. To some extent, police officers have discretion in the disposition of suspects (Goldstein, 1960; Myhill & Johnson, 2016; Smith, Visher, & Davidson, 1984). That is, police officers' disposition is not always proportional to the behavior of individuals or suspects. Drivers may receive tickets due to speeding; but, sometimes they are simply warned by police officers. Drivers stopped due to speeding do not expect to be searched by police; however, some drivers are searched by police without apparent or probable cause.

Thus, there exists uncertainty about police behavior in individuals' criminal decision-making process, and this can result in overcompliance. Craswell and Calfee's (1986; Calfee and Craswell, 1984) assertion about uncertainty can be insightful in understanding the role of uncertainty in the criminal decision-making process. They assert that the uncertainty of a legal standard can cause individuals' "overcomplying" with the standard because individuals tend to avoid potential liability (Calfee and Craswell, 1984). This does not mean that uncertainty always increases law-abiding behaviors in individuals. Utilizing hypothetical mathematic models regarding uncertainty and compliance behavior, Craswell and Calfee (1986) show that moderate levels of uncertainty commonly arouse over-compliance, while too much uncertainty facilitates under-compliance.

This idea of the legal standard can be adopted to explain interactions between individuals and law enforcement. Law enforcement (i.e., police, DEA, CIA, FBI, or local probation office) has discretion to judge whether someone meets certain legal standards or not. Therefore, enforcement of legal standards or the law is also discretionary (Goldstein, 1960; Myhill & Johnson, 2016), whereas the law or legal standards are relatively clear and fixed. Thus, how law enforcement judges or reacts to the action of an individual is always uncertain to some extent. This uncertainty may create a tendency for the individual to over-comply.

Although Craswell and Calfee (1986) did not provide specific definitions of what constitute high or moderate levels of uncertainty in the law enforcement setting, uncertainty of law enforcement behaviors can be conceptualized by individuals' expectation of law enforcement behavior and how it is predictable given the prescribed

law. To put it another way, zero uncertainty indicates that an individual expects that police will react proportionally, given the individual's act and the law; while full uncertainty may indicate the idea that the officers' reaction will not be proportional to the individual's action at all. That is, when an individual feels some uncertainty regarding an officer's potential reaction, the individual will increase compliance behavior to gain a favorable reaction from the officer since the officer's counteraction may be proportional to some extent. On the other hand, when the individual sees the officer's behavior as fully uncertain and totally arbitrary, the individual may tend to avoid contact with, try to flee from, or resist police officers.

Uncertainty exists everywhere, but in the procedural justice theory, at least two types of uncertainty can be found. The first is uncertainty in process. Wolfe and colleagues (2016) point out that the association between procedural justice and legitimacy can be moderated by the perceived uncertainty of an authority's procedural justice. If an individual who is uncertain of whether the authority will treat him or her fairly receives fair and just process from the authority, that individual tends to evaluate the legitimacy of the authority more favorably than other individuals who are certain about the authority's procedural justice.

Another uncertainty lies in the outcomes of encounters between individuals and law enforcement, and this is the uncertainty I focus on in the current study. Outcomes can be instant reactions of law enforcement (e.g., issuing a ticket) or long-term repercussions (e.g., repeated harassment). Since law enforcement is selective and discretionary, the outcomes are not always predictable. For instance, it is uncertain how officers will react when individuals refuse stop-and-search or sobriety checks for DUI – checks that should

be conducted with an individual's consent. Although the law is fixed and clear that individuals can legally deny the officers' requests, the officers' reactions may not be uniform and predictable, resulting in coerced compliance.

Thus, even though some individuals have identical level of perceived police legitimacy, individuals who think that officers' behaviors are uncertain may show higher compliance behavior compared to other individuals who consider the officers' behaviors to be certain. For instance, if two individuals consider DUI checks to be illegitimate, but only one of the two individuals feels some uncertainty about the officers' reaction to a refusal to comply, that individual may show greater compliance behavior than the one who feels more certainty. By contrast, another individual who is certain that the officers will react as prescribed by the law may keep his or her windows rolled up.

#### 4.2.3.2. UNCERTAINTY, POLICE PREJUDICE AND RACIAL MINORITIES

Perceived uncertainty of police behavior is a function of legally binding treatment and expectation of actual treatment. Since law and legal procedures are fixed and ought to be uniformly applied to individuals, expectation or prejudgment of actual police treatment is a significant source of variation in perceived uncertainty across populations.

Although how police officers judge or reacts to the action of an individual is always uncertain to some extent, the uncertainty may be greater for racial minorities because the perceived disparity between legitimate police practice and expectation of police behaviors can be greater for racial minorities. Racial/ethnic minorities who are targets of prejudice (e.g., African-Americans, Jews, and Mexican-Americans) can be greatly concerned about discrimination and their security (Allport, 1979, p. 144). The full story from Lt. McMillan, which I previously summarized, was an interaction between a

courteous officer and a driver who responded to the officer according to his prejudgment of police behavior:

One night late last month, he pulled over a teen who was texting and driving in Garden City, Georgia. The driver, he found, was an African-American teen who was "absolutely terrified with his hands up." "His voice was quivering. He was genuinely scared," McMillan said. That really disheartened him.

"When I saw this man look up at me...I saw true fear," he told CNN.

"There is a problem because if people are feeling this way... why are we not fixing it? Why are we spending all our energy denying there is a problem if there's this many people saying there is a problem[?]"

McMillan said he tried his best to make the teen feel at ease. "I said, 'I just don't want you to get hurt.'" But the driver was still shaken. "Do you want me to get out of the car?" he asked. "No, I don't want you to text and drive," he replied.

Although texting while driving is a behavior that is only subject to a ticket and fine in most U.S. jurisdictions, he had expected the police officer to get him out of his car and search him and/or the car. It seems that the driver did not respond to the officer's courteous attitudes, but his reactions were determined by his preexisting perceptions of police officers.

As discussed earlier, racial minorities often describe police as occupying armies, alien forces, and bullies, while racial majorities view police as relatively close acquaintances, such as guardians or friends (Anderson, 2000; Waddington & Braddock,

1991; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). That is, each racial group has a quite different stereotype of police. These stereotypes are not simple descriptions of police; however, the stereotypes are utilized to prejudge the officers' behavior. Thus, individuals' expectations of police behavior can be systematically different according to racial groups. Of course, the behavior of occupying armies and bullies can be relatively hard to anticipate, compared with the behavior of guardians and friends. Therefore, racial minorities may have greater uncertainty in expectation of how an encounter with police will progress.

In this way, for racial minorities, the perception or stereotype that police are prejudiced can be a significant source of perceived uncertainty regarding police behavior. Individuals who believe that police are strongly prejudiced and react against their skin color in addition to their behavior, it is hard for them to anticipate how a police officer will respond to their legitimate claims of constitutional rights, thus leading to over-compliance to reduce liability.

#### 4.3. PPP AND JUVENILES

Procedural justice and deterrence theories generally do not have scope conditions regarding individuals' age or developmental phase. Thus, if PPP is associated with perceived sanction risk or perceived procedural fairness (as I theorize in this paper), it may be reasonable to expect an association between PPP and crime among juvenile populations.

However, the strength of the association may differ between juveniles and adults because juveniles have unique developmental traits. For example, Piquero and colleagues (2011) claim that deterrability may vary according to individuals' social bonding,

discount rate, impulsivity, decision-making competence and so on. These features may vary systematically between adults and juveniles. Furthermore, given the findings in the MacArthur Juvenile Capacity Study conducted in five U.S. cities, Steinberg and colleagues (2009) argue that even though adolescents are cognitively competent, they are psychosocially immature (low risk perception, high sensation seeking, high impulsivity, low resistance to peer influence, and little future orientation) in comparison with adults.

These studies, as a whole, imply that juveniles' psychosocial immaturity may weaken social control of delinquency in juveniles. In other words, juveniles' delinquent behaviors may be relatively undeterrable which may be manifested by the age-crime curve which peaks at the adolescent period despite close formal and informal surveillance of juveniles.

If juveniles are sensitive to criminogenic cues and relatively indifferent to deterrents, the criminogenic implications of PPP will be clearer for juveniles than for adults, whereas the deterrent implications of PPP will be less clear for juveniles than for adults; however, examination of age impact is outside the scope of this study.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESEARCH METHODS

#### 5.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study is to examine the association between juveniles' PPP and their delinquency, focusing on potential differences in the patterns of association by racial groups. Given the above discussion, both the criminogenic and deterrent effects of PPP on delinquency may be plausibly attributed to race. That is, race may provide a particular orientation for criminal decision-making. Depending on the decision-making orientation, PPP could facilitate or suppress one's criminal behavior.

In this regard, the current study does not have directional hypotheses. Under this main topic, this study asks 1) whether PPP influences delinquency, and 2) whether the pattern of association is uniform across races. These questions will be addressed by using GREAT data to examine the longitudinal association between PPP and delinquency.

#### 5.2. DATA AND SAMPLE

I utilized a Gang Resistance Education and Training dataset (GREAT) that has been archived by the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD; ICPSR 3337) to examine the effect of PPP on juveniles' delinquent behaviors (Esbensen & Osgood, 1997). The original purpose of the data collection was to evaluate the GREAT program across eleven locations (Las Cruces, NM; Kansas City, MO; Milwaukee, WI; Omaha, NE; Orlando, FL; Philadelphia, PA; Phoenix, AZ; Pocatello, ID; Providence, RI; Torrance, CA; and Will County, IL).



The GREAT dataset has two versions: a cross-sectional design and a panel design. I utilized the panel dataset in order to examine the longitudinal pattern between PPP and delinquency. For the panel design which I utilized in this study, six locations were chosen (Phoenix, AZ; Lincoln, NE; Omaha, NE; Las Cruces, NM; Portland, OR; and Philadelphia, PA), and the data collected from 1995 through 1999 (a pre-test and five waves). The sample size of this panel study was 3,568 juveniles consisting of 1,462 (41.0%) whites, 552 (15.5%) African-Americans, and 651 (18.3%) Hispanic/Latinos. Female juveniles (N=1,499, 51.1%) were more numerous than male juveniles (N=1,435, 48.9%).

### 5.3. ANALYTIC METHODS

A Group-based Trajectory Model (GTM; Nagin, 2005; Jones & Nagin, 2012) was utilized to examine the association between PPP and delinquency according to race. For data management and analysis, I used STATA 14.0 and TRAJ command developed by Bobby L Jones and Daniel S. Nagin.

GTM is designed to categorize individuals into several clusters given their patterns of certain behavior over time. In particular, this model provides longitudinal trajectories of certain variables with posterior probabilities of group membership. While there are many other statistical models for longitudinal data analysis such as hierarchical modeling (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1987) or latent curve modeling (Meredith & Tisak, 1990), these methods generally model the population growth curves based on continuous distribution functions. That is, these models are not devised to examine distinct clusters of trajectories as these methods assume “a continuous distribution of trajectories within the population.” (Nagin, 1999, p. 140)

On the other hand, GTM assumes that “the population distribution of trajectories arises from a finite mixture of unknown order  $J$ .” (Jones & Nagin, 2013, p.2) In other words, GTM is preferable when longitudinal developmental trajectories of certain phenomena consist of multiple and distinguishable sub-trajectories. In this study, I assume that each PPP and delinquency has multiple clusters of longitudinal trajectories. Discrete developmental trajectories of delinquency have been suggested and tested in various studies (e.g., Moffitt, 1993; Broidy et al., 2003). The PPP trend may also have discrete longitudinal trends because of differential socialization among racial groups and varying experiences of police within racial groups.

GTM has another strength regarding this study in that this model provides posterior probabilities of group membership. That is, I examined the effects of PPP under two different assumptions: PPP as a perception and PPP as an individual prejudice. The former assumes that individuals’ PPP reflects their observations of police behavior and varies greatly over time. Under this assumption, I considered PPP a time-variant variable. By contrast, the second assumption considers PPP to result from racial and legal socialization so that it is relatively stable over time. Thus, it may influence an individual’s membership in a certain group, whether criminogenic or conventional. Since GTM provides joint longitudinal trends of two different variables (e.g., PPP and delinquency) with posterior probabilities of group membership, this model seems appropriate for the purpose of this study.

#### 5.4. ANALYTIC PROCEDURE

First, I modeled the longitudinal trajectories of PPP and of delinquency for each racial/ethnic group and the pooled sample. Then I modeled the joint trajectories of PPP

and delinquency for each racial/ethnic group and for the pooled sample. In order to identify the models best fitted for PPP and delinquency, I used ten combinations of numbers of groups and longitudinal patterns: (0 1), (0 2), (0 3), (1 2), (1 3), (0 1 1), (0 1 2), (0 2 2), (0 1 3), and (0 2 3). “0” indicates the variable of a group that has a constant longitudinal pattern; “1” indicates the variable of a group that has a linear longitudinal pattern; “2” indicates the variable of a group that has a quadratic-curve longitudinal pattern with an inflection point; and “3” indicates the variable of a group that has a cubic-curve longitudinal pattern with two inflection points. For instance, “(0 2)” indicates that two groups are specified and a variable of one group has a constant longitudinal pattern, while the variable of the other group has a quadratic-curve longitudinal pattern. After I ran ten different models for each variable, I compared AIC (Akaike Information Criterion) and BIC (Bayesian Information Criterion) to choose the model best fitted to use for the final analyses, joint trajectory models. Next, diagnostic statistics were examined in order to evaluate the adequacy of the selected models. The results of the statistics are found in Appendix B.

## 5.5. MEASUREMENTS

### 5.5.1. DEPENDANT VARIABLES: DELINQUENCY

Four measurements will be adopted for delinquency: variety score, binary indicators of minor delinquency, felonious delinquency, and substance use. These four measures may represent various dimensions of delinquency in terms of diversity and severity of delinquency. Specifically, the GREAT dataset identifies twenty-two types of delinquent behavior: 1) skipped classes without an excuse, 2) lied about your age to get into someplace or to buy something, 3) avoided paying for things such as movies, bus or

subway rides, 4) purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you, 5) carried a hidden weapon for protection, 6) illegally spray painted a wall or a building, 7) stole something worth less than 50 dollars, 8) hit someone with the idea of hurting them, 9) stole something worth more than 50 dollars, 10) went into or tried to go into a building to steal something, 11) stole or tried to steal a motor vehicle, 12) attacked someone with a weapon, 13) used a weapon or force to get money or things from people, 14) been involved in gang fights, 15) shot at someone because you were told to by someone else, 16) sold marijuana, 17) sold illegal drugs such as heroin, cocaine, crack or LSD, 18) used tobacco products, 19) used alcohol, 20) used marijuana, 21) used paint, glue or other things you inhale to get high, and 22) used other illegal drugs.

#### 5.5.2. INDEPENDENT VARIABLE: PPP

Perceived police prejudice against minorities was measured by an item that asks juveniles whether “police officers are prejudiced against minority persons.” In each wave, the item was measured by a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Since a single-item variable is usually subject to a large measurement error, I adopted another measure of perceived police prejudice that I refer to “PPP in general” in the rest of this paper. I averaged the previous item and another item that asks whether “police officers are respectful to people like me.” This second item was reversely coded so that a greater value indicated a strong perception that police officers were not respectful to people like the survey taker. Compared to the previous single-item PPP, PPP in general may have smaller measurement error; and it does not measure perceived police

prejudice against *minorities*, but measures perceived police prejudice *in general*. Since each measure has strengths and weaknesses, I used both measures in the analyses.

### 5.5.3. RACE

Race is considered to have an interaction effect with perception of police prejudice on delinquency because of the differential relationship between each racial group and police. Race is a categorical variable that has three categories: white (not Hispanic), African-American, and Hispanic/Latino.

## CHAPTER 6

### FINDINGS

#### 6.1. PPP TRAJECTORIES

As discussed above, I utilized two different measures of PPP in the analyses: perceived police prejudice *against minorities* and perceived police prejudice in general (a multi-item measure). The trajectories for PPP *against minorities* are presented in Section 6.1.1. and the trajectories for PPP *in general* are presented in Section 6.1.2.

##### 6.1.1. PERCEIVED POLICE PREJUDICE AGAINST MINORITIES

Utilizing GTM, I generated PPP trajectories for the pooled sample and for each different racial group. The results show that the pooled sample was divided into two groups, given the longitudinal pattern of PPP (Upper left chart in Table 1). Group 1 includes 90.3% of the total sample; their PPP was stable over time and varied between 2.5 and 3.0. Group 2 includes 9.7% of the total sample; their PPP increased slightly over time while hovering around 4.0.

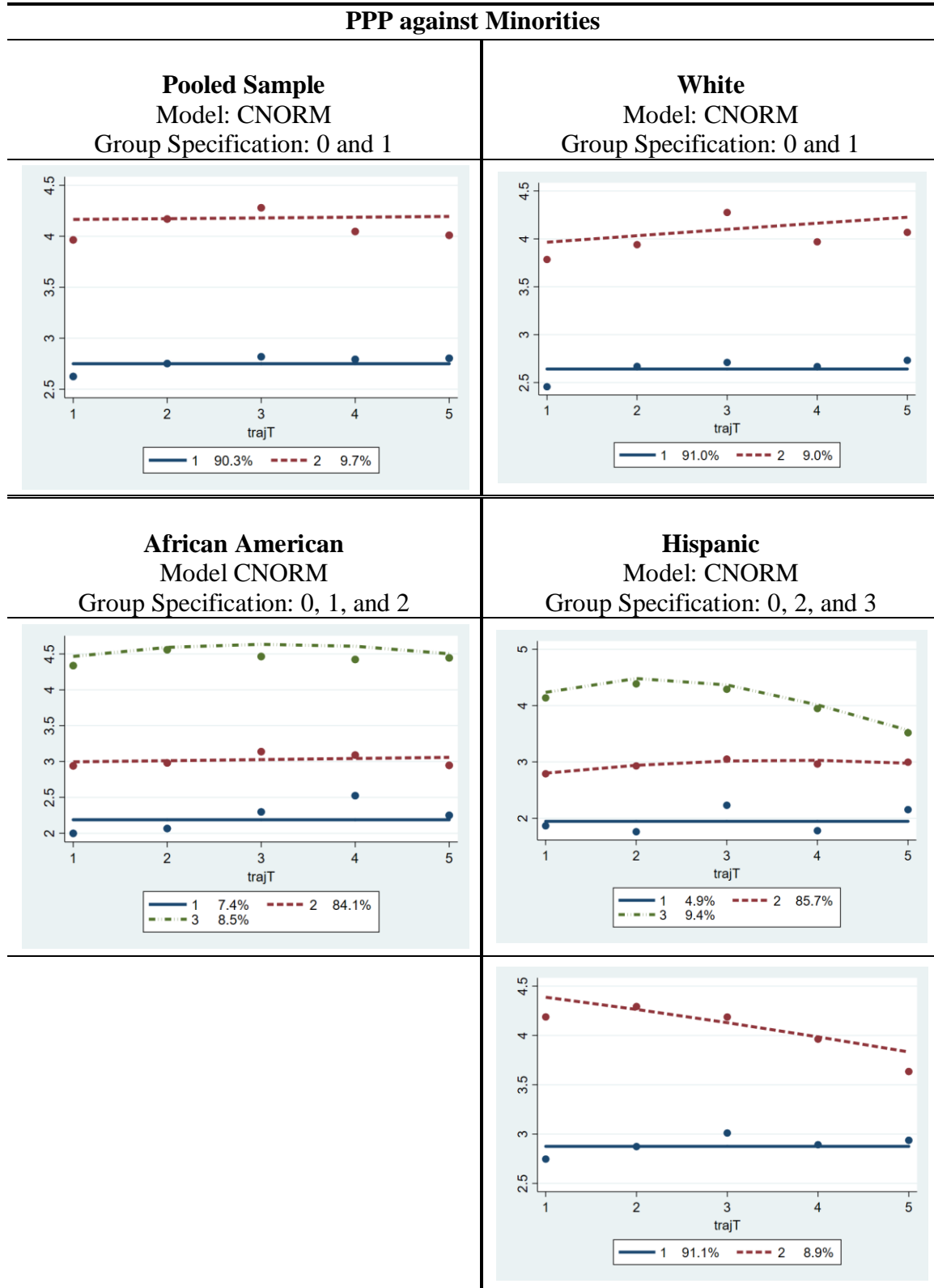
The PPP pattern for white juveniles was almost identical to that of the pooled sample, with a clearer increasing trend for a subsample of white juveniles. The results show that the white juvenile sample was divided into two groups given the longitudinal pattern of PPP (Upper right chart in Table 1). Group 1 includes 91.0% of the white sample; their PPP was stable over time and varied between 2.5 and 3.0. Group 2 includes 9.0% of the white sample; their PPP increased over time from about 4.0 to about 4.25.

The African-American juvenile sample was divided into three groups given the longitudinal pattern of PPP (Middle left chart in Table 1). Group 1 includes 7.4% of the African-American sample; their PPP was stable over time and varied between 2.5 and 3.0. Group 2 includes 84.1% of the African-American sample; their PPP increased slightly over time but hovered around 3.0. Group 3 includes 8.5% of the African-American sample; their PPP showed a slightly parabolic trend. While the PPP of Group 2 and Group 3 shows some change, their trends were more stable than those of Group 2 in the white sample.

For the Hispanic juvenile sample, two models compete in terms of their statistical fit. AIC indicates the first model has a better fit, whereas BIC supports the second model. For the first model (Middle right chart in Table 6.1), the Hispanic juvenile sample was divided into three groups. Group 1 includes 4.9% of the Hispanic sample; their PPP remained stable over time at about 2.0. Group 2 includes 85.7% of the Hispanic sample; PPP slightly increased over time but hovered around 3.0. Group 3 includes 9.4% of Hispanic sample; and their PPP showed a parabolic trend, changing from about 4.0, peaking at about 4.5, and then dropping to about 3.5.

For the second model of the Hispanic sample (Bottom right chart in Table 6.1), the Hispanic juvenile sample was divided into two groups. Group 1 includes 91.1% of the Hispanic sample; their PPP remained stable over time at about 2.9. Group 2 includes 8.9% of the Hispanic sample; their PPP decreased over time from about 4.4 to about 3.7.

**Table 6.1. PPP (against minorities) Trajectories by Samples**





### 6.1.2. PERCEIVED POLICE PREJUDICE IN GENERAL

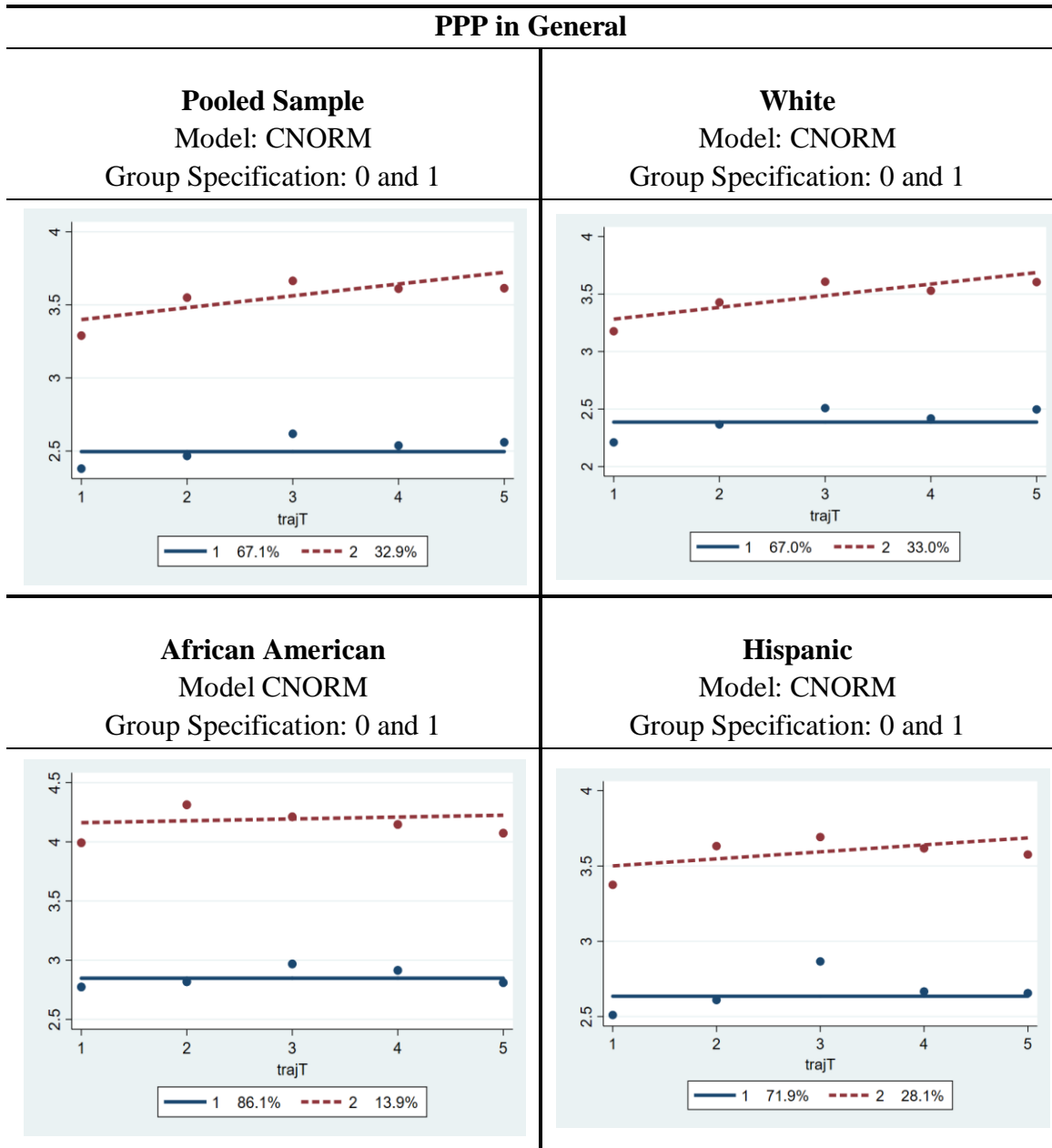
I utilized GTM to generate trajectories of PPP in general for the pooled sample and for the different racial groups. The results show that the pooled sample was divided into two groups, given the longitudinal pattern of PPP (Upper left chart in Table 6.2). Group 1 includes 67.1% of the total sample; their PPP remained stable over time at about 2.5. Group 2 includes 32.9% of the total sample; their PPP increased over time from about 3.5 to about 3.75.

The PPP pattern for white juveniles was almost identical to that of the pooled sample. The results show that the white juvenile sample was divided into two groups, given the longitudinal pattern of PPP (Upper right chart in Table 6.2). Group 1 includes 67.0% of the white sample; their PPP remained stable over time at about 2.5. Group 2 includes 33.0% of the white sample; their PPP increased over time from about 3.25 to about 3.7.

The African-American juvenile sample was divided into two groups, given the longitudinal pattern of PPP (Bottom left chart in Table 6.2). Group 1 includes 86.1% of the African-American sample; their PPP remained stable over time at about 2.9. Group 2 includes 13.9% of the African-American sample; their PPP increased slightly over time but hovered around 4.1. While the PPP of Group 2 shows some change, the overall trend was more stable than that of Group 2 in the white sample.

For the Hispanic sample (Bottom right chart in Table 6.2), the Hispanic juvenile sample was divided into two groups. Group 1 includes 71.9% of Hispanic sample; their PPP remained stable over time at about 2.6. Group 2 includes 28.1% of Hispanic sample; their PPP increased over time from about 3.5 to about 3.7.

**Table 6.2. PPP (in general) Trajectories by Samples**



For both sets of trajectories in section 6.1.1. and 6.1.2., the trajectories of white juveniles were similar to those of the pooled sample, whereas the trajectories of African

American juveniles deviated from the pooled sample trajectories along relatively stable trends.

In comparison with the former trajectories of PPP against minorities, the latter trajectories of the PPP in general are relatively parsimonious as these models have fewer groups, and they are also efficient for comparison as they have an identical group specification across racial groups with relatively clear trends.

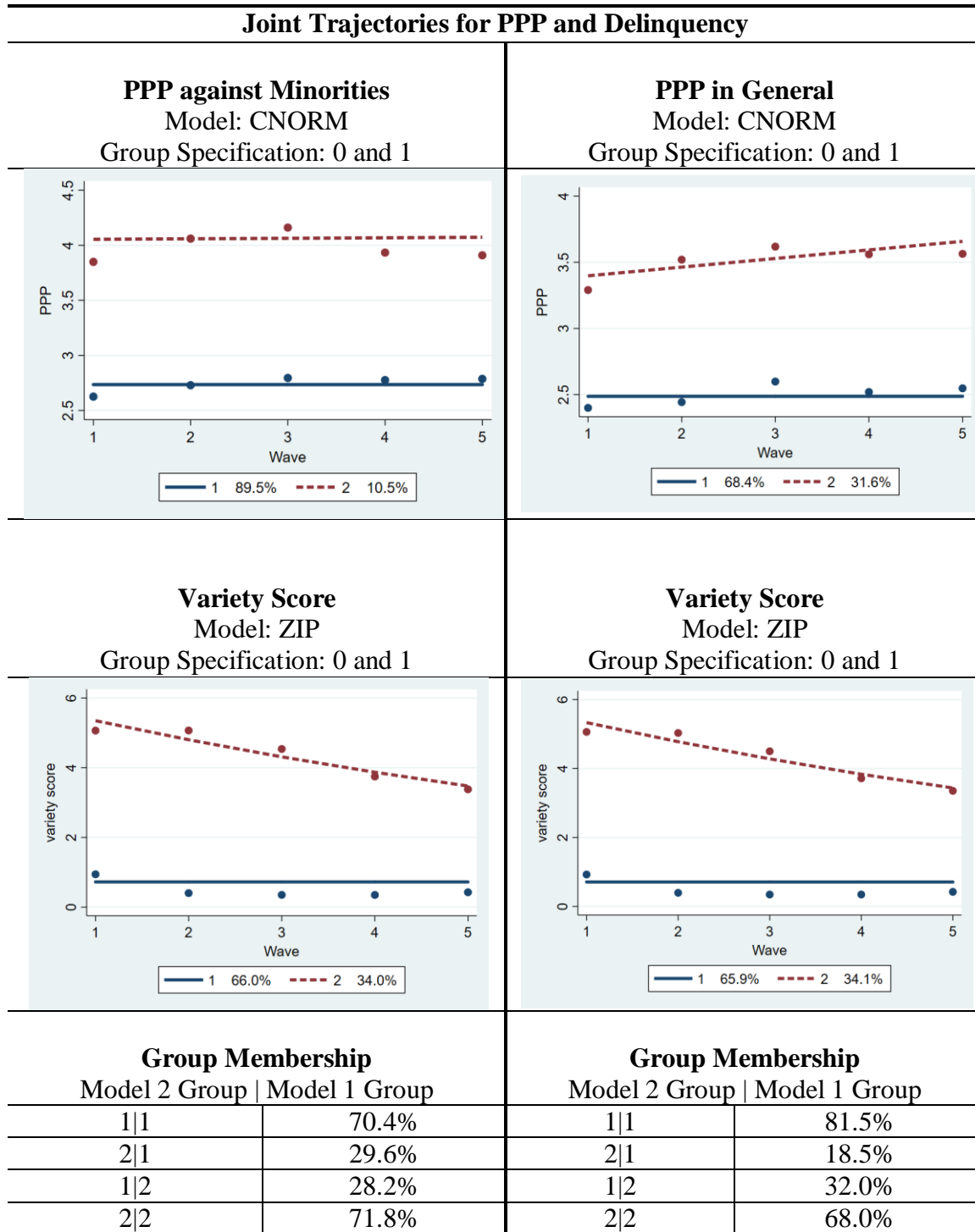
## 6.2. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND VARIETY SCORE

Utilizing GTM, I generated joint trajectories for PPP and delinquency. The results show that how a group of juveniles having a particular PPP pattern is associated with particular delinquency patterns.

### 6.2.1. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND VARIETY SCORE FOR POOLED SAMPLE

I identified two sets of joint trajectories of PPP and variety scores. The left panel in Table 6.3 shows joint trajectories for *PPP against minorities* and variety scores for the pooled sample. It shows that a majority (71.8%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with higher variety scores, whereas a majority (70.4%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belongs to a group with lower variety scores. A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories for the PPP (in the right panel) and variety scores. That is, a majority (68.0%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with higher variety scores, while more than three quarters (81.5%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with lower variety scores.

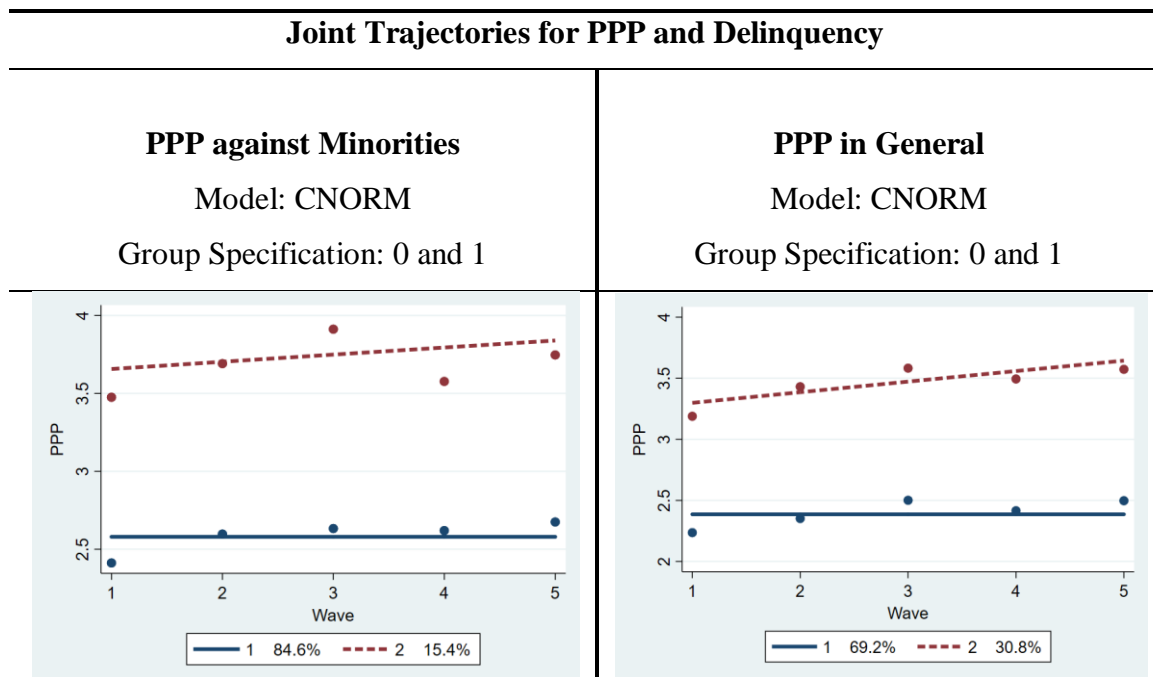
**Table 6.3. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Variety Score for Pooled Sample**

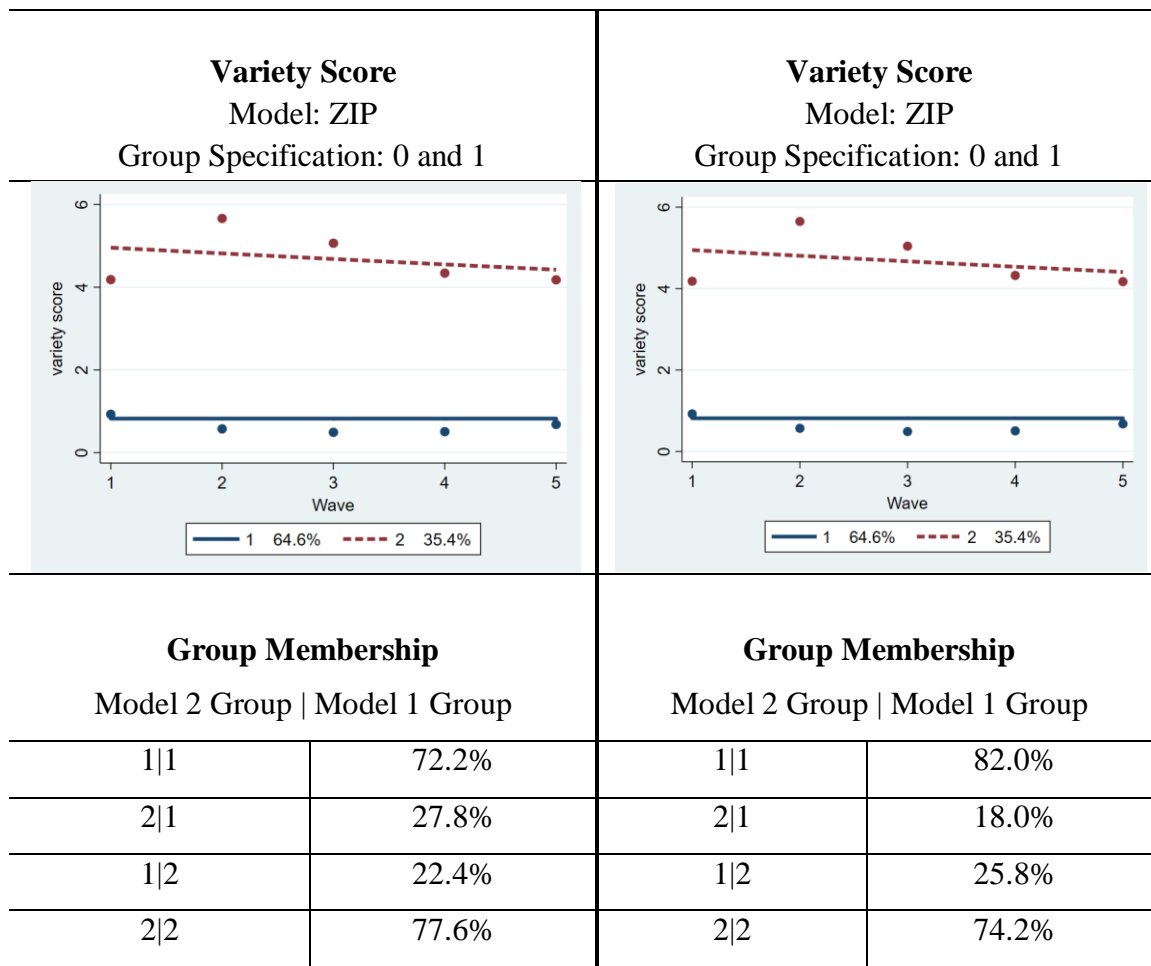


## 6.2.2. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND VARIETY SCORE FOR WHITE JUVENILES

White juveniles show almost same results as those of the pooled sample. Also, the two sets of joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and PPP in general show similar results. The joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and the variety score for white juveniles show that more than three quarters (77.6%) of juveniles who have a higher PPP belong to a group that has higher variety scores, whereas a majority (72.2%) of juveniles who have a lower PPP belong to a group that has lower variety scores. A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories for PPP in general and variety scores. That is, approximately three quarters (74.2%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with higher variety scores, while more than three quarters (82.0%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with lower variety scores.

**Table 6.4. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Variety Score for White Juveniles**

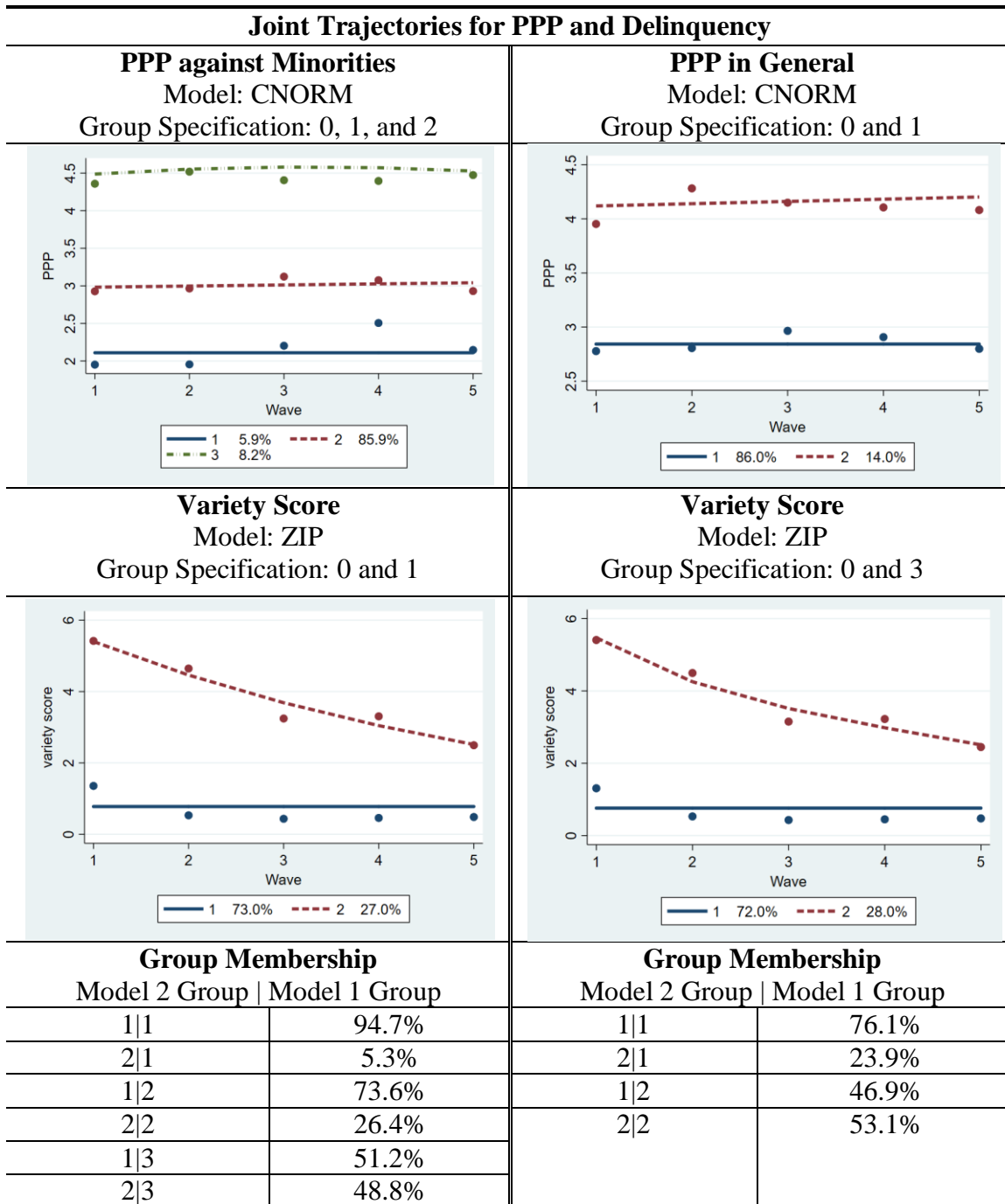




### 6.2.3. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND VARIETY SCORE FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN JUVENILES

African-American juveniles have somewhat unique results, compared to the results of the pooled sample and of white juveniles. Also, the trajectory for PPP against minorities shows the different pattern from the trajectory for PPP in general in terms of the number of groups for PPP trajectories.

**Table 6.5. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Variety Score for African-American Juveniles**



Joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and the variety score for African-American juveniles show that 48.8% of juveniles with the highest PPP belong to a group that has higher variety scores, whereas approximately three quarters (73.6%) of juveniles with a modest PPP and almost all (94.7%) juveniles with the lowest PPP belong to a group that has lower variety scores.

Joint trajectories for PPP in general and variety score for African-American juveniles show that the majority (53.1%) of juveniles with the highest PPP belong to a group that has higher variety scores, whereas approximately three quarters (76.1%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group that has lower variety scores.

While results of white juveniles show that a higher PPP is associated with a higher probability of being a criminogenic group, this pattern is not clear for African-American juveniles. In the white juvenile sample, approximately three quarters of the higher PPP group belongs to the higher variety score group; however, in the African American group, only about half of the higher PPP group belong the higher variety score group. That is, compared to white juveniles, African American juveniles with a higher PPP tend to belong to a lower variety score group.

#### 6.2.4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND VARIETY SCORE FOR HISPANIC JUVENILES

I found that the results from the Hispanic sample were similar to results from the pooled sample and white juveniles. While the two sets of trajectories for PPP by each minority and PPP in general show different patterns regarding the numbers of PPP groups than the results of the African-American group, juveniles in a higher PPP group have a



greater tendency than the pooled sample or the white sample to belong to the higher variety score group.

**Table 6.6. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Variety Score for Hispanic Juveniles**

<b>Joint Trajectories for PPP and Delinquency</b>																					
<p><b>PPP against Minorities</b> Model: CNORM Group Specification: 0, 2, and 3</p>	<p><b>PPP in General</b> Model: CNORM Group Specification: 0 and 1</p>																				
<p><b>Variety Score</b> Model: ZIP Group Specification: 0 and 1</p>	<p><b>Variety Score</b> Model: ZIP Group Specification: 0 and 1</p>																				
<p><b>Group Membership</b> Model 2 Group   Model 1 Group</p> <table> <tr><td>1 1</td><td>100.0%</td></tr> <tr><td>2 1</td><td>0.0%</td></tr> <tr><td>1 2</td><td>66.9%</td></tr> <tr><td>2 2</td><td>33.1%</td></tr> <tr><td>1 3</td><td>23.5%</td></tr> <tr><td>2 3</td><td>76.5%</td></tr> </table>	1 1	100.0%	2 1	0.0%	1 2	66.9%	2 2	33.1%	1 3	23.5%	2 3	76.5%	<p><b>Group Membership</b> Model 2 Group   Model 1 Group</p> <table> <tr><td>1 1</td><td>81.0%</td></tr> <tr><td>2 1</td><td>19.0%</td></tr> <tr><td>1 2</td><td>19.4%</td></tr> <tr><td>2 2</td><td>80.6%</td></tr> </table>	1 1	81.0%	2 1	19.0%	1 2	19.4%	2 2	80.6%
1 1	100.0%																				
2 1	0.0%																				
1 2	66.9%																				
2 2	33.1%																				
1 3	23.5%																				
2 3	76.5%																				
1 1	81.0%																				
2 1	19.0%																				
1 2	19.4%																				
2 2	80.6%																				

The joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and the variety score for Hispanic juveniles show that approximately three quarters (76.5%) of juveniles with the highest PPP belong to the group with higher variety scores, whereas the majority (66.9%) of juveniles with a modest PPP and 100.0% of juveniles with the lowest PPP belong to the group that has lower variety scores.

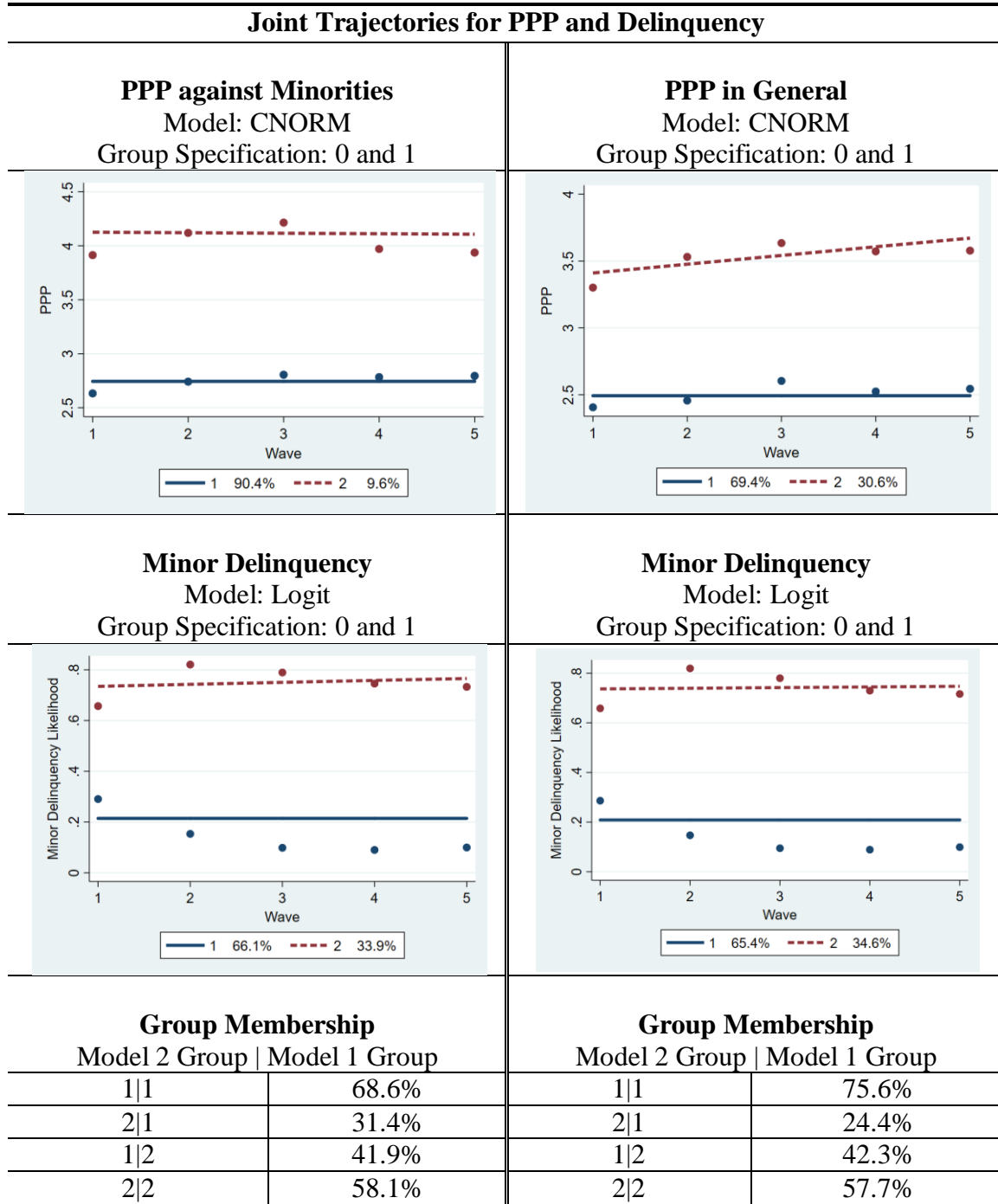
The joint trajectories for PPP in general and the variety score for Hispanic juveniles show that more than three quarters (80.6%) of juveniles with the highest PPP belong to the group with higher variety scores, whereas a similar proportion (81.0%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with lower variety scores.

### 6.3. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND MINOR DELINQUENCY

#### 6.3.1. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND MINOR DELINQUENCY FOR POOLED SAMPLE

Two sets of joint trajectories of PPP and variety score were identified. The left panel in Table 6.7 shows joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and the probability of minor delinquency for the pooled sample. It indicates that a majority (58.1%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with higher variety scores, whereas a majority (68.6%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with lower variety scores. A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories of PPP in general and the variety scores. That is, a majority (57.7%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with higher variety scores, while approximately three quarters (75.6%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with lower variety scores.

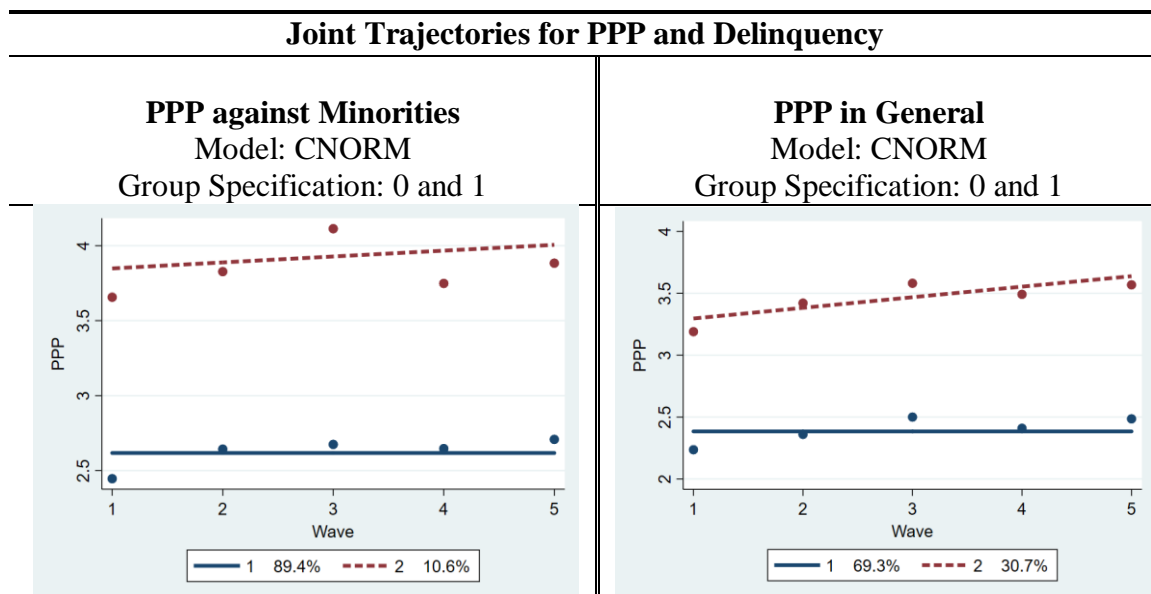
**Table 6.7. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Minor Delinquency for Pooled Sample**

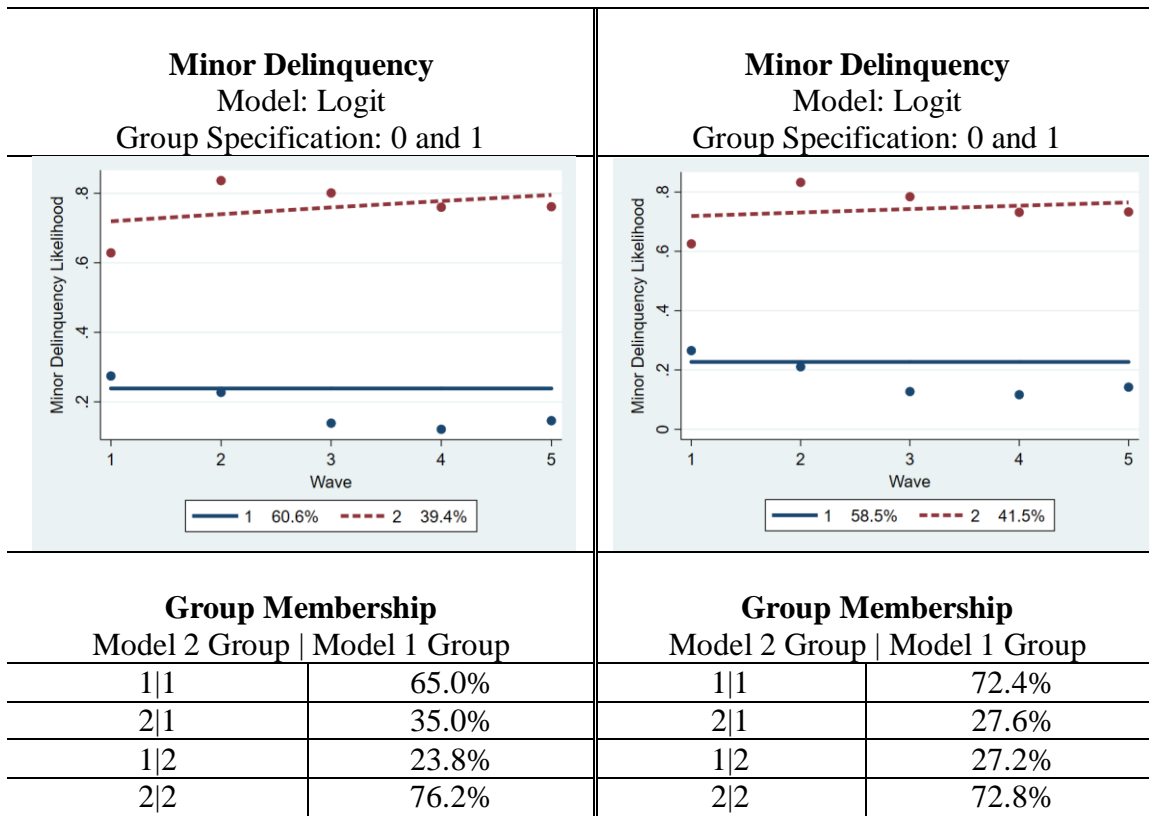


### 6.3.2. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND MINOR DELINQUENCY FOR WHITE JUVENILES

The results of white juveniles deviated from the results of the pooled sample in that white juveniles with a higher PPP were more likely to belong to a higher delinquency group. Joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and minor delinquency for white juveniles show that approximately three quarters (76.2%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of minor delinquency, whereas a majority (65.0%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of minor delinquency. A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories for the multi-item PPP and minor delinquency. That is, approximately three quarters (72.8%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of minor delinquency, while a similar proportion (72.4%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of minor delinquency.

**Table 6.8. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Minor Delinquency for White Juveniles**



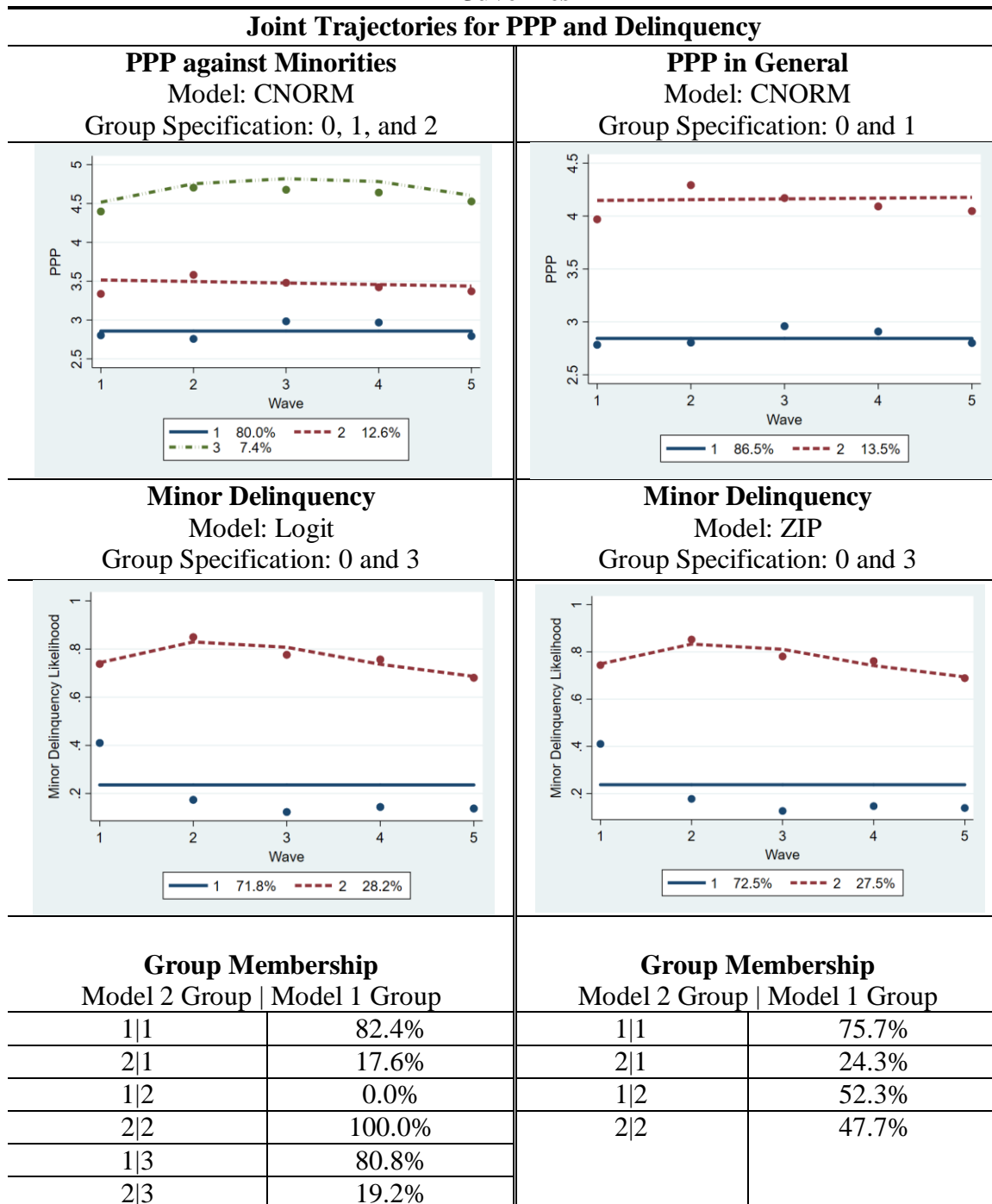


### 6.3.3. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND MINOR DELINQUENCY FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN JUVENILES

African-American juveniles have somewhat unique results when compared to the results of the white juvenile sample. Also, the two sets of trajectories, one for PPP against minorities and another for the multi-item PPP, show different patterns in terms of the number of PPP groups.

The joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and minor delinquency for African-American juveniles show that only a small proportion (19.2%) of juveniles with the highest PPP belong to the group with higher probabilities of minor delinquency, whereas all (100.0%) juveniles with a modest PPP belong to the group that has a higher probability of minor delinquency. For the lowest PPP group, more than three quarters (82.4%) of juveniles belong to a group that has a lower probability of minor delinquency.

**Table 6.9. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Minor Delinquency for African-American Juveniles**



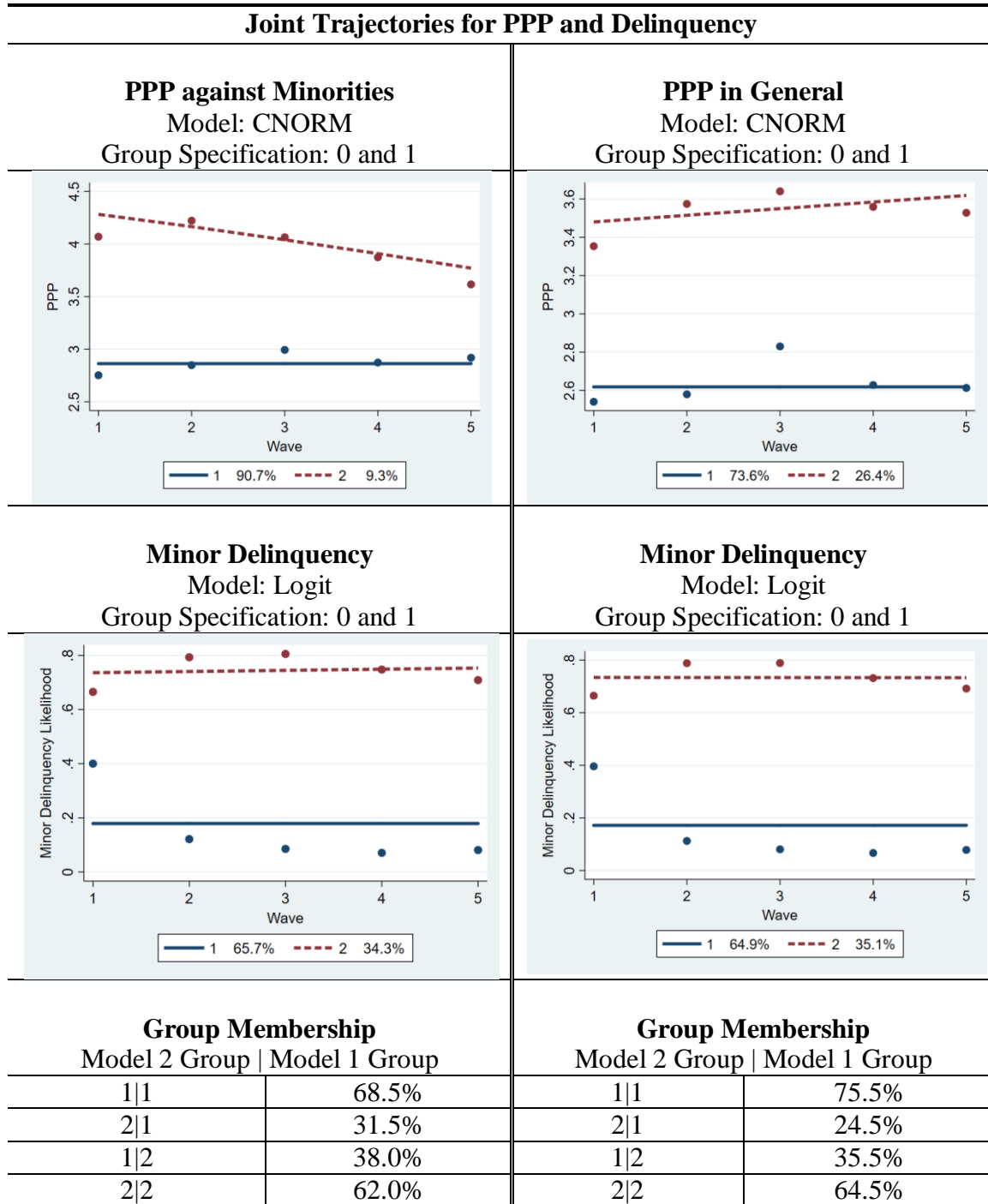
Joint trajectories of African-American juveniles for multi-item PPP and minor delinquency show that slightly less than half (47.7%) of the juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of minor delinquency, whereas approximately three quarters (75.7%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of minor delinquency.

While the results of white juveniles show that having a higher PPP is associated with a higher probability of belonging to a criminogenic group, the results of African-American juveniles are, to some extent, reversed. In the white juvenile sample, approximately three quarters of the higher-PPP group belong to the higher minor-delinquency group; however, in the African American sample, the majority of the highest PPP group belongs to the lower minor-delinquency group. That is, the association between PPP and minor delinquency may contrast between white and African-American juveniles.

#### 6.3.4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND MINOR DELINQUENCY FOR HISPANIC JUVENILES

The results of the Hispanic sample were similar to the results of the white sample. Specifically, joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and minor delinquency for Hispanic juveniles show that a majority (62.0%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of minor delinquency, whereas a majority (68.5%) of juveniles who have a lower PPP belong to a group that has a lower probability of minor delinquency.

**Table 6.10. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Minor Delinquency for Hispanic Juveniles**



Joint trajectories for multi-item PPP and minor delinquency for Hispanic juveniles show that a majority (64.5%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a



higher probability of minor delinquency, whereas approximately three quarters (75.5%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group that has a lower probability of minor delinquency.

These results show that a higher PPP is associated with a higher chance of minor delinquency. However, the probability of involvement in minor delinquency for the higher PPP group is less than that of white juveniles and in between the probabilities of white juveniles and African-American juveniles.

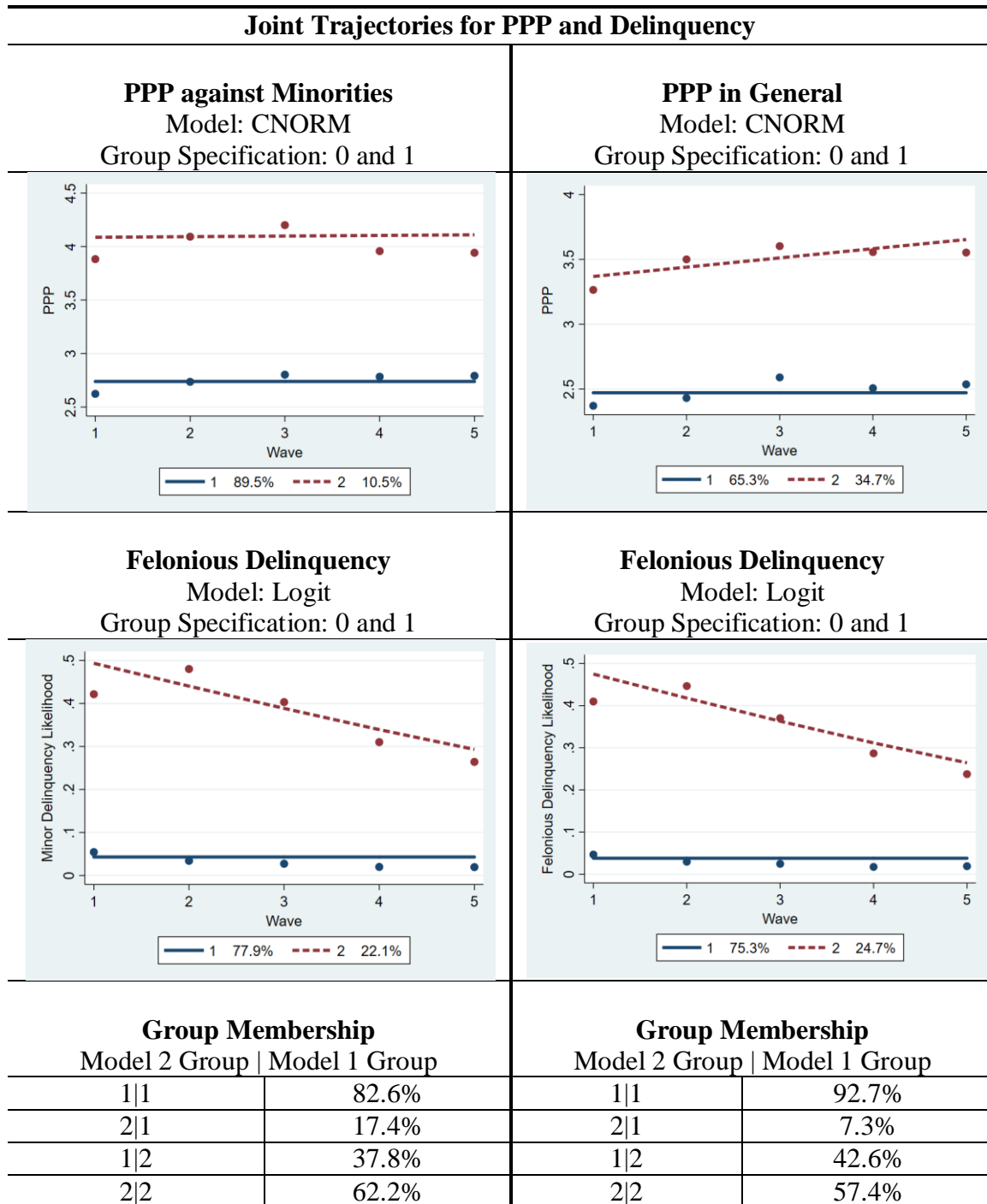
#### 6.4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY

##### 6.4.1. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY FOR POOLED SAMPLE

Two sets of joint trajectories for PPP and felonious delinquency were identified. The left panel in Table 6.11 shows joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and the probability of felonious delinquency for the pooled sample. It shows that a majority (62.2%) of juveniles who have a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of felonious delinquency, whereas more than three quarters (82.6%) of juveniles who have a lower PPP belong to a group that has a lower probability of felonious delinquency.

A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories for the multi-item PPP and felonious delinquency. That is, a majority (57.4%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of felonious delinquency, while almost all (92.7%) juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group that has a lower probability of felonious delinquency.

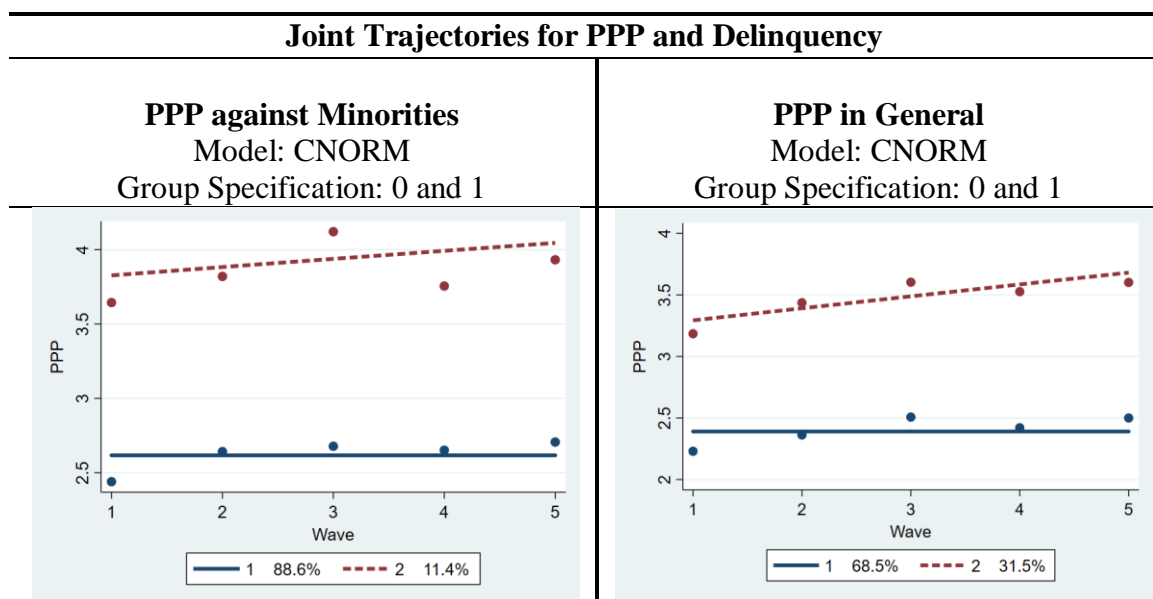
**Table 6.11. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Felonious Delinquency for Pooled Sample**

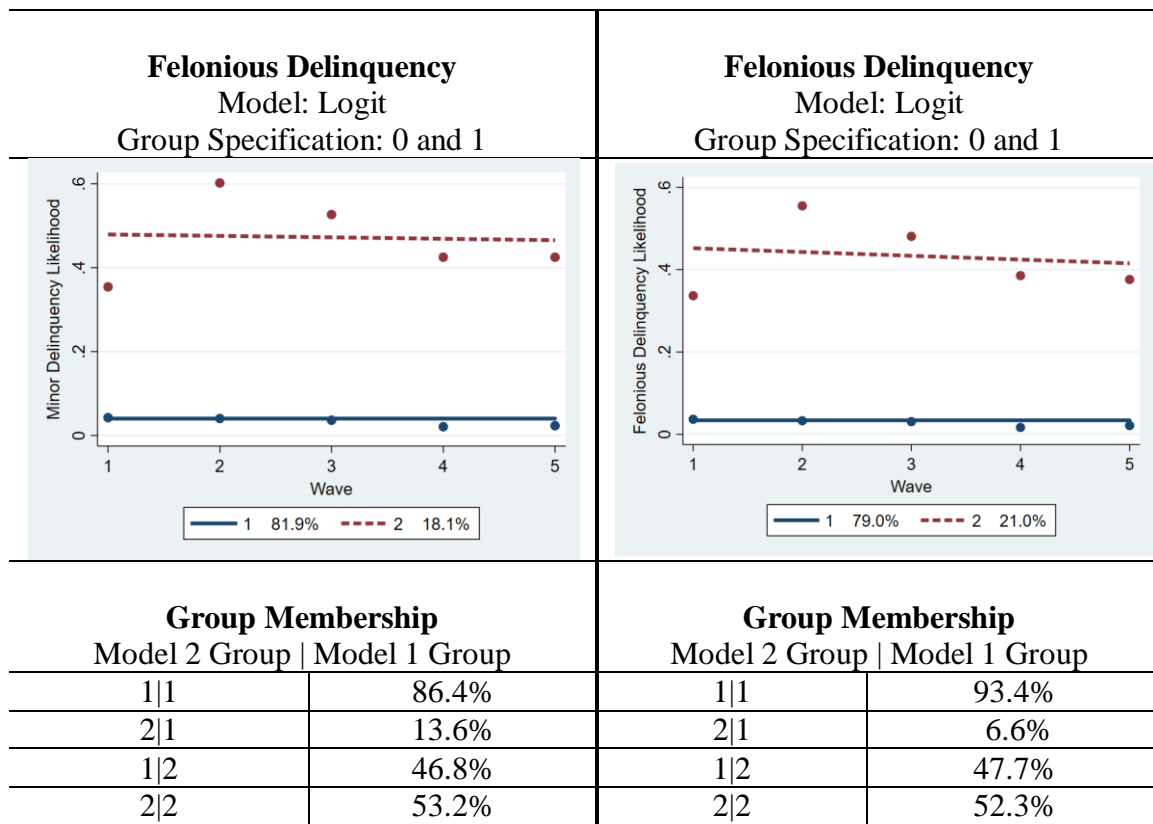


#### 6.4.2. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY FOR WHITE JUVENILES

The results of white juveniles deviated from the results of the pooled sample in that white juveniles with a higher PPP were slightly less likely to belong to a higher delinquency group. Joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and minor delinquency for white juveniles show that a majority (53.2%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of felonious delinquency, whereas more than three quarters (86.4%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of felonious delinquency. A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories for PPP in general and felonious delinquency. That is, a majority (52.3%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of felonious delinquency, while almost all (93.4%) juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of felonious delinquency.

**Table 6.12. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Felonious Delinquency for White Juveniles**



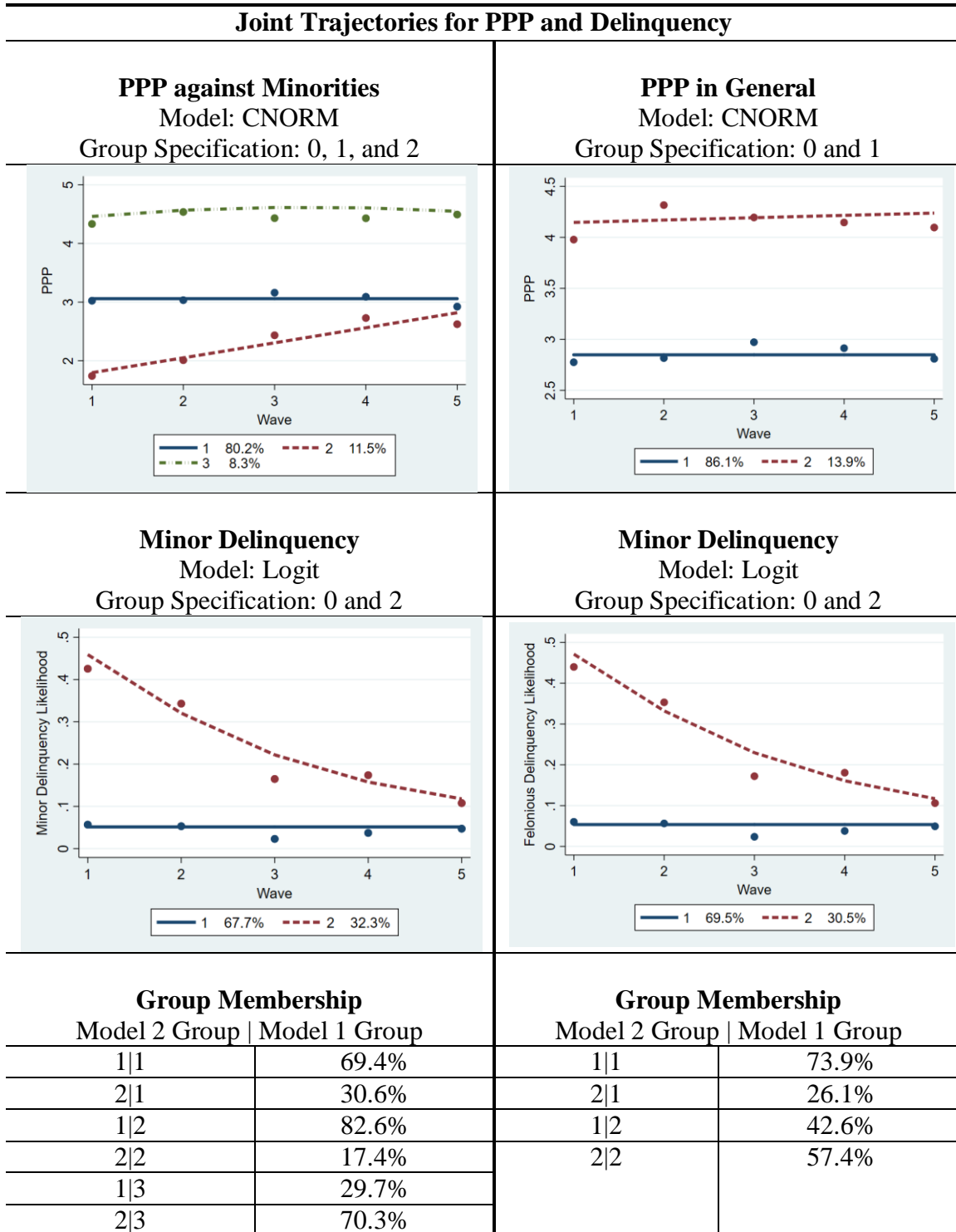


#### 6.4.3. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN JUVENILES

African-American juveniles have somewhat unique results when compared to the results of the white juvenile sample. Also, two sets of trajectories, one for PPP against minorities and another for the multi-item PPP, show different patterns in terms of the number of PPP groups.

The joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and felonious delinquency for African-American juveniles show that the majority (70.3%) of juveniles with the highest PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of felonious delinquency, whereas only a small proportion (17.4%) of juveniles with a modest PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of felonious delinquency. For the lowest PPP group, the majority (69.4%) of juveniles belong to a group with lower probabilities of felonious delinquency.

**Table 6.13. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Felonious Delinquency for African-American Juveniles**

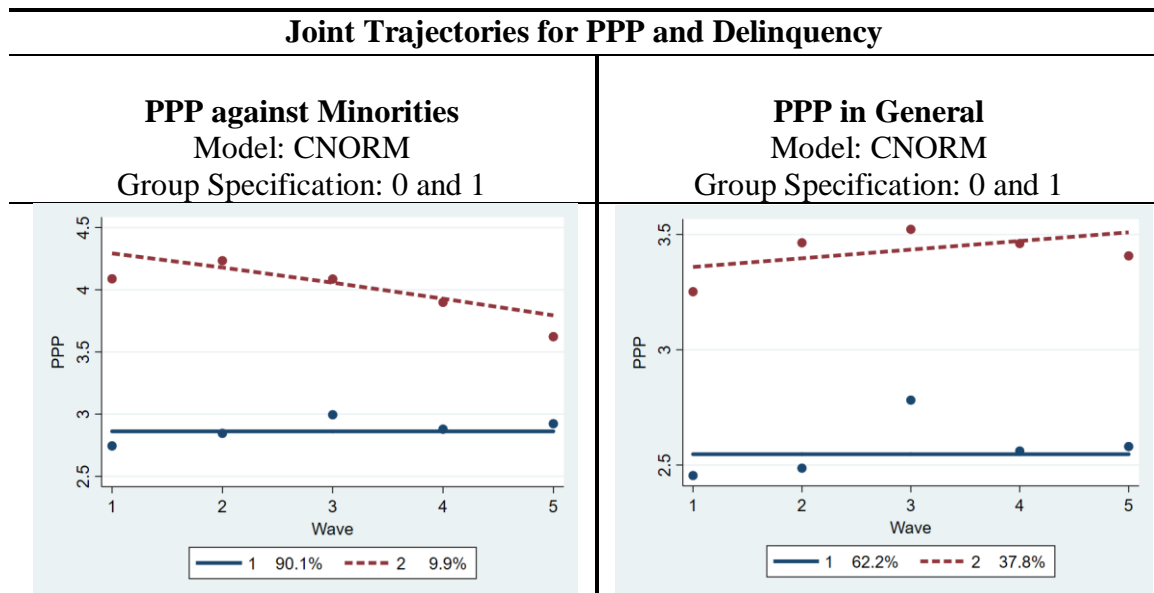


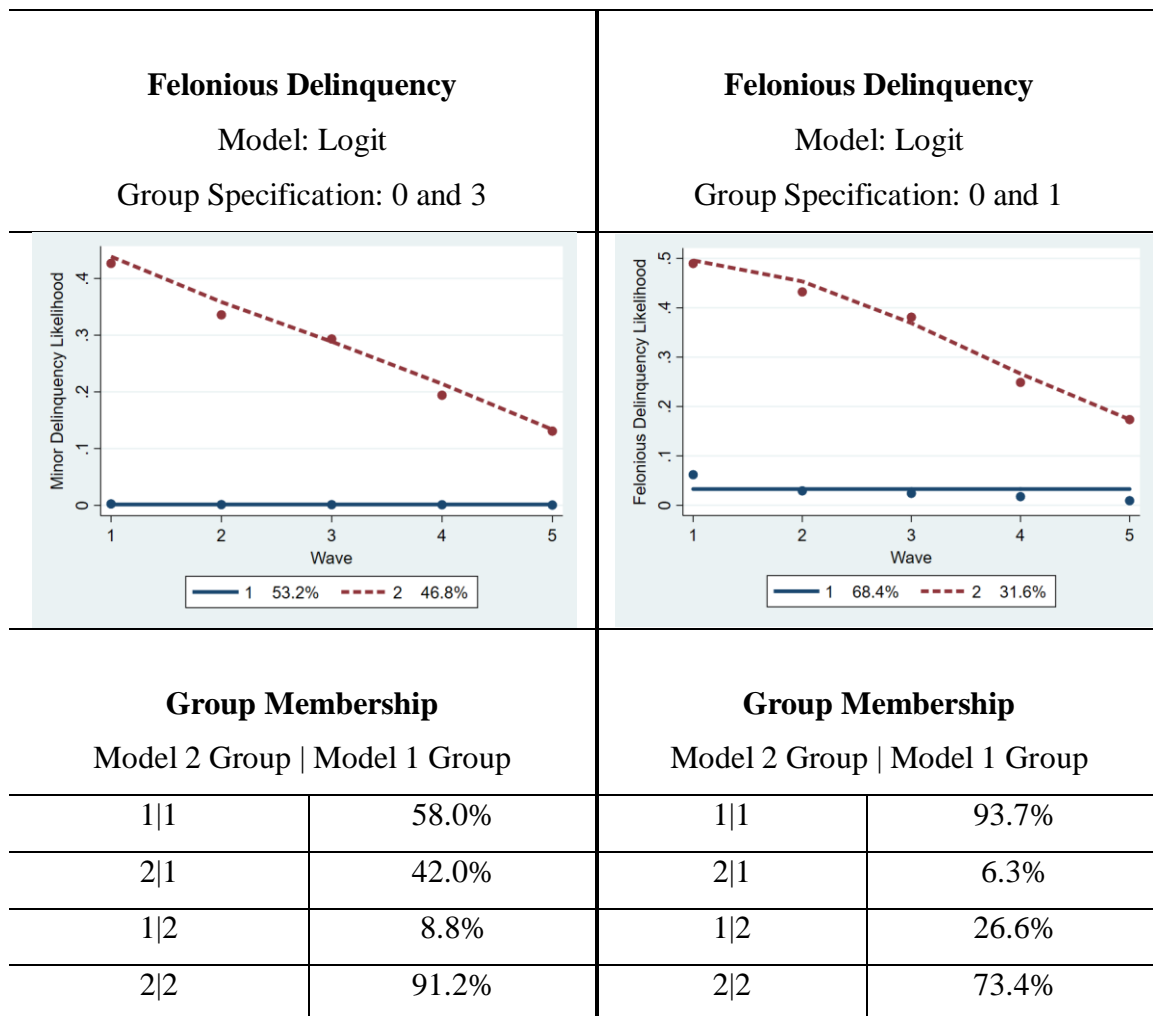
Joint trajectories of African-American juveniles for multi-item PPP and minor delinquency show that slightly less than half (47.7%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of felonious delinquency, whereas approximately three quarters (75.7%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of felonious delinquency.

#### 6.4.4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY FOR HISPANIC JUVENILES

Joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and minor delinquency for Hispanic juveniles show that almost all (91.2%) juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of felonious delinquency, whereas about half (58.0%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group that has a lower probability of felonious delinquency.

**Table 6.14. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Felonious Delinquency for Hispanic Juveniles**





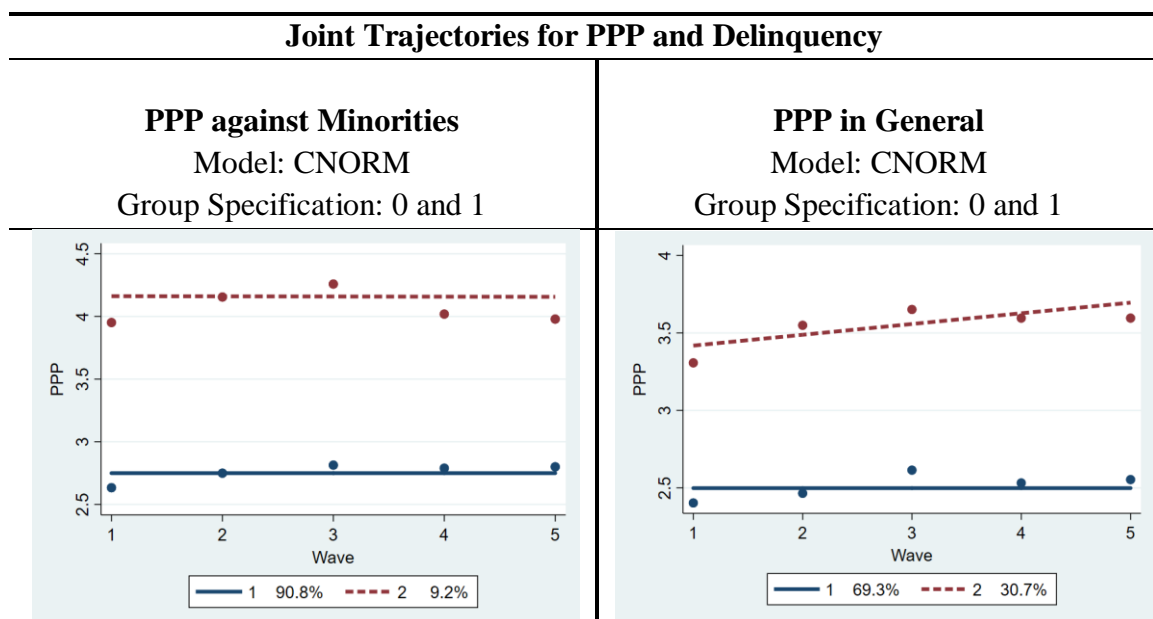
Joint trajectories of Hispanic juveniles for multi-item PPP and minor delinquency show that approximately three quarters (73.4%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probabilities of felonious delinquency, whereas almost all (93.7%) juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of felonious delinquency.

## 6.5. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

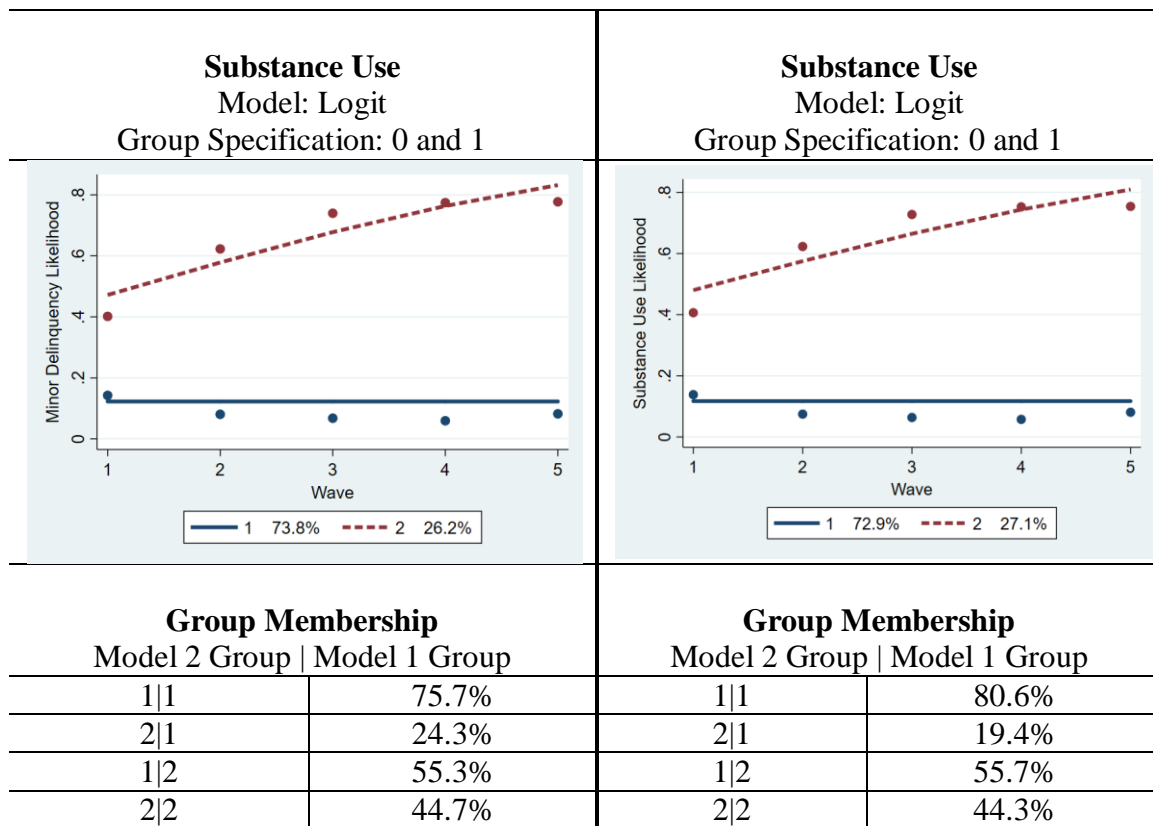
### 6.5.1. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE FOR POOLED SAMPLE

Two sets of joint trajectories for PPP and substance abuse were identified. The left panel in Table 6.15 shows joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and the probability of substance abuse for the pooled sample. It shows that less than half (44.7%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of substance use, whereas approximately three quarters (75.7%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of substance abuse. A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories for the multi-item PPP and substance abuse. That is, less than half (44.3%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of substance abuse, while more than three quarters (80.6%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of substance abuse.

**Table 6.15. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Substance Abuse for Pooled Sample**





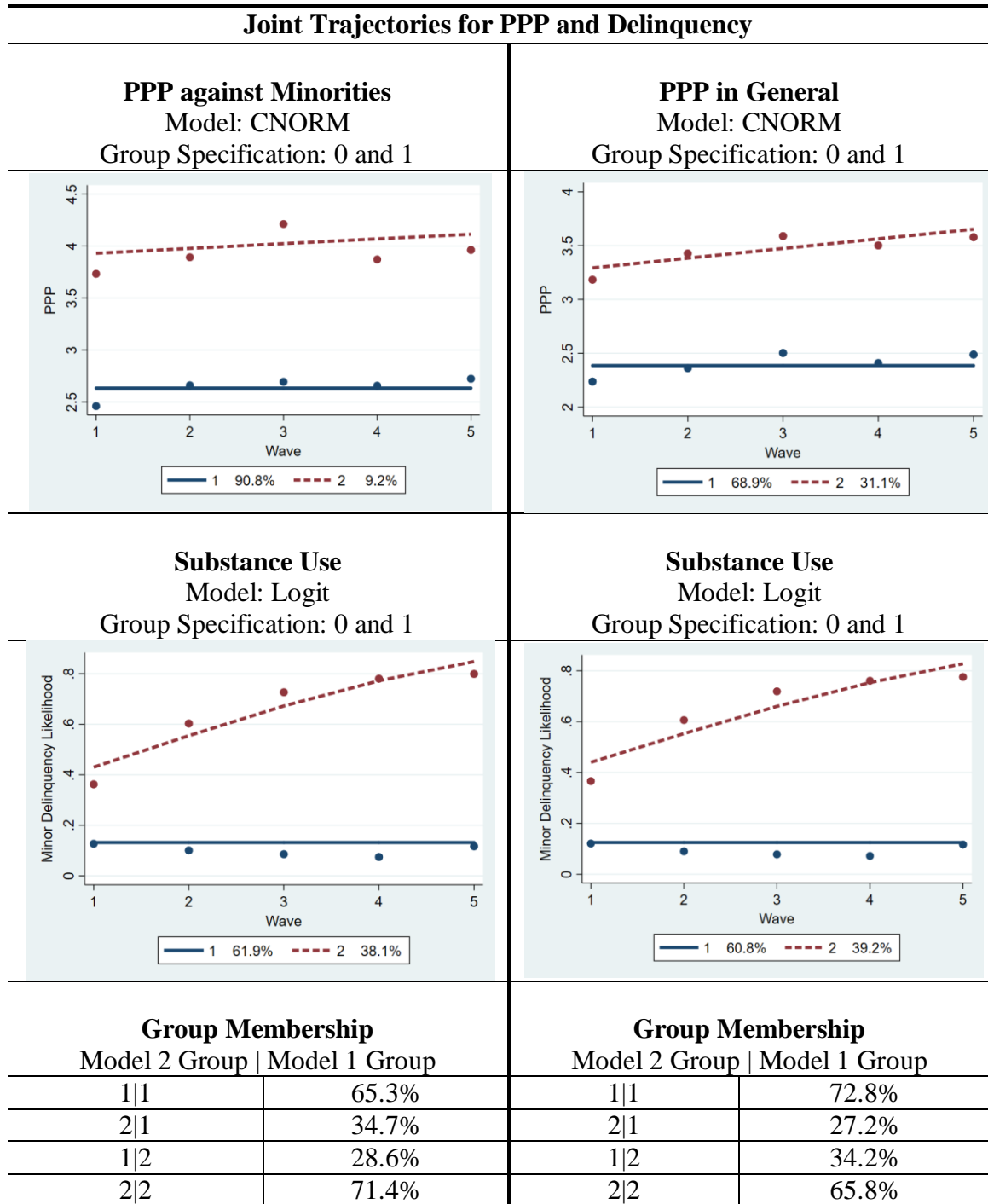


#### 6.5.2. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE FOR WHITE JUVENILE

The results of white juveniles deviated from the results of the pooled sample in that white juveniles with a higher PPP were more likely to belong to a higher delinquency group. Joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and substance abuse for white juveniles show that slightly less than three quarters (71.4%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of substance use, whereas a majority (65.3%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of substance use. A similar pattern was found in the joint trajectories for PPP in general and substance abuse. That is, a majority (65.8%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of substance use, while approximately three quarters

(72.8%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of substance use.

**Table 6.16. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Substance Abuse for White Juveniles**



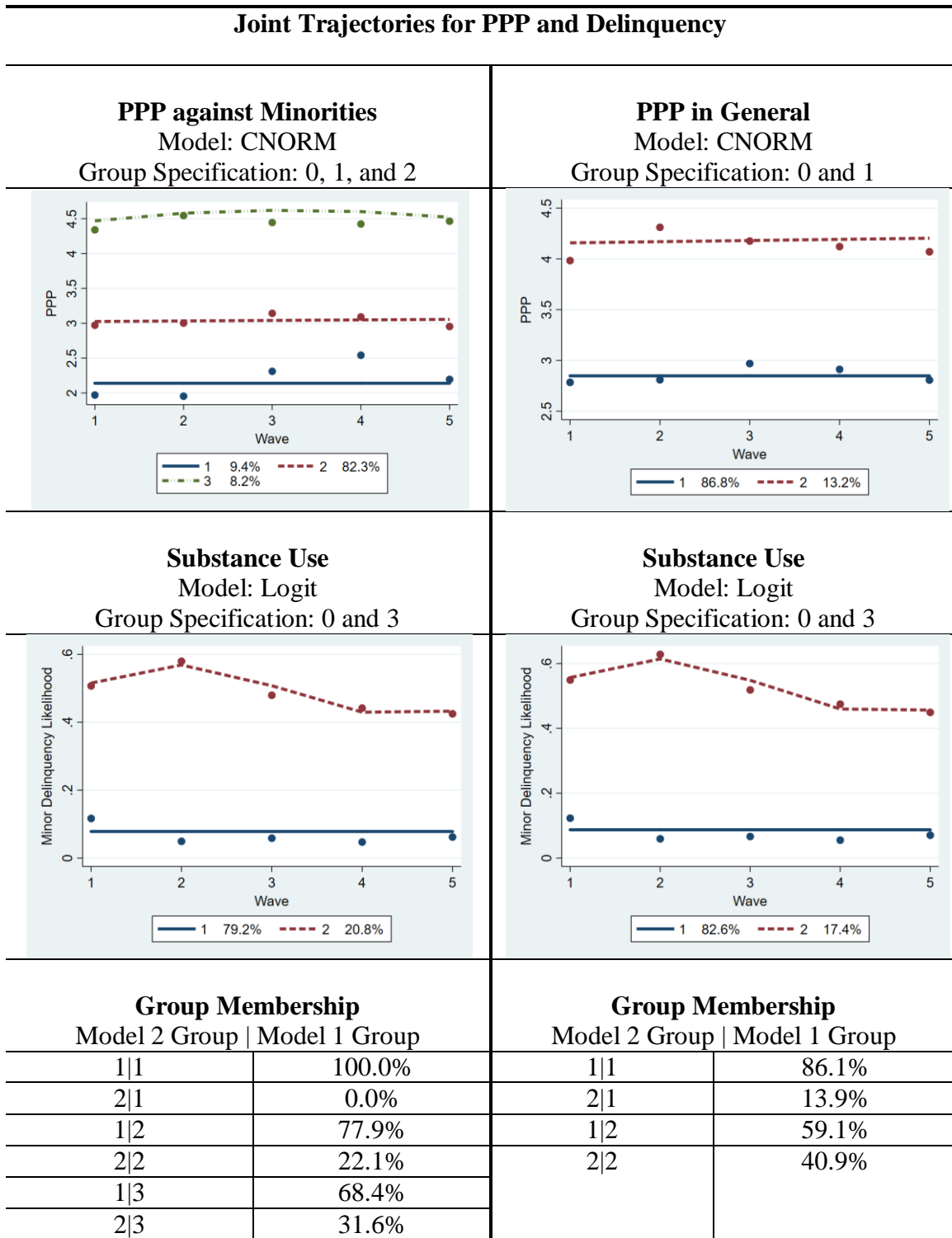
### 6.5.3. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN JUVENILES

Joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and substance abuse for African-American juveniles show that less than half (31.6%) of juveniles with the highest PPP and a small proportion (22.1%) of juveniles with a modest PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of substance abuse. For the lowest PPP group, all (100.0%) juveniles belong to a group with a lower probability of substance abuse.

Joint trajectories for PPP in general and substance abuse for African-American juveniles show that less than half (40.9%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group with a higher probability of substance abuse, whereas more than three quarters (86.1%) of juveniles who have a lower PPP belong to a group that has a lower probability of substance abuse.

While the results of white juvenile show that having a higher PPP is associated with a higher probability of belonging to a group with a higher probability of substance abuse, African-American juveniles show a reversed pattern. In the white juvenile sample, approximately 70% of the higher PPP group belongs to the higher substance abuse group; however, in the African American group, a majority of the highest PPP group belongs to the lower substance abuse group. That is, the association between PPP and substance abuse may contrast between white and African-American juveniles.

**Table 6.17. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Substance Abuse for African-American Juveniles**

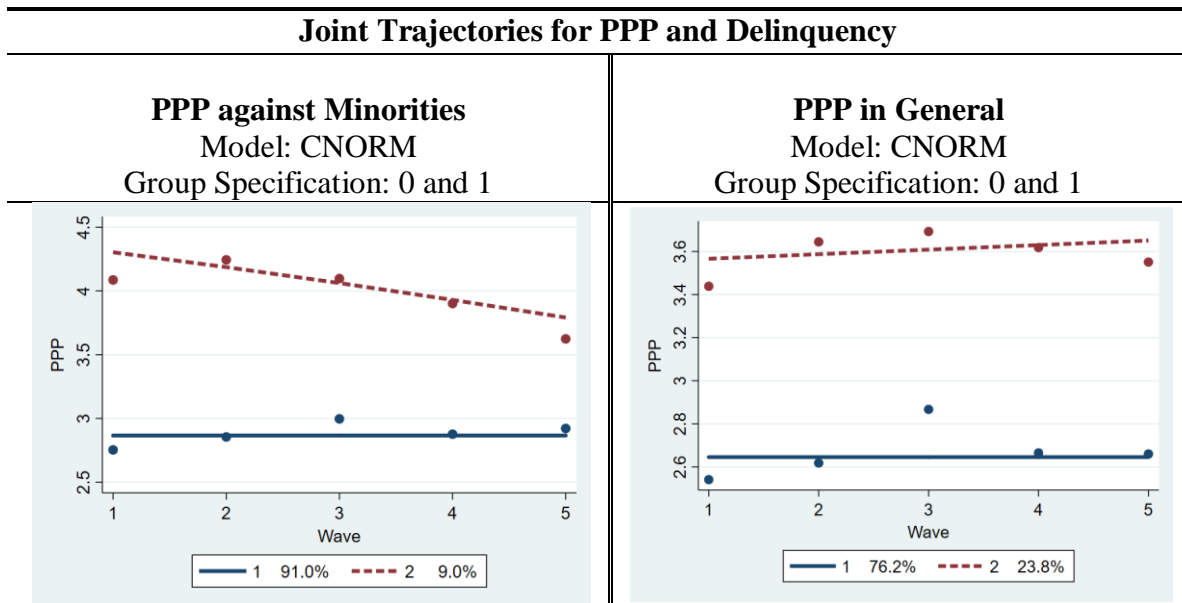


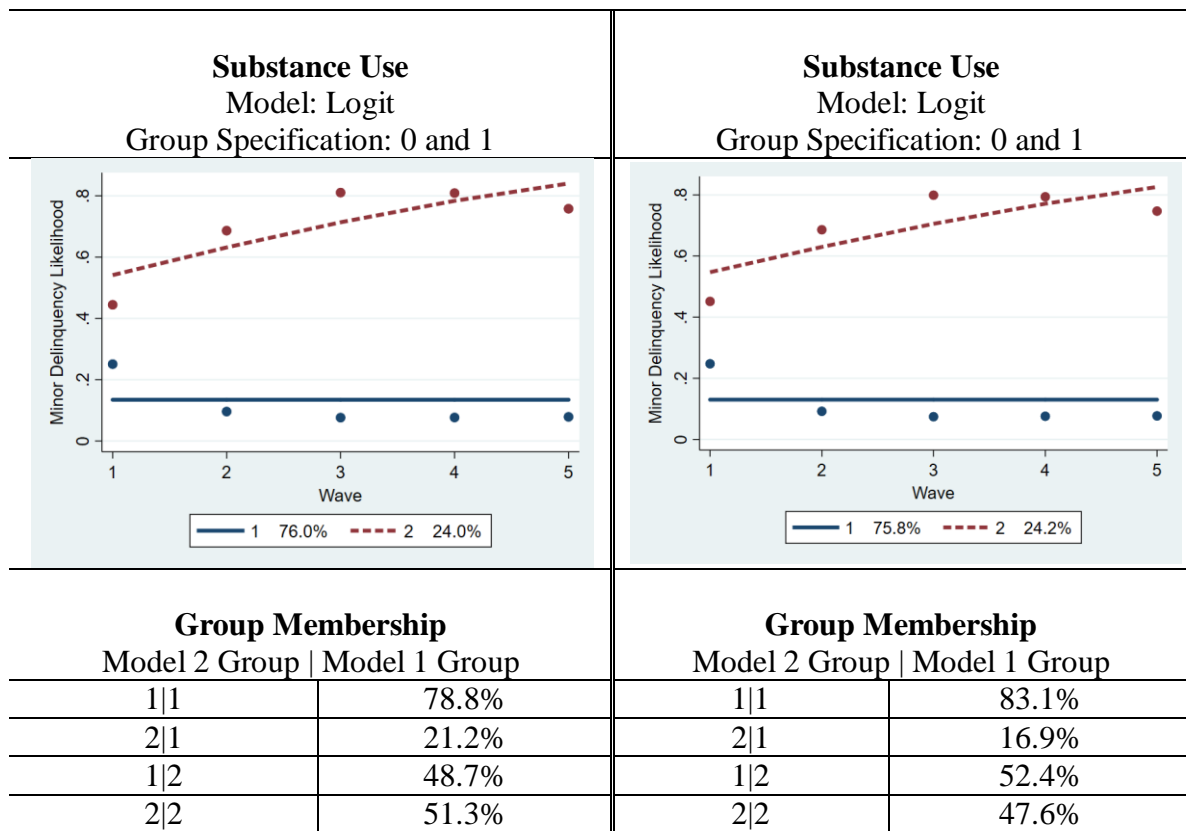
#### 6.5.4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PPP AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE FOR HISPANIC JUVENILE

Joint trajectories for PPP against minorities and substance abuse among Hispanic juveniles show that a majority (51.3%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of substance abuse, whereas approximately three quarters (78.8%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group with a lower probability of substance abuse.

Joint trajectories for PPP in general and substance abuse for Hispanic juveniles show that slightly less than half (47.6%) of juveniles with a higher PPP belong to a group that has a higher probability of substance use, whereas more than three quarters (83.1%) of juveniles with a lower PPP belong to a group that has a lower probability of substance use.

**Table 6.18. Joint Trajectories for PPP and Substance Abuse for Hispanic Juveniles**





## CHAPTER 7

### DISCUSSION

#### 7.1. SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

##### 7.1.1. GROUP MEMBERSHIP

I have summarized the results in Table 7.1 and Table 7.2. Table 7.1 shows the probabilities of belonging to a higher delinquency group among each racial group with higher PPP in general<sup>2</sup>. First, African-American juveniles who display higher PPP are less likely to be in a high-delinquency group (felonious delinquency being the exception), compared to other racial groups and the pooled sample. For example, African-American juveniles in the higher PPP group have a 53.1% chance of being in the higher variety score group, whereas their counterparts among white juveniles have a 74.2% chance of being in the higher variety score group, and their Hispanic counterparts have an 80.6% chance of the same. The majority of white juveniles with a higher PPP consistently belong to the higher delinquency group, regardless of types of delinquency measures;

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<sup>2</sup> In discussion, I reviewed the results focusing on PPP in general because the results of PPP in general show relatively clear patterns for the PPP trajectories and for the joint trajectories of PPP and delinquency, compared to the results of PPP against minorities. In addition, multiple-item scales usually have smaller measurement errors and better predictive validity than single-item measurements (Diamantopolous et al., 2012).

however, the majority of African-American juveniles with a higher PPP belong to less criminogenic groups for minor delinquency and substance abuse.

Second, with regard to substance abuse, the strength of association between PPP and delinquency is smaller for minorities than for whites. Given the fact that more than half of minority juveniles in a high PPP group belong to a low substance use group, associations between PPP and delinquency, or the deterrent effects of PPP, are relatively stronger in racial minorities than in whites. On the other hand, for white juveniles, the weakest criminogenic effect of PPP is found in felonious delinquency. These results indicate that a higher PPP is strongly associated with a higher delinquency for white juveniles, with some variations regarding types of delinquency, while the association is mixed for minority juveniles.

**Table 7.1. Probabilities of Belonging to High Delinquency Groups across Higher PPP Groups by Types of Crime and Samples**

Higher PPP Group	Pooled Sample	White	African-American	Hispanic
Probability of Being in a Higher Variety Score Group	68.0%	74.2%	53.1%	80.6%
Probability of Being in a Higher Minor Delinquency Group	57.7%	72.8%	47.7%	64.5%
Probability of Being in a Higher Felonious Delinquency Group	57.4%	52.3%	57.4%	73.4%
Probability of Being in a Higher Substance Use Group	44.3%	65.8%	40.9%	47.6%



For all combinations of types of delinquency and samples among the lower PPP group, less than one third of juveniles belong to a criminogenic group. The probability of delinquency among the lower-PPP is similar across samples; however, lower-PPP African-American juveniles are more likely to belong to felonious delinquency groups and lower-PPP white juveniles are more likely to belong to substance use groups in comparison with juveniles with lower PPP in other racial groups.

**Table 7.2. Probabilities of Belonging to High Delinquency Groups across Lower PPP Groups by Types of Crime and Samples**

Lower PPP Group	Pooled Sample	White	African-American	Hispanic
Probability of Being in a Higher Variety Score	18.5%	18.0%	23.9%	19.0%
Probability of Being in a Higher Minor Delinquency	24.4%	27.6%	24.3%	24.5%
Probability of Being in a Higher Felonious Delinquency Group	7.3%	6.6%	26.1%	6.3%
Probability of Being in a Higher Substance Use Group	19.4%	27.2%	13.9%	16.9%

In sum, the results of membership models are consistent with theoretical predictions in this study. The association between PPP and delinquency among African-American juveniles is weak and complex. For variety scores and felonious delinquency, a higher PPP is associated with a greater involvement in delinquency; however, a higher PPP is associated with a lower involvement in substance use and minor delinquency. These results regarding African-American juveniles are consistent with the theoretical

predictions in this paper. The inconsistent implication of PPP for African-American juveniles may prevent PPP from having a consistent and strong impact on delinquency. That is, from the procedural justice perspective, PPP has a criminogenic implication; but PPP may deter African-Americans from delinquency if it is interpreted as disproportionate surveillance imposed on them.

In addition, these complex and relatively weak associations can be explained by Harcourt's (2004) argument that racial minorities have relatively low elasticity of delinquency in reaction to policing. Perception of police prejudice may have a deterrent effect when it reminds minority juveniles that police officers' prejudice puts them at greater risk; however, because of the low elasticity of delinquency to policing, the effect may be moderate. The criminogenic effects of PPP, if it is associated with low perceived police legitimacy, may also be weaker for African-American juveniles than white juveniles for the same reason. Overall, the effect may be marginal due to the conflicting implications of PPP for African-Americans, as well as African-American juveniles' low elasticity of delinquency to policing, whatever PPP is implied.

The strong and positive association between PPP and delinquency in the white sample can be explained by both procedural justice and deterrence theories. Strong PPP may decrease perceived police legitimacy, resulting in higher involvement in delinquency. Alternatively, white juveniles may believe that police prejudice amounts to weak surveillance, this facilitating greater involvement in delinquency.

The greater and more reliable impact of PPP on white juvenile delinquency than on African-American juvenile delinquency can be attributed to the consistent implication

of the effects of PPP on delinquency. For white juveniles, both procedural justice theory and deterrence theory predict that a higher PPP will result in greater involvement in delinquency.

#### 7.1.2. LONGITUDINAL JOINT PATTERNS

For all joint trajectory models, the majority (in most analyses, more than three quarters) of a lower PPP group belongs to a lower delinquency group; and patterns of delinquency for the lower PPP groups are generally stable over time. By contrast, there were no consistent longitudinal patterns between PPP and delinquency among higher PPP groups.

Broadly speaking, this study identifies three combinations of longitudinal associations of PPP and delinquency: 1) a low and consistent PPP pattern coupled with a low and consistent delinquency pattern, 2) a high and increasing PPP pattern coupled with a high but decreasing delinquency pattern (except for substance use, which shows a high and increasing delinquency pattern), 3) a high and increasing PPP pattern coupled with a low and consistent delinquency pattern. For white and Hispanic samples, among high PPP groups, more juveniles displayed combination 2 than combination 3, whereas, more African-American juveniles displayed combination 3 than combination 2.

Regarding these results, it is important to review the irreversible process of particular social phenomena (Lieberson, 1987). The relatively irreversible developmental processes of PPP and delinquency may prevent researchers from closely examining the association without an experimental design. As noted earlier, PPP may be an attitude or stereotype of the public regarding police. Individuals without any information may not

consider police to be prejudiced at all. However, once PPP is formed, it almost never dissolves but instead stabilizes or is reinforced over time; as this study shows, changes in PPP, if they exist at all, tend to increase rather than decrease. This study also shows that change in delinquency, if not low and constant, are generally unidirectional after the peak in the age-crime curve. While the substance use pattern is somewhat different from that of other types of delinquency, it also increases unidirectionally. Since longitudinal variation for both PPP and delinquency is generally limited to one direction, it is hard to identify various distinctive combinations of patterns of PPP and delinquency. For instance, although the combination of a decreasing PPP pattern and an increasing delinquency pattern may provide a strong counterfactual for other combinations of PPP and delinquency, unfortunately, this combination is statistically negligible, at least in this data set.

### 7.1.3. Conclusion

Given the reviews of criminal decision-making theories and relations between police and public, I developed two research questions: 1) whether PPP is associated with delinquency, and 2) whether the pattern of association is uniform across races. While I failed to identify joint longitudinal patterns of PPP *trends* and delinquency *trends*, I found positive associations between PPP *memberships* and delinquency *memberships* for white juveniles and no associations for African-American juveniles.

These results, particularly those gathered from the membership models, answered my questions. PPP is positively associated with delinquency for white juveniles, and the patterns of association vary among other racial/ethnic groups. The results of membership

models are consistent with theoretical predictions that are based on reviews of criminal decision-making theories and relations between police and public. Thus, the findings may support causal relations between PPP and delinquency as the results are supported by the theories. While the results involve some methodological limitations which I discuss in one of following sections (7.3. LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY), the below discussions generally assume causal relations between PPP and delinquency.

## 7.2. ACADEMIC IMPLICATIONS

### 7.2.1. PPP RESEARCH

As I mentioned in the introduction, reactions of victims to prejudice are a current area of study in psychology. However, in criminology, while police prejudice has often examined, the reaction of victims to police prejudice has not received much attention. Considering the numerous studies on public perceptions of police, one may ask if we need to separate PPP from other perceptions and to focus on PPP as its own topic. As I theorize in this paper, perception of police prejudice against a particular population may have different implications for different groups of people, and PPP may be a component of *a priori* relational premise for individuals' interactions with police. That is, PPP may be a distinguishable entity from other perceptions based on *a posteriori* evaluation. In other words, PPP is a foundational factor defining individuals' relations with police, whether police officers are friends or foes. For instance, Don Lemon of CNN recently said that he complies with police to stay alive:

“I am one who always says that you should comply with police officers, especially as a man of color. ... As accomplished as I am and a man of

color on television who are – recognizable to many people. I have to do that, because I don't want to be shot and I don't want to be killed. And I am someone who is never in trouble. The only time I'm ever stopped is for something stupid, riding a skateboard on the sidewalk.”<sup>3</sup>

As with this example, perception that police are prejudiced defines individuals' initial response to police officers. In fact, this type of example prevails in the U.S. Thus, it is imperative to study the cause and effect of PPP and differential implications of PPP on individuals' behaviors, making a comparison between juveniles and adults, citizens and immigrants, the rich and the poor, and diverse racial/ethnic groups.

In addition, PPP has significant academic implications in relation to alleged low elasticity of minorities' criminal behavior to policing (Harcourt, ). The reason for this relatively weak impact of variation in policing on law-infraction may be minorities' strong perceptions of police prejudice. Since minorities have strong pre-existing ideas about police, change in policing strategies may not effectively moderate individuals' evaluations or perceptions of police behavior, resulting in limited impact on the individuals' behaviors. That is, if individuals have strong perception of police prejudice, policing strategies are unlikely to change the individuals' behavior. In this respect, to properly understand minorities' reactions to police and minorities' criminal behavior, it is imperative to examine their perception of police prejudice.

Furthermore, examination of PPP may be important in understanding racial majorities' criminal behaviors. The findings show that strong perception of police

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<sup>3</sup> Video: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1nYolsLr7\\_g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1nYolsLr7_g)

Transcript: <http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1607/07/cnr.07.html>

prejudice is positively associated with white juveniles' probability of involvement in delinquency. If this criminogenic impact of PPP on white juveniles is supported by the police legitimacy perspective, African-American juveniles might have similar associations between PPP and delinquency. However, no clear criminogenic impact of PPP was found in African-American juveniles. Considering these findings, the criminogenic impact of PPP on white juveniles may be based on the implication of PPP's reduced sanction risk for racial majorities.

On the macro level, the study of PPP may elucidate dynamics between police and citizens. Many controversial policing issues (e.g., police killing of fleeing felons and the militarization of local police) may revolve around public perception of police prejudice and police officers' stereotypes of particular racial or ethnic groups.

In protesting against police killing of minorities, racial minorities feel anger not only because their peers are killed by police, but also because they believe that the police officers are biased and that they and their children could be the next victims. On the contrary, in a recent survey of about 8,000 law enforcement officers across the U.S. by the Pew Research Center, most police officers (92%) indicated a belief that the protests were "mainly motivated by bias toward police" (Pew Research Center, January 2017; p.17); and most officers (86%) also felt that the public does not "understand the risks and challenges that police face" (Pew Research Center, January 2017; p.20).

That is, minorities may use public protest to express anger which they feel the need to suppress in individual encounters with police, whom the minorities often believe to be prejudiced; but these expressions of anger may reinforce police officers' stereotypes of minorities and mislead police into systemically using aggressive measures against

minorities (e.g., zero-tolerance policing in disadvantaged neighborhoods). In this way, public perception of police prejudice and police officers' stereotypes may reinforce each other.

#### 7.2.2. DIFFERENTIAL BEHAVIORAL ASSUMPTIONS BY RACIAL GROUPS

As the results of this study show, individuals' perceptions of police have differential associations with delinquency according to the individuals' racial groups; therefore, criminologists' assumptions and beliefs about human behavior must be critically examined. In criminology and criminal justice in particular, the demographics of researchers contrast with the demographics of research subjects (i.e., delinquent, criminal) in terms of race, gender, and age. As Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) assert, African-Americans have their own history and experiences that are not shared by white Americans. Something that is intuitive to a particular group of people may be counterintuitive to researchers due to differences in social position. Thus, researchers may be required to reexamine their assumptions (i.e., rationality, learning process) about human behavior and whether these assumptions hold true for each individual race, gender, and/or age group.

In studies of individuals' perceptions of law enforcement, such as legitimacy or prejudice, the effects of race and ethnicity must be deliberately examined because individuals' behavior regarding interaction with police can vary greatly according to race and adopted norms. For instance, suppose that two individuals, one a minority and one white, both consider police officers who are performing DUI checks to be illegitimate. The racial minority, who feels that police are prejudiced against people like him/her, may show high compliance behavior in order to avoid unnecessary risk. By contrast, the white



person, who believes police officers are prejudiced against minorities but treat whites without prejudice, may keep his/her windows rolled up.

To be clear, this is not just an issue involving police officers and black males. Given the current controversies regarding terrorism, drug trafficking, and the profiling of illegal immigrants, research should be extended to include relationships between law enforcement and Hispanics, Muslims or Middle Easterners, and Asians.

### 7.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

#### 7.3.1. FAILURE TO ESTABLISH POLICE LEGITIMACY AND MINORITIES' PERCEPTION OF POLICE PREJUDICE

In this study, I found a higher and more stable level of PPP for racial/ethnic minorities, and an increasing trend of PPP for white juveniles. In other words, minority juveniles strongly believe that police are prejudiced against them, and the perception persists over time while white juveniles perceive prejudice of police more strongly as time goes on. These patterns of PPP may imply that police fail to set good relations with minority communities.

Of course, the police have made various efforts to enhance their relations with minority communities. These efforts include hiring racial/ethnic minority officers, adopting various community policing programs, and equipping officers with body cameras<sup>4</sup>. However, despite these efforts, conflicts and tensions still exist between the

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<sup>4</sup> While the impact of body cameras on the relationship between police and citizens is questionable, after the Ferguson shooting, the U.S. Federal Government announced that,

police and racial minority communities. The Ferguson shooting and its aftermath may manifest a fundamental mistrust between police and minority communities. The Ferguson incident stimulated the “Black Lives Matter” movement (Hitlin & Vogt, 2014). In addition, it provided significant momentum to governmental support of body cameras (Barbour, 2016), and it motivated the public to record and share police-citizen encounters utilizing smart-phone cameras and social network services.

One cause of inefficacy in efforts to enhance police legitimacy may be that PPP among racial minorities is found to be stable over time. Racial minorities believe that police are prejudiced against them, and thus they will not receive enough protection and minor law infractions in their neighborhoods will be overly enforced by police. This perception of police prejudice weakens police efforts to establish their right to rule or enhance their perceived legitimacy among minority communities. For example, the police have significantly increased the percentage of racial/ethnic minority officers in their forces; however, racial minorities are still less likely than racial majorities to consider police legitimate. This may be attributed to the minorities’ perception of police prejudice, which says “a cop is a cop” (Brunson & Miller, 2006; p.632), and to the perception that minority officers are just system operators assigned to minority communities by the criminal justice system (Anderson, 2000). That is, racial minorities may believe that minority officers are no less prejudiced against minorities than are white officers. Therefore, despite the significant increase in the number of racial minorities among

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as a way to enhance the relationship between police and communities, it would spend approximately 75 million dollars to equip local police with body cameras and train them in the use of military equipment (Simmons, 2014).

police forces, racial minorities doubt the role of minority officers in their communities and do not feel that law enforcement reflects their values and interests.

In order to reduce racial minorities' PPP and enhance police legitimacy, police should focus on other ways to reflect racial minorities' values and interests beyond simply striving for color balance. Racial minorities' interests and security have been dismissed via two types of discrimination: over-enforcement and under-protection. Over-enforcement has resulted in high incarceration rates among racial minorities, leading to loss of family members and income providers; and under-protection increases the prevalence of violence, again leading to loss of family members and income providers – this time due to criminal victimization and the tendency of individuals not to report crimes. Despite the significant enhancement in minority representation in police forces over the past few decades, the problem of over-enforcement and under-protection among disadvantaged neighborhoods has not been solved. That is, achieving color balance in the police force does not automatically guarantee equal protection and proportional enforcement of the law among racial minorities.

To properly represent racial minorities' interests, police must actively respond to racial minorities' claims of under-protection. In order to prevent minorities' victimization, not only the police but also the criminal justice system must change. It is common knowledge that the criminal justice system, law enforcement, prosecutors, courts, and corrections, are a closely-woven institution. The criminal justice system was created in order to catch and punish offenders *on behalf of the public and victims*. While the American criminal justice system has successfully represented majorities, law-abiding minorities and minority victims have been neglected by law enforcement due to under-

protection. Ironically, over-enforcement in disadvantaged neighborhoods seems irrelevant to the protection of law-abiding inner-city residents. If the criminal justice system only focuses on the criminality of the inner city and minority communities, and does not show concern for the vulnerability of law-abiding residents and victims among those neighborhoods, residents will not legitimize the system. In addition, under-protection is one important factor that predisposes inner-city residents to adopt the code of the street even when those residents prefer to law-abiding norms (Anderson, 2000). If these residents think that police will not respond to their reports or investigate crimes against minority victims, they have no reason to see the police as legitimate. Therefore, police must show minority and inner-city communities that they do care about the residents' security and freedom from victimization.

### 7.3.2. COMMUNITY- AND SCHOOL-BASED PROGRAMS AND PPP

While the effectiveness of school-based programs such as D.A.R.E and G.R.E.A.T. are not consistently supported by empirical research (Esbensen et al., 2011; Palumbo & Ferguson, 1995; West & O'Neal, 2004), school-based programs may still be very important in that, once juveniles believe that police are prejudiced, this perception almost never diminishes. Thus, it is imperative to prevent juveniles from developing PPP in the first place. Despite the lack of robust support for the programs listed above, in terms of their original purpose (e.g., drug prevention and gang resistance), school-based programs may provide juveniles with opportunities for positive interactions with police officers, if the officers communicate with the juveniles in a courteous manner.

Given the findings in this study, police officers should not show racially biased attitudes, even if a class consists of a single racial group. For instance, given a class

consisting of all white juveniles, police must not make we-only-kill-black-people<sup>5</sup> types of jokes to break the ice. This sort of icebreaker may lead criminogenic juveniles to believe that police officers may excuse their misbehavior with relative ease, and it may also weaken the legitimacy of the officers themselves. Moreover, as the findings show, once individuals develop a perception of the police as prejudiced, that perception will last over time, impeding the effectiveness of police work.

Community-based programs, such as community outreach for racial minorities or disadvantaged neighborhoods, are also important since perception of police prejudice may be shaped by racial socialization before juveniles even enter school. However, police can use community-based programs to help juveniles and children in minority or disadvantaged communities shape a positive image of police. This early intervention can be an important precursor for legitimacy-based policing. In other words, once children and juveniles believe that police are prejudiced, and if this perception is associated with elasticity of law infraction to policing, police efforts to enhance procedural fairness and legitimacy may not work effectively.

Although community policing has been initiated across the U.S. since around the 1990s (Cordner, 2014), it often fails to involve the minority or immigrant communities that are the most important population for police to focus on. Some police practitioners (e.g., William Bratton in NYPD) go so far as to assume that a strong community—

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<sup>5</sup> A police officer in Georgia told a woman “we only kill black people.”

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/08/31/remember-we-only-shoot-black-people-georgia-police-officer-told-a-woman-on-camera/?utm\\_term=.9c28a13c0ea6](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/08/31/remember-we-only-shoot-black-people-georgia-police-officer-told-a-woman-on-camera/?utm_term=.9c28a13c0ea6)

meaning a community that is capable of intervening in neighborhood issues—does not exist in the most disadvantaged neighborhoods, and they use this idea to justify their aggressive policing strategies (e.g., zero-tolerance policing) (Greene, 2000; Greene & Taylor, 1988). Even if these strategies effectively deter crimes in the short run, ultimately these strategies may reinforce perception of police prejudice in these neighborhoods.

### 7.3.3. PPP AND AGGRESSIVE POLICING STRATEGIES

The findings show that PPP and delinquency have complex associations which differ by racial groups. While white juveniles with high PPP tend to belong to criminogenic groups, no consistent association between PPP and delinquency was found from African-American juveniles. These findings have significant implications for aggressive policing strategies, including zero-tolerance policing, because these strategies often cause a disproportionately negative impact on disadvantaged communities, resulting in strong allegations of discrimination.

This study shows that PPP may facilitate racial majorities' criminality; and that actual discrimination by police may not effectively suppress racial minorities' criminality because of their relatively low elasticity of delinquency in reaction to policing. Harcourt (2004, 2008) also argues that racial profiling potentially increases the totality of profiled crime, since racial minorities tend to have a relatively lower elasticity of crime. In other words, racial profiling may reduce only a few criminal behaviors by racial minorities ; and profiling may substantially increase crimes committed by racial majorities, as Hackney and Glaser (2013) reported. Thus, despite a potentially deterrent effect of racial profiling among racial minorities, discriminatory practices may not be an effective method of policing.

These results also have implications regarding the current emphasis on legitimacy-based policing. First, police should not expect legitimacy-based policing to instantly reduce crime rates, given racial minorities' low elasticity and their persistent idea of police prejudice. That is, racial minorities' relatively fixed perception of police discrimination may prevent them from recognizing legitimacy-based policing from normative standpoint; rather, they may view the new strategies as lenient police surveillance. For instance, legitimacy-based policing may require police officers to have sufficient evidence to stop and frisk rather than simply working on instinct. This would lead to fewer stops and frisks and potentially increase police legitimacy; however, it could also give racial minorities the unintended impression of reduced sanction risk. Thus, ironically, fair treatment may possibly increase racial minorities' criminal behavior – at least in the short term. In addition, even when racial minorities instantly recognize police efforts to enhance their legitimacy, low elasticity of criminal behavior to policing could delay positive reactions from those racial minorities.

Second, for these reasons, the success of legitimacy-based policing must not be measured by crime rates. Enhancing police legitimacy itself, rather than creating a short-term reduction in crime rates, must be the direct goal of legitimacy-based policing. As for alternative measurements of success, police may include indicators of discrimination in policing such as racial disparities in police shootings of unarmed or fleeing individuals per capita, comparing criminal prevalence and arrests rates by race, and comparing citizen complaints per capita by race.

Regarding policing in general, we must consider the reverse deterrence effect, as this study found that a higher PPP is associated with a higher involvement in delinquency

among white juveniles. Racial profiling and discrimination against minorities can be viewed as reducing the risk of punishment for majorities. Brunson and Weitzer (2009) reported that white youths believe that associating with African-American males and being in racially mixed or African-American neighborhoods increases their risk of being stopped by police. Furthermore, Hackney and Glaser (2013) found that seemingly unfair treatment by authorities can lead individuals who are not racially profiled to perceive a lesser risk of punishment. That is, some racial majorities actually equate police discrimination against minorities with reduced sanction risks toward themselves.

In this respect, geography-oriented policing (e.g., hot-spot policing) must be carefully designed. In the U.S., crime rates tend to be high among disadvantaged minority neighborhoods (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Sampson et al., 1997). Thus, as Roh and Robinson (2009) argue, policing strategies that differ according to the seriousness of a crime, or according to crime rates, may lead to the perception that policing strategies are designed based on “who resides in those areas” (p.137). These perceptions may weaken the deterrent effects of policing on motivated criminals among racial majorities. Therefore, police should seek ways to minimize the race-related implications of their practices.

Overall, when designing new policing strategies, police should clearly understand how individuals perceive and interpret their actions. If police fail in this respect, their efforts may not impact crime. The Kansas Patrol Experiment, for example, found that increasing patrols did not affect crime victimization or reported crime except for the reporting of “other sex crimes” (Kelling et al., 1974). These findings may have resulted from citizens’ limited recognition of police actions (Walker & Katz, 2012; p.221). In



addition, as the current paper implies, even when individuals recognize various actions taken by police, they may interpret those actions differently depending on their racial identity. Therefore, police must analyze their potential strategies from the perspectives of various groups of people.

#### 7.4. LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

##### 7.4.1. MEASURE

###### 7.4.1.1. PPP

While the major focus of this study is the perception of police prejudice, the measurements of PPP utilized in this study have some limitations. I utilized two measurements of PPP: 1) a single-item measurement of perception of police prejudice against minorities and 2) a multi-item measurement of police prejudice that is an averaged variable of perception of police prejudice against minorities and perception of police prejudice against “people like me.”

The first variable is limited because it was measured by a single item, meaning it can generate large measurement errors; nevertheless, the wording of this item exactly reflected what I wanted to measure. On the other hand, the second variable may more accurately measure the perception of police prejudice *in general* than the first; however, this second variable differs slightly from perception of police prejudice against *minorities*. Since the additional item in the second variable measured juveniles’ perception of police prejudice against *people like me*, the actual implications of this item depends on how juveniles define “people like me” in the question. Different juveniles may consider it to mean young, white, African-American, Hispanic, and/or people who live in a particular neighborhood. Thus, it is not the perfect item to measure perceived police prejudice

against *minorities*; nevertheless, it still measures juveniles' perception of *police prejudice* against a particular population that is self-defined by each respondent. The second measurement may provide a good measure of general perception of police prejudice, but it does not accurately measure what I wanted to measure, PPP against minorities.

Although the PPP variables in this paper are not completely satisfactory, the GREAT is the reasonable dataset given the lack of a good PPP scale in criminology and the fact that most other datasets do not include any items measuring respondents' ideas regarding police prejudice against minorities. In order to closely examine individuals' perception of police prejudice, we must develop a multi-dimensional PPP scale which considers various aspects of public perception of police prejudice. The dimensions may be defined according to victims of police prejudice (e.g., particular groups of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, religion, immigrant status, and political status) or situations (e.g., vehicle stop-and-searches, pedestrian stop-and-frisks, decision to arrest, and referral of suspects to prosecutors). I suggest a PPP scale in Appendix C. This scale may be utilized for in-depth examination of PPP; nevertheless, the scale requires empirical validation.

#### 7.4.2. CAUSALITY

Causality between PPP and delinquency could not be clearly established in this study since the data were not experimental. While I used decision-making theories in criminology to theorize the means by which PPP influences delinquency, there may be alternative explanations regarding this association. For instance, white juvenile delinquents may frequently observe police harassment of racial minorities, or they may often feel that police do not aggressively enforce the law against racial majorities, thus

resulting in a higher perception of police prejudice. Of course, a high perception of police prejudice formed in one of these ways may, again, facilitate additional involvement in delinquency. Even though the current study utilized longitudinal data and found differential associations between PPP and delinquency by racial/ethnic groups, experimental research should be conducted in order to establish robust causal relationship between PPP and delinquency.

In addition, given the theoretical discussions in this study, future research must utilize experimental designs in order to properly answer the questions posed here. I have theorized that PPP may influence *each* criminal decision-making process. Next, I have assumed that if PPP influences each decision regarding a criminal act, it will affect the amount of delinquency or the probability of involvement in delinquency *during a specific period*. This assumption is important to this study because it justifies my utilization of panel data. In other words, panel data usually do not include situational information regarding an individual's decision for each criminal opportunity, but rather the data include the total amount of criminal involvement in a certain period. Even though PPP influences each decision-making process, if the number of opportunities for delinquency varies across individuals or racial groups over a certain period, the effect of PPP on situational criminal decision-making cannot be examined. Therefore, it is important to adopt an experimental design in order to examine the impact of PPP on criminal decision-making without this strong assumption.

## 7.5. CONCLUSION

In this study, I examined individuals', particularly juveniles', perceptions of police prejudice and their association with delinquency. To theoretically associate PPP

and delinquency, I reviewed criminal decision-making theories (procedural justice and deterrence theories) and relations between police and various racial/ethnic groups. The theories provide consistent implications of PPP on delinquency for racial majorities, in that both theories imply a criminogenic impact of PPP on delinquency. On the other hand, for racial/ethnic minorities, police prejudice has contrasting implications. For minorities, police prejudice may be a deterrent because it increases sanction risks for minorities, but it may also be a criminogenic influence because it weakens police legitimacy.

To empirically examine the association, I utilized the GREAT dataset and performed a series of group-based trajectory models. I did not find clear associations between longitudinal patterns of PPP and delinquency (e.g., an incremental PPP trend with a decremental PPP trend); nevertheless, membership models show that white juveniles who strongly believe police to be prejudiced tend to belong to criminogenic groups, while there is no association between level of PPP and level of delinquency among African-American juveniles. These results of membership models are consistent with theoretical predictions in this study. That is, both theories of procedural justice and of deterrence predict a high PPP is associated with high involvement in delinquency in racial majorities, and for the implications of PPP to contrast among African-American juveniles.

The findings of this study also imply that juveniles' delinquency may be partially influenced by their perception of police prejudice, and that the pattern of association varies by racial groups. As discussed, I theorize that the source of different reactions to PPP is the differential relations that different racial groups have with police, and that these relations may predispose each racial group to adopt different criminal decision-

making strategies. Given the power structure and relations between police and citizens of a particular racial group, police may be either “the God treating you unfairly” or “a friend treating others unfairly.” The way in which individuals define the police shapes their reactions to alleged police prejudice. Those who see the police as friends may challenge or take advantage of those friends’ racial prejudice, but it is difficult or useless for those who see the police as a prejudiced God to resist that God. Racial minorities, in fact, view the police as occupying armies; and racial majorities perceive them as friends and allies. These different images of the police may be manifestations of individuals’ relative power and relational status regarding the police. Thus, perceived police prejudice may deter racial minorities from violating laws, while at the same time police prejudice may be challenged by racial majorities. Furthermore, individuals’ normative orientations also influence their reactions to a number of police attributes, including prejudice. Individuals who adopt the code of the street may inevitably deny the legitimacy of the criminal justice system so that police prejudice may be utilized to evaluate sanction risk. Students of criminology and criminal justice should consider these different relational assumptions, normative orientations, power structures, and reactions when they examine individuals’ criminal behavior and theorize about decision-making processes, as should police practitioners who plan and design policing strategies and programs.

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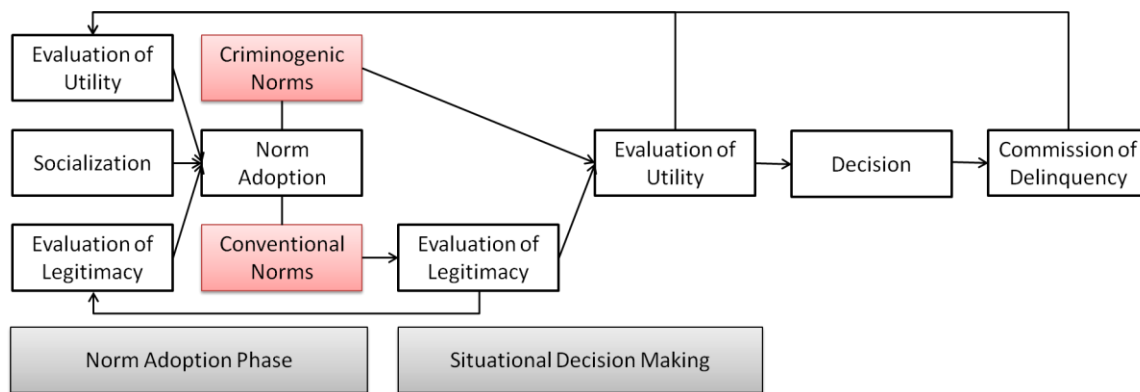
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## APPENDIX A

### A THEORY OF CRIMINAL DECISION-MAKING



**(Arrows indicate procedures, not causality)**

The reason I adopted deterrence and police legitimacy perspectives was to explain juvenile delinquency *conditional on perceptions of police*. However, the process in this model may also be utilized to explain the general criminal decision-making process. In this case, in addition to deterrence and police legitimacy, many other explanations of crime can be adopted to explicate the process.

In the norm adoption phase, in addition to legitimacy explanations, social bond and cultural theories are important. In particular, social bond and cultural theories consider socialization as an important social process that defines the level of social bond and learning of either conventional or criminogenic values.

Furthermore, Anderson (2000) claims that inner-city residents adopt the code of the street because of their poor economic conditions and under-protection by police. That is, some people adopt violent norms in order to protect themselves. Over-enforcement and historically adverse relations between police and minorities may erode the legitimacy of law enforcement and lead targets of over-enforcement to adopt more criminogenic values.

In situational decision making, in addition to deterrence and legitimacy explanations, rational choice theory may provide valuable implications for explicating the criminal decision-making process for individuals who choose to adopt criminogenic norms. While the current study focuses on attributes of police as a yardstick for criminal decision-making, in fact, numerous other criteria can be used to evaluate utility. For instance, in addition to sanction risks, capable guardians, the potential value of a criminal enterprise, and effort required to commit a crime can be factored into the calculation of utility.

Since the purpose of this study was not to test this model, and since it only provided a conceptual framework for shaping the research questions, the model was not fully incorporated in the analytic procedures.

## APPENDIX B

### DIAGNOSTICS TO EVALUATE THE ADEQUACY OF THE MODELS

To evaluate the adequacy of the selected models, I examined three diagnostics (Nagin, 2005; Shi et al., 2013): average posterior probability of assignment (AvePP), odds of correct classification, and estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group.

AvePP, the first diagnostic statistic, is the average probability of individuals' membership in a group that the individuals were actually assigned to. It generally indicates the certainty of the group assignments. Nagin (2005) suggests 0.7 as a minimum threshold. The second diagnostic statistic,  $OCC_j$ , "measures the odds of correct classification for group  $j$ ." (Nagin, 2005, p.88) OCC indicates the accuracy of group assignment, and Nagin (2005) suggests that an OCC statistic greater than 5.0 should be considered high assignment accuracy. The third diagnostic compares estimated group probabilities ((a) in below tables) with the proportion of the sample assigned to the group ((b) in below tables) that is based on the maximum posterior assignment rule. "If individuals were assigned to groups with perfect certainty," (Nagin, 2005, p.89) the estimated group probabilities (a) and the proportion of the sample assigned to the group (b) would be identical. I consider (a) and (b) to be close enough if the difference between (a) and (b) is less than half of (a) (Shi et al., 2013).

In the next subsections, I present results of the diagnostics for the pooled sample. Each table in the next subsections has three panels. The first panel shows AvePP for each membership group. The second panel describes OCC for each membership group. Finally, the last panel compares estimated group probabilities (a) with proportion of the sample assigned to the group (b).

For the multi-item PPP models, all AvePP statistics exceed 0.7, most OCC exceed 5.0 (9 exceptions out of 32 statistics), and almost all (one exception) comparisons of estimated group probabilities (a) and proportion of the sample assigned to the group (b) were within the reasonable range (  $|(a)-(b)| < (a)/2$  ). For the single-item PPP models, most of the AvePP statistics exceeded 0.7 (two exceptions out of 32 statistics), most OCC exceeded 5.0 (10 exceptions out of 32 statistics), and almost all (one exception) comparisons of estimated group probabilities (a) and proportion of the sample assigned to the group (b) were within the reasonable range (  $|(a)-(b)| < (a)/2$  ).

Given the AvePP and the comparison of estimated group probabilities and proportion of the sample assigned, both models (multi-item PPP models and single-item PPP models) have great adequacy; however, these models have only moderate adequacy given OCC statistics.

When I compare diagnostics for the adequacy of multi-item PPP models with single-item PPP models, it seems that the multi-item PPP models have slightly better adequacy than the single-item PPP models. For this reason, I designed the discussion chapter to focus on the multi-item PPP.

## B.1. DIAGNOSTICS OF MODEL PERFORMANCE FOR JOINT TRAJECTORY OF PPP AND VARIETY SCORE

### B.1.1. *MULTI-ITEM* PPP AND VARIETY SCORE

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	606	-	.88	-	.97
High PPP-Low Delinquency	167	-	.77	.96	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	330	.85	-	-	.95
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2465	.89	-	.99	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	606	-	15.6	-	60.0
High PPP-Low Delinquency	167	-	7.1	12.9	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	330	13.2	-	-	35.3
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2465	18.9	-	53.3	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate(a)	Assigned(b)	Diff.	Diff.  >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	21.5	17.0	4.5	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	10.1	4.7	5.4	Yes	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	12.6	9.2	3.4	No	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	55.8	69.0	13.2	No	

### B.1.2. PPP (AGAINST MINORITIES) AND VARIETY SCORE

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	166	-	.89	-	.97
High PPP-Low Delinquency	31	-	.79	.96	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	751	.92	-	-	.97
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2620	.96	-	.99	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	166	-	65.6	-	62.8
High PPP-Low Delinquency	31	-	30.4	12.4	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	751	1.4	-	-	62.8
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2620	3.0	-	51.0	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate (a)	Assigned (b)	Diff.	Diff.  >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	7.6	4.7	2.9	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	3.0	0.6	2.4	No	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	26.4	21.0	5.4	Yes	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	63.0	73.4	10.4	No	

## B.2. DIAGNOSTICS OF MODEL PERFORMANCE FOR JOINT TRAJECTORY OF PPP AND MINOR DELINQUENCY

### B.2.1. *MULTI-ITEM* PPP AND MINOR DELINQUENCY

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	440	-	.89	-	.93
High PPP-Low Delinquency	280	-	.77	.85	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	540	.89	-	-	.81
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2308	.85	-	.97	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	440	-	18.0	-	24.7
High PPP-Low Delinquency	280	-	7.5	3.1	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	540	3.6	-	-	7.9
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2308	2.6	-	17.4	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate(a)	Assigned (b)	Diff.	Diff.   >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	17.7	12.3	5.4	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	13.0	7.8	5.2	No	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	16.9	15.1	1.8	No	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	52.4	64.7	12.3	No	

### B.2.2. PPP (AGAINST MINORITIES) AND MINOR DELINQUENCY

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	127	-	.89	-	.94
High PPP-Low Delinquency	95	-	.68	.91	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	853	.96	-	-	.84
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2493	.96	-	.97	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	127	-	76.3	-	31.7
High PPP-Low Delinquency	95	-	20.2	5.0	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	853	2.8	-	-	10.5
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2493	2.5	-	16.6	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate(a)	Assigned (b)	Diff.	Diff.   >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	5.5	3.6	1.9	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	4.0	2.7	1.3	No	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	28.4	23.9	23.9	No	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	62.1	69.9	69.9	No	

### B.3. DIAGNOSTICS OF MODEL PERFORMANCE FOR JOINT TRAJECTORY OF PPP AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY

#### B.3.1. *MULTI-ITEM* PPP AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	513	-	.90	-	.85
High PPP-Low Delinquency	366	-	.75	.79	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	85	.84	-	-	.79
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2604	.85	-	.95	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	513	-	16.7	-	17.0
High PPP-Low Delinquency	366	-	5.6	1.3	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	85	2.8	-	-	11.3
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2604	3.1	-	6.3	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate (a)	Assigned (b)	Diff.	Diff.  >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	19.9	14.3	5.6	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	14.7	10.3	4.4	No	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	4.9	2.5	2.4	No	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	60.5	73.0	12.5	No	

#### B.3.2. PPP (AGAINST MINORITIES) AND FELONIOUS DELINQUENCY

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	147	-	.88	-	.85
High PPP-Low Delinquency	84	-	.70	.89	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	307	.92	-	-	.89
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	3030	.96	-	.93	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	147	-	60.2	-	20.1
High PPP-Low Delinquency	84	-	20.0	2.3	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	307	1.4	-	-	29.1
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	3030	2.8	-	3.7	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate (a)	Assigned (b)	Diff.	Diff.  >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	6.5	4.1	2.4	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	4.0	2.4	1.6	No	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	15.6	8.6	7.0	No	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	74.0	84.9	10.9	No	

#### B.4. DIAGNOSTICS OF MODEL PERFORMANCE FOR JOINT TRAJECTORY OF PPP AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

##### B.4.1. *MULTI-ITEM* PPP AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	356	-	.90	-	.90
High PPP-Low Delinquency	339	-	.80	.91	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	378	.89	-	-	.86
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2495	.84	-	.97	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	356	-	20.0	-	27.3
High PPP-Low Delinquency	339	-	8.9	3.7	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	378	3.6	-	-	16.6
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2495	2.4	-	12.0	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate (a)	Assigned (b)	Diff.	Diff.  >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	13.6	10.0	3.6	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	17.1	9.5	7.6	No	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	13.5	10.6	2.9	No	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	55.8	70.0	14.2	No	

##### B.4.2. PPP (AGAINST MINORITIES) AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Membership	Number Assigned	Average posterior probability (AvePP)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	106	-	.88	-	.92
High PPP-Low Delinquency	114	-	.72	.94	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	589	.97	-	-	.89
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2759	.96	-	.97	-
Membership	Number Assigned	Odds correct classification (OCC)			
		Low PPP	High PPP	Low Del.	High Del.
High PPP-High Delinquency	106	-	74.5	-	32.8
High PPP-Low Delinquency	114	-	25.6	5.8	-
Low PPP-High Delinquency	589	3.8	-	-	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	2759	2.3	-	10.7	-
Estimated group probabilities versus the proportion of the sample assigned to the group					
Membership	Estimate (a)	Assigned (b)	Diff.	Diff.  >(a)/2	
High PPP-High Delinquency	4.1	3.0	1.1	No	
High PPP-Low Delinquency	5.1	3.2	1.9	No	
Low PPP-High Delinquency	22.1	16.5	5.6	No	
Low PPP-Low Delinquency	68.7	77.3	8.6	No	



## APPENDIX C

### PERCEPTION OF POLICE PREJUDICE SCALE (PPPS)

In this study, the results imply that individuals' perception of police prejudice may influence individuals' delinquent behaviors. However, perception of police prejudice has not been closely examined in the academic area, so there is no reliable measure of PPP. Thus, I suggest a scale of perception of police prejudice consisting of target-oriented PPP, situation-oriented officer-level PPP, and situation-oriented department-level PPP. The first domain measures the degree to which individuals believe that police officers are prejudiced, while the other domains measure the extent to which the prejudice is actually realized by decisions and behaviors of police officers or departments.

#### **Target-oriented PPP**

Police officers are prejudiced against

1. particular racial groups, such as Blacks
2. particular ethnic groups, such as Hispanics
3. particular sex, such as female
4. particular sexual orientations, such as LGBT
5. particular religions, such as Muslims
6. particular age groups, such as young people
7. particular residential statuses, such as immigrants and aliens
8. particular political groups, such as Democrats

#### **Situation-oriented Officer-level PPP**

Police officers use their prejudice when they

1. select subjects for pedestrian stop-and-frisks
2. select subjects for traffic stops
3. use physical force
4. investigate suspects
5. release or refer suspects to prosecutors

### **Situation-oriented Department-level PPP**

Police departments use their prejudice when they

1. select patrol areas
2. select locations for drug crackdowns
3. respond to citizen complaints
4. hire sworn officers
5. hire civilian employees

A five-point Likert scale (strongly disagree – strongly agree) may be utilized for measurement. This scale may also be summarized or expanded according to the purpose of further studies. However, it should be noted that, in order to make adequate use of this scale, this scale should be validated through rigorous empirical examinations.