

Is it all about race? Intergroup threat and perceptions of racial profiling

Shaun A. Thomas , Kyle A. Burgason, Timothy Brown & Emily Berthelot

To cite this article: Shaun A. Thomas , Kyle A. Burgason, Timothy Brown & Emily Berthelot (2017): Is it all about race? Intergroup threat and perceptions of racial profiling, *Criminal Justice Studies*

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1478601X.2017.1358714>



Published online: 27 Jul 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)




View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Is it all about race? Intergroup threat and perceptions of racial profiling

Shaun A. Thomas^a , Kyle A. Burgason^b, Timothy Brown^c and Emily Berthelot^d

^aSociology and Criminal Justice, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR, USA; ^bSociology, Iowa State University, Ames, IA, USA; ^cCriminal Justice, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Little Rock, AR, USA; ^dCriminal Justice, University of Nevada Reno, Reno, NV, USA

ABSTRACT

Relatively few studies have assessed theoretically relevant predictors of individual's perceptions of racial profiling by law enforcement officers. The current study addresses this limitation by drawing on theoretical frameworks highlighted in the growing body of literature examining disproportionate minority contact (DMC) with the criminal justice system. Specifically, we draw on the racial and symbolic threat perspectives with the objective of identifying theoretically relevant individual and community level predictors of perceptions of racial profiling by public and private police bodies in airports, malls, and on the roads. Results of our analysis of data on White and Black individuals nested within communities support the racial threat perspective in documenting the influence of racial heterogeneity and interracial labor market competition on perceptions of racial profiling. However, in contention to predictions derived from the symbolic threat perspective, the results fail to uncover a link between interracial socioeconomic inequality and perceptions of racial profiling by law enforcement officers. These results highlight the importance of moving beyond individual explanations of profiling and other forms of DMC and suggest community characteristics and perceptions of intergroup threat are particularly salient to understanding perceptions of race-based distinctions in formal social control.

ARTICLE HISTORY


Received 22 September 2016
Accepted 19 July 2017

KEYWORDS

Racial threat; symbolic threat; disproportionate minority contact; racial profiling

Introduction

Social commentators and researchers have long discussed the divergent social realities of Blacks and Whites in the U.S. Recently, public attention has focused on interactions between racial minorities and the criminal justice system with some arguing Blacks, particularly in socioeconomically depressed communities, experience a 'culture of control' (Rios, 2011). Blacks, especially young males, are often treated with suspicion in venues ranging from roads to airports to retail settings. Controversial interactions between law enforcement officers and Black individuals, many centering on racial profiling or perhaps the illegitimate use of force, have recently garnered international attention. High profile incidents have increased public awareness and scrutiny of law enforcement tactics and the disproportionate social control of Black individuals. Prior research suggests racial bias by law enforcement personnel

CONTACT Shaun A. Thomas  shaun@uark.edu

affiliated with diverse policing bodies is more prevalent in more populous places with large Black populations and exacerbated levels of economic inequality (Ross, 2015). However, race-based disparities in social control occur at multiple decision points, exhibit a cumulative negative influence, and transcend place and class (Rodriguez, 2010; Stolzenberg, D'Alessio, & Eitle, 2013).

Race-based disparities in law enforcement initiated contact and other instances of racial profiling, such as profiling in retail settings or Shopping While Black (SWB) (Gabbidon, 2003), are well documented. Prior studies have attempted to understand the role of racism (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 1996), cognitive stereotyping (Wilson, Dunham, & Alpert, 2004) and institutional pressures (Sherman & Weisburd, 1995) as explanatory frameworks. However, despite the recognition that racial profiling and other forms of disproportionate minority contact (DMC) are more pervasive in certain types of communities, few studies have assessed the community level correlates of perceptions or experiences of racial profiling (Leiber & Rodriguez, 2011; Parker, MacDonald, Alpert, Smith, & Piquero, 2004; Stewart, Baumer, Brunson, & Simons, 2009). The current study addresses this limitation with the objective of simultaneously examining the impact of individual and community characteristics on White and Black resident's perceptions of racial profiling in diverse settings and by different law enforcement bodies.

While seemingly ubiquitous, there is meaningful variation in racial disparities in formal control between communities (Parker et al., 2004). Studies that provide theoretical guidance toward explaining, as opposed to simply documenting forms of DMC, have focused on two related, yet conceptually distinct, explanations centered on group threat. The traditional racial threat thesis proposes the encroachment of Blacks into a community fosters perceptions of threat to the economic, political, and social hegemony of Whites (Blalock, 1967). These perceptions provide a motivation to discriminate against Blacks through disproportionate social control. The symbolic threat perspective attributes racial disparities in control to cultural, as opposed to racial, heterogeneity. Race-based socioeconomic inequality fosters the perpetuation of negative stereotypes and perceptions that Blacks are a threat to middle class norms, attitudes, values, and standards (Tittle & Curran, 1988). The current study assesses whether indicators of racial and symbolic threat differentially influence White and Black resident's perceptions of racial profiling in diverse settings and by different law enforcement bodies.

Racial profiling

Racial profiling and other forms of bias by law enforcement personnel disproportionately impact Blacks and Black communities (Cordner, Williams, & Zuniga, 2000; Smith & Petrocelli, 2001). Negative stereotypes of criminal behavior as an inherent characteristic of Black males may have a direct relation to profiling, in part, by increasing the likelihood that officers will view them and their behavior as suspicious (Alpert, Macdonald, & Dunham, 2005; Bridges & Steen, 1998; Smith, Makarios, & Alpert, 2006). Specifically, the criminal label and stigma placed on Blacks may lead to disproportionate supervision by law enforcement, which, in turn, leads to increased objective rates of contact, often in the form of traffic stops. This stereotype of Blacks as criminals has been socially constructed and has led to misperceptions of Blacks as aggressive, violent, super predators, disproportionately engaged in crime, and a threat to mainstream society (Welch, 2007; Wilson et al., 2004). These stereotypes have

wide ranging implications and repercussions pertaining to differential treatment and / or racial profiling in venues (i.e. roads, airports, and retail settings) (Gabbidon, 2003; Gabbidon, Penn, Jordan, & Higgins, 2009) by representatives of different types of law enforcement bodies (local, federal, and private policing agencies).

Prior studies have examined the prevalence of racial profiling by law enforcement (Coviello & Persico, 2015; Gross & Barnes, 2002; Knowles, Persico, & Todd, 2001) and citizen's perceptions of profiling (Brunson, 2007; Reitzel & Piquero, 2006; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Findings from prior studies suggest Blacks are more likely to be stopped by law enforcement personal on roads, at airports, and in retail settings (Durose, Schmitt, & Langan, 2005; Gabbidon, 2003; Gabbidon et al., 2009), believe profiling by law enforcement is widespread and prevalent in different venues (Gabbidon et al., 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002), and have personally experienced profiling (Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; Rice, Reitzel, & Piquero, 2005). Weitzer and Tuch (2005) inferred that the increased visibility of Blacks leads to their increased reports of contact with law enforcement personnel. This is consistent with empirical evidence suggesting that, relative to Whites, Blacks are significantly more likely to report being victims of bias and potential profiling activity by representatives of different law enforcement bodies in venues ranging from roads to commercial retail settings (Gabbidon, 2003; Gabbidon et al., 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). However, prior research indicates interactions with law enforcement personnel are not monolithic and that citizen's attitudes vary according to the context of the interaction. Perceptions of profiling often hinge on confounders such as if the driver was in an accident, if a citation was issued, who initiated the contact, where the interaction occurred, type of policing body or law enforcement officer, and even characteristics of the community in which the interaction takes place (Anwar & Fang, 2006; Gabbidon, 2003; Gabbidon et al., 2009; Parker et al., 2004).

Prior studies have also reported that certain non-situational factors affect citizen's perceptions of law enforcement officers and practices, particularly demographic characteristics. Weitzer and Tuch (2002) found that, controlling for respondents' personal experiences with law enforcement, minority status remained a robust predictor of perceptions that law enforcement stops are often racially motivated. Similar findings have been reported when individuals were asked about experiences and perceptions of profiling in airports and retail settings (Gabbidon, 2003; Gabbidon et al., 2009). Those most likely to perceive racial profiling as widespread include females, as well as individuals with higher incomes and education level. In contrast, younger, more conservative individuals are more likely to view profiling as justified (Reitzel & Piquero, 2006). Citizen's views toward formal control institutions are another situational factor that may lead to differing perceptions of institutional practices (Gross & Barnes, 2002). Reitzel and Piquero (2006) reported respondents who approved of the New York Police Department (NYPD) were less likely to believe racial profiling was widespread and more likely to believe it was justified. Additionally, they found non-Whites were more likely to have experienced profiling and were more likely to believe profiling is widespread.

Analyzing data from a New York Times poll, Rice et al. (2005) reported that more than 75% of Whites indicated NYPD officers treated individuals of different races similarly, while a similar percentage of Black respondents indicated law enforcement treat Blacks worse than Whites. Such findings highlight racial disparities in perceptions of potentially discriminatory law enforcement practices and suggest members of the majority group often minimize the existence of such practices, possibly because such practices and institutions tend to align

with their interests. This is especially disconcerting considering the New York Civil Liberties Union (2016) reported that from 2002 to 2011, close to 90% of all individuals stopped by the NYPD were Black or Latino. In their analysis of data on stop and frisk in NYC, Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss (2007) reported that, controlling for contextual characteristics of the precinct, Blacks were stopped 2.5 times more often than Whites for suspicion of violent crimes and 1.8 times as often for suspicion of weapons crimes. Perhaps more disconcerting, while they are much more likely to be stopped, minorities were much less likely to be arrested than Whites. This led Gelman et al. (2007) to conclude law enforcement officers were selective in their patrolling of Whites but that minorities were often perceived as potential criminal suspects. Similar findings concerning racial disparities in 'hit rates,' the likelihood of uncovering contraband or making an arrest, have been echoed in a recent government reports. These reports indicate Blacks are much more likely to be stopped by the law enforcement and are disproportionately subjected to searches, with and without consent, despite the fact that such stops have lower 'hit rates' (Ayres, 2002; Chicago Police Accountability Task Force, 2016; San Francisco Blue Ribbon Panel, 2016; United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015).

Although the bulk of prior studies on racial profiling and perceptions of profiling have focused on law enforcement in general or local police in particular, a small number of studies report similar findings when examining racial profiling by different police bodies in diverse venues. There are concerns that profiling is widespread in our airports, with many believing Muslims or individuals of Middle Eastern descent are targeted for increased security screening (Elliot, 2006). Analyzing Gallup poll data, Gabbidon et al. (2009) examined perceptions of whether racial profiling is widespread or justified at airports. Their results were substantively similar to studies focused on local police and interactions with law enforcement in public spaces (i.e. roads and highways). Compared to Whites, Blacks were less likely to view racial profiling at airports as justified but more likely to indicate profiling is widely used at airports (Gabbidon et al., 2009). Prior studies have also examined the practice and perceptions of racial profiling in retail settings, often referred to as SWB. Examinations of racial profiling in retail settings are particularly notable as they provide perspective on profiling by private as opposed to public law enforcement. This is an important caveat as private security officers vastly outnumber public law enforcement officers. Although there are a limited number of studies in this area that focus on private security as opposed to store clerks and other employees, there is evidence that racial profiling is widespread across diverse retail settings (Crockett, Grier, & Williams, 2003; Gabbidon, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003) and that there are racial disparities in perceptions of whether profiling is justified or widespread within such contexts (Bennett, Daddario, & Hill, 2014; Davidson, 2007; Fix & Turner, 2003).

Claims of the ubiquity of racial discrimination among law enforcement officers have been contested. There is empirical evidence of racial equality in 'hit rates' (Knowles et al., 2001) and others contend racial differences in crime rates, particularly violent crime, in minority communities justify law enforcement practices (MacDonald, 2001). For example, Coviello and Persico (2015) suggest racial disparities in law enforcement contacts are a result of the disproportionate concentration of law enforcement in crime-ridden neighborhoods rather than purposeful discriminatory practices by individual officers. As noted by Coviello and Persico (2015, p. 318), 'mere disparate impact is not the same as impermissible behavior. Discrimination law in the United States generally does not prohibit disparate impact, as long as it does not reflect an intent to discriminate.' In their analysis of the NYPD stop and frisk data, Coviello and Persico (2015) report that racial disparities in arrest are no longer

statistically significant after introducing controlling for offense type and precinct-fixed effects. Moreover, even when racial disparities are identified, researchers have delineated a number of factors and mechanisms that may be responsible (Warren, Tomaskovic-Devey, Smith, Zingraff, & Mason, 2006) while others suggest that racial disparities in stops, searches, and arrests may be the result of the discriminatory actions of a relatively small number of officers (Ridgeway & MacDonald, 2009).

Minority group threat and racial profiling

Within the DMC literature, racial profiling is often overlooked as a form of disproportionate control. In fact, most analyses of racial disparities have examined decision points well beyond the critical first contact with law enforcement. However, conceptualized as a form of DMC, racial profiling may be a critical harbinger of increasingly devolving relations between law enforcement and Black communities. This is an important consideration as federal and state agencies have challenged communities to move beyond the simple identification and acknowledgement that DMC is a pervasive social problem and instead focus efforts on identifying, assessing, and addressing underlying causes and potential remedies. Unfortunately, relatively few studies have sought to develop our understanding of factors that contribute to DMC and fewer yet have attempted to discern the community level correlates of perceptions of racial profiling (Leiber & Rodriguez, 2011; Stewart et al., 2009).

Prior studies have largely focused on documenting the existence and cumulative impact of DMC (Rodriguez, 2010; Stolzenberg et al., 2013). In studies providing theoretical guidance, two intergroup threat perspectives have emerged as conceptually distinct explanations for variations in DMC across communities. The racial threat thesis proposes that the relative prevalence and encroachment of Blacks into a community may be perceived as threatening to the political, economic, and social hegemony of Whites (Blalock, 1967). Black individuals are viewed as competitors in the labor market and political arena. Perceiving Blacks as a threat to their privilege, power, and ascendant position in society, Whites become motivated to control an encroaching Black population through the mobilization of resources, purposeful and structural discrimination, residential segregation, and the disproportionate use of control mechanisms.¹

As it pertains to racial profiling, to the extent Blacks are perceived as a threat, Whites are expected to pressure law enforcement to control the threat, which can result in race-based distinctions in law enforcement contacts. In turn, to the extent officers are pressured to control a potentially threatening group, we would expect them to be more likely to suspect this group as being involved in criminal activity. Such perceptions may lead officers to rely on the less stringent threshold of reasonable suspicion and consequently use their authority to detain, question, and search Black suspects (Rudovsky, 2001). This is consistent with reports that Black youth are twice as likely to have contact with law enforcement officers as their White counterparts (Crutchfield, Skinner, Haggerty, McGlynn, & Catalano, 2012). Even if we were to assume racial equality in criminality, disproportionate contact with Blacks, in and of itself, is likely to result in racial disparities in outcomes such as arrest and incarceration.

Prior analyses of the racial threat perspective have primarily operationalized this conceptualization of threat with an indicator of the relative size of the Black population, predicting a positive association with race-based distinctions in formal control. However, prior research

by Chiricos and colleagues suggests empirical tests of group threat theories rely on the implicit assumptions of aggregate threat dynamics (Johnson, Stewart, Pickett, & Gertz, 2011; Mears, Pickett, Golden, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2013). Operationalizing threat solely with objective measures, such as the Black population size, overlooks potentially more meaningful subjective measures, such as the perceived growth of the Black population. Regardless of whether perceptions of the Black population size or growth are correct, individual's perceptions of population dynamics are potentially more meaningful to perceptions of group threat (Pickett, Chiricos, Golden, & Gertz, 2012). Chiricos and colleagues contend aggregate measures of race-specific population sizes are salient to group threat if and only if residents are aware of the actual racial composition of their community, concerned about it, and respond in ways that organize control mechanisms (Chiricos, McEntire, & Gertz, 2001; Pickett et al., 2012). Despite this limitation, prior studies report a robust association between objective measures of the Black population size and diverse outcomes including: law enforcement supervision (Kent & Jacobs, 2005), arrest rates (Ousey & Lee, 2008; Parker, Stults, & Rice, 2005), use of deadly force (Chamlin, 1989), incarceration rates (Weidner, Frase, & Schultz, 2005), sentencing decisions (Feldmeyer & Ulmer, 2011), and capital punishment (Jacobs, Carmichael, & Kent, 2005). However, this diverse literature has failed to produce consistent results, with some supporting the linear and non-linear effects predicted by the traditional threat perspective (Kent & Jacobs, 2005) and others reporting no or limited effects of Black population size on racial disparities in formal control (Eitle, D'Alessio, & Stolzenberg, 2002; Ousey & Lee, 2008; Parker et al., 2005).

Whereas the racial threat perspective focuses on racial heterogeneity and competition, the symbolic threat perspective focuses on perceptions of group differences and threats to the normative social order. This perspective attributes racial disparities in formal control to real or perceived cultural, as opposed to racial, heterogeneity. Social distance and race-based socioeconomic inequality impede opportunities for intergroup contact and social integration. This social distance fosters the development and perpetuation of stereotypes and perceptions of Blacks as aggressive, violent, and being from unstable and dysfunctional families and communities that are unwilling or incapable of instilling mainstream or middle class standards and more likely to commit criminal offenses (Bridges & Steen, 1998; Oliver & Wong, 2003; Tittle & Curran, 1988). Attending to a group perceived as a threat to mainstream normative social order and public safety, officials are pressured to use formal control mechanisms to enforce the values and morals of the majority group (Liska, 1992; Stolzenberg, D'Alessio, & Eitle, 2004). In such environments, racial disparities in the application of control mechanisms, including racial profiling, are likely exacerbated, particularly as they relate to critical initial contacts with law enforcement. To the extent Blacks are perceived as a threat to the normative social order and a risk to public safety, one possible result could be the differential treatment by law enforcement (Sampson & Laub, 1993).

Both the racial and the symbolic threat perspectives have garnered support in the extant literature, however, prior analyses have largely neglected to simultaneously consider these perspectives. A recent study by Thomas, Moak, and Walker (2013) simultaneously examined the racial and symbolic threat perspectives in an analysis of DMC in the Arkansas juvenile justice system. They reported a consistent association between symbolic aspects of intergroup threat and racial disparities in the likelihood of detention. They concluded socioeconomic interracial inequality increases intergroup social and cultural divisions fostering perceptions of Blacks as a threat to mainstream society and middle class norms. As such,

residents, community leaders, and system officials are likely to favor the increased formal control of Black youth.

Current study and expectations

The objective of this study is to simultaneously examine the impact of individual and community factors on perceptions of racial profiling, a critical area of first contact with law enforcement. Racial biases in such front-end process points may be particularly consequential due to the cumulative nature of processing disparities (Rodriguez, 2010; Stolzenberg et al., 2013).

Controlling for demographic characteristics and perceptions of race relations in the community, we explore whether perceptions of racial profiling by public and private law enforcement bodies in diverse venues are contingent on indicators of racial or symbolic threat. The current study therefore contributes to the growing body of research assessing racial profiling by clarifying the individual level characteristics and aggregate level social mechanisms influencing individual's perceptions of profiling. Due, in part, to the discretion provided to both public and private law enforcement officers, their actions in terms of contacting, detaining, and conducting a limited search of a suspect represent a critical juncture during which community sentiment, particularly perceptions of threat, are likely to impact social control. As such, our first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1: Black respondents will have a greater likelihood of perceiving racial profiling as being widespread.

While identifying racial distinctions in perceptions of profiling by different policing bodies in diverse contexts is important, the primary contribution of this research centers on highlighting the role of characteristics of the contextual environment in shaping perceptions of profiling. The traditional racial threat perspective proposes perceptions of threat brought about by the relative size of the Black population, the encroachment of Blacks into a community, and interracial labor market competition result in the disproportionate control of Blacks. Hypotheses 2 through 5 are grounded in propositions culled from this perspective.

Hypothesis 2: The relative size of the Black population will be positively associated with perceptions that racial profiling is widespread.

Hypothesis 3: The association between the relative size of the Black population and perceptions of racial profiling will be nonlinear (positive with a decelerating slope).

Hypothesis 4: Black population growth will be positively associated with perceptions that racial profiling is widespread.

Hypothesis 5: Interracial labor market competition will be positively associated with perceptions that racial profiling is widespread.

The symbolic threat perspective predicts racial inequality and social distance foster perceptions among Whites that Blacks are a threat to mainstream norms and culture (Tittle & Curran, 1988). Based on this premise, we anticipate interracial socioeconomic inequality will encourage the disproportionate formal control of Blacks. Our sixth hypothesis tests this prediction as it relates to racial profiling.

Hypothesis 6: Interracial socioeconomic inequality will be positively associated with perceptions that racial profiling is widespread.

Data, measures, and methods

Our first-level units of analysis are 1211 respondents to an attitudinal survey of residents of Pulaski County, AR conducted between September 3 and December 2, 2009 by the Survey Research Center at The University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Respondents were selected using a random digit sample of landline and cellphone numbers and interviews were conducted using a computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) system. For private residences (land lines), a randomized selection procedure coordinated through the CATI system selected a household member over the age of 18 to participate in the survey. For cell phones, ownership was assumed thus no selection procedure was utilized other than respondents being 18 and over. The survey had a cooperation rate of 76%. In order to ensure the reliability of estimates, Black respondents were oversampled resulting in approximately equal representation of Black and White respondents. While central Arkansas has experienced a growing Hispanic population over the last decade, the original data collection efforts focused on relations between Black and White residents. As such, the current study is unfortunately limited to Black and White respondents.

Using ZIP codes, the only approximation of communities available, survey data were linked to data on contextual environments drawn from the 2007–2011 American Community Survey (ACS) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Relying on ZIP codes as proxies of communities affords certain advantages, such as conceptually comparable units that allow for meaningful variation, comprehensive population coverage, more degrees of freedom, and greater data availability. The current study analyzes 21 ZIP codes, a somewhat small sample of second level units, which may reduce explanatory power and increase the risks associated with sampling error (Maas & Hox, 2004). However, Bowers and Drake (2005, p. 302) contend ‘small samples have the benefit of being relatively easy to visualize ... audiences will prefer elaborate and focused description to simplification and summarization.’ Although ZIP codes may not perfectly represent neighborhoods, they are meaningful units and are unlikely to bias results. Sampson (2013, p. 9) contends that ‘the empirical search for the correct operational definition of neighborhood or place is misplaced ... and the concept of place ranges over units big and small.’ Further, prior research has shown predictors of crime are relatively stable across time and units of analysis (Land, McCall, & Cohen, 1990).

Dependent variable

Our outcome measure is an additive index based on three questions gauging whether respondents believe racial profiling by municipal law enforcement personnel is widespread when motorists are stopped on roads and highways, when passengers are stopped at airport security checkpoints, or when shoppers in malls or stores are questioned about theft (widespread = 1, not widespread = 0). These questions were preceded by the following statement from the interviewer:

It has been reported that some police officers or security guards stop people of certain racial or ethnic groups because these officials believe that these groups are more likely than others to commit certain types of crimes. For each of the following situations, please say if you think this practice, known as ‘racial profiling,’ is widespread, or not?

Responses to the three binary measures were summed to create a scale of perceptions of racial profiling ($\alpha = .8$). Combining the measure in this manner is consistent with recent research indicating perceptions of racial profiling are consistent across contexts (Higgins & Gabbidon, 2015).

Respondent-level explanatory measures

A number of individual-level characteristics are assessed including: race (Black = 1 and White = 0), age (in years), sex (males = 1 and females = 0), marital status (married = 1 and non-married = 0), education (greater than high school = 1 and high school graduate or less = 0), and employment status (employed = 1 and unemployed = 0). Our analysis also includes a measure of the respondent's assessment of race relations in the local community based on the question: 'Would you say relations between Whites and Blacks are ...' Responses ranged from very poor (1) to very good (4). Finally, we created a binary indicator of discrimination experiences based on questions that assessed whether respondents have ever been the victim of discrimination while getting an education, job, or place to live (yes to any = 1 and no to all = 0).

Contextual-level explanatory measures

Primary contextual-level predictors are proxy indicators of racial and symbolic threat. The racial threat perspective proposes disparities in treatment by law enforcement personnel are the result of a large or growing Black population being perceived as a threat to White hegemony. We capture levels of racial threat with several measures derived from the 2007–2011 ACS. We include the most commonly used indicator of racial threat, the relative size of the Black population, (Kent & Jacobs, 2005). We assess nonlinear effects of the relative size of the Black population with the inclusion of a squared term. We assess the influence of an encroaching Black population by including an indicator of growth in the percentage of the population that is Black from 2000 to 2011. Finally, we assess the influence of interracial economic competition, a critical indicator of threat to the economic hegemony of Whites, with a measure of the ratio of White to Black unemployment rates. Greater values are indicative of higher levels of White as compared to Black unemployment (Ousey & Lee, 2008). Alternatively, consistent with prior research assessing symbolic threat, we employ a measure of interracial socioeconomic inequality as an indicator of intergroup cultural heterogeneity (Thomas et al., 2013). Specifically, we developed an index based on 2007–2011 ACS data that is the average of standardized indicators of Black to White ratios in: poverty, female-headed households with children, and the failure of those 25 years of age and older to graduate high school ($\alpha = .7$).

Our analysis controls for overlapping forms of structural disadvantage measured with five factors derived from the 2007–2011 ACS. These include: percent in poverty, percent unemployed, and percent of households headed by a single female with children. Due to excessive levels of collinearity, a principle component analysis was performed to confirm the factors capture the underlying latent construct of concentrated socioeconomic resource disadvantage (Land et al., 1990). All measures converged on a single dimension with factor loadings greater than .9 ($\alpha = .7$). As such, we constructed a concentrated disadvantage index by standardizing and then averaging these measures.

Analytical strategy

We utilize multilevel regression techniques to simultaneously examine the impact of individual and community factors on perceptions of racial profiling. The results provide estimates of the influence of respondent characteristics on perceptions of racial profiling controlling

for community characteristics as well as estimates of contextual effects controlling for the influence of respondent characteristics. Again, the survey from which individual level measures were drawn oversampled Black respondents in an effort to bolster the reliability of estimates. In order to adjust for the potential bias introduced by the oversampling of Blacks, responses were weighted to approximate the actual proportion of Blacks and Whites within each respective level-2 unit (Zip code area).

Findings

Means and standard deviations for all measures are presented in Table 1. Half of the survey respondents were Black, which would seem to be an overrepresentation considering African Americans comprise approximately 12.5% of the U.S. population. However, according to the 2010 Census, more than 35% of the 382,000 residents of Pulaski County identified as Black. Beyond race, 37% of respondents were male, 44% were married, 65% had more than a high school education, 52% were employed, and the average age was approximately 57. On average, respondents' perceived relations between Blacks and Whites in the community to be 'somewhat good' and 50% of respondents experienced discrimination when pursuing an education, getting a job, or purchasing a home. Regarding community characteristics, the descriptive statistics highlight considerable variation in the size of the Black population across communities with an average of 31% of residents being Black. Black population growth also varied widely between ZIP codes with one neighborhood experiencing a 5.6% decline in the size of the Black population and another experiencing a 31% growth. On average, communities experienced 5.6% growth in the size of the Black population between 2000 and 2011. The ratio of White to Black unemployment rates varied between 0 and 6.96, with an average of 1.21. Further, the unemployment rate for Whites exceeded that for Blacks in only four zip codes.

Multilevel analysis

Table 2 presents the results of our multilevel analysis predicting variation in perceptions of racial profiling. The model presents estimates of the main fixed effects for both the individual and community level predictors. Results indicate several respondent characteristics are strong predictors of perceptions of racial profiling. Supporting hypothesis 1, controlling for characteristics of contextual environments, Black respondents are significantly more likely to perceive that racial profiling is widespread on the roads, airports, and malls in the local community. Further, males and older respondents are less likely than females and youth to

Table 1. Means and standard deviations (in parentheses).

Respondent		ZIP Code	
Black	.50 (.50)	% Black population	31.21 (22.08)
Age	56.88 (40.32)	% Black population ²	1438.23 (1742.51)
Male	.37 (.48)	% Black population growth	5.64 (7.51)
Married	.44 (.50)	White to Black unemployment ratio	1.21 (1.81)
Education greater than HS	.65 (.48)	Concentrated disadvantage	0 (1)
Employment	.52 (.50)	Symbolic threat index	0 (1)
Race relations	3.01 (.53)	–	–
Victim of discrimination	.50 (.50)	–	–
	<i>N</i> = 1211		<i>N</i> = 21

Table 2. Multilevel analysis predicting perceptions of racial profiling as widespread.

Dependent variable	
Intercept	.856*** (.210)
Contextual-level predictors	
% Black population	.032** (.010)
% Black population ²	-.000* (.000)
White to Black unemployment ratio	.024 (.045)
% Black population growth	-.015* (.006)
Concentrated disadvantage	-.086 (.118)
Symbolic threat	-.060 (.057)
Individual-level predictors	
Black	.660*** (.110)
Age	-.007** (.002)
Male	-.314*** (.072)
Married	.016 (.075)
Education greater than HS	.135 (.079)
Employment	-.049 (.078)
Race relations	-.289*** (.066)
Victim of discrimination	.144* (.069)
Cross level interaction	
Black res. \times unemployment	.188* (.089)

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$; * $p \leq .05$.

perceive profiling as widespread in the local community. In contrast, marital status, education, and employment status do not appear to be associated with perceptions of racial profiling.

We also examined how perceptions of race relations and discrimination experiences influence perceptions of racial profiling. The results suggest individuals who perceive relations between Black and White as good are significantly less likely to perceive profiling as widespread. In contrast, individuals who have personally experienced discrimination while pursuing an education, seeking employment, or buying a home are more likely to indicate racial profiling is widespread in the local community.

Beyond respondent characteristics, several characteristics of the contextual environment in which respondents reside are strongly associated with variation between communities in perceptions of racial profiling. We expected aggregate level indicators of racial threat to be positively associated with perceptions that racial profiling is widespread in the local community. Conceptually, the racial threat perspective predicts interracial labor market competition as well as a large and growing Black population may be perceived as a threat to the economic, social, and political hegemony of Whites. As such, we predicted (hypothesis 2) the relative size of the Black population would be positively associated with perceptions that racial profiling is widespread. In support of this perspective, results indicate that, controlling for individual factors, on average, perceptions that profiling is widespread in airports, malls, and on the roads are exacerbated in communities with larger Black populations.

In hypothesis 3 we predicted the association between the relative size of the Black population and perceptions that racial profiling is widespread will be nonlinear. Specifically, we expected a positive yet decelerating slope indicative of a threshold effect whereby there is a point at which further increases in the Black population produces smaller magnitude increases in racial disparities in formal control, such as racial profiling. In support of the racial threat perspective, the point estimate for the quadratic term is negative and statistically significant. This finding suggests the positive association between racial heterogeneity and perceptions of racial profiling is attenuated in communities with large Black populations.

The racial threat perspective also emphasizes the importance of growth in the size of the Black population. As such, we predicted (hypothesis 4) growth in the size of the Black population would be positively associated with perceptions that racial profiling is widespread. The results failed to support this prediction, instead indicating that, net of respondent characteristics, residents of communities in which the relative size of the Black population is increasing are, on average, less likely to perceive race-based distinctions in the application of formal control mechanisms as being widespread.

In accordance with the racial threat perspective we explored the influence of interracial labor market competition, as measured by the ratio of White to Black unemployment rates, on perceptions of racial profiling. We predicted (hypothesis 5) higher White relative to Black unemployment rates (labor market competition) would heighten perceptions that Blacks pose a threat to the economic hegemony of Whites. The results failed to support this expectation indicating interracial labor market competition is not associated with variation between communities in perceptions of racial profiling. However, examining the influence of interracial labor market competition, social circumstances fundamental to the racial threat perspective, for Blacks and Whites simultaneously may be misleading.

To the extent Blacks are viewed as a potentially threatening group and thus subject to disproportionate social control, perceptions of racial profiling are likely to diverge between Blacks and Whites. As such, we examined whether the association between respondent race and perceptions of racial profiling are contingent on interracial labor market competition in the community at large, a key indicator of interracial threat to the economic hegemony of Whites. That is, we assessed whether the ratio of White to Black unemployment rates moderates the association between race and perceptions of profiling. The cross-level interaction, which is illustrated in Figure 1, between individual-level race and aggregate-level interracial labor market competition was significant and positive, indicating racial disparities in the labor market condition the association between respondent race and perceptions of racial profiling. Substantively, racial disparities in perceptions of the disproportionate formal control of Blacks are exacerbated in communities characterized by greater levels of interracial labor market competition. Rather than exhibiting a consistent difference, as White unemployment rates approach those for Blacks, there is a more pronounced divergence in perceptions of profiling between Whites and Blacks. Blacks are particularly likely to perceive profiling as widespread in communities characterized by greater labor market equality.

The symbolic threat perspective attributes racial disparities in formal social control to cultural heterogeneity and perceived threats to mainstream norms and standards. We extend this supposition to perceptions of racial profiling and predicted (hypothesis 6) interracial socioeconomic inequality will be positively associated with perceptions that profiling is widespread. The results failed to support this prediction, demonstrating instead that interracial socioeconomic inequality does not significantly influence between-community variation in perceptions of racial profiling. Once again, it is plausible that the influence of interracial socioeconomic inequality on perceptions of racial profiling is race-specific. Similar to our analysis of interracial labor market competition, we examined whether the association between respondent race and perceptions of profiling are contingent on interracial socioeconomic inequality in the community at-large. The cross-level interaction between respondent race and interracial socioeconomic inequality indicated that threat generated by interracial cultural heterogeneity did not condition the association between race and perceptions of racial profiling.

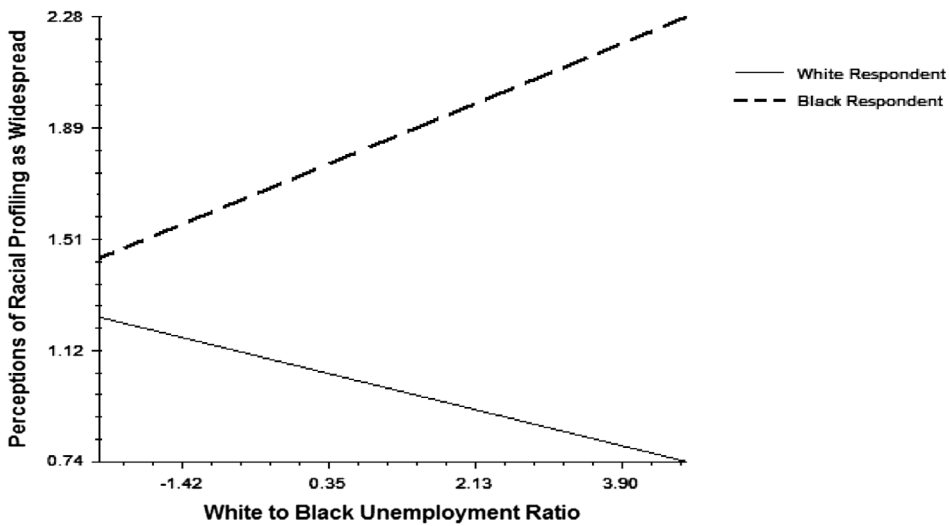


Figure 1. Perceptions of racial profiling by White to Black unemployment ratio.

Sensitivity analyses

We do not have an a priori rationale for singling out racial profiling by a particular law enforcement body or the specific venues examined in our study. Roads, airports, and retail settings are however venues in which the suspicion of racial profiling by law enforcement officials representing different policing bodies has drawn the concern and ire of citizens, public officials, and researchers (Gabbidon, 2003; Gabbidon et al., 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). A potential limitation of this outcome measures relates to the fact that minority threat perspectives suggest threat is group specific. This may bias our findings if, when respondents are asked questions pertaining to their perceptions of racial profiling, they associate different racial or ethnic groups with profiling activities in specific locations. As this relates to the current study, respondents may associate profiling in airports with individuals of Middle Eastern descent but associate profiling on the roads and in malls with African Americans. To address this concern, we conducted supplementary analyses to verify the robustness of our findings. Specifically, we constructed an alternative outcome measures that included only measures tapping perceptions of racial profiling by law enforcement personnel on the roads and in malls. The results of this supplementary analysis were substantively the same as those presented below.

The results of the current study could also be biased to the extent perceptions of racial profiling are dependent on the type of policing body referenced or if respondents associate different policing bodies with specific venues. For example, respondents may associate racial profiling in retail settings with private security and they may have different perceptions of private security and public police officers. As such, we replicated the analyses presented below after removing the question referencing perceptions of profiling in retail settings from the index. The results of this supplemental analysis were substantively the same as those presented below. Overall, we interpret the results of these sensitivity analyses as suggesting the individual and community level predictors of citizen's perceptions of racial profiling by law enforcement officers are generally consistent across different types of policing bodies and venues.

Discussion

The disproportionate formal control of Blacks is a critical social problem. Law enforcement officers, both public and private, are under enormous pressure and scrutiny as a result of growing concerns of racial profiling as well as the related yet distinct issue of perceived racial disparities in the use of force. Existing studies provide conflicting evidence, sometimes based on analyses of the same data. In an analysis of NYPD stop and frisk data Gelman et al. (2007) found evidence of racial disparities in stops and arrest. In contrast, analyzing additional years of data Coviello and Persico (2015) reported such disparities were largely attributed to officer allocations across neighborhoods rather than discriminatory practices and that racial disparities in arrest are not observed after controlling for offense type and precinct characteristics. Beyond racial profiling, there are also disparate findings concerning the use of force by law enforcement officers. Some reports indicate armed Black males are three times more likely to be shot by law enforcement officers than armed White males and that there is a higher probability that an unarmed individual shot by law enforcement will be Black (Gabrielson, Grochowski-Jones, & Sagara, 2014; Ross, 2015). In contrast, Fryer's (2016) analysis of the NYPD stop and frisk data indicated that, controlling for contextual and behavioral factors, officers are significantly more likely to employ less-lethal weapons and tactics (e.g. pepper spray and baton) against Blacks. However, Fryer's (2016) analysis of data from Houston indicated such racial disparities do not extend to the use of lethal force. In part due to disparate prior findings, it is incumbent upon social scientists to continue advancing our understanding this social problem by investigating the causes and consequences of DMC and identifying social control mechanisms that foster trust and confidence in law enforcement officers and agencies. Unfortunately, our understanding of racial profiling and use of force by private security is extremely limited. Considering private security officers vastly outnumber public law enforcement officers, it is imperative that future research explores issues of racial profiling and disparities in use of force by private law enforcement bodies.

Prior analyses of DMC have advanced our understanding of the prevalence of racial disparities throughout the criminal justice system; however, few studies have assessed theoretically relevant predictors of diverse forms of DMC. The current study contributes to the extant literature on DMC by developing our understanding of the individual and community level predictors of perceptions of racial profiling, a potentially critical stage of first contact with law enforcement. Continued research on perceptions of racial profiling addresses a critical topic considering, to the extent residents perceive profiling to be widespread, there is likely to be increased tension between citizens and both public and private law enforcement officers.

Controlling for aggregate-level indicators of racial and symbolic threat as well as concentrated disadvantage, Black respondents were significantly more likely to perceive racial profiling by law enforcement personnel as widespread in the local community. This is consistent with prior studies and, regardless of whether perceptions are an accurate indicator of law enforcement practices, serves an indicator of distressed relations between Black residents, Black communities, and diverse law enforcement agencies and personnel. Perceptions of inequality in law enforcement practices may be fueled by increased media exposure of instances of racial profiling and exacerbated by the disproportionate placement of officers in predominately Black communities as well as aggressive policing tactics. Racial disparities in perceptions of racial profiling also suggest the interests of the dominant group (Whites) tend to be similar to those of formal control institutions, such that the existence of

discriminatory law enforcement practices are often overlooked by Whites. Such findings underscore the need to repair distressed relations between Black citizens and law enforcement personnel by establishing consistency in practices.

A primary goal of this research was to investigate the impact of structural characteristics, particularly indicators of intergroup threat, on perceptions of racial profiling. While seemingly ubiquitous, racial profiling and perceptions of the prevalence of such actions are not likely to be equal across communities (Parker et al., 2004). It is reasonable to expect race relations in the community at-large to influence relations between law enforcement agencies and personnel and Black communities and hence perceptions of racial profiling. Guided by this, our analyses assessed the influence of aggregate indicators of intergroup threat, both racial and symbolic, on perceptions of profiling among Whites and Blacks. The racial threat perspective proposes that the encroachment of Blacks into a community fosters perceptions of threat to the social, political, and economic hegemony of Whites, providing motivation to discriminate through DMC. Our results suggest several indicators of racial threat are significant predictors of perceptions that profiling is widespread in the local community. As expected, the relative size of the Black population was positively associated with perceptions that profiling is widespread. In addition, results confirmed the association between Black population size and perceptions of profiling are nonlinear (i.e. positive and decelerating slope), indicating this association is attenuated in communities with extensive Black representation. However, we would be remiss if we did not concede that future research should expand upon the current study by incorporating both objective and subjective measures of the size and growth of the Black population. As stated by Tittle and Curran (1988, p. 33) 'relative numbers in a population do not necessarily reflect the amount of threat that might be perceived by an elite group.' This contention has received empirical support with prior studies indicating group threat is at least partially tied to subjective measures of perceived increases in the minority population (Chiricos et al., 2001; Johnson et al., 2011; Mears et al., 2013; Pickett et al., 2012).

In contrast, growth in the size of the Black population does not appear to foster perceptions of racial profiling as being widespread. In fact, the encroachment of Blacks into a community appears to attenuate perceptions of the prevalence of racial profiling by public and private law enforcement in diverse venues. While future research is necessary, there are a number of potential explanations for this finding. It is plausible this is a result of increasing racial segregation whereby Black population growth is occurring in relatively homogenous Black communities. Alternatively, growth in the size of the Black population size may be indicative of a selection process whereby Blacks are attracted to communities that have a reputation for providing equality and justice.

Our analyses also assessed the influence of interracial labor market competition on perceptions of racial profiling, a social circumstance fundamental to the racial threat perspective. Our results indicated interracial labor market competition, measured as the ratio of White to Black unemployment rates, does not influence between-community variations in average perceptions of racial profiling. However, because perceptions of DMC diverge between Blacks and Whites, we examined whether the association between respondent race and perceptions of racial profiling were contingent on interracial labor market competition. Results indicated interracial labor market competition exacerbates racial disparities in perceptions of profiling. As labor market competition increases, Blacks are increasingly more likely to perceive racial profiling as widespread while Whites become less likely to view profiling as problematic.

The symbolic threat perspective attributes racial disparities in formal control to cultural, as opposed to racial, heterogeneity. Race-based socioeconomic inequality is expected to foster the perpetuation of negative stereotypes and perceptions that Blacks are a threat to middle class norms (Sampson & Laub, 1993; Tittle & Curran, 1988). As such, we expected interracial socioeconomic inequality to exacerbate perceptions that racial profiling is widespread. Our results failed to support this position, indicating that aggregate levels of race-based socioeconomic inequality do not significantly influence perceptions of racial profiling in the local community. Future research should however continue to investigate the link between socioeconomic racial inequality, intergroup stereotypes, and perceived threat.

Overall, our findings support the racial threat perspective, but not the symbolic threat perspective, in documenting the influence of racial heterogeneity and interracial labor market competition on perceptions of racial profiling. In contrast to prior analyses of DMC in the juvenile justice system that have provided empirical support for the symbolic threat perspective (Thomas et al., 2013), our analyses indicate interracial socioeconomic inequality is not predictive of perceptions of racial profiling, a critical front-end stage of contact with the justice system. Future research should build on these findings while addressing certain limitations of the current study. While perceptions that law enforcement officers treat Blacks different are important in their own right, the current research cannot speak to whether perceptions are representative of actual race-based disparities in law enforcement behavior. Future research should investigate the association between perceptions of racial profiling and data on officer initiated stops.

Future studies should also continue to examine the link between demographic characteristics and both definitions and perceptions of racial profiling, particularly among diverse ethnic and racial groups. The current study examined perceptions of only White and Black individuals and should be extended by future research that explores perceptions of profiling of additional racial or ethnic groups, such as Hispanics. Minority threat theories propose that 'threat' is minority group specific; therefore, future studies addressing this limitation would advance our understanding of perceptions of intergroup threat. Related to the concern that perceptions of threat are expected to be group specific, future studies should design survey questions that inquire as to perceptions of profiling of specific ethnic and racial groups as well as clarify whether respondent perceptions are specific to private as opposed to public law enforcement agencies and personnel. Moreover, future research should not be limited to venues such as roads, malls, and airports but rather explore perceptions of racial and ethnic profiling in diverse venues or focus on perceptions of profiling by specific actors regardless of location.

Future research should also assess the generalizability of our findings and address certain methodological limitations. Pulaski county, which includes Little Rock, is a midsize southern county with a history of controversial race relations, which became a national spectacle with the racial integration of Central High School in 1957. Moreover, similar to other telephone surveys, older individuals with more formal education are overrepresented in our sample. Females are also overrepresented in our sample. Estimates from the 2010 Census indicate females comprise about 51% of the Little Rock population but represent 63% of our survey respondents. The overrepresentation of females is not unusual in survey-based research with prior studies reporting females have a higher likelihood of participation relative to males (Curtin, Presser, & Singer, 2000; Singer, Van Hoewyk, & Maher, 2000), particularly for telephone surveys (Glass et al., 2015; Markanday, Brennan, Gould, & Pasco, 2013). While

beyond the scope of the current study, future research should explore gender-specific analyses of perceptions of racial profiling. Future studies should also explore the generalizability of our findings by investigating the salience of intergroup threat to aspects of DMC in diverse communities and among younger populations. While the association between intergroup threat and DMC should transcend the operationalization of community, researchers should explore the robustness of our findings to diverse units of analysis.

Despite certain limitations, our findings have important implications. The results highlight the potential gain of moving beyond the focus on individual explanations of perceptions and experiences of diverse forms of DMC. While racism, cognitive stereotyping, and other individual level mechanisms are certainly important, community characteristics and perceptions of intergroup threat are salient to understanding why race-based distinctions in the formal control of Blacks disproportionately impact some communities. That is, as places such as Ferguson, Chicago, and Baltimore struggle to understand and address racial disparities in formal control in their communities, officers and residents must endeavor to look beyond individual officers or enforcement agencies. Instead, communities must be willing to look inward in order to discern how perceptions of intergroup threat in the community at-large, whether based on racial or cultural heterogeneity, influence enforcement practices and racial disparities in contact with the criminal justice system in their community.

Note

1. Blalock (1967) proposed that the relative size of the minority population would have a nonlinear association to racial inequality in formal control. He specified a positive yet decelerating slope indicative of a threshold effect whereby there is a point at which further increases in the minority population produce smaller magnitude increases in racial disparities. This decelerating slope could be indicative of intergroup acceptance and assimilation, a reduction in the ability of Whites to unduly influence formal control agents, or a switch in focus to non-state-based control mechanisms such as labor market discrimination and residential segregation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Shaun A. Thomas  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5524-9845>

References

- Alpert, G., Macdonald, J., & Dunham, R. (2005). Police suspicion and discretionary decision making during citizen stops. *Criminology*, 43, 407–434.
- Anwar, S., & Fang, H. (2006). An alternative test of racial prejudice in motor vehicle searches: Theory and evidence. *The American Economic Review*, 96, 127–151.
- Ayres, I. (2002). Outcome tests of racial disparities in police practices. *Justice Research and Policy*, 4, 131–142.
- Bennett, A., Daddario, K., & Hill, R. (2014). Shopping while nonwhite: Racial discrimination in the marketplace. In J. Cotte & S. Wood (Eds.), *Advances in consumer research* (Vol. 42, pp. 410–410). Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research.
- Blalock, H. (1967). *Toward a theory of minority-group relations*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

- Bowers, J., & Drake, K. (2005). EDA for HLM: Visualization when probabilistic inference fails. *Political Analysis*, 13, 301–326.
- Bridges, G., & Steen, S. (1998). Racial disparities in official assessments of juvenile offenders: Attributional stereotypes as mediating mechanisms. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 554–570.
- Brunson, R. (2007). 'Police don't like black people': African-American young men's accumulated police experiences. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 6, 71–101.
- Chamlin, M. (1989). Conflict theory and police killings. *Deviant Behavior*, 10, 353–368.
- Chicago Police Accountability Task Force. (2016). *Recommendations for reform: Restoring trust between the Chicago police and the communities they serve*. Chicago, IL: Chicagopatf.org. Retrieved March, 2017, from https://chicagopatf.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PATF_Final_Report_4_13_16-1.pdf
- Chiricos, T., McEntire, R., & Gertz, M. (2001). Perceived racial and ethnic composition of neighborhood and perceived risk of crime. *Social Problems*, 48, 322–340.
- Cordner, G., Williams, B., & Zuniga, M. (2000). *San Diego vehicle stops: Executive summary*. Richmond: Eastern Kentucky University.
- Coviello, D., & Persico, N. (2015). An economic analysis of black-white disparities in NYPD's stop and frisk program. *Journal of Legal Studies*, 44, 315–360.
- Crockett, D., Grier, S., & Williams, J. (2003). Coping with marketplace discrimination: An exploration of the experiences of black men. *Academy of Marketing Science Review*, 4, 1–21.
- Crutchfield, R., Skinner, M., Haggerty, K., McGlynn, A., & Catalano, R. (2012). Racial disparity in police contacts. *Race and Justice*, 2, 179–202.
- Curtin, R., Presser, S., & Singer, E. (2000). The effects of response rate changes on the index of consumer sentiment. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 64, 413–428.
- Davidson, E. (2007). *Shopping while black: Perceptions of discrimination in retail settings* (PhD dissertation). University of Tennessee. Retrieved March, 2017, from https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss/147
- Durose, M., Schmitt, E., & Langan, P. (2005). *Contacts between police and the public: Findings from the 2002 national survey*. NCJ 207845, Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Eitle, D., D'Alessio, S., & Stolzenberg, L. (2002). Racial threat and social control: A test of the political, economic, and threat of black crime hypotheses. *Social Forces*, 81, 557–576.
- Elliot, A. (2006). After 9/11 Arab-Americans fear police acts, study finds. *New York Times*. Retrieved March, 2017, from https://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/12/us/12arabs.html?_r=1&oref=slogin
- Feldmeyer, B., & Ulmer, J. (2011). Racial/ethnic threat and federal sentencing. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 49, 197–251.
- Fix, M., & Turner, M. (2003). *A national report card on discrimination in America: The role of testing*. (M. Fix & M. A. Turner, Eds.). Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Fryer Jr., R. (2016). *An empirical analysis of racial differences in police use of force* (No. w22399). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Gabbidon, S. (2003). Racial profiling by store clerks and security personnel in retail establishments: An exploration of 'shopping while black'. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 19, 345–364.
- Gabbidon, S., Penn, E., Jordan, K., & Higgins, G. (2009). The influence of race/ethnicity on the perceived prevalence and support for racial profiling at airports. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 20, 344–358.
- Gabrielson, R., Grochowski-Jones, R., & Sagara, E. (2014). Deadly force, in black and white: A ProPublica analysis of killings by police shows outsize risk for young black males. *ProPublica.org*. Retrieved November, 2015.
- Gelman, A., Fagan, J., & Kiss, A. (2007). An analysis of the New York City Police Department's "stop-and-frisk" policy in the context of claims of racial bias. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 102, 813–823.
- Glass, D., Kelsall, H., Slegers, C., Forbes, A., Loff, B., Zion, D., & Fritschi, L. (2015). A telephone survey of factors affecting willingness to participate in health research surveys. *BMC Public Health*, 15, 197.
- Gross, S., & Barnes, K. (2002). Road work: Racial profiling and drug interdiction on the highway. *Michigan Law Review*, 101, 653–754.
- Higgins, G., & Gabbidon, S. (2015). Revisiting the generality of public opinion on racial profiling: A statewide study of white perceptions. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 38, 1–17.
- Jacobs, D., Carmichael, J., & Kent, S. (2005). Vigilantism, current racial threat, and death sentences. *American Sociological Review*, 70, 656–677.

- Johnson, B., Stewart, E., Pickett, J., & Gertz, M. (2011). Ethnic threat and social control: Examining public support for judicial use of ethnicity in punishment. *Criminology*, *49*, 401–441.
- Kent, S., & Jacobs, D. (2005). Minority threat and police strength from 1980 to 2000: A fixed-effects analysis of nonlinear and interactive effects in large US cities. *Criminology*, *43*, 731–760.
- Knowles, J., Persico, N., & Todd, P. (2001). Racial bias in motor vehicle searches: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Political Economy*, *109*, 203–229.
- Land, K., McCall, P., & Cohen, L. (1990). Structural covariates of homicide rates: Are there any invariances across time and social space? *American Journal of Sociology*, *95*, 922–963.
- Leiber, M., & Rodriguez, N. (2011). The implementation of the disproportionate minority contact (DMC) mandate a failure or Success? *Race and Justice*, *1*, 103–124.
- Liska, A. (Ed.). (1992). *Social threat and social control*. Albany, NY: Suny Press.
- Lundman, R., & Kaufman, R. (2003). Driving while black: Effects of race, ethnicity, and gender on citizen self-reports of traffic stops and police actions. *Criminology*, *41*, 195–220.
- Maas, C., & Hox, J. (2004). Robustness issues in multilevel regression analysis. *Statistica Neerlandica*, *58*, 127–137.
- MacDonald, H. (2001). The myth of racial profiling. *City Journal*, *11*, 2–5.
- Markanday, S., Brennan, S., Gould, H., & Pasco, J. (2013). Sex-differences in reasons for non-participation at recruitment: Geelong Osteoporosis Study. *BMC Research Notes*, *6*, 104.
- Mears, D., Pickett, J., Golden, K., Chiricos, T., & Gertz, M. (2013). The effect of interracial contact on whites' perceptions of victimization risk and black criminality. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *50*, 272–299.
- New York Civil Liberties Union. (2016). Annual stop and frisk data report: New York City Police Department 2011 stop and frisk report. *Nyclu.org*. Retrieved January, 2016.
- Oliver, E., & Wong, J. (2003). Intergroup prejudice in multiethnic settings. *American Journal of Political Science*, *47*, 567–582.
- Ousey, G., & Lee, M. (2008). Racial disparity in formal social control an investigation of alternative explanations of arrest rate inequality. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *45*, 322–355.
- Parker, K., MacDonald, J., Alpert, G., Smith, M., & Piquero, A. (2004). A contextual study of racial profiling: Assessing the theoretical rationale for the study of racial profiling at the local level. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *47*, 943–962.
- Parker, K., Stults, B., & Rice, S. (2005). Racial threat, concentrated disadvantage and social control: Considering the macro-level sources of variation in arrests. *Criminology*, *43*, 1111–1134.
- Pickett, J., Chiricos, T., Golden, K., & Gertz, M. (2012). Reconsidering the relationship between perceived neighborhood racial composition and whites' perceptions of victimization risk: Do racial stereotypes matter? *Criminology*, *50*, 145–186.
- Reitzel, J., & Piquero, A. (2006). Does it exist?: Studying citizen's attitudes of racial profiling. *Police Quarterly*, *9*, 161–183.
- Rice, S., Reitzel, J., & Piquero, A. (2005). Shades of brown: Perceptions of racial profiling and the intra-ethnic differential. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, *3*, 47–70.
- Ridgeway, G., & MacDonald, J. (2009). Doubly robust internal benchmarking and false discovery rates for detecting racial bias in police stops. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *104*, 661–668.
- Rios, V. (2011). *Punished: Policing the lives of black and latino boys*. New York: NYU Press.
- Rodriguez, N. (2010). The cumulative effect of race and ethnicity in juvenile court outcomes and why pre-adjudication detention matters. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *47*, 391–413.
- Ross, C. (2015). A multi-level Bayesian analysis of racial bias in police shootings at the county-level in the United States, 2011–2014. *PLoS ONE*, *10*, e0141854.
- Rudovsky, D. (2001). Law enforcement by stereotypes and serendipity: Racial profiling and stops and searches without cause. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law*, *3*, 296–366.
- Sampson, R. (2013). The place of context: A theory and strategy for criminology's hard problems. *Criminology*, *51*, 1–31.
- Sampson, R., & Laub, J. (1993). Structural variations in juvenile court processing: Inequality, the underclass, and social control. *Law & Society Review*, *27*, 285–311.
- San Francisco Blue Ribbon Panel. (2016). *The Blue Ribbon panel on transparency, accountability and fairness in law enforcement*. San Francisco, CA: [sfbueribbonpanel.com](http://sfdistrictattorney.org/sites/default/files/Document/BRP_report.pdf). Retrieved March, 2017, from http://sfdistrictattorney.org/sites/default/files/Document/BRP_report.pdf

- Sellers, R., & Shelton, J. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 1079–1092.
- Sherman, L., & Weisburd, D. (1995). General deterrent effects of police patrol in crime “hot spots”: A randomized, controlled trial. *Justice Quarterly*, 12, 625–648.
- Singer, E., Van Hoewyk, J., & Maher, M. (2000). Experiments with incentives in telephone surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 64, 171–188.
- Smith, M., Makarios, M., & Alpert, G. (2006). Differential suspicion: Theory specification and gender effects in the traffic stop context. *Justice Quarterly*, 23, 271–295.
- Smith, M., & Petrocelli, M. (2001). Racial profiling? A multivariate analysis of police traffic stop data. *Police Quarterly*, 4, 4–27.
- Stewart, E., Baumer, E., Brunson, R., & Simons, R. (2009). Neighborhood racial context and perceptions of police-based racial discrimination among black youth. *Criminology*, 47, 847–887.
- Stolzenberg, L., D'Alessio, S., & Eitle, D. (2013). Race and cumulative discrimination in the prosecution of criminal defendants. *Race and Justice*, 3, 275–299.
- Stolzenberg, L., D'Alessio, S., & Eitle, D. (2004). A multilevel test of racial threat theory. *Criminology*, 42, 673–698.
- Thomas, S., Moak, S., & Walker, J. (2013). The contingent effect of race in juvenile court detention decisions: The role of racial and symbolic threat. *Race and Justice*, 3, 239–265.
- Tittle, C., & Curran, D. (1988). Contingencies for dispositional disparities in juvenile justice. *Social Forces*, 67, 23–58.
- United States Census Bureau. (2016). The American community survey: 2007–2011 American community survey 5-Year estimate summary file. *Census.gov*. Retrieved July, 2015.
- United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division. (2015). *Investigation of Ferguson police department*. Washington, DC: Justice.gov. Retrieved January, 2016, from https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/press-releases/attachments/2015/03/04/ferguson_police_department_report.pdf.
- Walker, S., Spohn, C., & DeLone, M. (1996). *The color of justice*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Warren, P., Tomaskovic-Devey, D., Smith, W., Zingraff, M., & Mason, M. (2006). Driving while black: Bias processes and racial disparity in police stops. *Criminology*, 44, 709–738.
- Weidner, R., Frase, R., & Schultz, J. (2005). The impact of contextual factors on the decision to imprison in large urban jurisdictions: A multilevel analysis. *Crime and Delinquency*, 51, 400–424.
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. (2002). Perceptions of racial profiling: Race, class, and personal experience. *Criminology*, 40, 435–456.
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. (2005). Racially biased policing: Determinants of citizen perceptions. *Social Forces*, 83, 1009–1030.
- Welch, K. (2007). Black criminal stereotypes and racial profiling. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 23, 276–288.
- Wilson, G., Dunham, R., & Alpert, G. (2004). Prejudice in police profiling: Assessing an overlooked aspect in prior research. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47, 896–909.