

Gendering Threat: Young People's Perceptions of the Seriousness of Police Killings of Black Americans

Jenn M. Jackson
Doctoral Candidate
University of Chicago
jennjackson@uchicago.edu

Abstract:

Police killings of young Black Americans have been the subject of increasing news headlines in recent years and are of the most pressing public policy concerns. While the threat of police violence differs across race and gender groups, it is often assumed to be experienced in uniform ways within racial groups. This paper addresses the question: Does how individuals experience threat that is linked to their membership in a particular group or class, affect how they perceive policing and police violence? To answer this question, I introduce two new notions of threat. *State-based threat* refers to the potential risks associated with interacting with local, state, and federal authorities. *Intersectional threat* refers to threat that occurs within racial groups across gender, sexuality, ability, and class lines. This new theory of threat provides context for understanding the myriad ways minority communities experience threat, which previously had been studied mainly among white respondents and communities. Using an original survey of millennials, I show that Black women and men perceive the experience of police threat differently, mainly, as my extensive collection of 50 in-depth interviews shows, because their lived experiences with policing vary in frequency, types of encounters, intimacy of police exposure, and even perceived risk of fatal interactions. Specifically, my interviews illustrate how Black men often employ coping strategies like downplaying and normalizing of police interactions while Black women express greater fear and anxiety about potential risks to others.

Keywords: police, millennials, public opinion, Black Politics, race & ethnicity, gender & sexuality

“...we are threatened with suffering from three directions: from our body, which is doomed to decay..., from the external world which may rage against us with overwhelming and merciless force of destruction, and finally from our relations with other men... This last source is perhaps more painful to use than any other.”
— Sigmund Freud¹

“We believe that the most profound and potentially most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression. In the case of Black women this is a particularly repugnant, dangerous, threatening, and therefore revolutionary concept because it is obvious from looking at all the political movements that have preceded us that anyone is more worthy of liberation than ourselves.”
— Combahee River Collective²

Introduction

In May 2015, the African American Policy Forum (AAPF), led by co-founder, executive director, and Columbia Law School Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw³, created the online hashtag and awareness campaign #SayHerName to draw attention to the disproportionate numbers of killings of Black women at the hands of police officers⁴. In July of the same year, Sandra Bland, a 28-year-old Black woman from Naperville, Illinois was arrested in Waller County, Texas during a routine traffic stop. Three days later, she was found dead in her jail cell⁵. In an op-ed for *The Guardian*, Crenshaw explained that, “[m]ore black people [in total] are killed – disproportionately to their rate in the population – and although the numbers are hard to assess, the reality is that black women are vulnerable to the same justifications used for killing black

¹ Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1962), page 77.

² In Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, Watertown, Mass: Persephone Press, 1981, page 212.

³ Crenshaw coined the term “intersectionality” to describe the intersecting ways that women of color experience oppression at the hands of state power. See: “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color.” *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), p.1241 (1991). Crenshaw was not the first to articulate this notion of multiple oppressions occurring simultaneously. The Combahee River Collective discussed how “major systems of oppression are interlocking “in their mandate entitled “A Black Feminist Statement” originally written in April 1977 (Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, Watertown, Mass: Persephone Press, 1981, pages 210-218).

⁴ Crenshaw’s comments on the need for #SayHerName can be found at <http://www.aapf.org/sayhername/>.

⁵ The African American Policy Forum issued a full policy brief following the death of Sandra Bland which can be found here: <http://www.aapf.org/sayhernamereport/>

men.”⁶ Using data from the Fatal Interactions with Police Study (FIPS), researchers found that the likelihood that Black Americans killed by police were unarmed at the time of their death increased two-fold when women were included in the sample (Johnson et al. 2018). This means that Black women are disproportionately represented in the number of Black Americans who are unarmed during fatal interactions with police officers (Johnson et al. 2018). Yet, while these threats of fatal police encounters are reflected in the daily experiences and behaviors of Black women like Rekia Boyd who was killed by Chicago Police Officer Dante Servin in a North Lawndale neighborhood park, Charleena Lyles—a pregnant Black woman who was killed by Seattle Police officers in her own home, and Korryn Gaines who was shot to death by Baltimore Police in front of her small child, mainstream narratives around police violence remain largely male-centered (Bennett 2018)⁷. The centering of Black men in narratives around police-related violence both affects the ways this political issue is assessed in the public sphere and reframes this potential threat to exclude the experiences of Black women and other gender minorities. Thus, in this manuscript, I seek to examine not only the variations in young people’s public opinion on the issue of policing but how their personal experiences with police shape those attitudes.

⁶ Crenshaw details how and why she and lawyer Andrea Ritchie released a report as a comprehensive report of police violence against Black women at this link: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/may/30/sayhername-why-kimberle-crenshaw-is-fighting-for-forgotten-women>

⁷ Rekia Boyd was killed during a shouting match in March 2012 while she was standing outside with friends on Chicago’s West Side. Servin shot five shots into the crowd, killing Boyd. See here: <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/editorials/ct-cop-verdict-servin-edit-0423-20150422-story.html>. Charleena Lyles was killed after calling police to her home to respond to a potential burglary. She was wielding a knife when police shot her. Her three children were present in the home. See here: <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/crime/officer-involved-shooting-in-magnuson-park-leaves-3-children-in-protective-custody/>. Korryn Gaines was killed after a six hour stand-off with Baltimore police. They forced themselves into her home after pursuing her for a warrant related to a traffic stop. She had a permitted shotgun and child with her when she was killed. Her son, who survived the incident, was also shot in the crossfire. See here: <http://data.baltimoresun.com/news/korryn-gaines/>.

According to the United States Department of Justice *Bureau of Justice Statistics* (BJS), U.S. residents of all races between the ages of 18 and 24 are the most likely to encounter contact with police while 25 to 34 year olds are the second most likely (Eith and Durose 2011). For young Black Americans, the likelihood that those interactions will be life-threatening are disproportionately steep (Johnson et al. 2018). Though these conditions have gained attention in recent years, young people's attitudes about and experiences with issues of policing⁸ and the role of state authorities in their daily lives has yet to be fully examined. While some scholarly work suggests that young people perceive differences in police treatment by race based on their experiences (Cohen 2010; Hutchings 2015), other research suggests that attitudes about crime and policing are closely related to coded language devices used in predominantly white subject groups and mainstream media coverage (Iyengar 1991; Gilliam and Iyengar 2000; Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000). These variations in attitudes across demographic groups make the issue of policing a political concern that is fraught with racial tension, stereotyping, gender-based disagreements, and negative character judgements that frequently detrimentally impact Black Americans of all backgrounds (Muhammad 2010; Ritchie 2017). Thus, this manuscript seeks to understand, specifically, how race and gender shape both attitudes about and experiences with policing and police violence among the group most likely to encounter police in their daily lives, young Black Americans.

To address this gap in the literature, this work asks: *how do race and gender influence young people's attitudes about police killings of Black Americans? Further, how does heterogeneity within young Black American communities shape attitudes about the threat of police violence?* In the following manuscript, I argue that the perceived threat of police

⁸ I will use the terms "policing," "police violence," and "police" together or interchangeably throughout this manuscript.

interactions, even for simple traffic stops and seemingly innocuous encounters, are highly influential of young Black Americans' attitudes about policing in general more than previous arrests or stops. To this end, I posit that young Black Americans are more likely to take police killings of Black Americans seriously than any other group. With regards to Black communities, I argue that young Black women, whose identities rest at the intersections of race, gender and, at times, class, will exhibit increased concerns about police killings of Black Americans when compared to other groups, including Black men.

This work provides evidence regarding how the threat of police interactions shapes how young people navigate the social terrain like what neighborhood areas they may avoid or frequent, how they avert police for any reason, and how the sight of police officers affects their psychological state. Studying threat is important for a number of reasons. First, understanding threat at this political moment matters because of the role threat plays in the development and maintenance of political knowledge (Prior 2002) and its impact on political participation (Weaver and Lerman 2010). Theoretically, this work pushes back on the concept of threat as a one-way mechanism and suggests that those who are often deemed threatening navigate the world aware of that perception. Being perceived as such becomes a threat too. Fundamentally, examining the role of threat in the daily lives of young Black Americans helps to paint a fuller narrative around a number of political behaviors that are not fully captured by voting turnout rates and polling data.

To begin, I provide a theoretical framework for understanding the role of police violence in the daily lives of Black Americans. Building on that theory, I, then, examine the literature on racial resentment and policing with a particular emphasis on Latinx and Asian Americans' attitudes toward Black Americans and police. Following this analysis, I review the extant

literature examining the role of gender in political decision-making and public opinion of police brutality. I pay special attention to contemporary political manifestations of women's resistance to police violence like the Movement for Black Lives. After discussing these movements, their motivations, and their implications for larger notions of resistance against police brutality, I move into the empirical portion of the manuscript. Specifically, to provide a descriptive picture of the conditions facing young Americans, I start by synthesizing responses to quantitative survey questions concerning the seriousness of police violence against Black Americans. Of particular import here is the variation of responses across racial and gender groups. I then make inferences about the significance of these deviations. I conclude this portion of the paper by surveying interview responses regarding the role of police interactions in the daily lives of young Black Americans. In closing, I will draw together the core findings of the project, paying critical attention to the role of police violence in shaping the future of Black political behavior and American Politics, in general.

Defining Group-based, State-based and Intersectional Threat

I will begin by defining key terms. In *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, Sidney G. Tarrow defines threat as “the risks and costs of action or inaction, rather than the prospect of success” (1994, 160). In this way, threats should be understood as events, actions, discourses, and/or policies that carry perceived stakes, stakes which individuals and groups must assess in order to best proceed in making future political decisions. Group-based threat refers to threats that are linked to one's membership in a particular group or class. For individual citizens, group membership shapes much of their social and political reality including where they are likely to live, who they are likely work and consort with, and how often they encounter state

authorities (Cohen and Dawson 1993; Weaver and Lerman 2010; Enos 2017). For these reasons, while individual experiences are critical in the theoretical framing of this project, group membership remains an outward social marker that affects how individuals interact with the world.

The first theoretical contribution of this project is a conception of police violence as linked to the central functions and mechanisms of public political life in the United States. I define state-based threat as the potential risks associated with interacting with local, state, and federal authorities. This brief conceptual framework will serve as a definitional guide of state-based threat in this manuscript. Essentially, the development and maintenance of criminal justice systems work to frame out and validate social norms about proper public behavior and citizenship. These processes help to make up what Americans rely on to guarantee democratic freedom. As Amy E. Lerman and Vesla M. Weaver explain, “[i]nteractions between citizen and state help form ideas about how government functions—its competence, for instance—but more important, about the democratic values, practices, and norms it embodies” (2014, 10). Police authorities are critical to this system. They are embedded in social fabrics of notions of “safety” and “comfort” that redound to the quality of life of American citizens. Michael Lipsky refers to these types of professionals as “street-level bureaucrats” who “often work in situations too complicated to reduce to programmatic formats. Policemen cannot carry around instructions on how to intervene with citizens, particularly in potentially hostile encounters” (1980, 15). By interacting with civilians under these circumstances, police officers may employ their own discretion regarding how they should respond (Lipsky 1980). And, though local police precincts typically city or township based, they are often deemed state actors by lay citizens. This is mainly because of their primacy in the development of the “carceral state,” an invention which

Marie Gottschalk says constitutes, “a major milestone in American political development that arguably rivals in significance the expansion and contraction of the welfare state in the postwar period” (2008, 236). Thus, state actors may be locally-based. Some local police departments work with federal agencies like the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency to provide personal information of suspected undocumented persons in their jurisdictions⁹. In other instances, local police work on behalf of state welfare agencies to pursue alleged welfare fraud¹⁰. In these cases, the lines between local police precincts, state agencies, and federal actors blur. For those citizens who interact with police, their experiences with local police authorities often carry much the same risk as state and federal interactions.

The second theoretical contribution of this paper comes from Black Feminist and critical race literature. It has been well-established in political science that heterogeneity within Black American populations has varying impacts on political attitudes and behaviors. Michael C. Dawson, in *Behind the Mule*, found that while differences in class influenced partisanship and political behavior, “linked fate” or the belief “that [one’s] own self-interests are linked to the interests of the race” transcended class distinction for Black Americans in their views of the economy, racial attitudes, and the government’s role in the lives of Americans (1994, 77). Similarly, Cathy J. Cohen has shown, within Black communities, certain demographic groups experience a process of “secondary marginalization” wherein marginal group leaders “[accept] dominant discourse that defines what is good, normal, and acceptable” (1999, 64). When this occurs, “stratification among marginal group members in transformed into an indigenous process

⁹ While many police departments have worked to discontinue any potential connections to ICE, local gang and crime databases still supply vital information and statistics to this federal agency. See: <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/05/12/479070535/where-ice-already-has-direct-lines-to-law-enforcement-databases-with-immigrant-d>.

¹⁰ See <https://boston.cbslocal.com/2013/04/11/local-police-departments-state-cracking-down-on-welfare-fraud/>.

of marginalization targeting the most vulnerable in the group” (1999, 64). These differences within Black American communities have implications for political attitudes, behaviors, and responses to social concerns, like threat.

Thus, state-based threat, as other forms of threat, is not experienced homogeneously within Black communities. Rather, all threat must be understood as applying to varying racial, gender, sexual orientation, and class groups at different frequencies and with greater or lesser magnitude depending on their proximity to power. This is the what Kimberlé Crenshaw describes when she explores “the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political, and representational aspects of violence against women” (1991, 1244). Thus, I define *intersectional threat* as threat that occurs within racial groups across gender, sexuality, ability, and class lines. Perpetrators of intersectional threat might be in-group or out-group members. What is most significant about understanding threat as an intersectional phenomenon is its emphasis on the varying power dynamics *within* groups, even within minority groups. Black Americans’ heterogeneity of experiences and personal characteristics requires new theoretical approaches to examining the role of threat in the lives of Black Americans. The term “intersectionality” refers to a phenomenon that has long existed though the word has only been in our lexicon for roughly three decades (Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981; Crenshaw 1991; Hill Collins and Bilge 2016). When describing Crenshaw’s coining of the term “intersectionality” and its connectedness to the work of the Combahee River Collective, Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Birge write that, “[m]utually constructing systems of power produce distinctive social locations for individuals and groups within them. In this case, women of color’s multiple identities position them differently within complex social inequalities than white men or white women” (2016, 82). These “distinctive social locations” and relationships to power within Black

American communities affect the ways that individuals experience social phenomena like threat. In some instances, it pushes those closer to the margins, like women and members of LGBTQI+ communities, toward solidarity with cisgender¹¹ and heterosexual men who reproduce harm against more marginalized community members. Using intersectionality as an analytical tool or heuristic helps us to understand how women of color, Black women in particular, might struggle against both racial and gender-based political concerns, often simultaneously. The lens of intersectionality also accounts for class, ability, and other characteristics which impact social location.

Crime Stereotypes and Interracial Attitudes on Policing

To best understand the variations in beliefs about the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans, I look to scholarly work on minority group citizenship and belonging. These literatures do much by way of grappling with the role of group position in the formation of perceptions and attitudes about policing (Wietzer and Tuch 2005). For instance, immigration scholars have pushed the social sciences to reorient racial hierarchy theories towards a greater understanding of intergroup relations especially where racial minorities are concerned. In her study of the Black-Korean Conflict in New York City, specifically the 1990 The Red Apple Boycott, Claire Jean Kim details the precarity of solidarity between mutually subordinated racial group vying for proximity to white Americans (2000). The boycott began when native- and foreign-born Black Americans in the Flatbush area of New York City's Brooklyn neighborhood rallied around a Haitian-American woman named Ghiselaine Felissant, who was allegedly assaulted by Korean merchants (Kim 2000). The altercation called into question the already tense

¹¹ The term cisgender refers to those individuals whose gender identity matches that of the gender they were assigned at birth. I will use "cis" and "cisgender" interchangeably.

relationships between Black and Korean Americans. However, because the issue occurred as Black Americans were fighting for recognition of ongoing police violence in their communities, the altercation also challenged norms around minority solidarity on issues of policing, punitive violence, and racial resentment. To explain this phenomenon, Natalie Masuoka and Jane Junn found in *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration* that racial group identity for Black, Latinx, and Asian Americans was predictive of group solidarity and support for racially redistributive policies in general (2013). However, they also found that stereotypes about racial out-group *and* in-group members were shaped by a racial hierarchy wherein Black Americans were at the bottom, white Americans were at the top, and Asian and Latinx Americans were second and third, respectively (2013). Asian Americans were most likely to diminish those characteristics that made them appear “less American” while Blacks and Latinx Americans were most likely to assign negative attributions to their own racial groups regarding involvement in gangs and drug use (2013). Masuoka and Junn say, “[h]ow groups are stereotyped is an indicator of how others in society see individuals classified by race, and this categorization creates a context of contingent expectations based on group identity” (2013, 87). Thus, perceptions of criminality and negative racial sentiment about Black Americans among minority groups is closely linked with group location and social distance from other racial groups. In the context of Asian and Latinx Americans, their attitudes about Black Americans diverge just as their positions in the racial order diverge.

Gender, Politics, and Police

For many years, much of the work on the roles of women in political life focused on the family and marital home life (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 1997, Okin 2007). Theoretically, Susan

Moller Okin has argued that gender and the configuration of the nuclear family represents a specific way that women are denied full citizenship and democratic justice (2007). She says, “[n]o account is taken of the fact that the socialization and role expectations of women mean that they are generally more inclined than men not to claim their fair share, and more inclined to order their priorities in accordance with the needs of their families” (2007, 31). The preeminence of families in the lives of middle-aged, cisgender, heterosexual women is not to be denied. Beyond the focus on household priorities, many women’s attitudes about politics continue to be more progressive than their male counterparts on issues of women candidates for office, gay and lesbian rights, and racial stereotyping of Black Americans (Welch and Sigelman 1982; Dolan 1997; Herek 2002; Burns and Gimpel 2000). However, the experiences of women in this literature does not completely map onto the lived experiences and concerns of many young women of color in the contemporary moment.

While these life experiences are critical in understanding the political decision-making tactics and constraints some higher socioeconomic status (SES), mostly white, women face, many other women — especially young Black women — do not possess traditional attitudes about and experiences with family-building, childrearing, sexuality, and civic life (Hicks 2010; Cohen 2013; Ritchie 2017). But, there is a dearth of literature examining the attitudes of women toward policing and police killings of Black people. This is a particularly salient area of opportunity given the fact that the Black Lives Matter Network — which was started to combat anti-Black police and community violence and gained prominence following the death of Michael Brown in August 2014 at the hands of then-Officer Darren Wilson — was started by three Black women, Opal Tometi, Alicia Garza, and Patrisse Khan-Cullors (Khan-Cullors and Bandele 2017). These women frequently cite highly publicized instances of Black death at the

hands of state authorities and private citizens as the motivation behind their collective work (Khan-Cullors and Bandele 2017). To that end, the authors explain that they knew the threat of police surveillance and monitoring was constant when they started the movement. It was their specific positions, as Black queer women organizers who were already living in and working with marginalized communities, that gave them insight into the severity of policing in Black neighborhoods (Khan-Cullors and Bandele 2017). This orientation to power, one situated between race, gender, class, and politics is fundamental for understanding how state-based threat functions along multiple valences simultaneously.

Race, Gender, Class, and Space as Socializers of Threat

Fundamentally, this manuscript is concerned not only with the role of gender in influencing political attitudes and behaviors, but also how the interactions between both race and gender further affect young Black Americans' daily experiences and concerns about police interactions. Given that both race and gender shape political attitudes about policing, it is pertinent to this study to understand how ongoing interactions with police, or the threat of repeated interactions with police, socializes young people into developing particular attitudes and ideas about the role of police in society (Weitzer and Tuch 2004; Weitzer and Tuch 2005). Fundamentally, that investigation must begin in the most proximate locale wherein police authorities interact with civilians: the neighborhood. In their study of social isolation in Black Detroit neighborhoods, Cathy J. Cohen and Michael C. Dawson found that higher levels of poverty were linked to greater social isolation among Black Americans (1993). These increased levels of social isolation were also influential in shaping beliefs about the prevalence of crime in these neighborhoods and the likelihood that one might become a victim of crime (1993). Similarly, Black women who

experience domestic violence at the hands of intimate partners are more likely to become more isolated over time. And, in their isolation, they have higher chances of police interactions through what Beth Richie calls being “compelled to crime” like sex work, drug use, and other illegal activities (Richie 1996). This work highlights how not only race and gender but also class and place create unique social contexts which shape the lives of Black Americans. Moreover, those social contexts influence the types of political behaviors individuals engage in. In neighborhoods already impacted by poverty or housing displacement, these increasing rates of proximity to crime, and police, teach civilians how to comport themselves in the presence of officers. Further, they impart ways of navigating the social terrain which help to avert potential risks associated with police interactions.

The intimacy with which some citizens encounter police, in neighborhoods, schools, and at publicly-run facilities, has significant impacts for women of color, specifically Black women. Andrea Ritchie explains that, “[k]ey to implementation of broken windows policing is the proliferation of ‘quality of life’ regulations criminalizing an ever-expanding range of activities in public spaces, including standing or walking (recast as ‘loitering’), sitting, lying down, sleeping eating, drinking, urinating, making noise, and approaching strangers, as well as a number of vagrant offenses such as engaging in ‘disorderly’ or ‘lewd’ conduct” (2017, 54) In fact, she explains that one of the most prevalent “sites of police sexual violence” was actually during routine traffic stops (2017, 113). These conditions create *patterns of socialization* that work to criminalize Black Americans for a number of daily activities not typically seen as menacing when performed by other racial group members (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Entman and Rojecki 2000). On the other hand, these patterns of police interaction frame out the state-based threats encountered in the daily lives of Black Americans. Moreover, interactions with police

throughout one's life acts as a form of political socialization which can be deterrents to later political activity (Weaver and Lerman 2010; Burch 2013). To this point, neighborhood socialization is a fundamental influencer of political attitudes regarding policing and police violence. Furthermore, to understand how and why attitudes differ across race and gender groups requires a thorough examination of the daily manifestations of state-based threat in the lives of young Black Americans.

Theoretical Expectations and Hypotheses

There are two fundamental goals of this manuscript. First, it is to examine the role of lived experiences in influencing attitudes about police violence. Second, it is to demonstrate how experiences with police vary by social location, including race, gender, and class. To that end, I first evaluate the attitudes about policing and police violence based on racial group membership. The theory of group position suggests that Latinx and Black Americans are less likely to express animus toward one another when considering social location, racial prejudice, and perceived threat as compared with their perceptions of white and Asian Americans (Omi and Winant 1994; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Masuoka and Junn 2013). Likewise, Black and Latinx Americans frequently live in close proximity to one another which makes Latinx Americans susceptible to similar experiences with state-based threat as Black Americans especially considering heightened focus on immigration enforcement in urban communities (Green, Strolovitch, and Wong 1998; Nichols, LeBrón, and Pedraza 2018). It can be safely assumed that these shared experiences with social location and state-based threat influence how Latinx Americans develop attitudes about the role of the state in the lives of everyday citizens. For these reasons, I expect to

see similar disposition among Black and Latinx Americans regarding the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans.

H1: *Black and Latinx American respondents are more likely to see the killing of Black people by police as a serious issue than white American respondents.*

The concept of intersectionality functions both as a theoretical framework and an analytical mechanism for evaluating the asymmetrical ways that power is dispersed and experienced. Thus, in this manuscript, the notion of intersectional threat functions as a grand theory to frame out Black women's and other gender minorities' orientations toward both outgroup members, like state authorities, and in-group members, like Black men. To this end, in her study of African American battered women incarcerated at Rikers Island Correctional Facility, Beth Richie found that women in her study who had been assaulted by male intimate partners frequently linked their concerns about racial solidarity with their concerns about Black men, specifically. Black women in this study frequently situated racial subordination and struggle specifically with the lived experiences of Black men (Richie 1996). She notes, “[h]istorically based loyalty to family, therefore, got constructed as contemporary loyalty to *men*¹²” (1996, 62). Black men typically wield more power in Black communities. Yet, socialization to orient their social and political concerns toward the family and community shapes how many Black women experience state-based threat and form attitudes about it. Moreover, seeing violence against themselves *and* others as serious concerns may make Black women more sensitive to the risk of ongoing interactions with police officers.

H2: *Black women are more likely to see the killing of Black people by police as a serious issue than Black men respondents.*

¹² Emphasis belongs to the author.

A fundamental component of state-based threat is the chronic nature it takes on. This aspect of threat is critical to examine namely because of the psychological effects that ongoing exposure to threat may cause (Entman and Rojecki 2000; Richie 2012; Enos 2017). Feelings of fear and anxiety may be associated with police presence as a result of repeated exposure to police violence either via mainstream media or the daily social world. These patterns, I expect, are influential of perceived seriousness of police killings of Black Americans.

H3: *Young Americans who see police killings of Black Americans as part of a larger pattern will be more likely to see police killings of Black Americans as serious issues.*

I expect these relationships to remain significant even after controlling for traditionally influential indicators of political beliefs like ideology, partisanship, age, education, and income.

This final hypothesis is also the guiding impetus for my qualitative research in that I am associating lived experiences with policing with the greater likelihood to see police violence as a part of a larger pattern. I expect that young people who frequently and intimately encounter police will connect those experiences in a larger pattern of policing that enters their daily lives. Likewise, I expect to see that their responses to the omnipresence of police will vary based on their gender, sexuality, and class.

Alternative explanations for variations in attitudes towards policing and police violence

As most phenomena, there are other potentially plausible explanations for young people's attitudes about the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans. Fundamentally, policing and attitudes about the role of the state in the daily lives of citizens remain highly partisan issues (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000; Lerman and Weaver 2014; Enos 2017). Thus, long-held ideological beliefs about law and order, criminality, and deviance have focused on Black Americans as the

subjects of such policies and political agendas (Cohen 1999; Cohen 2004). These attitudes can be learned from parents and other community members and act as socialization processes for young Americans. However, even in accounting for the variation in attitudes about policing that may be related to party affiliation, there remains room to explore how these various individual experiences and characteristics shape the social world. Thus, this project is not concerned just that these variations exist but with understanding how they impact the daily lives of young Black Americans.

The current political era is one which frequently features the highly publicized police-related deaths of Black Americans like Eric Garner, John Crawford, and Michael Brown, as well as the women mentioned above. These deaths have been catalysts for major political movements and protests as well as police reform efforts in major cities like Oakland, New York City, Baltimore, and Chicago. The ever presence of police violence in some communities has translated to an ever presence of police violence on social and popular media. What is known about news media is that framing choices deeply impact how constituents form opinions on a number of issues including crime, poverty, and terror (Gamson and Modigliani 1987; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Iyengar 1991; Druckman 2001). Thus, it is reasonable to believe that social media and the 24-hour news cycle are highly influential of attitude formation on such a ubiquitous concern. In other research, I find that social media acts as a significant socialization tool for young Black Americans specifically on the issue of policing and police violence (Jackson n. d.). The role of social media in the daily lives of young people, specifically Black Americans, is not a shortcoming of this analysis. Instead, it provides further justification for such a research agenda to understand the effects of growing presence of police in the lives of young people.

Given that these existing literatures and theoretical frameworks do not fully account for the daily experiences of young Black Americans with state-threat and policing, I argue that there are further variations, specifically within races across gender lines, that remain untethered to these alternative explanations. Therefore, this analysis is concerned with fully understanding how young Black Americans' variations in attitudes about policing and police violence relate specifically to their concerns about threat and risks to themselves and communities.

Data and Methods

In this manuscript, for my quantitative analysis, I use data from the GenForward survey, a project of Professor Cathy J. Cohen at the University of Chicago. The GenForward Survey is a nationally representative sample of millennials, ages 18-34, with oversamples of African American, Asian American and Latinx young adults. For my analysis, I am using the August 2016 survey which includes a battery of questions on the killing of Black people by the police. I analyze the variation in opinions regarding the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans to best understand how heterogeneity across and within racial groups affects political attitudes and ideas about the threat of policing. A primary goal of this manuscript is to explore the racial and gender contexts which inform perceptions of the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans. Thus, I seek to show that, statistically, a) more women on average and b) more racial minority group members on average see police killings of Black Americans as a serious problem. In August, the study was comprised of 1958 total respondents between the ages of 18 and 30. Of those, 572 were Black, 309 were Asian, 520 were Latinx, and 507 were white American¹³. The survey also included 50 respondents who identified as “other.”

¹³ The survey was offered in both English and Spanish and via telephone or web modes. There are limitations in using these data they were not offered in-person or in any other languages besides English and Spanish. While these

To ensure that this analysis accounts for potential confounding variables, seven control variables were also included in this analysis¹⁴. Education is an ordinal level variable which is comprised of 13 categories ranging from “no formal education” to “professional or doctorate degree”. Income is an 18 category interval level variable which starts at “less than \$5,000” and ends at a maximum case of “\$200,000 or more.”¹⁵ Age is an interval level measure that is constrained to 18 to 30 given the parameters of the sampling frame. Party identification was recoded into three dichotomous “dummy” variables for Republican, Democrat and Independent. Ideology was recoded where 1 = “Extremely liberal” and 7 = “Extremely Conservative.” The demographic variables provide additional validity and context for the models produced. Race was recoded into four dummy variables for White, Black, Latinx, Asian American, and “other” respondents. Gender was also recoded into binary categorical variables for “male” and “female.”¹⁶ In addition, to account for the specific variation in attitudes on policing that can be explained by both race and gender, I created interaction terms for each racial category and female gender¹⁷.

Outcome Variable

The dependent variable in this study is an ordinal level variable which assesses the degree to which respondents believe that police killing Black people is a serious problem. Specifically, the question asks: *“How serious a problem do you think the killing of Black people by the police is*

data are nationally-representative and good estimators for minority group members between the ages of 18 and 34, they do not sufficiently account for those who may be non-Native English speakers or from countries for who Spanish is not a primary language.

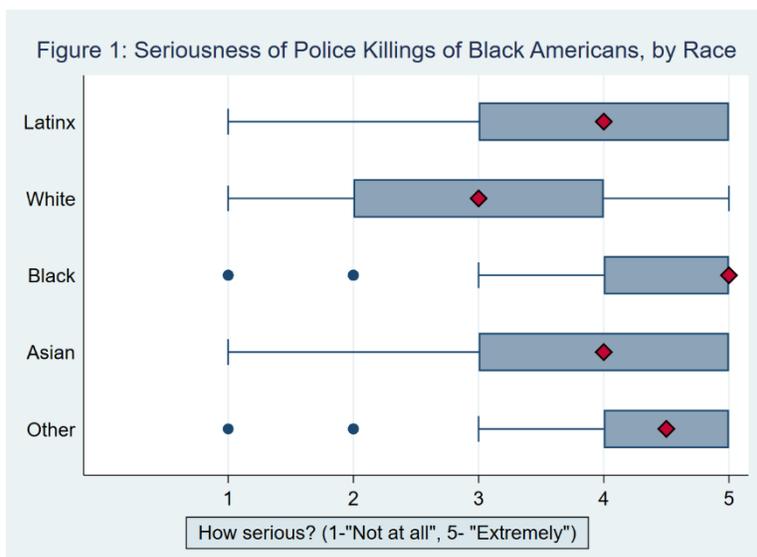
¹⁴ Summary statistics for the August 2016 data are also in Appendix A (Table 1).

¹⁵ Both income and education were left to function as continuous measures since thing age group is compressed into such a small age range. I made this choice rather than risk losing statistical power.

¹⁶ This method does not properly account for gender non-conforming people. This is a shortcoming of the quantitative portion of this analysis. However, the qualitative interviews do provide insight into the lived experiences of non-binary participants.

¹⁷ These were created by hand and cross-checked with results from STATA’s factor variables command for validity.

in the United States?" The variable has been recoded so that a response of 1 denotes that police killing Black people is “not at all serious,” a 2 denotes that the issue is “not too serious,” a response of 3 suggests that the issue is “moderately serious,” a 4 denotes that the issue is “very serious,” and a response of 5 states that the issue is “extremely serious.” I chose this dependent variable because it captures the effects of exposure to police killings violence, whether directly or indirectly. It also considers racial sentiment and how attitudes about policing and police violence may be linked to attitudes about Black Americans. For Black Americans, this question centers their experiences with police violence but does not reflect gendered or class variations that characterize this study. For these reasons, this is an optimal variable to assess the effects of lived experiences with policing and variations in attitudes regarding state-based threat.



In terms of the data, Figure 1 shows the dispersion of survey responses by racial group. What is important to note here is that the data is skewed right for every group except white Americans. This phenomenon is especially pronounced for Black and “Other” respondents. Figure 2 illustrates the variation of responses regarding the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans from men of all races. What stands out is the heavy right-tail of the data

wherein 63% Black men responded that police killings of Black Americans are an “extremely serious” issue. Roughly 28% of Black men responded that it is a “very serious” issue so approximately 90% of Black men’s responses were in two highest response categories for the question.

Figure 2: Men's Perceptions of Seriousness of Police Killings of Black Americans (by Race) - August

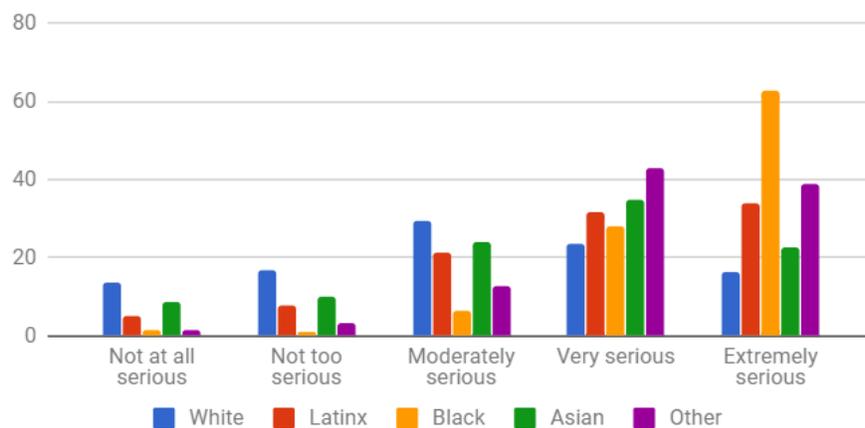
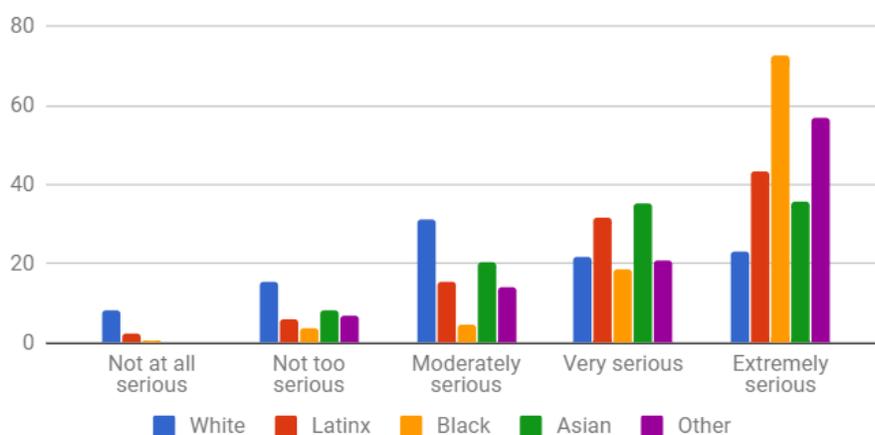


Figure 3: Women's Perceptions of Seriousness of Police Killings of Black Americans (by Race) - August



In Figure 3, Black women show a similar monotonic increase along the scale with 73% saying police killings of Black Americans is an “extremely serious” issue and 19% saying it is “very serious.” While Black women, too, have nearly 90% of their responses in the right tail of the

data, they are more heavily weighted at the extreme than Black men, as expected. Latinx men and women show more moderate levels of support for this measure with 34% of men and 44% of women saying police killings of Black Americans are an “extremely serious” issue. For both Latinx men and women, 33% reported that this issue is a “very serious” concern. Thus, Latinx respondents are more heavily weighted in the right tail of the data with 77% of men and 87% of women in the highest two categories. Asian Americans reflect a similar pattern as Latinx Americans with 68% of men and 71% of women responding that police killings of Black Americans are either “very serious” or “extremely serious.” White Americans are the only group for whom less than half of their respondents, for both men (40%) and women (45%), responded that this issue is “very serious” or “extremely serious.” For each gender, white American respondents were most likely to reply that this issue is “moderately serious” at 29% for men and 31% for women. For both men (N=14) and women (N=36) who identified as racially other, nearly 80% believed that police killings of Black Americans were either “very serious” or “extremely serious.” Considering that white Americans have the lowest average response to this question, they will be used as the reference category for the OLS regression model.

As expected, these descriptive indicators suggest that Black Americans are the most concerned about police killings of their social group. Latinx and Asian Americans, while more moderate, agree with this concern more than half of the time. Meanwhile, white American responses are spread more evenly regarding this concern.

Survey Results

To better understand the relationship between attitudes about the seriousness of police violence against Black Americans and beliefs about the patterns of policing in the aggregate, I performed OLS regression analysis on the August 2016 iteration of the GenForward Data. Specifically, I

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	
<i>Constant</i>	3.4	0.31	***
<i>Attitudes on Policing</i>			
Stopped by police	0.01	0.06	
Arrested by police	-0.08	0.09	
Harassed (Self)	0.24	0.09	**
Harassed (Know)	0.19	0.06	***
Trust police			
<i>Rarely</i>	-0.18	0.14	
<i>Sometimes</i>	-0.24	0.14	
<i>Often</i>	-0.44	0.15	**
<i>Always</i>	-0.53	0.2	**
Protected by police	0.01	0.1	
Pattern of police killings	1.1	0.09	***
<i>Race Identification</i>			
Black	0.51	0.21	***
Latinx	0.16	0.21	
Asian	0.1	0.2	
Other	1.33	0.21	***
<i>Partisanship</i>			
Democrat	0.21	0.09	*
Independent	0.08	0.1	
Republican	0.04	0.14	
Ideology	-0.13	0.02	***
<i>Demographics</i>			
Education	0.02	0.02	
Income	-0.004	0.01	
Age	-0.006	0.01	
Female (Gender)	0.25	0.35	*
<i>Race/Gender Interaction Terms</i>			
BlackxWomen	-0.07	0.36	
LatinxWomen	-0.02	0.37	
AsianxWomen	-0.14	0.37	
OtherxWomen	-1.19	0.37	***
Observations (N)	990		
F(26, 963)	36.47		
Prob > F	0		
R-squared	0.5		
<i>Significance: p < .05*, p < .01**, p < .001 ***</i>			

focused on questions regarding respondents' experiences with being stopped, arrested, or harassed by police. I also focused on questions regarding their trust in police and how often they believe police in their neighborhoods are there to protect them. Most importantly, I focused on a question regarding whether recent police killings are a part of a larger trend or isolated set of cases. Full question wording is included in Appendix B.

I also performed a simulation using Clarify to estimate the mean of the distribution for each racial and gender pair. To perform this analysis, I set all other variables at their mean. To better understand the role of patterns of socialization with policing in respondent attitudes, I varied the simulation on whether or not respondents saw police

killings as part of a larger pattern for comparison purposes.

Ordinary Least Squares

In Table 2, we see the results of the OLS regression model. What stands out about this table is the strong substantive and statistical significance of the race and gender as well as the measure for those respondents who see police killings of Black Americans as a part of a larger pattern. As indicated in the table, a one unit increase in the belief that police killings are larger patterns reflects a 1.1 unit increase in support for the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans. Two other variables related to policing are also significant: experiences with police harassment and trust in police. Being personally harassed corresponds to a .24 unit increase in support for the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans. Likewise, knowing someone who has been harassed corresponds to a .19 unit increase. Those who “often” trust the police reflect a .44 unit decrease in support for the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans while those who “always” trust police reflect a .53 unit decrease in support. These measures are related to the notion of personal experience with policing and police violence. Likewise, these measures confirm the role of ongoing police exposure in shaping attitudes about state-based threat. Overall, this supports the expectations set out for this analysis.

Ideology is significant at the $p < .001$ level but has low substantive significance (-.15). Similarly, identifying as a Democrat increases one’s support for the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans by .21 units. In all, these partisan and ideological findings align with existing theories about the role of political beliefs in shaping ideas about policies like policing. Since they are included as controls in this analysis, my findings still suggest that something above and beyond ideology and partisanship accounts for variations on attitudes about police violence. I argue that those variations are the results of lived experiences and social location.

Racial and gender variations are a bit more complex. The model is built so that white men are the reference group. Thus, the coefficients represent deviations from white men and the

constant (3.40) represents the mean response for white male respondents. The coefficient for Black racial identity is significant at $p < .001$ level which suggests that, on average, Black male respondents are .51 units higher on the measure of seriousness of police killings of Black Americans than white men. The coefficient for female gender is also significant (0.25, $p < .05$). This suggests that both gender and race remain critical in shaping attitudes about policing and police violence. In the next section, I will use simulation to more clearly illustrate the effects of these predictors on the outcome variable.

These findings confirm that those who see police killings of Black Americans as a larger pattern are much more likely to see police killings as a serious issue. This is important since Black Americans are more likely than other groups to encounter police in their daily lives and to see others like them harmed by police (Muhammad 2010; Lerman and Weaver 2014; Johnson 2018). These findings also confirm that, even after controlling for the effects of poverty/income, education, ideological differences, and other attitudes about the role of police in society, gender remains an important predictor about beliefs regarding the seriousness of police killings of black Americans. In the next section, I show the results of my simulation model which help to extract all available information from the OLS model performed.

Simulation

Table 3: Parameter estimates E(Y) for Seriousness of Police Killings				
	<i>Isolated Incidents</i>		<i>Larger Pattern</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>Racial Group</i>				
Latinx	2.89 (.15)	3.12 (.12)	3.98 (.14)	4.21 (.11)
Black	3.24 (.16)	3.41 (.13)	4.34 (.14)	4.51 (.11)
Asian	2.83 (.14)	2.94 (.14)	3.93 (.13)	4.04 (.12)
Other	4.03 (.21)	3.11 (.29)	5.13 (.21)	4.2 (.28)

**means are reported with estimated standard errors

Simulations are helpful in that they estimate parameters of interest for fitted models when researchers are seeking clearer answers regarding the implications of their predictions. In this case, I simulated the OLS model to better understand how race and gender variations are also colored by shifts in beliefs that police killings of Black Americans are a part of a larger pattern (Table 3). What stands out from this simulation is the consistently high support from Black women regarding the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans. Where Black women see police killings as an isolated incidence, their mean response on the dependent variable is 3.41 (between “moderately serious” and “very serious”). Where they see these instances as part of a larger pattern, Black women’s mean response is 4.51 (within the “extremely serious” category). For Black men, those expected values are 3.24 and 4.34, respectively. Though this issue is typically gendered as concerning Black men, they were less likely, though slightly so, to express concern about the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans. Survey data do not provide the context needed to understand why this difference exists and what it can be attributed to. It is this variation that I seek to better understand through the use of qualitative interviews with young Black Americans.

In the following section, I examine narratives from in-depth interviews with young Black Americans to help understand how daily and ongoing experiences with police shape attitudes about police and the state. Specifically, this section seeks to capture the ways that Black Americans, across gender, sexuality, and class, experience state and intersectional threat and how those experiences affect their behaviors and beliefs about police.

In-Depth Interviews

In the survey analysis, Black women consistently show strong support for the idea that police killings of Black Americans are a serious issue. While Black men are also likely to support the idea that police killings of Black Americans are a serious issue, they do not share the magnitude of concern reflected in the responses of Black women. But, the survey does not fully examine how young Black Americans experience policing and police violence. I seek to do that here.

Interview Collection

The study population is defined as young, Black Americans ages 18 to 35 years old. Inclusion criteria was only limited to these parameters (race and age). A total of 50 in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted over four months. Interviews were performed in the greater Chicago-area from March 23rd, 2018 to July 24th, 2018. An IRB application was completed and received expedited approval with the University of Chicago AURA-IRB Social Sciences Division in December 2017.

Recruitment

At the start of the project, I recruited interview participants via social media using Twitter and Facebook, direct email, and print flyers. I created a unique email address to facilitate all communication and scheduling of interviews. Thus, each interview participant had to have a working email address in order to participate in the study. Recruitment prompts are included in Appendix D. A full description of the recruitment method and approach is listed in Appendix E.

Incentives

All interview participants received a \$10.00 (USD) gift card for Amazon.com upon concluding their interview. Gift cards were disseminated electronically, via email. I chose to offer electronic gift cards to streamline tracking. Because my interview participants were from a group that is typically technologically accessible and active on web-based platforms, I believe that this

incentive amount adequately compensated interview participants for their time and projected legitimacy of the project (Josselson 2013). In fact, many informants indicated that they would have liked to participate in the study regardless of the presence of the incentive.

Interviewer Characteristics

I chose to conduct each interview alone. I am a thirty-three-year-old queer Black American woman from a working-class background. I grew up with a single mother in the inner-city of Oakland, California. And, I am a first-generation college student. Thus, I found that my phenotypical, socio-economic, and familial characteristics were in close alignment with many of my participants. The close proximity of my identity to that of many of my participants helped to mitigate any potential negative interviewer effects on participant responses. Additionally, I chose to do each of the interviews so that the identity of the interviewer is held constant across all cases and does not act as a latent or confounding variable in the respondent data as it does not vary.

Interview Format and Method

Each interview consisted of roughly ten to fifteen open-ended questions (Appendix C).

Interviews were performed one-on-one in public and private locations like coffee shops, libraries, office buildings, and campus classrooms. Several interviews were conducted in private residences to account for accessibility needs. During the interviews, I employed relaxed and familial speaking tones and language rather than relying on academic jargon. I also encouraged interview participants to speak in a whatever tone and language was most comfortable for them.

The interview guide was organized around three core domains: 1) defining threat, 2) examining personal experiences with and responses to threat, and 3) connecting social and political activism to threat stimuli. The full interview guide is provided in Appendix C. The first part of the interview asked participants to provide their own conception of threat. This section

also asked participants about how their definition of threat relates to their own beliefs about how groups should respond to threat. The second section asked for specific examples of participant experiences with threat and their responses in those instances. In the final section of the interview guide, participants were asked to detail their political engagement activities. These activities were then linked to the forms of threat they would most like to eliminate if given the opportunity. After the first two interviews, the interview guide was revised slightly to account for wording issues and participant confusion. Most confusion up until that point stemmed from not having enough clarity around the terms “social and political engagement.” In this instance, I added a question at the outset which collected more detail about place of origin, race, background, gender, occupation, and family demographics. Although sexuality is pertinent to this project, I chose not to explicitly ask any questions about sexual orientation without the participant first volunteering this information. This was a conscious decision so as not to alienate the participant or potentially “out” them during the interview. Thus, my collection of responses about gender and sexual identity and expression rely purely on what was volunteered by the participant. Subsequently, after the thirteenth interview, the interview guide was adjusted again to ensure the questions were effective and to also grapple with the developing theory around risk that had emerged in the earlier interviews. Specifically, I added questions 8 and 9 which ask participants about the risks and consequences of responding to threat. These questions were added based on feedback in the preceding interviews. One final revision to the interview guide was made after interview twenty-five to include an explicit question about the connections between personal experiences and political/social engagement. This question was then removed after interview 30 as a structural question and only used as a follow-up or probe if prompted by

the participant. These revisions to the interview guide helped to sharpen my instrument and provide more reliable and accurate responses from interview participants.

Interviews were facilitated using two forms of audio recording devices for each interview: 1) laptop-based recording app and 2) Android phone recording app. These two methods were used to ensure quality of sound and accuracy of the recording in case one device malfunctioned during the interviews. After each interview, detailed field notes were written to capture the theoretical, methodological, and reflective aspects of the interview that would not be reflected in the recorded tape. These notes were also used to capture any key points about the participants' demeanor during the interview (e.g. Were they crying? Where were there long pauses? What questions seemed to have been the hardest to answer?). These notes were used to help improve the interview guide during future interviews as well as ensure that all aspects of the interview were fully captured. These notes were transferred into memos during the coding process.

Recorded interviews were stored on a password-protected server on UChicago Box and backed up on Google Drive. Interviews were transcribed using Temi, Rev, and hand-transcription¹⁸. Each interview was audited for accuracy before beginning the coding process.

Interview Demographics

The average age of interview participants was 26 years old with a minimum of 19 years old and a maximum of 34. Of the 50 interviews, 25 (50%) were men¹⁹, 23 (46%) were women, and 2(4%) were gender non-conforming (GNC) or of non-binary gender (NB). Of those GNC/NB individuals, one was assigned male at birth and one was assigned female at birth. Of those who

¹⁸ Temi is an online-based voice-recognition transcription tool. Rev is a human transcriptions service.

¹⁹ These categories of “men” and “women” include cisgender and transgender men and women.

mentioned their sexual orientation, 11 identified as “queer”, “gay”, “lesbian,” or “bisexual.” Respondents were not outright asked their sexual orientation as a matter of ethicality and to avoid outing those respondents who have not outwardly expressed their sexual orientation to others. The average interview length was 62 minutes with a maximum length of 116 minutes and minimum length of 24 minutes. Educational background of participants ranged from high school diploma to PhD student. Most participants had attended some college.

Interview Findings

Daily Experiences with State-based Police Threats

When we use the term policing, we rarely specify what the term means and how it materializes in the actual lives of citizens. Policing for young Black Americans in this study, especially those living on the south side of Chicago, included regular confrontations with officers. Some interactions involved car searches, handcuffing, and even raised weapons. Frequently, when discussing seeing police, participants explained that they sought ways to avert state-based threat, looking for opportunities to walk a different way down the street, avoid a certain corner, or camouflage themselves with bookbags and college related paraphernalia when confronted with officers. For cisgender Black men in this study, police interactions had become weekly, even daily, occurrences. Malcolm, a 32-year-old native Chicagoan and father of three, explained that he was frequently stopped, harassed, and, sometimes, handcuffed.

I: So. So when you think about like personal threats, you encounter daily, what are some of those?

R: Examples? The police stop me regularly. Like the police stop me regularly. The police stopped me recently when I was leaving a police reform meeting.

I: While you were walking?

R: I was in an Uber. They stopped my Uber after my Uber picked me up at a police reform meeting at South Shore, South Shore Cultural. So what they claimed it was because of my uber driver is a....What they say? they say the light over his license plate on the left side was out. Look, man, look. I'm just. I'm just telling you what happened. I'm just telling you this story. I got stopped again by the cops on 75th and Cottage Grove. I made a left turn. They claimed I didn't have my seatbelt on. They pulled me out the car, handcuffed me.

R: Yes, yes, yes.

I: For a seatbelt?

R: For a seatbelt.

Malcolm told this story while smiling and laughing. He talked about how these interactions happen so frequently that they aren't even surprising anymore. In most of these interactions, he was concerned about "survival" more than anything else. As a military veteran, he said he'd been harassed in street clothes, suit and tie, or even in his military uniform. Sometimes, he said he would intentionally wear the uniform into the precinct when seeking redress for his mistreatment hoping that the officers would "respect" his position and service. But, he expressed little confidence that his attire would affect the treatment he received. "I mean, it don't matter though. That's the thing. It don't, it don't f*cking stop in suits. It didn't stop with a bookbag on. It didn't stop with a book in my hand. I have been stopped. You know what I'm saying? They gonna stop me whether I'm being reckless or not. You feel me?" Malcolm explained. In this case, we see that Malcolm is working through ways to cope with state-based threat. The book, the suit and tie, the bookbag all represent ways that he, as a young Black American man, tries to navigate the social world to avert the threat of police interaction.

For Black women in the study, concerns about police interactions were primarily about looking out for Black men and family members. Specifically, Black women situated themselves as secondary targets of police, especially if they encountered officers while in the presence of

male partners, friends, and colleagues. A 28-year-old woman from Chicago named London said she had few interactions with police personally. Like many Black women in the study, she did not see policing as a direct concern that she had to personally navigate each day. Rather, she saw state-based threat as a community concern based on her group membership. When asked about any form of threat she would get rid of, she linked the threat of policing directly to her race and the race of others in her community, specifically, her boyfriend.

I: So if there's one form of threat that you could get rid of, you talked about, um, being black and woman, we talked about kind of how that's different, but how they are both important for you. If there's one form of threat you could get rid of that would ideally make all the others either go away or be easier.

R: It'd be better? Jesus.

I: Which one would it be?

R: I don't know because I guess my heart says being black because it's, it's a threat to not just women. I mean women have threats, period. Uh, what I had just thought about, I had a boyfriend and he walked me to my car down in Calumet City and he was walking back to his house and a cop pulled up. The cops wasn't bothering us at all. He was a couple of houses down and they both got out the car and was just like, looking around with a flashlight. But I remember thinking, "oh my gosh, now I have to wait in my car and make sure he gets in the house." I say that, because here he is, just a black guy in sweatpants, so he was, we were in his home and he probably is a threat to these white cops in the city and I'm nervous. I never told my boyfriend that.

Like the accounts of many participants in this study, police officers were racialized as white. The difference in race, here, is significant to London. She calls her boyfriend "just a black guy in sweatpants" echoing concerns from Malcolm about attire and presentation can heighten the threat of police interaction. London explains that she feels "nervous" not because the officers are a direct threat but because her boyfriend is "probably a threat to these white cops" who were "in his home." Though the police officers are not acting confrontational or aggressive in this

instance, their presence in the neighborhood alone causes her to pause, reconsider how she will navigate the social situation, and watch cautiously until her boyfriend returns safely to his home.

London continues by explaining how she responded to police in the neighborhood instinctually.

R: It was just like an instinct. Like it was like, what are you doing? This was before all of the cop killings were just ramping up on social media, sort of thing. So I guess I would definitely get that, get that away for sure. Uh, because it's, it affects so many people on so different, on so many different levels.

Fundamentally, what London describes here is the psychological effects of repeated interactions and exposure to police threat. This event occurred in 2012, before many of the highly publicized incidents of police-related shootings of Black Americans across the country. Yet, London was still at heightened awareness and fear about what their presence in a Black neighborhood might mean for someone she loved.

Like London, many interview participants expressed latent fears, anxiety, and concerns about potential interactions with police. For example, participants expressed anxiety about remembering where to place their hands, how to speak to officers, and what behaviors to exhibit in order to reduce potentially negative outcomes when pulled over by police. In one such conversation, Quinton, a 29-year-old non-binary/gender nonconforming person from the south side of Chicago described how simply seeing police officers in the rear-view mirror changed how they²⁰ proceeded on their drive home.

I: Yeah. So, so what are some common things, some common issues or people or places or experiences that make you feel that kind of feeling of fear or kind of out of your standard, your normal or your, your kind of baseline.

R: I'm sorry. You said what kinds of things?

²⁰ Quinton's pronouns are they/them/theirs.

I: So like, yeah, what are some common like moments when you're feeling that way?

R: When I'm driving out of a predominantly white neighborhood and more suburb and police are not that far behind, I can see my rear view mirror. I immediately go alright. Is this going to be a normal drive home or am I going to have to put on the cheesy high voice? {changes voice} "So what can I do for you officer?" type of routine.

Quinton exhibits here how the mere presence of police, and the potential threat of interacting with them, calls into question what sort of "drive home" it will be. They consider how they should comport themselves through codeswitching, or altering their speaking voice to sound more welcoming, less Black, and less threatening to officers. Quinton also described them self by saying that people see them as an "imposing figure." They are six foot two inches tall and said that some family members have warned them that their size and facial hair might make them seem more intimidating to officers. "Other people see me as a liability," Quinton says. This sentiment was echoed in many of the interviews, specifically with cisgender Black men. They often reported that they were fearful that they would meet the same fate as Michael Brown, John Crawford, and other Black men who had been killed by police. They would say, "that could be me." And, the risk of a police interaction turning fatal was an ever present concern. Though Quinton is gender non-conforming, they were keenly aware of how they would be perceived by police regardless of their gender identity or expression and sexuality.

Like Quinton, other participants explained how even small interactions with police triggered anxiety about the risks of state-based threat. At times, they recounted thoughts about privilege, proximity, and position for many of the participants in my study. One such individual was James, a 25-year-old, Black, cisgender, heterosexual man from the Midwest. During a trip to a neighboring state with a friend, James, who was riding in the passenger seat, was pulled over

by police. When recalling the interaction, he situated himself differently with respect to his friend who is white-passing, biracial woman.

I: You said that you experienced certain types of threat? You said police.

R: Yeah.

I: You said police, guns, and white people.

R: Yes {laughter}.

I: So is that, what you would say is representative of the type of threats that someone like you experiences? Like, how does that, is it, is that special just to you or why are you experiencing those types of threats?

R: Oh, I think it's, it's me, my being like a 25 year old Black man. Uh, in this time and just being very like hyper aware of everything and kind of uh, {pause} being put in situations where it's like, because I am very, I like, I try to be very thoughtful and try to like try make like no fast moves. Like for example, I got pulled over. Uh, we were, I was going to a festival in Minnesota and we were driving up there. And uh, I was in the passenger seat and there was this lady, uh, or, she's a teammate of mine and half Asian, half white.

I: Yeah.

R: She's especially presents, as like a Asian, but then it's like kind of like, Oh yeah, she could be perceived as white too. So there's like that kind of a white presenting like privilege or confidence that comes in, like talking to the police officer that I don't know if, like, if she's aware of that, she probably is aware of that. But it's something where it's like, I'm aware of like how I come off and then what that, what my presence brings to a situation or altercation or whatever and what that does for other people.

In this situation, though James was not the driver of the vehicle, he believed that his mere presence, as a “25 year old Black man” in the vehicle affected how the officer interacted with him and his friend. He also saw himself as having less privilege than his biracial friend who interchanged with police differently from his approach of “making no fast moves.” This, James explained, is because police officers are “regular people” who would probably be afraid of him if they saw him walking down the street.

R: Especially like now that I'm an adult and like I see police officers in a different light. Like I see them as not police officers and just like regular people and being like, oh, they saw me on the street. They would probably be like, this is just, I'm just scared. Like I'm like, like, so seeing them in that light now and then being like, oh, they have this like gun, you know.

Here we see that James, like London's fears about her boyfriend's safety, understands that officers may see him as a threat merely because of his race and gender. For James, the risk associated with their fear is that they have a gun and state power. Recalling the interaction, James remained silent during the conversation. Again, concerned that his presence might escalate the routine traffic stop.

R: So then, like the cop came up and he came up on my side because it was like a highway.

I: Oh.

R: He came down that side and I rolled down the window or whatever and we were talking. And uh, she's in a hybrid so the hybrid like cuts off.

I: Yeah.

R: And so it turns off and she's having a conversation and he's like, "did you, you know how fast you're going?" And then it turned out she was like going like maybe 20 over, 19, something like that. We were like trying to get there. And uh, he's like, he's talking to her and it's going back and forth to the point where it's like, wow, this is a, like, I will nev-, like I felt uncomfortable too because I'm like, this is, yeah, like I don't think you're going to be able to talk him out this ticket {laughter}. Like, take the ticket and let's go, but it's kind of like, oh, there's nothing I can do. Like a lot of like back and forth.

I: Yeah.

R: And then uh, the car, uh, no, he like goes back and then comes back and then he has his hand on his hip or whatever, and the car like cuts on and he was talking and he like stopped. And there's just like this silence, this kind of like him, like his focus on continually just like very much like {looks sternly and intently at me}, kind of, you know? and it was just like I was right there and it was like, I didn't say anything the whole time, but it just felt very like, like I don't know if he just got really ready at a point where just, ooh, if anything went down, like, like I felt

like I would have been the first one right there and like kind of like if he was. Yeah. So it was just like little stuff like that where it's like um, {long pause} yeah, I think that my presence brings, and maybe it's just a mental thing...but sometimes I'm just like my presence definitely like has people like change the way they talk to me.

The cutting on and off of a hybrid vehicle may seem like an harmless common occurrence. But, in this situation, for James, it instigated feelings of fear and anxiousness about what the officer's reaction might be. In this instance, James connects the police officer's behavior not to the duties of the position but to James' physical presence in the car. The threat of what the police officer might do, beyond issue a speeding ticket, becomes the operating mechanism for how James navigates the altercation. This example illustrates specifically how state-based threat operates in subtle, implicit, and sometimes invisible ways to shape the ways young Black Americans navigate and interact with the social world around them. Through the experiences of London, Quinton, and James, we see clearly how the mere presence of Black men, and those who may be misgendered²¹ as male, in the vicinity of officers generates deep concerns about how officers will treat those young Black people. As each narrative shows, to cope with these fears, these young people consider their clothing, speech, and physical movements as potential ways to avert state-based threat.

Policing as Intersectional Threat

Even though Black women in this study reported having fewer personal interactions with police, they frequently discussed the police as a potential threat in their daily lives in addition to the potential risks associated with navigating the social world as women. In some instances, Black women expressed that they recoiled from seeking help from police officers even in situations

²¹ Misgendering is the use of incorrect gender markers or pronouns.

when they did not feel safe in their surroundings because they neither trusted men who were threatening them nor police officers who were also a potential threat. Brianna, a 23-year-old Black woman from the suburbs of Chicago, describes one such incident. While walking in the South Loop area of Chicago's Downtown, she encounters a man who yells at her on the street in the presence of a police officer but she chose not to engage the officer.

I: Ok, So, then, if we think about that um, what types of like common threats do people like you, that you would say in general like you, experience?

R: I guess, the first thing I can think of that is kinda something that I thought about on my way over here was just every time I walk past a certain spot across umm, when I go in front of John Marshall Law School here, there's always like a group of men who are usually sitting there. And, I kinda do not necessarily feel threatened that they will harm me but they always {emphasis here} catcall and like that's so annoying. Like, in the daytime I usually don't feel necessarily threatened especially since there are other people around but I've had at night like this guy like come up to me and just like start screaming in my face. And, I'm just like, what do I do in that situation? Cause there are people walking by who aren't doing anything and if I, if I speak back maybe he will get aggressive physically so I just kind of walked and ignored him. But, I definitely felt threatened in that situation. But, then I also see, like there's a police car also parked in that same area and I'm just like, "Wow, like, I don't feel safe with him either." So it's just like, I don't know. So, I kind of just walk and kind of just live my own life, I don't know.

In this instance, Brianna highlights how being alone at night changes her level of fear around the group of men who frequently commune in the area. Brianna saw both the man screaming at her *and* the police officer as potential threats. As a young woman, she expresses concern that if she responds to the man screaming at her, he may become "aggressive physically." Likewise, engaging with police officers as a form of protection amidst the risk of street violence was not an option because she did not "feel safe with him." Here we see how Black women's position with respect to men and police presents multiple forms of threat that work in tandem to shape the social world around them. This intersectional threat is fundamental in understanding how many Black Americans, especially women, encounter the state in their daily lives.

Like Brianna, other young women in my study expressed concern about navigating the social world where men might approach them and police officers might threaten their safety. These two actors, one from a racial in-group and one from a powerful out-group, men and police in these communities represented potential risks for women in their daily lives. A 22-year-old Black queer woman from the South Side of Chicago named Danielle elaborated on how her efforts to navigate public transportation were closely impacted by her goals of avoiding the potential threats of male strangers and police officers.

I: So can you help me understand the, anytime you're on public transportation and. anytime you can encounter police officers?

R: Yeah. So anytime I'm on public transportation, um, it's because, well, again there's just like a lot of people usually. Um, and I would say like basically like {pause} I just don't know what anyone is like about to do. Like you never know where like what people's mental states are, you never know what people's intentions are. And I guess the more people like the more worried I am about that. And then also there's the added thing about like being on public transportation. Like public transportation is easy enough to get on with like a weapon or if you're like, if you're in need of money and you want to rob somebody, like it's easy enough to get on public transportation. There's not really any, there's no, um, there's no {pause} like barriers you have to pass really. Like because even, even though you have to pay 2.25, theoretically, it's still easy enough to even sneak to sneak on. And once you're on, you're on. So, there's no check at the door to see like, you know, who's going to be riding. But then also when there's nobody on the train or something like that, that's also just another fear because there, there is a feeling of, um like a little more feeling of safety if there are people on the train who seemed like they might like um intervene or like call somebody if something seems like it's going wrong or like somebody was like, um robbing somebody or trying to attack somebody. Um, so when there's nobody, then it's like there's nobody to watch out for you.

Here, Danielle mentions that public transportation is a potential space where others may harm her through physical violence or robbery. Her concerns about safety on the train

should be contextualized given that a Black woman named Jessica Hampton was killed on CTA Red Line in 2016 after rebuffing a man's advances²².

R: But that said, if there's like a few people, but for me at least, if they're all men then I don't feel as comfortable in that car. Um, and if they're all like, well no, if there was going to say because if they're older I still don't feel comfortable. If they're younger, I still don't feel comfortable. So, um so I very intentionally choose like the cars that I'm going, like I'm specifically thinking about the train because I don't usually take the bus. So, I choose my cars very like intentionally. But then also public transportation. There's just like the hubs where people get on. So, like for example, that Howard terminal, there's like a lot of buses that go in there and the train and so there's always people around there.

R: And so even when I just walk into that area before I even get on the train or even go through, I always encounter somebody who's saying something to me. And probably the last thing about public transportation is that the actual, like transit workers provide no sense of security whatsoever and are not uncommonly the ones who are making inappropriate comments or staring at me. So. So yeah, that's public transportation

I: Mmmhmm

What Danielle details here is how she chooses to navigate public transportation based on her assessment of the potential risks associated with her presence in that space. She says that even those individuals who have power (like train attendants and staff), do not provide safety for her. Instead, they, too, represent intersectional threats which emerge from within her community based on her social locations as a woman.

R: And then police officers. Well, I mean it's no secret that some police officers are prone to violence and that, that violence inordinately affects black people. In Chicago, police officers for me at least, specifically, I really don't trust because why should I, when there has been plenty of like documentation that a lot of them don't do what they like should be doing. Um, but yeah, so I, I'm hyper aware of their presence in a space because I know that anything I feel like I, I assume that I'm being scrutinized by them and so, and I've, and I feel that anything that I do that they don't jive with or that they don't like understand or if I look suspicious according to them, that could lead to an escalation on a situation. So usually if there's like, um, officers in a space, I just tried to like get out of that space, um, to

²² See here: <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/ct-red-line-stabbing-20160623-story.html>

avoid any, to avoid any potential escalation, like to avoid them observing me or um like potentially questioning me or whatever.

Both Danielle and Brianna, express a distrust in police officers or their ability to keep these young Black women safe. Looking back to previous accounts, Danielle also echoes the sentiments of Quinton who believed that police officers might see them as a threat so the best response was to simply avoid officers altogether.

In other instances, male participants reported that police officers used their power to not only intimidate but to use their position to sexually violate and harm others. Elon, a 24-year-old whose family has lived in Chicago for at least four generations explained one specific instance when he was pulled over by Black police officers. It was Thanksgiving Day.

R: The cop opened up my door, black cops, two black cops. Cop puts his gun to my head, to the back of my head, pulls me out of the car. They take the blunts from us, they joke with us, blah blah blah blah. They ask, “you have any more weed?”. We said no, they take the two blunts. But, we **did** have more weed. So, after they left, we rolled up some more blunts and then we went to another spot. But long story short is that that happened on Thanksgiving. We get high. I still go eat dinner that same night.

I: Help me understand this, so it's just that normal?

R: It's that normal.

I: It's that normal that you're like, it's Thanksgiving. I'm kicking it with my friends. Get pulled over by a cop. Gun to my head. Let's go eat food.

R: Yes. It's that normal.

This wasn't the first time Elon had a police officer pull a gun on him. As he described, this experience wasn't nearly as bad as the police interactions that involved “public shaming.”

R: And I and I haven't even got to the public, um, public shaming in ways which is other than like getting handcuffed and stuff.

I: Public shaming?

R: What I mean by that is cops come up to you, you have sweats on or shorts and they just pull down your pants and search right there on the street right there on a busy street. I've seen it happen to friends of mine. It, it happens. Yeah. Just pull down your pants right there on the street.

These forms of police intimidation are also sexual violence. Removing the pants of civilians in their neighborhoods, exposing their genitals to passersby, establishes deeper psychological fears associated with potential police interactions. In this way, the threat of state violence takes on the dual effect of sexualizing Black people's bodies (Richie 1996; Ritchie 2017). Elon explained that he witnessed sexualized searching of Black women. He said, "But what they will do is that they will completely sexualize a woman in terms of whether the flashlight is going through the crevices of her dress, whether they're searching her very, very, uh, getting way too personal, a way too touchy, flirty. All of those things, which is another way to emasculate men as well, you know, but all of that is there. All that I noticed is fully present, you know?" Elon explained. "Um, and you know, also men are supposed to get a woman officer that comes down to search women. It doesn't always happen, you know." Through Elon's account, we see evidence of Danielle's concerns that police officers may "scrutinize" or "question" her. Though, as these narratives show, these terms don't fully capture the invasion of privacy and the asymmetry of power that contextualizes police state and intersectional threat.

For other Black Americans in my study, police interactions have resulted in sexual violence. Lamar, a 21-year-old trans man from a small southern city explained that, after a public demonstration where organizers were arrested, police officers, rather than asking him his gender, used excessive touching and invasive public body searches to decide where to place him with other arrested demonstrators.

R: At that point I had just started transitioning, so I guess I didn't pass, maybe I passed. I don't really know, I think I was binding that day too, so I don't really know, but it got to the point where like they was putting like the women in one paddy wagon and in the other one was men and they had [looked at me], they stopped for a minute and while they were still like putting everybody else into the vans and they waited for a female officer to come and she came and she basically groped me and then they threw me in the wagon with the women. Yeah. And like I was just like, are you serious right now? Because like it was just like out in public, like she wasn't making it a secret or anything. She literally groped me.

I: They didn't simply ask you your gender?

R: No, they patted me down and she grabbed me. She rubbed my chest and she grabbed me between the legs.

Lamar shows how state-based threat functions differently, intersectionally, based on one's perceived social location. He recounts an experience much like what Elon reports witnessing in his own community. Like Elon's friends, Lamar's inability to avoid the unlawful search of his genitals represents one of the ways that potential risks associated with police interaction manifest into actual abuses of Black people's bodies. These interactions shape perceptions of policing and police violence. Likewise, they affect how these young people experience the world around them.

Though participants, in most cases, were not directly asked about their experiences with police violence, many recalled negative interactions with police that made them believe that their race colored the ways that officers administered justice in their communities. For cisgender male participants, their concerns were largely around surviving police interactions because of race alone. However, for non-cisgender men in this study (including women, trans men, and gender non-conforming people), police encounters and daily interactions with other citizens carried the added concerns of sexual harassment and trauma. These concerns represent the intersectional threats experienced by those individuals who are situated further from power.

Socialization of Repeated Police Interactions

A critical component of this analysis, which is reflected in the survey findings, is the role of persistent exposure to state-based threat and how that shapes one attitudes and behaviors. Further, continual exposure to policing and police violence influences thinking about one's self, one's community, and how to survive. For some young women in my study, they saw their positionality within their neighborhood as uniquely linked to their risk of negative police interactions. Annetta, a queer 22-year-old woman from the deep South Side, explained how her community's dearth of economic and social resources made the risk of threat from community members and police likely each day.

I: So, then what do you think, it sounds like you're, then you're kind of standing at multiple intersections and you're seeing like a lot of different forms of potential threat on a daily basis. So, what do you think are some reasons why some groups of people, including groups that you're a part of, might experience more threat than others? Because it sounds like you have specific experiences but they may not be shared with other groups. So, what do you think might be some reasons for those differences?

R: Um, I guess I will start at before college to explain. I think that in my before, in my pre-college experience, um, I feel like threat was the most frequented because I was Black or a woman or at [school], namely I will say Black because um {pause} just because the majority of, the majority of people that live in that community are Black and also like the majority of people that live in that community are low income, don't have access to the resources they need. Like uh, it was a food desert. It doesn't have any mental health centers in the area. There are no recreation centers in the area. So anytime you want to walk outside or go to a park, there's the potential for some police officer checking in your bag and asking you where you going and bothering you. Um, especially if you walk in like late at night when it's like 8:00 'cause they have enforced in this unreal curfew.

For Annetta, she associates the conditions of the neighborhood with the presence of police officers. In this context, being both Black *and* living in a community that is not adequately supported by state and business entities, creates a pattern of socialization with police. These

repeated interactions are formative in how young Black Americans assess the role of the state in the lives of citizens. But, more importantly, they impact how these young people navigate their communities.

As Annetta's narrative shows, police interactions act as learning experiences for future behavior. Dionne, a 30-year-old woman from Chicago discussed an interaction with police where she and a group of friends needed help. A friend was bleeding after being cut by an unknown object. At the same time, a white couple stumbled out of a vehicle, appearing intoxicated or under the influence of a controlling substance. When police approached, Dionne expected them to assist her group and, perhaps, stop the white couple. Instead, Dionne felt as though the police ignored her concerns. She felt that it was the officer's job to listen.

I: So, is that kind of thinking about how you interact with police or like how you feel about police? Is that normal or is that or did you think, Oh, if I speak up he's going to listen. Like did you think that?

R: Not from my own experience, just from [other] people's experiences. Sometimes they just don't. They're not all bad. My dad's a cop, he just retired. So, I have [conflicted feelings] about law enforcement in general, but I know good cops. I know very good cops. But I also know very shady guys.

Dionne, the daughter of a retired officer, explained that her personal experiences with police officers, though mainly positive, have been affected by the exposure she has had to negative police interactions through the media and other people's experiences.

R: Um, and this was before police units were being broadcast as much as they are now, so that wasn't necessarily in the back of my mind that it could escalate to that point, but in my mind, you're law enforcement and you should be able to take a unbiased objective assessment of the situation, move from there. So, and I don't know if that's my thought process anymore, but it was at that point.

I: So why wouldn't it be anymore?

R: They're using, you know, their badge and their privilege obsessively. They are not gauging any situation. Many are coming out guns blazing and asking questions afterwards. And again, I don't know if it's, my perspective is changed because that's being documented, this is happening all the time and we just weren't documenting and on Facebook and Snapchat and Instagram as prevalent.

Here Dionne highlights the role of social and news media in shaping how young people think about policing and police violence. She isn't alone in this sentiment. In this study, nearly every participant mentioned social media and the prevalence of police-related violence on the Internet as a potential point of exposure to police interactions. Dionne also mentions that, as these occurrences have increased, she has become more wary of police interactions even though her own father is a retired officer.

For others in the study, direct, personal interactions have impacted their likelihood of engaging with police officers in the future. Angela, a 29-year-old woman from a deep southern city detailed one such experience in her childhood when police officers stopped her family during a road trip.

I: Okay. So, thinking about situations like that and also others that you've experienced maybe before your work life, college, high school, back when you lived in [redacted] growing up, can you share with me an experience where you felt personally threatened? It, it doesn't have to be physical, but just personally it's something about that you experienced personally, um, and you responding and what the outcome was of that situation?

R: Um, so that was an experience and then I remember being pulled over with my family when I was [young]. This was before we moved to [redacted], so I think I was either 9 or 10. Um, we used to drive to [redacted] for the summers and so we were driving from South Bend and we were right outside of Atlanta and it was really late at night. My dad had been driving all day and so I was half asleep in the backseat. I'm half asleep but I do remember him pulling the car over and the

cop approached us and he made my dad get out the car and he was questioning him. It's like, you know why I'm pulling you over? And my dad's like, no, not really. He says, "Well, you were swaying the lines, have you been drinking?" And my dad's like, "no, I'm traveling with my family. I'm going to see some more family. I've been driving all day. I'm exhausted. I just want to get to where I'm going." And so, he says, "Well, I'm afraid I'm going to have to search your vehicle. I need you to take everything out of your car." Now mind you, we have clothes. We've got food coolers, like suitcases, all that stuff. And my dad was like, no.

R: Um, so then he was like, he wouldn't.

Angela explained that her father refused to allow officers to search the vehicle.

I: What do you mean?

R: Now he's saying, I'm refusing you searching my vehicle. You have no reason to do so. I'm not going to do that so. I could hear all of this because the windows are down and I'm lucky in that I'm trying to see what's happening. And so, it took a minute. Um, but the cop called for some backup to get the canines, to get the dogs to sniff around the car since he refused the search. So, they're waiting for the dogs to come. And so, the cop is continuing to question my dad.

R: He asks my dad, "So, uh, uh, what do you do, what brings you to [the state]? What are you going there for? what is it that you do for a living?" And my dad tells him and he says, Oh, you, you teach at [redacted] as a professor, that's unheard of. So even then I knew that that wasn't, that wasn't right. And I think at that time that's when I developed my distrust for police. Um, fortunately I haven't had an experience with police like that since, but that always stuck with me because that was really, really scary.

In this instance, though Angela was only an adolescent, she saw the connections between the police officer's behavior and the racial background of her father when she sensed that something "wasn't right." This interaction, a traffic stop, escalated quickly to canines and backup. This was frequently reported in my study as well. Participants reported speeding tickets that resulted in two to four police vehicles called to the scene. For Angela, this turned into distrust of police. It also impacted her likelihood of voluntarily interacting with police in future instances when she

encountered intersectional threat.

R: Um, another time when I've been threatened. I mean I've had like some relationship stuff, um, with my ex where he would get drunk and be belligerent and throwing things. So that was scary because I, there have been times when I really wanted to call the police, um, but a part of me just wouldn't, I wouldn't allow myself to do that. But I did feel really, really scared in those moments.

For Angela, like many other participants in this study, calling the police was a last resort.

Though she experienced fear and felt she might need protection from another Black person, she was unwilling to risk introducing police authorities into her personal life, unsure how that action might have long-term consequences.

In the accounts of these three women, we see how personal interactions, social media narratives, and indirect confrontations with police officers throughout one's life shape their decisions regarding how to navigate the social world. For Annetta, she concerns herself with avoiding police searches. For Dionne, though her father is a retired officer, she now thinks differently about the role of the state in the daily lives of Black Americans. And, for Angela, an encounter her father had with police in her adolescence remains a primary referent regarding her willingness to call police when facing intersectional threat. Taken together, these narratives underscore how policing and police violence influence young Black Americans' daily lives and how that influence varies by gender and class.

Discussion

In this manuscript, I have demonstrated that a) young people's opinions about the seriousness of that violence varies by gender and race, and b) the threat of state violence is not experienced identically within Black communities. Fundamentally, my quantitative analyses show that

variations in beliefs about the seriousness of police killings of Black Americans remain significant even after controlling for the effects of beliefs about policing, ideology, education, income, age, and partisanship. By analyzing interviews with young Black Americans, I found that personal experiences with police interactions as well as close proximity to others who have been affected by frequent police interactions or violence greatly impacts one's concern about state-based threat. These personal experiences are greatly influenced by gender and gender expression, sexuality, and sexual orientation. Because these variation experiences with state-based threat are affected by social location and proximity to power, I refer to this phenomena as *intersectional threat*. This theoretical intervention helps to frame out a new approach to understanding the role of threat in the daily lives of citizens and how those threats might impact political attitudes and behavior.

There are many implications of these theoretical findings. First, this analysis adds depth regarding how police killings of Black Americans are understood in the general public. As mentioned at the outset of the manuscript, though data shows that this issue impacts women as well, media often focuses on men (Ritchie 2017; Johnson 2018). Thus, the framing of police killings of Black Americans as an issue that primarily affects men may affect how citizens develop attitudes about state-based threat. These framing choices prime citizens to rely on mental shortcuts about gender, race, and stereotypes to understand the severity of police interactions with Black Americans. Not only that, these shortcuts, though reliable in some instances, frequently reinscribe existing biases and resentments against this racial group (Entman and Rojecki 2000). Several questions remain: *What if police killings of Black Americans were reframed as affecting all genders? How might a greater emphasis on the impacts of police*

violence against women encourage greater social movement and organizing around violence against women? Future research should take up these questions.

Second, these analyses highlight the ways that ongoing or repeated interactions and exposure to police affect psychological and behavioral outcomes for young Black Americans. Through both quantitative and qualitative analyses, I have shown that regular interactions with police increase one's sense that police killings are a serious concern. Further, day-to-day exposure to policing through neighborhood surveillance, curfew enforcement, simple traffic stops, and basic searches trigger group-based experiences with police killings, harassment, and violence. For political scientists, these topics are of utmost import as they not only affect opinions and attitudes, they also shape the ways that individual citizens make social and political decision about how to engage with state and local authorities and other private citizens. To this end, future research should consider how these repeated experiences of police interaction might impact beliefs in institutions, the role of the government in the lives of Americans, and support for public policies supporting marginalized groups (Weitzer and Tuch 2004). My larger body of research seeks to address how these interactions with police alter linked fate and patterns of political participation, two critical issues facing American Politics today.

Third, methodologically, this work pushes back on the use of surveys alone in measuring affect, emotion, and other psychological correlates of today's social and political world. Specifically, this multi-methodological work suggests that even slight variations in attitudes within social groups may be linked to deeper contextual cues about the experiences citizens have with the political world. Though I am certainly not the first to do so, this project's focus on the daily lives of young Black Americans illustrates how aggregate level data is greatly enhanced when coupled with narratives of those individuals who are the most intimately affected by the

phenomena of interest. It is my hope that future studies of threat, which has historically centered on the experiences of white Americans, follow this framework.

In closing, this manuscript intervenes in existing theoretical projects on the role of threat in the lives of Americans specifically regarding race and gender. However, these findings also present a grand theory of threat that can be used as a lens for understanding the role of threat in the lives of all U.S. citizens. This project provides evidence that threat, though seemingly static within racial groups and neighborhoods, is quite dynamic. For American Politics, these analyses lay the groundwork for a gamut of future work on the psychological and behavioral outcomes associated with group threat.

Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: Summary Statistics (August 2016)					
	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
<i>Seriousness Killing Blacks</i>	1956	3.97	1.15	1	5
<i>Attitudes on Policing</i>					
Stopped by police	1949	0.69	0.46	0	1
Arrested by police	1951	0.16	0.36	0	1
Harassed (Self)	1958	0.13	0.33	0	1
Harassed (Know)	1958	0.37	0.48	0	1
Trust police	1916	3.38	0.92	1	5
Protected by police	1584	0.81	0.39	0	1
Pattern of police killings	1704	1.71	0.45	0	1
<i>Race Identification</i>					
White	1958	0.26	0.44	0	1
Black	1958	0.29	0.45	0	1
Latinx	1958	0.27	0.44	0	1
Asian	1958	0.16	0.36	0	1
Other	1958	0.03	0.16	0	1
<i>Partisanship</i>					
Democrat	1958	0.49	0.5	0	1
Independent	1958	0.26	0.44	0	1
Republican	1958	0.12	0.33	0	1
Ideology	1,381	3.4	1.51	1	7
<i>Demographics</i>					
Education	1958	10.33	1.49	2	14
Age	1958	23.7	3.5	18	30
Income	1958	8.05	4.47	1	18

Appendix B: Question Wording for August 2016 Data

[Stopped by police] Have you ever been stopped by the police?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know
4. Skip/refused

[Arrested by police] Have you ever been arrested?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know
4. Skip/refused

[Self Harassed & Know harassed] Have you or anyone you know experienced harassment or violence at the hands of police? (Select all that apply)

1. Yes, me.
2. Yes, someone I know.
3. No.
4. Don't know
5. Skip/refused

[Trust police] Thinking about the police in general, how often do you think you can trust them to do what is right?

1. Always
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never
6. Don't know
7. Skip/refused

[Police protect us] Now thinking about the police in your neighborhood, do you believe that they are there to protect you?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

4. Skip/refused

[Seriousness of police killings] How serious a problem do you think the killing of Black people by the police is in the United States?

1. Extremely serious
2. Very serious
3. Moderately serious
4. Not too serious
5. Not at all serious
6. Don't know
7. Skip/refused

[Larger pattern] Do you think recent killings of Black Americans by police are isolated incidents or part of a larger pattern in the police's treatment of Black Americans?

1. Isolated incidents
2. Part of a larger pattern
3. Don't know
4. Skip/refused

Appendix C: Semi-structured Interview Guide (Script)

Thank you so much for taking the time to speak with me today. The interview should last for roughly an hour. Your data will remain confidential and will not be shared outside of the research team. In terms of reporting, the aggregate findings may be published in journal articles or books in the future but no names will be used to protect your identity. If at any time you feel uncomfortable and would like to skip a question or end the interview, feel free to let me know.

Let's start by getting to know you a bit.

1. Tell me about yourself as if you were describing yourself to a stranger.
 - a. Where from?
 - b. How old?
 - c. Occupation?
 - d. Gender?
 - e. Family?

Now, I want to talk about threat. It doesn't have to be overly technical or academic.

2. How would you define 'threat'?
 - a. Good?
 - b. Bad?
3. What are some common threats that you think people like you face?
 - a. How often?
 - b. Examples?
4. What are some reasons one group of people might feel more threatened than another group of people?
 - a. Race?
 - b. Sexuality?
 - c. Gender?
 - d. Age?
 - e. Class?
 - f. Examples?
5. In your opinion, how should people like you respond to threat?
 - a. Examples?

Okay, next I would like to talk a bit about how your personal identity informs your experiences with threat.

6. Share with me the types of threats that you have personally encountered in your life.
 - a. Frequency?
 - b. Where? (like at home or work?)
7. Please describe an instance where you felt threatened and you responded. What was the outcome?
 - a. Expand if needed.
8. How do you decide when/how to respond to threat?

- a. Risk?
 - b. Caution?
 - c. Consequences?
 - d. Safety?
 - e. Time?
9. What does the list of potential consequences look like for you?
- a. Death?
 - b. Violence?

Let's talk about your social activism and community involvement.

10. What are some types of community-based activities you regularly engage in?
- a. Frequency?
 - b. Faith-based?
11. What are some of the types of political activities you regularly engage in?
- a. Frequency?
12. Tell me about the events, issues, or experiences that motivated you to get socially and politically active.
- a. Local?
 - b. National?
13. Why do young people like you engage in social activism?
- a. Politics?
 - b. Influence of friends?
 - c. News stories?
 - d. injustices/against Black people?
 - e. History of racism?
 - f. Most important?

Okay, now for one final question.

14. If you could eliminate one form of threat you face regularly, which would it be? Why?

Appendix D: Recruitment Scripts

Invitation to participate - Script 1

Example text/verbal script for recruiting respondents via announcements in class, tabling at commons, student body email, and/or posts shared on social media websites

Greetings all,

I am a PhD student at the University of Chicago. I am conducting interviews in the Chicago area for my dissertation about the impacts of threat on the social and political actions of young people.

Eligible participants are minority group members (especially Black Americans) between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age currently living in the Chicago area. Participation takes approximately 1 hour. All participants will earn a \$10 giftcard to Amazon. All collected data will be used in publications on the subject and participants' contributions will be 100% anonymous.

To learn more about how you can participate, I can be contacted at ThreatStudyUChicago@gmail.com.

Please feel free to share this post with your various networks.

Thank you!

Principal Investigator: Cathy J. Cohen
IRB17-1566

Invitation to participate - Script 2

For people you already know, and will be circulated via Facebook and email

Hello,

I'm conducting interviews focusing on the forms of threat that influence social and political action among young people between the ages of 18 and 35 years old. Eligible participants are minority group members (especially Black Americans) between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age currently living in the Chicago area.

Participation takes approximately 1 hour and participants will earn a \$10 giftcard to Amazon upon interview completion. Would you be interested in participating? If so, I can set up time to meet you in a location that is convenient for you. It should be reasonably quiet as the interview will require audio recording.

Let me know if you're interested or have any questions by emailing me at ThreatStudyUChicago@gmail.com.

Invitation to participate - Script 3

For people recommended by friends and acquaintances

Hello,

My name is Jenn M. Jackson and I am a PhD student in Political Science at the University of Chicago. I'm conducting interviews focusing on the forms of threat that influence political action among young people between the ages of 18 and 35 years old. Eligible participants are minority group members (especially Black Americans) between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age currently living in the Chicago area.

Participation takes approximately 1 hour. All participants will earn a \$10 gift card to Amazon upon interview completion. Would you be interested in participating? Let me know if you're interested or have any questions by emailing me at ThreatStudyUChicago@gmail.com.

Best,

Jenn M. Jackson

Principal Investigator: Cathy J. Cohen
IRB17-1566

Appendix E: Interview Recruitment and Coding Method

In addition to relying on the reach of social media, I utilized a number of local organizations and institutions that serve young Black people in an effort to reach my target population²³. In particular, I used convenience sampling of young Black Americans in the Chicago area on the University of Chicago and Chicago State University campuses. Because these institutions are easily accessible to me, I used them as hubs for getting the word out about the project. I posted flyers, shared my project information with student groups, and canvassed potential participants directly. I also relied on existing organizations to help recruit young people for my interviews.

By contacting existing student-based organizations on these campuses like the Organization of Black Students and Blacks in Public Policy at the University of Chicago, the African American Male Resource Center at Chicago State University, and local Chicago chapters of BYP100 and Black Lives Matter, I was able to leverage their networks of young Black Americans in the Chicago-area in order to facilitate the recruitment process. I also reached out to the 100 Black Men of Chicago organization as well as the UIC and greater Chicago chapters of Alpha Phi Alpha and Omega Psi Phi fraternities, two historically-Black organizations. These connections were made later in the recruitment timeline to help with increasing the number of Black men participants in the study. After meeting several young people on the South Side of Chicago who were affiliated with Trinity United Church of Christ, I reached out to the young adult department to inquire about speaking with additional young people there. One additional organization I connected with was a Free Spirit Media (FSM), a media literacy and training organization that serves teens and young people on Chicago's West and South sides. I have already cultivated a relationship with FSM that helps to facilitate collaboration. From that point, snowball sampling was used to gather additional interested, potential participants from those who had already been interviewed.

In addition to my list of organizations and institutions, I relied heavily on my own networks and efforts to recruit participants for this project. For example, I have been teaching young Black and Latinx students in the city of Chicago since 2015 through a partnership between the Black Youth Project and Chicago Public Schools. Since that first summer, I have kept in touch with many of my students. For this project, I used purposive sampling of students who had reached the age of 18 years old for this study. I also encouraged them to suggest friends, family, and peers who might be a good fit for the project. Lastly, I canvassed in the South Loop (Downtown Chicago) with a focus on the corridor between Harold Washington Library, Columbia College, Roosevelt University, DePaul University, and John Marshall Law School. While I am aware that this area has a higher concentration of college-educated young Black

²³ Ruthellen Josselson calls this method of recruiting “networked recruitment” (2013, 20) It is essentially a form of snowball recruitment but focuses on the particular type of participant and encourages them to recommend others with whom they share similar characteristics. This method was especially helpful for me in reaching Black men for this study.

people, I also understand that this section of the Loop are high transit areas for local eateries, movie theaters, parks, and public museums.

Context and Access

I chose to conduct this study in the Chicago area due to the long history of Black activism and uprising in the region. In recent years, Chicago has been a primary location for young people's activism around issues of policing, school closures, minimum wages, housing policy, employment access, and a host of other social and political concerns. With respect to the issue of threat, young Black Americans in the city of Chicago are constituents of the second largest police force in the world [need citation]. Meanwhile, those who are raised within the South Side of the city's limits often face school closures, varying forms of housing instability, and police hyper-surveillance. These conditions make the Chicago area an extreme example of the various threats facing young Black Americans in the United States.

Another critical component of this site selection is its connection to mass migrations of Black Americans between 1915 and 1970. During this time period, more than six million Black Americans migrated from the rural South to cities in the North, West, and Midwest. Their movements signaled a new stage in racial conflict and proximity-based threats in the United States (Key 1949). Not only that, they gave way to new generations of Black Americans in northern and western regions whose presence in those areas reverberated for generations. Thus, the young Black Americans in my study are roughly one to two generations out from the Great Migration. For those whose great grandparents and grandparents were born or naturalized in the United States, they share stories of family members who have integrated schools, who were the first Black Americans to win selected political offices, and who can vividly recount the decision to pick up the family, move to the North, and hope for a better life up there. These intergenerational tales and experiences are handed down to children and to children's children. They shape the ways young Black Americans view the world around them, and, more specifically, the threats they might face because of their race, gender, sexuality, ability, class, or otherwise.

I gained access to the social organizations and movement members included in this phase of the research via several means. First, having lived and worked in the Chicago-area for the past four years as an instructor, writer, and activist has helped me to build independent networks with young Black Americans in the city. Second, I am a member of BYP100, a Black liberation organizations established in 2013. This connection has allowed me to embed myself in several movement communities in the Chicago-area as a movement participant. Finally, as a professional writer whose work focuses on political issues facing young Black Americans including anti-blackness, school closures, police violence, and the like, I have built community with young Chicago writers whose work, too, focuses on these intersections. For these reasons, I opted to conduct all of my own interviews, firsthand and in-person.

Coding and Analysis

Interviews were coded using both hand-coding and the import feature on the MAXQDA software. Transcripts were first coded using *Initial* or *Summative Coding*. This method allows for synthesis of the general themes in each of the conversations. This also greatly reduces the amount of generated text down into blocks of content that apply directly to the research question. Next, I used *Descriptive Coding* which provides categorical identification for each section of text that refers to a particular topic or family of topics. This method allows for codes to be reconciled across multiple interviews for the purpose of drawing evidence together to form a cogent argument. Finally, I used *Structural Coding* which helps to identify the frequency with which certain reactions and experiences were reported by respondents. This coding method generates hierarchical responses by specific research question and operates in a quantitative way. At the end of this tri-layer coding process, I am left with three textual layers: summary codes, categorical labels, and annotated responses to my specific research questions. As such, the analysis and findings below detail both the quantitative characteristics of the interviews and the qualitative responses from respondents²⁴.

²⁴ To ensure anonymity, all respondents have been given a pseudonym. All proper names have been changed. All identifying information has been removed.

References

- Bennett, Kanya. "Say Her Name: Recognizing Police Brutality Against Black Women." *ACLU*, June 14th, 2018. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/blog/criminal-law-reform/reforming-police-practices/say-her-name-recognizing-police-brutality> on July 30th, 2018.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo and Tyrone A. Forman. "I am Not A Racist But." *Discourse Society*. January 2000 vol. 11 no. 1 50-85.
- Bobo, Lawrence, and Vincent L. Hutchings. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *American Sociological Review* (1996): 951-972.
- Burch, Traci. *Trading Democracy for Justice: Criminal Convictions and the Decline of Neighborhood Political Participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Burns, Nancy. "Gender in the aggregate, gender in the individual, gender and political action." *Politics & Gender* 3, no. 1 (2007): 104-124.
- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. "The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: Family Life and Citizen Participation." *American Political Science Review* 91 (June 1997): 373–89.
- Burns, Peter, and James G. Gimpel. "Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy." *Political science quarterly* 115, no. 2 (2000): 201-225.
- Cohen, Cathy J. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Cohen, Cathy J. "Deviance as Resistance: A New Research Agenda for the Study of Black Politics." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 1, no. 1 (2004): 27-45.
- Cohen, Cathy J. *Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of American Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Cohen, Cathy J., and Michael C. Dawson. "Neighborhood Poverty and African American Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 87, no. 2 (1993): 286-302.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), p.1241 (1991).
- Dawson, Michael C. *Behind The Mule : Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton, N.J. :Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Dolan, Kathleen. "Gender Differences in Support for Women Candidates," *Women & Politics*,

17:2, 27-4, 1997.

Druckman, James N. "The implications of framing effects for citizen competence." *Political Behavior* 23, no. 3 (2001): 225-256.

Eith, Christine and Matthew R. Durose. "Contacts between Police and the Public, 2008." *Bureau of Justice Statistics*, October 2011. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cpp08.pdf> on July 30th, 2018.

Enos, Ryan D. *The Space between Us: Social Geography and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Entman, Robert M., and Andrew Rojecki. *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1962.

Gamson, William A., and Andre Modigliani. "The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action." Pp. 137-77 in *Research in Political Sociology*, vol. 3. Edited by Richard D. Braungart. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI, 1987.

Gamson, William A., and Andre Modigliani. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, no. 1 (1989): 1-37.

Gilens, Martin. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999.

Gilliam Jr., Franklin D. and Shanto Iyengar. "Prime Suspects: The Influence of Local Television News on the Viewing Public." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 44, No. 3, July 2000, pp. 560-573.

Green, Donald P., Dara Z. Strolovitch, and Janelle S. Wong. "Defended Neighborhoods, Integration, and Racially Motivated Crime." *American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 2 (1998): 372-403.

Gottschalk, Marie. "Hiding in Plain Sight: American Politics and the Carceral State." *Annual Review Political Science* 11 (2008): 235-260.

Grbich, Carol. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Introduction*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2013.

Haley, Sarah. *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

Herek, Gregory M. "Gender Gaps in Public Opinion about Lesbians and Gay Men." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2002): 40-66.

Hicks, Cheryl D. *Talk with You Like a Woman: African American Women, Justice, and Reform in New York, 1890-1935*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Hill Collins, Patricia. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Hill Collins, Patricia, and Sirma Bilge. *Intersectionality*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016.

Hutchings, Vincent. "Race, Punishment, and Public Opinion." *Perspectives on Politics*, September 2015, 13:3.

Iyengar, Shanto. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Jackson, Jenn M. "Speaking Truth to Power: Navigating Group Threat, Socialization, and Activating Black Communities."

Johnson, Otis, Jr, Keon Gilbert, and Habiba Ibrahim. "Race, Gender, and the Contexts of Unarmed Fatal Interactions with Police." *Fatal Interactions with Police Study*, February 2018. Retrieved from https://sites.wustl.edu/fips/?_ga=2.238606467.2011579898.1532984068-931771163.1531932965 on July 30th, 2018.

Josselson, Ruthellen. *Interviewing for Qualitative Inquiry: A Relational Approach*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2013.

Key, Jr., V. O. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984.

Khaleeli, Homa. "#SayHerName: why Kimberlé Crenshaw is fighting for forgotten women." *The Guardian*, May 30, 2016, retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/may/30/sayhername-why-kimberle-crenshaw-is-fighting-for-forgotten-women> on July 30th, 2018.

Khan-Cullors, Patrisse and Asha Bandele. *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*. St. Martin's Press, 2017.

- Kim, Claire Jean. *Bitter Fruit: the Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City*. Yale University Press, 2000.
- Lerman, Amy E. and Vesla M. Weaver. *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Lipsky, Michael. *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980.
- Masuoka, Natalie and Jane Junn. *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Moraga, Cherríe, and Gloria Anzaldúa. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Watertown, Mass: Persephone Press, 1981.
- Muhammad, Khalil Gibran. *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Nichols, Vanessa Cruz, Alana MW LeBrón, and Francisco I. Pedraza. "Policing Us Sick: The Health of Latinos in an Era of Heightened Deportations and Racialized Policing." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51, no. 2 (2018): 293-297.
- Okin, Susan Moller. *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. New York: Basic Books, 2007.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Prior, Markus. "Political Knowledge after September 11." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 35, no. 3 (2002): 523-530.
- Richie, Beth. *Compelled to Crime: The Gender Entrapment of Battered Black Women*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Richie, Beth. *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.
- Ritchie, Andrea J. *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color*. Beacon Press, 2017.
- Sampson, Robert J., and William Julius Wilson. "Toward a Theory of Race, Crime, and Urban Inequality." *Race, Crime, and Justice: A Reader* (1995): 37-56.

Sears, David O., Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. *Racialized Politics*. University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Tarrow, Sidney G. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Weaver, Vesla M., and Amy E. Lerman. "Political consequences of the carceral state." *American Political Science Review*, 104, no. 4 (2010): 817-833.

Weitzer, Ronald, and Steven A. Tuch. "Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct." *Social Problems* 51, no. 3 (2004): 305-325.

———. "Racially Biased Policing: Determinants of citizen perceptions." *Social Forces* 83, no. 3 (2005): 1009-1030.

Welch, Susan, and Lee Sigelman. "Changes in Public Attitudes toward Women in Politics." *Social Science Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1982): 312.