

PREDATION IN STATE IN NATION:
TOWARDS A THEORY OF
MINORITY PARTICIPATION

by

BRANDON RUDOLPH DAVIS
RICHARD FORDING, COMMITTEE CHAIR
STEPHEN BORRELLI
CAROL A. CASSEL
UTZ L. MCKNIGHT
DANA PATTON

A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Political Science
in the Graduate School of
The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2017

Copyright Brandon Rudolph Davis 2017
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

U.S. criminal justice policies have created the uniquely American style of carceral punishment. Since 1973, America has seen a sustained and substantial rise in its incarceration population and the manifestation of *mass incarceration*. Currently, the U.S. imprisons 2.23 million people, which amounts to 23% of the world's total incarcerated population. Support for more punitive policies came from Whites and Black residents, politicians, and community. I maintain that the carceral predation has a political spillover effect of reducing Black political power by adversely affecting the political socialization process and development of efficacy. I hypothesize that carceral contact directly affects the political behavior of those personally contacted and those with network contact, and this effect is greater for African Americans than for Whites. I posit that carceral contact negatively impacts political trust, and that individuals can rationally assign the distrust to a specific level of governance. This effect should also be larger for Blacks. Thirdly, I theorize that carceral contact negatively affects not only the social and cultural aspects of political efficacy, but also the psychological components of political efficacy. I hypothesize that carceral contact and predacious political environments have an adverse impact on the development of self-esteem, happiness, and calmness. In the following chapters I will attempt to aid in the development of a theory of minority participation through the theoretical development of the concept of predation, presenting a new Black voting calculus, and empirically testing how carceral contact affects participation via political socialization and efficacy.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to everyone who believed in me and guided me through this process. In particular, my family, departmental faculty, and the graduate school administration who stood with me throughout completion of this project.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am honored to have the opportunity to thank the many colleagues, friends, and faculty members who have helped me with this research project. I am most indebted to Richard C. Fording, the chairman of this dissertation, for sharing his research experience and political expertise and for pushing me to produce the best possible document. I would also like to thank all of my committee members, Stephen Borrelli, Carol Cassel, Dana Patton, and Utz McKnight for their invaluable input, thought provoking queries, and continued support throughout my academic career. Finally, I would like to thank the Graduate School and Southern Regional Education Board for without their support this project would not have been possible.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....ii

DEDICATION.....iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....iv

LIST OF TABLES.....vii

LIST OF FIGURES.....viii

ILLUSTRATIONS.....ix

1 INTRODUCTION.....1

2 INSTITUTION, STATE, AND PREDATION.....25

3 PARTICIPATION AND PREDATION: A RATIONAL APPROACH TO
MINORITY TURNOUT.....65

4 FEELING POLITICS.....128

5 CONCLUSION.....155

REFERENCES.....165

APPENDICES

Appendix A QUESTION WORDING AND CODING PROCEDURES USED FOR
NATIONAL LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF YOUTH 1997 (NLSY97)208

Appendix B QUESTION WORDING AND CODING PROCEDURES USED FOR
ADOLESCENT TO ADULT HEALTH (ADD HEALTH), 1994-2008.....233

LIST OF TABLES

1	Carceral Contact and Voting (NLYS97).....	114
2	Carceral Contact and Voting (Add Health).....	118
3	Disinterest in Government.....	120
4	Distrust in Government	123
5	Voting and Well-Being.....	141
6	Rate Life and Life Satisfaction.....	144
7	Contact and Adverse Well-Being Measures.....	147
8	Contact and Affirmative Well-Being Measures.....	151

LIST OF FIGURES

1	Collective Memory.....	55
2	U.S. Turnout by Race.....	82
3	Turnout in Ferguson Missouri.....	90
4	Turnout by Race in Ferguson Missouri.....	91
5	Invisible Politics (1985).....	95
6	Trust in Black America (2012)	97
7	Average Marginal Effects for Presidential Years (NLSY97).....	116
8	Average Marginal Effects for Midterm Years (NLSY97)	117
9	Average Marginal Effects for Table 2 (Add Health).....	119
10	Average Marginal Effects for Table 3 (NLSY97).....	122
11	Distrust in the Federal Government (Add Health).....	125
12	Distrust in the State Government (Add Health).....	125
13	Distrust in Local Government (Add Health).....	126
14	Average Marginal Effects in Presidential Years.....	143
15	Average Marginal Effects in Midterm Years.....	143
16	Average Marginal Effects for Model 11 Rate Life.....	146
17	Average Marginal Effects for Model 12 Life Satisfaction.....	146
18	Average marginal effects Depression.....	148
19	Average marginal effects Sadness.....	149
20	Average marginal effect Nervousness.....	150

21	Average marginal effect Happiness.....	152
22	Average marginal effect Calmness.....	153

INTRODUCTION

“...any people who could endure all of that brutalization and keep together, who could undergo such dismemberment, and resuscitate itself, and endure until it could take the initiative in achieving its own freedom is obviously more than the sum of its brutalization”

(Ellison, 2011, p.741)

1.1 The Rise of Mass Incarceration

U.S. criminal justice policies have created the uniquely American style of carceral punishment. Since 1973, America has seen a sustained and substantial rise in its incarceration rate and the manifestation of *mass incarceration*. Incarceration is the legal deprivation of individual liberty in a sanctioned facility and the incarceration rate is the ratio of persons incarcerated to the total population of a geographic area. This ratio represents the social footprint of the carceral state. Next to actual death, it is one of the most severe punishments a society can impose. It is thought to serve one of three possible purposes: retribution, deterrence, or rehabilitation (Redburn, Western, & Travis, 2014). In 1972, the U.S. incarceration rate was 161 per 100,000. In 2012, the rate was 707 per 100,000 (Glaze & Herberman, 2013), which represents an increase of over 1.9 million persons. Currently, the U.S. imprisons 2.23 million people, which amounts to 23% of the world's total incarcerated population (The sentencing project.2016; Hinton, 2016; Redburn et al., 2014).

The number of individuals on probation and parole (community corrections) has also increased. From 1972 to 2010, the probation population increased from 923,000 to 3.94 million and the parole population increased from 143,000 to 841,000 (Redburn et al., 2014). The growth of community corrections has also expanded a reentry point due to the increase in the numbers of non-offending technical violators (Carson & Sabol, 2012; Glaze & Bonczar, 2011; Petersilia, 2003). Parole and probation violators constitute 30 to 40% of the total state prison population (Petersilia, 2003). In all, there are over 7 million people under the control of the U.S. criminal justice system (incarcerated and community corrections). This is substantially more than any other nation and is historically and comparatively unprecedented (Redburn et al., 2014). Mass incarceration represents a significant expansion of the carceral state into the lives of the U.S. population. The questions I want to answer in my dissertation are: (1) How does carceral contact (in all its facets) affect the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy? (2) How does racially geographic concentration of incarceration affect Black participation?

The consequences and outcomes of criminal justice policies are not uniform. They are effective for some types of offenders but ineffective for others. Incarceration is thought to reduce crime through deterrence and incapacitation (Redburn et al., 2014). Deterrence is theorized to produce both general and specific behavioral responses. General deterrence refers to crime prevention as a result of the threat of incarceration while specific deterrence refers to the effect incarceration has on the reoffended once a person has been incarcerated (Redburn et al., 2014). Modern theories of deterrence suggest that a policy's level of severity, certainty, and alacrity are key factors in deterring crime (Beccaria, 2009; Bentham, 1970). Robinson and

Darley (2004) found that offenders actually need to know about the policy for it to have a deterrent effect but in reality criminals rarely have this specialized knowledge.

Incapacitation refers to the reduction of crime via the removal of offenders during incarceration (Redburn et al., 2014). The crime control effect of incapacitation has been shown to decrease with the scale of imprisonment (Canela-Cacho, Blumstein, & Cohen, 1997; Useem & Piehl, 2008). Sentencing enhancements (or longer sentences) initially have a large deterrent effect, but the effect declines as they are administered toward less serious offenders (R. Johnson & Raphael, 2012). The crime prevention appears to be connected to the type of offender incarcerated rather than the rate of incarceration (Blumstein & Beck, 1999; Blumstein & Beck, 2005). Incapacitation is effective in reducing criminal activity of high rate offenders. Zimring, Hawkins, and Kamin (2003) found that California's incapacitation law, Proposition 8, reduced crime by a mere 2%. Webster, Doob, and Zimring (2006) found that the same law had no effect on crime reduction. Other researchers examining the before and after effects of Proposition 8 concluded the law's effects were negligible to insignificant (Helland & Tabarrok, 2007; Stolzenberg & D'alessio, 1997). Ludwig and Raphael (2003) examined the deterrent effect of sentencing enhancements for gun crimes and found that enhanced punitiveness had no deterrent effect. Lee and McCary (2009) and Hjalmarsson (2009) found that the increased severity of penalties associated with moving from juvenile to adult justice also had no deterrent effect. Certainty, rather than severity and alacrity, was found to be the most effective method of deterrence (Hawken & Kleiman, 2009; Weisburd, Einat, & Kowalski, 2008). This could be because most crimes are committed by young people (Farrington, 1986; Sweeten, Piquero, & Steinberg, 2013). The offending trajectories for all people decline significantly with age and, over time, mirror those of non-offenders (Laub & Sampson, 2009).

In addition to the large increases in the incarceration rate not being an effective method of deterrence, it also does not correlate with the crime rate. The level of crime in a society affects the number of persons subject to arrest, conviction, and incarceration. Therefore, understanding the crime rate is integral to understanding the rise in the U.S. incarceration rate (J. P. Lynch & Addington, 2006). The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) shows trends in the overall violent crime rate (murder, rape, assault, and robbery), property crime rate (burglary, larceny, and car theft), and drug arrest rate, from 1960 through 2011. The U.S. did experience a large increase in the level of crime from the early 1960's through the 1980's, but in the 1990's violent and property crime rates began to fall (Redburn et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the drug arrest rate increased four-fold over the same period. In 1980, the drug arrest rate was 15 per 100,000. In 2010, it had increased to 143 per 100,000. The U.S. rate of incarceration for drug offenses, excluding local jails and federal prisons, exceeds by 50% the average incarceration rate for all crimes in Western European nations. The increases in drug related arrests contributed significantly the expansion of the carceral population. With simultaneous decreases in the violent and property crime rates, the increase in the U.S. incarceration rate cannot simply be ascribed to higher levels of crime.

The incarceration rate is dependent on the crime rate but also on the probability of arrest, the probability of incarceration after arrest, and the length of incarceration (or level of incapacitation) (Beckett & Murakawa, 2012; Blumstein & Beck, 1999; Blumstein & Beck, 2005). If the level of crime in a society increases, the incarceration rate will as well. Similarly, if sentences are enhanced and the probability of arrest and imprisonment are increased then so too will the incarceration rate. The war on drugs increased the probability of arrest for drug related offences and the probability that an arrest would lead to a lengthy jail sentence. From 1980 through 1989, the arrest rate for possession and use increased by 89%. In 2006, the drug

arrest rate was 162% higher than it was in 1980 (Snyder, 2011). Between 1980 and 2010, the incarceration rate for drug related offenses rose 350 % (Redburn et al., 2014). Sentence lengths for drug and violent crimes had also increased. In the 1980's, there was a significant increase in incarceration rates for drug offenses but the offenders served relatively short sentences. By the 1990's, time served replaced imprisonment per arrest as the leading factor in the increase of the incarcerated population (Redburn et al., 2014).

Sentences were enhanced because policy makers moved away from indeterminate (or case by case judicial discretion) sentencing and toward sentencing guidelines. Critics of indeterminate sentencing argued that it produced racial disparities and lacked procedural fairness, consistency, and transparency (Davis, 1969; Dershowitz, 1976; Morris, 1974; Von Hirsch & Hanrahan, 1979). Mandatory minimums, three strike laws (minimum 25 years for a third for a 3rd felony conviction), truth in sentencing (requiring 85% of one's sentence to be served in prison), and life without parole laws significantly increased the sentence lengths for violent and drug crimes. Mass incarceration appears to have grown out of a series of policy decisions aimed at increasing the severity of punishment (Redburn et al., 2014). In the U.S. "the change has come slowly, the result of a generation of politicians and public officials fanning and exploiting public fears by declaring war on abstractions like...drug use" (Balko, 2013, p.42). The outcome has been that currently drug offenders now make up one-fifth of all state inmates and two-thirds of all federal inmates (Mumola & Karberg, 2006; Reuter, 2013; H. A. Thompson, 2010).

The racialization of crime was very effective in politicizing criminal justice issues (Redburn et al., 2014; Tonry, 2011). American political institutions, including the election of judges and direct democracy, make the U.S. system vulnerable to the politicization of social problems (Redburn et al., 2014). In competitive elections, judges tend to hand out harsher sentences (A

Huber & Gordon, 2004; Gordon & Huber, 2007) and the adoption of three strike laws are examples of the democratization of punishment (Barker, 2009; Hosang, 2010; Zimring et al., 2003). Extreme anxiety over social change and stagflation created a political environment conducive to coded racial appeals and populist law and order rhetoric (Edsall & Edsall, 1992; Flamm, 2005). For African Americans, the criminal narrative surrounded what was perceived as lawlessness. Whites argued for the expansion of the criminal justice apparatus as a means of controlling Black lawlessness (Biondi & Biondi, 2009; Countryman, 2007; Jones, 2009; McGirr, 2001; Murakawa, 2014; Sugrue, 1996; Weaver, 2007). Hinton (2016) finds that social and economic issues like poverty, unemployment, and inadequate housing were reshaped into vagrancy, delinquency, and lawlessness. Riots in urban cities sparked by horrendous social conditions and police brutality fueled a shift from “education, health, housing, and welfare programs” (p.13) to “block grants...increasing the nation’s punitive and carceral capacities” (p.14) and a “Long-Range Master Plan to expand and modernize the American correctional system” (Hinton, 2016, p.164).

Democrats and Republicans alike are responsible for the shift toward more punitive policies. Republican Party control correlates with larger increases in the penal population (Jacobs & Helms, 2001; Jacobs & Carmichael, 2001; K. B. Smith, 2004; Western, 2006). Nevertheless, members of both political parties associated criminality with Blackness and civil disorder (Kruse & Sugrue, 2006; McGirr, 2001; Schoenwald, 2001; Shermer, 2013). They blamed drug offenders for higher levels of crime, urban blight, and social and economic problems (Kohler-Hausmann, 2010). Support for more punitive policies came from Whites and Black residents, politicians, and community leaders (Barker, 2009; Forman Jr, 2012; Fortner, 2013; Kennedy, 1998; Meares, 1997). The shift toward more punitive polices was aided by the fact that public

knowledge about crime was very limited, and the public consistently over estimates the crime rate and the leniency of the criminal justice system (Cullen, Fisher, & Applegate, 2000; Roberts Julian, 2003; Roberts, 1997; Roberts & Stalans, 1998). Low information and implicit racial bias played a subtle but powerful role in the development of harsher and harsher criminal justice policies (Bobo & Johnson, 2004; Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Peffley & Hurwitz, 2010; Unnever, 2013; Unnever, 2008).

Many aspects of the U.S. carceral state—including disparities in imprisonment, arrest practices, use of force, court proceedings, and racial profiling—disproportionately affect African Americans (DOJ, 2015; DOJ, 2016). While the rise in mass incarceration has not achieved its expressed goals, it has produced very significant negative outcomes for low income minorities. Sixty percent of America's 2.23 million incarcerated persons are racial minorities (Carson & Sabol, 2012). The NAACP (2016) found that if African Americans and Hispanics were incarcerated at the same rate as Whites, the incarceration rate would drop by 50 percent. The African-American arrest rate is 1,460 per 100,000 (Western, 2006). The overall incarceration rate for African-American men is 4.6 times greater than that of White men (Redburn et al., 2014). African-American men born since the 1960's are more likely to have spent time in prison than have a bachelor's degree (Pettit & Western, 2004; Pettit, 2012). Among prime-age (25-35) Black men, 15% of those who have not attended college and 33% of high school dropouts are incarcerated on an average day. In 2010, the incarceration rate for African-Americans was 1,300 per 100,000 and 35,000 per 100,000 for male high school dropouts (Redburn et al., 2014). The drug related arrest rate for Blacks is 4 times higher than for Whites, and Blacks are sent to prison for drugs offences at 10 times the rate of Whites (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006; NAACP, 2016). These disparities exist regardless of the fact that Whites' reported drug use is five times larger

(NAACP, 2016). There is little evidence to show that Blacks sell more drugs than Whites and arrests of Blacks for trafficking is a small percent of overall arrests (Room, 2010; Tonry, 2011). The magnitude of the incarceration disparities are larger than the disparities for wealth, employment, and infant mortality (Beck & Blumstein, 2012; Western, 2006). In every state, no matter the racial demographics, the incarceration rate for Blacks is higher than the rate for Whites (The sentencing project.2016).

Politicians have loaded the institution of criminal justice with bad incentives, which unfailingly produce negative outcomes for many some Americans (Balko, 2013; Redburn et al., 2014). The burden of these negative outcomes are being borne disproportionately by young, poor, Black men. Minority defendants are treated differently at all stages of the criminal justice process and those differences impact the subsequent racial disparities (Chiricos & Crawford, 1995; M. Mitchell, 2004; Zatz, 1987). These disparities are historical but had worsened substantially in the 1980's and 1990's. In the 1980's, racial disparities in arrest corresponded closely with racial differences in imprisonment for violent crimes, but not property and drug offenses (Blumstein, 1982; Blumstein, 1993). By the 2000's, racial differences in offending no longer corresponded with racial differences in imprisonment (Baumer, 2013; Tonry & Melewski, 2008). Of overall racial disparities in incarceration, 45%, cannot be explained by arrests. For drug offenses, 66% of the racial disparities in incarceration cannot be explained by arrests (Baumer, 2013). Blacks are more likely to be incarcerated while awaiting trial, receive jail time rather than community service, and receive longer sentences (Bell, 2000; Spohn, 2014; Tonry, 1995; Tonry, 2011). Black youth in America are also six times more likely to be sent to juvenile detention than White youth (Loury, 2002). The number of Black male juvenile cases sent to adult court has increased from 47% to 55% (M. J. Lynch & Patterson, 1991). In an examination

of 63,000 cases, 46% of Blacks were sent to prison as opposed to 20% of Whites (Bell, 2000). Whites are three times more likely to receive probation. Out of people that were twice convicted and given probation on each offense, on their third or fourth conviction 57% of Blacks were sent to prison compared to only 6% of Whites (Bell, 2000). Blacks are also more likely to receive the death penalty (C. Lee, 2007; Sorensen & Wallace, 1999). This is exacerbated in cases where the victims are White (Baldus, Woodworth, & Pulaski, 1990; Bell, 2000; Gross & Mauro, 1989). The racial disparities in the criminal justice system and the absolute number of Blacks incarcerated are major impediments to improving race relations in the U.S. (M. Alexander, 2012).

Policies towards certain crimes, including how these crimes are penalized compared to others, as well as enforcement practices do a lot to stigmatize and marginalize specific populations (Cohen, 1999). Pettit (2012) finds that “racial discrimination, segregation, and exclusion contributed to a system of institutions, laws, and customs that maintained racial inequality and was premised on the subjugation and invisibility of African Americans” (p.3). Alexander (2012) posits that the carceral state has created a racial caste system within the U.S. The problem with the criminal justice system is that crime and punishment are not directly related to criminal activity (Redburn et al., 2014). The institution of criminal justice has created a web of social control through the surveillance of behavior, identity, activity, and mobility (Foucault, 1995). Aggressive policing and punitive policies have created mini-police states within communities (Alexander, 2012). Incarceration has become a public good and punishment a public service (D’Amico, 2009). In the American context, the government is choosing whom and to what severity to punish, which has serious implications for democracy (Manza & Uggen,

2006). This makes the study of the political spillover effects of the carceral state vital to the study of American Politics.

The first order effects of incarceration and felony disenfranchisement have an immediate impact on participation. Maine and Vermont are the only states that have no restrictions on voting for felons and allow their incarcerated populations to vote. In the other 48 states and District of Columbia inmates are disenfranchised to various degrees. Sixteen states and the District of Columbia disenfranchise felons only during incarceration. Four states disenfranchise felons during incarceration and while on parole. Fourteen states disenfranchise felons during incarceration and while on parole and probation. Eight states disenfranchise specific felons for life (Cosgrove, 2003; Steinacker, 2003). Eleven states permanently disenfranchise all felons (Miles, 2004). The U.S. disenfranchised population is disproportionately young, Black, male, and poor (Miles, 2004; Pattillo, Western, & Weiman, 2004). African-Americans account for 2,231,002 million (or 40%) of the almost 6 million disenfranchised Americans. Eight percent of all African Americans are disenfranchised (The Sentencing Project, 2016). In the South, an estimated 30% of all Black males are disenfranchised (Yoshinaka & Grose, 2005). The restoration of a felon's voting rights has become a "...bureaucratized, centralized, and standardized" process (Ewald, 2009, p.540). The convoluted process is hindering felons' ability to reconnect politically. After a felony conviction one has to face an array of wildly unconnected and punitive collateral consequences. The National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers (NACDL) (2016) finds that collateral consequences can be a defendant's *most serious punishment* and relegate a felon to a second class status. The National Inventory of the Collateral Consequences of Conviction (NICCC) (2013) found 46,143 collateral consequences of a felony conviction. These additional penalties include court fines, loss of occupational

licensing, parole/probation officer fines, suspension or revoking of drivers licenses (for non-driving offenses), drug testing, DNA recording, and a loss of access to social services and student loans.

The second order effects include, but are not limited to, how incarceration, disenfranchisement, probation and parole, collateral consequences, over policing, and police militarization produce adverse social, psychological, and economic outcomes for families and communities. The rise in the incarceration rate has been accompanied by a simultaneous rise in number of families and children experiencing familial carceral contact. From 1980 to 2000, the number of children with an incarcerated father rose from 350,000 to 2.1 million (Western & Wildeman, 2009). The risk of maternal incarceration, though small, also increased 131%, from 1991 to 2007 (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008; Kruttschnitt, 2010; Wildeman, 2009). Currently 3% or 1.7 million U.S. children have an incarcerated parent (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008; Western & Wildeman, 2009). Carlson and Cervera (1992) call families the hidden victims of mass incarceration. Familial incarceration is associated with weaker family bonds and lowered child well-being (Redburn et al., 2014). Black and Hispanic children are 7.5 and 2.7 times more likely, respectively, to have a parent imprisoned (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Twenty-five percent of Black children can expect to have a parent incarcerated (Pettit, 2012). Imprisonment produces feelings of loneliness, frustration, and anxiety for the partners and children of the imprisoned, and even prior to imprisonment the initial arrest and pretrial preparations cause families to suffer economic strain and depression (Carlson and Cervera, 1992). Economic strain is the most commonly reported source of stress for partners of imprisoned individuals (Carlson & Cervera, 1992; Ferraro, Johnson, Jorgensen, & Bolton, 1983). After incarceration, families

become even more impoverished and the likelihood of substance and physical abuse all increase (Arditti, Lambert- Shute, & Joest, 2003; Cervera & Carlson, 1992).

Thirdly, and what I am interested in, are the political spillover effects on the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy. Carceral contact has adverse effects on the political socialization process (Lynch & Patterson, 1991). One of the more serious externalities, is the negative impact carceral predation has on the development of political efficacy and thereby participation in politics. Political participation rests on socially induced incentives and the instrument for encouraging participation is political socialization (Cho, Gimpel, & Dyck, 2006). An affirmative political socialization process has been associated with increases in voter turnout (Pacheco, 2008) and Cassel and Luskin (1988) found that low levels of efficacy are correlated with lower turnout. A deleterious socialization process creates feelings of alienation, which has behavioral consequences. Alienation produces feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and isolation, which have been theorized to be important determinants of political efficacy (Jackson, 1973).

Rose and Clear (1998) posit that high rates of incarceration within communities trigger social disorganization and erode the capacity for social cohesion. A sense of social connectedness is related to consistent turnout with greater frequency (Miller, 1992). The political environment is also very important when socializing the importance of participation (Pacheco, 2008). Communities have a socializing effect that can either encourage or discourage participation (Cho et al., 2006). America's most vulnerable and disadvantaged communities, namely poor minority communities, have been acutely affected by mass incarceration. For example, 60% of Illinois prisoners are from Cook County (Chicago) and a disproportionate number of Michigan inmates return to Wayne County (Detroit) (Heyer & Wagner, 2004; Pettit, 2012). In Michigan, 12% of

the census tracts receive 50% of the parolees and 2% of census tracts receive 25%. The uniquely American combination of race, crime, and politics has fueled the adoption of more and more punitive criminal justice policies but the adverse outcomes have concentrated in minority families and communities (Redburn et al., 2014).

Pacheco (2008) found that the *familial socialization significantly impacts participation* and is very important in the socialization process. Overprotective parenting leads to *political distrust and disaffection* (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). Campbell (1979) found that socializing agents—fathers, mothers, peer groups, and school—constitute the basic determinates of one’s level of *political trust*. Siblings are also agents of socialization (Broh, 1981). Predation and personal and familiar carceral contact adversely affects Black participation by (1) disproportionately reducing the number of eligible Black voters through incarceration and felony disenfranchisement and (2) geographically concentrating the adverse effects, creating pockets of predation, in which the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy are adversely effected. For example, incarceration has a positive relationship with instances of divorce and divorce has been linked to lower turnout rates (Sandell & Plutzer, 2005; Stoker & Jennings, 1995). Divorce is a second order family and community effect, of incarceration. Mass incarceration greatly increases the likelihood of divorce in geographically concentrated areas but it also increases the magnitude of divorce’s adverse effects on turnout, which is political spillage. These types of second order political effects are the subject of my project but are under studied in political behavior and carceral state literature.

1.2 First Order Effects: Incarceration and Disenfranchisement

Incarceration itself is truly unnatural. It is seemingly more orientated toward punishment rather than rehabilitation, and most prisons serve as criminal training facilities (Alexander, 2012). Malcolm X (1999) once said “behind bars, a man never reforms. He will never forget. He never will get completely over the memory of the bars”. To deprive someone of their liberty and freedoms is to take away what makes them human. Liberty is not merely a set of rights people have, it is what humans are. Psychologically, prisons environments are complex and have a strong influence on inmates (Clemmer, 1958; Sykes, 2007; Toch, 2007; Toch, 1992; Toch & Adams, 2002). Prisonization is defined as the taking on to various degrees the folkways, values, customs, and overall culture of the penitentiary (Clemmer, 1958; Gillespie, 2003). Incarceration produces disabling behaviors and physically changes some inmates. After release, overcome by the physical and psychological stressors, some individuals suffer from social and emotional withdrawal and extremes fits of aggression and violence (Jose-Kampfner, 1990; Porporino, 1990; Rubenstein, 1982; A. Taylor, 1961). The prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in the incarcerated population ranges from 4 to 21 %, which is 2 to 10 times the national average (Goff, Rose, Rose, & Purves, 2007; Kessler, Sonnega, Bromet, Hughes, & Nelson, 1995). Twenty-one percent of male inmates, 48% of female inmates, and 24-65% of male juvenile inmates are reported as having PTSD (Gibson et al., 1999; Heckman, Cropsey, & Olds-Davis, 2007; Zlotnick, 1997). The structure and routine of prison negatively erodes personal autonomy and causes inmates to lose their perceived *capacity to exercise power and control over their lives* (Irwin, 2005; Redburn et al., 2014). After release, some individuals *withdraw from social engagement* and lose the ability to initiate activities and make decisions for themselves, which makes participation on any level less likely (Haney, 2006; Jose-Kampfner, 1990).

Because of the geographic and racially concentrated application of incarceration, these effects are amplified in poor, minority communities.

Disenfranchisement has been around since the times of ancient Greece and Rome. Criminals have been prohibited from appearing in court, making public speeches, assembling, serving in the military, and voting (Liles, 2006). *Civic death* took many forms in Europe and remained very much intact in the new American colonies (Liles, 2006). Soon after the American Revolution, we see the first codified laws prohibiting ex-felons from voting. Virginia was the first state to disenfranchise felons (Hull, 2006; Liles, 2006). Voting is the most basic act of citizenship. To remove a person from the voting polis completely removes that person from political life. The title of citizen is established on the fact that one can vote and participate in political life. Voting gives citizens the opportunity to express their will and check their government. It is a powerful symbol of political equality and evidence that we still live in a democratic society (Manza & Uggen, 2006). Hull (2009) found that disenfranchisement at its core is not about philosophy, electoral integrity, or justice. It is about political power. Disenfranchisement renders people unable to check government. For an example, ex-felons are denied a multitude of government services at the local, state, and federal level and then denied the vote which could be used change their status. Voting is what makes all other political rights significant (Cloward & Fox-Piven, 2002). Miller and Spillane (2012) find that “...disenfranchisement is one of a variety of legal sanctions that restricts liberty and opportunity for former prisoners” (p.405). It poses a significant obstacle to felon reintegration into the community (Miller & Spillane, 2012).

Felons tend to vote like everyone else but this does not mean that their re-enfranchisement would be meaningless (Hull, 2009). This was especially evident in 2000 presidential election in

Florida. George W. Bush won the 2000 presidential election with fewer than 1000 votes in Florida (Liles, 2006). In 2000, some 5 million persons nationally and 2% of the voting-age population in Florida was disenfranchised (Hull, 2009). Uggen and Manza (2002) estimated that if felons in Florida had been enfranchised, Gore (D-TN) would have won the state by an estimated 80,000 votes. Uggen and Manza (2002) found that, if enfranchised, 35% of felons would vote in presidential elections and an estimated 24% would vote in off-year elections. Since 1978, there have been 400 senatorial races and 7 elections where the results would have been reversed if felons had been enfranchised. In addition, two presidential elections would have also come out differently (Uggen & Manza, 2004). Burch (2012) argued against Uggen and Manza, finding that the ex-felon population in Florida would have favored Bush. She finds that because most ex-felons in Florida during the 2000 election were White men it is less clear that they would have supported Gore (Burch, 2012).

There is no national election for president. There are over 50 individual state and federal district elections. Voting is regulated primarily by the states. Disenfranchisement is also a state policy decision in that it is exclusive to each state, and the outcomes vary widely. This means that disenfranchisement in Alabama only applies to felons convicted and living in Alabama. If a felon moved to another state, the Alabama disenfranchisement laws would not follow him. The large increases in incarceration and disenfranchisement are responsible for a declining number of young Black men who are eligible to vote (Pettit, 2012). Pettit (2012) found that less than half of all young Black men cast a vote to elect the first Black president. Only one in five Black men voted in 2008, the same fraction that voted in 1980 (Pettit, 2012). For Blacks, the promise of the civil rights movement has been significantly hindered by the development of mass incarceration and the prison-industrial complex.

1.3 Social Order Effects: Family and Community

The geographic concentration of mass incarceration in African American communities with high rates of poverty, unemployment, and racial segregation magnifies the negative effects of these adverse social conditions (Redburn et al., 2014). Several studies attest to the unequal application of incarceration in disadvantaged minority communities (Cadora, Swartz, & Gordon, 2003; Drakulich, Crutchfield, Matsueda, & Rose, 2012; J. P. Lynch, 2001). In some Black communities, the rate of prison admission is 40 times higher than the highest ranked White community within the same state (Sampson & Wilson, 2012). In some cities, 80% of African American men have a criminal record (Street, 2002). From 1984 to 1996, mass incarceration tripled the reentry burden in urban centers. Minnesota has the highest ratio of Black to White incarceration in the nation, at three times the national average. Some family stressors can be remedied but not incarceration.

Mass incarceration creates economic strain through legal fees, loss of income, and by attempting to maintain the familial relationship (Arditti et al., 2003; Christian, 2005; Grinstead, Faigeles, Bancroft, & Zack, 2001). Over 50% of incarcerated fathers were the primary source of income for their family (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Incarceration separates fathers from the workforce resulting in greater use of public assistance and increased risk of homelessness for mothers and children (RW.ERROR - Unable to find reference:1730; Geller, Cooper, Garfinkel, Schwartz-Soicher, & Mincy, 2012; Pruitt Walker, 2012; Schwartz-Soicher, Geller, & Garfinkel, 2011). Lounsbury (2002) finds that Blacks have the highest recidivism rate, 48%, which is nearly 10% higher than the rate for Whites, adding to their unlikely ability to contribute financially. Visher et al (2011) found that of 740 men released in various states only 45% reported having

formal employment. Forty-two percent remained unemployed up to a year after release (Visher et al., 2011). The employment selection process, having to disclose felony convictions, the personal transformation that inmates go through during incarceration, and the labeling associated with being an ex-con all contribute to a decreased likelihood that a previously incarcerated person will find gainful employment (Austin & Irwin, 2001; Hagan, 1993; L. Mills, 2008; Peterson, Krivo, & Hagan, 2006; Travis, 2000; Travis, 2005). Incarceration's negative effect on one's ability to financially contribute erodes already strained relationships.

Poor economic prospects also structure men's involvement in their children's lives (Waller, 2002). Prior and recent incarceration has a negative association with co-parenting, engaging in activities, and overall contact with children (Geller et al., 2012; Turney & Wildeman, 2013; Waller & Swisher, 2006; Woldoff & Washington, 2008). Children perform more poorly and have greater difficulty in school post a father's incarceration. The social stigma alone is enough to cause *self-esteem problems* (Carlson & Cervera, 1992). Behavioral problems and delinquency are the most common and most consistently recorded effects of parental incarceration (Murray, Farrington, & Sekol, 2012). Parental incarceration leads to children withdrawing, disregarding parental and social rules, becoming irritable, and distancing themselves from others (Arditti et al., 2003; Braman, 2004; Carlson & Cervera, 1992; Martin, 2001). Geller et al (2009) found increased levels of physical aggression in children with incarcerated fathers. The increases in aggressive behavior were nearly twice as large for boys (Geller et al., 2012; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2011). A parent's incarceration can cause disruptions in their children's *psychological and social development*. The incarceration of a parent produces emotional strain and feelings of *distrust, guilt, and shame* (Giordano, 2010). Roettger and Boardman (2012) find that a father's incarceration is positively associated with a higher body mass index (BMI), a

symptom of depression. Ninety-four percent of children said they miss their incarcerated parent *everyday* (Carlson & Cervera, 1992).

Incarceration also makes it very difficult to maintain marital relationships and reduces the likelihood of marriage for men (Braman, 2004). It has a negative effect on the prevalence of marriage among all women (Charles & Luoh, 2010). The incarceration of a father reduces the likelihood of cohabitation and marriage post incarceration and increases the probability that the mother will start a relationship with new man (Lewis, 2010; Turney & Wildeman, 2013; Waller & Swisher, 2006). Women who have incarcerated partners have to expend time, energy, and money to maintain the relationship. Attempting to provide moral and emotional support through letters, phone calls, and visits is emotionally and economically taxing (Christian, 2005; M. L. Comfort, 2003; Grinstead et al., 2001). The psychological strain is greater for those who cohabitated with the prisoner prior to incarceration. Visiting a correctional facility creates a point of carceral contact. When visiting, women are subject to physical searches, confiscation of personal items, and draconian rules (L. T. Fishman, 1990). After release, women may become subject to the terms of their partner's parole or probation (M. Comfort, 2009). Regardless, after release incarceration has been shown to reduce trust, create resentment, and the perception that individuals need to look out for themselves first (Braman, 2004). Men on parole and probation are found to use more caution and avoid their partners because their insecure status can be used against them (Goffman, 2009). Wives of incarcerated men report that they would have left their partner if they had not been married (Redburn et al., 2014). When wives of inmates were asked what was the most stressful part of having a husband in jail, 38% said *everything* (Carlson & Cervera, 1992). Married men that are incarcerated are three times more likely to divorce than men who were convicted and never imprisoned (Apel, Blokland, Nieuwbeerta, & van Schellen,

2010; Lopoo & Western, 2005). This distinction is important because incarceration, not arrest and conviction, has a positive impact on marriage dissolution.

A community is a group bound together politically. The family unit is the foundation of all communities and as they deteriorate so too does the community. Mass incarceration is undermining the social fabric of minority communities (Rose & Clear, 1998). It claims a disproportionate number of Black men and if they are released they come back to their community with severely diminished social capital and economic opportunities. Brit (2002) found that the human experience of freedom is not possible without community. A community encompasses the human bonds and associations that are directly related to human solidarity. Askew and Wilmore (1992) believed that African Americans, in general, have not been able to develop a sense of societal belonging and attachment. Feeling alienated from mainstream society, Blacks have a greater difficulty building communities able to sustain and reproduce themselves, and mass incarceration is making this process even more difficult (Askew & Wilmore, 1992).

1.4 Political Spillage

Although the literature identifies numerous second order, collateral effects of imprisonment, scholarly attention has been limited to measures of social, economic, physical, and psychological well-being. There has been very little attention given to the possible second order effects of imprisonment on political behavior. One mechanism through which mass imprisonment might result in such effects is political socialization. Gabel and Johnston (1995) found the political socialization process was affected by carceral contact. Political socialization can be understood very narrowly as in high school civics classes or very broadly as in all political learning (Niemi

& Sobieszek, 1977). It refers to one's introduction into *political culture* and *one's capacity to change it* (Marvick, 1965). It is how a person comes to terms with the roles and norms of the *concentric political environments* in which that person lives (Marvick, 1965). Political socialization ensures stability and maintenance of the status quo (Hooghe, 2004). It is the state's way of molding the next generation by institutionalizing collective knowledge and memory. Socialization transmits values, norms, and beliefs from one generation to the next (V. L. S. Thompson, 1994). Other terms such as acculturation, civilizing, indoctrination, and the institutionalization of knowledge are common synonyms for political socialization (Sears, 1975).

Political socialization falls into three categories: attachment to the political system, partisan attitudes, and political participation (Claes, Hooghe, & Stolle, 2009; Gidengil, O'Neill, & Young, 2010; Gidengil, Wass, & Valaste, 2016; McLeod & Shah, 2009; Muralidharan & Sung, 2016; Thies, 2016; Ugwu & Mgbo, 2010). Attachment is defined as focusing on the *institutions, structures, and norms of the state* (criminal justice). Partisan attitudes focus on the *political regime* and competing ideologies (predatory state). Political participation involves *political behavior and acts* (voting) (Muralidharan & Sung, 2016; Sears, 1975; Thies, 2016).

Politicization, personalization, idealization, and institutionalization summarize the most prominent results of children's view of political authority. Politicization means that children realize there is a higher power above family and school figures (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). Abramson (1972) found that Black children feel *less politically powerful* than White children. A child first becomes aware of the political system (politicization) through personal contact (police and social workers) and the remote personal symbol of the government via the president (Sears, 1975). Personalization means that children become aware of authorities first and most easily *through individuals*. Idealization is characterized as a child feeling as though political authority

is *trustworthy*. Institutionalization means that children gradually learn to associate government with depersonalized objects such as congress (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977).

The geographical and racial concentration of incarceration has created a predacious environment, that some are forced to live under. The Black community continuously rates law enforcement performance lower than Whites. Statistically, 18.6% of Blacks rated the services inadequate as compared to 7.6% of Whites. (Lynch & Patterson, 1991). Blacks are at a disadvantage when we assess law enforcement because Black experiences with it have been largely negative (DOJ, 2015; DOJ, 2016). Historically law enforcement agencies have treated Black citizens with violence, disdain, disrespect, and hatred (Markowitz & Jones-Brown, 2000; McGuire, 2011; Muhammad, 2010; Mustard, 2003; Peffley & Hurwitz, 2010; Reasons & Kuykendall, 1972; Rosen, 2009). Kitwana (2002) says officers operate above the law when working in Black communities. Law enforcement officers take a war-like approach when patrolling Black communities by using tactical units with paramilitary weapons. These weapons include helicopters, Kevlar helmets, M-16 assault rifles, and military tanks (Kitwana, 2002). These weapons and aggressive policing tactics are used primarily in minority communities to serve bench warrants, assist in raids, and even during street patrols and road blocks (Kitwana, 2002). This targeted, militarized approach to policing Blackness has led the Black community to view law enforcement as an adversary (DOJ, 2016).

Due to America's unique racial politics a racialized political socialization process has developed, which plays a large role in preparing African Americans to deal with their political reality (V. L. S. Thompson, 1994). Thornton et al, (1990) found that Black socialization occurs simultaneously and within the broader national political socialization process. Black parents are thought to be preparing their children to see race as the primary element of their socialization

process (Thornton et al., 1990). In this sense, Black parents are creating *African Americans*: Black citizens equipped to live under various levels of predation. Black political socialization has increased levels of *political disaffection* and creates *cynical* and *militant views*. In the case of militant views and cynicism, Black parents who anticipate their child will grow up under a racially hostile political regime teach them about Blackness (Thornton et al., 1990). The community, institutions, and authorities all influence one's attachment to the political regime. The regime is the constitutional order, the political roles, the institutions, and rules and norms with respect to who yields power.

The state has consistently used some form of collective political violence as a means of targeting and controlling marginalized groups. Aggressive, militarized policing, mass incarceration, collateral consequences, surveillance, and political disenfranchisement are all nuanced forms of collective violence. Increases in the incarceration rate has major implications on civic and political participation (Redburn et al., 2014). A third of Americans have been arrested and some 16 million have a criminal record (including felonies) (Brame, Turner, Paternoster, & Bushway, 2012; Street, 2002). A larger carceral state means a larger system of stigmatization, marginalization, and legal discrimination (M. Alexander, 2012). The increased capacity of the carceral state to surveil and aggressively police has created a regime of fear and apprehension that is quotidian affecting familiar relationships, employment, and overall well-being (Goffman, 2009). The creation of so many internal exiles has a fundamental effect on the notions of citizenship and governance (Manza & Uggen, 2006; Simon, 2007). Burch (2007) found that criminal convictions are a greater barrier to voting than the legal obstacles. Other researchers have shown that being stopped by police and serving time in prison have a cumulative negative effect on voter registration, turnout, and trust in government (Bobo &

Thompson, 2006; C. J. Cohen, 2010; Weaver & Lerman, 2010). Family and fellow community members, associated with incarceration, are also more likely to be politically disengaged and distrustful of the criminal justice system (T. Burch, 2014; H. Lee, Porter, & Comfort, 2014; Lerman & Weaver, 2014; Muller & Schrage, 2014; Sugie, 2015).

I maintain that the carceral predation has a political spillover effect of reducing Black political power by adversely affecting the political socialization process and development of efficacy. I hypothesize that carceral contact directly affects the political behavior of those personally contacted and those with network contact, this effect is greater for African Americans. I posit that carceral contact negatively impact political trust, and that individuals can rationally assess to which specific level of governance to assign the distrust and that this effect too will also be larger for Blacks. Thirdly, I theorize that carceral contact negatively effects not only the social and cultural aspects of political efficacy, but also the psychological components of political efficacy. I hypothesize that carceral contact and predacious political environments have an adverse impact on the development of self-esteem, happiness, and calmness. In the following chapters I will attempt to aid in the development of a theory of minority participation through the theoretical development of the concept of predation, presenting a new Black voting calculus, and empirically testing how carceral contact affects participation via political socialization and efficacy.

INSTITUTION, STATE, AND PREDATION

2.1 Predation, Collective Violence, and Race

There are various ways in which states relate to their citizens. We call these relationships political regimes. There are communist, socialist, fascist, totalitarian, authoritarian, partially democratic (oligarchic), (military) dictatorships, and monarchies to name few. The state is the sovereign and the political regime is how it relates to the polis. The power of the state to target and effectively decrease the quality of life and political power of specific groups of individuals is evident throughout history. Racial minorities and other undesirable groups have been the state's primary targets (Mustard, 2003). In the American context, from the killing of Native Americans to the enslavement of Africans, discrimination against Chinese and now Hispanic immigrants, and Jim Crow segregation, the American state has demonstrated its capacity and willingness to target and apply its power against select social identities. American political development scholars have produced vigorous scholarship on the American dual racial state and the institutions that reinforce it. The racial state developed amidst Liberalism's awkward dance with race and has given way to a fascination with racial identity, which reproduces political, social, and economic exclusions (Goldberg, 2002). "Because of the nature of race—its evolving and dynamic status as a structure of inequality, a political organizing principle, an ideology, and a

system of power—historical, institutional and discursive modes of analysis are necessary to study it adequately” (Lowndes, Novkov, & Warren, 2008, p.1).

The racial state is the predatory state but the predatory state is not necessarily always the racial state. The predatory state applies collective violence against various marginalized groups. Systems of differentiation include race but also class, gender, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, etc. I will use the term **predatory state**, in lieu of racial state, because predation is a means of social control that has been applied to various marginalized groups throughout history. Under predation, laws and institutions emerge that aid in the establishment and maintenance of privilege (Foucault, 1982). My central argument here is that the predatory state exists and at all levels of government. For the purpose of this study I will focus on the predatory state’s application of collective violence through the criminal justice system. McNeely and Pope (1981) find that race has a direct impact on the ecology of justice and the organizational characteristics of the institution of criminal justice. I posit that via the criminal justice system, predation is producing burdens acutely borne by African-Americans thereby creating a simultaneous yet separate political environment for Blacks within the same state, city, and even neighborhood. The predacious application of justice is not absolute; the level of predation will vary with one’s own situatedness. In the U.S., violent crime has been steadily declining, but Bennett (2015)¹ finds that on average there are three people killed a day by police but for Blacks, in 17 of the largest cities in America, police kill African Americans at higher rates than the national murder rate. The national rate is 4.5 per 100,000 but in Hialeah, Florida and Albuquerque, New Mexico, the Black male homicide rate is over 220 per 100,000 (Mapping police violence.2016). All are affected but the application of collective violence is skewed.

¹ <https://www.aclu.org/blog/criminal-law-reform-free-speech-racial-justice/over-100-people-were-killed-police-march-have-po>

Violence can be used to intimidate, demoralize, eradicate, polarize, or control social identities (Kalyvas et al., 2006). Violence can be strategic and tactical. It can be produced unilaterally, bilaterally, or multilaterally (Kalyvas et al., 2006). Its use is rational and effective in reaching these desired outcomes (Arendt, 1970). Collective violence differs from violence and covers an array of covert, subtle, low and high intensity, and ongoing actions. Collective violence includes unjust incarceration, human rights abuses, violent state rhetoric, and systemic inequalities (Besteman, 2002). It utilizes symbolism and social constructions (Della Porta, 2013). The systematic inequalities are produced through various institutions (actual and social) and can be manifested at any level of governance. **Collective violence** is intended to shape the behavior of the targeted population by altering the expected utility of specific behaviors (Kalyvas et al., 2006). The aims of collective violence are also very diverse; Predatory regimes use collective violence to achieve multiple, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory goals (Kalyvas et al., 2006).

Race, as a concept, was created within the context of political and social regulation. Solomos and Back (1996) argue that race politics are confined to the realm of social control. Social control takes two forms: disciplinary and regulatory control. The former is centered on the body and the latter on institutions (Foucault, 1978). The size of government and the scope of its institutions are directly related to the level of effort dedicated to social control (Besteman, 2002). The level of violence an institution utilizes is directly related to its size and capacity (Tilly, 2003). As the American state has become more institutionalized, it has also become increasingly more violent (Lowndes et al., 2008). This is because violence increases with the extent of organizational specialization (Tilly, 2003). Lowndes (2008) posits that three key political institutions have developed to maintain social control: **political leadership, the military**

industrial complex, and law enforcement. In contemporary America, we have witnessed the amalgamation of all three of these institutions into the carceral state. This is a new, large, specialized high capacity institution, like nothing before it.

In this chapter I will argue in favor of a dual state hypothesis, by first outlining the concept of the contract state and then contrasting it with the predatory state. I will then examine some of the ideas surrounding the establishment of just institutions and the application of justice in support of state duality. Secondly, I will discuss the social construction of Blackness and the epistemology of marginalization. Lastly, I will introduce the concept of the Black tax by discussing its effect on the Black political socialization process, the development of political efficacy, and its deleterious effect on Black political power using the Department of Justice (2015; 2016) reports on Ferguson, Missouri and Baltimore, Maryland's police departments as case studies.

2.2 Contracting Predation: The Dual State

Foucault (1982) posits that the new political structure everyone knows is the state. The state is defined as an organization that can “inflict sanctions without risk of disavowal and can disavow sanctions by others” (De Jasay, 1985, p.76). The state is a community that claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence (M. Weber, 2004). No state uses violence alone nor enjoys perfect legitimacy. Legitimacy is not an attribute of a nation but a state of mind of its people (De Jasay, 1985). Hobbes (1928) posits that the supremacy of the sovereign state is established through the tacit consent of the governed. Locke (1965) argues that we have chosen to place ourselves under a state to protect our life and property, and to escape instability Kantian

philosophy suggests that a good society should first establish social and moral principles of freedom, formal equality, and personal independence from each other and the state (Paton, 1976). Autonomy being individual action or will around the universal principle of rationality (Paton, 1976). In Rousseau's (1971) theory of the social contract, individual autonomy is defined in terms of obedience to the state. The general good is believed to work collectively in the common interest of all citizens (Rousseau, 1971). Mills (1859) wrote that there is a circle around every individual that government in any form should not infringe upon. He believed that there is a time in a person's life when their individuality ought to operate uninhibited by the state or other individuals (J. S. Mills, 1859).

This social individualism calls for the development of institutions in order to preserve and enhance liberty. The harm principle posits that the state should only prevent actions that cause harm (Mills, 1859). What happens when harm occurs? How does the state address transgressions of life, contract, consent, and property? I argue that under a contract regime the institution of justice are developed to adjudicate issues of harm. Laws, courts, and police have developed to equitably and fairly resolve these issues. The institution of criminal justice is not inherently predacious but under the guise of the predatory state it can be severely repressive towards those signified as deviant. **The problem with this is that deviancy is not an earned status. Deviancy is a social construction and punishment does not have a direct correlation to criminal activity.** The contract state in theory is based on a set of civil liberties and civil rights that cannot be infringed upon by anyone, including the state. Under a contract regime, the criminal justice system should operate in a manner to protect and enable the free exercise of personal and economic liberty. Ashford (2001) posits that under a contract regime the primary function of government is to protect these liberties and use of coercion is legitimate only if it is

based on an approved set of principles endorsed by the polis (Tomasi, 2012). This is how a just society, a contract society, manages the distribution of justice.

In the liberal tradition, the justice system is used to identify and regulate cultural norms and laws. Everyone is expected to follow the law and laws are subject to the *rule of law*. The *Supremacy Clause* in the *U.S. Constitution* states the “...United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or Laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding”. The rule of law protects the individual from lesser forms of governance. There is nothing that more clearly distinguishes a contract society from a noncontract society than the *rule of law*” (Ashford, 2001, p.80). The contract state uses collective violence to maintain a standard of justice, but the contract state’s use of coercion and violence is very different from the predatory state’s application of the same power. The use of collective violence under the contract state presupposes the *rule of law*, *due process*, and *formal equality* (i.e. the Bill of Rights). This is not to say that the classical tradition surrounding the development of the modern liberal state is without fault in the formation of the predatory state. Liberalism, which includes much of the commitments of conservatism and neoliberalism, is used at key points in history to promote racial reasoning and is central to modernity’s common moral, sociopolitical, and jurisprudential procedures that buttress the predatory state (Goldberg, 2002).

The original intent of the U.S. Constitution authorized slavery, the 3/5 personhood of Blacks, the disenfranchisement of women, and colonialism. The U.S. Supreme Court’s decisions formalized segregation, discrimination, supported race biased immigration and criminal justice policies (Goldberg, 2002). The modern liberal state was formed on racial terms which are embedded within its foundational documents, court decisions, and thereby the institutions that

developed from them. West (2002) argues that the major figures of the Enlightenment built on marginal disciplines' intellectual legitimation of racial hegemony by accepting these arguments without having to put forth their own theories. West (2002) posits that "the fusion of scientific investigation, Cartesian philosophy, Greek ocular metaphors, and classical aesthetic and cultural ideals constitute the essential elements of modern discourse in the West" (p.53). Therefore one cannot simultaneously purport the utility of the contract state and not acknowledge the racial hegemony found at the roots of the modern liberal state.

Montesquieu and Voltaire of the French Enlightenment, Hume and Jefferson of the Scotch and American Enlightenment, and Kant of the German Enlightenment, all held racist views and believed that the justification for these views were the authority of naturalist, anthropologist, physiognomists, and phrenologist (West, 2002). Montesquieu (1989) in the spirit of laws wrote "...a proof that Negroes do not have common sense is that they make more of a glass necklace than one of gold, which is of such great consequence among nations having a police. It is impossible for us to suppose that these beings should be men; because if we supposed them to be men, one would begin to believe we ourselves were not Christians. Petty spirits exaggerate too much the injustice done the Africans." (Emphasis mine) (p. 250). Voltaire wrote that "the Negro race is a species of men as different from ours as the breed of spaniels is from gray hounds...If their understanding is not of a different nature from ours, it is at least greatly inferior" (Essed & Goldberg, 202, p.106). Thomas Jefferson (1995), in *Notes on Virginia*, wrote that Blacks were largely inferior to Whites and were incapable of thought past the level of acknowledgment of pain. Hume wrote that Blacks were naturally inferior to Whites and akin to parrots who speak a few words clearly. Hume espoused that "...there never was a civilized nation of any kind of any other complexion than White, nor even any individual eminent either in action or

speculation...no arts, no sciences” (Essed & Goldberg, 202, p.106). Kant wrote “...although many of them [Blacks] have been set free, still not a single one was ever found who presented anything great in art or science of any other praiseworthy quality, even though among the Whites some continually rise aloft from the lowest rabble” (Essed & Goldberg, 2002, p,107).

The writings of these intellectuals established the space for the racial state to emerge as a function of predation. The concept of the predation rooted is power and states exercise power as a means of producing social control (Rosenbaum, 1986). Because of this, the state maintains an uneasy relationship with violence (Tilly, 2003). Every state is birthed in violence and therefore violence is at the core every state’s legitimacy (Besteman, 2002). Weber (2004) posits that the state is the relationship of men dominating men and that violence is a tool specific to this purpose. Institutions of social control (like the criminal justice system) manage behavioral patterns or social identities. The punishment, surveillance, and regulation utilized by the criminal justice system aids in achieving these goals. Under the predatory state, collective violence is applied independent of the *rule of law*, *due process*, and *formal equality*. Predation itself is a relationship and can only be understood as such. Predation is the relationship between institutions and social identities. Predation is not an absolute. Predation depends on the size and capacity of the state’s institutions. It is a highly institutionalized, discrete, and effective social control apparatus that has been meritoriously ingrained within the American political system, making its manifestations difficult to detect. Arendt (1970) aptly titles this rule Nobody. Nobody is the most tyrannical ruler because there is no one person to be held accountable. Nobody rule is oppression without an oppressor. As such, the predatory state is Nobody.

The problem with this is that the state socially constructs identities and assigns intentions and motives and prohibits consensual collaboration and the wants, needs, and desires of said

identities. Predation reduces one's quality of life and makes it impossible for some individuals to become self-authors and self-owners. Government is not just a political structure, it is the way social identities are created and directed. State power creates the what, why and how: what is acceptable, why it is acceptable, and how it can be unacceptable (Foucault, 1982). The subjectivity inherent in human interaction includes direct and indirect coercive power and relations even at a distance (Rosenbaum, 1986). Individuals only need to think they will face higher levels of predation in order to alter what they perceive as possible for themselves; thereby changing their behavioral patterns, which encapsulate their identity.

To support the argument that the predatory state exists and applies collective violence selectively, I offer a thought experiment first originated by Montesquieu². The experiment goes as such: "Every day one hears it said that it would be good if there were slaves among us. But, to judge this, one must not examine whether they would be useful to the small, rich, and voluptuous part of each nation; doubtless they would be useful to it; but, taking another point of view, I do not believe that any one of those who make it up would want to draw lots to know who was to form the part of the nation that would be free and the one that would be enslaved. Those who most speak in favor of [the institution of] slavery would hold it the most in horror, and the poorest of men would likewise find it horrible. Therefore, the cry for slavery is the cry of luxury and voluptuousness, and not that of the love of public felicity. Who can doubt that each man, individually, would not be quite content to be the master of the goods, the honor, and the life of others and that all his passions would not be awakened at once at this idea? Do you want to know whether the desires of each are legitimate in these things? Examine the desires of all." (Montesquieu, 1989, p.253). First, Montesquieu points out that an institution is just only if

² Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu

the application of that institution's power is just. For slavery to be just everyone in society should have an equal chance of becoming a slave not just a specific social identity. Secondly, he argues that no rational person no matter their socioeconomic status would chance becoming a slave. Freedom in any form is better than slavery. In finding it horrible, these individuals are expressing a desire not to be a slave but, more specifically, a desire not to be socially constructed as a slave. This suggests that one's individual relationship to institutions is most important within the state.

Rawls (1971) suggests using an epistemological veil of ignorance to get around the problem of designing just institutions. Rawls (1971) suggests selective knowing or limiting knowledge to a particular set of facts would aid in the formation of just institutions. Rawls (1971) says "now in order to do this I assume that the parties are situated behind a veil of ignorance. They do not know how the various alternatives will affect their particular case and they are obliged to evaluate principals solely on the basis of general considerations" (p.136-137). He assumes that "...the parties do not know certain kinds of particular facts" like one's own place in society, social status, natural abilities, intelligence strength, etc....and "the particular circumstances of their own society" (Emphasis mine) (p.137). Restricting their knowledge to particular information is of fundamental importance to the original position. The original position being a "...status quo in which any agreements reached are fair. The original position is a state of affairs in which the parties are equally represented as moral persons and the outcome is not conditioned by arbitrary contingencies or the relative balance of social force" (p.120). Rawls (1971) finds that the "veil of ignorance makes possible a unanimous choice of a particular conception of justice. Without these limitations on knowledge, the bargaining problem of the original position would be hopelessly complicated" (p.140).

I suggest Montesquieu's theory is closer to the true matter of just application. Accepting that Rawls' veil of ignorance works in the creation of just institutions, Montesquieu's (1989) dice do more to account for the here and now or the application of social force or power. This is because the here and now is an experience. Race is not only defined in biological and ethnic terms, it is "...the experience of discrimination that contributes to the subjectification of racialized subjects" (Murji & Solomos, 2015, p.235). Oppression is also an experience. It is individual and collective and it is dissimilar in different places and at various points in history. Race is a fluid concept. One must actually experience it in the here and now to understand its ramifications. Most importantly oppression is quotidian in nature. Behind the veil it would be theoretically possible to design a just law. Yet once the veil is lifted, and the here and now of one's own place in society, social status, natural abilities, intelligence, strength, and the particular circumstances of the society are reintroduced, then so too is privilege. One has to experience oppression to fully understand how privilege is working. There are major differences in being an African American man in 1850, 1960, 1980, and 2016. The here and now is geographical, temporal, social, and individual.

Imagine that you are in a small college town in the Deep South³ coming back late from an undergraduate party. Collectively there are three college-aged men and one college-aged woman in a car and you unknowingly pass a local law enforcement officer on a rural county road. The officer eases out and begins to follow you. The kids are not maintaining a steady rate of speed and ultimately break the yellow line. The officer immediately turns on his lights and pulls the car over on a long, dark stretch of road. The officer walks up to the car and finds that the inhabitants are three White males and one White woman. How does this last piece of knowledge

³ Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

color your expectation? Now imagine the officer walks up to the car and the passengers consist of three Black men and one White woman. If both of these scenarios took place in 1955, which car would you rather be in? Here I suggest a final thought experiment: Imagine there is a magic room and in this room it is decided whether one will be Black or not (in the contemporary U.S. context) completely by chance. The only variable that will change will be your race, nothing else. As a non-Black person, knowing what you know, in the here and now, would you be willing to step inside this magic room not knowing that upon your departure if you would be Black? If you have pause, then you have just admitted that the state relates differently to Blacks as opposed to Whites and you would prefer the state not relate to you as it does to Blacks. If I offered that, upon exiting as Black, you could choose to live in any state or territory at any point in the history of the United States, would you still hesitate? If I added an incentive and upon exiting Black you would be given 8 million dollars⁴ would you still hesitate?

Rawls (1993) admits that the difficulty of his original position is that "...we must find some point of view, removed from and not distorted by the particular features and circumstances of the all-encompassing background framework, from which a fair agreement between persons regarded as free and equal can be reached" (p.23). The original position is a hypothetical and non-historical device of representation (Rawls, 1993). Rawls admits that the parties are not allowed to know particular information on social status that includes "...information about people's race and ethnic group, sex and gender" (p.24-25). Rawls (1993) suggests that the original position "...models what we regard—here and now—as fair conditions under which the representatives of free and equal citizens are to specify the terms of social cooperation in the case

⁴ Ex-tennis great James Blake was worth 8 million dollars when he was thrown to the ground by NYPD for standing outside a midtown hotel. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/11/nyregion/james-blake-new-york-police-officer.html?_r=0

of the basic structure of society” (emphasis added) (p.25-26). But how is this possible if the here and now of “people’s race and ethnic group, sex and gender” are not accounted for (p.25)?

Tomasi (2012) aptly argues that “justice requires that we consider the actual availability of goods and opportunities to citizens. Social justice requires more than formal equality of opportunity: it requires that people have access to the goods they need to make their freedom valuable” (p.35).

I have conceded that the formation of just institutions is possible behind the veil, but even if we were to wave a magic wand and Rawlsian institutions replaced all the current U.S. institutions, inequality would still exist and persist. Because these institutions will be populated by individuals of the here and now who are invested in the status quo and attach value to attributes associated with advantaged social identities (White, male, heterosexual, English speaking, Christian, non-disabled, etc...); therefore, there is no way to ensure the just application of institutional power.

Justice is only just if it is applied equitably. Speeding is speeding, but if 90% of the people who receive speeding tickets are disproportionately of a specific social identity then the application, not the law, is unjust. Behind the veil we could design a completely fair and just municipal traffic code. But once the veil is lifted, what is to keep the individuals that apply the institutional power from succumbing to the influence of popular culture and implicit bias?

Montesquieu’s original position highlights this problem. Behind the veil not knowing what slavery is, a selectively ignorant person with only particular facts might actually choose slavery. But having experienced slavery, Montesquieu (1989) says, even the “poorest of men would likewise find it horrible” to be a slave (p.253). Knowing what slavery is the poorest man would rather remain as such. Experiencing slavery in their time is to fully comprehend how horrifying owning humans is. I argue that only through the transference of knowledge, including historical

and epistemological injustices, can we begin to redesign institutional operations to administer power in a just manner and this just application may not be at all times equitable to all citizens.

The political socialization is the process states use to transmit knowledge from generation to generation. We are socialized from birth as to our place in society. Political socialization, as I will discuss in detail below, is the transmission of institutionalized knowledge and collective memory. This transference happens at the national, local, and identity specific level. We are taught our nationality as well as our gender, race, sexuality, etc. The first time I was called nigger was in the first or second grade and it was by a classmate. Did the offending 6-year old know what Blackness was? Did he know how Blackness was socially constructed? No, instead he was socialized to see my Blackness as less than. Neither of us at that age could comprehend the complexities of race. He needed only to repeat the rhetoric of race to be an effective reproducer of marginalization. The same goes for political regimes. Through privileging some and marginalizing others, predation aids in the maintenance the status quo and creates two realities within the same jurisdiction. Therefore, how social identities are constructed has great bearing as to how social identities relate to institutions. This relationship defines what it means to be them and is directly related to the level of predation they will live under. One's social identity is continuously reinforced through one's relationship to intuitions (Hancock, 2004).

2.3 Making the World: Constructing Social Identities

Schneider and Ingram (1997) postulate that social constructions are world making and frame the various ways in which our reality is fashioned. They argue that there is no real objective reality and that the only reality is the socially constructed one. Social constructions are powerful

signifiers that are used to guide public policy. Social constructions dictate who the ‘players’ are, how they are ‘framed’, and how the state will behave towards them (Schneider & Ingram, 1997; Schneider & Sidney, 2009). The term ‘target group’ or ‘target population’ identifies which social identities receive benefits and/or burdens from the state (Schneider, Ingram, & deLeon, 2014). The state looks only at the interest of the collective, class, or group (Foucault, 1982). Social identities include myths, stereotypes, belief systems, cultural characterizations, and popular images (Schneider & Ingram, 1997; Schneider & Ingram, 1993). Social identities are generalized, subjective, and so much a part of our normal lives that we fail to see them. They are recreated everyday by our politics, culture, religion, history, media, and literature (Schneider & Ingram, 1997).

Identity formation is crucial to the political process (Tilly, 2003). Personhood (or citizenship) as a social construct is connected to one’s social identity. The state has the power to assert control over identities within the state and the power to exclude identities from state protection (Goldberg, 2002). Identity politics consist of conflicts over legitimatization and recognition within the state (Tilly, 2003). States categorize social identities as legitimate or illegitimate going so far as establishing their right to exist within the state (i.e. genocide) (Tilly, 2003). Collective violence is often associated with identity politics (Kalyvas et al., 2006). Identity violence is violence directed against people based solely on who they are within the state (Kalyvas et al., 2006). One’s “racial identity is pivotal in defining how groups relate to political institutions” [Emphasis mine] (Lowndes et al., 2008, p.3). Creating a race requires a clearly identifiable group that can be consistently denied access to resources, political institutions, and effectively targeted (C. J. Cohen, 1999). Racialization is the process through which race is constructed and signified with meaning. The process is active and evolves in relation to political

institutions and public policy (Lowndes et al., 2008). Racism involves the stigmatization of the marginalized group's social identity, an ideological framework to justify the marginalization, political and social institutions to enforce the oppression, and individuals to buy into maintaining the oppression (C. J. Cohen, 1999).

Blackness is a "...vague and socially imposed category of 'racial' difference that serves to distinguish groups on the basis of their members having certain visible, inherited physical characteristics and a particular biological ancestry" (Shelby, 2005, p.207). Blackness is one of the most thoroughly institutionalized social identities in the world (Asante, 2005). Lounsbury (2002) finds that "America's primordial racial classification is the social otherness of Blacks" (p.68). Slavery was the "permanent, violent domination of naturally alienated and generally dishonored persons" (Lounsbury, 2002, p.68). The deviant construction of Blackness and the racialization of criminal justice policies prevents African Americans from accessing the resources that make their freedom valuable. The difference between Blackness and Whiteness is their relationship to institutions, or the lack of opportunity and access Blacks have relative to Whites. The gap is Blackness. What denotes a crime, who are and who are not policed is important. **Policing** here meaning the regulation and management of behavior, beliefs, and more importantly the public image of social identities (C. J. Cohen, 1999). Policing in this manner is a power strategy or "the totality of the means put into operation to implement power efficiently or to maintain it" (Foucault, 1982, p.793). Wolfgang (1964) argues that since Blacks were the only ethnic group in America subjected to chattel slavery it has caused Blacks to have a peculiar legal and social status. Race is the most powerful category of constitutional law and produces the highest level of judicial review (Somerville, 2005). This is important because social identities hold

knowledge regarding the function and justification of the institutional strategies surrounding state responses to crime (Savelsberg & King, 2005).

Classical and contemporary theorists both posit that there is a relationship between social identities and criminal justice (Savelsberg, 1994). General sociological theories, especially socio-structural and evolutionary theories of functionalist and Marxist, have been used to explain the kinds of behaviors that get punished (K. T. Erikson, 1966; Foucault, 1995; Hall, 1935; Savelsberg, 1994), the intricacy and complexity of punishment, the processes under which legal decisions are made (Foucault, 1995; Nonet & Selznick, 1978; Unger, 1977; M. Weber, 1968), the functions of punishment (K. T. Erikson, 1966; Foucault, 1995; Hall, 1935; Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1968), and the types of punishments used (Durkheim, 2014; Foucault, 1995; Garland, 2012; Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1968). We also see it more recently in the state's response to opioid addiction. Opioid addiction is currently framed as a national public health problem and not as a criminal justice issue. The U.S. Congress⁵ passed a bill appropriating \$181 million for treatment and President Obama and Senate Democrats have requested an increase in the Health and Human Services (HHS) budget in the amounts of 920 and 600 million dollars, respectively. Now let us examine two very similar drugs, crack and meth. Crack has been framed as a minority, mostly Black, abused drug and Methamphetamine (Meth) has been fashioned as a White drug (similar to powder cocaine). Crack was signified as a criminal justice issue and police and courts were seen as the correct response to crack usage. Crack users were demonized as animalistic and crazed. Harris-Perry (2011) found the narratives surrounding crack users and usage were highly inflated and even the crack baby epidemic actually never really existed. The users of Meth have nonetheless received a completely different response.

⁵ <http://www.cnbc.com/2016/07/14/us-president-obama-to-sign-bill-to-battle-heroin-addiction.html>

Meth use, like heroin addiction, is seen as a public health issue and not the fault of one's personal character.

In Alabama, home of Meth Mountain⁶, there is a statewide initiative called Zero Meth⁷ targeted at meth users and potential users as a resource set up by the Alabama District Attorney Association. There is also a national initiative spearheaded by The Meth Project⁸ in conjunction with The Partnership for Drug Free Kids⁹. No such state or local efforts exist aimed at crack users. The difference stems from the social construction of the users. For meth addicts, the drug is demonized not the users. The Zero Meth website reads as such: **Meth destroys** everyone it comes in contact with. **Meth is the number one drug related issue** for law enforcement officials in Alabama. **Meth is addictive** and creates mental and physical effects that will change your life forever. **Meth is death**¹⁰. It also reads: "ZEROMETH is an awareness and educational campaign sponsored by the Alabama District Attorneys Association, with the goal of **stopping this drug and its life threatening consequences**¹¹". How does one stop an inanimate object? The state rhetoric surrounding meth usage verses crack usage is important because it establishes the type of problem, the target group, and creates the foundation upon which policy approaches will be designed.

Scheingold (1992) found that all racial conflicts be they economic, social, or moral have become signified as criminal. Blackness has "[become] a condensation symbol expressing a variety of public anxieties about seemingly intractable structural problems, there is a temptation to criminalize, or at least stigmatize, behaviors stemming from [Blackness]" (Scheingold, 1992,

⁶ Sand Mountain. Bibb County, Alabama

⁷ <http://www.zerometh.com/index.php>

⁸ <http://foundation.methproject.org/index.php>

⁹ <http://www.drugfree.org/>

¹⁰ <http://www.zerometh.com/index.php>

¹¹ ibid

p.7). Scheingold's (1992) posits that "this response is due to a powerful belief system" (p.21). Murakawa (2012) (2012) finds that "American crime policy as a manifestation of anxiety displaced" (p.100). The myth of crime and punishment dramatizes the battle between good and evil, civilized and uncivilized, citizen and alien, and makes it morally justifiable and pragmatic to harshly punish criminals. Even "swift, certain and severe punishment for those who violate society's rules are consistent with [the] basic American ideal" (Scheingold, 1984, p.62). Punishment is offered as an abject lesson. The criminalization of Blackness is "the stigmatization of crime as 'Black' and the masking of crime among Whites as individual failure". The process of "...linking crime to Black, as a racial group...reinforce[s] and reproduce[s] racial inequality" (Muhammad, 2010, p.3).

An NPR segment on 19 July 2016¹² discussing the outcomes of 'ban-the-box' policies, which bar employers from asking if a job applicant has a criminal record, demonstrates how effectively ingrained criminality is within Blackness. Princeton researchers studied the racial call-back gap between job applications¹³ sent before and after the "ban-the-box" laws took effect in New Jersey and New York. They found a large increase in racial disparities after the law was administered. Employers, now unable to check the criminal history of applicants, are forced to use their own judgement and are assuming Black applicants as more likely to have criminal records. After "ban-the-box" policies were implemented the disparity in call-backs between Whites and Blacks increased from 7% to 45%. A 38-point swing away from Black applicants based on how effective criminalization has been linked to Blackness. The "ban -the-box" policies were actually helping to disprove the default position of Black as criminal. Without a way to prove a

¹² <http://www.npr.org/2016/07/19/486571633/are-ban-the-box-laws-helping-job-applicants-with-criminal-histories>

¹³ Researchers used the same applications with stereotypical Black and Whites names.

Black applicant was not a criminal, employers reverted back to the default and the racial call-back gap increased almost seven-fold. These policies have an adverse effect on felon employment but seem to also be helping employers negotiate around criminalization of Blackness by offering a criminal opt out.

2.4 Epistemologies of Predation

The social construction of identities is an epistemological process. Social construction signifies identities with meaning and creates ignorance to protect their deconstruction. The study of epistemology is the study of knowledge and a critical epistemological approach examines the connections between knowledge, authority, and power. It examines for whom the dominant epistemology exists, serves, and marginalizes (Feenan, 2007). Critical epistemology "...can shape our understanding of moral requirements" (Townley, 2006, p.39). Critical epistemologists like Charles Mills, Linda Martin Alcoff, Jose Medina, and Miranda Fricker, argue that epistemic processes bolster unjust institutions through the systemic production of selective ignorance (Congdon, 2015). A critical epistemological analysis of unjust institutions approaches these questions from a distinct level focusing on how certain knowledge is excluded from the political socialization process and collective memory and how authority is given to some knowers over others not as a result of conditional epistemic failures but are systematically and structurally connected to unjust institutions (Congdon, 2015). Knowledge is a mix of cognitive and normative assumptions about the world (Mannheim, 1986; Savelsberg, 1994). Knowledge of one's social location, identity, experiences, and individual perceptual abilities are all called upon to make judgments like who to call back for an interview. Knowledge is necessary for judgment

and one's judgment pulls from one's situatedness (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007). Thus, being selectively ignorant, has moral implications for judgments, ethical decisions, and thereby the application of justice.

Knowledge includes "...beliefs based on diverse types of evidence production in different sectors of society—in the mass media, in political debates, professional meetings, scholarly research, and the everyday world" (Savelsberg, 1994, p.912). Knowledge is an essential part of the political socialization process. Political socialization is the "...specific institutionalization of knowledge production" (Savelsberg, 1999, p.47). The political socialization process institutionalizes knowledge and transfers collective memory from one generation to the next. Knowledge functions to direct change within institutions and between social identities but imperfect knowledge can be used to suppress change and maintain the status quo. Selective ignorance produces epistemic injustice. Individuals need "epistemic resources for making sense of and evaluating our experiences, and epistemic resources such as language, concepts, and criteria are normative: they are resources that are maintained by the force they exert in coordinating agents who recognize and use them" (Pohlhaus, 2012, p.718). When there is a "...history of oppressive or appropriative knowledge practices across particular social groups, knowers can acquire certain obligations with respect to epistemic practice simply by belonging to a privileged or oppressive group" (Townley, 2006, p.46-47). Testimonial injustices are systematic devaluations of someone's epistemic credentials based on one's social identity. Hermeneutical injustices are disparities in access to resources necessary to maximize one's freedom (Pohlhaus, 2012).

Tuana's (2006) taxonomy offers that ignorance, like social identities and knowledge, is socially constructed. Ignorance refers to a justified belief connected to purpose and use (Gaudet,

2013). It is a lack of knowledge, an unlearning of something known for negative purposes (Maguire, 2015). In the political sense, it is a structural problem. Ignorance may drive inquiry by commission or omission and can produce misguided and punitive knowledge (Logue, 2014). Yet, it does have instrumental epistemic value as a theoretical tool for acquiring knowledge. Rawls' veil of ignorance is an example of this. Ignorance creates vulnerability and unawareness of one's vulnerabilities. Gilson (2011) finds that ignorance of vulnerability is created through the achievement of invulnerability, like the master race rhetoric. The "...denial of vulnerability can be understood to be motivated by the desire—conscious or not—to maintain a certain kind of [privileged] subjectivity" and "invulnerability is a central feature of masterful subjectivity because it solidifies a sense of control, indeed an illusion of control" (Emphasis mine) (p.312). Pohlhaus (2012) finds that "...the knower's situatedness refers to the situations in which the knower finds herself repeatedly over time due to the social relationships that position her in the world. This situatedness develops particular habits of attention that may attune the knower to others' habits of attention or not, depending upon one's social vulnerability" (Emphasis mine) (p.717). Therefore "epistemically speaking, situatedness is fundamentally about how relations with others position the knower in relation to the world" (p.717). The relationship Blackness has to other social identities, known as the gap, informs Blacks of their Blackness. The racial gap is therefore a product of epistemologies of ignorance.

In Charles Mills' (1997) foundational text *The Racial Contract* he conceptualized the idea of an epistemology of ignorance. It is an inverted epistemology, "a particular pattern of localized and global cognitive dysfunctions (which are psychologically and socially functional), producing the ironic outcome that Whites will in general be unable to understand the world they themselves have made" (p.18). An epistemology of ignorance examines what knowledge is considered

worth knowing (Feenan, 2007). There are several forms of epistemologically privileged group-based ignorance (White, male, heterosexual, non-disable, Christian, etc.). Mills uses the term **White ignorance** because he is speaking to and about a willful race-based ignorance produced by White supremacy and the Eurocentric world view it presupposes on all other social identities. This includes "...ignorance about the oppressive conditions experienced by nonwhites, the institutions, beliefs, and practices that underlie such inequalities, and the privileges that benefit Whites simply because of their racialized position" (Emphasis mine) (Pohlhaus 2012, p.10). White ignorance is a colorblindness that rests on formal equality but denies the need to address persistent inequalities afflicting marginalized groups (Fricker, 2003; C. W. Mills, 1997). It is a systematic process of self-deception and "...genuine self-deception people avoid doing things that they have an inkling might reveal what they do not want to know" (Lynch, 2016, p.506). Lynch (2016) posits that willful ignorance is always intentional and that the afflicted cannot be fully aware of their ignorance. To some degree Whites have an affirmative interest in viewing the world erroneously (Mills, 1997).

A theory of epistemological ignorance "...allows us to appreciate the deep ways in which race-based prejudice can embed itself in our thinking, distorting even basic instances of empirical claim-making, memory, and belief-formation" (Congdon, 2015, p.78). Freire (2000) posits that proceeding with an epistemological frame of ignorance exposes how ignorance is socially constructed and reproduced to maintain unjust institutions. Townley (2006) finds that a "failure to acknowledge one's social location [or identity] can obstruct one's understanding of and responsible conduct within an epistemic interaction regardless of one's ethical or political commitments" (Townley, 2006, p.47). Members of marginalized social identities have no logical reason to fool themselves about the world they live in (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007). Mills

(1997) suggests people of color “know and understand Whites better than the White people know [themselves]” (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007, p.17). African Americans are forced to acknowledge their relationship to institutions and transmit this vital information to other Blacks and future generations. The subnational racial socialization process specifically and rightly acknowledges Blackness’ relationship to institutions.

I use the term **racial ignorance** because predation and epistemologies of ignorance work on all social identities and through all institutions. Epistemological ignorance also produces spaces where ignorance can flourish within Blackness. In Cathy Cohen’s (1999) foundational work on patterns of marginalization, she posits that marginalization leads to a point at which the marginalized begin to reproduce their own marginalization within their own communities. Cohen (1999) theorizes that the “policing [of] the visible or public boundaries of [a] group identity threatens the status of those most vulnerable in marginal communities” (p.75). Privileged group members, the members facing lower levels of predation, police the behaviors of less privileged group members. In the case of African Americans, no social identity is safe but occupying a lower social status does make some group members more vulnerable to predation. A Black male on the Southside of Chicago faces a higher level of predation, living in a more stressful and restrictive environment than a Black male living in an upper-middle-class neighborhood in Providence, Rhode Island.

Racial ignorance does not allow the incorporation of historical wrongs into the political socialization process (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007). The floccinaucinihilipilification of the Black experience is crucial to racial ignorance. It buttresses Whiteness with an unassailable sense of exceptionalism and superiority that is supported by pseudo-facts. These pseudo-facts are used to construct the perception of reality and direct public policy (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007). The

Whiteness Project,¹⁴ an initiative to understand how Whites feel about being White, highlights this phenomenon and exposes some of these pseudo-facts. Although the answers varied, a large portion of the two samples reported views consistent with being significantly influenced by racial ignorance. The primary example was a young White female (a millennial) who vehemently denied personally hurting Blacks (or Hispanics), was not responsible for their current social condition, and therefore was not liable for reparations. Her reasoning was that the offenders are dead and you cannot get things from dead people—pseudo-facts. The real facts suggest that dead people do give you things and the past does impact the present and future. Social and economic inheritances including social status, titles, privilege, and actual wealth (property, land, etc....) are all passed down by the dead. Nevertheless, the Whiteness Project reported that 51%¹⁵ of Whites believe that slavery is not a factor *at all* in the lives of African Americas.

Ten percent¹⁶ of Whites believe most Whites are racist and 38% believe most Blacks are racist, thereby making racism a Black problem. I argue this leads to 73%¹⁷ of Whites believing that Blacks should receive no courtesies too overcome inequality and some 88%¹⁸ of Whites outright opposing the preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks.¹⁹ The fact that the above question actually said, too overcome inequality, acknowledges that inequality exists but racial ignorance shifts the responsibility to Blacks. The *Huffington Post* found that 26%²⁰ of Whites admit racism is a serious issue but also say there is nothing they can do about it. Thirty-eight

¹⁴ www.Whitenessproject.com

¹⁵ www.today.yougov.com

¹⁶ www.rasmussenreports.com

¹⁷ www.igpa.uillinois.edu

¹⁸ *ibid*

¹⁹ actual facts—White women have been the primary beneficiary of affirmative action

²⁰ www.huffingtonpost.com and www.today.yougov.com

percent²¹ of Whites believe that Whites work harder than Blacks and 28%²² contribute minority economic and educational success solely to racial preference. Another White millennial woman blamed minorities for her not receiving a college scholarship. Educationally speaking, Whites make up 62%²³ of the public student population and receive 72%²⁴ of all merit-based scholarships.

Where criminal justice is concerned, three young White men made very telling yet different claims. The first claimed that the killing of Mike Brown (Ferguson, Mo) was justified because the officer involved felt threatened and that actually White Christian males were the most oppressed social identity in American. This mindset is supported in that 40%²⁵ of Whites say many or almost all Black men are violent and 58%²⁶ of White millennials and 60%²⁷ of working-class Whites believe that discrimination against Whites is as big a problem as it is against people of color. The second young man's claims built on the first, saying that Blacks deserve the treatment they get from police because Blacks commit more crimes and create more trouble. He suggested that Blacks should just not do anything wrong²⁸ and then professed how he had *never* done anything wrong. He is incorrect but when polled Whites consistently over- estimate how many crimes are committed by Blacks by as much as 30 percent²⁹. The last White male spoke through racial ignorance and put the first two claims into perspective. This individual said he was an actual drug dealer and that he knowingly took advantage of the criminal justice system based on his Whiteness. He said he had been arrested over 20 times, sometimes with large

²¹ ibid

²² ibid

²³ www.finaid.org

²⁴ ibid

²⁵ www.monkeycage.org

²⁶ www.publicreligion.com

²⁷ ibid

²⁸ The politics of respectability

²⁹ www.Whitenessproject.org

amounts of drugs, and had only one arrest actually on record-for public intoxication. He stated that he basically did whatever he wanted to do knowing he would only receive a minor consequence. He also admitted that he knew that he would be in jail if he were not White and that speaking this out loud caused him considerable guilt.

A *New York Times* survey reported that 75%³⁰ of Whites have few or no Black friends. Look Different found that 70%³¹ of Whites grow up in homes that do not discuss race. These two statistics alone makes it increasingly less likely that a White person's socialization process will include actual facts about race. Racial ignorance "...frames American sexism and racism as anomalies"" but in actuality "sexism and racism, patriarchy and White supremacy, have been the norm not the exception" (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007, p.17). Therefore, for some Whites the "...officially sanctioned view of reality is not an actual reality. It is imagined" or socially constructed (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007, p.79). I argue that the process of political socialization institutionalizes collective knowledge and memory. Collective memory produces continuity and a connection with the past, which is needed to create and maintain social cohesion. The political socialization process sustains this social cohesion from generation to generation. All participants in a society presuppose a shared memory. I argue that collective memory and political socialization can be used interchangeably when discussing the transference of knowledge. This is important because research supports the idea of a direct relationship between collective memory and social control (Garland, 2012; Melossi, 2001; Savelsberg, 2000; Savelsberg, 2004; P. Smith, 2003) and the relationship state-specific institutions have to social control and punishment (Savelsberg, 1994; Savelsberg, 1999; Savelsberg & King, 2005; Sutton, 2000; Sutton, 2004).

³⁰ www.nytimes.com

³¹ <http://www.lookdifferent.org/Whitepeople>

Roach (1996) finds that collective memory is a process that depends crucially on selective ignorance. The “most persistent mode of forgetting is memory imperfectly deferred” (p.4). Connerton (1989) finds that “...control of society’s memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power...and hence the organization of collective memory” and “control and ownership of information a crucial political issue” (emphasis mine) (P.1). In “a particularly extreme case of such interaction occurs when a state apparatus³² [or institution] is used in a systematic way to deprive its citizens of their memory...the mental enslavement of the subjects of a [predatory] regime begins when their memories are taken away” (p.15). The “...life histories of those who belong to subordinate groups is precisely those terms of reference that conduce to and reinforce this sense of a linear trajectory” (p.19). Collective memory is also socially constructed but this does not mean that the past did not happen (Savelsberg & King, 2011). What it does mean is that what we know and understand as history is obtained indirectly, mediated and filtered through socially constructed narratives (Savelsberg & King, 2011; S. Sullivan & Tuana, 2007). Social identities themselves are transferred within collective memory. Collective memory includes sexual, racial, historical, regional, ethnic, cultural, and national discourses (J. C. Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2004). Collective memory cannot exist without reference to socially specific spatial frameworks or social identities. Collective memory is relevant to all things because it controls the identities of all citizens. Social identities are performances of collective memory. Connerton (1989) posits that social identities “have a quite separate significance from individual habits” (p.34).

³² Institutions education and also popular culture outlets like movies and television are used to White wash world history. Either eliminating

2.5 Lived Black Identities

How a society treats the past, how things are remembered and forgotten, crucially shapes the present and future of the entire society (Minow, 1998). Memory is a political act. The importance of political socialization in the process of institutionalizing knowledge is specifically what knowledge actually gets transmitted as collective memory. Savelsberg and King (2005) write that “...the past is always constructed, and that present-day interest of social actors profoundly affect our understanding of the past” (p.582). Balfour (2003) finds that “...the American democratic project has been hobbled by the denial of the significance of slavery and the decades of Jim Crow segregation that followed from it” (p.33). She goes on to argue that the “unwillingness to confront the past is connected to the failures of formal equality as an antidote to the poison of racial injustice” (P.42).

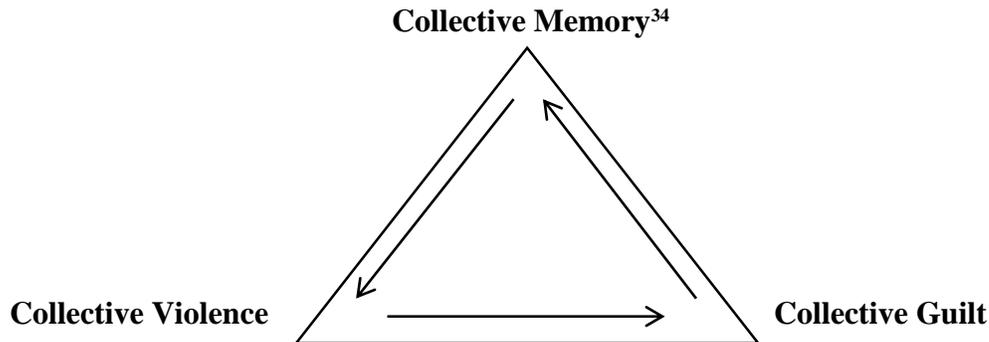
I posit that the struggle against the predation, theoretically speaking, begins with the struggle against the socialization process. I argue that the theoretical foundations constructing and sustaining marginalized social identities are epistemologies of ignorance, an inability or indisposition towards acknowledging the historical and contemporary realities of predation. I theorize that epistemological ignorance perverts the political socialization process, the construction of collective memory, which is at the root of constructing social identities. Racial ignorance is the axiom from which White America constructs Blackness. In doing so, it produces incomplete and at times mythological patterns of ignorance surrounding Blackness. How Blackness is socially constructed does not fully acknowledge the quotidian nature of race, the complexities of race, the centrality of race in America’s political and institutional development,

the intersectionality embedded within Blackness, or the historical and contemporary predacious nature of American institutions.

There is triangular relationship between collective memory, trauma, and guilt. It follows as such: (1) collective trauma is produced through collective violence; (2) applying collective violence produces collective guilt for the offending social identity; (3) if the collective trauma is not incorporated into collective memory it remains as unresolved; and (4) a new selectively ignorant collective memory is constructed (Meierhenrich, 2006). Not including the collective violence or the collective trauma that it produces leaves the offending social identities free from collective guilt. The perverted collective memory is then used to support the status quo; thereby preventing marginalized social identities from reconstructing their relationship to institutions. Alexander et al (2004) suggests that “identities are continuously constructed and secured not only by facing the present and future but also by reconstructing the collectivity’s earlier life” (p.22). A society cannot ignore any and all historical wrongs and in fact the U.S. government has and does acknowledge some historical wrongs. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 acknowledged the wrongful internment of Japanese- Americans. Other once marginalized social identities, like the Irish, Jews, Italians, Chinese, and various Eastern European groups have be able to reconstruct their relationship with the state. We have evolved from ‘no Irish need apply’ to having a non-mandated nationally recognized celebration of Irish traditions (St. Patrick’s Day). After President Reagan signed the bill that established January 15 as Martin Luther King Day, only 27³³ states and the District of Columbia observed the new federal holiday.

³³ <http://content.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1872501,00.html>

Figure 1 Collective Memory



Before I move forward with my argument, I offer a brief discussion of cultural trauma. Cultural trauma is a culturally processed and socially constructed form of collective memory (Savelsberg & King, 2005). Alexander et al (2004) find that cultural trauma “...occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (Emphasis mine) (p.1). A collective trauma that affects a definable group (i.e. raced, gendered, etc.) will be associated with that group’s social identity (i.e. Blacks/slavery; Jews/holocaust). Trauma is anxiety entering into the core of a social identity which creates adverse interpersonal outcomes. No isolated historical event or situation necessarily qualifies as a cultural trauma and the range of events is vast. For individual Blacks and for the Black social identity—Blackness—trauma is a part of the “...current human psyche forged from past oppression” (Minow, 1998, p.119). The cultural traumas of slavery, Jim Crow, Black Codes, rampant racial and sexual violence, racism, and everyday racism are predacious and currently impact Blacks’ relationship to institutions.

³⁴ (Meierhenrich, 2006, p.335)

Epistemological ignorance is a critical tool in the avoidance collective guilt. The attribution and rejection of guilt is common when dealing with trauma. I argue that selective ignorance is used to assuage if not avoid the collective guilt that would arise from coming to terms with these epistemological injustices. Past preserved as history and past preserved as memory are critical to collective guilt. Meierhenrich (2006) finds that there are four types of collective guilt: criminal, political, moral, and metaphysical and all these concepts are bound within the Blackness. The issue here, like with any other trauma left unaddressed, is that the trauma never goes away. Without the acknowledgement of the trauma happening, the offender being reprimanded in some way and policies and procedures put in place to prevent its reoccurrence, the offended party remains at risk and the offense is left to reoccur. I find that not fully incorporating the collective trauma of African Americans into collective memory makes it such that the collective violence perpetuated against Blacks does not get acknowledged or prohibited by law. It is significant that the U.S. did not extend a national apology for slavery and segregation until 2008, did not follow through with reparations after the Civil War, did not pass anti-lynching laws, ignored the rise of Ku Klux Klan, and turned a blind eye to overt rampant racial violence and discrimination. Balfour (2003) finds that a "...willful national amnesia [prevents] Black citizens from enjoying in fact the freedom and equality they were guaranteed by law" (p.33). Alexander, et al (2004) finds that privileged identities can and do refuse to recognize the existence of cultural trauma and places the responsibility of the suffering back on the offended group. The American Hate Crime Bills reflects this point by focusing on potential vulnerability based on specifically defined dimensions (Savelsberg & King, 2005).

This is important because the collective memory of past traumas shape the types of legal interventions taken. Law acts as a carrier of the past into the present. When cultural trauma

occurs and it is not appropriated fully into collective memory, laws are not enacted to forbid the actions, the offended social identity thereby remains vulnerable, and the collective violence is left to perpetuate itself. Countries that make it illegal to deny past wrongs and have national holidays of remembrance are less likely to have the same collective violence repeated (J. C. Alexander et al., 2004). When collective memory and trauma are institutionalized into legal norms and practices the collective violence is mitigated (Savelsberg & King, 2011). Collective trauma must be fully and appropriately incorporated into collective memory, such that the trauma is collectively understood as a wrong, and codified into laws forbidding the actions in the future. To not incorporate collective trauma into collective memory, is an epistemological morality play of selective ignorance. From 1865 to 1895, there were over 10,000 recorded lynchings of African Americans (Corzine, Creech, & Corzine, 1983; Tolnay, Beck, & Massey, 1989; Wiegman, 1993). That was an average of 333 murders a year which is roughly the same number of Black people killed by police in 2015 (336). I offer this as purely anecdotal evidence that collective violence not incorporated into collective memory is left to reoccur. In contemporary America, the application of collective violence against Blacks has shifted away from the overt acts and has been firmly yet covertly imbedded within our political and social institutions.

Now this is not a call for or a justification of reparations. I believe that reparations would be pointless if we do not address the predacious institutions that define Blackness. The DOJ reports on Ferguson and Baltimore will show us how an institution can be utilized for the purpose of various types of predation, including economic. As Tomasi (2012) posits “social justice requires more than formal equality of opportunity: it requires that people have access to the goods they need to make their freedoms valuable” (p.35). In the case of African Americans those *goods* include being fully recognized as citizens in relation to institutions.

2.6 The Black Tax

Under predation Blackness is subjected to a constant state of surveillance. Returning to the carceral state, this concept is termed conceptual incarceration (Markowitz & Jones-Brown, 2000). Conceptual incarceration is the idea that African Americans are subject to punishment and social control and cast into a perpetual state of slavery which has morphed from actual slavery to incarceration. Consequently, this justifies Black predation (Markowitz & Jones-Brown, 2000). The excessive surveillance of Blacks, creates a separate America for African Americans (i.e. a predatory state), one with the frequent use of extreme tactics and one that severely limits Blacks' political, economic, and personal liberty. Klein (1999) argues that liberty and security have an inverse relationship. The more the state tries to secure, the less liberty the people have. I have argued that predation has political spillover effects on the development of political efficacy. To reiterate, political efficacy is developed within the political socialization process and is a function of trust and knowledge. Low political efficacy is linked with lower voter turnout, distrust, a negative outlook on life, and lower overall psychological well-being. The DOJ (2015) found that that racially targeted policing creates distrust and resentment and the FPD's failure to respond to complaints of officer misconduct, lack of community engagement, and discriminatory policing eroded Blacks' attachment to local government.

Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) suggest that state sponsored predation causes Blacks to develop a weak social attachment to the government and its institutions. A community's political environment has a socializing effect that can either encourage or discourage participation (Cho et al., 2006). A sense of social connectedness is linked to consistency of turnout with greater frequency (Miller, 1992). If the socialization process under the predatory

state is producing lower rates of political efficacy (internal and external) then it is also complacent in the reduction of Black participation and the overall psychological well-being of Blacks (or African-Americans). The stress created by predation--the unmitigated, persistent, quotidian application of racism and everyday racism towards African Americans-- I term the **Black Tax**. This is the cost of Blackness. Predation produces separate and distinctive social and personal costs for African Americans. These costs are levied as a tax against Blackness. A penalty of sorts is applied by the predatory state which varies with one's individual racial situatedness. The space one occupies within the state is directly related to one's relationship to state institutions and that relationship determines the severity of the Black Tax. A poor Black male living on the Southside of Chicago pays a higher tax than an upper middle class Black male in a suburb of Providence. They both pay the tax, just not in the same way. Historically, the Black Tax was levied against Blacks overtly, now the Black Tax is produced as a function of institutional service delivery.

Race is quotidian in nature and "everyday racism is racism, but not all racism is everyday racism. The concept of everyday racism counters the view...that racism is an individual problem, a question of 'to be racist or not to be racist'" (Essed, 1991, p.3). For a raced group, their social identity is central to their socialization process and the development of political efficacy. The distinction between racism and everyday racism is that the quotidian form of racism involves systematic, recurrent, and generalized familiar practices, and socialized attitudes and behaviors that provide cumulative instantiation. Racism is a structure and a process that does not exist outside of everyday practices. Essed (1991) posits that "everyday life is the direct reproduction of the person embedded in social relations" (p.48).

2.7 Ferguson and Baltimore: Case and Point

The recent developments within the criminal justice system are not an accidental by-product of racism, they are the result of a political ideology which perpetuates racial predation (Lowndes et al., 2008). I feel the DOJ (2015; 2016) reports on Ferguson, Missouri and Baltimore, Maryland, outline the phenomenon of targeted racial predation most explicitly. The DOJ (2015) found that from 2012 – 2014 Blacks accounted for 85% of vehicle stops, 90% of citations, 93% of arrest, and 90% of documented uses of force (DOJ, 2015). From 2012 – 2014, the FPD issued four or more citations to Blacks on 73 occasions but to non-African Americans only twice (DOJ, 2015). In Ferguson, Blacks are 2.07 times more likely to be searched but 26% less likely to have contraband on them. Blacks are also 88% more likely to have force used against them. The DOJ (2015) reported that this type of racially targeted policing is in violation of *14th Amendment* and several federal laws. After a citation or arrest Blacks are 66% less likely to have their case dismissed.

The DOJ (2015) found “...substantial evidence that the [Ferguson municipal] court’s procedures are constitutionally deficient and function to impede a person’s ability to challenge or resolve a municipal charge, resulting in unnecessary prolonged cases and an increased likelihood of running afoul of court requirements” (p. 42). The Ferguson court “imposes severe penalties when a defendant fails to meet court requirements, including added fines and fees and arrest warrants that are unnecessary and run counter to public safety” (p.42). These practices are found to cause significant harm to individuals with pending cases. Ferguson municipal court requires needless in court appearances for most municipal code violations and is only physically open selectively. The prosecuting attorney, who is also the city attorney (an obvious conflict of

interest) knew the city was basing revenue projections on increasing the amount of fines and fees collected. Armed with this information, as the prosecuting attorney, she was the person responsible for levying the charges against the fines and fees. From 2010 to 2015, the amount of revenue extracted from the majority Black community went from 1.38 million to 3.09 million. The DOJ (2015) also found evidence that the FPD purposefully targeted African Americans as a means to bolster the city's coffers. There is direct evidence, in the form of racist emails sent by city officials, court supervisors, police officers, and commanders affirming racial targeting. Municipal court procedural deficiencies, operational obstacles, high fines, immediate payment requirements, and inadequate inability to pay options impose significant burdens for Blacks—this is known as the Black Tax. These significant burdens come full circle when the court then issues arrest warrants as a means to secure payment of fines and fees. Of these debtor warrants, 92% are issued against Blacks and Blacks account for 96% of all arrests made exclusively because of a debt warrant (DOJ, 2015).

In Baltimore, the DOJ (2016) explicitly stated that the police created “*two Baltimores*” each “receiving dissimilar policing services. One is affluent and predominately White, while the other is impoverished and largely Black” (p.156). The BPD trained officers to use what is called zero tolerance enforcement, which led to a pattern of unconstitutional stops, searches, and arrests and; several unjust disparities in the rates of stops, searches, and arrests of African Americans; the use of constitutionally excessive force; and police retaliation against citizens engaging in constitutionally protected expression (DOJ, 2016). Black Baltimoreans are three times more likely to be stopped by police and make up 95% of the 410 individuals stopped by BPD at least ten times from 2010-2015. One Black man was stopped over 30 times and not one of the stops resulted in a citation.

The most disgusting and humiliating act of predation the BPD engages in are unconstitutional strip searches. The DOJ (2016) reported that “BDP officers strip-searched individuals without justification—often in public areas—subjecting them [Blacks] to humiliation and violating the Constitution” (p.32). The BPD stripped-searched men, women, and juveniles prior to arrest and in public view. The BPD strip-searched one Black woman whose only infraction was a missing headlight. In full view of the street, officers searched in and around her bra before pulling down the woman’s underwear and searching her anal cavity. Finding nothing, the woman was released and no citations were issued. In a separate incident a male officer stripped-searched a teenage Black male in full view of the street and his girlfriend who was accompanying him. The officer went so far as to pull down the teenager’s pants and underwear exposing his genitals to public view. In a similar situation, after a traffic stop did not yield any contraband, an “officer pulled down the man’s pants and underwear, exposing his genitals on the side of a public street, and then strip-searched him” (DOJ, 2016, p.34).

2.8 Conclusion

Returning to the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy, Hanes Walton, Jr. (1985) argues that “underlying all [the] weaknesses is the notion that what [drives] and motivate[s] Whites to vote and participate also [drives] Blacks. The literature tells us that Black voting is merely White voting in Blackface. The literature flounders when it so misrepresents [the] **realities of the system**” (Emphasis mine) (p.82). Welch and Secret (1981) argue that a theory of minority participation that includes a “**wide variety of perceived costs...**” would be a more beneficial way of “...building a more general theory of [minority] participation” (Emphasis mine) (p.16). I posit that once we begin to account for the systemic

costs associated with predation the voting calculus will change significantly for minorities. By factoring in the effects of everyday racism, I move toward creating a general theory of minority participation. In chapter 3 I will theorize and measure the effect that carceral contact has on participation, employing rational choice model to inform the introduction of a new Black voting calculus. In chapter 4, I will theorize and measure the effect carceral contact has on interpersonal well-being.

I hypothesize that predation has negative effects on those who have had direct personal contact with the predatory state. But I also argue that those who have had indirect contact through someone in their network will also experience a negative effect. Secondly, I argue that coming into contact with the predatory state via the criminal justice system significantly adds additional strain to African Americans. This negatively affects the development of political efficacy, which translates into lower levels of participation and personal well-being. This does not mean that the negative effects of carceral contact do not affect Whites. But for Blacks living under predatory regimes there is a greater overall impact purely based on the sheer numbers of Blacks that experience either direct or indirect contact, compared to Whites. In Baltimore, 44% of all police stops were conducted in two relatively small African American neighborhoods comprising only 11% of the city's population (DOJ, 2016). The Ferguson Police Department issued 90% of its citations to African Americans (DOJ, 2015). This highly concentrated application of policing would also cause a normalization effect. For the Blacks in these areas, a certain level of contact would just become routine and thereby not produce an ever increasing effect. This is not to suggest that Whites who experience the full machinations of the criminal justice system will not also be negatively affected. For Whites, I suggest carceral contact would produce significant and possibly larger effects in some cases due to its rarity. For example,

Black men are 4.6 times more likely than White men to go to jail; therefore, if a White man is incarcerated, which is rare, the coefficient could be greater but no less significant than Black contact. White communities, not having experienced this type of predation, would not have developed the same types of coping mechanisms (positive and/or negative) via their socialization process that Black communities would have been forced to create.

PARTICIPATION AND PREDATION: A RATIONAL APPROACH TO MINORITY TURNOUT

3.1 Rational Choice and Participation

In this chapter I will examine how criminal justice policies and the application of criminal justice affects black political participation. Over-policing and mass incarceration has disenfranchised 8 million African Americans (Travis, Western, & Redburn, 2014), but it also adversely affects the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy, leading to reductions in turnout. The decline in turnout caused by carceral contact are externalities of predation, which is the targeted and persistent use of collective political violence. Collective violence covers an array of covert, subtle, low and high intensity, and ongoing actions (Arendt, 1970). It includes unjust incarceration, human rights abuses, violent state rhetoric, and systemic inequalities (Besteman, 2002). Collective violence shapes the behavior of groups by altering the expected utility of specific behaviors (Kalyvas et al., 2006). Downs (1957) posited that we must discover the relationship between what the government does and how citizens vote. I formulate a theory of Black turnout that incorporates the quotidian costs of race by introducing a new calculus of voting. Downs' (1957) original calculus of voting equation includes a cost variable but it does not account for the additional costs that are associated with Blackness. I will show how carceral contact can depress turnout by negatively affecting internal and external political efficacy. This is important because most citizens primarily come into contact with the

government either through social services or police. Furthermore, with the geographic and racial concentration of mass incarceration (Travis et al., 2014) and the Department of Justice (DOJ) reports on Ferguson, Baltimore, and Chicago expressly showing highly concentrated predatory policing in Black communities it is important to examine the criminal justice system's overarching effect on Black voter participation (DOJ, 2015;2016; 2017).

3.2 Understanding Voter Turnout

Democratic societies require more than laws and institutions (J. L. Sullivan & Transue, 1999). An enlightened and engaged citizenry is needed for a democracy to function effectively (McCluskey, Deshpande, Shah, & McLeod, 2004). Yet, many citizens choose not to engage in the most basic mode of participation—voting (Lijphart, 1997). In the United States turnout is especially low compared to other democracies (Powell Jr, 1986). Indeed, a Pew Research Center³⁵ (2016) study recently reported that 84% of Americans were registered but only 54% of them voted. Erikson (1981) argues that voter participation is a two-stage process consisting of registration and voting. He posits that the standard predictors of turnout are more strongly correlated with registration than voting. The difficulty in predicting turnout is that we must first discover which variables are associated with the various subgroups of registrants who do and do not vote, and next estimate which variables contribute to or hinder some subgroups from fully participating in particular elections. The low level of turnout has been interpreted as a cause for concern for American democracy (Cassel & Hill, 1981; Uhlaner, 1989) and a serious policy issue (Patterson and Caldeira, 1983). Perhaps the most fundamental reason that voting is important is

³⁵ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/08/02/u-s-voter-turnout-trails-most-developed-countries/>

that it is directly linked to representation and policy outcomes. For example, voter identification laws have been shown to disproportionately and negatively affect minority turnout, thus shifting the median voter position to the right (Z. Hajnal, Lajevardi, & Nielson, 2017).

In general, there has been a decline in turnout in U.S. presidential elections since 1960 (Abramson & Aldrich, 1982; Boyd, 1981; Cassel & Hill, 1981; Teixeira, 1987). This question has been the subject of a large body of research. The Washington Post³⁶ reported that turnout in the U.S. fell from 64% to 57% from 1964 to 2012, but Black turnout rose from 58% to 62% over the same period. The increases in Black turnout however are very recent. Like White turnout, the Black turnout rate also fell after 1964. It dropped below 50% in 1976 and did not rise above 60%³⁷ until 2004-2006. Abramson and Aldrich (1982) found that 70% of the overall variance in turnout decline could be accounted for by declining partisanship and lower levels of external political efficacy. Shaffer (1981) posited that in addition to controlling for partisanship and efficacy, including age and voter's information level increased explanatory power to 86%. Kleppner (1982) postulated that together partisanship, age, and efficacy accounted for nearly all the decline in turnout. Cassel and Luskin (1988) found these explanations to be too simplistic. They argued that these scholars scored their explanations too generously and that their variable lists were too short. To accurately measure turnout, Cassel and Luskin (1988), suggest including variables that not only decrease, but also increase and do not have much effect on turnout. Cassel and Luskin (1988) were able to show that partisanship, age, and efficacy did affect turnout but the effects were much smaller than previously estimated. These variables have contributed to decreased turnout, but in the U.S., rising education levels should have increased

³⁶ https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2013/08/22/whats-changed-for-african-americans-since-1963-by-the-numbers/?utm_term=.1788225f05e0

³⁷ Ibid

turnout over the same period (Cassel & Hill, 1981). Cassel and Hill (1981) posit that “the puzzle as to why turnout has declined cannot be answered until we can better explain who votes and who does not vote in a given election” (p.192). McDonald and Popkin (2001) argue that the decline in participation in national elections was due to using the voting-age population instead of the voting-eligible population. They argue that the ineligible population, including felons and immigrants, has been increasing since 2000 and at a greater rate than the voting-eligible population (McDonald, 2002).

Voting is explained primarily in terms of individual characteristics and the institutional context (Merriam & Gosnell, 1924). Individual variables include socioeconomic status, education, gender, race, income, mobility, psychological motivation, and age (Brody & Sniderman, 1977; Brody, 1978; A. Campbell, Converse, Miller, Donald, & Stokes, 1960; A. Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1966; Cavanagh, 1981; Tate, 1991; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). Education is the primary and most consistent determinant of turnout (Leighley & Nagler, 1992). Other studies have included measures of civic orientation, political interest, civic duty, political efficacy, and party identification (Abramson & Aldrich, 1982; Cassel & Hill, 1981; Leighley & Nagler, 1992; Teixeira, 1987; Verba & Nie, 1972). The impact of these variables fluctuates across time and subgroup (Cassel, 1979; Leighley & Nagler, 1992).

Institutional influences comprise the political and social environment, residency and registration requirements, ballot style, and other voting laws/requirements (Ashenfelter & Kelley Jr, 1975; Boyd, 1981; A. Campbell et al., 1960; R. S. Erikson, 1981; Glaser, 1959; Z. Hajnal et al., 2017; Kelley, Ayres, & Bowen, 1967; J. Kim, Petrocik, & Enokson, 1975; Lester W.. Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Mather, 1964; Verba & Nie, 1972; Walker, 1966; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). Election specific variables also have a substantial impact on turnout

(Timpone, 1998), but voting is particularly sensitive to institutional factors (Powell Jr, 1986). Electoral laws and political institutions are strongly associated with voter turnout (Jackman, 1987). Institutional factors have been found to depress U.S. turnout by 27% (Powell Jr, 1986), compared to other western democracies. Mitchell and Wlezien (1995) found that liberalizing institutional constraints reduced the cost associated with voter participation but it was not a determinate of registration and voting. Actual voting depends on the particulars of the election and involves a myriad of both individual and institutional factors.

The challenge of understanding voting remains unresolved in the literature (Dennis, 1991; Green & Shapiro, 1996; Mueller, 1989), but demonstrating that the decision to turn out is made at the margins is different than explaining why citizens vote in the first place (Kanazawa, 1998). Gerber and Green (2000) discovered that turnout was substantially increased by canvassing, but only slightly by direct mail and not at all by telephone calls. These findings are in line with Gerber, Green and Larimer (2008) concluding that social pressure considerably increases turnout. Both of these articles use field experiments to manipulate respondents' sense of duty to trigger voting. A sense of duty and political efficacy have both been theoretically linked to turnout (Cassel & Hill, 1981). Panagopoulos (2013) also used field experiments to induce turnout but found that even when effective monetary rewards are not more effective than the above interventions. Blais and Young (1999) were able to reduce turnout by lowering a respondent's sense of duty. These above finding support the arguments that a sense of duty is key to making it likely a person will participate.

Other scholars have attempted to specify the decisional calculi associated with voting by measuring the costs and benefits associated with voting (Downs, 1957; Ferejohn & Fiorina, 1974; Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Silberman & Durden, 1975). Riker and Ordeshook (1968)

posited that “voting is an irrational act in that it usually costs more to vote than one can expect to get in return” and because of the low-cost/low-benefit nature of voting, small changes in the cost/benefit structure will have significant effects on turnout (p.25). Aldrich’s (1993) postulates that the act of voting is the most important behavior democratic scholars could try to understand and a rational choice approach can yield robust results (Aldrich, 1993). Rational choice theory states that “preferences (or attitudes, beliefs, values) determine behavior” (p. 247) and the decision to participate “...can be fruitfully understood as an exercise in rational decision making” (Aldrich, 1993, p.275). Kalandrakis (2009) posits that rational choice theory is the benchmark of the competing voter participation theories, even though voting is rarely in the self-interest of individual voters and one vote rarely determines an election outcome. Cox (1997) found that voting patterns and election outcomes are broadly consistent with patterns of behavior predicted by rational models.

Citizens vote to achieve a desired outcome: their preferred political regime maintaining or gaining political power. Voting is a way to involve oneself in the political process, which is desirable if the election outcome is perceived as being in one’s self-interest (Edlin, Gelman, & Kaplan, 2007). Lupia (1994) found that when low-knowledge voters have an interest in the outcome they use information shortcuts to guide their vote choice. Zaller (1992) also concluded that poorly informed voters will manage to learn about issues of concern to them. Chong, Citrin, and Conley (2001) found that voters are able to distinguish what is in their personal self-interest and vote accordingly. When primed against their self-interest, Chong et al (2001) was able to reduce self-interested voting in some voters but not for the voters who benefited directly from the policies. Edlin, Gelman, and Kaplan (2007) find support that voting is rational even in large elections if individuals’ social preferences are connected to their personal well-being. The

literature has shown that (1) voting can be rational and (2) a rational voter will choose to vote based on the expected social consequences of the outcome (Edlin et al., 2007). Undoubtedly many people think what is advantageous for them is good for everyone, but most citizens vote to benefit a group(s) of which they are members. Even in small elections, voters tend to vote for candidates they perceive to offer the most beneficial social outcome (Edlin et al., 2007).

Downs (1957) stated that “the term rational is never applied to an agent’s ends, but only to his means” (p.5). Referring to a person as rational we “are not designating a man whose thought process consists exclusively of logical propositions, or a man without prejudices, or a man whose emotions are inoperative” (p.5). It simply means a person who moves toward a goal in a way, to best of their knowledge, that is the most efficient. It is rational for an individual to act or behave on the belief that the actions will increase their utility, defined as the total satisfaction received from consuming a good or service. Grafstein (1995) defines a behavior as “rational for an agent if and only if, given that act, the agent’s expected utility is maximized” (p.64). Rationality is understood as determinate beliefs and desires expressed through a particular type of action (Grafstein, 1995). Individual preferences are specified by outcomes in which preferences for actions are inferred and choices of actions are determined (Aldrich, 1993).

Critics of the rational choice claim that voters are altruistic and not self-interested utility maximizers (Feddersen, 2004; Fowler, 2006). Citizens who care about the wellbeing of others have a different incentive structure, when it comes to voting. Altruism theory posits that there is an interaction between concern for others and the perception that an election’s outcome will benefit some more than others (Fowler, 2006). Altruistic people care about the welfare of others and will vote if they think the alternative outcome is better (Fowler, 2006). Fowler (2006) argues that focusing on pure self-interest fails to explain why billions of people go to the polls

worldwide. He suggests that voters with a strong sense of social obligation will vote even if alternative outcomes yield identical benefits. He finds that rational choice theorists have not been able to explain high aggregate turnout based on pure self-interest. Feddersen (2004) rejects the premise that voters are strategic and that the decision to vote is independent of other strategic choices. He argues that voters belong to groups of likeminded people who prefer the same types of candidates and they participate based on the consumption and investment value of voting. Fowler (2006) points out that the definition of rationality does not include the phrase self-interest. He calls for a “wholesale revision of a vast literature that considers all political actors to be purely self-interested” (p. 681). Fowler (2006) finds that partisan altruists are much more likely than egoists to vote.

Socially motivated voting has a feedback mechanism that stabilizes voter participation (Edlin et al., 2007). Fowler’s (2006) finding that altruism motivates turnout is consistent with the social-benefit utility model of turnout (Edlin et al., 2007). Edlin et al (2007) found that surveys of socially motivated voters are consistent with rational political behavior. All humans need psychological motivation (Edlin et al., 2007). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that benevolent actions will increase one’s utility. The social-benefit utility model applied to groups rather than the entire population can then explain why voters participate. Conditional expected utility maximization, a critique of altruism theory, introduced the concept of forward-looking self-interest (Grafstein, 1995). It suggests that voters are more likely to vote when they perceive that their behavior will encourage others to participate. Grafstein (1995) explains that travelers tip in order to become better people in the future. A self-interested person behaves altruistically as an investment in their future selves (Grafstein, 1995; Whiteley, 1995). Grafstein (1995) says that an “agent will rationally tip if they see it as a self-interested act, but only if they truthfully see it as a

self-interested act” (p.71). Society takes advantage of their self-interest in developing good habits and character, but “long-range self-interest is still self-interest” (Grafstein, 1995, p.72).

Whiteley (1995) finds that rational theories are not able to solve the collective action problem. He questions why “rational individuals should participate in politics, in situations where they appear to have very little influence over outcomes” (p.212). Collective action is meant to suggest a collective mind but the individual has no control over the group. Rational action implies methodological individualism; therefore, a purely rational model is unable to explain turnout. Whiteley (1995) posits that rational choice does not wholly succeed in replacing other explanations of voter participation. Aldrich (1993) argues that turnout is not a good example of a collective action problem and that rational choice models are election specific and cannot be used to explain turnout over time. We vote based on the particular characteristics of that particular contest and the decision to vote is made at the margins (Aldrich, 1993). Collective action depends on others and the decision maker. Individual voters know that their vote is but one of many and that there are economies of scale in voting. Californians paid the third highest car insurance rates in the nation and because of this the state held a referendum on car insurance policies. California voters collectively ranked, with their votes, the most beneficial policy choice for consumers to the least (Lupia, 1994). California voters independently navigated five technical state-level car insurance policies and \$80 million in pro-insurance industry advertising and still collectively choose the plan that benefited them the most (Lupia, 1994). Lupia’s (1994) findings suggest that collective action can be rational.

Rational choice theorists make a strong case in favor of rationality. Given its wide-ranging implications and the impressive body of literature it has generated it has been established firmly as one of the most utilized theoretical frameworks for explaining behavior (Jackman, 1993). An

EBSCO Discovery Service search for journal articles with rational choice theory as a subject term yielded over 5,200 results. Jackman (1993) made three points in support of rational choice. First, he argues, that the common criticisms of rationality distort the way rational is actually defined and used. Actions not outcomes are rational. If a person perceives their actions to be the best tactic to achieve utility maximization she is rational. Next, the theory offers an important method of integrating a myriad of political behaviors in a more general political theory than its alternatives. Scholar in various disciplines use rational choice theory to examine behavior. In political science, the fundamental idea that politics is who gets what, when, and where, presupposes purposeful behavior. Lastly, rational choice theories offer the best method of analyzing mass political participation in broader and more concise terms (Jackman, 1993).

Riker and Ordereshook's (1968) decision-theoretic model crystallized the insights from the earlier literature of Downs (1957) and Tullock (1967) into a voting calculus expressed as such: $R = (BP) - C$. The equation states that if the product (BP) of the differential benefit (B) received from your candidate winning and the (P) probability of voting (P) is greater than the cost to the individual (C) a rational person will receive a reward (R) and vote. Riker and Ordeshook (1968) also added a variable which represents the consumption benefit one receives from fulfilling one's civic obligation or duty to vote (D). They rewrote their equation as such: $R = PB - C + D$. Aldrich (1993) rearranges the equation as $R = PB + D - C$ to represent his calculus of voting. The C term is the net-cost associated with voting. Citizens face opportunity costs and decision-making costs when deciding whether or not to vote. The P term is the probability that your vote will make or break a tie for your preferred candidate (Aldrich, 1993). Essentially, this is equivalent to the probability your vote will make a difference in the outcome. The B term represents the utility one would receive if candidate 1 beats candidate 2. The D term represents

civic duty or the personal value one receives from voting and seeing democracy continue. The R term is the net-reward one gets from voting (Aldrich, 1993; Downs, 1957; Riker & Ordeshook, 1968).

A sense of duty (D) has been linked to turnout. A reduction in the duty index of 0.05 impacted turnout by 0.72 reducing aggregate turnout by 3.5% (Blais & Young, 1999). Blais et al. (2000) found that a sense of duty was the most compelling motivation to vote and only when they distinguish between voters with high and low senses of duty does B, P and C become significant. Downs (1957) emphasized the importance of civic duty but also the cost. He stated that “at first glance, all the costs may appear trivial, and biases in ability to bear them seem irrelevant. However, the returns from voting are usually so low that tiny variations in its cost may have tremendous effects on the distribution of political power. This fact explains why such simple practices as holding elections on holidays, keeping polls open late, repealing small poll taxes, and providing free rides to the polls may strikingly affect election results” (Downs, 1956, p.305). Riker and Ordeshook (1968) omitted the cost term from their empirical analysis and Niemi (1976) argued that cost was inconsequential and could safely be ignored. Katosh and Traugott (1982) found that cost added greatly to the predictability of electoral participation but duty was the more important determinant. Palfrey and Rosenthal (1983) find that where there is uncertainty about preferences and costs, voters with negligible or negative costs will participate. Sanders (1980) posits that scholars have major issues with the operationalization of the voting calculus variables, especially cost. She found that cost and duty are of lesser and not greatly unequal weight (Sanders, 1980). Sigelman and Berry (1982) found that cost dominated the voting calculus. When distinguishing between voters and nonvoters the discriminatory power is

largely a product of cost. They found that 36% of nonvoters fell into the high cost category as opposed to 8% of voters.

I maintain that rational choice approaches to turnout can reveal robust results. There are two reasons I am suggesting this approach for the study of minority participation. First, there is nothing that suggests the study of racial identity and participation requires the development of specialized theory. While the relationship between African American identity and political participation is a unique phenomenon given the history of the United States, the underlying mechanisms can largely be subsumed by concepts that are generalizable to other groups, including group formation, solidarity, assimilation, and collective action problems. Like other groups, minority turnout is positively correlated with organizational resources, the capacity to obtain and control information, group solidarity, knowledge of the history of equitable distribution of collective benefits, and the adoption of nonviolent tactics (Rex & Mason, 1986). It is negatively correlated with organizational size and the capacity of the state to punish participants. Rex and Mason (1986) posit that "...ethnic and race relations therefore constitute instances of more general kinds of inter-group process" (p.265). Secondly, given the above, it would be of great benefit to learn as much as we can through the systematic application of some general theory to empirical questions (Rex & Mason, 1986).

I argue that for Blacks living under predation, the costs associated with their political environment are greater compared to Whites living under the same level of governance and are quotidian in nature. Because the decision to vote is made at the margins, these persistent additional costs Black face will alter the Black voting calculus. Rational choice theories and the calculus of voting should incorporate the additional cost experienced by marginalized populations. Black attachment to the political system, satisfaction with its current operation, and

their perceived ability to contribute to change are all affected by their political environment. Sears (1969) found that for Blacks, lower levels of participation coincide with institutionalized discrimination and maltreatment: predation. What I have attempted to establish is that a rational choice model is still a valid and reliable method for the study of participation but the calculus must be adjusted to account for the *Black Tax*. No theory explains 100% the variation within a model. The discrepancies we see from election to election, state to state, and county to county cannot be completely explained by one theory primarily because culture, attitudes, beliefs, and candidates all change. We participate based on the particular characteristics of that particular contest. Rational choice theory considers behavior to be a function of institutional relationships and individual preferences. As compared to normative and structural theories, rational choice offers the possibility of arriving at predictive statements and obtaining a high degree of theoretical consensus (Rex & Mason, 1986).

3.3 Black Turnout

The “central problem of representative democracy is to provide a voice for minority interests in a system that is dominated by the votes of the majority. The legitimacy and stability of any democracy depends, in part, on its ability to accomplish that difficult aim” (Canon, 1999, p.339). Voting and other forms of participation are reflections of the different relationships social groups have to institutions and historically, race has played an important role in American politics. Any discussion of Blacks and voting must first acknowledge the immense hurdles African Americans had to overcome to exercise their right to vote prior to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA). Research on Black participation prior to the passage of the VRA, found that

African Americans belonged to fewer voluntary associations (Wright & Hyman, 1958), felt less efficacious (A. Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954), had lower turnout than Whites (A. Campbell et al., 1960), and overall participated less (Woodward & Roper, 1950). The contemporary literature on Black turnout can be categorized into three main theoretical frameworks. The standard socioeconomic models (Verba & Nie, 1972), the political and social resource models (Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980), and the psychological orientation models (partisanship, trust, efficacy, and Black Consciousness) (A. Campbell et al., 1960; Orum, 1966; Verba & Almond, 1963).

The effect of the VRA cannot be understated. From 1965 to 1970, the number of Blacks registered to vote rose by 1 million (Salamon & Van Evera, 1973). Irrespective of this Blacks had a hard time getting elected to public office, even in areas where Blacks were the majority (Salamon & Van Evera, 1973). In 1975, 50% of majority Black areas in the South had no Blacks on their city council, compared to 10% in non-southern states (Darden, 1984). Nationally, from 1964-1980, the number of Black elected officials did increase from 600 to 4,600 (Darden, 1984). By 1980, for every 100,000 Blacks there were 19 elected officials as compared to 224 for Whites. A Pew Research Center³⁸ report found that in 1965 there were no Blacks in the Senate, no Black governors, and only six Black members of the House of Representatives. By 2015³⁹, not much had changed. Blacks held 44 House seats, two Senate seats, and one governorship. There have been a total of four Black governors and 8 Black senators and the first time that two Black senators severed concurrently was in 2013. Darden (1984) argues that “there are undoubtedly factors more significant than structural ones to account for the underrepresentation”

³⁸ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/28/blacks-have-made-gains-in-u-s-political-leadership-but-gaps-remain/>

³⁹ *ibid*

of Blacks (p.111). Oskooii (2016) found that discrimination was associated with reduced political engagement and participation. Hackey (1992) argues that one of the most important factors influencing Black participation is the cost associated with voting. He also posited that “contact with government officials appears to have a ‘spillover’ effect on...political participation” (p.86). Historically, the contact between policing agencies and African Americans has been one of a discriminatory nature (Muhammad, 2010), thus it is logical to assume carceral contact could negatively affect Black participation.

Scholars have found that Blacks have a tendency to over-report registration and voting (Abramson & Claggett, 1984; Abramson & Claggett, 1992; Button, 1993). African American over-reporting is linked to the historical circumstances surrounding enfranchisement and the Civil Rights Movement (McKee, Hood III, & Hill, 2012). Bernstein, Chadha, and Montjoy (2001) found that Whites also over report, but are more likely to do so in the South. Stout and Martin (2016) argue that Blacks are not more likely to over report with descriptive candidates, regardless of the candidate’s party affiliation. In the first Barack Obama election, McKee et al (2012) found that Black registration and voting increased and over-reporting decreased. Timpone (1998) found that compared to Whites, African Americans are more likely to register, but less likely to actually vote. Vanderleeuw and Engstrom (1987) found that African Americans were less likely to vote than Whites, and had higher roll-off rates, casting votes in some elections and not others. Blacks vote in lower rates, than Whites on referendums (Button, 1993) and the residual vote rate for Blacks is higher than that of Whites (Herron & Sekhon, 2005). Residual votes are ballots with missing or invalid votes. Herron and Sekhon (2005) found that Black residual votes are a discretionary choice. Blacks are deciding to vote or not vote for each office, amendment, or referendum. Blacks are going to the polls and actively choosing when not to vote

(Herron & Sekhon, 2005). If this is the case then Blacks are acting rationally and Black participation and non-participation can be seen and evaluated fruitfully through a rational choice model. Over-reporting may be a function of costs out-weighting a desire or the willingness to vote.

Socioeconomic factors like income and education have been used to explain the variations between Black and White turnout rates (Uhlener, Cain, & Kiewiet, 1989). The strongest of these SES predictors is education. Blacks and Whites of higher SES both register and vote more frequently, but when holding constant income, education, and occupation Blacks participate less than Whites. Coveyou and Pfeiffer (1973) found that education, a strong, consistent, and positive predictor of turnout, was not indicative of Black turnout in the 1968 presidential election. The 1968 election was the first presidential election after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Coveyou and Pfeiffer (1973) posit that “an increasing tendency to realize that one’s vote is inefficacious may be increasing education” (p.1000). I add that gaining access to education or better yet a quality education for Blacks in the 1940’s and 1950’s was quite rare, but having knowledge of the racial cost associated with participation was rather common. Abney (1974) and Wright (1975) found evidence that education was positively correlated with Black turnout, but no group of Blacks consistently participated more than their white counterparts (Kuo, 1977). Kuo (1977) found that in the 1968 and 1972 presidential elections and the 1966 and 1970 congressional races Blacks voted less than Whites. Orum (1966) suggested that the higher rates of poverty within the Black community adulterated the relationship between race and turnout. Olsen (1970) found that when controlling for socioeconomic status and age Blacks were more politically active than Whites. Leighley and Nagler (1992) and Mitchell and Wlezien (1995) found that all things being equal, Blacks are more likely to vote than Whites.

The research on socioeconomic voting models suggest that education and other SES factors do not fully and consistently explain Black voting behavior.

Michael McDonald⁴⁰ of the United States Election Project⁴¹, suggested that recently Black turnout has become virtually identical to Whites. Table 1⁴² shows that Black turnout has historically trailed White turnout, but that it came close in 2004 and ultimately surpassed the White turnout rate in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections. Both the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections are historical outliers in that they included, Barak Obama, the first African American major party candidate for the presidency. The Black turnout rate rose from 54.1% in 2000 and 56.3% in 2004 to 64.7% in 2008 and 66.2% in 2012⁴³. There is literature to support the importance of descriptive representation in increasing Black turnout and based on the fact that the number of Black ballots cast in 2016 decreased when compared to 2012 the election results support this theory. Charles Ellison⁴⁴ found that the number of eligible Blacks that actually voted in 2016 fell 15% from 2012. The national turnout rate also decreased in 2016 (56.9%) compared to 2012 (58.6%) and 2008 (62.2%)⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/michael-p-mcdonald/2012-turnout-race-ethnict_b_3240179.html

⁴¹ <http://www.electproject.org/home>

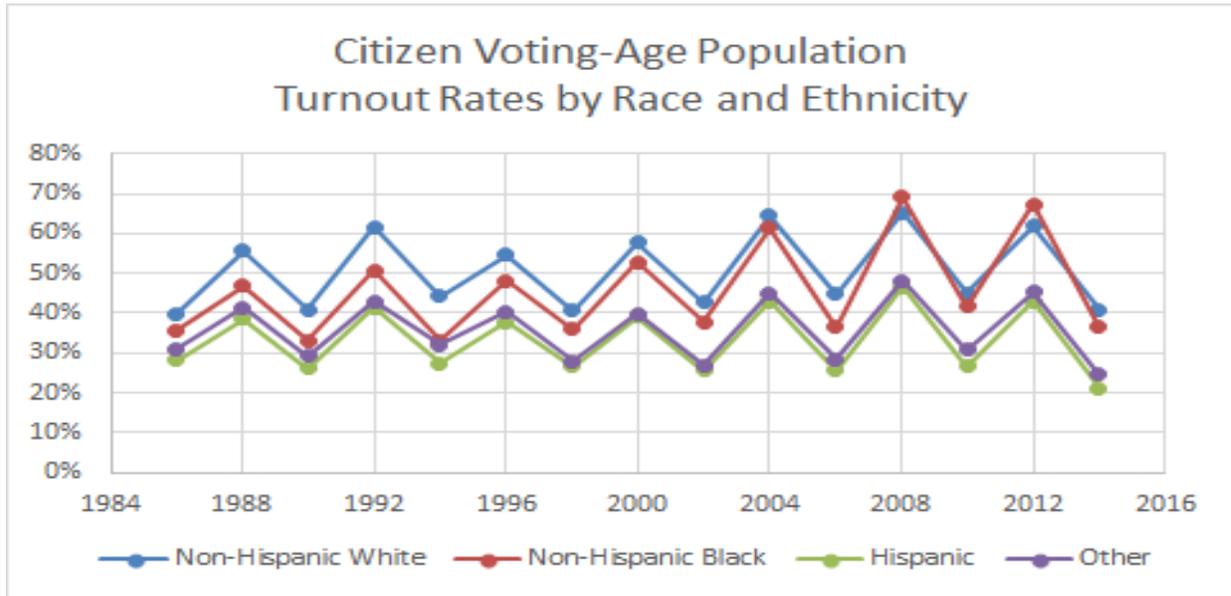
⁴² <http://www.electproject.org/home>

⁴³ <http://census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting/data/tables.2000.html>

⁴⁴ *ibid*

⁴⁵ http://www.phillytrib.com/news/black-voter-turnout-a-look-at-the-numbers/article_49d1aed9-76be-550e-b063-15ad7639dc97.html

Figure 2⁴⁶ U.S. Turnout by Race



Descriptive representation has been shown to have a positive effect on Black turnout (Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004; Bhatti & Hansen, 2016; Gay, 2001; Gilliam Jr & Kaufmann, 1998; Griffin & Keane, 2006; Leighley, 2001; Whitby, 2007) and specifically among liberal Blacks (Griffin & Keane, 2006). The election of African Americans is associated with more substantive representation and greater policy responsiveness to Black issues (Juenke & Preuhs, 2012; Minta, 2009; Preuhs, 2006), which increases political efficacy. Merolla, Sellers, and Gleason and Stout (2014) postulate that descriptive representation is the cause and not the result of higher levels of Black political efficacy. Black congressional candidates (Fairdosi & Rogowski, 2015) and more descriptive representation at the state legislature level are both positively associated with increased turnout (Rocha, Tolbert, Bowen, & Clark, 2010). At the local level, each additional Black city council member corresponds to a 1% increase in the

⁴⁶ ⁴⁶ <http://www.electproject.org/home>

likelihood of electing a Black mayor (Marschall & Ruhil, 2006) and Black mayors have been associated with hiring Black police officers (Hopkins & McCabe, 2012). Clark (2014) argues that Blacks in states with increased descriptive representation are more likely to be contacted and as a result turnout more. Philpot et al (2009) found that Blacks who were contacted were 8% more likely to vote than those who were not. Hajnal (2001) found that descriptive representation increased racial sympathy among White Independents and Democrats and support for Black leadership.

Descriptive representation has also been shown to increase trust in government (Abney & Hutcheson, 1981; Mangum, 2012). Political elites create policies and in exchange, they receive trust from satisfied citizens and mistrust from those who are disappointed (Citrin, 1974). Political trust is the basic evaluative orientation toward government, founded on individual's normative expectations (Hetherington, 1998).. High levels of trust translate into more leeway for leaders to govern effectively and more institutional support regardless of the performance of those running the government (Hetherington, 1998). Race is the most important determinant of government trust (S. S. Smith, 2010). Wilkes (2011) finds that structural forces that advantage whites inflate their level of political trust. On the national level, the *Bush v. Gore* decision lead to decreased trust among Blacks, regardless of party identification (Avery, 2007). African Americans' with strong social networks trust the government more (Mangum, 2011), but social capital does not mitigate mistrust in law enforcement (Macdonald & Stokes, 2006). Blacks in general express much lower levels of trust in local police (Macdonald & Stokes, 2006) and are less trusting of the state courts even when Black judges are present (Overby, Brown, Bruce, Smith, & Winkle, 2005). African Americans attribute racial disparities in incarceration to biased courts and police, and these beliefs are inelastic (Muller & Schrage, 2014). Increases in crime and decreases in

quality of life are also associated with declining Black trust (Howell & Marshall, 1998).

Mangum (2003) argues that although important, trust is not a factor in the Black voting calculus.

He posits that mistrust provides the need to act, but efficacy is the perceived ability to act. I

argue that trust is efficacious and that social and political trust are products of internal and external political efficacy.

Descriptive representation also plays a role in shaping how voters view their government (Gay, 2002), but can also erode confidence, decrease turnout, and lower efficacy among Whites (Gay, 2001). Black candidates trigger racialized group interest and voting among all Whites (Petrow, 2010). Radcliff and Saiz (1995) found that increases in Black participation, relative to that of Whites, was met with more conservative public policies. Racial prejudice still influences voting, even among Whites who do not outwardly endorse racist attitudes (Payne et al., 2010) and Black candidates still face serious obstacles to getting white support (Schaffner, 2011). Krupnikov and Piston (2015) argue that racial prejudice undermines Black candidates' ability to even obtain White partisan support. Race and racial attitudes were found to be more important in the 2008 election than in any other time in recent history (Hero & Tolbert, 2014; Tesler & Sears, 2010). Pasek et al (2014) found that between 2008 and 2012 levels of prejudice against Blacks increased and reduced President Obama's vote share in 2012. The Obama presidency has been positively associated with a resurgence of old-fashioned racism (OFR). Prior to the election of Obama, OFR sentiments like opposition to interracial dating and belief in Black intellectual inferiority had been decoupled from party preferences (Sears, Van Laar, Carrillo, & Kosterman, 1997; Valentino & Sears, 2005). OFR is now correlated with Whites' 2008 vote intention, their 2009-2011 partisanship, and their 2010 congressional vote choice (Tesler, 2012).

The Supreme Court's invalidation of Section 5 or the preclearance provision of the Voting Rights Act has eliminated an important tool in ensuring descriptive representation (Shah, Marschall, & Ruhil, 2013). This is important because even with the Section 5 protections, Hajnal (2009) found that the majority of all Black voters end up on the losing side in presidential, Senate, gubernatorial, and mayoral elections. The mayoral losses occur in cities where Blacks are a much larger share of the electorate (27%) than the national average (13%) (Z. L. Hajnal, 2009). Forty-one percent of Black voters are what Hajnal (2009) calls super-losers, meaning they pick the losing candidates in federal, state, and local elections as compared to only 9% of Whites.

Fraga (2016a) suggests that African American turnout is not correlated with descriptive representation. He argues that Black participation is positively correlated with the Black population size within a given district. Brace, Handley, Niemi, and Stanley's (1995) find evidence that turnout can be affected by the type of district minority voters find themselves in. Weber, Tucker, and Brace (1991) found that reapportionment contributed to a decline in turnout. Hayes and McKee (2012) argue that redistricting also decreases turnout and the effect is amplified for Blacks as the population size increases. Fraga (2016b) argues that Blacks turnout more in majority Black districts with Black candidates. Swain (1993) agrees positing that over packing districts with Blacks depresses turnout. Brace, Grofman, Handley, and Niemi (1988) found that packing Blacks into supermajority districts should be avoided and Cameron, Epstein and O'Halloran (1996) posit that outside the South, Blacks should be distributed equally between districts. Tate (1991) argues that the political environment and group-based political resources have a strong effect on Black participation. Black churches have been found to help in building

social capital which is correlated with increased African American participation (Liu, Sharon D. Wright Austin, & Orey, 2009).

Blacks have been found to vote more in elections where they have a higher probability of success (Coveyou & Pfeiffer, 1973), probability being a variable in the voting calculus and a function of efficacy. Form and Huber (1971) found that Blacks in general do not believe they can influence government, which is inefficacious and also associated with decreased turnout. They argue that participation was a precursor for autonomy and autonomy produces efficacy. Since Blacks have limited access to political and institutional resources, the results are lower levels of efficacy and turnout (Form & Huber, 1971). Fowler (2013) found that after the 2008 presidential election, Black Republicans, Independents, and Democrats saw increases in political efficacy. Political efficacy is strongly correlated with political participation, an individual's general psychological orientation, and the political environment within which one operates (Pierce & Carey Jr, 1971). Individuals either interact with the government from the position of the subject or the participant. Subjects are oriented towards outcomes and not inputs and participants are oriented towards both inputs and outputs. Efficacy is the degree to which one feels their participation is an effective input. A study of Blacks in New Orleans found that as efficacy decreased individual orientations moved from inputs (voting and participation) to outputs (Pierce & Carey Jr, 1971).

The political reality model assumes that political leaders treat Blacks less favorably than Whites and that Blacks are denied political power, thus lower levels of efficacy among Blacks is due to the political reality that African Americans are disadvantaged (Howell & Fagan, 1988). McPherson (1977) found that Black voters had higher levels of efficacy and self-esteem than nonvoters. Mangum (2003) and Dawson (1995) find argue that Blacks understand their

disadvantaged position and participate based on group efficacy. Blacks vote when they believe their group can effect change. My contribution looks to expand our understanding of how efficacy affects Black voting behavior and more specifically how internal and external efficacy are associated with the voting calculus.

Abramson and Claggett (1984) posit that institutional constraints clearly impeded Black turnout, but after controlling for region, education, and socioeconomic status Blacks were still found to be less likely to vote than Whites. Salamon and Van Evera (1973) posit that something besides legal barriers to voting is keeping African Americans from running for office and turning out. They tested fear, apathy, and discrimination as causes for the lower rates of participation and found that fear accounted for 70% of the variation in Black turnout rates (Salamon & Van Evera, 1973). The probability of this result happening by chance was so small it could not be computed. Apathy accounted for 23% of the variance and discrimination was found to be uncorrelated with turnout (Salamon & Van Evera, 1973). The National Urban League found that institutional impediments were primarily responsible for the lower participation rates of Blacks and Whites (Walton, 1985). As the result of the low-cost/low-benefit nature of voting, small changes in the cost/benefit structure have significant influence on participation. If something like rain can reduce turnout, then predacious institutional relationships most definitely will have negative effects on turnout as well. This is important because a “failure to participate has consequences, as those who fail to take part, in effect, cede influence over political matters to those who do” (McCluskey et al., 2004, p.438). Walton (1985) found that “...the distribution of goods and services and scarce resources are made on the basis of race or sometimes such variables as equality. Racial participation in the distribution system is specified to ensure a fair

distribution of goods and services” (p.29-30). White legislators of both parties exhibit similar levels of discrimination towards Black constituents (Butler & Broockman, 2011).

A rational model applied to subgroups, rather than the entire population, can explain why voter participation remains stable even if at lower levels (Matsusaka & Palda, 1999). Matsusaka and Palda (1999) find that the difficulty of explaining turnout arises from the omission of time-varying variables. Seventy percent of the inability to predict participation comes from non-stationary variables (Matsusaka & Palda, 1999). If the decision to vote is generally made at the margins, turnout will be sensitive to small variations over time. Because small variations are hard to measure, participation rates may appear random. These variations may be the result of collective violence. Collective violence is applied in covert, subtle, and ongoing ways and should be included in the costs associated with voting. These variations over time are manifested in the systemic disparities seen in numerous aspects of Black American life. These unnatural inequalities should be included in the black calculus of voting, linking turnout to individual attitudes, social norms, culture, etc. A rational approach supports the theory that the *political environment* and *psychological motivation* are strong predictors of participation (Edlin et al., 2007). The latter will be investigated in the following chapter. I argue that predacious regimes can effectively increase the costs and decrease efficacy for a specific group of people within a particular political environment to a point where those citizens become less likely to turnout. Given the persistence of racialized voting and representation it is even more important that we fully investigate the Black voting calculus.

I have argued that for Blacks living in high costs areas the voting calculus is different. For example, Ferguson, Missouri is 70% Black and has been for over 15 years. Yet prior to the protest following the murder of Michael Brown, the mayor, the entire court system, 50 of the 54

police officers, and 5 of 6 city council members were White. In March 2015, Ferguson held municipal elections (an off-year election) and had a record turnout (30%), at three times the rate of its last municipal election⁴⁷. Ferguson voters elected two additional Black city council members bringing the total to three⁴⁸. I suggest that it took the murder of Michael Brown and the ensuing civil unrest, national media attention, and a Department of Justice (DOJ) (2015) investigation to alter the Black calculus of voting. Ferguson is a prime example of the dangers of institutional predation. If unchecked the predacious application of collective violence can lead to the de jure and de facto disenfranchisement specific group of people, even if that group of people is the numerical super majority. For over 15 years, 50 cops and a small number of elected and appointed officials were able to increase the *Black Tax* to a level where political power could be effectively consolidated into the hands of the White minority (30%).

The Ferguson Police Department (FPD) was found to engage in unconstitutional stops and arrests (DOJ, 2015). The FPD frequently detained people without reasonable suspicion and arrested citizens without probable cause (DOJ, 2015). There was a pattern of *First Amendment* violations and a myriad of arrests for protected activities such as verbally countering officers, recording police activities, and protesting perceived injustices (DOJ, 2015). Excessive force was administered in a retaliatory and punitive manner toward Blacks. Their use of electronic control weapons and police canines was found to be unreasonable and unlawful at times (DOJ, 2015). The FPD created a separate Ferguson for its Black residents. This separate political environment has ramifications for those that experience predacious carceral contact, either personal or

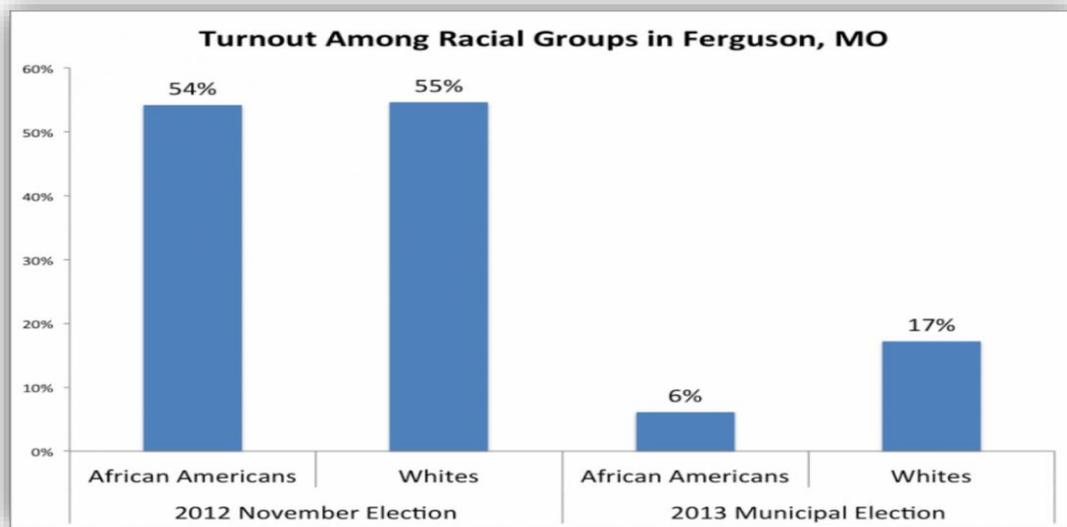
⁴⁷ http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/08/us/ferguson-adds-Blacks-to-city-council-but-rejects-activist-candidates.html?_r=0

⁴⁸ *ibid*

familial, because it has adverse effects on the political socialization process, the development of political efficacy, and ultimately participation.

A Monkey Cage / Washington Post article supports this argument. Schaffner, Van Erve, and LaRaja's⁴⁹ data on voting patterns in Ferguson accurately reflects the level and degree of predation Black voters experienced and supports a rational choice approach in that Black voters' were able to distinguish between two different levels of governance. Despite the federal government's active oppression of Blacks throughout much of America's history, during the 60's and 70's it actively enforced Black civil liberties and rights. These actions contribute greatly to Blacks' perceiving that the federal government is more trustworthy than state and local governments (Nunnally, 2012). Generally speaking, voters feel more efficacious with respect to their local government than to the national government (Almond & Verba, 2015).

Figure 3⁵⁰ Turnout in Ferguson Missouri

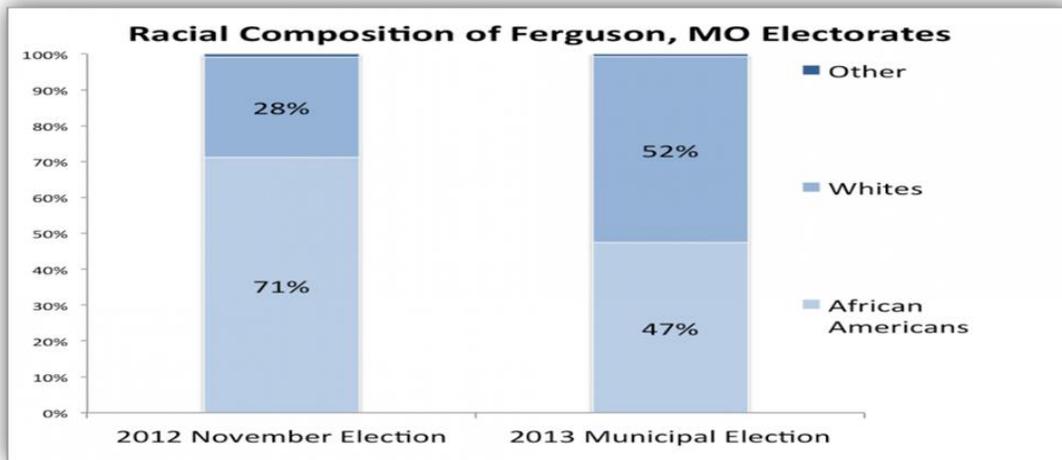


⁴⁹ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/15/how-ferguson-exposes-the-racial-bias-in-local-elections/>

⁵⁰ *ibid*

Whites and Blacks in Ferguson were shown to have had drastically different voting patterns when it came to federal versus local elections. It must be stated that Obama was on the ballot in 2012 and that there are documented patterns of lower rates of overall participation down ballot and during midterm years (Augenblick & Nicholson, 2016; Cassel & Hill, 1981; Herrnson, Taylor, & Curry, 2015; Tufte, 1975). Nevertheless, as the data shows, Whites also experienced lower turnout in the 2013 municipal election, but Whites were a much larger percent of the voters in these elections (52%) as compared to the presidential election (28%). Whites were three times more likely than Blacks to vote in municipal elections. I find that it was rational for Whites to vote in higher rates in Ferguson’s municipal election as opposed to the presidential election. This supports the theory that voting is election specific and secondly, the political environment matters.

Figure 4⁵¹ Turnout by Race in Ferguson Missouri



⁵¹ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/15/how-ferguson-exposes-the-racial-bias-in-local-elections/>

The Black participation rates, in Ferguson, dropping from 71% nationally to 47% municipally. This was a 24-point swing in the direction of White voters. I postulate that this is anecdotal evidence of the differences in the voting calculus of Blacks compared to Whites. The electoral results in Ferguson establishes that Black voters can accurately assess their relationship to specific political regimes (federal, state, and local). Blacks, trusting the federal government more, participated at a much higher rate (54%) in the federal election. White voter turnout, nationally, was at 55%. Yet Black engagement in the 2013 municipal election dropped to 6%, leading to a 48-point drop in the Black participation rate. Black voter turnout decreased from 71% of the vote in 2012, reflective of the population, to 47% of the vote in 2013. Blacks essentially abdicated the municipal election to White voters. I argue that the municipal government's predacious regime had affected the Black political socialization process and the development of political efficacy, significantly reducing confidence in local government and in the belief that they could effect change in the system.

Political socialization can be understood very narrowly as in high school civics classes or very broadly as in all political knowledge or collective memory (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). Political socialization refers to one's introduction into *political culture* and one's perceived capacity to change it (Marvick, 1965). Tam Cho, Gimpel and Dyck (2006) found that the instrument for encouraging participation was the political socialization process. Political socialization is the political process that ensures stability and maintenance of the status quo (Hooghe, 2004). Political socialization creates and aids in the maintenance of social identities (Quintelier, 2015). It occurs through socializing agents including family, schools, peers, and the media (Warren & Wicks, 2011). The *family is very important in the socialization process* (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977; Pacheco, 2008). Parents are the primary agents because of the ample

amount of time spent with their children. However, over protective parenting leads to *political distrust and disaffection* (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977).

Campbell (1979) found that socializing agents—father, mother, peer group, and school⁵²—constitute the basic determinants of one’s level of political trust (or internal political efficacy) (Broh, 1981). Nunnally (2012) found that “with respect to the behavior of American political institutions and (White) actors, we also see evidence of how distrust was institutionalized and normalized among Black Americans” (p.9). The people in an *individual’s network* have a profound effect on political socialization and political efficacy. Pacheco (2008) found that family socialization significantly impacts participation. McClusky, Deshpande, Shah, and McLeod (2004) find that *community integration* was also an important factor in evaluating political efficacy and a substantial contributor to the efficacy gap. The political environment matters when conveying the necessity and importance of participation (Pacheco, 2008). The political environment itself has a socializing effect that can either encourage or discourage participation (Cho et al., 2006). The *political community, regime, and the authorities* all influence political efficacy. A sense of social connectedness is linked to a greater frequency of participation (Miller, 1992). With residential segregation and higher levels of aggressive policing in poor minority neighborhoods, it is understandable why some Blacks would feel disaffected. Ethnicity is the *strongest predictor* of one’s socialization process (Greeley, 1975). In the context of the U.S. racialized socialization plays a large role in preparing African-American children to deal with their social environment (V. L. S. Thompson, 1994). Thorntan et al, (1990) and Walton (1985) found that Black socialization occurs within the broader national political socialization process.

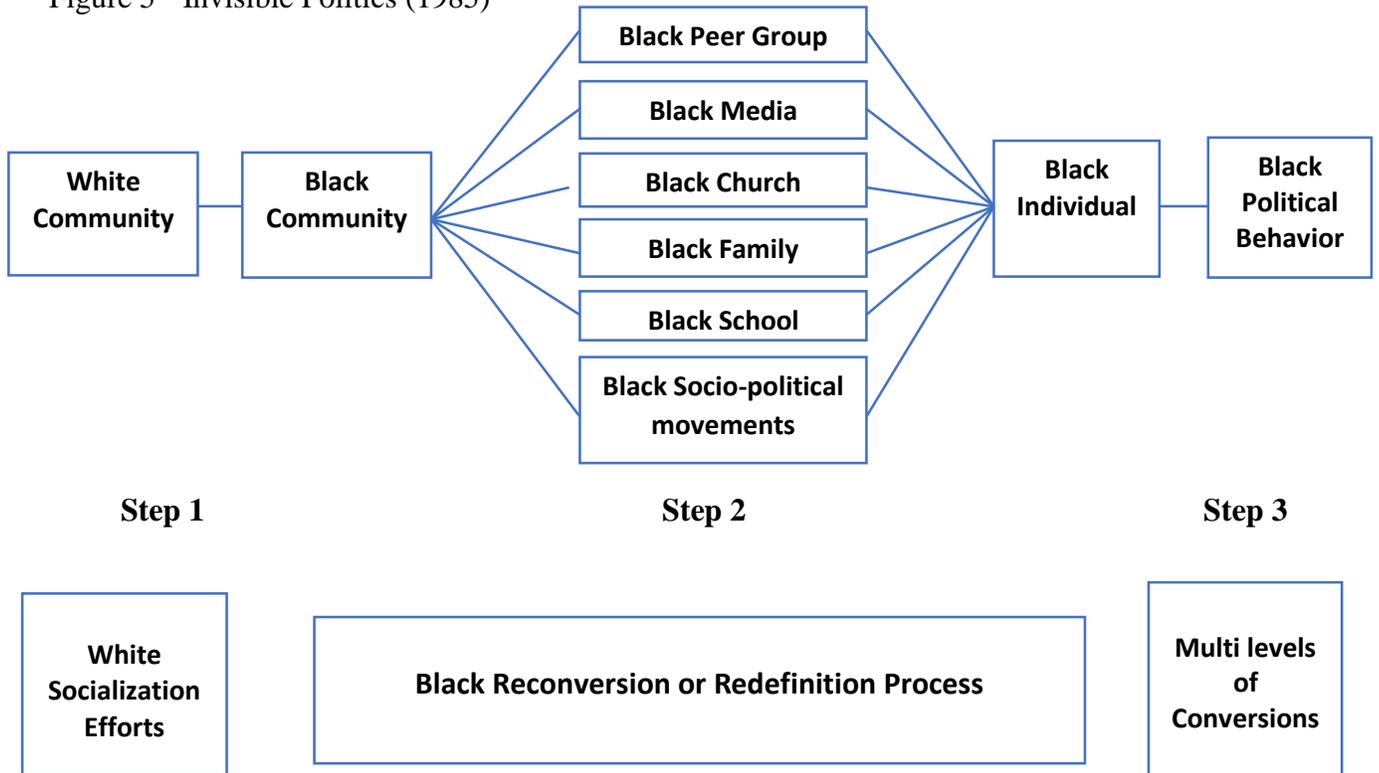
⁵² One’s network

Black political socialization cannot be equated with national political socialization. Black parents teach their children about race through a specialized racial socialization process (Nunnally, 2012). Walton (1985) found that the Black political socialization process includes resocialization and counter socialization. The national socialization process is constantly seeking to exhort Blacks into accepting its construct of acceptable Blackness. Booker T. Washington (1986) wrote in 1900, “No White American ever thinks that any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the White man’s clothes, eats the White man’s food, speaks the White man’s language, and professes the White man’s religion” (p.50). The Black resocialization and counter socialization process is trying to reorganize this into something beneficial to the Black community. The Black Lives Matter, AFROPUNK, Afrocentrism, Natural Hair, Black Girl Magic, and Melanin movements are examples of counter socialization. The issue here is that the state constructs identities and then enforces acceptance via the legal power of institutions (Walton, 1985). Black socialization occurs within the nexus of these internal and external forces.

Black parents are thought to be preparing their children to see race as the primary variable in their socialization process (Thornton et al., 1990). Black political socialization includes increased levels of political alienation which has created cynical and militant views toward the state. Black parents who anticipate their child will grow up in racially hostile environment teach them to be comfortable in their Blackness (Thornton et al., 1990). In short Black parents are creating *African Americans* through the racialized political socialization process. This practice is deeply imbedded within the Black political experience and is an essential part of *Black political culture*. The norms about race are learned and are passed down generation to generation,

educating Blacks as to the social and political realities of race (Nunnally, 2012). This occurs separately from mainstream *White political culture*.

Figure 5⁵³ Invisible Politics (1985)

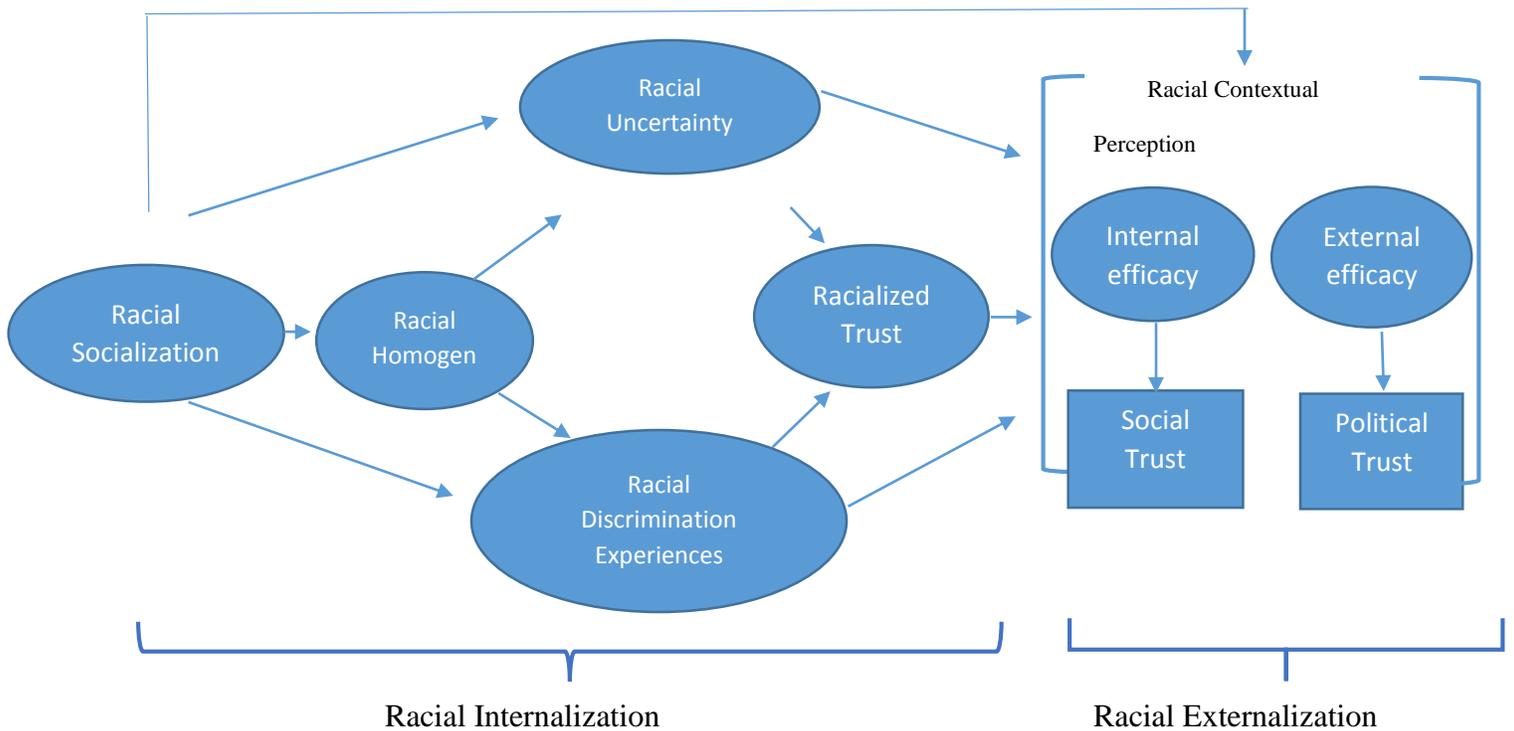


This process also impacts the development of Black political efficacy. Nunnally (2012) posits that “...where people are situated in this [racial] hierarchy (Whites and non-Whites) affects how they perceive this racialized trust calculus” (Nunnally, 2012, p.6). Trust being a belief about persons, institutions, and context that stems from assessments about outcomes. Racial experiences inform and reduce Blacks’ trust in the American political system and its institutions. This adapted process leads to a race-centered political culture. One’s political

⁵³ Hanes Walton, Jr. (1985) p. 52

culture emphasizes *psychological* and *systematic* factors. Walton (1985) posits that "...to see [Black] culture, one must first assume it exists". He goes on to say that Black political culture can clearly be seen as impacting Black political efficacy (Walton, 1985). Blacks relate very differently to the political system and have a far greater sense of alienation and political futility than Whites. These two factors are functions of political efficacy. The political-reality explanation posited by Abramson (1977) suggests these racial differences are a product of the disparity between the political regimes Blacks and Whites live under. A theory of discriminative racial-psychological processing suggests that historical and contemporary racial experiences have created and are prompting African Americans to distrust government (Abramson, 1977). So for African Americans skepticism is the basis of their relationship to government and its institutions (Nunnally, 2012). Below I have adapted the theory of discriminative racial-psychological processing to fit my participation model. I simply exchange internal and external political efficacy for interracial and intraracial trust. This creates a map that aids us in visualizing the racial socialization process and the development of trust.

Figure 6⁵⁴ Trust in Black America



Nunnally (2012) argues that racial socialization, homogenization, uncertainty, discrimination, and the racial-contextual perception all impact Black trust. A deleterious socialization process produces feelings of alienation which have social and psychological consequences (Jackson, 1973). (I will discuss the psychological consequences of carceral contact in detail in the next chapter.) Alienation produces feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement, which are hallmarks of low political efficacy (Jackson, 1973). It is within the political socialization process that a person's *political efficacy is developed*. Cassel and Luskin (1988) found that low political efficacy contributes to lower voter turnout. A large efficacy gap is negatively associated with *collaborative forms of participation*. Voting is a collaborative form of participation (McCluskey et al., 2004). The influence the political socialization process has

⁵⁴ Nunnally (2012)

on the development of political efficacy is most pronounced in countries where the political parties are most distinct (Ikeda, Hoshimoto, & Kobayashi, 2008). This is important because when actual political efficacy does not match expectations people will move toward more individual forms of political participation (McCluskey et al., 2004). Political trust is confidence in government, political actors, and institutions. Social trust is generalized trust or the extent to which we trust others –strangers-- based on our immediate knowledge. This type of trust is akin to Putnam's (2000) social capital. Social and political trust, I argue, are synonymous with internal and external political efficacy. Internal efficacy involves the history and knowledge of current conditions and external efficacy is based on trust in government which is the equivalent of political trust (Hope, 2016; B. J. Kim, 2015; Merolla et al., 2013; Pennington, Winfrey, Warner, & Kearney, 2015; Williamson & Scicchitano, 2015). This makes the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy important variables in the voting calculus. To support my larger hypothesis that predation can affect participation, I make two (2) theoretical assumptions about the voting calculus, political efficacy, and Black participation.

Assumption one. I postulate that external and internal political efficacy and institutional trust are all directly related to the D term in the calculus of voting (Merolla et al., 2013; Niemi, Craig, & Mattei, 1991). The D term is the most important variable in the calculus of voting (Aldrich, 1993). I chose to focus the D term because it is institutionally based, like efficacy and trust in government. Feeling a sense of civic duty suggests that one votes out of a sense of social obligation, even if alternative outcomes yield identical benefits (Fowler, 2006).

Political efficacy is the belief that a person can influence the social system (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954) and is used to predict various forms of civic participation (Williamson & Scicchitano, 2015; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Carpini, 2006). It consists of knowledge

paradigms that [re]create the perceived degree of control one exerts over their everyday life (Hope, 2016; Vecchione & Caprara, 2009). Political efficacy has been positively associated with participation, especially for Blacks (Abramson, 1983; A. Campbell et al., 1960; Clarke & Acock, 1989; Hope, 2016; McPherson, 1977; Merolla et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2015; Williamson & Scicchitano, 2015). When political efficacy is low, there is a total withdrawal from conventional politics (Shingles, 1981). It consists of two related but distinguishable concepts. External efficacy refers to citizens' perceptions of the how responsive the political system is to their demands and internal efficacy refers to an individuals' perceived ability to understand and participate effectively in politics (Craig, Niemi, & Silver, 1990; Morrell, 2005). Is the system responsive to my petitions and if not can I effectively interact with it to have my petitions addressed? If not, efficacy decreases and trust in the system is eroded.

Trust is a disputed term in political science but there is a minimal consensus about its meaning. Trust is relational and involves an individual making herself vulnerable to another, a group, or institution that has the capacity to do her harm. The connection between trust and political participation has produced many hypotheses and involves complex interactions and contingencies (Levi & Stoker, 2000). Most notably, Miller (1980) and Rosenstone and Hanson (1993) found no causal link between trust and voting. In some cases, distrust has been found to encourage various forms of participation (Levi & Stoker, 2000). Yet, an analysis of National Election Study data found that in no election did distrustful citizens vote at a rate that was higher than the trustful (Levi & Stoker, 2000). In a study of presidential elections from 1968 to 1996, Hetherington (1999), found that declining trust impacts vote choice and that distrustful voters view institutions and institutional alternatives as inept. Declining trust is a powerful cause of dissatisfaction and a great institutional impediment (Hetherington, 1998). Having trust of

government and its institutions is a precondition for political efficacy (Lees-Marshment, 2009). Some studies have examined the intersection of efficacy and trust on political participation but they did not control adequately for the various other determinants linked to participation (Fraser, 1970; Hawkins, Marando, & Taylor, 1971). These scholars look at trust and its connection to voting but do not factor in that predation is quotidian in nature. One incident of corruption could spawn distrust and increase turnout in a specific election but years of unjust treatment and marginalization creates institutional distrust that becomes embedded in the socialization process.

In cities like Ferguson, where Whites dominate politics and where the governmental institutions are widely distrusted the D term would be significantly lower for Blacks. African Americans living under predation would not feel efficacious towards nor trust governmental institutions and, therefore would also not feel a sense of duty to participate. Blacks living under predation know it and choose not to engage in their own marginalization. This would help explain why Black participation was so low in Ferguson's municipal election compared to the national election.

I argue that a sense of duty can only be fostered if a citizen feels obligated or beholden to a political institution and one will only feel obligated or beholden to a political institution if one feels efficacious and trusts said institution. For that to occur, a citizen must have knowledge that the government is doing and has done things to help, aid, benefit, etc. their social group. With a history of government supported colonization, slavery, segregation, medical experimentation, murder, rape, exploitation, assassinations, surveillance, civil and voting rights violations, the contemporary reality of wrongful arrest and prosecutions, extralegal killings, and mass incarceration, there is a long list of reasons why Blacks would not see themselves as being beholden to U.S. institutions (Diemer, 2012). The basis for internal and external political

efficacy is the belief that one can have an impact upon the political process, but research has found that Blacks are less likely to participate due to the knowledge of being politically disenfranchised (Diemer, 2012; Verba, Schlozman, Brady, & Brady, 1995; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Kahne and Westheimer (2006) found that people of color have reduced levels of political efficacy as a result of the unresponsiveness of government and elected officials to their concerns. Blacks specifically have been found to view government as unresponsive and unreliable when it comes to Black issues (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006). Studies of racial groups find that Black youths unquestionably feel less able to influence political figures (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). Sears (1969) found that elected officials are considerably less trusted by Blacks. Democrats and Republicans both have been shown to be unresponsive to Black issues and Black constituents (Butler & Broockman, 2011). Over time, Black issues have remained unaddressed and racial disparities remain distressingly high. The inability of elected officials to address any of these disparities has created a belief that conventional government institutions cannot be trusted to resolve Black issues. The creation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, NAACP, National Urban League, SYNCC, The Black Panthers, Nation of Islam, National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), The Divine Nine, and other Black organizations are indicative of the understanding that government officials and traditional political avenues are unable or unwilling to address Black interests. Also, African Americans have had more negative outcomes and broken promises stemming from governmental contact than Whites. I argue that Black voters feel less assured that their vote will matter because governmental institutions and elected officials are not politically responsive to African Americans. While the ideological claim that Blacks prefer Democrats to Republicans is true, ideologically African Americans are just as

liberal as they are conservative. The attachment to the Democratic Party is historical. Gallop polls (2008) have found that Blacks are as conservative as Republicans on some moral issues⁵⁵. Seventy percent of Blacks supported California's Proposition 8 which eliminated for same sex couples to marry⁵⁶. Blacks are the most religious, least accepting of change, and the most socially conservative on premarital sex and home schooling⁵⁷.

This ideological inconsistency also manifests itself when you ask Blacks why they vote Democrat. Blacks often make reference to the New Deal and Civil Rights policies (Walton, 1985) and more recently because of the perceived racism espoused by Republicans and Donald Trump. During the Civil Rights Movement, the negative contact points were local. State and local authorities are the political regimes applying and overseeing the application of collective violence against Blacks. The only recourse for this type of marginalization has been federal action, hence the reference to federal policies and national movements. Yet on the federal level, Blacks are still choosing between various White men and familiar Black candidates in majority minority districts. Famed political scientist Hanes Walton, Jr. (1985) posited that "...Blacks have had to choose between the lesser of two evils. In short, Black support for the Democratic party would be significant only if both parties were equally responsive" (p.82). One would have to assume that Blacks are completely ignorant of their social condition to suggest that African Americans would feel as confident as Whites about their ability to affect government or anticipate a significant difference between two traditional candidates.

⁵⁵ <http://www.gallup.com/poll/112807/Blacks-conservative-republicans-some-moral-issues.aspx>

⁵⁶ <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/erbe/2008/11/07/Blacks-are-more-socially-conservative-than-barack-obama>

⁵⁷ http://www.theroot.com/articles/politics/2014/08/social_conservatism_is_gop_s_key_to_winning_Black_support/

Blacks are at a disadvantage when we assess law enforcement because Blacks' experiences with the institution have largely been negative. Historically, law enforcement agencies have treated Blacks with violence, disdain, disrespect, and hatred (Markowitz & Jones-Brown, 2000; McGuire, 2011; Muhammad, 2010; Mustard, 2003; Peffley & Hurwitz, 2010; Reasons & Kuykendall, 1972; Rosen, 2009). The Black community continuously rates law-enforcement performance lower than Whites. Statistically 18.6% of Blacks rated the services inadequate as compared to 7.6% of Whites (M. J. Lynch & Patterson, 1991). Blacks have been politically socialized to have antagonism toward police (Sears, 1975). Criminal justice policies help reproduce the notion that Blacks are still second class citizens and create a separate yet simultaneous political environment for Blacks. Children that personally viewed their parents arrest had negative views of police and reported lower levels political efficacy (Gable and Johnston, 1995). The racial and geographical concentration of mass incarceration reinforces these negative effects within Black communities.

Assumption Two. Blacks living in a predacious environment have a considerably different voting calculus, primarily due to the additional social and psychological costs associated with being Black. I hypothesize that the Black voting calculus is arranged as such: $C = P(B) - D + R$. The very nature of predation precipitates that the cost, not the reward, is central to Black participation. If the costs (C) associated with voting are negative or at zero, Blacks living under predatory political regimes will participate. Under a predatory political regime, their costs that exist for Blacks do not exist for Whites, as is evident in the DOJ (2015; 2016) reports on the Ferguson and Baltimore Police Departments. As previously mentioned, it is most important to understand that these racial costs are quotidian in nature. Nunnally (2012) posits that "race has an all-encompassing effect on people's lives" (p.15). Racial costs do not occur only during

election cycles. The *Black Tax* is paid daily. Marginalization is an ongoing process. These racial costs incorporate all the negative externalities that come from Blacks' relationship to institutions, which includes individual, economic, social, familiar, biological, and psychological outcomes. These outcomes are exacerbated when Blacks come into contact with predatory institutions, like the FPD or BPD.

These racial costs are evident in Ferguson and Baltimore. In Ferguson, Blacks were 2.07 times more likely to be pulled over, comprised 85% of all traffic stops, were more likely to receive multiple citations, and comprised 88% of all recorded uses of force (DOJ, 2015). Blacks made up 95% of all jaywalking charges, such that committing the act of walking could add significant costs to one's life (DOJ, 2015). To put this into perspective I ask the question: Do you know anyone who has received a ticket for or has been arrested for jaywalking? In Baltimore, the police generally stop Blacks at three times the rate of Whites, but Whites were actually twice as likely to have contraband on them (DOJ, 2016). Blacks made up 95% of the people stopped at least 10 times within a five-and-a-half-year span. Seven Black men were stopped more than 30 times respectively over the same time period and 44% of these stops took place within two small African American neighborhoods containing only 11% of the city's population; this is an example of *geographically and racially concentrated predation*. In Baltimore, Blacks make up the bulk of highly discretionary offenses such as failure to obey (91%), trespassing (91%), making a false statement to an officer (89%), and disorderly conduct (84%). City prosecutors rejected over 11,000 of these charges for lack of probable cause and evidence (DOJ, 2016). The report found patterns and practices of excessive force which resulted from the "...BPD's training and guidance" (institutional predation) (p.8). The BPD also engaged in unconstitutional and dehumanizing *pre-arrest* public strip searches. One Black woman, was

pulled over for a missing headlight. Her shirt was pulled up and her breast searched. Next, her pants were lowered and her anal cavity was searched. This all occurred on a sidewalk in public view. (DOJ, 2016). I argue that having personal and familial contact of this kind and the witnessing (the political environment) of said contact increases the likelihood that one will not vote.

To suggest that the reward (R) is the determining factor for Blacks is to ignore past historical wrongs and the systematic injustices and unnatural inequalities we see in contemporary America. Whites stand to benefit more from the political system than do Blacks, because the vast majority of Whites are contract citizens. Therefore, having a reward based voting calculus for Whites would be accurate. Having a Republican or Democrat in office does not significantly affect the individual lives of the vast majority of Whites. For Blacks, since 1960, regardless of the party in power or the level of governance racial disparities have persisted and specifically the incarceration rates for Black men and women has continued to increase (Pew, 2013). Black men go to prison at six times the rate of White men and these numbers have remained constant despite which political party is in control. It was not until *after* the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts did the ability to vote unencumbered even exist for Blacks. Cost, as in literal monetary (poll) taxes and physical intimidation have always been a factor in the Black voting calculus. The ability to vote unmolested did have a positive effect on Black participation rates but it also unleashed a cultural backlash of aggressive law and order rhetoric, a politics of disgust concerning welfare receipt, and a call to return to individual, not systemic, causes of ones' social position (M. Alexander, 2012; Hancock, 2004; Harris-Perry, 2011).

In using the original calculus to represent Black turnout, one is essentially saying Blacks do not adequately comprehend the importance of voting. This would make sense if backs did not

suffer greatly for the right to vote without the threat of harm. Obviously African Americans understood the benefits of participation. If by reward one means the passing policies that direct resources and opportunities toward African Americans, this would also be an inaccurate thesis. Group benefits can increase ones' personal utility but without passage of Black-specific-policies it is less likely that African Americans would participate based primarily on reward. Using the traditional calculus one is basically saying that Blacks, unlike Whites, do not or are not capable of recognizing the immense value in and importance of voting. A reward based calculus suggests that lower turnout is entirely a Black problem and the political environment is inconsequential. This is the participation theory version of blaming the victim. This approach to Black participation totally negates the current and historical factors that impact the daily lives of Blacks people.

Shingles (1981) found that traditionally there has been lower Black turnout in the South but there has also been a steady decline in participation since the zenith of 1964. In the 2008 election, the number of votes cast broke records but not the Black voter turnout rate (Pettit, 2012) and Black Democrats did not experience an increase in politically efficacy relative to White Democrats (Merolla et al., 2013). Pettit (2012) found that the reported sustained increases in Black participation rates were a myth. Young Black men still do not vote as often as young White men (Pettit, 2012). Shingles (1981) also found four factors that traditionally have discouraged Black participation: economic and physical intimidation, fraud and illegal tactics, inability to see the relationship between social and economic problems and voting, and the fact that the most visible form of government for Blacks are welfare workers (the welfare state) and police (the carceral state)—both institutions of social control. The DOJ (2015; 2016) reports on

the Ferguson and Baltimore police departments clearly showed how these institutions were contributing to each of the four factors contributing to lower Black participation rates.

I argue that Black participation and the development of political efficacy is negatively affected by carceral contact. In 2015, after the nationally televised civil protests, Ferguson held a municipal election and turnout tripled. Why did turnout increase? I suggest that the political and social environment changed. After the murder of Mike Brown, the resulting civil unrest, political protests, and the DOJ investigation, the Black voting calculus changed. The costs, now nationally visible, decreased and efficacious feelings increased leading to a rise in Black turnout. These abovementioned factors combined and overcame the costs associated with predation in Ferguson. In the section below I will set forth the theory that carceral contact, personal or familiar, decreases the likelihood that one will participate in the voting process.

3.4 Methods

Based on the above theoretical argument I will use the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY97) 1997 and ICPSR National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), 1994-2008 [Public Use] to test three hypotheses:

Carceral Contact Hypothesis: Contact with the carceral state (arrest, jail, and probation) has a negative effect on voter participation.

Familial Contact Hypothesis: Familial contact with the carceral state or having a parent or spouse, relative or non-relative who is or has been incarcerated reduces a respondent's likelihood of voter turnout.

Political Efficacy Hypothesis: Contact with the carceral state has a negative effect on interest in government and public affairs and trust in government.

The NLSY97 is a longitudinal study that follows a sample of American youth born between 1980 and 1984. There are a total of 8,984 respondents of which there are 4,599 men, 4,385 women, 2,335 Blacks, and 4,665 Whites. To date they have been surveyed 16 times (NLSY97, 2015). When asked about voting, 62 percent of Blacks and 57 percent of Whites said they voted or usually voted. This is consistent with the literature suggesting that African Americans over report turnout (Abramson & Claggett, 1984; Button, 1993). Respondent in the sample who reported being arrested were asked if they had been sentenced to spend time in a corrections institution and of those asked 81 percent of Blacks compared to 65 percent of Whites answered yes. When respondents were asked if they had a relative jailed in the past 5 years, 28 percent of Whites and 50 percent of Blacks replied in the affirmative. These descriptive statistics are consistent with a national Black-White incarceration disparity of 5 to 1 (Sentencing Project, 2016) and the Department of Justice reports detailing how extremely aggressive and exploitive criminal justice practices are concentrated in Black communities (DOJ, 2015; 2016; 2017).

The Add Health survey is also a longitudinal study of respondents' social, economic, psychological, and physical well-being including contextual data which provides me the opportunity to examine how social environments are linked to behavioral outcomes (Harris & Udry, 2016). The Add Health public use sample contains 4,882 respondents consisting of 2,253 men, 2,626 women, 1,213 Blacks and 3,181 Whites. When asked if they had voted in the last presidential election, 53 percent of Black respondents replied yes compared to 45 percent of Whites. Again this is consistent with research on African American over-reporting (Abramson & Claggett, 1984; Button, 1993). The Add Health data also shows that Blacks have a 109

percent greater chance of being stopped or detained by police 4 to 5 times and a 104 percent greater chance of being stopped or detained 6 or more times. Of the respondents who had been stopped or detained, 60 percent of Blacks had been arrested compared to 54 percent of Whites. These statistics are in line with the research detailing how the criminal justice system is geographically and racially concentrated in poor African American communities and is more punitive when dealing with Blacks compared to Whites (Travis et al., 2014).

National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16)

Control Variables. The outcome variable *Vote* is a dichotomous variable measuring if the respondents voted in 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010. Respondents who answered that they could not vote were marked as missing. Those who responded they voted or usually voted were marked as 1 (voted), and those who responded they did not vote were marked as 0 (did not vote). I created a separate dichotomous variable for respondents who responded that they were ineligible to vote (*Not_Eligible*). In total 1,112 respondents reported being ineligible including 308 Blacks and 378 Whites. The second outcome variable used is *Disinterest*. Respondents were asked if they follow what's going on in government and public affairs: (1) most of the time, (2) some of the time, (3) only now and then, or (4) hardly at all. High levels of interest in government is positively associated with efficacy and turnout (Abramson & Aldrich, 1982; Cassel & Hill, 1981; Leighley & Nagler, 1992).

The literature on turnout supports controlling for individual characteristics (A. Campbell et al., 1960; A. Campbell et al., 1966; Tate, 1991; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). *Gender* controls a respondent's interviewer-identified gender: male (1) or female (0). Women have been found to vote at higher rates than men. *Race* includes (0) Whites, (1) Blacks, (2) Hispanics,

and (3) mixed-race. I created separate dichotomous variables for *Black* and *White*. *Education* is measured by the highest grade completed prior to the start of the next year's academic school year. Education level is associated with increased rates of voter participation (Leighley & Nagler, 1992). Employment (a proxy for income) is measured in the total number of weeks worked (*Weeks Worked*) at any employment-type job since the last interview. Employment is positively associated with voting (Leighley & Nagler, 1992). *Gross family income* is measured in increments of 1,000 from \$1.00 to over \$200,000. Age of the respondent is controlled for by the respondent's year of birth (*birthday Year*). Older people are found to vote more regularly than younger individuals (Miller, & Stokes, 1966; Cavanagh, 1981).

A respondent's geographic location as it pertains to urban (1) and rural (0) is controlled for with the dichotomous variable *Urban*. The census national region, (1) Northeast, (2) North Central, (3) South, and (4) West, are measured using *Region*. I created a separate dichotomous variable to control for the *South*. Key's (1984) foundation text *Southern Politics in State and Nation* helped create the sub-discipline of southern politics and firmly established that southern states should be controlled for separately in political analysis. The metropolitan statistical area (*MSA*) is measured as (0) not MSA, (1) MSA but not central city, and (2) MSA central city. The variable *Year* was created to control for each individual year (1997 – 2010).

Carceral contact variables measure the institutional influences which comprise the political and social environment respondents find themselves in (A. Campbell et al., 1960; R. S. Erikson, 1981; Z. Hajnal et al., 2017; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). Institutional factors have been found to depress turnout in American elections (Powell Jr, 1986). I control for if a respondent has been *arrested* in a given year. If arrested respondents were asked if they were put on *Probation*. The contact variables arrest and probation were each lagged four years. I did this to

mirror the question on familial incarceration (*Family in Jail*) which asked if any member of the respondent's household has been imprisoned in the last 5 years.

The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), 1994-2008

[Public Use]

Control Variables. The first dependent variable measures turnout. If respondents were 18 or older on November 7, 2000 they were asked if they had voted (*vote*) in the most recent presidential election. The second is a group of outcome variables measuring distrust in federal (*distrust Fed*), state (*distrust State*), and local government (*distrust Local*), respectfully. Respondents were asked to answer how much they agree or disagree with the statement 'I trust the _____ (federal, state, local) government' on a scale of from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Trust in government is associated with higher rates of voter participation and political efficacy (Nunnally, 2012).

I included the standard demographic variables. *Gender* is coded as (1) male or (2) female. Race is controlled for by three dichotomous variables: *Black*, *Hispanic*, and *White*. The Age of the respondents is controlled for by their year of birth (*Birth Year*). *Education* is measured as the highest grade completed starting with the 6th graded and ending in 5 or more years of graduate school. The Add Health starts recording education in the 6th grade because the sample is a nationally representative sample of U.S. adolescents originating in grades 7 through 12 (Harris & Udry, 2016). Income and employment are measured by three separate questions. Household income is measured by *HH Income* from \$10,000 to over \$75,000. The first question asks if the respondent has ever been employed (*Ever Worked*) and the second ask if the respondent is currently working at least 10 hours a week (*Working 10hrs*). This is also because the survey is

of adolescents. Some respondents may have never worked in high school or college. Also there are national and state laws restricting the hours a minor and work-study students can legally work.

The Add Health also allows me to include political variables which are not available in the NLSY97. *Ideology* is measured asking respondents if they consider themselves (1) very conservative, (2) conservative, (3) middle-of-the-road, (4) liberal, or (5) very liberal. Partisanship is measured using a combination of three questions. Respondents were asked if they identify with a political party (*Party ID*)⁵⁸ and with which party they identify with (*Political Party*)⁵⁹. The sample consisted of 1,026 Democrats and 630 Republicans⁶⁰. Carceral contact is measured by the number of times (*Times Stopped*) a respondent reported to have been stopped or detained by police for questioning about their activities excluding minor traffic offenses. The respondents could reply (0) never, (1) 1 time, (2) 2 or 3 times, (3) 4 or 5 times, or (4) 6 or more times. A second contact question asked if the respondent had been *arrested* since they were 18.

3.5 Research Design

Panel data follows a given sample of individuals over time and thus provides multiple observations on each individual in the sample. The analysis of panel data in which attitudes and behaviors are measured over at least two points in time is an improvement over the reliance of previous research on behavioral intentions or some hybrid dependent variable (Hsiao, 2014).

Panel data has become increasingly popular due to its heightened capacity for capturing the

⁵⁸ Dichotomous variable. 1,190 Black and 660 Whites ID with no party (0). 543 Blacks and 1,076 Whites ID with a party (1)

⁵⁹ (1) Democrat, (2) Republican, (3) Reform, (4) Libertarian, (5) Green, (6) Socialist, or (7) Independent party

⁶⁰ 495 Black Democrats, 34 Black Republicans, 456 White Democrats, 562 White Republicans

complexity of human behavior as compared to cross-sectional or time series data. It offers several key advantages. Panel data enable us to model the effects of carceral contact variables measured at one point in time on an individual's self-reported behavior at a later date and it simplifies computation and statistical inference (Hsiao, 2014). The increased number data points improves the efficiency of the estimations producing more accurate predictions for individual outcomes and it controls for the impact of omitted variables allowing me to take into account the possibility of dynamic reciprocal relationships between all the independent variables and participation (Hsiao, 2014).

To test the *Carceral Contact Hypothesis* and *Familial Turnout Hypothesis* I estimate a random effects logistical regression using panel data from the NLSY97. The Hausman test suggests using fixed effects. I chose to use random effects because the variables without variation are important to my analysis and because I am interested in variation between racial groups and not between individuals. The dependent variable is *vote*, it was measured in 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010. Testing the *Carceral Contact Hypothesis* using the Add Health data set, I ran a logit regression using the question asking if a respondent voted in the last presidential election as the dependent variable. I included all the standard control variables the literature on turnout suggest for all models using the NLSY97 and Add Health data sets.

To test the *Political Efficacy Hypothesis*, I also used the NLSY97 and Add Health data sets. Using the NLYS97 panel data I estimated a random effects GLS Regression estimating carceral contact's effect on respondents' interest in government and public affairs. *Disinterest* is measured in 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010. I used the Add Health data set to measure carceral contact's effect on respondent's trust in federal, state, and local government. I estimated OLS regressions using the questions measuring distrust as dependent variables. Testing this

hypothesis, I also included all the standard control variables the literature suggests including for the analysis using the NLSY97 and Add Health data sets.

3.6 Results

Table 1 Carceral contact and Voting NLYS97

Model	(1)	(2)
Random-effects logistic regression	Presidential Vote	Midterm Vote
Arrest	-0.256*** (0.0827)	-0.233** (0.0999)
Black	0.231*** (0.0882)	0.251*** (0.0916)
Hispanic	-0.610*** (0.0861)	-0.522*** (0.100)
Mixed Race	-0.247 (0.328)	-0.258 (0.369)
Race#Arrest	0 (0)	0 (0)
Black#Arrest	-0.0385 (0.150)	-0.168 (0.184)
Hispanic#Arrest	0.236 (0.159)	0.219 (0.191)
Mixed Race#Arrest	-0.00381 (0.887)	0.297 (0.667)
Family in Jail	-0.357*** (0.103)	-0.258** (0.123)
Birthday Year	-0.0726*** (0.0224)	-0.0672*** (0.0246)
Gender	-0.196*** (0.0636)	-0.190*** (0.0700)
Weeks Worked	0.00261* (0.00155)	0.00385* (0.00198)
Gross Family Income	1.21e-06*** (4.37e-07)	3.09e-07 (5.61e-07)
Education	0.425*** (0.0327)	0.360*** (0.0389)
South	-0.156** (0.0672)	-0.167** (0.0742)
Urban	0.0703 (0.0889)	0.113 (0.0994)
MSA not c.c.	0.243 (0.170)	-0.103 (0.175)

MSA c.c.	0.427** (0.178)	-0.139 (0.184)
Constant	139.2*** (44.43)	129.2*** (48.67)
Observations	4,745	3,656
Number of R0000100	4,745	3,656

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16)

The findings from the general models in table 1 and 2 provide support for the carceral contact and familial contact hypotheses. Carceral contact is significant and negatively associated with voter participation. In presidential and midterm election years, being arrested and having a relative go to jail are both significant and negatively associated with respondent turnout. The arrest effect is larger for Blacks in both models but not significantly different from Whites. The coefficient for Hispanics and mixed raced (other) respondents are both insignificant suggesting arrest has no effect. This could be explained by the already very low turnout rates of Hispanics and low number of mixed raced individuals in the sample. These findings suggest heterogeneous racial effects but again the difference between the coefficients is not significant. Familial incarceration is also negative and significant in presidential and midterm years.

When arrest and familial incarceration is set to zero, Blacks vote more than Whites and Hispanics vote less than Whites in both presidential and midterm years. Women are more likely to vote than men in both models. Education is significant and positively associated with voting in both election types. The coefficients for the number of weeks worked and family income are both in the expected direction but only family income is significant and only in presidential years. Surprisingly, age is negatively associated with voting. This is probably due to the closeness in age of the cohort. There is only a 5-year difference between the oldest (1984) and the youngest (1980) respondent. Being located in the South is significant and negatively

correlated with voting. This is consistent with the literature on turnout. Whether a person resides in an urban area is not statistically significant. In midterm elections living in a metropolitan statistical area coded as a city center has a negative effect on voting. I argue this is an externality of urban centers being predominantly populated by Blacks.

Figure 7 Average Marginal Effects for Presidential Years (NLSY97)

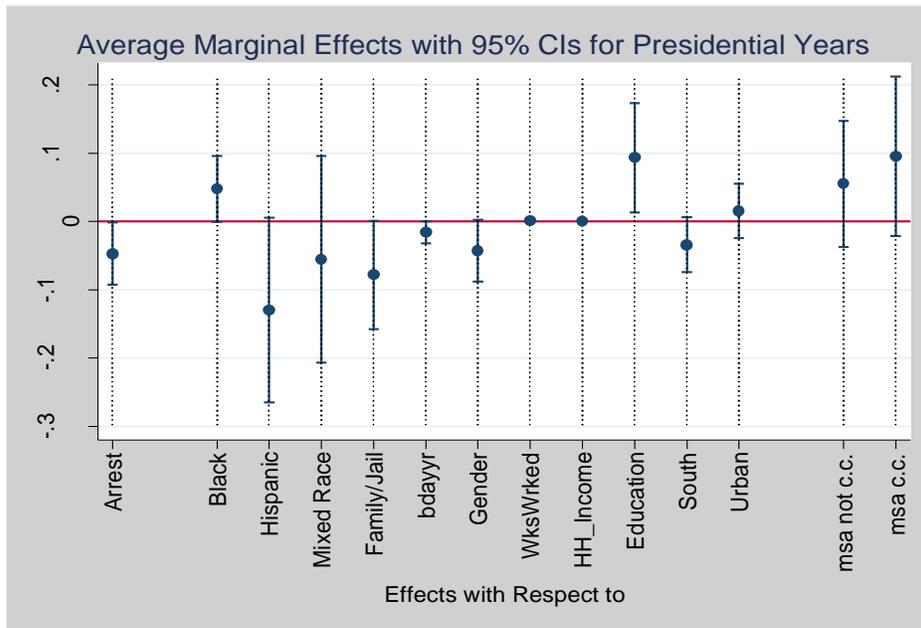
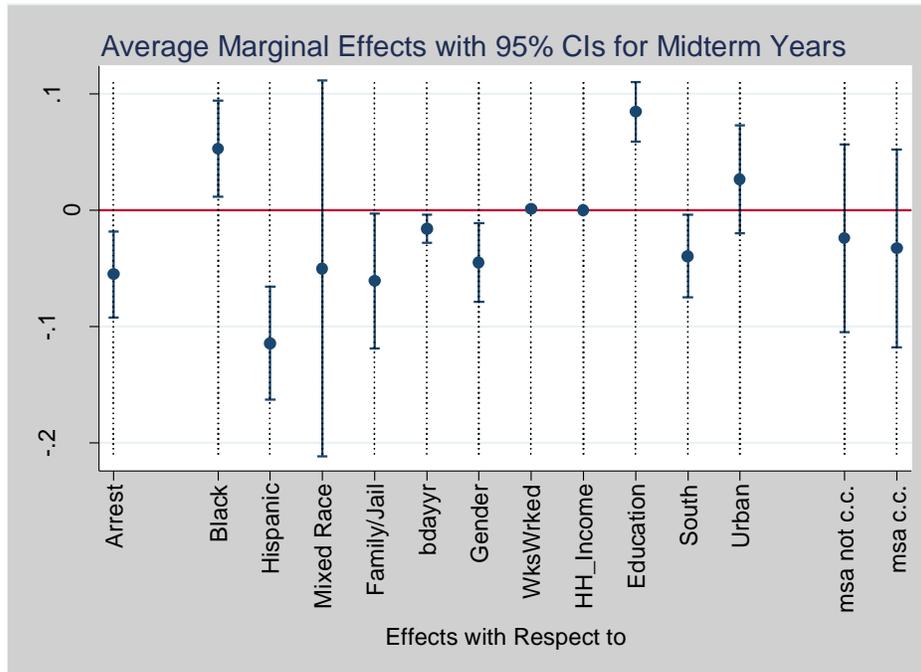


Figure 8 Average Marginal Effects for Midterm Years (NLSY97)



Looking at figures 6 and 7 you can visualize the average marginal effect each independent variable has on voting. The marginal effects are essential to interpretation of the effect of explanatory variables on the dependent variable. The marginal effect is the expected instantaneous change in the dependent variable as a function of a change in an explanatory variable while keeping all the other covariates constant. In figures 6 and 7 I calculated the average marginal effects, which is the average change in probability when x increases by one unit. In presidential years the effect of familial incarceration is as strong as that of education. In midterm years the greatest marginal effect is that of being Hispanic. The effect of arrest and familial contact are equivalent to that of education.

Table 2 Carceral Contact and Voting Add Health

Model	(3)
OLS Regression	Vote
Arrested	-1.345*** (0.475)
BlackArrest	0.721 (0.581)
WhiteArrest	1.243** (0.504)
Times_Stopped	0.0998 (0.166)
BlackTimes	-0.249 (0.238)
WhiteTimes	-0.230 (0.164)
Gender	0.138 (0.174)
Black	0.590 -0.0356
Birth Year	(0.0441)
Education	0.207*** (0.0419)
HH Income	0.000993 (0.00253)
Party ID	0.996*** (0.159)
Ideology	-0.122 (0.0966)
Constant	67.48 (87.54)
Observations	846

Standard errors in parentheses

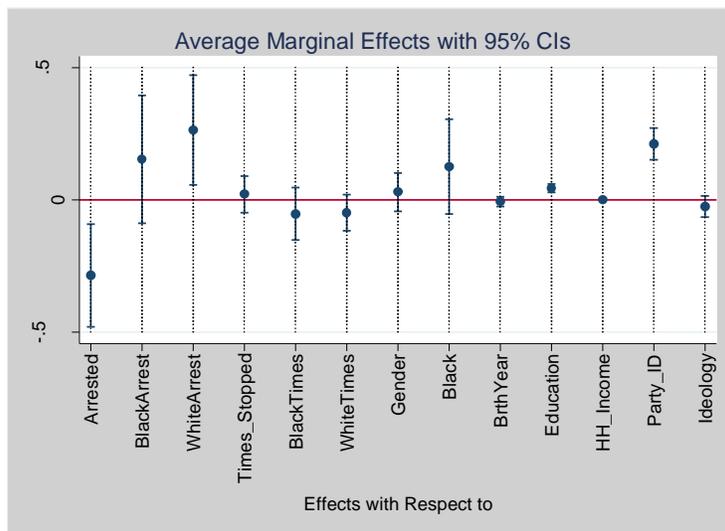
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

* The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), 1994-2008 [Public Use]

In table 2 I test the contact hypothesis using the Add Health data set. Having been arrested has a significant negative effect on voting, yet the interaction coefficients of both Blacks and Whites with Arrest are positive. This suggests that contact can make a respondent more likely to participate politically. Interestingly, only the coefficient for the interaction between Whites and arrest is significant and has a strong positive effect (1.20). In figure 8 one can see that the effect

of the interaction of White and arrest on voting is much larger than any of the other predictive variables. These findings suggest that contact can encourage participation for some racial groups. I argue this is because of the rarity of White carceral contact and the fact that Whites feel more efficacious about government. Hence, whites may be more willing to engage government over perceived wrongs. In this analysis I begin to find statistical support for heterogeneous racial effects. The number of times stopped is not significant but the coefficients for the Black and White interactions are in their expected negative direction.

Figure 9 Average Marginal Effects for Table 2 (Add Health)



In table 2, gender and age are not significant but both are in their expected direction, respectfully. Education is positive and significantly associated with voting. The effect of household income is not significant but is in the expected direction. This is probably due to the younger ages of the respondents. Younger individual's employment or income levels are not necessarily high enough to produce interest in government and public policy. Ideology is not significant. Identifying with a political party is significant and associated with voting. The

coefficient for African American is positive but not significant, suggesting Blacks vote more than Whites but the difference is not statistically different.

Table 3 Disinterest in Government

Model	(4)
Random-effects GLS regression	Disinterest
Vote	-0.578*** (0.0155)
Arrest	0.0712*** (0.0207)
Black	0.104*** (0.0252)
Hispanic	0.131*** (0.0269)
Mixed Race	-0.00611 (0.103)
Race#Arrest	0 (0)
Black#Arrest	-0.0707** (0.0345)
Hispanic#Arrest	-0.0549 (0.0394)
Mixed Race#Arrest	-0.191 (0.167)
Family in Jail	0.142*** (0.0328)
Weeks Worked	0.000838** (0.000350)
Education	-0.0953*** (0.00923)
Gender	-0.213*** (0.0197)
South	-0.0629*** (0.0193)
Urban	-0.0686*** (0.0212)
Birthday Year	0.0247*** (0.00699)
MSA not c.c.	-0.117*** (0.0401)
MSA c.c.	-0.143*** (0.0421)
2006.year	0.0521*** (0.0150)

2008.year	-0.0949*** (0.0169)
2010.year	0.151*** (0.0154)
Constant	-44.90*** (13.86)
Observations	18,036
Number of Respondents	7,123

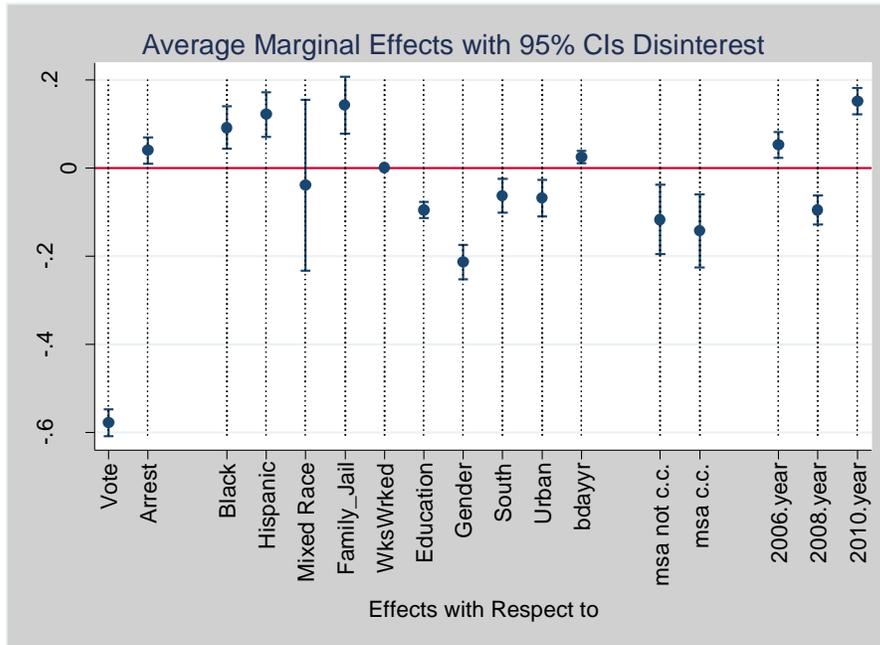
Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16)

Turning to the political efficacy hypothesis, I use the NLSY97 and Add Health datasets to estimate the effect of carceral contact on interest in government and public affairs and trust. In this model, I find more racially heterogeneous outcomes. Blacks and Hispanics are significantly less interested in government than Whites. The coefficients for Blacks and Hispanics are significant and positively associated with disinterest. The arrest interaction for Blacks is significant and statistically different from Whites. The coefficients for Hispanics and mixed raced respondents are not significant. Familial incarceration is significant and positively associated with disinterest. In figure 10, I find that familial contact has a large effect on respondents' interest in government, only second to the effect gender. Men have been found to overestimate their interest and capabilities. Remarkably, familial contact does not necessarily mean that a respondent has had personal contact with the criminal justice system or that a person in their nuclear family has gone to jail. The question asks if an adult member of your family has gone to jail and even includes an option for non-relatives. These results suggest that network contact has an important impact on the development of efficacy. The marginal effect of arrest is similar in size to that of education, age, south and urban.

Figure 10 Average Marginal Effects for Table 3 (NLSY97)



The number of weeks a respondent worked is significant but is associated with disinterest. An explanation could be that the more weeks in a year a respondent works the less time they have to be interested in governmental affairs. Education is associated with interest in government. Gender and South are also both correlated with interest. I argue that the interest men and southerners have in politics is due to the effect of issue evolution or symbolic politics (Carmines & Stimson, 1989). Racial and gender politics surrounding the campaigns of Obama and Hillary Clinton and the emergence of the Tea Party made these issues more salient for White men in the south (Tesler, 2012; Pasek et al, 2014). As expected, disinterest is significant and has a positive effect during midterm years and a negative effect in presidential years. Respondents are more interested in politics in presidential elections. Living in and urban areas or a metropolitan statistical areas coded as city center and not city center, are all correlated with interest. As research suggests, voting is strongly correlated with interest in government.

Therefore, anything that reduces interest, like carceral contact, can also be theorized to have a similar effect on voting. The key findings here are that contact is producing statistically significant heterogeneous racial effects on the development of efficacy and network contact has the stronger marginal effect than personal contact. The political environment one is in has an impact on efficacy.

Table 4 Disinterest in Government

Model	(5)	(6)	(7)
OLS Regression	Distrust in FED	Distrust in State	Distrust in Local
#Times Stopped	0.0550 (0.0481)	-0.00854 (0.0458)	0.0344 (0.0455)
BlackTimes	0.147** (0.0576)	0.229*** (0.0549)	0.184*** (0.0546)
WhiteTimes	0.0578 (0.0516)	0.110** (0.0492)	0.0716 (0.0489)
Gender	0.0127 (0.0302)	0.00766 (0.0288)	0.00252 (0.0286)
Birth Year	-0.0235*** (0.00843)	-0.0280*** (0.00804)	-0.0299*** (0.00799)
HH Income	0.000343 (0.000515)	3.43e-05 (0.000491)	0.000491 (0.000488)
Education	-0.0516*** (0.00768)	-0.0464*** (0.00733)	-0.0437*** (0.00728)
Party ID	-0.0973*** (0.0305)	-0.0882*** (0.0291)	-0.0670** (0.0289)
Ideology	0.203*** (0.0193)	0.180*** (0.0184)	0.161*** (0.0183)
Constant	49.34*** (16.71)	58.08*** (15.94)	61.78*** (15.83)
Observations	4,327	4,323	4,324
R-squared	0.055	0.051	0.046

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

* The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), 1994-2008 [Public Use]

To test the effect of contact on trust in government I ran three separate OLS models estimating the effect of carceral contact on trust in federal, state, and local government. In all the

models the results show that the effect of frequency of contact or the number of times a respondent was stopped or detained by police does not reach significance but is in the expected direction at the federal and local level. This suggests that the level of predation respondents finds themselves under can affect the development of efficacy. When interacting the number of times a respondent was stopped or detained with race I find very intriguing results. The interaction coefficient for Black and times stopped is significant and positive at each level of governance. At the federal level the average marginal effect of the black times interaction is the second largest. In figures 12 and 13 the Black interaction effect has the largest effect of all the other predicative variables. The interaction coefficient for Whites fails to reach significance at the federal and local level. The coefficient for White and times stopped is significant at the state level, but the effect for Blacks (.22) is significantly larger and distinct⁶¹ from that of Whites (.11). In figure 11, I find that the Black interaction variable has the largest effect compared to all the other variables. Here again I find heterogeneous effects across race. There is something about the contact Blacks have compared to Whites that adversely affects efficacious development.

⁶¹ Lincom: Coef. 0.119; P = 0.001

Figure 11 Distrust in the Federal Government (Add Health)

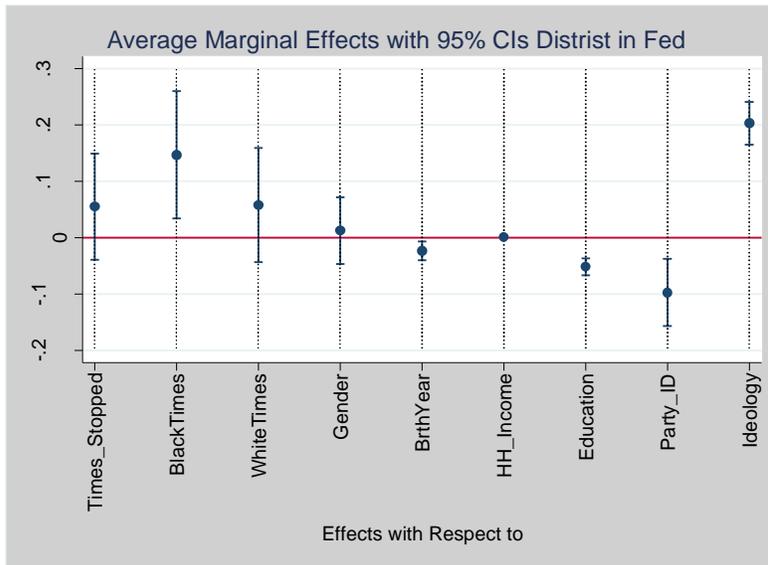


Figure 12 Distrust in the State Government (Add Health)

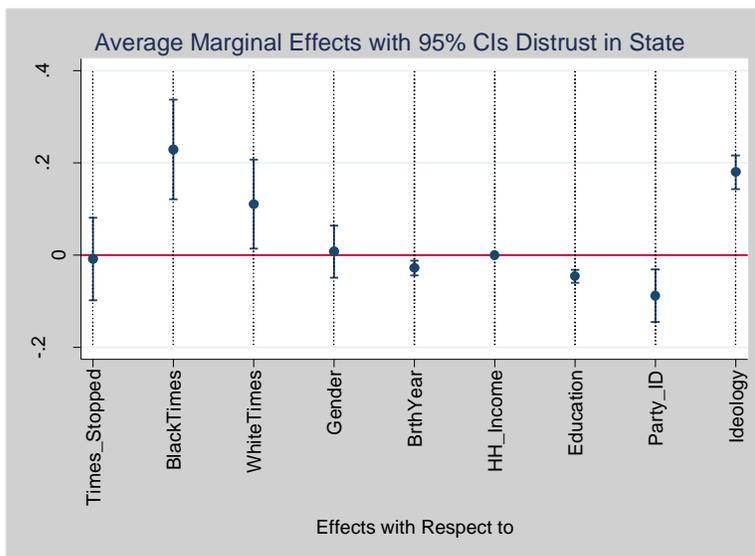
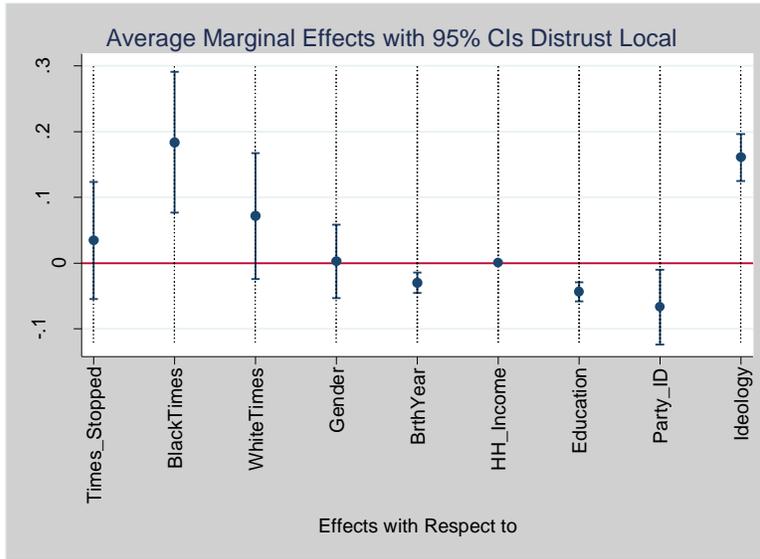


Figure 13 Distrust in Local Government (Add Health)



Gender is not significant at any level of governance. Ideology is significant and positively related to distrust in government at each level. This could be due to Republicans making major gains at every level of government since the first midterm election after Obama was elected making liberals less trusting. Income is not significant but is in the expected direction for all three trust models. Education is significantly associated trust at all levels of governance.

3.7 Discussion

Using two separate data sets and running Random-effects logit and GLS regression and OLS regressions from survey and panel data, I find that contact with the carceral state negatively affects the likelihood of participation and efficacious development. Personal and familiar contact are both negatively associate with voting vote and this effect racially distinct. Carceral contact also reduces respondents' interest in government and public affairs and trust in government.

Political trust and interest are proxies for internal and external political efficacy. The number of times a Black respondent is contacted reduces trust in government at every level government. For Whites, there is no effect at the federal or local level and at the state level the Black coefficient is statistically distinct and larger.

3.8 Conclusion

Predation is producing an adverse environment that is detrimentally affecting African Americans' development of political efficacy and the political socialization process in general. The ramifications can be seen in respondents' participation rates, interest, and trust in government. Predation creates a separate political regime under which Blacks have been forced to live and thereby adapt to in order to navigate successfully. Black political and social adaptations are incorporated within the racial socialization process. Blacks are not only aware of their relationship to different levels of governance they are participating in. The carceral state is actively pursuing and preying on Blacks. Carceral contact has several negative psychological externalities. I will discuss these as they pertain to political efficacy in the following chapter. Being forced into a marginalized social identity and actively targeted by the state has interpersonal ramifications as well as tangible outcomes as seen above. Included in NLYS97 analyses are two measures of interpersonal wellbeing. Those that experienced contact with the carceral state reported increased depressive episodes and less happiness. I will explain how living under predation perpetuates second class citizenship and creates an environment of alienation and otherness that has important consequences on the development of political efficacy's psychological components.

FEELING POLITICS: THE INTERPERSONAL CONSEQUENCES OF PREDATION

4.1 Well-Being and Participation

I have argued that the social construction of blackness legitimizes the predatory state's application of collective violence against African Americans, which has deleterious effects on efficacious development and ultimately Black political participation. In this section I will argue that carceral contact also affects the well-being components of political efficacy, which are also associated with participation. I will continue to use the term collective violence because its purpose is to shape behavior by altering the expected utility of specific actions. Its aims are diverse and it can be used to achieve a multitude of overlapping and sometimes contradictory goals. Collective violence can be used to intimidate, eradicate, polarize, control, and demoralize (Kalyvas et al., 2006) and its use is rational and effective in reaching these outcomes (Arendt, 1970). Collective violence also manifests as systematic inequalities, like those in income, education, and health (Besteman, 2002). As with the former, health has also been shown to influence participation in other social institutions (Fletcher, 2008; Fletcher, 2014; Haas & Fosse, 2008; Pelkowski & Berger, 2004; Teachman, 2010), but health related variables remain largely unexplored in political science (Burden, Fletcher, Herd, Jones, & Moynihan, 2017; Mattila, Söderlund, Wass, & Rapeli, 2013). Burden et al (2017) stated that "...political science has scarcely acknowledged the power of health to influence key behavioral outcomes" (p.166). A

meta-analysis of 90 studies published in the top ten political science journals between 2000 and 2010 found that 170 different independent variables were used to explain turnout but only three were health related (Smets & van Ham, 2013). Burden et al (2017) included three measures of health and found that even when controlling for demographics and applying family fixed effects, voting was strongly associated with all three measures. The health effect was similar in magnitude to that of education (Burden et al., 2017), a commonly accepted and powerful predictor of turnout (Blais, Gidengil, & Nevitte, 2004; Gallego, 2010; Hansen, 2016).

Before I begin to discuss the relationship between efficacy, well-being, and participation, I must first define wellness, well-being, and interpersonal well-being. Wellness is defined as a positive state of affairs brought about by the satisfaction of interpersonal needs (physical and psychological) (Cooper, 2013; Diener et al., 2009; Duff, Rubenstein, & Prilleltensky, 2016; C. L. Keyes, 2007; P. T. Wong, 2011; P. Wong, 2009). Well-being "...is a positive state of affairs, brought about by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of diverse objective and subjective needs of individuals, relationships, organizations, and communities" (Prilleltensky, 2012, p.2). In this paper I will use these two terms interchangeably. Interpersonal well-being is a reflection of one's satisfaction with their institutional relationships (Duff et al., 2016). All three concepts are positively associated with resilience, overall life-satisfaction, and health (Buettner, 2010; Buettner, 2012; Cacioppo, Reis, & Zautra, 2011; S. Cohen, 2004; Duff et al., 2016; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2007; Rath, Harter, & Harter, 2010), but Lane (1959) found that interpersonal well-being was particularly important for evaluating political behavior in systems, like the U.S., where participation and access are the primary channels for petitioning the government.

There are five dimensions of health: mobility, self-care, usual activities, pain/discomfort, and anxiety/depression. (Herdman et al., 2011; Sun, Chen, Johannesson, Kind, & Burström, 2016;

Versteegh et al., 2016). Political scientists have focused on the former (Burden et al., 2017; Mattila et al., 2013), but in this study I will concentrate on anxiety and depression, because they have been linked to efficacious development (Anderson, Turner, Heath, & Payne, 2016; Assari, 2016; Gecas, 1989; Merolla et al., 2013; Williamson & Scicchitano, 2015). High levels of efficacy are associated with positive health outcomes, the ability to adjust to one's social environment, and feeling powerful, competent, and important (Assari, 2016; Lane, 1959). Low levels of efficacy are negatively correlated with social support, coping, well-being, alienation, and maladaptive behaviors (Eisenberger, 2012; Gecas, 1989; Seeman, 1959; Seeman, 1989). Efficacy acts as a buffer zone for stressors. It is defined as the "subjective expectations regarding one's ability to exert influence over life circumstances and outcomes in the surrounding environment, is one of the control beliefs that reflect how people evaluate themselves in coping with stress. [Efficacy] affects how individuals react during times of stress exposure" (Assari, 2016, p.1). Locus of control (LOC) is the term for whether or not a person believes their life outcomes are decided by their actions or by chance (Gore, Griffin, & McNierney, 2016; Rotter, 1966). Chronic stressors orient one's LOC externally (Aneshensel, Phelan, & Bierman, 2013). An internal LOC is associated with increased well-being (Creed & Bartrum, 2008; Emmons, 1986; Grob, 2000; Hortop, Wrosch, & Gagné, 2013; Kan et al., 2014; Lang & Heckhausen, 2001; Turiano, Chapman, Agrigoroaei, Infurna, & Lachman, 2014) and an external LOC is negatively correlated with depression, self-esteem, and unhealthy behaviors (Gore et al., 2016). Efficacious people have an internal LOC and are better equipped to deal with chronic and acute stressors (Aneshensel et al., 2013; Gecas, 1989).

The adverse health consequences associated with stress are well documented (Hatch & Dohrenwend, 2007; Paradies, 2006; Pearlin, 1989; Thoits, 2013; Williams, Mohammed, Leavell,

& Collins, 2010) as are the economic, social, and familiar stressors associated with carceral contact (Blakemore & Blakemore, 1998; Cervera & Carlson, 1992; Gabel & Johnston, 1995; Glaze & Maruschak, 2008; Hinton, 2016; Pager, Western, & Sugie, 2009; Pattillo, Western, & Weiman, 2004; Rose & Clear, 1998; Travis et al., 2014; Visser & Travis, 2003; Western, 2006). Predation increases chronic stress levels creating a sense of threat and institutional limitations, which add challenges and burdens to one's life (Aneshensel et al., 2013; Wheaton & Montazer, 2010). There are many variables believed to contribute to health disparities but Aneshensel, Phelan, and Bierman (2013) find that disparities are based on how advantaged or disadvantaged one social group is compared to another. Because various social groups have different relationships to institutions, processes of marginalization and unequal distributions of resources emerge in a myriad of categories creating systemic disparities (Faris & Dunham, 1939; Grusky, Ku, & Szelényi, 2001; Holland, Cohen, Johnson, & Henderson, 2005; Roscigno, Garcia, & Bobbitt-Zeher, 2007; Schwalbe et al., 2000; Tilly, 1999; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993; M. Weber, 1946). Efficacy is produced through institutional relationships and the quality of these relationships directly impacts efficacious development (Gecas, 1989). Race, an institutional relationship, has been found to play a major role in the development of efficacy (Assari, 2016; Lachman, 1986). Nunnally (2012) finds that efficacy "assist[s] [Blacks] in considering the implications of normative racial distrust and ways to repair psychological injuries that loom because of historical and contemporary racial discrimination" (p.16).

4.2 Efficacy, Race, and Well-Being

In the U.S., race is a major determinant of health outcomes and the persistence of these disparities must be understood in the context of predacious institutions adversely effecting health and well-being (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). The U.S. census (2010) and Center for Disease Control (2015) reported that compared to Whites, Blacks have poorer overall health, a lower life expectancy, a higher infant mortality rate, and higher mortality rates from chronic diseases. The Department of Health and Human Services Office of Minority Health ⁶² reported that African Americans are 20% more likely than Whites to experience serious psychological distress⁶³ and have feelings of sadness, hopelessness, and worthlessness⁶⁴. The two most common issues among African Americans are posttraumatic stress disorder (anxiety) and depression⁶⁵. These disparities are theorized to be a function of “racial discrimination and its consequences for power, control, and access to resources enabling efficacious action” (Gecas, 1989, p.305). Gurin et al (1978) found that White men reported considerably higher levels of efficacy compared to Black men. Lower levels of efficacy among Blacks have been negatively linked to more stress, medical conditions, and depressive symptoms (Assari, 2016).

Research on stress focuses on discrepancies in exposure and vulnerability in terms of one’s social environment (Hill, Ross, & Angel, 2005; Wheaton & Clarke, 2003), level of discrimination (McDonough & Walters, 2001; J. Taylor & Turner, 2002), and socioeconomic status (Downey & Moen, 1987; Mirowsky & Ross, 1983; Mirowsky & Ross, 2003; Mossakowski, 2008; Pudrovska, Schieman, Pearlin, & Nguyen, 2005; Ross, Mirowsky, &

⁶² <https://www.nami.org/Find-Support/Diverse-Communities/African-Americans>

⁶³ <http://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/omh/browse.aspx?lvl=4&lvlid=24>

⁶⁴ <http://www.mentalhealthamerica.net/african-american-mental-health>

⁶⁵ <https://www.nami.org/Find-Support/Diverse-Communities/African-Americans>

Cockerham, 1983). Environmental or social and political stressors are defined by one's relationship to institutions (Aneshensel et al., 2013; Brenner, 1973; Dooley & Catalano, 1984). Bandura (1997) found that information from vicarious experiences, or network effects, are correlated to efficacy. Residential segregation is also associated with well-being (Acevedo-Garcia, Lochner, Osypuk, & Subramanian, 2003; Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Williams & Collins, 2001). A systematic review of literature dealing with discrimination and health found that, without exception, higher levels of discrimination are correlated with poorer well-being (Aneshensel et al., 2013; Mossakowski, 2008; J. Taylor & Turner, 2002; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Aneshensel et al (2013) finds that "...discrimination is inherently stressful for those who are discriminated against, partly because of the salience and visibility of racial and ethnic identities that are the basis of maltreatment" (p. 265). Yet, scholars have acknowledged that insufficient research has been devoted to the stress that someone may experience because of racism (Aguilera-Guzmán, de Snyder, V Nelly Salgado, Romero, & Medina-Mora, 2004; Akbar, 1991; Akbar & Rasheed, 1996; Aneshensel et al., 2013; Brown, 2008; Carter, 1994; de Snyder, V Nelly Salgado, 1987; R. Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000; Robinson-Brown & Keith, 2013; Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991; J. Taylor & Turner, 2002). Kressin, Raymond and Manze (2008) find that few measures of discrimination question respondents about experiences of discrimination that occur in their familiar networks.

Several studies, finding a strong and consistent connection between socioeconomic status and well-being, provide convincing evidence of causation (Catalano, Dooley, Wilson, & Hough, 1993; Hudson, Neighbors, Geronimus, & Jackson, 2016; J. G. Johnson, Cohen, Dohrenwend, Link, & Brook, 1999; Link, Lennon, & Dohrenwend, 1993; Ritsher, Warner, Johnson, & Dohrenwend, 2001). Race is associated with variations in SES (Alba & Nee, 2009; Aneshensel

et al., 2013; Berreman, 1991; Carter, 1994; Cockerham, 2010; Essed, 1991; Hollingshead & Redlich, 2007; Waldinger & Lichter, 2003), and is an important factor in predicting exposure and vulnerability to stressful events, coping strategies, and social support (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007; Kuo, 1995; Lawson, 1986; Meketon, 1983; Mossakowski, 2003; Noh, Kaspar, & Wickrama, 2007; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; J. Taylor & Turner, 2002). Wheaton et al (2013) found that “stress is neither ubiquitous nor rare; it is usually the experience of a minority, but nevertheless a sizeable minority. Despite the seemingly universal self-labeling of lives as stressful, that viewpoint actually fails to see stress as important and specific” (p.316). Blacks are over represented in low SES groups, resulting in higher rates of psychological stress compared to Whites (K. M. Keyes, Barnes, & Bates, 2011). The increase in exposure and vulnerability to stressors is directly related to one’s situatedness. Blacks report more sources of stress and higher levels of stress than all other races in the U.S. (Sternthal, Slopen, & Williams, 2011). Exposure to stressors explains a substantial amount of racial health disparities, even after controlling for socioeconomic variables (Sternthal et al., 2011).

London and Myers (2006) find that “regardless of how [the carceral state] operates, the sheer number of Black men who are currently incarcerated, or projected to be in prison at some point in their lives, means that this social institution is now and will likely continue to be important in shaping their life-course and **health trajectories, as well as those of members of their families and communities**” (Emphasis mine) (p.416). Lee, Fang, and Luo (2013) found that parental incarceration increased the likelihood of eight health problems, including depression and anxiety. Williams and Mohammed (2009) posit that “highly publicized race-related traumatic events, such as extreme examples of police brutality” work as macro-stressors and have consequences on well-being (p.29). The psychological stress that comes with the use of excessive force, street

harassment, and witnessing the public humiliation of fellow group members—men, women, and children—being strip searched on public streets no doubt raises the stress level for those living under predation and specifically for those who have had personal or familial contact. The stigma of carceral contact also attaches itself to family members (Becker H, 1963; Braman, 2004; Lemert, 1972). Children of incarcerated parents are highly aware of the negative stereotypes associated with them (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008), and even elementary school teachers have been shown to hold biased opinions of children with incarcerated mothers (Dallaire, Ciccone, & Wilson, 2010). The extent of one's contact with the carceral state is directly related to the level of psychological distress an adolescent experiences (Murray, Loeber, & Pardini, 2012).

Familial incarceration is connected to adverse youth behavioral issues and increases the level of overall stress (S. H. Fishman, 1983; Murray, 2005; Murray & Murray, 2010; Murray et al., 2012; Richards et al., 1994). Family Member Incarceration during Childhood (FMIC) is related to lasting changes in one's physiological system and increases one's risk of heart attack (Hertzman, 1999). FMIC is linked to psychological maladjustment, mental disorders, and conduct problems (Baglivio, Wolff, Piquero, & Epps, 2015; Evans-Chase, 2014; Geller et al., 2009; Murray et al., 2012; White, Cordie-Garcia, & Fuller-Thomson, 2016). Adverse Childhood Experiences' (ACE) are also negatively associated with maladaptive behavior (Baglivio et al., 2015). ACE's are "...experiences of emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional neglect, physical neglect, domestic violence toward the youth's mother, household substance abuse, household mental illness, parental separation/divorce, and household member with history of jail/incarceration" (Baglivio et al, 2015, p.229). Arrests are most often conducted at night or in the early morning when the person sought is thought most likely to be at home (Braman, 2004). A parental arrest is defined as childhood trauma because it is usually abrupt,

unanticipated, and involves violence (Braman, 2004; M. Comfort, 2007; S. H. Fishman, 1983; Kampfner, 1995; Van Nijnatten, 1998). With the militarization of police and the use of militarized tactics, witnessing a household member being arrested has become increasingly traumatic (Balko, 2013; Kampfner, 1995).

The *stress process theory* suggests that when stressors are perceived as unpredictable and out of one's control they will overwhelm an individual's capacity to manage them and deplete their coping resources compromising their well-being (Aneshensel, 1992; Avison & Gotlib, 1994; Brown, Bell, & Patterson, 2016; Pearlin, 1989; Turner, Wheaton, & Lloyd, 1995; Turner & Avison, 2003; Wheaton & Montazer, 2010). These stressors can range from acute events to constant occurrences, but because we all use utilize efficacious resources to cope with stressors some individuals will be more vulnerable to compromise. Having a family member in jail is considered a chronic stressor (Brown et al., 2016; H. Lee & Wildeman, 2013; H. Lee, Wildeman, Wang, Matusko, & Jackson, 2014; R. D. Lee et al., 2013; Wildeman, Schnittker, & Turney, 2012). Stressors are also rooted in the environment and differences in exposure to stress plays a significant role in explaining variations in mental health (Turner et al., 1995). Wheaton et al (2013) find that "...a stressor cannot be defined independently of the social environment in which it occurs because its meaning, and thus its level of threat, is defined by a complex configuration of life history, the social contextual location of its occurrence, and the prevalence of the same experience in that context" (p. 301). The *original cost-of-caring theory* suggests that women experience empathetic responses to stressors that people in their network are experiencing and because of this they report lower rates of well-being (Brown et al., 2016; Kessler & McLeod, 1984; Wildeman et al., 2012). I maintain that those living under predation, regardless of gender, will show lower levels of interpersonal well-being.

I argue that predation increases the number of ongoing chronic stressors which hinders efficacious development. Lower socioeconomic status is correlated with additional stressors and Blacks are over represented in lower SES. Blacks are also residentially segregated and the DOJ reports on Ferguson, Baltimore, and Chicago all show that criminal justice is applied disproportionately in geographically Black areas. Over policing and mass incarceration have been shown to increase crime and hurt economic development and the community and familiar cohesion (Travis et al., 2014). I posit that predation is negatively correlated with African American levels of efficacy and well-being. Secondly, I hypothesize that lower levels of interpersonal well-being will be negatively associated with participation.

4.3 Methods

Based on the above theoretical argument, I propose three hypotheses. Using National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) 1997 I will test the following hypotheses:

Participation Hypothesis: Voting will be positively associated with affirmative well-being measures and negatively associated with adverse well-being measures.

Well-Being Hypothesis: Individuals who have had carceral contact, personal or familial, will experience reduced well-being effects.

Outlook Hypothesis: Respondents that have had contact with the carceral state, personal or familial will have a more negative outlook on life.

The NLSY97 is a longitudinal study that follows a sample of American youth born between 1980 and 1984. There are a total of 8,984 respondents of which there are 4,599 men, 4,385 women, 2,335 Blacks, and 4,665 Whites. To date they have been surveyed 16 times (NLSY97, 2015). When asked about voting, 62 percent of Blacks and 57 percent of Whites said they voted or usually voted. This is consistent with the literature suggesting that African Americans over report turnout (Abramson & Claggett, 1984; Button, 1993). Respondents in the sample who reported being arrested were asked if they had been sentenced to spend time in a corrections institution and of those asked 81 percent of Blacks compared to 65 percent of Whites answered yes. When respondents were asked if they had a relative jailed in the past 5 years, 28 percent of Whites and 50 percent of Blacks replied in the affirmative. These descriptive statistics are consistent with a national Black incarceration rate of 5 to 1 (Sentencing Project, 2016) and the Department of Justice reports detailing how extremely aggressive and exploitive criminal justice practices are concentrated in Black communities (DOJ, 2015; 2016; 2017).

Dependent Variables. *Vote* is a dichotomous variable measuring if the respondents voted in 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010. Respondents who answered that they could not vote were marked as missing. Those who responded they voted or usually voted were marked as 1 (voted), and those who responded they did not vote were marked as 0 (did not vote). I created a separate dichotomous variable for respondents who responded that they were ineligible to vote (*Not_Eligible*). In total 1,112 respondents reported be ineligible including 308 Blacks and 378 Whites. The outcome variables measuring well-being consist of 5 questions asking respondents how often they feel *nervous*, *calm*, *sad*, *happy*, and *depressed*. There questions were asked in 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010 allowing for panel analysis. The possible responses are (1) all the time, (2) most of the time, (3) some of the time and (4) none of the time. Respondents

who voter are expected to feel more calm and happy and less nervous, sad, and depressed. Lower scores for questions measuring feelings of nervousness, sadness and depression will be considered signs of decreased well-being. I anticipate a negative relationship between contact and feelings of nervous, sadness, and depression. Contact is expected to increase for often respondents feel nervous, sad, and depressed. Lower scores for the questions measuring calmness and happiness will be considered signs of positive well-being. I expect contact will have a positive relationship with calmness and happiness meaning that contact with the carceral state will decrease how often a respondent feels calm and happy.

To estimate how carceral contact effects respondents' outlook on life I will use two questions. An affirmative outlook on life is predicted to be positively associated with voting. The first ask respondents to rate overall how their life has been since their last interview. The possible responses are (1) very good time in your life, (2) a pretty good time in your life, (3) a pretty bad time in your life, or (4) a very bad time in your life. The *rate life* question is asked in 2006 and 2007 allowing for panel analysis. Carceral contact is expected to have a positive relationship with the *rate life* question meaning carceral contact will adversely affect respondents' outlook on life. The second question measures how *satisfied* respondents are with their life as a whole. The possible answers range from 1 to 10, where 1 means extremely dissatisfied and 10 means extremely satisfied. Carceral contact is predicted to be negatively associated with satisfaction.

Control Variables. The literature on turnout supports controlling for individual characteristics (A. Campbell et al., 1960; A. Campbell et al., 1966; Tate, 1991; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). *Gender* controls a respondent's interviewer-identified gender: male (1) or female (0). Women have been found to vote at higher rates than men. *Race* includes (1) Blacks,

(2) Hispanics, (3) mixed-race, and (4) Whites. I created separate dichotomous variables for *Black* and *White*. *Education* is measured by the highest grade completed prior to the start of the next year's academic school year. Education level is associated with increased rates of voter participation (Leighley & Nagler, 1992). Employment (a proxy for income) is measured in the total number of weeks worked (*Weeks Worked*) at any employment-type job since the last interview. Employment is also positively associated with voting (Leighley & Nagler, 1992). *Gross family income* is measured in increments of 1,000 from \$1.00 to over \$200,000. Age of the respondent is controlled for by the respondent's year of birth (*birthday Year*). Older people are found to vote more regularly than younger individuals (Miller, & Stokes, 1966; Cavanagh, 1981).

A respondent's geographic location as it pertains to urban (1) and rural (0) is controlled for with the dichotomous variable *Urban*. The census national region, (1) Northeast, (2) North Central, (3) South, and (4) West, are measured using *Region*. I created a separate dichotomous variable to control for the *South*. Key's (1984) foundation text *Southern Politics in State and Nation* helped create the sub-discipline of southern politics and firmly established that southern states should be controlled for separately in political analysis. The metropolitan statistical area (*MSA*) is measured as (0) not MSA, (1) MSA but not central city, and (2) MSA central city. The variable *Year* was created to control for each individual year (1997 – 2010).

Carceral contact variables measure the institutional influences which comprise the political and social environment respondents find themselves in (A. Campbell et al., 1960; R. S. Erikson, 1981; Z. Hajnal et al., 2017; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). Institutional factors have been found to depress turnout in American elections (Powell Jr, 1986). I control for if a respondent has been *arrested* in a given year. If arrested respondents were asked if they were put on

Probation. The contact variables arrest and probation were each lagged four years. I did this to mirror the question on familial incarceration (*Family in Jail*) which asked if any member of the respondent's household has been imprisoned in the last 5 years.

4.4 Results

Table 5 Voting and Well-Being

Models	(8)	(9)	(10)
Random-effects logistic regression	General Vote	Presidential Vote	Midterm Vote
Depressed	-0.258*** (0.0823)	-0.251*** (0.0614)	-0.207*** (0.0697)
Sad	0.0435 (0.0784)	0.0748 (0.0573)	-0.0694 (0.0644)
Nervous	-0.0359 (0.0660)	0.148*** (0.0497)	0.121** (0.0546)
Calm	-0.0679 (0.0759)	0.0576 (0.0546)	-0.0458 (0.0629)
Happy	0.0917 (0.0826)	0.0672 (0.0582)	0.133** (0.0665)
Satisfied	0.0729*** (0.0243)		
Weeks Worked	0.00198* (0.00113)	0.000764 (0.00111)	-0.000437 (0.000955)
Gross Family Income	2.64e-06*** (7.31e-07)	1.28e-06*** (4.20e-07)	8.24e-07 (5.25e-07)
Education	0.445*** (0.0372)	0.467*** (0.0311)	0.395*** (0.0361)
Gender	-0.476*** (0.0807)	-0.200*** (0.0611)	-0.272*** (0.0654)
Birthday Year	-0.0197 (0.0281)	-0.0711*** (0.0215)	-0.0672*** (0.0229)
South	-0.101 (0.0840)	-0.148** (0.0643)	-0.197*** (0.0693)
Urban	0.197* (0.111)	0.0459 (0.0858)	0.138 (0.0931)
Black	0.748*** (0.109)	0.263*** (0.0794)	0.268*** (0.0828)
Hispanic	-0.413*** (0.0990)	-0.558*** (0.0782)	-0.441*** (0.0894)
Mixed Race	-0.222 (0.372)	-0.275 (0.301)	-0.348 (0.335)

MSA not c.c.	0.0456 (0.187)	0.242 (0.164)	-0.104 (0.162)
MSA c.c.	0.130 (0.199)	0.406** (0.171)	-0.156 (0.170)
Constant	33.04 (55.60)	135.8*** (42.65)	128.4*** (45.43)
Observations	3,459	5,203	4,227
Number of R0000100	3,459	5,203	4,227

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16)

In table 5 I test the participation hypothesis, which posits a relationship between voting and well-being. The effect of depression is significant in all three models and is negatively associated with voting. This means that the more often a respondent feels depressed the less likely they are to vote. The effect of nervousness is significant in both presidential and midterm years but the effect is not in the expected direction. The more nervous a respondent is the more likely they are to vote. These results support the literature on saliency and voting. I posit that the more salient an election is the more uncertain or nervous voters become about the outcome. Citizens vote in part to alleviate the (uncertainty) nervousness. The effect of happiness is significant and associated with voting in midterm elections. How often a respondent feels sad or calm is not significant. In the model 8 I also find that the more satisfied a respondent is with their life the more likely they are to vote.

The effect of education level is significant and positively correlated with voting in all three models. The effect of family income is in the expected direction but is not significant in midterm years. Women are again associated with voting. Following the results from the previous chapter younger respondents are more likely to vote than older respondents. This could possibility be due to their closeness in age. South remains significant and negatively correlated with voting. If a respondent resides in an urban or MSA area are not significant. Blacks vote more than and Hispanics vote less than Whites. These result are consistent with the literature on turnout.

Figure 14 Average Marginal Effects in Presidential Years

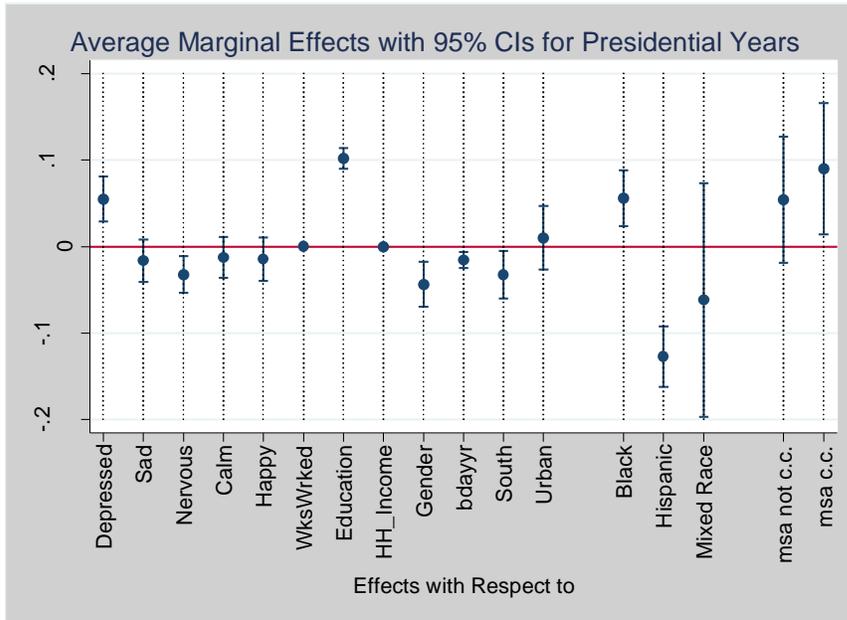
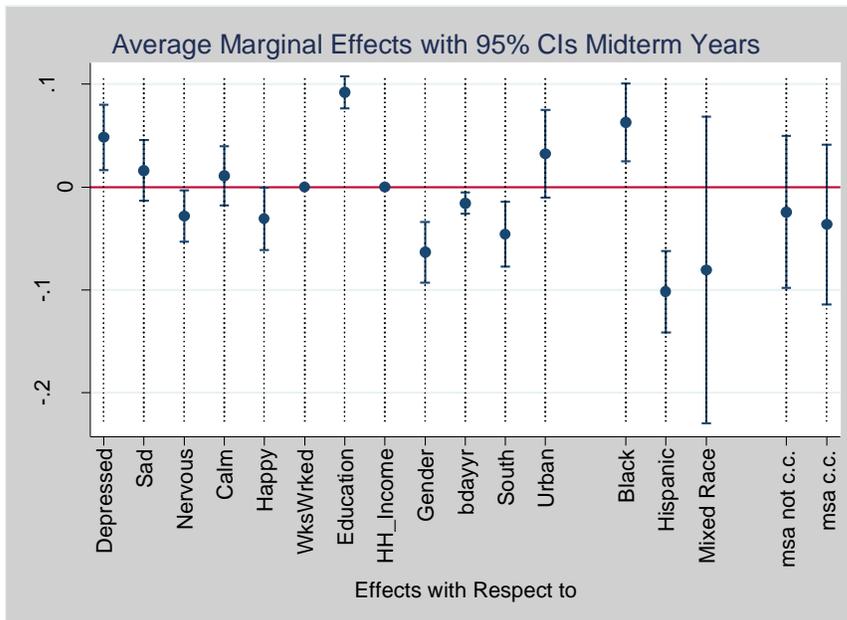


Figure 15 Average Marginal Effects in Midterm Years



In summation, I find that voting is correlated with the established predictive variables, but it is also associated a respondent's well-being. In figure 14 I find that the effect of depression on voting is second to education and similar to the effect of being Black. In Midterm years the depression effect is similar to the effects of urban and Black. In figure 15, we see that happiness and nervousness are both significant and the effects are similar to that of gender and being the census region south.

Table 6 Rate Life and Life Satisfaction

Model	(11)	(12)
Random-effects GLS regression	Rate Life	Satisfied
Arrest	-0.107*** (0.0304)	-0.348*** (0.0553)
Family in Jail	-0.156*** (0.0497)	-0.389*** (0.0846)
Gender	-0.0104 (0.0281)	-0.0376 (0.0511)
Birthday Year	-0.00330 (0.00992)	0.00944 (0.0181)
Weeks Worked	-0.00211*** (0.000772)	0.00659*** (0.00135)
Gross Family Income	2.44e-07 (2.36e-07)	1.52e-06*** (4.41e-07)
Education	-0.0741*** (0.0144)	0.143*** (0.0243)
Urban	-0.00698 (0.0395)	-0.228*** (0.0748)
South	-0.0573* (0.0299)	0.158*** (0.0542)
MSA not c.c.	0.00121 (0.0675)	-0.164 (0.132)
MSA	0.0478 (0.0714)	-0.244* (0.139)
Black	0.179*** (0.0352)	-0.281*** (0.0644)
Hispanic	-0.0123 (0.0368)	0.326*** (0.0660)
Mixed Race	-0.0306 (0.129)	0.0630 (0.247)
2007.year	0.00231 (0.0250)	
Constant	9.201 (19.65)	-12.67 (35.78)

Observations	2,260	4,880
R-squared		0.058
Number of Respondents	2,052	4,880

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16)

In table 6 I estimate carceral contact's effect on how respondents rates their life. As discussed above, this variable is measured on a 4-point scale and life satisfaction is measured on a 10-point scale. Arrest is negative and significant in both models. It is associated with respondents rating their life as bad and extremely dissatisfying. Having a family member incarcerated is also significant and negatively correlated with well-being. The outlook hypothesis is supported. The coefficient for Black is negative and significant in both models. Blacks rate their lives worse and less satisfying and both coefficients are statistically distinct from Whites. These findings are consistent with the scholarship on Black efficacy (McPherson, 1977; Mangum, 2003; Dawson, 1995) and with the heterogeneous racial effects I found in the previous chapter. The number of weeks worked is associated with well-being. Family income is only significant for satisfaction is in the opposite direction for rate life. Education is significant in both models and associated with rating one's life positively. Gender, and age are not significant.

Geographically, the coefficients for South are in their expected direction but only react significance in the satisfied model. Urban is positive and significant in the life satisfaction model as opposed to rural. MSA are not significant. In figures 16 and 17 I find the effects of the predictive variables to be essentially the same. In both models only independent variables with an effect larger than being Black are the effects produced by arrest and familial incarceration. The effects of arrest and familial incarceration are greater than then the effects of the traditional socioeconomic predictive variables.

Figure 16 Average Marginal Effects for Model 11 Rate Life

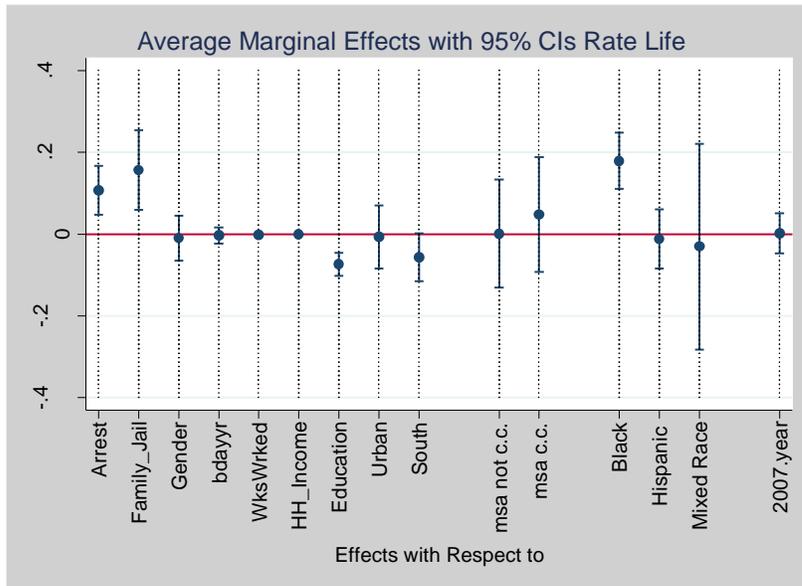


Figure 17 Average Marginal Effects for Model 12 Life Satisfaction

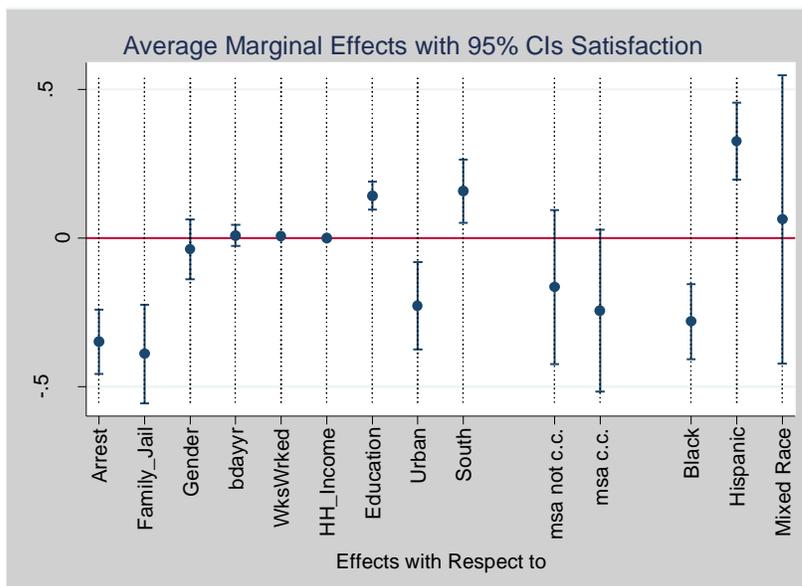


Table 7 Contact and Adverse Well-Being Measures

Model	(13)	(14)	(15)
Random-effects GLS regression	Depressed	Sad	Nervous
Arrest	0.0312*** (0.00797)	0.0275*** (0.00891)	0.0339*** (0.00896)
Family in Jail	0.0714*** (0.0175)	0.126*** (0.0193)	0.0553*** (0.0207)
Weeks Worked	-0.00113*** (0.000195)	-0.00110*** (0.000218)	-0.00121*** (0.000218)
Gross Family Income	-1.43e-07** (6.24e-08)	-1.77e-07** (7.01e-08)	-6.69e-08 (6.97e-08)
Education	-0.0523*** (0.00487)	-0.0242*** (0.00539)	-0.0205*** (0.00575)
Gender	-0.0643*** (0.0105)	-0.192*** (0.0115)	-0.190*** (0.0124)
Birthday Year	0.00111 (0.00373)	-0.00166 (0.00412)	0.00642 (0.00443)
South	-0.0139 (0.0104)	-0.0176 (0.0116)	0.00813 (0.0122)
Urban	0.0206* (0.0113)	0.0336*** (0.0126)	0.0243* (0.0127)
MSA not c.c.	-0.0207 (0.0166)	0.00613 (0.0185)	-0.0251 (0.0187)
MSA c.c.	-0.0269 (0.0178)	-0.00505 (0.0199)	-0.0241 (0.0201)
Black	0.0903*** (0.0131)	0.0307** (0.0145)	-0.119*** (0.0156)
Hispanic	0.0504*** (0.0136)	-0.0444*** (0.0151)	-0.0485*** (0.0162)
Mixed Race	0.0632 (0.0517)	0.0960* (0.0571)	-0.0561 (0.0617)
2004.year	-0.0566*** (0.0106)	-0.0894*** (0.0118)	-0.164*** (0.0116)
2006.year	-0.100*** (0.0106)	-0.138*** (0.0119)	-0.180*** (0.0117)
2008.year	-0.0925*** (0.0107)	-0.114*** (0.0120)	-0.107*** (0.0118)
2010.year	-0.110*** (0.0105)	-0.196*** (0.0118)	-0.224*** (0.0116)
Constant	5.126 (7.388)	0.571 (8.165)	15.42* (8.788)
Observations	24,596	24,610	24,721
Number of Respondents	7,454	7,463	7,460

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16)

In table 7 I estimate the effect contact has on feelings of depression, sadness and nervousness respectively. Arrest and familial incarceration are significant in all three models and positively associated with increased depression, sadness and nervousness. Compared to Whites, Blacks are

significantly more depressed and sad and less nervous and Hispanics are significantly more depressed and less sad and nervous. Age is not significant. The coefficients for gender, education, and the number of weeks worked are significant and negatively associated with all the adverse well-being measures. Men, the more educated, and employed are reporting less adverse well-being. Family income is correlated with less depression and sadness. MSA areas are not significant but Urban is positively associated with sadness. This could be due to the demographics of the survey. A larger percent of Blacks (83%) report being urban than Whites (70%) and there are close to twice as many Whites (46,792) in MSA areas than Blacks (25,494) (NLSY97, 2015). Black and Hispanics experience statistically distinct well-being effects compared to Whites. The most important finding, however is that adverse well-being is associated with carceral contact and race.

Figure 18 Average marginal effects Depression

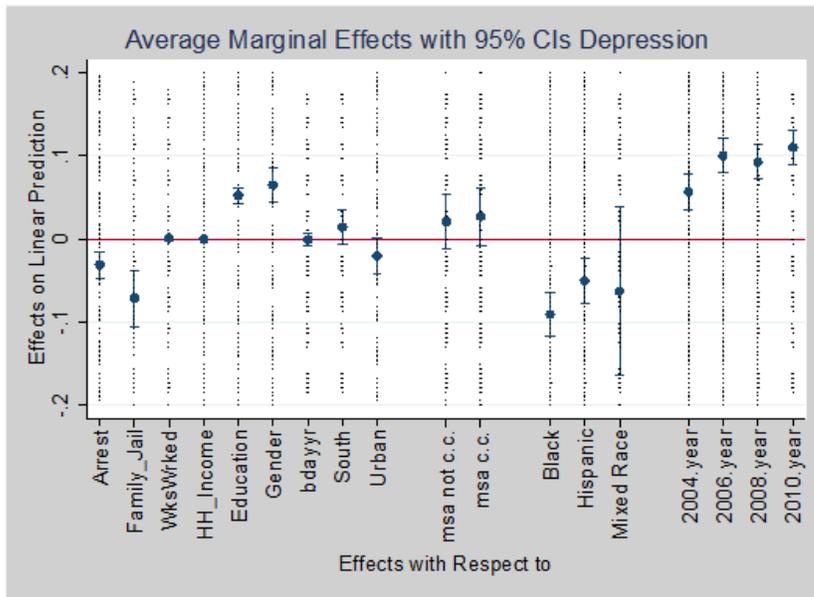
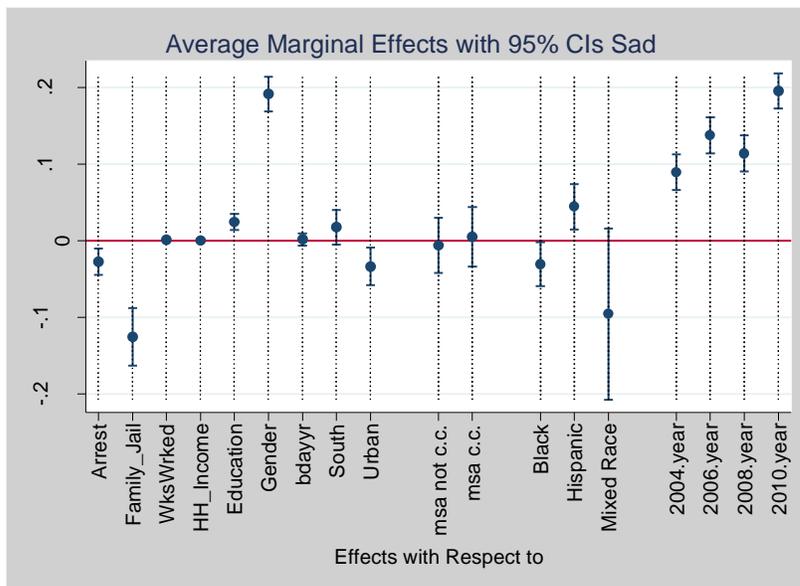


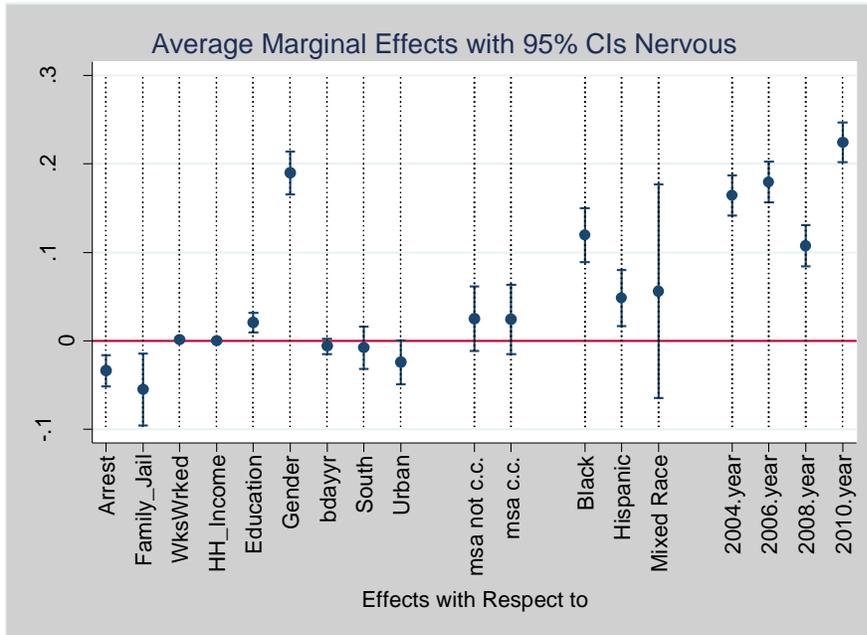
Figure 18 shows the when estimating how often a respondent has been depressed the effect of familial incarceration is second only to that of gender. Studies have found that constructions of masculinity can inflate how men perceive their own well-being (Courtenay, 2000). The effects of network contact on feelings of depression are larger than the effect of traditional socioeconomic variables. The effect of being Black has the largest effect on feeling depressed.

Figure 19 Average marginal effects Sadness



The marginal effects for sadness show a similar pattern. Gender again has the largest average marginal effect. Arrest is significant and larger than most of the predictive variables, but familial incarceration continues to have a very large marginal effect. Education is significant but has much smaller effects. Hispanics are significantly less sad than Whites which could be a function of the geographic and racial concentration of mass incarceration or immigration. Immigrants come here for a optimistic reasons and are some are leaving unfortunate situations.

Figure 20 Average marginal effect Nervousness



In figure 18, gender is still by far has the largest effect. Arrest and familial incarceration are both significant and have large effects. Black and Hispanic are both significant their effects are larger than the remaining traditional socioeconomic controls. Blacks and Hispanics are significantly less nervous than Whites. This could also be a function of the normalization of predation through its geographic and racial concentration.

Table 8

Contact and Affirmative Well-Being Measures

Model	(1)	(2)
Random-effects GLS regression		
	Happy	Calm
Arrest	-0.0260*** (0.00868)	-0.00394 (0.00894)
Family in Jail	-0.0741*** (0.0197)	-0.0847*** (0.0203)
Weeks Worked	0.000870*** (0.000212)	0.000446** (0.000218)
Gross Family Income	1.38e-07** (6.77e-08)	8.45e-08 (6.96e-08)
Education	0.0157*** (0.00547)	0.0174*** (0.00563)
Gender	0.0843*** (0.0118)	0.206*** (0.0121)
Birthday Year	0.00699* (0.00421)	0.00463 (0.00433)
South	0.0360*** (0.0117)	0.0322*** (0.0120)
Urban	-0.0310** (0.0123)	-0.0156 (0.0127)
MSA not c.c.	-0.00473 (0.0181)	0.0126 (0.0186)
MSA c.c.	0.00557 (0.0194)	0.0126 (0.0200)
Black	0.00922 (0.0148)	0.119*** (0.0152)
Hispanic	0.0717*** (0.0154)	0.0704*** (0.0158)
Mixed Race	-0.0267 (0.0586)	0.0328 (0.0603)
2004.year	0.00327 (0.0113)	0.0324*** (0.0117)
2006.year	0.0265** (0.0114)	0.0463*** (0.0117)
2008.year	-0.0322*** (0.0115)	-0.00279 (0.0119)
2010.year	-0.00883 (0.0113)	0.0315*** (0.0116)
Constant	-16.33* (8.345)	-11.96 (8.586)
Observations	24,828	24,789
Number of Respondents	7,474	7,474

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16)

In table 8 I estimate the effect contact has on feelings of happiness and calmness, respectfully. Arrest and familial contact are both negative and significant. Carceral contact is associated with reduced well-being. Familial incarceration is negatively associated with both happiness and calmness. Blacks are calmer than Whites. Hispanics are both happier and calmer than Whites. Gender remains positive and significant. Age is not significant. The number of weeks worked is associated well-being. Family income is associated with happiness. Education and South are both significant and is associated with well-being. In contrast urban is correlated with less happiness. A respondents' MSA areas is not significant. I find again that carceral contact and race are significant factors estimating well-being. This is important because voting correlated with well-being.

Figure 21 Average marginal effect Happiness

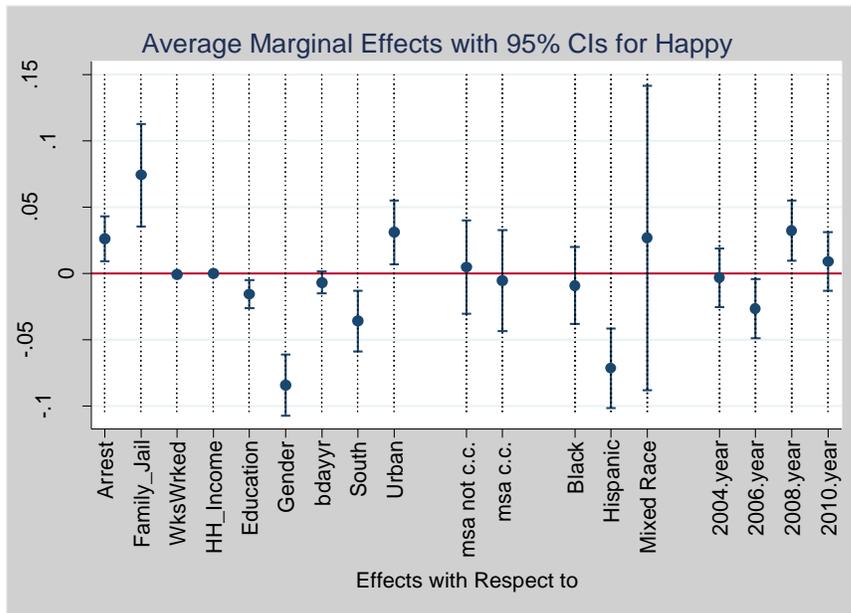
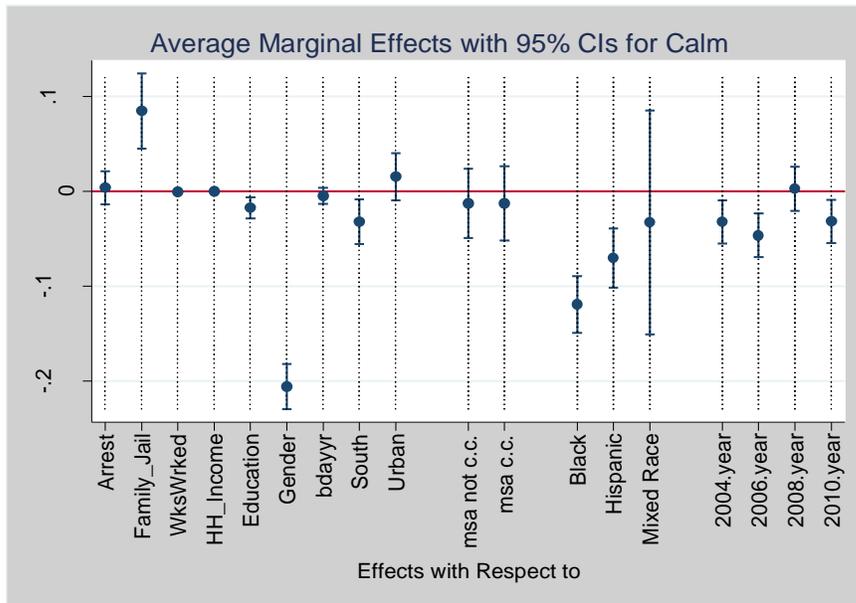


Figure 22 Average marginal effect Calmness



The average marginal effect in figures 21 and 22 continue to show that arrest has a significant effect that is greater than most predictive variables. Also, the effect of familial contact remains second only to the effect of maleness. Outside of being a man network contact produces the most negative effects on well-being.

4.5 Discussion

The above statistical analysis supports the hypotheses that carceral contact has negative effect on well-being and the effects are racially heterogeneous. This supports the theory that the predatory state is applying a disproportionate amount of collective political violence toward African Americas. Whites experience negative well-being outcomes from carceral contact, yet the extent of that effect is statistically different form Blacks. However, the coefficients for Hispanics and Blacks are significant and statistically different from Whites in each of the four

well-being models. Blacks rate their lives worse than Whites and are less satisfied with their lives compared to Whites. The marginal effect for Blacks is larger than the effects of all the other variables in the depression model.

4.6 Conclusion

The *Black Tax* paid by African Americans is a quotidian fee applied to African Americans. The increased stress created by the *Tax* produces an environment that marginalizes and punishes Blacks for being Black. The elevated stress level adversely affects the well-being components of political efficacy and makes it less likely that those with experiencing personal and network carceral contact will participate.

CONCLUSION

5.1 Chapter Summaries

The questions I answered in my dissertation are: (1) How does carceral contact (in all its facets) affect the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy? (2) How does the racially geographic concentration of mass incarceration affect Black participation? This is important because a “failure to participate has consequences, as those who fail to take part, in effect, cede influence over political matters to those who do” (McCluskey et al., 2004, p.438) and more importantly “...the distribution of goods and services and scarce resources are made on the basis of race or sometimes such variables as equality. Racial participation in the distribution system is specified to ensure a fair distribution of goods and services” (Walton, 1985, p.29-30).

In Chapter 1 I recount the evolution of American criminal justice system and the advent of mass incarceration, the first- and second-order collateral consequences, and political spillover effects. In all, there are over 7 million people under the control of the U.S. criminal justice system (incarcerated and community corrections). This is substantially more than any other nation and is historically and comparatively unprecedented (Redburn et al., 2014). Mass incarceration represents a significant expansion of the carceral state into the lives of the U.S. population. Many aspects of the U.S. carceral state—including disparities in imprisonment,

arrest practices, use of force, court proceedings, and racial profiling—disproportionately affect African Americans (DOJ, 2015; DOJ, 2016). Sixty percent of America's 2.23 million incarcerated persons are racial minorities (Carson & Sabol, 2012). Aggressive policing and punitive policies have created mini-police states within Black communities (Alexander, 2012). Incarceration has become a public good and punishment a public service (D'Amico, 2009). In the American context, the government is choosing whom and to what severity to punish, which has serious implications for democracy (Manza & Uggen, 2006). This makes the study of the collateral consequences of the carceral state vital to the study of American Politics.

The first order effects of mass incarceration and felony disenfranchisement have an immediate impact on participation. (Miles, 2004). African-Americans account for 2,231,002 million (or 40%) of the almost 6 million disenfranchised Americans. Eight percent of all African Americans are disenfranchised. The second order effects include, but are not limited to, how incarceration, disenfranchisement, probation and parole, collateral consequences, over policing, and police militarization produce adverse social, psychological, and economic outcomes for families and communities. The rise in the incarceration rate has been accompanied by a simultaneous rise in number of families and children experiencing familial carceral contact.

The political spillover effects are on the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy. Carceral contact has adverse effects on the political socialization process (Lynch & Patterson, 1991). One of the more serious externalities, is the negative impact carceral predation has on the development of political efficacy and thereby participation in politics. Political participation rests on socially induced incentives and the instrument for encouraging participation is political socialization (Cho et al., 2006). An affirmative political socialization

process has been associated with increases in voter turnout (Pacheco, 2008) and Cassel and Luskin (1988) found that low levels of efficacy are correlated with lower turnout.

Chapter 2 details theoretically the various ways in which states relate to their citizens. We call these relationships political regimes. The state is the sovereign and the political regime is how it relates to the polis. The power of the state to target and effectively decrease the quality of life and political power of specific groups of individuals is evident throughout history. Racial minorities and other undesirable groups have been the state's primary targets (Mustard, 2003). American political development scholars have produced vigorous scholarship on the American dual racial state and the institutions that reinforce it. The racial state developed amidst Liberalism's awkward dance with race and has given way to a fascination with racial identity, which reproduces political, social, and economic exclusions (Goldberg, 2002). The racial state is the predatory state but the predatory state is not necessarily always the racial state. The predatory state applies collective violence against various marginalized groups. Systems of differentiation include race but also class, gender, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, etc.

I argue that collective violence differs from violence and covers an array of covert, subtle, low and high intensity, and ongoing actions. Collective violence includes unjust incarceration, human rights abuses, violent state rhetoric, and systemic inequalities (Besteman, 2002). It utilizes symbolism and social constructions (Della Porta, 2013). Collective violence is intended to shape the behavior of the targeted population by altering the expected utility of specific behaviors (Kalyvas et al., 2006). Lowndes (2008) argues that three key political institutions have developed to maintain social control: political leadership, the military industrial complex, and law enforcement. In contemporary America, we have witnessed the amalgamation of all three of these institutions into the carceral state. This is a new, large, specialized high capacity

institution, like nothing before it. I argued in favor of a dual state hypothesis, by first outlining the concept of the contract state and then contrasting it with the predatory state. I then examined some of the ideas surrounding the establishment of just institutions and the application of justice in support of state duality. Secondly, I discussed the social construction of Blackness and the epistemology of marginalization. Lastly, I introduced the concept of the Black tax by discussing predations effect on the Black political socialization process, the development of political efficacy, and its deleterious effect on Black political power using the Department of Justice (2015; 2016; 2017) reports on Ferguson, Baltimore, and Chicago's police departments as case studies.

Chapter 3 begins the projects empirical portion. I examined how criminal justice policies and the application of criminal justice affects black political participation. Over-policing and mass incarceration has disenfranchised 8 million African Americans (Travis et al., 2014), but it also adversely affects the political socialization process and the development of political efficacy, leading to reductions in turnout. The decline in turnout caused by carceral contact are externalities of predation, which is the targeted and persistent use of collective political violence. This is important because most citizens primarily come into contact with the government either through social services or police. Furthermore, with the geographic and racial concentration of mass incarceration it is important to examine the criminal justice system's overarching effect on Black voter participation.

Using National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) 1997 and ICPSR National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), 1994-2008 I tested three hypotheses: *The Carceral Contact Hypothesis*, *The Familial Contact Hypothesis*, and *The Political Efficacy Hypothesis*. Utilizing random-effects GLS regression and OLS regressions

from survey and panel data, we see that all three hypotheses are confirmed. Having contact with the carceral state negatively affects the likelihood of participation and lowers efficacy. Personal and network contact decreases the likelihood that a respondent will vote. For African Americans, the decrease in the likelihood of participation is greater than that of Whites. Carceral contact also reduces respondents' interest in government and public affairs, which is a function of political efficacy. Trust in government is likewise negatively affected by carceral contact. Trust in government is a function of internal political efficacy. For both Blacks and Whites, trust is adversely affected by contact. Frequency of contact contributes to an increase in distrust. As previous scholarship suggests, Blacks have a baseline of trust that is lower than that of Whites for all levels of government. Blacks' distrust rises significantly from federal to local government. The Black—White distrust gap starts at 5-points at the federal level, at the state level the coefficient for Blacks is nearly double that of Whites, and at the local level the Black coefficient is nearly 3 times as large.

In chapter 4 I argued that the social construction of blackness legitimizes the predatory state's application of collective violence against African Americans, which has deleterious effects on the development of efficacy and ultimately Black political participation. In this section I argued that carceral contact also affects the well-being components of political efficacy, which are also associated with participation. Health has been shown to influence participation in other social institutions (Fletcher, 2008; Fletcher, 2014; Haas & Fosse, 2008; Pelkowski & Berger, 2004; Teachman, 2010), but health related variables remain largely unexplored in political science (Burden et al., 2017; Mattila et al., 2013). Burden et al (2017) included three measures of health and found that the health effect was similar in magnitude to that of education (Burden et al., 2017).

There are many variables believed to contribute to health disparities, but Aneshensel, Phelan, and Bierman (2013) find that disparities are based on how advantaged or disadvantaged one social group is compared to another. Because various social groups have different relationships to institutions, processes of marginalization and unequal distributions of resources emerge in a myriad of categories creating systemic disparities. Efficacy is produced through institutional relationships and the quality of these relationships directly impacts efficacious development (Gecas, 1989). Race, an institutional relationship, has been found to play a major role in the development of efficacy (Assari, 2016; Lachman, 1986).

Using National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) 1997 I tested three hypotheses: *The Participation Hypothesis, The Well-Being Hypothesis, and The Outlook Hypothesis*. The statistical analysis supports all three hypotheses. Contact with the carceral state has adverse effects on well-being and make it less likely that a respondent will vote. Respondents were asked to rate their own life on two separate questions and Blacks who had contact with the criminal justice system consistently rated their lives worse than their White counterparts. The results also support my assumptions that the adverse well-being effects are greater among African Americans. On every interpersonal measure of well-being, African Americans reported more negative feelings, less calmness, and increases in nervousness and anxiety. This supports the theory that the predatory state is applying a disproportionate amount of collective violence toward African Americans. Whites also experience negative interpersonal outcomes from carceral contact, but the extent of that effect is consistently less and sometimes insignificant when compared to Blacks.

5.2 Themes Revisited

Predatory State The predatory state applies collective violence against various marginalized groups. These systems of marginalization target individuals based on their race but also class, gender, nationality, religion, and sexual orientation. I use the term predatory state, in lieu of racial state, because predation is a means of social control that has been applied to various marginalized groups (see Chapter 2).

Collective Political Violence Collective violence differs from violence and covers an array of covert, subtle, low and high intensity, and ongoing actions. Collective violence includes unjust incarceration, human rights abuses, violent state rhetoric, and systemic inequalities. It utilizes symbolism and social constructions. Collective violence is intended to shape the behavior of the targeted population by altering the expected utility of specific behaviors. The primary tool of predatory regimes is collective violence (see Chapter 2).

Black Tax The institutional cost of Blackness. The stress created by predation--the unmitigated, persistent, quotidian application of racism and everyday racism produces separate and distinctive social and personal costs for African Americans. These costs are levied as a tax against Blackness. A penalty of sorts is applied by the predatory state which varies with one's racial identity. The space one occupies within the state is directly related to one's relationship to state institutions and that relationship determines the severity of the Black Tax.

Mass Incarceration Throughout this dissertation I discussed the negative externalities of mass incarceration. Incarceration is the legal deprivation of individual liberty in a sanctioned facility and the incarceration rate is the ratio of persons incarcerated to the total population of a geographic area. Mass Incarceration is stained and substantial rise in its incarceration population. Currently, in American there are over 7 million people under the control of the U.S. criminal justice system, 60% of whom are minorities (see Chapter 1).

Political Socialization Political socialization falls into three categories: attachment to the political system, partisan attitudes, and political participation. Attachment is defined as focusing on the institutions, structures, and norms of the state Partisan attitudes focus on the political regime and competing ideologies. Political participation involves political behavior and acts (Muralidharan & Sung, 2016; Sears, 1975; Thies, 2016)(Muralidharan & Sung, 2016; Sears, 1975; Thies, 2016). A racialized political socialization process has developed in America, which plays a large role in preparing African Americans to deal with their political reality. Black socialization occurs simultaneously and within the broader national political socialization process. In this sense, Black parents are creating African Americans (see Chapter 1).

Political Efficacy Political efficacy is the belief that a person can influence the social system and is used to predict various forms of civic participation. Political efficacy tenets are knowledge paradigms that create the perceived degree of control people exert over their everyday lives. Political efficacy is strongly correlated with political participation, an

individual's general psychological orientation, and the political environment within which one operates. The basis for internal political efficacy is the knowledge of history and current conditions and the basis for external political efficacy is trust in government (see Chapter 3).

Well-Being Wellness is defined as a positive state of affairs brought about by the satisfaction of interpersonal needs (physical and psychological. Well-being "...is a positive state of affairs, brought about by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of diverse objective and subjective needs of individuals, relationships, organizations, and communities" (Prilleltensky, 2012, p.2). Interpersonal well-being is a reflection of one's satisfaction with their institutional relationships (Duff et al., 2016). All three concepts are positively associated with resilience, overall life-satisfaction, and health but interpersonal well-being was particularly important for evaluating political behavior in systems, like the U.S., where participation and access are the primary channels for petitioning the government (see Chapter 4).

5.3 Closing Thoughts

In summation, this dissertation takes us a few steps further in understanding minority turnout and specifically Black voter turnout in light of the advent of mass incarceration. Because of the predatory state's application of collective political violence against marginalized or deviant social groups the calculus of voting must be adjusted to account for the quotidian nature of oppression. The literature on disenfranchisement and the collateral consequences stemming from incarceration on individuals, families, and communities is well documented. Here I attempt to add to the literature on the political effects of mass incarceration. I put forth a theory that

postulates that the political environment one finds themselves in can affect the development of political efficacy and ultimately turnout.

This is important because the turnout literature has not accounted for how marginalization holistically effects voting. Literature on how SES, education, and political efficacy effect voting has done little to factor in the costs associated with marginalized governmental contact. Some scholars have posited that institutional factors affect Black turnout but have yet to address the question in the context of a majority Black (70%) city like Ferguson, Missouri, which had a nearly all white political regime. I look past the tangible and social barriers to voting and into the environment that fosters the political socialization process and produces efficacy. I show that personal contact with the predatory state, below disenfranchisement, as well as network contact both decrease turnout, levels of political efficacy and well-being and that these costs are borne more heavily by African Americans.

The political implications are serious in that the low-cost/low-benefit nature of voting implies that small changes in the cost/benefit structure will have significant influence on participation. As a result, in places like in Ferguson, where the apparatus of criminal justice was used in a predacious manner, it reduced turnout even though it was not an expressed goal. The expressed goal was the extraction of economic resources from the Black community. With the advent of mass incarceration and the racial and geographic concentration of incarceration and over-policing we can only assume that along with all the other negative externalities that spawn from the carceral state, Black participation and efficacy have also been disproportionately depressed. This helps us to further understand some of the variations we see in Black-White turnout rates, civic participation, and interpersonal well-being.

REFERENCES

- A Huber, G., & Gordon, S. C. (2004). Accountability and coercion: Is justice blind when it runs for office? *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(2), 247-263.
- ABA. (2013). National inventory of the collateral consequences of conviction. Retrieved from <http://www.abacollateralconsequences.org/map/>
- Abney, F. G. (1974). Factors related to negro voter turnout in mississippi. *The Journal of Politics*, 36(4), 1057-1063.
- Abney, F. G., & Hutcheson, J. D. (1981). Race, representation, and trust: Changes in attitudes after the election of a black mayor. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 45(1), 91-101. doi:10.1086/268636
- Abramson, P. R. (1972). Political efficacy and political trust among black schoolchildren: Two explanations. *The Journal of Politics*, 34(04), 1243-1275.
- Abramson, P. R. (1983). *Political attitudes in america: Formation and change* Freeman.
- Abramson, P. R., & Aldrich, J. H. (1982). The decline of electoral participation in america. *American Political Science Review*, 76(03), 502-521.
- Abramson, P. R., & Claggett, W. (1984). Race-related differences in self-reported and validated turnout. *The Journal of Politics*, 46(3), 719-738.
- Abramson, P. R., & Claggett, W. (1992). The quality of record keeping and racial differences in validated turnout. *The Journal of Politics*, 54(3), 871-880. doi:10.2307/2132316
- Acevedo-Garcia, D., Lochner, K. A., Osypuk, T. L., & Subramanian, S. V. (2003). Future directions in residential segregation and health research: A multilevel approach. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(2), 215-221.
- Aguilera-Guzmán, R. M., de Snyder, V Nelly Salgado, Romero, M., & Medina-Mora, M. E. (2004). Paternal absence and international migration: Stressors and compensators associated with the mental health of mexican teenagers of rural origin. *Adolescence*, 39(156), 711.
- Akbar, N. (1991). Mental disorder among african americans.
- Akbar, N., & Rasheed, T. (1996). *Breaking the chains of psychological slavery* Mind Productions & Associates.

- Alba, R., & Nee, V. (2009). *Remaking the american mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration* Harvard University Press.
- Aldrich, J. H. (1993). Rational choice and turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, , 246-278.
- Alexander, J. C., Eyerman, R., Giesen, B., Smelser, N. J., & Sztompka, P. (2004). *Cultural trauma and collective identity* Univ of California Press.
- Alexander, M. (2012). *The new jim crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness* The New Press.
- Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (2015). *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations* Princeton University Press.
- Anderson, C., Turner, A. C., Heath, R. D., & Payne, C. M. (2016). On the meaning of grit... and hope... and fate control... and alienation... and locus of control... and... self-efficacy... and... effort optimism... and.... *The Urban Review*, 48(2), 198-219.
- Aneshensel, C. S. (1992). Social stress: Theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, , 15-38.
- Aneshensel, C. S., Phelan, J. C., & Bierman, A. (2013). *Handbook of the sociology of mental health. [electronic resource]* Dordrecht ; New York : Springer, c2013; 2nd ed.
- Apel, R., Blokland, A. A., Nieuwebeerta, P., & van Schellen, M. (2010). The impact of imprisonment on marriage and divorce: A risk set matching approach. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 26(2), 269-300.
- Arditti, J. A., Lambert-Shute, J., & Joest, K. (2003). Saturday morning at the jail: Implications of incarceration for families and children*. *Family Relations*, 52(3), 195-204.
- Arendt, H. (1970). *On violence* Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Asante, M. K. (2005). *Race, rhetoric, and identity : The architecton of soul* Amherst, N.Y. : Humanity Books, 2005.
- Ashenfelter, O., & Kelley Jr, S. (1975). Determinants of participation in presidential elections. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 18(3), 695-733.
- Ashford, N. (2001). *Principles for a free society*.
- Assari, S. (2016). General self-efficacy and mortality in the USA; racial differences. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, , 1-12.

- Augenblick, N., & Nicholson, S. (2016). Ballot position, choice fatigue, and voter behaviour. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 83(2), 460-480.
- Austin, J., & Irwin, J. (2001). *It's about time : America's imprisonment binge* Australia Belmont, CA : Wadsworth, c2001; 3rd ed.
- Avery, J. M. (2007). Race, partisanship, and political trust following bush versus gore (2000). *Political Behavior*, 29(3), 327-342.
- Avison, W., & Gotlib, I. H. (1994). *Stress and mental health: Contemporary issues and prospects for the future* Springer Science & Business Media.
- Baglivio, M. T., Wolff, K. T., Piquero, A. R., & Epps, N. (2015). The relationship between adverse childhood experiences (ACE) and juvenile offending trajectories in a juvenile offender sample. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43, 229-241.
doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.04.012
- Baldus, D. C., Woodworth, G., & Pulaski, C. A. (1990). *Equal justice and the death penalty: A legal and empirical analysis* Upne.
- Balfour, L. (2003). Unreconstructed democracy: WEB du bois and the case for reparations. *American Political Science Review*, 97(01), 33-44.
- Balko, R. (2013). *Rise of the warrior cop: The militarization of america's police forces* PublicAffairs.
- Banducci, S. A., Donovan, T., & Karp, J. A. (2004). Minority representation, empowerment, and participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 66(2), 534-556. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3449673>
- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control* Macmillan.
- Barker, V. (2009). *The politics of imprisonment: How the democratic process shapes the way america punishes offenders* Oxford University Press.
- Baumer, E. P. (2013). Reassessing and redirecting research on race and sentencing. *Justice Quarterly*, 30(2), 231-261.
- Beccaria, C. (2009). *On crimes and punishments and other writings* University of Toronto Press.
- Beck, A., & Blumstein, A. (2012). *National trends in incarceration: 1980-2010*. (). Washington, DC: Paper prepared for the National Research Council Committee on the Causes and Consequences of High Rates of Incarceration.
- Becker H, S. (1963). *Outsiders studies in the sociology of deviance* Macmillan.

- Beckett, K., & Murakawa, N. (2012). Mapping the shadow carceral state: Toward an institutionally capacious approach to punishment. *Theoretical Criminology*, 16(2), 221-244.
- Bell, D. A. (2000). Race, racism, and american law.
- Bentham, J. (1970). The utilitarian theory of punishment. *An Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation*. London: Athlone Press. (Orig. Work Published 1789),
- Bernstein, R., Chadha, A., & Montjoy, R. (2001). Overreporting voting: Why it happens and why it matters. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 65(1), 22-44. doi:POQ650102 [pii]
- Berremán, G. D. (1991). *Race, caste, and other invidious distinctions in social stratification* University of California.
- Besteman, C. L. (2002). *Violence: A reader* NYU Press.
- Bhatti, Y., & Hansen, K. M. (2016). The effect of residential concentration on voter turnout among ethnic minorities. *International Migration Review*, 50(4), 977-1004. doi:10.1111/imre.12187
- Biondi, M., & Biondi, M. (2009). *To stand and fight: The struggle for civil rights in postwar new york city* Harvard University Press.
- Blais, A., Gidengil, E., & Nevitte, N. (2004). Where does turnout decline come from? *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(2), 221-236.
- Blais, A., & Young, R. (1999). Why do people vote? an experiment in rationality. *Public Choice*, 99(1-2), 39-55.
- Blais, A., Young, R., & Lapp, M. (2000). The calculus of voting: An empirical test. *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(2), 181-201.
- Blakemore, J. L., & Blakemore, G. M. (1998). African american street gangs. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 1(2), 203.
- Blumstein, A. (1982). On the racial disproportionality of united states' prison populations. *J.Crim.L. & Criminology*, 73, 1259.
- Blumstein, A. (1993). Racial disproportionality of US prison populations revisited. *U.Colo.L.Rev.*, 64, 743.
- Blumstein, A., & Beck, A. J. (1999). Population growth in US prisons, 1980-1996. *Crime. & just.*, 26, 17.
- Blumstein, A., & Beck, A. J. (2005). *Reentry as a transient state between liberty and recommitment* New York, New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Blumstein, A., & Wallman, J. (2006). The crime drop and beyond. *Annu.Rev.Law Soc.Sci.*, 2, 125-146.
- Bobo, L. D., & Johnson, D. (2004). A taste for punishment: Black and white americans' views on the death penalty and the war on drugs. *Du Bois Review*, 1(01), 151-180.
- Bobo, L. D., & Thompson, V. (2006). Unfair by design: The war on drugs, race, and the legitimacy of the criminal justice system. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, (2), 445.
- Boyd, R. W. (1981). Decline of US voter turnout structural explanations. *American Politics Research*, 9(2), 133-159.
- Brace, K., Grofman, B. N., Handley, L. R., & Niemi, R. G. (1988). Minority voting equality: The 65 percent rule in theory and practice. *Law & Policy*, 10(1), 43-62.
- Brace, K., Handley, L., Niemi, R. G., & Stanley, H. W. (1995). Minority turnout and the creation of majority-minority districts. *American Politics Quarterly*, 23(2), 190-203.
- Braman, D. (2004). *Doing time on the outside: Incarceration and family life in urban america* University of Michigan Press.
- Brame, R., Turner, M. G., Paternoster, R., & Bushway, S. D. (2012). Cumulative prevalence of arrest from ages 8 to 23 in a national sample. *Pediatrics*, 129(1), 21-27.
doi:10.1542/peds.2010-3710 [doi]
- Brenner, M. H. (1973). Mental illness and the economy. *Cambridge, Mass.*, , 34.
- Brody, R. A. (1978). The puzzle of political participation in america. *The New American Political System*, , 287-324.
- Brody, R. A., & Sniderman, P. M. (1977). From life space to polling place: The relevance of personal concerns for voting behavior. *British Journal of Political Science*, 7(03), 337-360.
- Broh, C. A. (1981). Siblings and political socialization: A closer look at the direct transmission thesis. *Political Psychology*, , 173-183.
- Brown, T. N. (2008). Race, racism, and mental health: Elaboration of critical race theory's contribution to the sociology of mental health. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 11(1), 53-62.
- Brown, T. N., Bell, M. L., & Patterson, E. J. (2016). Imprisoned by empathy: Familial incarceration and psychological distress among african american men in the national survey of american life. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 57(2), 240-256.
doi:10.1177/0022146516645924 [doi]

- Buettner, D. (2010). *Thrive: Finding happiness the blue zones way*. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society,
- Buettner, D. (2012). *The blue zones: 9 lessons for living longer from the people who've lived the longest*. National Geographic Books.
- Burch, T. (2014). Mass imprisonment and political participation: Evidence from north carolina. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,
- Burch, T. (2007). *Punishment and participation: How criminal convictions threaten american democracy*. (2007-99210-199).
- Burden, B. C., Fletcher, J. M., Herd, P., Jones, B. M., & Moynihan, D. P. (2017). How different forms of health matter to political participation. *Journal of Politics*, 79(1), 166-178. doi:10.1086/687536
- Butler, D. M., & Broockman, D. E. (2011). Do politicians racially discriminate against constituents? A field experiment on state legislators. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(3), 463-477.
- Button, J. (1993). Racial cleavage in local voting: The case of school and tax issue referendums. *Journal of Black Studies*, 24(1), 29-41.
- Cacioppo, J. T., Reis, H. T., & Zautra, A. J. (2011). Social resilience: The value of social fitness with an application to the military. *American Psychologist*, 66(1), 43.
- Cadora, E., Swartz, C., & Gordon, M. (2003). Criminal justice and health and human services: An exploration of overlapping needs, resources, and interests in brooklyn neighborhoods (from prisoners once removed: The impact of incarceration and reentry on children, families, and communities, P 285-311, 2003, jeremy travis and michelle waul, eds.
- Cameron, C., Epstein, D., & O'Halloran, S. (1996). Do majority-minority districts maximize substantive black representation in congress? *The American Political Science Review*, 90(4), 794-812. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2945843>
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., Donald, E., & Stokes. (1960). *The american voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, , 77.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P., Miller, W., & Stokes, D. (1966). *Elections and the political order*
- Campbell, A., Gurin, G., & Miller, W. E. (1954). *The voter decides*.
- Campbell, B. A. (1979). Theory building in political socialization explorations of political trust and social learning theory. *American Politics Research*, 7(4), 453-469.

- Canela-Cacho, J. A., Blumstein, A., & Cohen, J. (1997). Relationship between the offending frequency of imprisoned and free offenders. *Criminology*, 35(1), 133-175.
- Canon, D. T. (1999). Electoral systems and the representation of minority interests in legislatures. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, , 331-385.
- Carlson, B. E., & Cervera, N. (1992). *Inmates and their wives: Incarceration and family life* Greenwood Press Westport, CT.
- Carmines, E. G., & Stimson, J. A. (1989). *Issue evolution: Race and the transformation of american politics* Princeton University Press.
- Carson, E., & Sabol, W. (2012). Prisoners in 2011 (NCJ 239808). *Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics*,
- Carter, J. H. (1994). Racism's impact on mental health. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 86(7), 543-547.
- Cassel, C. A., & Hill, D. B. (1981). Explanations of turnout decline A multivariate test. *American Politics Quarterly*, 9(2), 181-195.
- Cassel, C. A., & Luskin, R. C. (1988). Simple explanations of turnout decline. *American Political Science Review*, 82(04), 1321-1330.
- Cassel, C. A. (1979). Change in electoral participation in the south. *Journal of Politics*, 41(3), 907.
- Catalano, R., Dooley, D., Wilson, G., & Hough, R. (1993). Job loss and alcohol abuse: A test using data from the epidemiologic catchment area project. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, , 215-225.
- Cavanagh, T. E. (1981). Changes in american voter turnout, 1964-1976. *Political Science Quarterly*, 96(1), 53-65.
- Cervera, N., & Carlson, B. E. (1992). *Inmates and their wives: Incarceration and family life*. United States of America: Greenwood Press.
- Charles, K. K., & Luoh, M. C. (2010). Male incarceration, the marriage market, and female outcomes. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 92(3), 614-627.
- Chiricos, T. G., & Crawford, C. (1995). Race and imprisonment: A contextual assessment of the evidence. *Ethnicity, Race, and Crime: Perspectives Across Time and Place*, 13, 281-309.
- Cho, W. K. T., Gimpel, J. G., & Dyck, J. J. (2006). Residential concentration, political socialization, and voter turnout. *Journal of Politics*, 68(1), 156-167.

- Chong, D., Citrin, J., & Conley, P. (2001). When self-interest matters. *Political Psychology*, 22(3), 541-570. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792426>
- Christian, J. (2005). Riding the bus barriers to prison visitation and family management strategies. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 21(1), 31-48.
- Citrin, J. (1974). Comment: The political relevance of trust in government. *American Political Science Review*, 68(03), 973-988.
- Claes, E., Hooghe, M., & Stolle, D. (2009). *The political socialization of adolescents in canada: Differential effects of civic education on visible minorities* Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, C. J. (2014). Collective descriptive representation and black voter mobilization in 2008. *Political Behavior*, 36(2), 315-333.
- Clarke, H. D., & Acock, A. C. (1989). National elections and political attitudes: The case of political efficacy. *British Journal of Political Science*, 19(04), 551-562.
- Clemmer, D. (1958). *The prison community* New York, Rinehart, 1958.
- Cloward, R., & Fox-Piven, F. (2002). The declining significance of class? the case of the national voter registration act of 1993. *Reflections: Narratives of Professional Helping*, 8(1), 9.
- Cockerham, W. (2010). *The new blackwell companion to medical sociology* John Wiley & Sons.
- Cohen, C. J. (1999). *The boundaries of blackness: AIDS and the breakdown of black politics* University of Chicago Press.
- Cohen, C. J. (2010). *Democracy remixed: Black youth and the future of american politics* Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, S. (2004). Social relationships and health. *American Psychologist*, 59(8), 676.
- Comfort, M. (2007). Punishment beyond the legal offender. *Annu.Rev.Law Soc.Sci.*, 3, 271-296.
- Comfort, M. (2009). *Doing time together: Love and family in the shadow of the prison* University of Chicago Press.
- Comfort, M. L. (2003). In the tube at san quentin the “Secondary prisonization” of women visiting inmates. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 32(1), 77-107.
- Congdon, M. (2015). Epistemic injustice in the space of reasons. *Episteme*, 12(1), 75.
- Connerton, P. (1989). *How societies remember* Cambridge University Press.

- Cooper, M. (2013). The intrinsic foundations of extrinsic motivations and goals toward a unified humanistic theory of well-being and change. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 53*(2), 153-171.
- Corzine, J., Creech, J., & Corzine, L. (1983). Black concentration and lynchings in the south: Testing blalock's power-threat hypothesis. *Social Forces, 61*(3), 774-796.
- Cosgrove, J. R. (2003). Four new arguments against the constitutionality of felony disenfranchisement. *T.Jefferson L.Rev., 26*, 157.
- Countryman, M. J. (2007). *Up south: Civil rights and black power in philadelphia* University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Courtenay, W. H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: A theory of gender and health. *Social Science & Medicine, 50*(10), 1385-1401.
- Coveyou, M. R., & Pfeiffer, D. G. (1973). Education and voting turnout of blacks in the 1968 presidential election. *The Journal of Politics, 35*(4), 995-1001.
- Cox, G. W. (1997). *Making votes count: Strategic coordination in the world's electoral systems* Cambridge Univ Press.
- Craig, S. C., Niemi, R. G., & Silver, G. E. (1990). Political efficacy and trust: A report on the NES pilot study items. *Political Behavior, 12*(3), 289-314.
- Creed, P. A., & Bartrum, D. A. (2008). Personal control as a mediator and moderator between life strains and psychological Well-Being in the unemployed. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 38*(2), 460-481.
- Cullen, F. T., Fisher, B. S., & Applegate, B. K. (2000). Public opinion about punishment and corrections. *Crime and Justice, , 1-79*.
- D'Amico, D. J. (2009). The business ethics of incarceration: The moral implications of treating prisons like businesses. *Reason Papers, 31*, 125-147.
- Dallaire, D. H., Ciccone, A., & Wilson, L. C. (2010). Teachers' experiences with and expectations of children with incarcerated parents. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 31*(4), 281-290.
- Darden, J. T. (1984). Black political underrepresentation in majority black places. *Journal of Black Studies, 15*(1), 101-116.
- Davis, K. C. (1969). *Discretionary justice: A preliminary inquiry* LSU Press.
- Dawson, M. C. (1995). *Behind the mule: Race and class in african-american politics* Princeton University Press.

- De Jasay, A. (1985). *The state* Basil Blackwell Oxford.
- de Snyder, V Nelly Salgado. (1987). Factors associated with acculturative stress and depressive symptomatology among married mexican immigrant women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 11(4), 475-488.
- Della Porta, D. (2013). *Clandestine political violence* Cambridge University Press.
- Dennis, J. (1991). Theories of turnout: An empirical comparison of alienationist and rationalist perspectives. *Political Participation and American Democracy*, , 23-66.
- Dershowitz, A. (1976). *Fair and certain punishment*
- Diemer, M. A. (2012). Fostering marginalized youths' political participation: Longitudinal roles of parental political socialization and youth sociopolitical development. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 50(1-2), 246-256.
- Diener, E., Wirtz, D., Biswas-Diener, R., Tov, W., Kim-Prieto, C., Choi, D., & Oishi, S. (2009). New measures of well-being. *Assessing well-being* (pp. 247-266) Springer.
- DOJ. (2015). *Investigation of the ferguson police department* Washington, D.C.] : Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 2015.
- DOJ. (2016). *Investigation of the baltimore city police department* Washington, D.C.] : U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 2016.
- Dooley, D., & Catalano, R. (1984). Why the economy predicts help-seeking: A test of competing explanations. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, , 160-176.
- Downey, G., & Moen, P. (1987). Personal efficacy, income, and family transitions: A longitudinal study of women heading households. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, , 320-333.
- Downs, A. (1956). *An economic theory of government decision-making in a democracy* Department of Economics, Stanford University.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*.
- Drakulich, K. M., Crutchfield, R. D., Matsueda, R. L., & Rose, K. (2012). Instability, informal control, and criminogenic situations: Community effects of returning prisoners. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 57(5), 493-519.
- Duff, J., Rubenstein, C., & Prilleltensky, I. (2016). Wellness and fairness: Two core values for humanistic psychology. *The Humanistic Psychologist*, 44(2), 127.
- Durkheim, E. (2014). *The division of labor in society* Simon and Schuster.

- Edlin, A. S., Gelman, A., & Kaplan, N. (2007). Voting as a rational choice: Why and how people vote to improve the well-being of others. *Rationality and Society, 1*
- Edsall, T. B., & Edsall, M. D. (1992). *Chain reaction: The impact of race, rights, and taxes on american politics* WW Norton & Company.
- Eisenberger, N. I. (2012). The neural bases of social pain: Evidence for shared representations with physical pain. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 74*(2), 126-135.
doi:10.1097/PSY.0b013e3182464dd1 [doi]
- Ellison, R. (2011). *The collected essays of ralph ellison* Modern Library.
- Emmons, R. A. (1986). Personal strivings: An approach to personality and subjective well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*(5), 1058.
- Erikson, K. T. (1966). *Wayward puritans: A study in the sociology of deviance* Wiley New York.
- Erikson, R. S. (1981). Why do people vote? because they are registered. *American Politics Quarterly, 9*(3), 259-276.
- Essed, P., & Goldberg, D. T. (2002). *Race critical theories: Text and context* Blackwell.
- Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism : An interdisciplinary theory* Newbury Park, Calif. : Sage Publications, 1991.
- Evans-Chase, M. (2014). Addressing trauma and psychosocial development in juvenile justice-involved youth: A synthesis of the developmental neuroscience, juvenile justice and trauma literature. *Laws, 3*(4), 744-758.
- Fairdosi, A. S., & Rogowski, J. C. (2015). Candidate race, partisanship, and political participation: When do black candidates increase black turnout? *Political Research Quarterly, 68*(2), 337-349. doi:10.1177/1065912915577819
- Faris, R. E. L., & Dunham, H. W. (1939). Mental disorders in urban areas: An ecological study of schizophrenia and other psychoses.
- Farrington, D. P. (1986). *Age and crime* University of Chicago Press.
- Feddersen, T. J. (2004). Rational choice theory and the paradox of not voting. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 18*(1), 99-112.
- Feenan, D. (2007). Understanding disadvantage partly through an epistemology of ignorance. *Social & Legal Studies, 16*(4), 509-531.
- Ferejohn, J. A., & Fiorina, M. P. (1974). The paradox of not voting: A decision theoretic analysis. *The American Political Science Review, , 525-536*.

- Ferraro, K. J., Johnson, J. M., Jorgensen, S. R., & Bolton, F. (1983). Problems of prisoner's families: The hidden costs of imprisonment. *Journal of Family Issues*, 4(4), 575.
- Fishman, L. T. (1990). *Women at the wall: A study of prisoners' wives doing time on the outside* Suny Press.
- Fishman, S. H. (1983). The impact of incarceration on children of offenders. *Journal of Children in Contemporary Society*, 15(1), 89-99.
- Flamm, M. W. (2005). *Law and order: Street crime, civil unrest, and the crisis of liberalism in the 1960s* Columbia University Press.
- Fletcher, J. M. (2008). Adolescent depression: Diagnosis, treatment, and educational attainment. *Health Economics*, 17(11), 1215-1235.
- Fletcher, J. M. (2014). The effects of childhood ADHD on adult labor market outcomes. *Health Economics*, 23(2), 159-181.
- Form, W. H., & Huber, J. (1971). Income, race, and the ideology of political efficacy. *The Journal of Politics*, 33(3), 659-688.
- Forman Jr, J. (2012). Racial critiques of mass incarceration: Beyond the new jim crow. *NYUL Rev.*, 87, 21.
- Fortner, M. J. (2013). The carceral state and the crucible of black politics: An urban history of the rockefeller drug laws. *Studies in American Political Development*, 27(01), 14-35.
- Foucault, M. (1995). Discipline and punish. the birth of the prison.
- Foucault, M. (1978). The history of sexuality, vol. 1, an introduction, trans. robert hurley. *New York: Pantheon*,
- Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, , 777-795.
- Fowler, J. H. (2006). Altruism and turnout. *Journal of Politics*, 68(3), 674-683.
- Fraga, B. L. (2016a). Candidates or districts? reevaluating the role of race in voter turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(1), 97-122. doi:10.1111/ajps.12172
- Fraga, B. L. (2016b). Redistricting and the causal impact of race on voter turnout. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(1), 19-34. doi:10.1086/683601
- Fraser, J. (1970). The mistrustful-efficacious hypothesis and political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 32(2), 444-449.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* Bloomsbury Publishing.

- Fricker, M. (2003). Epistemic justice and a role for virtue in the politics of knowing. *Metaphilosophy*, 34(1-2), 154-173.
- Gabel, K., & Johnston, D. (1995). *Children of incarcerated parents* New York : Lexington Books, c1995.
- Gallego, A. (2010). Understanding unequal turnout: Education and voting in comparative perspective. *Electoral Studies*, 29(2), 239-248.
- Garland, D. (2012). *Punishment and modern society: A study in social theory* University of Chicago Press.
- Gaudet, J. (2013). It takes two to tango: Knowledge mobilization and ignorance mobilization in science research and innovation. *Prometheus*, 31(3), 169-187.
- Gay, C. (2001). The effect of black congressional representation on political participation. *American Political Science Association*, , 95(03) 589-602.
- Gay, C. (2002). Spirals of trust? the effect of descriptive representation on the relationship between citizens and their government. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(4), 717-732. doi:10.2307/3088429
- Gecas, V. (1989). The social psychology of self-efficacy. *Annual Review of Sociology*, , 291-316.
- Gee, G. C., Spencer, M., Chen, J., Yip, T., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2007). The association between self-reported racial discrimination and 12-month DSM-IV mental disorders among asian americans nationwide. *Social Science & Medicine*, 64(10), 1984-1996.
- Geller, A., Cooper, C. E., Garfinkel, I., Schwartz-Soicher, O., & Mincy, R. B. (2012). Beyond absenteeism: Father incarceration and child development. *Demography*, 49(1), 49-76.
- Geller, A., Garfinkel, I., Cooper, C. E., & Mincy, R. B. (2009). Parental incarceration and child Well-Being: Implications for urban families*. *Social Science Quarterly*, 90(5), 1186-1202.
- Gerber, A. S., & Green, D. P. (2000). The effects of canvassing, telephone calls, and direct mail on voter turnout: A field experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 94(03), 653-663.
- Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P., & Larimer, C. W. (2008). Social pressure and voter turnout: Evidence from a large-scale field experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 102(01), 33-48.
- Gibson, L. E., Holt, J. C., Fondacaro, K. M., Tang, T. S., Powell, T. A., & Turbitt, E. L. (1999). An examination of antecedent traumas and psychiatric comorbidity among male inmates with PTSD. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 12(3), 473-484.

- Gidengil, E., O'Neill, B., & Young, L. (2010). Her mother's daughter? the influence of childhood socialization on women's political engagement. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, (4), 334.
- Gidengil, E., Wass, H., & Valaste, M. (2016). Political socialization and voting. *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(2), 373. doi:10.1177/1065912916640900
- Gillespie, W. (2003). *Prisonization : Individual and institutional factors affecting inmate conduct* New York : LFB Scholarly Pub., 2003.
- Gilliam Jr, F. D., & Kaufmann, K. M. (1998). Is there an empowerment life cycle? long-term black empowerment and its influence on voter participation. *Urban Affairs Review*, 33(6), 741-766.
- Gilson, E. (2011). Vulnerability, ignorance, and oppression. *Hypatia*, 26(2), 308-332.
- Giordano, P. C. (2010). *Legacies of crime: A follow-up of the children of highly delinquent girls and boys* Cambridge University Press.
- Glaser, W. A. (1959). The family and voting turnout. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23(4), 563-570.
- Glaze, L. E., & Bonczar, T. P. (2011). *Probation and parole in the united states, 2010*. (No. NCJ 222984). Washington, DC: U.S Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Glaze, L. E., & Herberman, E. J. (2013). Correctional populations in the united states, 2012. *Population*, 6(7), 8.
- Glaze, L. E., & Maruschak, L. M. (2008). *Parents in prison and their minor children US* Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs Washington, DC.
- Gleason, S. A., & Stout, C. T. (2014). Who is empowering who: Exploring the causal relationship between descriptive representation and black empowerment. *Journal of Black Studies*, 45(7), 635-659. doi:10.1177/0021934714545343
- Goff, A., Rose, E., Rose, S., & Purves, D. (2007). Does PTSD occur in sentenced prison populations? A systematic literature review. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 17(3), 152-162.
- Goffman, A. (2009). On the run: Wanted men in a philadelphia ghetto. *American Sociological Review*, 74(3), 339-357.
- Goldberg, D. T. (2002). *The racial state* Blackwell Publishing.
- Gordon, S. C., & Huber, G. (2007). The effect of electoral competitiveness on incumbent behavior. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2(2), 107-138.

- Gore, J. S., Griffin, D. P., & McNierney, D. (2016). Does internal or external locus of control have a stronger link to mental and physical health? *Psychological Studies*, 61(3), 181-196.
- Grafstein, R. (1995). Rationality as conditional expected utility maximization. *Political Psychology*, 16(1, Special Issue: Political Economy and Political Psychology), 63-80.
- Greeley, A. M. (1975). A model for ethnic political socialization. *American Journal of Political Science*, , 187-206.
- Green, D., & Shapiro, I. (1996). *Pathologies of rational choice theory: A critique of applications in political science* Yale University Press.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Krieger, L. H. (2006). Implicit bias: Scientific foundations. *California Law Review*, 94(4), 945-967.
- Griffin, J. D., & Keane, M. (2006). Descriptive representation and the composition of african american turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(4), 998-1012.
- Grinstead, O., Faigeles, B., Bancroft, C., & Zack, B. (2001). The financial cost of maintaining relationships with incarcerated african american men: A survey of women prison visitors. *Journal of African American Men*, 6(1), 59-70.
- Grob, A. (2000). Perceived control and subjective well-being across nations and across the life span. *Culture and Subjective Well-Being*, , 319-339.
- Gross, S. R., & Mauro, R. (1989). *Death & discrimination: Racial disparities in capital sentencing* Northeastern University Press Boston.
- Grusky, D. B., Ku, M. C., & Szelényi, S. (2001). *Social stratification: Class, race, and gender in sociological perspective* Westview Press Boulder, CO.
- Haas, S. A., & Fosse, N. E. (2008). Health and the educational attainment of adolescents: Evidence from the NLSY97. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 49(2), 178-192.
- Hackey, R. B. (1992). Competing explanations of voter turnout among american blacks. *Social Science Quarterly*, 73(1), 71-89.
- Hagan, J. (1993). The social embeddedness of crime and unemployment. *Criminology*, 31(4), 465-491.
- Hajnal, Z. L. (2001). White residents, black incumbents, and a declining racial divide. *American Political Science Association*, , 95(03) 603-617.
- Hajnal, Z. L. (2009). Who loses in american democracy? A count of votes demonstrates the limited representation of african americans. *American Political Science Review*, 103(1), 37-57. doi:10.1017/S0003055409090078

- Hajnal, Z., Lajevardi, N., & Nielson, L. (2017). Voter identification laws and the suppression of minority votes. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(2), 000-000.
- Haley, A. (1999). *The autobiography of malcolm X* Ballantine Books.
- Hall, J. (1935). *Theft, law and society* Boston, Little, Brown, and company, 1935.
- Hancock, A. (2004). *The politics of disgust: The public identity of the welfare queen* NYU Press.
- Haney, C. (2006). *Reforming punishment : Psychological limits to the pains of imprisonment* Washington, DC : American Psychological Association, c2006; 1st ed.
- Hansen, J. H. (2016). Residential mobility and turnout: The relevance of social costs, timing and education. *Political Behavior*, 38(4), 769-791.
- Harris, K. M., & Udry, J. R. (2016). National longitudinal study of adolescent to adult health (add health), 1994-2008 [public use]
Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) [Distributor],
doi:10.3886/ICPSR21600.v17
- Harris-Perry, M. V. (2011). *Sister citizen: Shame, stereotypes, and black women in america* Yale University Press.
- Hatch, S. L., & Dohrenwend, B. P. (2007). Distribution of traumatic and other stressful life events by race/ethnicity, gender, SES and age: A review of the research. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 40(3-4), 313-332.
- Hawken, A., & Kleiman, M. (2009). Managing drug involved probationers with swift and certain sanctions: Evaluating hawaii's HOPE: Executive summary. *Washington, DC: National Criminal Justice Reference Services*,
- Hawkins, B. W., Marando, V. L., & Taylor, G. A. (1971). Efficacy, mistrust, and political participation: Findings from additional data and indicators. *The Journal of Politics*, 33(4), 1130-1136.
- Hayes, D., & McKee, S. C. (2012). The intersection of redistricting, race, and participation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1), 115-130. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00546.x
- Heckman, C. J., Cropsey, K. L., & Olds-Davis, T. (2007). Posttraumatic stress disorder treatment in correctional settings: A brief review of the empirical literature and suggestions for future research. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 44(1), 46-53.
doi:10.1037/0033-3204.44.1.46
- Helland, E., & Tabarrok, A. (2007). Does three strikes deter? A nonparametric estimation. *Journal of Human Resources*, 42(2), 309-330.

- Herdman, M., Gudex, C., Lloyd, A., Janssen, M., Kind, P., Parkin, D., . . . Badia, X. (2011). Development and preliminary testing of the new five-level version of EQ-5D (EQ-5D-5L). *Quality of Life Research*, 20(10), 1727-1736.
- Hero, R. E., & Tolbert, C. J. (2014). Race and the 2012 election: A post-racial society, more apparent than real mini-symposium. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(3), 628-631. doi:10.1177/1065912914533620
- Herrnson, P. S., Taylor, J. A., & Curry, J. M. (2015). The impact of district magnitude on voter Drop-Off and Roll-Off in american elections. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 40(4), 627-650.
- Herron, M. C., & Sekhon, J. S. (2005). Black candidates and black voters: Assessing the impact of candidate race on uncounted vote rates. *Journal of Politics*, 67(1), 154-177.
- Hetherington, M. J. (1998). The political relevance of political trust. *American Political Science Review*, 92(04), 791-808.
- Hetherington, M. J. (1999). The effect of political trust on the presidential vote, 1968–96. *American Political Science Review*, 93(02), 311-326.
- Heyer, R., & Wagner, P. (2004). Too big to ignore: How counting people in prisons distorted 2000 census. *April*. Retrieved May, 5, 2011.
- Hill, T. D., Ross, C. E., & Angel, R. J. (2005). Neighborhood disorder, psychophysiological distress, and health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 46(2), 170-186.
- Hinton, E. (2016). *From the war on poverty to the war on crime: The making of mass incarceration in america* Harvard University Press.
- Hjalmarsson, Randi, 1976, Author, Göteborgs universitet, Handelshögskolan, Institutionen för nationalekonomi, med statistik, & University of Gothenburg, School of Business, Economics, and Law, Department, of Economics. (2009). Crime and expected punishment: Changes in perceptions at the age of criminal majority. *American Law and Economics Review*, , 209.
- Hobbes, T. (1928). *Leviathan, or the matter, forme and power of a commonwealth ecclesiasticall and civil* Yale University Press.
- Holland, S. P., Cohen, C. J., Johnson, E. P., & Henderson, M. G. (2005). *Black queer studies: A critical anthology* Duke University Press.
- Hollingshead, A. B., & Redlich, F. C. (2007). Social class and mental illness: A community study. 1958. *American Journal of Public Health*, 97(10), 1756-1757.
- Hooghe, M. (2004). Political socialization and the future of politics. *Acta Politica*, 39(4), 331-341.

- Hope, E. C. (2016). Preparing to participate: The role of youth social responsibility and political efficacy on civic engagement for black early adolescents. *Child Indicators Research*, (3), 609. doi:10.1007/s12187-015-9331-5
- Hopkins, D. J., & McCabe, K. T. (2012). After it's too late: Estimating the policy impacts of black mayoralities in US cities. *American Politics Research*, 40(4), 665-700.
- Hortop, E. G., Wrosch, C., & Gagné, M. (2013). The why and how of goal pursuits: Effects of global autonomous motivation and perceived control on emotional well-being. *Motivation and Emotion*, 37(4), 675-687.
- Hosang, D. M. (2010). *Racial propositions: Ballot initiatives and the making of postwar california* University of California Press.
- Howell, S. E., & Marshall, B. K. (1998). Crime and trust in local government: Revisiting a black empowerment area. *Urban Affairs Review*, 33(3), 361-381.
- Howell, S. E., & Fagan, D. (1988). Race and trust in government: Testing the political reality model. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 52(3), 341.
- Hsiao, C. (2014). *Analysis of panel data* Cambridge university press.
- Hudson, D. L., Neighbors, H. W., Geronimus, A. T., & Jackson, J. S. (2016). Racial discrimination, john henryism, and depression among african americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 42(3), 221-243.
- Hull, E. (2009). *The disenfranchisement of ex-felons* Temple University Press.
- Ikeda, K. (. 1.), Hoshimoto, M. (. 1.), & Kobayashi, T. (. 2.). (2008). Does political participation make a difference? the relationship between political choice, civic engagement and political efficacy. *Electoral Studies*, 27(1), 77-88. doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2007.11.004
- Irwin, J. (2005). *The warehouse prison: Disposal of the new dangerous class* Roxbury Pub. Co.
- Jackman, R. W. (1987). Political institutions and voter turnout in the industrial democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 81(02), 405-423.
- Jackman, R. W. (1993). *Rationality and political-participation*
- Jackson, J. S. (1973). Alienation and black political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 35(04), 849-885.
- Jacobs, D., & Carmichael, J. T. (2001). The politics of punishment across time and space: A pooled time-series analysis of imprisonment rates. *Social Forces*, 80(1), 61-89.

- Jacobs, D., & Helms, R. (2001). Toward a political sociology of punishment: Politics and changes in the incarcerated population. *Social Science Research*, 30(2), 171-194.
- Jefferson, T., & Peden, W. H. (1995). *Notes on the state of virginia* Chapel Hill : Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia by the University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Johnson, J. G., Cohen, P., Dohrenwend, B. P., Link, B. G., & Brook, J. S. (1999). A longitudinal investigation of social causation and social selection processes involved in the association between socioeconomic status and psychiatric disorders. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 108(3), 490.
- Johnson, R., & Raphael, S. (2012). How much crime reduction does the marginal prisoner buy? *Journal of Law and Economics*, 55(2), 275-310.
- Jones, P. D. (2009). *The selma of the north: Civil rights insurgency in milwaukee* Harvard University Press.
- Jose-Kampfner, C. (1990). Coming to terms with existential death: An analysis of women's adaptation to life in prison. *Social Justice*, 17(2 (40)), 110-125.
- Juenke, E. G., & Preuhs, R. R. (2012). Irreplaceable legislators? rethinking minority representatives in the new century. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(3), 705-715.
- Kahne, J., & Westheimer, J. (2006). The limits of political efficacy: Educating citizens for a democratic society. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 39(02), 289-296.
- Kalandrakis, T. (2009). Robust rational turnout. *Economic Theory*, 41(2), 317-343.
- Kalyvas, S. N., Lange, P., Bates, R. H., Comisso, E., Hall, P., Migdal, J., & Milner, H. (2006). The logic of violence in civil war.
- Kampfner, C. J. (1995). Post-traumatic stress reactions in children of imprisoned mothers. *Children of Incarcerated Parents*, , 89-100.
- Kan, C., Kawakami, N., Karasawa, M., Love, G. D., Coe, C. L., Miyamoto, Y., . . . Markus, H. R. (2014). Psychological resources as mediators of the association between social class and health: Comparative findings from japan and the USA. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 21(1), 53-65.
- Kanazawa, S. (1998). A possible solution to the paradox of voter turnout. *The Journal of Politics*, 60(04), 974-995.
- Katosh, J. P., & Traugott, M. W. (1982). Costs and values in the calculus of voting. *American Journal of Political Science*, 26(2), 361.

- Kelley, S., Ayres, R. E., & Bowen, W. G. (1967). Registration and voting: Putting first things first. *American Political Science Review*, 61(02), 359-379.
- Kennedy, R. (1998). *Race, crime, and the law* Random House LLC.
- Kessler, R. C., & McLeod, J. D. (1984). Sex differences in vulnerability to undesirable life events. *American Sociological Review*, , 620-631.
- Kessler, R. C., Sonnega, A., Bromet, E., Hughes, M., & Nelson, C. B. (1995). Posttraumatic stress disorder in the national comorbidity survey. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 52(12), 1048-1060.
- Key, V. O. (1984). *Southern politics in state and nation* Knoxville : University of Tennessee Press, 1984, c1977; New ed.
- Keyes, C. L. (2007). Promoting and protecting mental health as flourishing: A complementary strategy for improving national mental health. *American Psychologist*, 62(2), 95.
- Keyes, K. M., Barnes, D. M., & Bates, L. M. (2011). Stress, coping, and depression: Testing a new hypothesis in a prospectively studied general population sample of US-born whites and blacks. *Social Science & Medicine*, 72(5), 650-659.
- Kim, J., Petrocik, J. R., & Enokson, S. N. (1975). Voter turnout among the american states: Systemic and individual components. *American Political Science Review*, 69(01), 107-123.
- Kim, B. J. (2015). Political efficacy, community collective efficacy, trust and extroversion in the information society: Differences between online and offline civic/political activities. *Government Information Quarterly*, (1), 43. doi:10.1016/j.giq.2014.09.006
- Kitwana, B. (2002). *The hip hop generation : Young blacks and the crisis in african american culture* New York : Basic Civitas, c2002; 1st ed.
- Klein, D. B. (1999). *3 libertarian essays* Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.
- Kleppner, P. (1982). *Who voted?: The dynamics of electoral turnout, 1870-1980* Praeger Publishers.
- Kohler-Hausmann, J. (2010). " The attila the hun law": New york's rockefeller drug laws and the making of a punitive state. *Journal of Social History*, 44(1), 71-95.
- Kressin, N. R., Raymond, K. L., & Manze, M. (2008). Perceptions of race/ethnicity-based discrimination: A review of measures and evaluation of their usefulness for the health care setting. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 19(3), 697-730. doi:10.1353/hpu.0.0041 [doi]

- Krupnikov, Y., & Piston, S. (2015). Racial prejudice, partisanship, and white turnout in elections with black candidates. *Political Behavior*, 37(2), 397-418. doi:10.1007/s11109-014-9268-2
- Kruse, K. M., ed, & Sugrue, T. J., ed. (2006). *The new suburban history* University of Chicago Press.
- Kruttschnitt, C. (2010). The paradox of women's imprisonment. *Daedalus*, (3), 32.
- Kuo, W. H. (1977). Black political participation: A reconsideration. *JPMS: Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 5(1), 1.
- Kuo, W. H. (1995). Coping with racial discrimination: The case of asian americans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18(1), 109-127.
- Lachman, M. E. (1986). Personal control in later life: Stability, change, and cognitive correlates. *The Psychology of Control and Aging*, , 207-236.
- Lane, R. E. (1959). Political life: Why people get involved in politics.
- Lang, F. R., & Heckhausen, J. (2001). Perceived control over development and subjective well-being: Differential benefits across adulthood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(3), 509.
- Laub, J. H., & Sampson, R. J. (2009). *Shared beginnings, divergent lives: Delinquent boys to age 70* Harvard University Press.
- Lawson, W. B. (1986). Racial and ethnic factors in psychiatric research. *Psychiatric Services*, 37(1), 50-54.
- Lee, C. (2007). Hispanics and the death penalty: Discriminatory charging practices in san joaquin county, california. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 35(1), 17-27.
- Lee, D. S., & McCrary, J. (2009). *The deterrence effect of prison: Dynamic theory and evidence* Citeseer.
- Lee, H., Porter, L. C., & Comfort, M. (2014). Consequences of family member incarceration impacts on civic participation and perceptions of the legitimacy and fairness of government. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 651(1), 44-73.
- Lee, H., & Wildeman, C. (2013). Things fall apart: Health consequences of mass imprisonment for african american women. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 40(1), 39-52.
- Lee, H., Wildeman, C., Wang, E. A., Matusko, N., & Jackson, J. S. (2014). A heavy burden: The cardiovascular health consequences of having a family member incarcerated. *American Journal of Public Health*, 104(3), 421-427.

- Lee, R. D., Fang, X., & Luo, F. (2013). The impact of parental incarceration on the physical and mental health of young adults. *Pediatrics*, *131*(4), e1188-e1195. doi:10.1542/peds.2012-0627
- Lees-Marshment, J. (2009). *Political marketing: Principles and applications* Routledge.
- Leighley, J. E. (2001). *Strength in numbers?: The political mobilization of racial and ethnic minorities* Princeton University Press.
- Leighley, J. E., & Nagler, J. (1992). Individual and systemic influences on turnout: Who votes? 1984. *The Journal of Politics*, *54*(3), 718-740.
- Lemert, E. (1972). Human deviance, social problems, and social control (2TM ed). *Englewood Cliffs, NJ*,
- Lerman, A. E., & Weaver, V. M. (2014). *Arresting citizenship: The democratic consequences of american crime control* University of Chicago Press.
- Lester W.. Milbrath, & Goel, M. L. (1977). *Political participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?* Rand McNally College Publishing Company.
- Levi, M., & Stoker, L. (2000). Political trust and trustworthiness. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *3*(1), 475-507.
- Lewis, C. E. (2010). *Incarceration and family formation* Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195314366.003.0016
- Lijphart, A. (1997). Unequal participation: Democracy's unresolved dilemma presidential address, american political science association, 1996. *American Political Science Review*, *91*(01), 1-14.
- Liles, W. W. (2006). Challenges to felony disenfranchisement laws: Past, present, and future. *Ala.L.Rev.*, *58*, 615.
- Link, B. G., Lennon, M. C., & Dohrenwend, B. P. (1993). Socioeconomic status and depression: The role of occupations involving direction, control, and planning. *American Journal of Sociology*, , 1351-1387.
- Liu, B., Sharon D. Wright Austin, & Orey, B. D. (2009). Church attendance, social capital, and black voting participation. *Social Science Quarterly*, *90*(3), 576-592. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6237.2009.00632.x
- Locke, J. (1965). *Two treatises of government* Awnsham and John Churchill.
- Logue, J. (2014). The politics of unknowing and the virtues of ignorance: Toward a pedagogy of epistemic vulnerability. *Philosophy of Education Archive*, , 53-62.

- London, A. S., & Myers, N. A. (2006). Race, incarceration, and health A life-course approach. *Research on Aging*, 28(3), 409-422.
- Lopoo, L. M., & Western, B. (2005). *Incarceration and the formation and stability of marital unions* National Council on Family Relations.
- Loury, G. C. (2002). *The anatomy of racial inequality* Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Lowndes, J. E., Novkov, J., & Warren, D. T. (2008). *Race and american political development* Routledge.
- Lupia, A. (1994). Shortcuts versus encyclopedias: Information and voting behavior in california insurance reform elections. *The American Political Science Review*, 88(1), 63-76. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2944882>
- Lynch, J. P. (2001). Prisoner reentry in perspective.
- Lynch, J. P., & Addington, L. A. (2006). *Understanding crime statistics: Revisiting the divergence of the NCVS and the UCR* Cambridge University Press.
- Lynch, M. J., & Patterson, E. B. (1991). *Race and criminal justice* Harrow & Heston.
- Macdonald, J., & Stokes, R. J. (2006). Race, social capital, and trust in the police. *Urban Affairs Review*, 41(3), 358-375. doi:10.1177/1078087405281707
- Maguire, K. (2015). The epistemology of ignorance. *Margaret mead* (pp. 33-48) Springer.
- Mangum, M. (2012). Explaining african-american political trust: Examining psychological involvement, policy satisfaction, and reference group effects. *International Social Science Review*, 87(1/2), 3-18.
- Mangum, M. (2011). Explaining political trust among african americans: Examining demographic, media, and social capital and social networks effects. *The Social Science Journal*, 48(4), 589-596. doi:10.1016/j.soscij.2011.03.002
- Mangum, M. (2003). Psychological involvement and black voter turnout. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(1), 41-48. doi:10.1177/106591290305600104
- Mannheim, K. (1986). *Conservatism: A contribution to the sociology of knowledge* Cambridge Univ Press.
- Manza, J., & Uggen, C. (2006). *Locked out: Felon disenfranchisement and american democracy* Oxford University Press.
- Mapping police violence. (2016). Retrieved from <http://mappingpoliceviolence.org/>

- Markowitz, M. W., & Jones-Brown, D. D. (2000). *The system in black and white: Exploring the connections between race, crime, and justice* Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Marschall, M. J., & Ruhil, A. V. (2006). The pomp of power: Black mayoralities in urban america. *Social Science Quarterly*, 87(4), 828-850.
- Martin, J. S. (2001). *Inside looking out: Jailed fathers' perceptions about separation from their children* Lfb Scholarly Pub Llc.
- Marvick, D. (1965). The political socialization of the american negro. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 361(1), 112-127.
- Mather, G. B. (1964). *Effects of the use of voting machines on total votes cast: Iowa, 1920-1960* Institute of Public Affairs, University of Iowa.
- Matususaka, J. G., & Palda, F. (1999). Voter turnout: How much can we explain? *Public Choice*, 98(3-4), 431-446.
- Mattila, M., Söderlund, P., Wass, H., & Rapeli, L. (2013). Healthy voting: The effect of self-reported health on turnout in 30 countries. *Electoral Studies*, 32(4), 886-891.
- McCluskey, M. R., Deshpande, S., Shah, D. V., & McLeod, D. M. (2004). The efficacy gap and political participation: When political influence fails to meet expectations. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 16(4), 438-455. doi:10.1093/ijpor/edh038
- McDonald, M. P. (2002). The turnout rate among eligible voters in the states, 1980–2000. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 2(2), 199-212.
- McDonald, M. P., & Popkin, S. L. (2001). The myth of the vanishing voter. *American Political Science Review*, , 963-974.
- McDonough, P., & Walters, V. (2001). Gender and health: Reassessing patterns and explanations. *Social Science & Medicine*, 52(4), 547-559.
- McGirr, L. (2001). *Suburban warriors: The origins of the new american right*. United States of America: Princeton Univ. Press.
- McGuire, D. L. (2011). *At the dark end of the street: Black women, rape, and resistance--A new history of the civil rights movement from rosa parks to the rise of black power* Random House LLC.
- McKee, S. C., Hood III, M., & Hill, D. (2012). Achieving validation: Barack obama and black turnout in 2008. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 12(1), 3-22.

- McLeod, J. M., & Shah, D. V. (2009). Communication and political socialization: Challenges and opportunities for research. *Political Communication*, 26(1), 1-10.
doi:10.1080/10584600802686105
- McNeely, R., & Pope, C. E. (1981). *Race, crime and criminal justice* Sage Publications.
- McPherson, J. M. (1977). Correlates of social participation: A comparison of the ethnic community and compensatory theories. *Sociological Quarterly*, , 197-208.
- Meares, T. L. (1997). Charting race and class differences in attitudes towards drug legalization and law enforcement: Lessons for federal criminal law. *Buffalo Criminal Law Review*, 1(1), 137-174.
- Meierhenrich, J. (2006). A question of guilt. *Ratio Juris*, 19(3), 314-342.
- Meketon, M. J. (1983). Indian mental health: An orientation. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 53(1), 110.
- Melossi, D. (2001). The cultural embeddedness of social control: Reflections on the comparison of italian and north-american cultures concerning punishment. *Theoretical Criminology*, 5(4), 403-424.
- Merolla, J. L., Sellers, A. H., & Fowler, D. J. (2013). Descriptive representation, political efficacy, and african americans in the 2008 presidential election. *Political Psychology*, 34(6), 863-875. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00934.x
- Merriam, C. E., & Gosnell, H. F. (1924). *Non-voting: Causes and methods of control* University of Chicago Press.
- Miles, T. J. (2004). Felon disenfranchisement and voter turnout. *J.Legal Stud.*, 33, 85.
- Miller, W. E. (1980). Disinterest, disaffection, and participation in presidential politics. *Political Behavior*, 2(1), 7-32.
- Miller, W. E. (1992). The puzzle transformed: Explaining declining turnout. *Political Behavior*, 14(1), 1-43.
- Mills, C. W. (1997). *The racial contract* Cornell University Press.
- Mills, J. S. (1859). On liberty. *On Liberty and Other Essays*, , 1-128.
- Mills, L. (2008). Inventorying and reforming state-created employment restrictions based on criminal records: A policy brief and guide. *Annie E. Casey Foundation*,
- Minta, M. D. (2009). Legislative oversight and the substantive representation of black and latino interests in congress. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 34(2), 193-218.

- Mirowsky, J., & Ross, C. E. (1983). Paranoia and the structure of powerlessness. *American Sociological Review*, , 228-239.
- Mirowsky, J., & Ross, C. E. (2003). *Social causes of psychological distress* Transaction Publishers.
- Mitchell, G. E., & Wlezien, C. (1995). The impact of legal constraints on voter registration, turnout, and the composition of the american electorate. *Political Behavior*, 17(2), 179-202.
- Mitchell, M. (2004). *Righteous propagation: African americans and the politics of racial destiny after reconstruction* Univ of North Carolina Press.
- Morrell, M. E. (2005). Deliberation, democratic decision-making and internal political efficacy. *Political Behavior*, 27(1), 49-69.
- Morris, N. (1974). *The future of imprisonment* University of Chicago Press Chicago.
- Mossakowski, K. N. (2003). Coping with perceived discrimination: Does ethnic identity protect mental health? *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, , 318-331.
- Mossakowski, K. N. (2008). Is the duration of poverty and unemployment a risk factor for heavy drinking? *Social Science & Medicine*, 67(6), 947-955.
- Mueller, D. C. (1989). *Public choice II* Cambridge England] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Muhammad, K. G. (2010). *The condemnation of blackness* Harvard University Press.
- Muller, C., & Schrage, D. (2014). Mass imprisonment and trust in the law. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 651(1), 139-158.
- Mumola, C. J., & Karberg, J. C. (2006). *Drug use and dependence, state and federal prisoners, 2004* US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics Washington, DC.
- Murakawa, N. (2012). Phantom racism and the myth of crime and punishment. *Studies in Law, Politics, and Society*, 59, 99-122.
- Murakawa, N. (2014). *The first civil right : How liberals built prison america* Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2014].
- Muralidharan, S., & Sung, Y. (2016). Direct and mediating effects of information efficacy on voting behavior: Political socialization of young adults in the 2012 U.S. presidential election. *Communication Reports*, 29(2), 100-114. doi:10.1080/08934215.2015.1064537

- Murji, K., & Solomos, J. (2015). *Theories of race and ethnicity : Contemporary debates and perspectives* Cambridge, United Kingdom] : Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Murray, J. (2005). The effects of imprisonment on families and children of prisoners. *The Effects of Imprisonment*, , 442-492.
- Murray, J., Farrington, D. P., & Sekol, I. (2012). Children's antisocial behavior, mental health, drug use, and educational performance after parental incarceration: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 138(2), 175.
- Murray, J., Loeber, R., & Pardini, D. (2012). Parental involvement in the criminal justice system and the development of youth theft, marijuana use, depression, and poor academic performance*. *Criminology*, 50(1), 255-302.
- Murray, J., & Murray, L. (2010). Parental incarceration, attachment and child psychopathology. *Attachment & Human Development*, 12(4), 289-309.
- Mustard, D. B. (2003). *Racial justice in america: A reference handbook* Abc-clio.
- NAACP. (2016). Criminal justice fact sheet. Retrieved from <http://www.naacp.org/criminal-justice-fact-sheet/>
- NACDL. (2016). National association of criminal defense lawyers (NACDL) . Retrieved from <https://www.nacdl.org/>
- Nesmith, A., & Ruhland, E. (2008). Children of incarcerated parents: Challenges and resiliency, in their own words. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 30(10), 1119-1130.
- Niemi, R. G. (1976). Costs of voting and nonvoting. *Public Choice*, 27(1), 115-119.
- Niemi, R. G., Craig, S. C., & Mattei, F. (1991). Measuring internal political efficacy in the 1988 national election study. *American Political Science Review*, 85(04), 1407-1413.
- Niemi, R. G., & Sobieszek, B. I. (1977). Political socialization. *Annual Review of Sociology*, , 209-233.
- NLSY97. (2015). Bureau of labor statistics, U.S. department of labor. national longitudinal survey of youth 1997 cohort, 1997-2013 (rounds 1-16). *Produced by the National Opinion Research Center, the University of Chicago and Distributed by the Center for Human Resource Research, the Ohio State University. Columbus, OH,*
- Noh, S., Kaspar, V., & Wickrama, K. (2007). Overt and subtle racial discrimination and mental health: Preliminary findings for korean immigrants. *American Journal of Public Health*, 97(7), 1269-1274.

- Noh, S., & Kaspar, V. (2003). Perceived discrimination and depression: Moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(2), 232-238.
- Nonet, P., & Selznick, P. (1978). *Law and society in transition: Toward responsive law* Transaction Publishers.
- Nunnally, S. C. (2012). *Trust in black america: Race, discrimination, and politics* NYU Press.
- Olsen, M. E. (1970). Social and political participation of blacks. *American Sociological Review, 68*(2), 682-697.
- Orum, A. M. (1966). A reappraisal of the social and political participation of negroes. *American Journal of Sociology, 72*(1), 32-46.
- Oskooii, K. A. (2016). How discrimination impacts sociopolitical behavior: A multidimensional perspective. *Political Psychology, 37*(5), 613-640. doi:10.1111/pops.12279
- Overby, L. M., Brown, R. D., Bruce, J. M., Smith, C. E., & Winkle, J. W. (2005). Race, political empowerment, and minority perceptions of judicial fairness. *Social Science Quarterly, 86*(2), 444-462. doi:10.1111/j.0038-4941.2005.00312.x
- Pacheco, J. S. (2008). Political socialization in context: The effect of political competition on youth voter turnout. *Political Behavior, 30*(4), 415-436.
- Pager, D., Western, B., & Sugie, N. (2009). Sequencing disadvantage: Barriers to employment facing young black and white men with criminal records. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 623*(1), 195-213.
- Panagopoulos, C. (2013). Extrinsic rewards, intrinsic motivation and voting. *Journal of Politics, 75*(1), 266-280. doi:10.1017/S0022381612001016
- Paradies, Y. (2006). A review of psychosocial stress and chronic disease for 4th world indigenous peoples and african americans. *Ethnicity and Disease, 16*(1), 295.
- Pasek, J., Stark, T. H., Krosnick, J. A., Tompson, T., & Payne, B. K. (2014). Attitudes toward blacks in the obama era changing distributions and impacts on job approval and electoral choice, 2008–2012. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 78*(S1), 276-302.
- Paton, H. J. (1976). *The moral law* Taylor & Francis Limited.
- Pattillo, M., Western, B., & Weiman, D. (2004). *Imprisoning america: The social effects of mass incarceration* Russell Sage Foundation.

- Payne, B. K., Krosnick, J. A., Pasek, J., Lelkes, Y., Akhtar, O., & Tompson, T. (2010). Implicit and explicit prejudice in the 2008 american presidential election. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*(2), 367-374.
- Pearlin, L. I. (1989). The sociological study of stress. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, ,* 241-256.
- Peffley, M., & Hurwitz, J. (2010). *Justice in america: The separate realities of blacks and whites* Cambridge University Press.
- Pelkowski, J. M., & Berger, M. C. (2004). The impact of health on employment, wages, and hours worked over the life cycle. *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance, 44*(1), 102-121.
- Pennington, N., Winfrey, K. L., Warner, B. R., & Kearney, M. W. (2015). Research report: Liking obama and romney (on facebook): An experimental evaluation of political engagement and efficacy during the 2012 general election. *Computers in Human Behavior, 44*, 279-283. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2014.11.032
- Petersilia, J. (2003). *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry* Oxford University Press.
- Peterson, R., Krivo, L., & Hagan, J. (2006). Neighborhood, race, and the economic consequences of incarceration in new york city, 1985-1996. (pp. 256). New York: NYU Press.
- Petrow, G. A. (2010). The minimal cue hypothesis: How black candidates cue race to increase white voting participation. *Political Psychology, 31*(6), 915-950. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00784.x
- Pettit, B. (2012). *Invisible men: Mass incarceration and the myth of black progress* Russell Sage Foundation.
- Pettit, B., & Western, B. (2004). Mass imprisonment and the life course: Race and class inequality in US incarceration. *American Sociological Review, 69*(2), 151-169.
- Philpot, T. S., Shaw, D. R., & McGowen, E. B. (2009). Winning the race: Black voter turnout in the 2008 presidential election. *The Public Opinion Quarterly, 73*(5), 995-1022. doi:10.1093/poq/nfp083
- Pierce, J. C., & Carey Jr, A. (1971). Efficacy and participation: A study of black political behavior. *Journal of Black Studies, 2*(2), 201-224.
- Pohlhaus, G. (2012). Relational knowing and epistemic injustice: Toward a theory of willful hermeneutical ignorance. *Hypatia, 27*(4), 715-735.

- Porporino, F. J. (1990). Difference in response to long-term imprisonment: Implications for the management of long-term offenders. *Prison Journal*, 70(1), 35.
- Powell Jr, G. B. (1986). American voter turnout in comparative perspective. *The American Political Science Review*, , 17-43.
- Preuhs, R. R. (2006). The conditional effects of minority descriptive representation: Black legislators and policy influence in the american states. *Journal of Politics*, 68(3), 585-599.
- Prilleltensky, I. (2012). Wellness as fairness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(1-2), 1-21.
- Prilleltensky, I., & Prilleltensky, O. (2007). *Promoting well-being: Linking personal, organizational, and community change* John Wiley & Sons.
- Pruitt Walker, S. (2012). *The effects of the incarceration of fathers on the health and wellbeing of mothers and children* . (2012-99230-529).
- Pudrovska, T., Schieman, S., Pearlin, L. I., & Nguyen, K. (2005). The sense of mastery as a mediator and moderator in the association between economic hardship and health in late life. *Journal of Aging and Health*, 17(5), 634-660. doi:17/5/634 [pii]
- Quintelier, E. (2015). Engaging adolescents in politics: The longitudinal effect of political socialization agents. *Youth & Society*, 47(1), 51-69. doi:10.1177/0044118X13507295
- R. Williams, D., & Williams-Morris, R. (2000). Racism and mental health: The african american experience. *Ethnicity and Health*, 5(3-4), 243-268.
- Radcliff, B., & Saiz, M. (1995). Race, turnout, and public policy in the american states. *Political Research Quarterly*, 48(4), 775-794. doi:10.1177/106591299504800406
- Raphael, S., & Ludwig, J. (2003). Prison sentence enhancements: The case of project exile. 251-286.
- Rath, T., Harter, J. K., & Harter, J. (2010). *Wellbeing: The five essential elements* Simon and Schuster.
- Rawls, J. (1971). A theory of justice (cambridge. Mass.: *Harvard University*,
- Rawls, J. (1993). *Political liberalism* New York : Columbia University Press, c1993.
- Reasons, C. E., & Kuykendall, J. L. (1972). *Race, crime, and justice* Goodyear Publishing Company Pacific Palisades, CA.

- Redburn, S., Western, B., & Travis, J. (2014). *The growth of incarceration in the united states: : Exploring causes and consequences*. Washington, District of Columbia: National Academies Press.
- Reuter, P. (2013). Why has US drug policy changed so little over 30 years? *Crime and Justice*, 42(1), 75-140.
- Richards, M., McWilliams, B., Allcock, L., Enterkin, J., Owens, P., & Woodrow, J. (1994). The family ties of english prisoners: The results of the cambridge project on imprisonment and family ties. *Occasional Paper*, (2)
- Riker, W. H., & Ordeshook, P. C. (1968). A theory of the calculus of voting. *The American Political Science Review*, , 25-42.
- Ritsher, J. E., Warner, V., Johnson, J. G., & Dohrenwend, B. P. (2001). Inter-generational longitudinal study of social class and depression: A test of social causation and social selection models. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 178(40), s84-s90.
- Roach, J. (1996). *Cities of the dead*. New York: Columbia UP,
- Roberts Julian, V. (2003). *Penal populism and public opinion lessons from five countries* Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, J. V. (1997). American attitudes about punishment: Myth and reality. *Sentencing Reform in Overcrowded Times: A Comparative Perspective*, , 250-254.
- Roberts, J. V., & Stalans, L. J. (1998). Crime, criminal justice, and public opinion. *The Handbook of Crime and Punishment*, , 31-57.
- Robinson, P. H., & Darley, J. M. (2004). Does criminal law deter? A behavioural science investigation. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 24(2), 173-205.
- Robinson-Brown, D., & Keith, V. (2013). *In and out of our right minds: The mental health of african american women* Columbia University Press.
- Rocha, R. R., Tolbert, C. J., Bowen, D. C., & Clark, C. J. (2010). Race and turnout: Does descriptive representation in state legislatures increase minority voting? *Political Research Quarterly*, 63(4), 890-907.
- Roettger, M. E., & Boardman, J. D. (2012). Parental incarceration and gender-based risks for increased body mass index: Evidence from the national longitudinal study of adolescent health in the united states. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 175(7), 636-644.
doi:10.1093/aje/kwr409 [doi]

- Rogler, L. H., Cortes, D. E., & Malgady, R. G. (1991). Acculturation and mental health status among hispanics: Convergence and new directions for research. *American Psychologist*, 46(6), 585.
- Room, R. (2010). *Cannabis policy: Moving beyond stalemate* Oxford University Press, USA.
- Roscigno, V. J., Garcia, L. M., & Bobbitt-Zeher, D. (2007). Social closure and processes of race/sex employment discrimination. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 609(1), 16-48.
- Rose, D. R., & Clear, T. R. (1998). Incarceration, social capital, and crime: Implications for social disorganization theory*. *Criminology*, 36(3), 441-480.
- Rosen, H. (2009). *Terror in the heart of freedom: Citizenship, sexual violence, and the meaning of race in the postemancipation south* Univ of North Carolina Press.
- Rosenbaum, A. S. (1986). *Coercion and autonomy: Philosophical foundations, issues, and practices* Greenwood Press New York, NY.
- Rosenstone, S., & Hansen, J. M. (1993). Mobilization, participation and democracy in america.
- Ross, C. E., Mirowsky, J., & Cockerham, W. C. (1983). Social class, mexican culture, and fatalism: Their effects on psychological distress. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 11(4), 383-399.
- Rotter, J. B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 80(1), 1.
- Rousseau, J. J. (1971). The social contract and discourse on the origin of inequality.
- Rubenstein, D. (1982). The older person in prison. *Archives of Gerontology and Geriatrics*, 1(3), 287-296.
- Rusche, G., & Kirchheimer, O. (1968). *Punishment and social structure* New York, Russell & Russell 1968, c1967].
- Salamon, L. M., & Van Evera, S. (1973). Fear, apathy, and discrimination: A test of three explanations of political participation. *American Political Science Review*, 67(04), 1288-1306.
- Sampson, R. J., & Wilson, W. J. (2012). *Great american city : Chicago and the enduring neighborhood effect*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.
- Sandell, J., & Plutzer, E. (2005). Families, divorce and voter turnout in the US. *Political Behavior*, 27(2), 133-162.

- Sanders, E. (1980). On the costs, utilities and simple joys of voting. *The Journal of Politics*, 42(3), 854-863.
- Savelsberg, J. J. (1994). Knowledge, domination, and criminal punishment. *American Journal of Sociology*, , 911-943.
- Savelsberg, J. J. (1999). Knowledge, domination and criminal punishment revisited incorporating state socialism. *Punishment & Society*, 1(1), 45-70.
- Savelsberg, J. J. (2000). Kulturen staatlichen strafens: USA und deutschland. *Die vermessung kultureller unterschiede* (pp. 189-209) Springer.
- Savelsberg, J. J. (2004). Religion, historical contingencies, and institutional conditions of criminal punishment: The german case and beyond. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 29(2), 373-401.
- Savelsberg, J. J., & King, R. D. (2005). Institutionalizing collective memories of hate: Law and law enforcement in germany and the united States1. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(2), 579-616.
- Savelsberg, J. J., & King, R. D. (2011). *American memories: Atrocities and the law: Atrocities and the law* Russell Sage Foundation.
- Schaffner, B. F. (2011). Racial salience and the obama vote. *Political Psychology*, 32(6), 963-988.
- Scheingold, S. (1984). The politics of law and order street crime and public policy.
- Scheingold, S. (1992). *The politics of street crime: Criminal process and cultural obsession* Temple University Press.
- Schneider, A., Ingram, H., & deLeon, P. (2014). Democratic policy design: Social construction of target populations. *Theories of the Policy Process*, 3
- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. M. (1997). *Policy design for democracy* University Press of Kansas Lawrence, KS.
- Schneider, A., & Sidney, M. (2009). What is next for policy design and social construction theory? 1. *Policy Studies Journal*, 37(1), 103-119.
- Schoenwald, J. M. (2001). *A time for choosing : The rise of modern american conservatism* New York : Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Schwalbe, M., Holden, D., Schrock, D., Godwin, S., Thompson, S., & Wolkomir, M. (2000). Generic processes in the reproduction of inequality: An interactionist analysis. *Social Forces*, 79(2), 419-452.

- Schwartz-Soicher, O., Geller, A., & Garfinkel, I. (2011). *The effect of paternal incarceration on material hardship* University of Chicago Press. doi:10.1086/661925
- Sears, D. O. (1969). Black attitudes toward the political system in the aftermath of the watts insurrection. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, , 515-544.
- Sears, D. O. (1975). Political socialization. *Handbook of Political Science*, 2, 93-153.
- Sears, D. O., Van Laar, C., Carrillo, M., & Kosterman, R. (1997). Is it really racism?: The origins of white americans' opposition to race-targeted policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, , 16-53.
- Seeman, M. (1959). On the meaning of alienation. *American Sociological Review*, , 783-791.
- Seeman, M. (1989). Alienation motifs in contemporary theorizing: The hidden continuity of the classic themes. *Alienation Theories and De-Alienation Strategies. Science Reviews, Northwood*,
- The sentencing project. (2016). Retrieved from <http://www.SentencingProject.org/>
- Shaffer, S. D. (1981). A multivariate explanation of decreasing turnout in presidential elections, 1960-1976. *American Journal of Political Science*, , 68-95.
- Shah, P. R., Marschall, M. J., & Ruhil, A. V. (2013). Are we there yet? the voting rights act and black representation on city councils, 1981–2006. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(4), 993-1008.
- Shelby, T. (2005). *We who are dark: The philosophical foundations of black solidarity* Harvard University Press.
- Shermer, E. T. (2013). *Barry goldwater and the remaking of the american political landscape* Tucson : University of Arizona Press, c2013.
- Shingles, R. D. (1981). Black consciousness and political participation: The missing link. *American Political Science Review*, 75(01), 76-91.
- Sigelman, L., & Berry, W. D. (1982). Cost and the calculus of voting. *Political Behavior*, 4(4), 419.
- Silberman, J., & Durden, G. (1975). The rational behavior theory of voter participation. *Public Choice*, 23(1), 101-108.
- Simon, J. (2007). Rise of the carceral state. *Social Research*, , 471-508.
- Smets, K., & van Ham, C. (2013). The embarrassment of riches? A meta-analysis of individual-level research on voter turnout. *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), 344-359.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2012.12.006>

- Smith, K. B. (2004). The politics of punishment: Evaluating political explanations of incarceration rates. *Journal of Politics*, 66(3), 925-938.
- Smith, P. (2003). Narrating the guillotine punishment technology as myth and symbol. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 20(5), 27-51.
- Smith, S. S. (2010). Race and trust. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36(1), 453-475.
doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102526
- Snyder, H. N. (2011). *Arrest in the united states, 1980-2009* US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Solomos, J., & Back, L. (1996). *Racism and society* New York : St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Somerville, S. B. (2005). Queer loving. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 11(3), 335-370.
- Sorensen, J., & Wallace, D. H. (1999). Prosecutorial discretion in seeking death: An analysis of racial disparity in the pretrial stages of case processing in a midwestern county. *Justice Quarterly*, 16(3), 559-578.
- Spohn, C. (2014). Racial disparities in prosecution, sentencing, and punishment. *The Oxford Handbook of Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration*,
doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199859016.013.006
- Steinacker, A. (2003). Prisoner's campaign: Felony disenfranchisement laws and the right to hold public office. *BYU L.Rev.*, , 801.
- Sternthal, M. J., Slopen, N., & Williams, D. R. (2011). Racial disparities in health. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 8(01), 95-113.
- Stoker, L., & Jennings, M. K. (1995). Life-cycle transitions and political participation: The case of marriage. *American Political Science Review*, 89(02), 421-433.
- Stolzenberg, L., & D'alessio, S. J. (1997). "Three strikes and you're out": The impact of california's new mandatory sentencing law on serious crime rates. *Crime & Delinquency*, 43(4), 457-469.
- Stout, C. T., & Martin, P. J. (2016). Does descriptive representation lead to social desirability bias? over-reporting of voting among blacks and latinos in the united states. *Research & Politics*, 3(2), 2053168016641974.
- Street, P. (2002). *Vicious circle: Race, prison, jobs & community in chicago, illinois & the nation*

- Sugrue, T. J., 1962-. (1996). *The origins of the urban crisis: Race and inequality in postwar detroit* Princeton University Press.
- Sullivan, J. L., & Transue, J. E. (1999). The psychological underpinnings of democracy: A selective review of research on political tolerance, interpersonal trust, and social capital. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 50(1), 625-650.
- Sullivan, S., & Tuana, N. (2007). *Race and epistemologies of ignorance* Albany : State University of New York Press, c2007.
- Sun, S., Chen, J., Johannesson, M., Kind, P., & Burström, K. (2016). Subjective well-being and its association with subjective health status, age, sex, region, and socio-economic characteristics in a chinese population study. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 17(2), 833-873.
- Sutton, J. R. (2000). Imprisonment and social classification in five Common-Law democracies, 1955–1985. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(2), 350-386.
- Sutton, J. R. (2004). The political economy of imprisonment in affluent western democracies, 1960–1990. *American Sociological Review*, 69(2), 170-189.
- Swain, C. M. (1993). *Black faces, black interests: The representation of african americans in congress* Harvard University Press Cambridge, MA.
- Sweeten, G., Piquero, A. R., & Steinberg, L. (2013). Age and the explanation of crime, revisited. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 42(6), 921-938.
- Sykes, G. M. (2007). *The society of captives: A study of a maximum security prison* Princeton University Press.
- Tate, K. (1991). Black political participation in the 1984 and 1988 presidential elections. *American Political Science Review*, 85(4), 1159.
- Taylor, A. (1961). Social isolation and imprisonment. *Psychiatry*, 24(4), 373-376.
- Taylor, J., & Turner, R. J. (2002). Perceived discrimination, social stress, and depression in the transition to adulthood: Racial contrasts. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, , 213-225.
- Teachman, J. (2010). Work-Related health limitations, education, and the risk of marital disruption. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(4), 919-932.
- Teixeira, R. A. (1987). *Why americans don't vote: Turnout decline in the united states, 1960-1984* Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Tesler, M. (2012). The return of old-fashioned racism to white americans' partisan preferences in the early obama era. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(1), 110-123.

- Tesler, M., & Sears, D. O. (2010). *Obama's race: The 2008 election and the dream of a post-racial america* University of Chicago Press.
- Thies, C. (2016). *Political learning and socialization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
doi:10.1093/obo/9780199743292-0142
- Thoits, P. A. (2013). Self, identity, stress, and mental health. *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 357-377) Springer.
- Thompson, H. A. (2010). Why mass incarceration matters: Rethinking crisis, decline, and transformation in postwar american history. *The Journal of American History*, 97(3), 703-734.
- Thompson, V. L. S. (1994). Socialization to race and its relationship to racial identification among african americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 20(2), 175-188.
- Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by black parents. *Child Development*, 61(2), 401-409.
- Tilly, C. (1999). *Durable inequality* Univ of California Press.
- Tilly, C. (2003). *The politics of collective violence / charles tilly* Cambridge, U.K. ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Timpane, R. J. (1998). *Structure, behavior, and voter turnout in the united states*
- Toch, H. (2007). *Men in crisis: Human breakdowns in prison* Transaction Publishers.
- Toch, H. (1992). *Living in prison: The ecology of survival rev ed*; American Psychological Assn.
- Toch, H., & Adams, K. (2002). *Acting out: Maladaptive behavior in confinement*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/10494-000
- Tolnay, S. E., Beck, E. M., & Massey, J. L. (1989). Black lynchings: The power threat hypothesis revisited. *Social Forces*, 67(3), 605-623.
- Tomasi, J. (2012). *Free market fairness* Princeton University Press.
- Tomaskovic-Devey, D. (1993). *Gender & racial inequality at work: The sources and consequences of job segregation* Cornell University Press.
- Tonry, M. (1995). *Malign neglect: Race, crime, and punishment in america* Oxford University Press.
- Tonry, M. (2011). *Punishing race: A continuing american dilemma* Oxford University Press.

- Tonry, M., & Melewski, M. (2008). The malign effects of drug and crime control policies on black americans. *Crime and Justice*, 37(1), 1-44.
- Townley, C. (2006). Toward a reevaluation of ignorance. *Hypatia*, 21(3), 37-55.
- Travis, J. (2000). *But they all come back: Rethinking prisoner reentry* US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice Washington, DC.
- Travis, J. (2005). *But they all come back: Facing the challenges of prisoner reentry* The Urban Insitute.
- Travis, J., Western, B., & Redburn, F. S. (2014). The growth of incarceration in the united states: Exploring causes and consequences.
- Tuana, N. (2006). The speculum of ignorance: The women's health movement and epistemologies of ignorance. *Hypatia*, 21(3), 1-19.
- Tufte, E. R. (1975). Determinants of the outcomes of midterm congressional elections. *The American Political Science Review*, 69(3), 812-826. doi:10.2307/1958391
- Tullock, G. (1967). *Toward a mathematics of politics* University of Michigan Press.
- Turiano, N. A., Chapman, B. P., Agrigoroaei, S., Infurna, F. J., & Lachman, M. (2014). Perceived control reduces mortality risk at low, not high, education levels. *Health Psychology*, 33(8), 883.
- Turner, R. J., & Avison, W. R. (2003). Status variations in stress exposure: Implications for the interpretation of research on race, socioeconomic status, and gender. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, , 488-505.
- Turner, R. J., Wheaton, B., & Lloyd, D. A. (1995). The epidemiology of social stress. *American Sociological Review*, , 104-125.
- Turney, K., & Wildeman, C. (2013). *Redefining relationships: Explaining the countervailing consequences of paternal incarceration for parenting* SAGE Publications.
- Uggen, C., & Manza, J. (2002). Democratic contraction? political consequences of felon disenfranchisement in the united states. *American Sociological Review*, , 777-803.
- Ugwu, O., & Mgbo, O. F. (2010). The impact of political socialization on political participation-- a nigerian view point. *Continental Journal of Social Sciences*, , 44.
- Uhlener, C. J., Cain, B. E., & Kiewiet, D. R. (1989). Political participation of ethnic minorities in the 1980s. *Political Behavior*, 11(3), 195-231.

- Uhlener, C. J. (1989). Turnout in recent american presidential elections. *Political Behavior*, 11(1), 57.
- Unger, R. M. (1977). *Law in modern society* Simon and Schuster.
- Unnever, J. D. (2013). Race, crime, and public opinion. *The Oxford Handbook of Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration*, , 70-106.
- Unnever, J. D., & Gabbidon, S. L. (2011). *A theory of african american offending: Race, racism, and crime* Taylor & Francis.
- Unnever, J. D. (2008). Race, racism, and support for capital punishment. *Crime and Justice*, 37, 45.
- Useem, B., & Piehl, A. M. (2008). *Prison state: The challenge of mass incarceration* Cambridge University Press.
- Valentino, N. A., & Sears, D. O. (2005). Old times there are not forgotten: Race and partisan realignment in the contemporary south. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 672-688.
- Van Nijnatten, C. (1998). Detention and development: Perspectives of children of prisoners.
- Vanderleeuw, J. M., & Engstrom, R. L. (1987). Race, referendums, and roll-off. *The Journal of Politics*, 49(4), 1081-1092.
- Vecchione, M., & Caprara, G. V. (2009). Personality determinants of political participation: The contribution of traits and self-efficacy beliefs. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 46(4), 487-492.
- Verba, S., & Almond, G. A. (1963). The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations.
- Verba, S., & Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in america* Harper & Row.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., Brady, H. E., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in american politics* Cambridge Univ Press.
- Versteegh, M. M., Vermeulen, K. M., Evers, S. M., de Wit, G. A., Prenger, R., & Stolk, E. A. (2016). Dutch tariff for the five-level version of EQ-5D. *Value in Health*, 19(4), 343-352.
- Visher, C. A., Debus-Sherrill, S. A., & Yahner, J. (2011). Employment after prison: A longitudinal study of former prisoners. *Justice Quarterly*, 28(5), 698-718.
- Visher, C. A., & Travis, J. (2003). Transitions from prison to community: Understanding individual pathways. *Annual Review of Sociology*, , 89-113.

- Von Hirsch, A., & Hanrahan, K. J. (1979). *The question of parole: Retention, reform, or abolition?* Ballinger Publishing Company.
- Wakefield, S., & Wildeman, C. (2011). Mass imprisonment and racial disparities in childhood behavioral problems. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 10(3), 793-817.
- Waldinger, R., & Lichter, M. I. (2003). *How the other half works: Immigration and the social organization of labor* Univ of California Press.
- Walker, J. L. (1966). Ballot forms and voter fatigue: An analysis of the office block and party column ballots. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 10(4), 448-463.
- Waller, M. R., & Swisher, R. (2006). Fathers' risk factors in fragile families: Implications for “healthy” relationships and father involvement. *Social Problems*, 53(3), 392-420.
- Waller, M. R. (2002). *My baby's father: Unmarried parents and paternal responsibility* Cornell University Press.
- Walton, H. (1985). *Invisible politics: Black political behavior* SUNY Press.
- Warren, R., & Wicks, R. H. (2011). Political socialization: Modeling teen political and civic engagement. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 88(1), 156-175.
- Washington, B. T. (1986). *Up from slavery* Penguin.
- Watts, R. J., & Flanagan, C. (2007). Pushing the envelope on youth civic engagement: A developmental and liberation psychology perspective. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 35(6), 779-792.
- Weaver, V. M. (2007). Frontlash: Race and the development of punitive crime policy. *Studies in American Political Development*, 21(02), 230-265.
- Weaver, V. M., & Lerman, A. E. (2010). Political consequences of the carceral state. *American Political Science Review*, 104(04), 817-833.
- Weber, M. (1946). *Class, status, party* na.
- Weber, R. E., Tucker, H. J., & Brace, P. (1991). Vanishing marginals in state legislative elections. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, , 29-47.
- Weber, M. (1968). *Economy and society; an outline of interpretive sociology* New York, Bedminster Press, 1968.
- Weber, M. (2004). *The vocation lectures: Science as a vocation. politics as a vocation*

- Webster, C., Doob, A. N., & Zimring, F. E. (2006). Proposition 8 and crime rates in California: The case of the disappearing deterrent. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 5(3), 417-448.
- Weisburd, D., Einat, T., & Kowalski, M. (2008). The miracle of the cells: An experimental study of interventions to increase payment of Court-Ordered financial obligations. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 7(1), 9-36.
- Welch, S., & Secret, P. (1981). Sex, race and political participation. *The Western Political Quarterly*, , 5-16.
- West, C. (2002). *Prophecy deliverance!: An afro-american revolutionary christianity* Westminster John Knox Press.
- Western, B. (2006). *Punishment and inequality in america / bruce western* New York : Russell Sage, c2006.
- Western, B., & Wildeman, C. (2009). *The black family and mass incarceration* Sage Publications.
- Wheaton, B., & Clarke, P. (2003). Space meets time: Integrating temporal and contextual influences on mental health in early adulthood. *American Sociological Review*, , 680-706.
- Wheaton, B., & Montazer, S. (2010). Stressors, stress, and distress. *A Handbook for the Study of Mental Health: Social Contexts, Theories, and Systems*, , 171-199.
- Wheaton, B., Young, M., Montazer, S., & Stuart-Lahman, K. (2013). Social stress in the twenty-first century. *Handbook of the sociology of mental health* (pp. 299-323) Springer.
- Whitby, K. J. (2007). The effect of black descriptive representation on black electoral turnout in the 2004 elections. *Social Science Quarterly*, 88(4), 1010-1023.
- White, B. A., Cordie-Garcia, L., & Fuller-Thomson, E. (2016). Incarceration of a family member during childhood is associated with later heart attack: Findings from two large, population-based studies. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44, 89-98.
- Whiteley, P. F. (1995). Rational choice and political participation. evaluating the debate. *Political Research Quarterly*, 48(1), 211-233.
- Wiegman, R. (1993). The anatomy of lynching. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, , 445-467.
- Wildeman, C. (2009). Parental imprisonment, the prison boom, and the concentration of childhood disadvantage. *Demography*, 46(2), 265-280.
- Wildeman, C., Schnittker, J., & Turney, K. (2012). Despair by association? the mental health of mothers with children by recently incarcerated fathers. *American Sociological Review*, 77(2), 216-243.

- Wilkes, R. (2011). Re-thinking the decline in trust: A comparison of black and white americans. *Social Science Research*, 40(6), 1596-1610. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2011.06.007
- Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2009). Discrimination and racial disparities in health: Evidence and needed research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 32(1), 20-47.
- Williams, D. R., Mohammed, S. A., Leavell, J., & Collins, C. (2010). Race, socioeconomic status, and health: Complexities, ongoing challenges, and research opportunities. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1186(1), 69-101.
- Williams, D. R., & Collins, C. (2001). Racial residential segregation: A fundamental cause of racial disparities in health. *Public Health Reports (Washington, D.C.: 1974)*, 116(5), 404-416.
- Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(2), 200-208.
- Williamson, A. R., & Scicchitano, M. J. (2015). Minority representation and political efficacy in public meetings. *Social Science Quarterly (Wiley-Blackwell)*, 96(2), 576-587. doi:10.1111/ssqu.12143
- Woldoff, R. A., & Washington, H. M. (2008). Arrested contact the criminal justice system, race, and father engagement. *The Prison Journal*, 88(2), 179-206.
- Wolfgang, M. E. (1964). *Crime and race: Conceptions and misconceptions* Institute of Human Relations Press, American Jewish Committee.
- Wolfinger, R. E., & Rosenstone, S. J. (1980). *Who votes?* Yale University Press.
- Wong, P. T. (2011). Reclaiming positive psychology: A meaning-centered approach to sustainable growth and radical empiricism. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, , 0022167811408729.
- Wong, P. (2009). Positive existential psychology.
- Woodward, J. L., & Roper, E. (1950). Political activity of american citizens. *The American Political Science Review*, 44(4), 872-885.
- Wright Jr, G. C. (1975). Black voting turnout and education in the 1968 presidential election. *The Journal of Politics*, 37(2), 563-568.
- Wright, C. R., & Hyman, H. H. (1958). Voluntary association memberships of american adults: Evidence from national sample surveys. *American Sociological Review*, 23(3), 284-294.

- Yoshinaka, A., & Grose, C. R. (2005). *Partisan politics and electoral design: The enfranchisement of felons and ex-felons in the united states, 1960-99* Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia.
- Zaller, J. (1992). *The nature and origins of mass opinion* Cambridge university press.
- Zatz, M. S. (1987). The changing forms of racial/ethnic biases in sentencing. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 24(1), 69-92.
- Zimring, F. E., Hawkins, G., & Kamin, S. (2003). *Punishment and democracy: Three strikes and you're out in california* Oxford University Press.
doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195171174.001.0001
- Zlotnick, C. (1997). Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), PTSD comorbidity, and childhood abuse among incarcerated women. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 185(12), 761-763.
- Zukin, C., Keeter, S., Andolina, M., Jenkins, K., & Carpini, M. X. D. (2006). *A new engagement?: Political participation, civic life, and the changing american citizen* Oxford University Press.

Appendix A
QUESTION WORDING AND CODING PROCEDURES USED FOR NATIONAL
LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF YOUTH (NLSY) 1997

NLSY Item	Response Categories
<p>GENDER R05363.00 [KEY!SEX] Survey Year: 1997 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>KEY!SEX, RS GENDER (SYMBOL)</p> <p>COMMENT: Gender of Youth</p>	<p>4599 1 Male 4385 2 Female 0 0 No Information</p> <p>----- 8984</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 0 TOTAL =====> 8984 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0</p> <p>Lead In: R00001.00[Default] Default Next Question: R05364.00</p>
<p>Race R14826.00 [KEY!RACE_ETHNICITY] Survey Year: 1997 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>KEY!RACE_ETHNICITY, COMBINED RACE AND ETHNICITY (SYMBOL)</p> <p>COMMENT: Combined race - ethnicity variable</p>	<p>2335 1 Black 1901 2 Hispanic 83 3 Mixed Race (Non-Hispanic) 4665 4 Non-Black / Non-Hispanic</p> <p>----- 8984</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 0 TOTAL =====> 8984 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0</p> <p>Lead In: R05387.00[Default] Default Next Question: R05389.00</p>

<p>WKSWRK R72486.00 [CV_WKSWK_DLI_ALL] Survey Year: 2001 PRIMARY VARIABLE # WEEKS R WORKED IN ANY JOB SINCE DLI Total number of weeks worked at any job since last interview date. Note: In the year the youth turned 14, this variable includes the weeks worked at an employee-type job starting from the week of the 14th birthday; in the year the youth turned 18, this variable includes any weeks self-employed starting from January of that year.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1232</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr><td>592</td><td>1 TO 9</td></tr> <tr><td>920</td><td>10 TO 19</td></tr> <tr><td>846</td><td>20 TO 29</td></tr> <tr><td>976</td><td>30 TO 39</td></tr> <tr><td>1474</td><td>40 TO 49</td></tr> <tr><td>1284</td><td>50 TO 59</td></tr> <tr><td>257</td><td>60 TO 69</td></tr> <tr><td>44</td><td>70 TO 79</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td>80 TO 89</td></tr> <tr><td>20</td><td>90 TO 99</td></tr> <tr><td>58</td><td>100 TO 124</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td>125 TO 149</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>150 TO 174</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>175 TO 199</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>200 TO 249</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>250 TO 299</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>300 TO 349</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>350 TO 399</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>400 TO 449</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>450 TO 499</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>500 TO 1000: 500+</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">-----</td></tr> <tr><td>7736</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Refusal(-1)</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr><td>Don't Know(-2)</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr><td>Invalid Skip(-3)</td><td>146</td></tr> <tr><td>TOTAL =====></td><td>7882 VALID SKIP(-4)</td></tr> <tr><td>0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5)</td><td>1102</td></tr> <tr><td>Min:</td><td>0 Max: 253 Mean:</td></tr> <tr><td>30.87</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">Hard Minimum: [0] Hard Maximum: [228]</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">Lead In: R72485.00[Default]</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">Default Next Question: R72487.00</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">Lead In: T52067.00[Default]</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">Default Next Question: T52069.00</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">T66565.00 [CV_HGC_EVER_EDT]</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">Survey Year: 2011</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">PRIMARY VARIABLE</td></tr> </table>	1232	0	592	1 TO 9	920	10 TO 19	846	20 TO 29	976	30 TO 39	1474	40 TO 49	1284	50 TO 59	257	60 TO 69	44	70 TO 79	11	80 TO 89	20	90 TO 99	58	100 TO 124	7	125 TO 149	8	150 TO 174	3	175 TO 199	3	200 TO 249	1	250 TO 299	0	300 TO 349	0	350 TO 399	0	400 TO 449	0	450 TO 499	0	500 TO 1000: 500+	-----		7736		Refusal(-1)	0	Don't Know(-2)	0	Invalid Skip(-3)	146	TOTAL =====>	7882 VALID SKIP(-4)	0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5)	1102	Min:	0 Max: 253 Mean:	30.87		Hard Minimum: [0] Hard Maximum: [228]		Lead In: R72485.00[Default]		Default Next Question: R72487.00		Lead In: T52067.00[Default]		Default Next Question: T52069.00		T66565.00 [CV_HGC_EVER_EDT]		Survey Year: 2011		PRIMARY VARIABLE	
1232	0																																																																														
592	1 TO 9																																																																														
920	10 TO 19																																																																														
846	20 TO 29																																																																														
976	30 TO 39																																																																														
1474	40 TO 49																																																																														
1284	50 TO 59																																																																														
257	60 TO 69																																																																														
44	70 TO 79																																																																														
11	80 TO 89																																																																														
20	90 TO 99																																																																														
58	100 TO 124																																																																														
7	125 TO 149																																																																														
8	150 TO 174																																																																														
3	175 TO 199																																																																														
3	200 TO 249																																																																														
1	250 TO 299																																																																														
0	300 TO 349																																																																														
0	350 TO 399																																																																														
0	400 TO 449																																																																														
0	450 TO 499																																																																														
0	500 TO 1000: 500+																																																																														

7736																																																																															
Refusal(-1)	0																																																																														
Don't Know(-2)	0																																																																														
Invalid Skip(-3)	146																																																																														
TOTAL =====>	7882 VALID SKIP(-4)																																																																														
0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5)	1102																																																																														
Min:	0 Max: 253 Mean:																																																																														
30.87																																																																															
Hard Minimum: [0] Hard Maximum: [228]																																																																															
Lead In: R72485.00[Default]																																																																															
Default Next Question: R72487.00																																																																															
Lead In: T52067.00[Default]																																																																															
Default Next Question: T52069.00																																																																															
T66565.00 [CV_HGC_EVER_EDT]																																																																															
Survey Year: 2011																																																																															
PRIMARY VARIABLE																																																																															
<p>WRKTEEN Z90652.00 [CVC_WKSWK_TEEN] Survey Year: XRND PRIMARY VARIABLE # WEEKS IN EMPLOYEE-TYPE JOB FROM AGE 14 THROUGH AGE 19 Cumulative weeks worked at an employee-type job from age 14 through age 19 as of the interview date. This variable is created for all respondents regardless of interview status in the current round; CVC_RND provides the actual round of the respondent's most recent interview. Note: This variable measures the weeks worked from the week of the R's 14th birthday to the week before the R's 20th birthday.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>2026</td><td>0 TO 50: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>1943</td><td>51 TO 100: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>1908</td><td>101 TO 150: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>1506</td><td>151 TO 200: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>711</td><td>201 TO 250: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>280</td><td>251 TO 300: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>102</td><td>301 TO 350: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>351 TO 400: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>401 TO 450: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>451 TO 500: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>501 TO 550: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>551 TO 600: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>601 TO 650: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>651 TO 700: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>701 TO 750: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>751 TO 800: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>801 TO 850: weeks</td></tr> </table>	2026	0 TO 50: weeks	1943	51 TO 100: weeks	1908	101 TO 150: weeks	1506	151 TO 200: weeks	711	201 TO 250: weeks	280	251 TO 300: weeks	102	301 TO 350: weeks	0	351 TO 400: weeks	0	401 TO 450: weeks	0	451 TO 500: weeks	0	501 TO 550: weeks	0	551 TO 600: weeks	0	601 TO 650: weeks	0	651 TO 700: weeks	0	701 TO 750: weeks	0	751 TO 800: weeks	0	801 TO 850: weeks																																												
2026	0 TO 50: weeks																																																																														
1943	51 TO 100: weeks																																																																														
1908	101 TO 150: weeks																																																																														
1506	151 TO 200: weeks																																																																														
711	201 TO 250: weeks																																																																														
280	251 TO 300: weeks																																																																														
102	301 TO 350: weeks																																																																														
0	351 TO 400: weeks																																																																														
0	401 TO 450: weeks																																																																														
0	451 TO 500: weeks																																																																														
0	501 TO 550: weeks																																																																														
0	551 TO 600: weeks																																																																														
0	601 TO 650: weeks																																																																														
0	651 TO 700: weeks																																																																														
0	701 TO 750: weeks																																																																														
0	751 TO 800: weeks																																																																														
0	801 TO 850: weeks																																																																														

	<pre> 0 851 TO 900: weeks 0 901 TO 950: weeks 0 951 TO 1000: weeks 0 1001 TO 1050: weeks ----- 8476 Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 0 Invalid Skip(-3) 508 TOTAL =====> 8984 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0 Min: 0 Max: 346 Mean: 112.82 Hard Minimum: [0] Hard Maximum: [260] Lead In: Z90651.00[Default] Default Next Question: Z90653.00 </pre>
<p>WRKADULT Z90653.00 [CVC_WKSWK_ADULT_ET] Survey Year: XRND PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p># WEEKS EMPLOYEE-TYPE JOB FROM AGE 20</p> <p>Cumulative weeks worked at an employee-type job since age 20 as of the interview date. This variable is created for all respondents regardless of interview status in the current round; CVC_RND provides the actual round of the respondent's most recent interview. Note: This variable measures the number of weeks worked from the week of the R's 20th birthday to the current interview date.</p>	<pre> 920 0 TO 50: weeks 324 51 TO 100: weeks 370 101 TO 150: weeks 389 151 TO 200: weeks 439 201 TO 250: weeks 473 251 TO 300: weeks 569 301 TO 350: weeks 662 351 TO 400: weeks 789 401 TO 450: weeks 961 451 TO 500: weeks 857 501 TO 550: weeks 713 551 TO 600: weeks 506 601 TO 650: weeks 323 651 TO 700: weeks 112 701 TO 750: weeks 0 751 TO 800: weeks 0 801 TO 850: weeks 0 851 TO 900: weeks 0 901 TO 950: weeks 0 951 TO 1000: weeks 0 1001 TO 1050: weeks ----- 8407 Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 0 Invalid Skip(-3) 577 TOTAL =====> 8984 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0 Min: 0 Max: 748 Mean: 366.23 Hard Minimum: [0] Hard Maximum: [260] Lead In: Z90652.00[Default] Default Next Question: Z90654.00 </pre>
<p>WRKEMPLOYADULT</p>	<pre> 808 0 TO 50: weeks </pre>

<p>Z90654.00 [CVC_WKSWK_ADULT_ALL] Survey Year: XRND PRIMARY VARIABLE # WEEKS ALL JOBS FROM AGE 20 Cumulative weeks worked at all jobs since age 20 as of the interview date. This variable is created for all respondents regardless of interview status in the current round; CVC_RND provides the actual round of the respondent's most recent interview. Note: This variable measures the number of weeks worked from the week of the R's 20th birthday to the current interview date.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>270</td><td>51 TO 100: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>292</td><td>101 TO 150: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>320</td><td>151 TO 200: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>400</td><td>201 TO 250: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>423</td><td>251 TO 300: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>523</td><td>301 TO 350: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>644</td><td>351 TO 400: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>812</td><td>401 TO 450: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>1003</td><td>451 TO 500: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>922</td><td>501 TO 550: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>808</td><td>551 TO 600: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>589</td><td>601 TO 650: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>392</td><td>651 TO 700: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>127</td><td>701 TO 750: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>751 TO 800: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>801 TO 850: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>851 TO 900: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>901 TO 950: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>951 TO 1000: weeks</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>1001 TO 1050: weeks</td></tr> </table> <p>----- 8334</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 0 Invalid Skip(-3) 650 TOTAL =====> 8984 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0 Min: 0 Max: 758 Mean: 388.32 Hard Minimum: [0] Hard Maximum: [260] Lead In: Z90653.00[Default] Default Next Question: Z90655.00</p>	270	51 TO 100: weeks	292	101 TO 150: weeks	320	151 TO 200: weeks	400	201 TO 250: weeks	423	251 TO 300: weeks	523	301 TO 350: weeks	644	351 TO 400: weeks	812	401 TO 450: weeks	1003	451 TO 500: weeks	922	501 TO 550: weeks	808	551 TO 600: weeks	589	601 TO 650: weeks	392	651 TO 700: weeks	127	701 TO 750: weeks	1	751 TO 800: weeks	0	801 TO 850: weeks	0	851 TO 900: weeks	0	901 TO 950: weeks	0	951 TO 1000: weeks	0	1001 TO 1050: weeks				
270	51 TO 100: weeks																																												
292	101 TO 150: weeks																																												
320	151 TO 200: weeks																																												
400	201 TO 250: weeks																																												
423	251 TO 300: weeks																																												
523	301 TO 350: weeks																																												
644	351 TO 400: weeks																																												
812	401 TO 450: weeks																																												
1003	451 TO 500: weeks																																												
922	501 TO 550: weeks																																												
808	551 TO 600: weeks																																												
589	601 TO 650: weeks																																												
392	651 TO 700: weeks																																												
127	701 TO 750: weeks																																												
1	751 TO 800: weeks																																												
0	801 TO 850: weeks																																												
0	851 TO 900: weeks																																												
0	901 TO 950: weeks																																												
0	951 TO 1000: weeks																																												
0	1001 TO 1050: weeks																																												
<p>EDUCOMPLETE RS HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED The highest grade completed as of the survey date.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>0</td><td>0 NONE</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>1 1ST GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>2 2ND GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>3 3RD GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>0</td><td>4 4TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>5 5TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>6 6TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>37</td><td>7 7TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>239</td><td>8 8TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>361</td><td>9 9TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>427</td><td>10 10TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>447</td><td>11 11TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>1731</td><td>12 12TH GRADE</td></tr> <tr><td>678</td><td>13 1ST YEAR COLLEGE</td></tr> <tr><td>812</td><td>14 2ND YEAR COLLEGE</td></tr> <tr><td>402</td><td>15 3RD YEAR COLLEGE</td></tr> <tr><td>1026</td><td>16 4TH YEAR COLLEGE</td></tr> <tr><td>422</td><td>17 5TH YEAR COLLEGE</td></tr> <tr><td>377</td><td>18 6TH YEAR COLLEGE</td></tr> <tr><td>179</td><td>19 7TH YEAR COLLEGE</td></tr> <tr><td>178</td><td>20 8TH YEAR COLLEGE OR MORE</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>95 UNGRADED</td></tr> </table> <p>-----</p>	0	0 NONE	0	1 1ST GRADE	0	2 2ND GRADE	0	3 3RD GRADE	0	4 4TH GRADE	2	5 5TH GRADE	19	6 6TH GRADE	37	7 7TH GRADE	239	8 8TH GRADE	361	9 9TH GRADE	427	10 10TH GRADE	447	11 11TH GRADE	1731	12 12TH GRADE	678	13 1ST YEAR COLLEGE	812	14 2ND YEAR COLLEGE	402	15 3RD YEAR COLLEGE	1026	16 4TH YEAR COLLEGE	422	17 5TH YEAR COLLEGE	377	18 6TH YEAR COLLEGE	179	19 7TH YEAR COLLEGE	178	20 8TH YEAR COLLEGE OR MORE	8	95 UNGRADED
0	0 NONE																																												
0	1 1ST GRADE																																												
0	2 2ND GRADE																																												
0	3 3RD GRADE																																												
0	4 4TH GRADE																																												
2	5 5TH GRADE																																												
19	6 6TH GRADE																																												
37	7 7TH GRADE																																												
239	8 8TH GRADE																																												
361	9 9TH GRADE																																												
427	10 10TH GRADE																																												
447	11 11TH GRADE																																												
1731	12 12TH GRADE																																												
678	13 1ST YEAR COLLEGE																																												
812	14 2ND YEAR COLLEGE																																												
402	15 3RD YEAR COLLEGE																																												
1026	16 4TH YEAR COLLEGE																																												
422	17 5TH YEAR COLLEGE																																												
377	18 6TH YEAR COLLEGE																																												
179	19 7TH YEAR COLLEGE																																												
178	20 8TH YEAR COLLEGE OR MORE																																												
8	95 UNGRADED																																												

	<p>7345 Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 0 Invalid Skip(-3) 78 TOTAL =====> 7423 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1561 Lead In: T66564.00[Default] Default Next Question: T66566.00 ----- T66566.00 [CV_HGC_1112] Survey Year: 2011 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p>
<p>EDU Lead In: T52066.00[Default] Default Next Question: T52068.00 ----- T52068.00 [CV_HGC_1011] Survey Year: 2010 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED PRIOR TO THE 10/11 ACAD YEAR</p> <p>The highest elementary or secondary grade completed prior to the start of the 2010/2011 academic school year.</p>	<p>0 0 None 0 1 1st Grade 0 2 2nd Grade 0 3 3rd Grade 0 4 4th Grade 2 5 5th Grade 17 6 6th Grade 37 7 7th Grade 260 8 8th Grade 406 9 9th Grade 500 10 10th Grade 576 11 11th Grade 5605 12 12th Grade 5 95 Ungraded ----- 7408</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 0 Invalid Skip(-3) 71 TOTAL =====> 7479 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1505</p> <p>Lead In: T52067.00[Default] Default Next Question: T52069.00 ----- T66565.00 [CV_HGC_EVER_EDT] Survey Year: 2011 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p>

<p>VOTE S49210.00 [YPOL-105] Survey Year: 2004 PRIMARY VARIABLE INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>1589 1 MOST OF THE TIME 2522 2 SOME OF THE TIME 1617 3 ONLY NOW AND THEN 1756 4 HARDLY AT ALL ----- 7484</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 11</p>
---	---

<p>going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?</p>	<p>Don't Know(-2) 6 TOTAL =====> 7501 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1482</p> <p>Lead In: S49202.00[Default] S49209.00[Default] S49204.00[1:2] Default Next Question: S49211.00</p>
<p>REGISTERED S49214.00 [YPOL-130] Survey Year: 2004 PRIMARY VARIABLE R REGISTERED TO VOTE IN 2004? Were you registered to vote in the November 2004 election? UNIVERSE: R who were eligible to vote but didn't</p>	<p>1384 1 YES 1958 0 NO 3342</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 13 Don't Know(-2) 80 TOTAL =====> 3435 VALID SKIP(-4) 4067 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1482</p> <p>Lead In: S49211.00[Default] Default Next Question: S49246.00</p>
<p>INTEREST S86454.00 [YPOL-105] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>1406 1 MOST OF THE TIME 2350 2 SOME OF THE TIME 1678 3 ONLY NOW AND THEN 2109 4 HARDLY AT ALL ----- 7543</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 10 Don't Know(-2) 5 TOTAL =====> 7558 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86453.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86455.00</p>
<p>ARRESTED R03659.00 [YSAQ-439] Survey Year: 1997 PRIMARY VARIABLE R EVER ARRESTED FOR ILLEGAL OR DELINQUENT OFFENSE? Have you ever been arrested by the police or taken into custody for an illegal or delinquent offense (do not include arrests for minor traffic violations)? UNIVERSE: All Patch #2: Changed branching. Allows R's of all ages to answer entire crime series questions.</p>	<p>729 1 Yes (Go To R03660.00) 8228 0 No ----- 8957</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 20 Don't Know(-2) 5 Invalid Skip(-3) 2 TOTAL =====> 8984 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0</p> <p>Lead In: R03650.00[Default] R03656.00[Default] R03657.00[Default] R03658.00[Default] Default Next Question: R04434.00</p>
<p>CHARGE R03786.00 [YSAQ-455.01] Survey Year: 1997</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R has been arrested</p> <p>373 1 Yes (Go To R03807.00)</p>

<p>PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>POLICE CHARGE R WITH OFFENSE? ARREST 01</p> <p>Did the police charge you with an offense?</p>	<p>350 0 No</p> <p>-----</p> <p>723</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 2</p> <p>Don't Know(-2) 2</p> <p>TOTAL =====> 727 VALID SKIP(-4)</p> <p>8257 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0</p> <p>Lead In: R03765.00[Default]</p> <p>Default Next Question: R03666.00</p>
<p>COURT</p> <p>R03994.00 [YSAQ-467.01]</p> <p>Survey Year: 1997</p> <p>PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>R GO TO JUVENILE OR ADULT COURT? ARREST 01</p> <p>As a result of these charges, did you go to juvenile or adult court?</p>	<p>R03994.00 [YSAQ-467.01]</p> <p>Survey Year: 1997</p> <p>PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>R GO TO JUVENILE OR ADULT COURT? ARREST 01</p> <p>As a result of these charges, did you go to juvenile or adult court?</p> <p>UNIVERSE: R has been arrested; has been charged with offense by police</p> <p>221 1 JUVENILE COURT</p> <p>23 2 ADULT COURT</p> <p>22 3 JUVENILE AND ADULT COURT</p> <p>107 4 NO COURT (Go To R04267.00)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>373</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 0</p> <p>Don't Know(-2) 0</p> <p>TOTAL =====> 373 VALID SKIP(-4)</p> <p>8611 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0</p> <p>Lead In: R03977.00[Default]</p> <p>Default Next Question: R04011.00</p>
<p>Outcome_convict</p> <p>R04267.00 [YSAQ-492.01]</p> <p>Survey Year: 1997</p> <p>PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>OUTCOME OF CONVICTION OR GUILTY PLEA? ARREST 01</p> <p>What was the outcome?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R has been arrested; has been charged with offense by police; did not go to juvenile/adult court or was not convicted of or did not plead guilty to charges</p> <p>64 1 BROUGHT HOME OR NO FURTHER ACTION</p> <p>32 2 PRE-COURT DIVERSION PROGRAM OR COUNSELING</p> <p>21 3 COURT APPEARANCE - NO FURTHER ACTION</p> <p>67 4 OTHER</p> <p>-----</p> <p>184</p>

	<p>Refusal(-1) 1 Don't Know(-2) 0 TOTAL =====> 185 VALID SKIP(-4) 8799 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0</p> <p>Lead In: R04011.00[Default] R03994.00[4:4] Default Next Question: R03666.00</p>
<p>JAIL R04293.00 [YSAQ-494.01] Survey Year: 1997 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>SENTENCED TO CRCTNS INSTITUTE OR PERFORM COMMUNITY SERVICE? ARREST 01</p> <p>Were you sentenced to spend time in a corrections institution, like a jail, prison or a youth institution like juvenile hall or reform school or training school or to perform community service?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R has been arrested; has been charged with offense by police; went to juvenile/adult court; was convicted of or plead guilty to charges; convicted of >= 1 offense</p> <p>58 0 NOT SENTENCED TO A CORRECTIONS INSTITUTION (Go To R04392.00) 10 1 JAIL (Go To R04306.00) 1 2 ADULT CORRECTIONS INSTITUTION (Go To R04306.00) 39 3 JUVENILE CORRECTIONS INSTITUTION (Go To R04306.00) 6 4 REFORM SCHOOL OR TRAINING SCHOOL 43 5 COMMUNITY SERVICE (Go To R04357.00) 30 6 OTHER (Go To R04392.00)</p> <p>----- 187</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 0 Don't Know(-2) 1 TOTAL =====> 188 VALID SKIP(-4) 8796 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 0</p> <p>Lead In: R04280.00[Default] Default Next Question: R03666.00</p>
<p>VOLUNTEERWRK S63174.00 [YSAQ-300V1] Survey Year: 2005 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>FREQ OF UNPAID VOLUNTEER WORK</p> <p>In the last 12 months, how often did you do any unpaid volunteer work, including activities aimed at changing social conditions, such as work with educational groups, environmental groups, landlord/tenant groups, or other consumer groups, women's groups or minority groups?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>4228 1 Never 1953 2 1 - 4 times (Go To S63175.00) 383 3 5 - 11 times (Go To S63175.00) 510 4 12 times or more (Go To S63175.00)</p> <p>----- 7074</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 72 Don't Know(-2) 192 TOTAL =====> 7338 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1646</p> <p>Lead In: S63173.00[Default] Default Next Question: S63176.00</p>
<p>IMPORTANTVOTE</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p>

<p>T10692.00 [YTEL-53~000001] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION - VOTING</p> <p>Here are some ways that we can participate in our society. Please tell me if you think it is very important to do these things, somewhat important to do these things, or not at all important to do these things.</p>	<p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "Vote in elections?"</p> <p>1183 1 Very Important 492 2 Somewhat Important 153 3 Not at all Important ----- 1828</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 2 Don't Know(-2) 18 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 3 Mean: 1.44</p> <p>Lead In: T10691.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10693.00</p>
<p>IMPORTANTJURY T10692.01 [YTEL-53~000002] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION - JURY DUTY</p> <p>Here are some ways that we can participate in our society. Please tell me if you think it is very important to do these things, somewhat important to do these things, or not at all important to do these things.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "Serve on a jury if called?"</p> <p>733 1 Very Important 809 2 Somewhat Important 264 3 Not at all Important ----- 1806</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 3 Don't Know(-2) 39 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 3 Mean: 1.74</p> <p>Lead In: T10691.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10693.00</p>
<p>IMPORTANTRPTCRIME T10692.02 [YTEL-53~000003] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION - REPORTING A CRIME</p> <p>Here are some ways that we can participate in our society. Please tell me if you think it is very important to do these things, somewhat important to do these things, or not at all important to do these things.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "Report a crime you may have witnessed?"</p> <p>1413 1 Very Important 326 2 Somewhat Important 73 3 Not at all Important ----- 1812</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 4 Don't Know(-2) 32 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p>

	<p>Min: 1 Max: 3 Mean: 1.26</p> <p>Lead In: T10691.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10693.00</p>
<p>IMPORTANTINFORMD T10692.03 [YTEL-53~000004] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION - KEEPING INFORMED</p> <p>Here are some ways that we can participate in our society. Please tell me if you think it is very important to do these things, somewhat important to do these things, or not at all important to do these things.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "Keep fully informed about news and public issues?"</p> <p>885 1 Very Important 818 2 Somewhat Important 130 3 Not at all Important ----- 1833</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 2 Don't Know(-2) 13 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 3 Mean: 1.59</p> <p>Lead In: T10691.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10693.00</p>
<p>PROVIDEJOBS S86469.00 [YTEL-11A] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROVIDE JOBS FOR EVERYONE</p> <p>- provide a job for everyone who wants one?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>454 1 Definitely should be 617 2 Probably should be 462 3 Probably should not be 300 4 Definitely should not be ----- 1833</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 5 Don't Know(-2) 56 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86459.00[2:2] Default Next Question: S86470.00</p>
<p>CTRLPRICES S86470.00 [YTEL-11B] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - KEEP PRICES UNDER CONTROL</p> <p>- keep prices under control?</p>	<p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>1007 1 Definitely should be 621 2 Probably should be 161 3 Probably should not be 70 4 Definitely should not be</p> <p>----- 1859</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 9 Don't Know(-2) 26 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86469.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86471.00</p>
<p>HLTHCARE S86471.00 [YTEL-11C] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROVIDE HEALTH CARE FOR SICK</p> <p>- provide health care for the sick?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>1247 1 Definitely should be 508 2 Probably should be 85 3 Probably should not be 34 4 Definitely should not be</p> <p>----- 1874</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 5 Don't Know(-2) 15 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86470.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86472.00</p>
<p>ELDLYLIVE S86472.00 [YTEL-11D] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROVIDE STANDARD OF LIVING FOR OLD</p> <p>- provide a decent standard of living for the old?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>1311 1 Definitely should be 464 2 Probably should be 71 3 Probably should not be 26 4 Definitely should not be</p> <p>1872</p>

	<p>Refusal(-1) 6 Don't Know(-2) 16 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86471.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86473.00</p>
<p>INDUSTRYHLP S86473.00 [YTEL-11E] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROVIDE INDUSTRY WITH HELP</p> <p>- provide industry with the help it needs to grow?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>778 1 Definitely should be 746 2 Probably should be 216 3 Probably should not be 75 4 Definitely should not be</p> <p>----- 1815</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 6 Don't Know(-2) 73 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86472.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86474.00</p>
<p>UNEMPLOYHLP S86474.00 [YTEL-11F] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROVIDE LIVING STANDARD FOR UNEMPLOYED</p> <p>- provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>395 1 Definitely should be 730 2 Probably should be 476 3 Probably should not be 210 4 Definitely should not be</p> <p>----- 1811</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 7 Don't Know(-2) 76 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86473.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86475.00</p>
<p>incomeInequality S86475.00 [YTEL-11G] Survey Year: 2006</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p>

<p>PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - REDUCE INCOME DIFFERENCES</p> <p>- reduce income differences between the rich and poor?</p>	<p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>576 1 Definitely should be 505 2 Probably should be 406 3 Probably should not be 288 4 Definitely should not be ----- 1775</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 7 Don't Know(-2) 112 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86474.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86476.00</p>
<p>FINAID S86476.00 [YTEL-11H] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROVIDE COLLEGE FINAN AID</p> <p>- give financial assistance to college students from low-income families?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>1377 1 Definitely should be 432 2 Probably should be 50 3 Probably should not be 16 4 Definitely should not be ----- 1875</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 6 Don't Know(-2) 13 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86475.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86477.00</p>
<p>HOUSING S86477.00 [YTEL-11I] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROVIDE DECENT HOUSING</p> <p>- provide decent housing for those who can't afford it?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>817 1 Definitely should be 801 2 Probably should be 185 3 Probably should not be 44 4 Definitely should not be -----</p>

	<p>1847</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 9 Don't Know(-2) 38 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86476.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86478.00</p>
<p>environment S86478.00 [YTEL-11J] Survey Year: 2006 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY - PROTECT ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>- impose strict laws to make industry do less damage to the environment?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 2 These next questions are about how you would like society to work.</p> <p>On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...</p> <p>1244 1 Definitely should be 533 2 Probably should be 55 3 Probably should not be 28 4 Definitely should not be ----- 1860</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 6 Don't Know(-2) 28 TOTAL =====> 1894 VALID SKIP(-4) 5665 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1425</p> <p>Lead In: S86477.00[Default] Default Next Question: S86482.00</p>
<p>HELPPEOPLELESS T10691.00 [YTEL-52~000001] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY QUESTIONS - PEOPLE SHOULD HELP LESS FORTUNATE</p> <p>Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "People should be willing to help others who are less fortunate."</p> <p>814 4 Strongly Agree 940 3 Agree 65 2 Neither Agree nor Disagree 17 1 Disagree 4 0 Strongly Disagree ----- 1840</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 1 Don't Know(-2) 7 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p> <p>Min: 0 Max: 4 Mean: 3.38</p> <p>Lead In: T10690.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10692.00</p>

<p>CARETHEMSELVES T10691.01 [YTEL-52~000002] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY QUESTIONS - PEOPLE SHOULD TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES</p> <p>Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "Those in need have to learn to take care of themselves and not depend on others."</p> <p>281 4 Strongly Agree 860 3 Agree 308 2 Neither Agree nor Disagree 323 1 Disagree 57 0 Strongly Disagree ----- 1829</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 3 Don't Know(-2) 16 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p> <p>Min: 0 Max: 4 Mean: 2.54</p> <p>Lead In: T10690.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10692.00</p>
<p>IMPTHHELP T10691.02 [YTEL-52~000003] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY QUESTIONS - HELPING PEOPLE IS IMPORTANT TO R</p> <p>Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "Personally assisting people in trouble is very important to me."</p> <p>414 4 Strongly Agree 1045 3 Agree 256 2 Neither Agree nor Disagree 103 1 Disagree 18 0 Strongly Disagree ----- 1836</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 1 Don't Know(-2) 11 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p> <p>Min: 0 Max: 4 Mean: 2.94</p> <p>Lead In: T10690.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10692.00</p>
<p>AFTERTHEMSELVES T10691.03 [YTEL-52~000004] Survey Year: 2007 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: R is in sample group 4</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "These days people need to look after themselves and not overly worry about others."</p>

<p>PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY QUESTIONS - PEOPLE NEED TO LOOK AFTER THEMSELVES</p> <p>Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:</p>	<p>145 4 Strongly Agree 619 3 Agree 290 2 Neither Agree nor Disagree 593 1 Disagree 174 0 Strongly Disagree ----- 1821</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 6 Don't Know(-2) 21 TOTAL =====> 1848 VALID SKIP(-4) 5570 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1566</p> <p>Min: 0 Max: 4 Mean: 1.98</p> <p>Lead In: T10690.00[Default] Default Next Question: T10692.00</p>
---	--

<p>RNERVOUSDEP R48936.00 [YSAQ-282C] Survey Year: 2000 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>HOW OFTEN R HAS BEEN A NERVOUS PERSON IN PAST MONTH</p> <p>How much of the time during the last month have you been a very nervous person?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>228 1 All of the time 695 2 Most of the time 4303 3 Some of the time 2799 4 None of the time ----- 8025</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 43 Don't Know(-2) 11 TOTAL =====> 8079 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 904</p> <p>Lead In: R48935.00[1:1] Default Next Question: R48937.00</p>
--	--

<p>RCALMDEP R48937.00 [YSAQ-282D] Survey Year: 2000 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>HOW OFTEN R FELT CALM AND PEACEFUL IN PAST MONTH</p> <p>How much of the time during the last month have you felt calm and peaceful?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>759 1 All of the time 3922 2 Most of the time 2949 3 Some of the time 397 4 None of the time ----- 8027</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 42 Don't Know(-2) 10 TOTAL =====> 8079 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 904 Lead In: R48936.00[Default] Default Next Question: R48938.00</p>
--	--

<p>RBLUEDEP R48938.00 [YSAQ-282E] Survey Year: 2000 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>240 1 All of the time 910 2 Most of the time</p>
--	---

<p style="text-align: center;">HOW OFTEN R FELT DOWN OR BLUE IN PAST MONTH</p> <p>How much of the time during the last month have you felt downhearted and blue?</p>	<p>4432 3 Some of the time 2441 4 None of the time ----- 8023</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 44 Don't Know(-2) 12 TOTAL =====> 8079 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 904</p> <p>Lead In: R48937.00[Default] Default Next Question: R48939.00</p>
<p>RHAPPYDEP R48939.00 [YSAQ-282F] Survey Year: 2000 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">HOW OFTEN R HAS BEEN A HAPPY PERSON IN PAST MONTH</p> <p>How much of the time during the last month have you been a happy person?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>1197 1 All of the time 4316 2 Most of the time 2328 3 Some of the time 186 4 None of the time ----- 8027</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 43 Don't Know(-2) 9 TOTAL =====> 8079 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 904</p> <p>Lead In: R48938.00[Default] Default Next Question: R48940.00</p>
<p>RDEPRESSEDDEP R48940.00 [YSAQ-282G] Survey Year: 2000 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">HOW OFTEN R DEPRESSED IN LAST MONTH</p> <p>How much of the time during the last month have you felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>123 1 All of the time 457 2 Most of the time 2371 3 Some of the time 5077 4 None of the time ----- 8028</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 44 Don't Know(-2) 7 TOTAL =====> 8079 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 904</p> <p>Lead In: R48939.00[Default] Default Next Question: R48941.00</p>
<p>RHRDWRKRPT10 T31626.00 [YTEL-IND~000001] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PERSONALITY SCALE: HARD WORKER</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Now I will read some statements that may or may not apply to you. On the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please tell me how much you</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "I do not work as hard as the majority of people around me."</p> <p>4442 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 1420 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 513 3 3 -- Disagree a little 314 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 374 5 5 -- Agree a little 175 6 6 -- Agree moderately 223 7 7 -- Agree strongly</p>

<p>agree or disagree that each statement describes who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>----- 7461</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 16 Don't Know(-2) 12 TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 1.95</p> <p>Lead In: T31625.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31627.00</p>
<p>RamntwrkPT10 T31626.01 [YTEL-IND~000002] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: AMOUNT OF WORK</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Now I will read some statements that may or may not apply to you. On the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please tell me how much you agree or disagree that each statement describes who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "I do what is required, but rarely anything more."</p> <p>3105 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 1752 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 907 3 3 -- Disagree a little 430 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 647 5 5 -- Agree a little 289 6 6 -- Agree moderately 324 7 7 -- Agree strongly</p> <p>----- 7454</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 16 Don't Know(-2) 19 TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 2.45</p> <p>Lead In: T31625.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31627.00</p>
<p>RwrkstandardsPT10 T31626.02 [YTEL-IND~000003] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: WORK STANDARDS</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Now I will read some statements that may or may not apply to you. On the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please tell me how much you agree or disagree that each statement describes who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "I have high standards and work toward them."</p> <p>47 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 61 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 114 3 3 -- Disagree a little 296 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1016 5 5 -- Agree a little 2257 6 6 -- Agree moderately 3626 7 7 -- Agree strongly</p> <p>----- 7417</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 29 Don't Know(-2) 43</p>

	<p>TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 6.16</p> <p>Lead In: T31625.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31627.00</p>
--	--

<p>ReffortwrkPT10 T31626.03 [YTEL-IND~000004] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: EFFORT AT WORK</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Now I will read some statements that may or may not apply to you. On the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please tell me how much you agree or disagree that each statement describes who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "I make every effort to do more than what is expected of me."</p> <p>72 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 89 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 209 3 3 -- Disagree a little 561 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1566 5 5 -- Agree a little 2367 6 6 -- Agree moderately 2567 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7431</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 25 Don't Know(-2) 33 TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 5.8</p> <p>Lead In: T31625.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31627.00</p>
---	---

<p>RfollowrulesPT10 T31627.00 [YTEL-TRAD~000001] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: FOLLOWING RULES</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Again on the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, how much do you agree or disagree that the following statements describe who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "I do not intend to follow every little rule that others make up."</p> <p>690 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 748 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 651 3 3 -- Disagree a little 1216 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1671 5 5 -- Agree a little 1196 6 6 -- Agree moderately 1258 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7430</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 24 Don't Know(-2) 35 TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p>
--	--

	<p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 4.49</p> <p>Lead In: T31626.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31630.00</p>
<p>RbrkrulesSchoolPT10 T31627.01 [YTEL-TRAD~000002] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: BREAKING SCHOOL RULES</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Again on the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, how much do you agree or disagree that the following statements describe who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "When I was in school, I used to break rules quite regularly."</p> <p>2387 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 1304 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 747 3 3 -- Disagree a little 616 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 941 5 5 -- Agree a little 606 6 6 -- Agree moderately 858 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7459</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 19 Don't Know(-2) 11 TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 3.22</p> <p>Lead In: T31626.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31630.00</p>
<p>RspptrulesPT10 T31627.02 [YTEL-TRAD~000003] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: SUPPORT FOR RULES AND TRADITIONS</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Again on the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, how much do you agree or disagree that the following statements describe who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "I support long-established rules and traditions."</p> <p>259 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 336 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 541 3 3 -- Disagree a little 1357 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1970 5 5 -- Agree a little 1737 6 6 -- Agree moderately 1233 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7433</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 27 Don't Know(-2) 29 TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 4.96</p> <p>Lead In: T31626.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31630.00</p>

<p>RbendingrulesPT10 T31627.03 [YTEL-TRAD~000004] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: BENDING RULES</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Again on the same scale, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, how much do you agree or disagree that the following statements describe who you are and how you act.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "Even if I knew how to get around the rules without breaking them, I would not do it."</p> <p>615 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 542 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 1000 3 3 -- Disagree a little 1329 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1273 5 5 -- Agree a little 1361 6 6 -- Agree moderately 1292 7 7 -- Agree strongly</p> <p>----- 7412</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 33 Don't Know(-2) 44 TOTAL =====> 7489 VALID SKIP(-4) 1 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 4.53</p> <p>Lead In: T31626.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31630.00</p>
<p>RextravertedPT08 T31625.00 [YTEL-TIPIA~000001] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: EXTRAVERTED, ENTHUSIASTIC</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Extraverted, enthusiastic"</p> <p>149 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 200 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 467 3 3 -- Disagree a little 717 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 2276 5 5 -- Agree a little 2152 6 6 -- Agree moderately 1402 7 7 -- Agree strongly</p> <p>----- 7363</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 21 Don't Know(-2) 106 TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 5.29</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>
<p>RcriticalPT08 T31625.01 [YTEL-TIPIA~000002] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Critical, quarrelsome"</p> <p>962 1 1 -- Disagree strongly</p>

<p>PERSONALITY SCALE: CRITICAL, QUARRELSOME</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>1235 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 1112 3 3 -- Disagree a little 1483 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1546 5 5 -- Agree a little 588 6 6 -- Agree moderately 269 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7195</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 20 Don't Know(-2) 275 TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 3.59</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>
<p>RdependablePT08 T31625.02 [YTEL-TIPIA~000003] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: DEPENDABLE, SELF-DISCIPLINED</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Dependable, self-disciplined"</p> <p>56 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 61 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 123 3 3 -- Disagree a little 238 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1010 5 5 -- Agree a little 2756 6 6 -- Agree moderately 3190 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7434</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 24 Don't Know(-2) 32 TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 6.11</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>
<p>RanxiousPT08 T31625.03 [YTEL-TIPIA~000004] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: ANXIOUS, EASILY UPSET</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Anxious, easily upset"</p> <p>1145 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 1484 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 1257 3 3 -- Disagree a little 1004 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1380 5 5 -- Agree a little 616 6 6 -- Agree moderately 571 7 7 -- Agree strongly -----</p>

<p>to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>7457</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 17 Don't Know(-2) 16 TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 3.55</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>
---	---

<p>RopenPT08 T31625.04 [YTEL-TIPIA~000005] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: OPEN, COMPLEX</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Open to new experiences, complex"</p> <p>85 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 112 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 227 3 3 -- Disagree a little 543 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1728 5 5 -- Agree a little 2292 6 6 -- Agree moderately 2423 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7410</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 28 Don't Know(-2) 52 TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 5.74</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>
---	---

<p>RreservedPT8 T31625.05 [YTEL-TIPIA~000006] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: RESERVED, QUIET</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, here 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Reserved, quiet"</p> <p>1204 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 940 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 921 3 3 -- Disagree a little 967 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1585 5 5 -- Agree a little 972 6 6 -- Agree moderately 856 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7445</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 17 Don't Know(-2) 28</p>
--	---

	<p>TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 3.96</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>
<p>RwarmPT08 T31625.06 [YTEL-TIPIA~000007] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: SYMPATHETIC, WARM</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Sympathetic, warm"</p> <p>131 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 153 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 323 3 3 -- Disagree a little 695 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 1804 5 5 -- Agree a little 2394 6 6 -- Agree moderately 1895 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7395</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 28 Don't Know(-2) 67</p> <p>TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 5.52</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>
<p>RdisorganizedPT08 T31625.07 [YTEL-TIPIA~000008] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: DISORGANIZED, CARELESS</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Disorganized, careless"</p> <p>2381 1 1 -- Disagree strongly 1690 2 2 -- Disagree moderately 1136 3 3 -- Disagree a little 812 4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree 900 5 5 -- Agree a little 309 6 6 -- Agree moderately 226 7 7 -- Agree strongly ----- 7454</p> <p>Refusal(-1) 18 Don't Know(-2) 18</p> <p>TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 2.73</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>

<p>RstablePT08 T31625.08 [YTEL-TIPIA~000009] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: CALM, EMOTIONALLY STABLE</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Calm, emotionally stable"</p> <table> <tr><td>144</td><td>1 1 -- Disagree strongly</td></tr> <tr><td>186</td><td>2 2 -- Disagree moderately</td></tr> <tr><td>388</td><td>3 3 -- Disagree a little</td></tr> <tr><td>726</td><td>4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree</td></tr> <tr><td>1628</td><td>5 5 -- Agree a little</td></tr> <tr><td>2559</td><td>6 6 -- Agree moderately</td></tr> <tr><td>1796</td><td>7 7 -- Agree strongly</td></tr> <tr><td>-----</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>7427</td><td></td></tr> </table> <p>Refusal(-1) 23 Don't Know(-2) 40 TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 5.47</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>	144	1 1 -- Disagree strongly	186	2 2 -- Disagree moderately	388	3 3 -- Disagree a little	726	4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree	1628	5 5 -- Agree a little	2559	6 6 -- Agree moderately	1796	7 7 -- Agree strongly	-----		7427	
144	1 1 -- Disagree strongly																		
186	2 2 -- Disagree moderately																		
388	3 3 -- Disagree a little																		
726	4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree																		
1628	5 5 -- Agree a little																		
2559	6 6 -- Agree moderately																		
1796	7 7 -- Agree strongly																		

7427																			
<p>RconventionalPT08 T31625.09 [YTEL-TIPIA~000010] Survey Year: 2008 PRIMARY VARIABLE</p> <p>PERSONALITY SCALE: CONVENTIONAL, UNCREATIVE</p> <p>(HAND R CARD WW) Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means disagree strongly and 7 means agree strongly, please rate how well each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.</p>	<p>UNIVERSE: All</p> <p>RESPONSE CHOICE: "...Conventional, uncreative"</p> <table> <tr><td>2047</td><td>1 1 -- Disagree strongly</td></tr> <tr><td>1743</td><td>2 2 -- Disagree moderately</td></tr> <tr><td>1294</td><td>3 3 -- Disagree a little</td></tr> <tr><td>1049</td><td>4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree</td></tr> <tr><td>721</td><td>5 5 -- Agree a little</td></tr> <tr><td>330</td><td>6 6 -- Agree moderately</td></tr> <tr><td>220</td><td>7 7 -- Agree strongly</td></tr> <tr><td>-----</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>7404</td><td></td></tr> </table> <p>Refusal(-1) 19 Don't Know(-2) 67 TOTAL =====> 7490 VALID SKIP(-4) 0 NON-INTERVIEW(-5) 1494</p> <p>Min: 1 Max: 7 Mean: 2.8</p> <p>Lead In: T31624.00[Default] Default Next Question: T31626.00</p>	2047	1 1 -- Disagree strongly	1743	2 2 -- Disagree moderately	1294	3 3 -- Disagree a little	1049	4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree	721	5 5 -- Agree a little	330	6 6 -- Agree moderately	220	7 7 -- Agree strongly	-----		7404	
2047	1 1 -- Disagree strongly																		
1743	2 2 -- Disagree moderately																		
1294	3 3 -- Disagree a little																		
1049	4 4 -- Neither agree nor disagree																		
721	5 5 -- Agree a little																		
330	6 6 -- Agree moderately																		
220	7 7 -- Agree strongly																		

7404																			

Appendix B
 QUESTION WORDING AND CODING PROCEDURES USED FOR ADOLESCENT TO
 ADULT HEALTH (ADD HEALTH), 1994-2008

<p>BrthYear 1. Confirm birth date. [month and year]</p>	<p>H 30 D 1M H 30 D 1Y</p>
<p>Edu 1. What is the highest grade or year of regular school you have completed? H 3ED 1 num 2</p>	<p>1 6 6th grade 3 7 7th grade 27 8 8th grade 95 9 9th grade 190 10 10th grade 301 11 11th grade 1552 12 12th grade 768 13 1 year of college 750 14 2 years of college 438 15 3 years of college 527 16 4 years of college 127 17 5 or more years of college 52 18 1 year of graduate school 22 19 2 years of graduate school 20 20 3 years of graduate school 4 21 4 years of graduate school 1 22 5 or more years of graduate school 1 98 don 't know 2 99 not applicable 1 ! missing</p>

<p>Black What is your race? You may give more than one answer.</p>	<p>1467 0 not marked 3376 1 mar ked 8 6 refused 16 8 don 't know 15 9 no t applicable</p> <p>black or African American H3OD 4B num 1 3664 0 not marked 1213 1 mar ked 3 8 don 't know 2 9 no t applicable</p> <p>American Indian or Native American H3OD 4C num 1 4650 0 not marked 226 1 mar ked 3 8 don 't know 3 9 no t applicable</p> <p>Asian or Pacific Islander H3OD 4D num 1 4650 0 not marked 227 1 mar ked 2 8 don 't know 3 9 no t applicable <i>[If "Asian or Pacific Islander" is among R's answers, ask Q.5.]</i></p>
<p>Hispanic Are you of Hispanic or Latin o origin? H3OD 2 num 1</p>	<p>4353 0 no <i>[skip to Q.4]</i> 522 1 yes</p>
<p>everWRK Have you ever had a job? Don't count being in the military and don't count jobs such as babysitting or lawn mowing un less you were working for a business. H3LM1 num 1</p>	<p>154 0 no <i>[skip to Q.3]</i> 4725 1 yes 3 8 don 't know</p>
<p>stoppedNum How many times have you been stopped or detained by the police for questioning about your activities? Don't count minor traffic violations. H3CJ1 num 1</p>	<p>3894 0 never <i>[skip to Q.160]</i> 448 1 1 time 330 2 2 or 3 times 73 3 4 or 5 times 84 4 6 or more times 27 6 refused 15 8 don't know 10 9 not applicable 1 ! missing</p>
<p>arrested 3. Have you ever been arrested or taken into custody by the police H3CJ3 num 1</p>	<p>420 0 no <i>[skip to Q.160]</i> 529 1 yes 19 6 refused 3894 7 legitimate skip 10 8 don't know 5 9 not applicable</p>
<p>vote Did you vote in the most recent presidential election? H3CC8 num 1</p>	<p>2643 0 no 2201 1 yes 6 6 refused 19 7 legitimate skip 6 8 don 't know 6 9 not applicable</p>

	1 ! missing
trustFed How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? 10. I trust the federal government. H3CC10 num 2	328 1 strongly agree 1777 2 agree 1730 3 neither agree n or d isagree 720 4 disag ree 281 5 stron gly disag ree 8 96 refused 31 98 don 't know 6 99 not applicable 1 ! mis sing

trustState I trust my state government. H3CC11 num 2	329 1 strongly agree 1965 2 agree 1708 3 neither agree n or disagree 613 4 disagree 220 5 strongly disagree 9 96 refused 28 98 don 't know 9 99 not applicable 1 ! missing
trustLocal 12. I trust my local government. H3CC12 num 2	308 1 strongly agree 2001 2 agree 1715 3 neither agree n or disagree 586 4 disagree 224 5 strongly disagree 7 96 refused 30 98 don 't know 10 99 not applicable 1 ! missing
Ideology In term s of politics, do you con sider yourself conservative, liberal, or middle-of-the-road? H3CC13 num 2	117 1 very conservative 879 2 conservative 2496 3 midd le-of-the-road 807 4 liberal 91 5 very liberal 26 96 refused 331 98 don 't know 134 99 not applicable 1 ! missing
IDwithparty Do you identify with a specific political party? H3CC14 num 1	1736 1 yes 10 6 refused 35 8 don 't know 17 9 not applicable 1 ! missing
PartyID 15. With which party do you identify? H3CC15 num 2	1026 1 Democrat 630 2 Republican 6 3 Reform 18 4 Libertarian 23 5 Green 2 6 Socialist 23 7 Independent 5 8 other 1 96 refused 3145 97 legitimate skip

	1 98 don't know 1 99 not applicable 1 ! missing
--	---