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Editorial Introduction

Welcome to the second issue of the third volume of the *Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice & Criminology*, and also my last issue as editor. Four years ago, I was given the opportunity by the president and board of the Southwestern Association of Criminal Justice to start up a new association journal and they liked my idea of a qualitative methods journal that would appeal to not only criminal justice, but to criminology as well. I began putting together an editorial board and was overwhelmed by the positive support I received regarding my ideas for the journal. That made everything else simply fall into place. It has been a great experience and I hope it has made a significant contribution to, first and foremost, qualitative research, and secondly to the disciplines of criminal justice and criminology.

I am a firm believer that no one should hold onto these positions for any extended length of time. Four years is long enough. I advised the SWACJ board at the end of my third year, and they began putting together the search for a new editor. I am very pleased to report that Thomas Holt, from Michigan State University, will be taking over from me as the editor of the journal. Tom is an associate professor and a qualitative researcher who has been published in such journals as *Crime and Delinquency*, *Deviant Behavior*, and the *Journal of Criminal Justice*. A large portion of his research has been in the area of deviant and criminal behavior online, and he was the lead author on a contribution to JQCJC that appeared in the very first issue. So, Tom has been a supporter of the journal from the very beginning, which means, I believe, the journal will be in very good hands and will continue to advance far beyond my meager start.

There are far too many people to thank by name, but please know that I am so very grateful to all of the support I have received over the past four years. There are some that gave me the right encouragement at the right time and I have to thank them by name: The Adlers, Heith Copes, Richard Tewskbury, Dean Dabney, Kathy Charmaz, and Ron Weitzer. The service of all of the editorial board, the reviewers, and the authors have been outstanding and all, in my humble opinion, have helped to make this a significant contribution to the disciplines. I must also thank my favorite copy-editor, Ronda Harris of the Sam Houston State University Academic Success Center; my production editor Harriet McHale of the College of Criminal Justice; and my webmaster Melina Gilbert, also of the College of Criminal Justice. Without these three ladies and their hard work, I would never have even considered starting up this journal or serving as its first editor. Thank you for keeping the quality of the journal so high.

In closing, again, please join me and welcoming Tom Holt as the new editor of the *Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice & Criminology*.

Will Oliver
Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas

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Exploring Police Legitimacy Perceptions Among Arab and Chaldean Business Owners in Detroit

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ABSTRACT

Most agree that police officers cannot do their jobs effectively without the support of community members. However, little is known about the perceptions of small business owners who could potentially make a meaningful contribution to safety and security in such communities. There is also a paucity of research on immigrant-owned businesses in disorderly urban communities. To address the gap, this study explores the attitudes of small business owners toward the police in Detroit, Michigan, a city known for high levels of violent crime and presents an analysis of the qualitative data collected from in-depth interviews with small business owners ($n = 39$), with a special focus on Arab and Chaldean business owners. The findings indicate that although procedural justice perceptions are closely associated with police legitimacy perceptions, business owners are equally concerned about the effectiveness of police in dealing with crime. In particular, the perceived risk of victimization influences many Arab and Chaldean business owners' perceptions of police. The policy implications of these findings are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

It is challenging for police to do their jobs effectively when residents do not trust them (Gau, 2011; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). This is particularly the case in disorderly urban communities. Similar to the residents, business owners may view the police unfavorably which can pose an additional challenge for police officers who must investigate crimes in hotspots often comprised of problematic gas stations and convenience stores (Dalmia, 2013;

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Rice & Parkin, 2010). Simply put, police legitimacy can be defined as the degree to which individuals trust and have confidence in the police (Tyler, 2002). Police are viewed as legitimate when deemed to possess "the moral and not merely legal authority to issue commands, keep the peace, and enforce the law" (Gau et al., 2012, p. 334).

If meaningful interactions between the police and the community lead to more favorable perceptions of police, these interactions may also encourage stronger community partnerships that foster safer communities. Small business owners can be included in such initiatives, and this could be crucial to the survival of troubled communities (Brodin, 2012; Dymski, 1996; Greenbaum & Tita, 2004). It is therefore worthwhile to consider the perspectives of business owners. Furthermore, it is unclear whether factors such as race, type of business, recent encounters with police and experiences with crime, along with the fear and perceived risk of victimization play a role in business owners' attitudes toward police.

Prior research has paid little attention to the attitudes and experiences of business owners, particularly Middle Eastern owners who operate in many of America's most disorderly urban centers. This study makes a contribution by exploring police legitimacy perceptions among small business owners in areas known for high levels of violent crime. With a focus on Arab and Chaldean business owners, this research presents the analysis of qualitative data collected from in-depth interviews with Detroit business owners.

The Case of Detroit

Detroit is the most populous city in Michigan with a population of approximately 700,000 in the city and 5 million in the Metro area (U.S. Census, 2010). The city has experienced a population decline of approximately 63% since it peaked at almost 2 million residents in 1950 (Harris, 2013). At the time of writing, Detroit is the largest American city to ever file for bankruptcy. It has a violent crime rate of almost five times the national average and was also ranked for the fourth straight year as the most dangerous city in the country (Dudar, 2013; Forbes, 2013).

Small business owners and urban residents now face an uncertain future as the Detroit Police Department is saddled with a consent decree due to a range of abuses, as the city tries to overcome the consequences of neglect, financial mismanagement, corruption and gross misconduct in high office¹. Business closures are increasing due to concerns about crime victimizations and general public safety, less than adequate police response-times to life-threatening emergencies, high business taxes, and the seemingly sudden and aggressive enforcement of business codes and regulations (Dalmia, 2013; Dudar, 2013).

Detroit is of particular interest given the racial and ethnic differences within the business community. Many of the business owners who participated in this study are of Arab or Chaldean origin, or ancestry, and this re-

flects the largest communities of immigrant business owners in the city. There is limited research on these groups. The Arab and Chaldean communities in particular are responsible for many of the surviving small businesses in the city and in the metro area. While the Arabs in Detroit are generally Muslim and come from a range of Middle Eastern countries, most Chaldeans in Detroit can trace their roots to a northern Iraqi province. Furthermore, unlike their Muslim counterparts who speak Arabic, the native language of the Chaldeans is Aramaic, and they are predominantly Roman Catholic (Spurlock & Liedka, 2013).

In this study, *Middle Eastern* loosely refers to people originating from countries in Southwest Asia between Egypt and India. It may be an imperfect term for the people of this region, and it could be viewed as inadequate in describing such a wide range of cultures and ethnicities (Schopmeyer, 2011). Notwithstanding this consideration, Middle Eastern is used in this study as an organizing category for the purpose of analysis. Examining Arab and Chaldean responses within this category is useful in generating comparisons and identifying common experiences among business owners. Furthermore, there are race-related perceptions that stem from interactions with the predominantly African American residential population, which comprises the customer base for these businesses, and it is possible that Arabs and Chaldeans share these perceptions.

Existing research on business owners in Detroit has generally used a socio-historical approach in exploring interactions between immigrant owners and their customers (Gold, 2010). This approach was also used in examining the challenges faced by African American business owners and the need for entrepreneurial development in the African American community (Darden & Thomas, 2013; Gold, 2010). Studies have also used socio-historical and economic models in examining family arrangements in Metro Detroit and the success of Arab and Chaldean-owned businesses (Smith, Tang & San Miguel, 2012; Spurlock & Liedka, 2013). However, none of these studies has examined attitudes toward the police, and there is no known research on procedural justice perspectives in urban business communities.

The significance of this research rests on the fact that Detroit, like other urban centers, needs successful small businesses. These businesses will not survive if there is no infrastructure to sustain them, and their demise could be hastened if the threat of violent crime is not properly addressed. The findings from this study could have implications for police practice as well as urban development policy, since urban neighborhoods have experienced the detrimental effects of violent crime and the fear of victimization. Meaningful interactions between police and small business owners, particularly Chaldean and Arab business owners, will be crucial to the survival of business activity, the socio-economic health of urban neighborhoods, and the hope of effective crime reduction efforts.

POLICE LEGITIMACY PERCEPTIONS

Prior research indicates that procedural justice perceptions are an important key to understanding attitudes toward police. Procedural justice refers to individuals' beliefs about whether the police are treating them with respect and making quality decisions (Gau, 2011; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Although unfavorable personal experiences with police have a detrimental effect on the evaluation of future police encounters (Skogan, 2006), it has been suggested that when police exercise their authority with fairness, there will be a greater impact on levels of deference to the police (Taylor & Lawton, 2012; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Furthermore, despite the evidence that the performance of the police has a moderate effect on legitimacy, the effect of procedural justice on legitimacy remains strong even when performance measures are removed (Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

Similarly, when respondents used ethical judgments in regard to the appropriateness of police actions rather than their perceptions of the outcomes of police procedures, these perceptions of fair and respectful treatment determined levels of legitimacy (Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Existing research on the psychology of legitimacy, a crucial component of process-based models, indicates that individuals are more inclined to comply with the institutions that they trust (Jost & Major, 2001; Tyler, 2006a), and more likely to obey the law if law enforcement agencies are viewed as legitimate (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). These findings are useful since they indicate that individuals do not only evaluate police performance in terms of the outcome only; they also respond to the process that leads to the outcome. In other words, the process matters.

The perceptions of community members are also quite subjective and reflect a highly personalized process. Tyler (2002) addressed the issue of subjectivity in terms of a comparison of subjective and objective measures of legitimacy. Subjective measures of legitimacy are based on the attitudes of community members toward the performance and conduct of police officers, whereas objective legitimacy refers to measures of crime rates and observed levels of community disorder. Existing research on legitimacy generally highlights the subjective measures of legitimacy, and has established that police treatment of community members has a stronger effect on legitimacy than the outcomes of police work and the quality of police performance (Bradford, Jackson & Stanko, 2009; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Regardless of whether prior experiences with police produced favorable or unfavorable outcomes, legitimacy increased if citizens felt the police used fair procedures (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). According to these studies, perceptions of personal experiences with police are highly influential in shaping attitudes regarding future encounters with police. Also, perceptions of legitimacy will increase independent of the effect of individuals' personal outcomes, if individuals experience positive procedural justice in their personal

encounters with police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). It is unclear whether this rubric also applies to small business owners. Extant research generally focuses on the attitudes of members of residential communities.

Regardless of the population being studied, it could be assumed that procedural justice perceptions are more influential than perceptions that stem from the actual outcome of recent interactions with police. However, the likelihood that business owners' concerns are different from the concerns of local residents is worthy of consideration. Perspectives on the sustainability of small businesses suggest that business owners will be more concerned about police performance because adverse circumstances caused by crime and disorder may affect profitability (Tilley, 1993). It is also possible that the perceived risk and fear of victimization will more greatly impact business owners' perceptions of the police than beliefs about respect and quality of decision-making (Greenbaum & Tita, 2004).

Furthermore, race and ethnic origin may play a role in differential attitudes toward police. Perceptions of the degree to which policing practices are racially biased, whether racial profiling is practiced, and whether police reform is needed, are largely determined by factors related to respondents' race and ethnicity (Bradford et al., 2009; Cao, 2011; Taylor & Lawton, 2012; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Racial differences can also be partially explained by the perceived disparate treatment of racial minority populations in terms of heightened police scrutiny and the discriminatory treatment of individuals based on race, ethnicity, or perceived religion (Brunson, 2007; Gau, Corsaro, Stewart & Brunson, 2012; Nguyen, 2005; Rice & Parkin, 2010). Although this study does not contain a large enough sample to make robust racial or ethnic comparisons, it is noteworthy that many of the small business owners in Detroit are immigrants from Middle Eastern countries. It was therefore worthwhile to compare participants who can be identified as Middle Eastern to the other participants in the study.

Perceptions regarding victimization must also be considered. At the time of writing, there were no studies on the impact of perceived risk and fear of victimization on attitudes toward the police among business owners. These are important factors to consider given that many urban business owners operate in socially disorganized neighborhoods, and concerns about safety in these areas could have an impact on legitimacy perceptions (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997). It is well established that socially disorganized neighborhoods produce conditions that generate and attract crime and deviance. Operating a business within a social and physical context that comprises all of these issues can influence perceptions of crime and policing (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). The city of Detroit provides a compelling case for an assessment of these issues.

METHODS

Research Design

The main goal of this research is to explore the attitudes of small business owners toward police in Detroit, with a focus on Arab and Chaldean owners. Along with procedural justice perceptions, this study explores several factors that are believed to influence business owners' perceptions of police in high-crime areas. These factors include type of business, perceptions of recent encounters with police, the fear of victimization, and the perceived risk of victimization. The study is comprised of an exploratory qualitative design that provides an assessment of findings from in-depth interviews. The data were collected over a six-month period with a sample of 39 business owners. The interviews were 45 minutes to 2 hours in length and loosely structured in order to allow participants to discuss their concerns freely.

The types of businesses included in the study were based on preliminary interviews with business owners as well as conversations with two senior police officers from the Detroit Police Department (DPD). It is also established in prior research that certain types of businesses tend to be associated with problematic public spaces (Brantingham, 1984). Furthermore, research on crime hotspots has examined crime generators, attractors and enablers, and determined that public spaces such as gas stations and liquor stores in troubled communities often attract street crimes and disorderly behaviors (Braga, 2008; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995). Based on this understanding, it was important to include gas stations, convenience stores and liquor stores in the study to increase the chances of obtaining respondents with experiences in high-risk situations for the purpose of meaningful comparisons.

Recruitment of Participants

Preliminary interviews were conducted with three Chaldean business owners on the East Side—an area known for disorderly neighborhoods and high crime rates. The participants were recruited with the assistance of a senior representative from the Chaldean Chamber of Commerce. These interviews were influential in the development of the research questions as well as the interview instrument. The preliminary interviews also guided sampling considerations regarding the size of businesses that should be included in the sample frame.

Researchers have indicated that within any definition of *small* there can be a range of factors that make smaller enterprises quite different in comparison to larger ones, and these factors can include location and type of business (Lepoutre & Heene, 2006). However, businesses with fewer employees in high-crime areas are more likely to experience procedural justice and policing issues because they often involve interaction with community members, and they may also be more vulnerable to street crime (Tilley, 1993). It was therefore decided that businesses with 20 employees or less would be the focus of this research, and this size reflects most small businesses in the city.

Participants were selected using snow ball sampling from six principal residential areas of the city—the North East, the East Side, Midtown, Indian Village, the West Side and the South West regions. Business owners located in the central business district in downtown Detroit were not included in this study because most were much larger in size and located in multi-story buildings. Such locations generally do not possess enough of the street-level interactions with police and community members that are necessary for a meaningful study of police legitimacy and procedural justice perceptions. The Eastern and Western regions were included due to their neighborhoods' shared challenges regarding blight (vacant houses and general deterioration), high levels of street gang activity and violent crime; the term 'region' is used loosely here to describe large areas of the city that include multiple districts).

The snow ball sampling approach utilized a chain of relationships within the business community (See Figure 1). The interviews continued until issues and concerns were recurring across subjects, and saturation had been achieved. Some business owners were initially reluctant to participate in this research; at the outset, many of the Arab and Chaldean business owners were not inclined to talk openly. Despite the challenges with potential participants who cancelled appointments or did not respond to phone calls and messages, it made a difference when the researcher was introduced in person by informants.

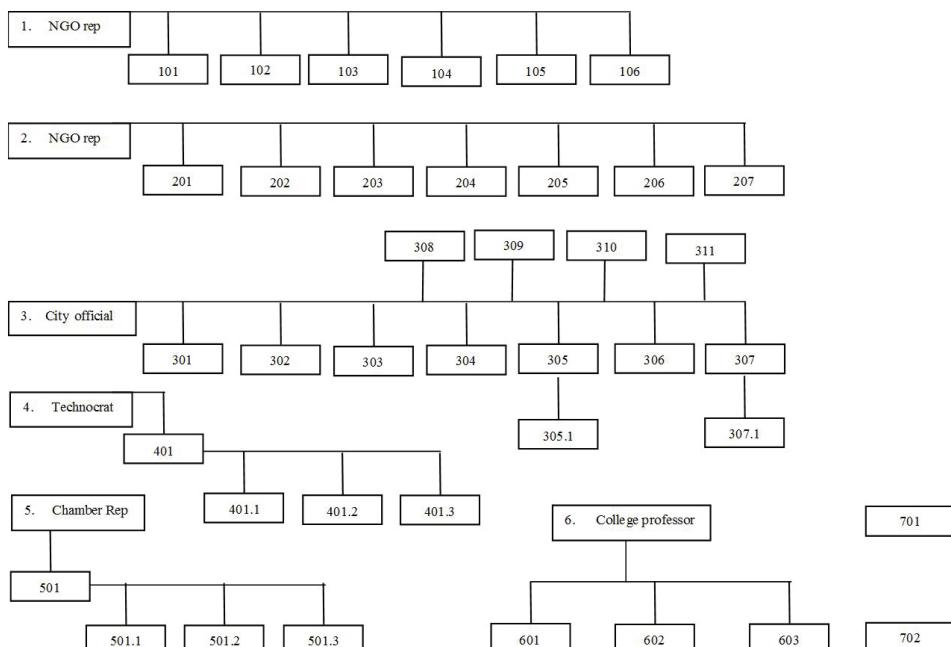


Figure 1: Snowball sampling chart

Six informants with connections to the business community assisted in identifying potential participants. These included two representatives from non-governmental organizations; a retired city official with extensive knowledge on business compliance and inspections; an influential technocrat who led a grant funded crime prevention project in the city; a Chamber of Commerce representative; and a college professor with significant experience in the Metro area.

Sample Characteristics

In total, 39 participants were recruited. The majority of them were below the age of 40 (80%). Regarding race and ethnicity, 19 participants were of Middle-Eastern origin (48%) and 16 were immigrants. Eight had operated a business in Detroit for less than 5 years, 17 had between 5 and 10 years of experience, and 14 had more than ten years of experience. Only 3 of the participants operated more than one business, and most businesses comprised less than 20 employees (95%). There were 6 female business owners in the sample. For the North East region there were 9 business owners, 14 from the East Side, 8 from Midtown and Indian Village areas, and 7 from the West Side. There were seven gas station owners, four grocery store owners, four barbers, three owners of fast food franchises and two liquor store owners. Other types of businesses represented were a bar, an auto repairs shop, a small construction company, a small financial consultancy firm, a transportation service, a funeral home, electrical services and cleaning services.

The age range of the participants was 24 to 65 with a large percentage between the ages of 30 and 40 (see Table 1). Almost half of the participants were Middle Eastern with white and black participants accounting for 24% of the sample. Most of the participants had less than 20 years of experience operating businesses in Detroit (86%) and 11% possessed more than 30 years of experience. Only 3 participants indicated that they owned or operated more than one business in the city.

A noticeable majority of the participants had less than ten employees (87%), with 13% indicating that they had between 10 and 20 employees. Regarding countries of origin, there were four Middle Eastern countries represented (see Table 2). Approximately half of all respondents indicated that they were born in the United States. Iraq had the second largest number of respondents with 15 percent of the sample. Furthermore Table 2 presents the range of business types represented along with the location of the businesses by region, number of employees, and business owners' ethnicity and country of origin.

Table 1: Description of participants (*n* = 39)

Characteristics	<i>n=39</i>	%
Age:		
Less than 30	8	21%
30 – 40	23	59%
41 – 50	4	10%
Above 50	4	10%
Race:		
White	8	21%
Black	12	30%
Latino	0	0
Middle Eastern	19	49%
Immigrant?		
Yes	13	33%
No	26	67%
Years in business:		
Less than 5	8	21%
5 – 10	17	44%
11 – 20	8	21%
21 – 30	5	14%
More than 30	0	0
More than one business?		
Yes	3	8%
No	36	92%
Number of employees:		
Less than 10	34	87%
10 – 20	5	13%

Table 2: Descriptions of type of business, city region, country of origin and race (n = 39)

	<i>Type</i>	<i>Number of Employees</i>	<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>
1	<i>North East</i>			
	Movie Theatre	4	USA	Chaldean
	Marketing	2	USA	Black
	Grocer	9	Iraq	Chaldean
	Daycare	2	USA	Black
	Funeral Home	3	USA	Black
	Finance	2	USA	White
	Gas Station	5	Lebanon	Arabic
	Gas Station	5	Lebanon	Arabic
2	<i>East Side</i>			
	Catering	4	USA	White
	Wholesale	7	USA	White
	Gas Station	3	USA	Arabic
	Auto Repairs	4	Iraq	Arabic
	Gas Station (Owns 3 stations)	10	Lebanon	Arabic
	Gas Station	4	Yemen	Arabic
	Gas Station	3	Yemen	Arabic
	Gas Station	5	Jordan	Arabic
	Auto Repairs	2	USA	Arabic
	Pizza Store	4	USA	Chaldean
	Liquor Store, Mini Mart & Cell Phone Store	13	Lebanon	Arabic
	Electrical Services	3	Lebanon	Arabic
	Barber	4	USA	Black
	Barber	3	USA	Black
	Fast Food	4	USA	Black
	Fast Food	3	USA	Black
3	<i>Midtown & Indian Village</i>			
	Bakery	5	USA	White
	Grocery	9	USA	Chaldean
	Groceries (Owns 2 stores)	11	Iraq	Chaldean
	Barber	6	USA	Black
	Grocery	8	Iraq	Chaldean
	Transportation	3	USA	Black
	Landscaping	5	USA	White
	Bar	2	USA	White
4	<i>West Side & South West</i>			
	Construction	14	USA	White
	Cleaning Services	4	USA	Black
	Finance	3	USA	Black
	Barber	3	USA	Black
	Liquor Store	2	Iraq	Chaldean
	Grocery	11	Iraq	Chaldean
	Gas Station	3	Lebanon	Arabic

For the North East region there were 9 business owners, 14 from the East Side, 8 from Midtown and Indian Village areas, and 7 from the West Side (Midtown and Indian Village are less violent areas of the city). The sample was comprised of seven gas station owners, four grocery store owners, four barbers, three owners of fast food franchises and two liquor store owners. Other types of businesses represented were a bar, an auto repairs shop, a small construction company, a small financial consultancy firm, a transportation service, a funeral home, and businesses offering electrical and cleaning services.

Analysis

The interviews consisted of open ended questions based on perceptions of the police. The questions were posed in a loosely structured manner which allowed participants to speak freely on related issues. The coding and analysis was guided by Silverman (2010) as well as Miles & Huberman (1994) regarding the use of keywords and how to efficiently organize data. These data were also coded for relevant themes and categories such as confidence in police performance, prior victimizations and the fear of victimization.

After the first stage of coding was completed a coding protocol was created. Data from the transcripts were then grouped according to theme and relevant labels were created under each conceptual heading. In order to establish reliability an alternative coder with experience in qualitative research was asked to code a sample of eight cases using this coding tool. It is generally accepted that an agreement coefficient of .8 (80%) indicates acceptable reliability (Gwet 2012; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Inter-rater reliability was assessed and a Cohen's Kappa statistic of .86 was generated based on the coding of two separate coders.

FINDINGS

The main themes related to police legitimacy perceptions were respect, trust, police encounters/interactions, police responsiveness, type and location of business, risk, fear and crimes affecting business. The findings indicate that procedural justice perceptions were influential among business owners who appeared to operate under a perceived ongoing threat of victimization and were located in the more disorderly and disadvantaged areas of the city. Participants, however, were equally concerned about the performance of the police and their responsiveness to calls for service. The findings also highlight the perspectives of gas station owners who possessed common concerns that set them apart from the owners of other types of businesses.

Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy Perceptions

Prior research has measured police legitimacy perceptions in different ways, however, the degree to which participants respect the police and trust the police are key considerations that are generally part of the conceptual-

ization of police legitimacy. Regarding participants' respect for the police, business owners who respect the police were generally mindful of the challenging nature of policing in Detroit and the constraints that impact police work. However, participants who did not respect the police believed that police do not care enough about small business owners, particularly those who operate businesses in the most disorderly areas of the city. Most participants also highlighted the physical and social deterioration of the neighborhoods where their businesses were located. For these participants, respect for police is related to perceptions of the responsiveness of police and the performance of police in the communities where their businesses are located.

Regarding the issue of trust, participants who claimed to trust the police believed that most police officers care about the city, and that the violations and abuses perpetrated by a few police officers spoiled the image of the entire department. In contrast, business owners who expressed a lack of trust in the police believed that police officers do not take their jobs seriously and are not concerned about reducing crime or serving citizens. Most participants did not want to condemn the police outright. However, they believed the performance of police officers could be addressed with good leadership and the proper use of city resources. In the following excerpt, Najiv,² a Chaldean business owner, expressed this point. He acknowledged that police performance needs improvement, but expected things to get better under the new Police Chief:

You know, I haven't had any serious issues with cops. There have been a couple issues and they've kind of got on my case about it. [When] I hit the panic button, 3 or 4 of them showed up pretty quick. That was good. But they told me that [I] can't really use the panic button unless [I'm] getting held up. If I call 911 and we say there's teens fighting in here... You know there's probably other priorities out there... Sometimes murders and other stuff. So I can understand it. But am I generally pleased with the performance [of police]? I think it can get better. I think the police chief has plans to make it better.

It was also frustrating to some participants that the necessary changes in police responsiveness were not being implemented by the DPD. The following excerpt is from Nasir, a Lebanese gas station owner on the city's East Side. He expressed frustration regarding the harsh approach taken by police against the selling of loose (single) cigarettes, also known as *loosies*:

They're saying that in selling loose cigarettes you're attracting certain types of crime, and certain types of people. Me personally, I stopped doing that a long time ago. But with the current DPD authority now getting on national TV, telling about "We're coming after loose cigarettes," we're coming after this, we're coming after that...This is what I have to say

to them. I respect that, that's the law, that's not to be broken I understand. But that's bull crap.

When asked whether they trusted the police, Nasir and others frequently referred to the performance of the police. This suggests that trust and respect for police may be closely associated with perceptions of police performance. For example, participants from the most violent and disorderly areas such as the Osborn neighborhood in the North East, and the Conner area on the East Side, rated police performance unfavorably and also had difficulty trusting the police. A Lebanese gas station owner in the South West named Ahmed believed that because the police were underpaid, that this was undermining their ability to be effective. He also believed that many police officers still cared about the city:

This is out of their control I think. Now whether they care... Yes, they do care. But I really think that they would care more if they make more money. It's just as simple as that. When you tell somebody I want you to do all of this but I'm going to cut your pay by 20 percent. Screw you. I'm not going to do it. Any employee would do that. If I go tell my employees now I'm giving you a 20 percent pay cut starting tomorrow, you think they're gonna be happy? No, they're not gonna work, they're not gonna come in to work.

Long-standing perceptions about policing also appear to impact individuals' perceptions of the police. Participants with favorable perceptions of police often indicated that they grew up with an understanding that police should be respected. Similarly, many participants who possessed unfavorable perceptions could trace these perceptions to negative experiences with police in the distant past. Respect for police as participants grew up was not unique to any one race or culture. US-born business owners also possessed the same value of respect for authority. However, what emerged was that the negative experiences with police during childhood could be quite difficult to overcome, regardless of ethnicity or nationality. The following excerpt is from an interview with Marcus, an African American barber:

I think people feel like the police are almost picking on them. Instead of being around when we actually needed them. They're only around to satisfy something that will benefit them, like if they needed to find a shooter or they needed to bust one more crime. So that's when they hung around the neighborhood, to do something that benefits the police department or make the police department look good. And so it almost was the perception I had growing up... That the police were out for themselves and not necessarily out for our community.

This perspective was shared by most participants, regardless of race. Concerning recent encounters with police, all of the participants had inter-

acted with police officers within the last 12 months. Participants who operate businesses in high crime areas had frequent encounters with police. When asked about their general perceptions of encounters with the police, some participants indicated that they had friends that were police officers (40%) but had a neutral view regarding police performance. Moreover, most indicated that they were not totally satisfied with their most recent encounters with police.

Regarding procedural justice perceptions, the belief that the police were not reciprocating respect was also highlighted. The theme of respect is a key component in the conceptualization of procedural justice; if individuals believe that police do not treat them with respect, they will be less inclined to trust the police and see them as legitimate. Seventeen of the 39 participants (44%) indicated that the police did not treat them with respect, and most of these participants were Arab or Chaldean. This is depicted in the following response given by Mohammed, another gas station owner on the East Side:

My parking lot is private property, and I had a situation where a traffic cop pulled over a customer. And the customer pulled into the parking lot and he came in after him, and he was blocking [the] number one pump. And the way my pumps are set up, it's either one way in or one way out. I had four people being held up by this [police] car pulling over this [other] car. So [I asked the police officer,] "Could you please nicely back up your car so these people can leave, that's all I'm asking." He said "When I'm done I'll do it." How do you deal with a policing authority that shows you no respect?

Due to the frequency of such statements, it was clear that being treated with respect mattered a great deal to business owners. Those who believed they were not being treated with respect were clearly disillusioned by the performance of police and not confident that police were seeking their best interest. Those who were satisfied with their encounters with police indicated that they were treated with respect, and that they understood the reasons for police decision-making. For example, Reggie, a barber shop owner stated, "Well I think they're doing the best job that they can with what they have to work with. Over the years I've fostered a lot of good relationships with police. I'm treated with respect." Perceptions regarding the issue of respect were often linked to police responsiveness. Jamil, a gas station operator from Yemen on the East Side, discussed the issue of respect and police responsiveness in the following excerpt:

I used to have a relationship with the police during the night shift. One gave me his cell number. But I stopped trying [to have a relationship] because they change so often. Some cops work with us, some don't. Some say [only] if they got a gun call us.

Some police officers did not want to be called for service unless there was an incident in which the perpetrator clearly had a gun. This could reflect the DPD's limited resources and the precinct commander's intention to prioritize fatal and non-fatal shootings, which were deemed to be the most serious crimes. Four participants were vocal about this issue and found it to be a very insensitive and unrealistic policy. The general sentiment was that if police believed business owners should only call them when a gun was seen, this could lead to tragic situations that could otherwise be prevented. Furthermore, there were gun crimes that could be prevented if police responded to the threat of violence promptly. Business owners were generally skeptical of the crime prevention capabilities of the police, and this unofficial policy did not have a positive impact on their perceptions. One Chaldean liquor store owner on the West Side, in response to this policy, stated "If I had the money I would invest in the police. They need help."

Perceptions of encounters with police were closely associated with perceptions of the responsiveness of police to calls for service. An emerging theme in participants' responses to questions about police performance was police response-time to calls for service. Although perceptions of police responsiveness do not directly apply to interactions with police, it was included as part of the conceptualization of procedural justice. The police failure to respond to calls for service, may be interpreted by business owners as disrespect, which is an important component of procedural justice. Police responsiveness is also a clear indicator of perceived performance, and this will have an impact on legitimacy perceptions. Twenty-six participants (67%) across a range of businesses and ethnicities indicated that they were not satisfied with police response times. Some participants had a great deal to say regarding how response-times affected their confidence in the DPD. Many participants also described crimes and disorderly behavior at or near their businesses and the apparent futility of calling the police.

Although 30 participants were not satisfied with police response-times, what was even more striking was that all of the Middle Eastern respondents, particularly the gas station and liquor store owners had serious concerns about reporting crimes to the police. Ahmad, an Iraqi gas station operator on the West Side stated:

If I catch [members of the community] selling drugs in the area and I tell them to stop, they respond by saying, "I'll blow up that bitch." If I call at four in the morning, maybe they [the police] will come at nine in the night. The only time they come right away is if you say "Please help me, there is a man pointing a gun at me." Police don't do their job right. They don't give a f___ [expletive].

Some participants were generally satisfied with the treatment they receive from police officers during regular encounters or in instances where

the police actually responded to a call. However, due to the many instances where police officers were not responsive and did not show up on time, the few instances in which police officers may have been courteous or helpful could not mitigate the overall feelings of frustration regarding their non-responsiveness to calls for service. Participants also indicated that businesses located in the lower crime areas such as Midtown and Indian Village were better served by police when it comes to police patrol and calls for service. Participants in these areas had better relationships with police officers than their counterparts on the East Side.

Risk, Fear and Victimization

Certain types of businesses were associated with a higher frequency of victimizations and negative experiences with customers. The risk and fear of victimization and crimes affecting business highlight the importance of exploring comparisons between certain types of businesses. Participants operating businesses that attract disorderly customers and experience a high frequency of interactions with customers on the street level generally had less favorable views of police officers. These participants also expressed greater concern about the safety of their family members. In the following excerpt Sandra, an African American owner of a transportation business, discussed a violent incident that affected one of her drivers as well as her customers:

They came out of the bar and they were shooting. They were shooting at our passengers. You know in an altercation like that you tend to run for your vehicle, run to the vehicle that brought you. We had this large amount of people running towards the bus. The passengers were shot and our driver rushed them all to the hospital and this was like a kind of ambulance.

A comparison of note in this study is the contrast between gas station owners' perspectives and those of the participants who operate other types of businesses. The following is another excerpt from Mohammed, the gas station owner, that captures the perceived threat of victimization:

It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It was a busy Friday, a lady runs into the store while I have five customers in line. "Close the door, close the door. There's two guys following me with a gun." So I hit the automatic switch, I lock her in, I lock all of my customers in, my customers are panicking. "Oh, don't let him in they're gonna come in here and shoot us" [said one customer]. So I did the right thing, I locked the door. I'm not gonna let these folks in. They stood by the door for 15 minutes. After the minute I called in, "Excuse me 911 there's an emergency, two guys outside my door with a weapon. A customer claims they're trying to kill her. I have about six people inside the store and we need your response immediately." They stood

out there with guns in broad daylight for fifteen minutes and no DPD unit responded. So as a business owner how does that make me feel about Detroit police. I mean honestly they're over here, currently they're probably doing their job now, but the media is hyping it up a little bit. But that situation right there, we're talking about a person's life plus six people inside a store, plus my life. And these two guys are in a major city with guns in front of a business and the Detroit police cannot respond. So they finally got bored and left. Six hours later Detroit police responded. Oh, "We heard somebody had a gun." This is what I told them, it was like being sarcastic. I'm like, "She's dead and we buried her yesterday."

In another experience with the threat of violence, Mahmoud, a Yemeni gas station operator, stated that he was in a fight for his life with an apparently drunk man who was "out of control and pulling down all the shelves in the store." He expressed frustration that the police did not arrive on the scene until the perpetrator had already gone. Such shocking experiences were not isolated or extreme cases. Similar events were described by participants across the sample who appeared to have regular interactions with customers in the most disorderly neighborhoods. Although there is research that indicates that the level of security implemented by business owners can impact the frequency of victimizations (Linz et al., 2004), the use of security measures was outside the scope of this study.

Regarding crimes affecting business, 37 participants (95%) indicated that there was a crime problem in the area where their business is located. Twenty-six participants (67%) reported that they had been robbed recently, and most of these crimes had occurred at their places of business. It is noteworthy that only 8 participants indicated that they live in Detroit, and some were willing to commute a long distance from home to come to their stores. All of the Chaldean and Arab participants lived in the suburbs. This in itself reflects the general feeling about the greater perceived risk of victimization in the city.

There were 24 participants (62%) who reported that they were concerned or afraid that they would be a victim of crime in the future. Although some of the participants had experienced violent crimes while operating their businesses, the majority had experienced theft and other property crimes. The Middle Eastern respondents expressed greater concerns about the risk and fear of victimization. Furthermore, the gas station owners (all Arab) were regularly dealing with shoplifting, vandalism and threats of violence from customers. Disorderly and disrespectful customers appeared to be an even larger issue than crime per se for Middle Eastern participants. Fazil indicated that he was fearful for his life during an incident involving an argument with a customer over the price of gas. In retrospect, he did not think it was worth risking his life over the price of gas, and that was the day

he decided that he would eventually look for a way out. He no longer wanted to operate a business in Detroit. He had to think seriously about the well-being of his family, and who would take care of them if he was murdered while at the store. In the following excerpt he discusses these issues:

I have kids at home. I can't risk my life for a quarter and a dollar. I'm willing to trade everything if it came down to the point where my life was at risk and someone had a gun pointed at my head. I would tell him go ahead take the whole store and leave me for my kids...Because that is the objective as you grow older, you know... you don't care about yourself, you care about the future of your kids. [To the police chief] come down to the city, come down. Talk to these gas station owners. They'll tell you about the crime; they'll tell you about these dope houses. I grew up in Hamtramck. I've never seen crack cocaine, I've never seen blow, I've never seen a heroin needle, I've never seen these pills until I got here. I've seen everything now.

The gas station owners who happened to all be Middle Eastern immigrants reported a higher frequency of victimizations than other types of business owners. They also reported a greater risk of victimization and were more fearful about the safety of their family members. There was a noticeable difference in their willingness to call the police, due to the fear of retaliation from criminal elements in the community. Furthermore, gas station owners' interactions with disorderly customers were clearly much more volatile than was the case for other types of businesses in the study.

The Salience of Race and Type of Business

Table 3 presents a number of important comparisons across race/ethnicity, type of business and location. It should also be noted that early in the interview process it became clear that, when it comes to issues of fairness, respect (procedural justice perceptions) and confidence in police performance, Middle Eastern business owners were no different from their US-born counterparts. Their standards of fairness and expectations of the police were no different, and although they were less inclined to be sympathetic toward police, they understood the serious challenges of community safety in the city. They felt there was no excuse for police not to be prepared for these challenges.

Regarding police legitimacy perceptions, gas station owners (and liquor store owners to some degree), viewed police less favorably than all of the other types of businesses included in the study. Gas station owners frequently believed the police were not treating them with respect or making quality decisions and therefore had more unfavorable procedural justice perceptions. Furthermore, gas station owners most often possessed a cynical view of the law and public agencies and were deeply concerned about apparently unfair business compliance requirements.

Table 3: Summary of qualitative findings on key concepts

Key Concepts	<i>Race/Ethnic differences</i>	<i>Type of business and location</i>
Police Legitimacy perceptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arab and Chaldean business owners viewed police less favorably than their counterparts of other racial/ethnic groups. The Arab business owners were less trusting and less confident in police performance. Black business owners were the most sympathetic about the challenges facing police in Detroit. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gas station owners and liquor store owners viewed police less favorably than all other types of business owners included in the study. Attitudes may also be influenced by location. Business owners in the more violent and disorderly areas, such as the North East and the East Side, viewed police less favorably than their counterparts in the less disorderly and comparatively safe areas, such as Midtown and Indian Village.
Procedural Justice perceptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall there were mixed views regarding procedural justice perceptions. However, Arab business owners more frequently believed police were not treating them with respect or making quality decisions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gas station owners often believed the police were not treating them with respect or making quality decisions. Business owners in the more violent and disorderly areas complained more frequently about uncaring or disrespectful police officers than their counterparts in other areas.
Victimizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arab business owners reported more victimizations and experienced a greater perceived risk of victimization than their counterparts of other ethnic groups. (This may be due to the fact that the Arabs in the sample operated higher-risk businesses). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gas station owners reported a higher frequency of victimizations than other types of owners. They also reported a greater risk of victimization and were more concerned about the safety of family members. Business owners in the more violent and disorderly locations were more concerned about the risk of victimization and were more fearful of victimization than those in less violent and disorderly locations.

Participants were concerned about violent crime, illegal drugs and property crimes in the areas where their businesses were located. Their views were mixed regarding the police, but most agreed that the performance of police officers and their response time to calls for service needed to be addressed. The immigrant business owners in particular were concerned about disrespectful and unruly customers. Location and type of business mattered. Gas station owners throughout the city seemed to share common issues pertaining to crime, policing, interaction with customers and general issues facing the city.

Attitudes toward the police were complex; most participants had respect for the institution of policing but very few had confidence in police performance, and most did not perceive police to be protecting the interests of the business community. Only five business owners (Four Arab and one Chaldean) indicated that police neglect and poor treatment had anything to do with discrimination. However, all of the immigrant business owners believed that police officers did not care about the plight of small businesses. Furthermore, the Arab business owners believed that Detroit police as well as city officials did not care about Arab business owners. Perceptions of procedural justice as well as police legitimacy were very low among this group of participants.

Participants in the Midtown area and in relatively safe neighborhoods such as Indian Village, had more favorable perspectives about their personal dealings with the police. In contrast, participants in areas with more vacant buildings and other signs of disorder possessed more unfavorable views toward police and city officials. These participants also reported more experiences with unruly customers. The Arab business owners were the most frustrated and expressed the most unfavorable perceptions of police. The Chaldeans also expressed unfavorable views with Blacks and Whites, but their opinions were not as pronounced as those of their Middle Eastern counterparts.

There was a noticeable difference between Arab business owners and almost everyone else, and it must be considered whether Arab/immigrant businesses owners were less confident and less trusting in the police due to cultural reasons, or whether this had more to do with the type of business and location. Although cultural differences were beyond the scope of this study, one can make a strong argument for the role of type of business and location based on these findings.

The overall responses suggest that high-pressure situations create greater perceived risk of victimization and are likely to shape perceptions of police. The fact that gas stations are mandated to be open 24 hours a day and are perceived as a natural location for loitering and drug dealing are factors that could contribute to the heightened safety and security concerns that participants experienced. Liquor store owners are also impacted by these factors. Arab owners continually referred to issues of trust, respect and con-

fidence. Most of them did not trust police and did not respect police officers (although they respected the institution of policing). Most did not have confidence in police performance, and there were frequent complaints about the response-time of police officers. Some also believed the police were understaffed and underpaid, and therefore were lacking the necessary motivation to be effective on the job.

DISCUSSION

The findings from interviews with members of Detroit's small business community provide some support for the assumption that procedural justice perceptions are closely associated with police legitimacy perceptions. The conclusions drawn by Cao (2011), Tyler (2002) and others, that the relationship between procedural justice and legitimacy perceptions are consistent regardless of race, class and community context are partially supported here. When business owners perceived that police were treating them with respect and making quality decisions, they were more inclined to trust and respect the police. This reflects the findings in prior research; individuals are more inclined to comply with the institutions that they trust (Jost & Major, 2001; Tyler, 2006b; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

Researchers have suggested that police treatment of community members has a stronger effect on legitimacy than the actual outcomes of police work and the quality of police performance (Bradford et al., 2009; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). However, this was not supported in the findings from this study. Perceptions about the effectiveness of police in dealing with crime mattered just as much as the way participants were treated by police; business owners may want police to treat them with respect and make quality decisions, but they also want them to be effective in reducing crime. This was particularly the case among the Arab and Chaldean participants who are battling to sustain vulnerable businesses in some of the most violent and disorderly areas.

It is difficult to consider location and type of business separately. It appears that a combination of these factors impacts the seriousness of the crime-related challenges that business owners face on a daily basis. Arab gas station owners in particular seem to experience a combination of issues pertaining to crime, policing, interaction with customers and general issues facing the city. The gas station owners in the eastern parts of the city expressed a great deal of displeasure regarding their experiences with the selling of drugs around their businesses, disorderly customers, dilapidated and desolate surroundings and a shrinking customer base due to declining residential communities. While gas station owners were concerned about the risk of being victims of violent crime, they were also concerned about their interactions with abrasive and unruly customers.

Most business owners had serious concerns about the risk of being victimized. The participants who had regular interactions with the public were much more concerned about the threat of violence. Although procedural justice perceptions appeared to be linked closely to legitimacy perceptions, there was some evidence to suggest that the degree to which business owners feel unsafe would influence their perceptions of interactions with police and their attitudes toward policing and police performance.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The racial distribution of business owners across different types of businesses may be a limitation. Since Middle Easterners own so many of the gas stations and liquor stores in Detroit, which could be deemed as high-risk businesses, it is therefore difficult to draw conclusive findings about race when comparing gas station owners or liquor store owners to the owners of other types of businesses. Such comparisons could lead to more valid results as to whether Arab business owners process procedural justice and legitimacy perceptions differently from their counterparts. However, due to the racial arrangements of business types in the city, this may always be a challenge for researchers to overcome.

There is also a possible limitation in the conceptualization of procedural justice. It is challenging to separate the quality of police treatment from the quality of police performance. For instance, participants who were frustrated about police response times were also not satisfied with the way they were treated by the police. For many of them, the non-responsiveness of police was an indicator of mistreatment or disrespect as opposed to a performance measure. This raises the question of whether perceptions of police effectiveness in reducing crime should be incorporated as a separate measure. Future research using quantitative methods can benefit from the use of confirmatory factor analysis to explore the suitability of procedural justice measures. For instance, Gau (2014) sought to address some of the inconsistencies in the measurement of procedural justice and police legitimacy, and also confirms that there is a need for more research along these lines that could also help to define a clear distinction between procedural justice and police legitimacy. More extensive qualitative approaches could also help in this regard.

Broader Implications

According to a growing body of research, procedural justice and police legitimacy perceptions can explain attitudes toward the police across diverse groups, and this seems to be supported by the findings of this exploratory study. Although there are some constraints to the generalizability of these findings, they can serve as a guide to police leaders in their efforts to improve public perceptions of the police, and the involvement of business owners in community safety strategies is recommended. It would be a promising change if police were to see the importance of small businesses in urban neighborhoods. Apart from focusing on homicides and gang related violence,

it would help greatly if, in addition, they focused on delinquency and disorder in and around small businesses. This would address some of the perceptions among business owners regarding the ongoing risk of victimization and their concerns about the safety of their customers and family members.

Directed police patrol in high crime areas is another approach to be considered. Studies have found that patrols that include an emphasis on courteous and respectful policing were associated with increased citizen support and reduced violence (Chermak, McGarrell & Weiss, 2001; McGarrell, Chermak, Weiss & Wilson, 2001; Sherman & Rogan, 1995). Police leaders should also be mindful that aggressive policing measures will have a more positive impact on business owners than residential community members. In fact, such policing measures could have a negative effect on residents. Therefore, police can ensure that targeted approaches that keep lines of communication open with community members are used. It can make a difference in public perception if residents are regularly updated by the police themselves on what they aim to accomplish and the ways in which they plan to minimize harmful encounters with citizens (Uchida & Swatt, 2013).

Understanding the perspectives of first and second generation immigrants in the business community may also be crucial if police are to have any hope of creating partnerships with the owners of high risk businesses through-out the city. Given that many of the gas stations in the city are owned and operated by Middle Eastern immigrants, it would serve the public interest if police leaders made a concerted effort to reach out to the gas station owners in their precincts. This could be a step in the right direction when it comes to the building of meaningful police-community partnerships with community members who may possess deeply rooted suspicions of the police. Recent efforts by the DPD in partnering with gas station owners to prevent carjacking incidents are an example that such partnerships are possible, and this is a positive sign regarding future efforts to mobilize small business owners (Williams, 2014). These types of initiatives have the potential to influence levels of crime and disorder, but they can also result in more favorable perceptions of police.

ENDNOTES

- 1 This consent decree was an agreement between the Department of Justice (DOJ) and the City of Detroit regarding police policies that needed to be changed. The problems identified by the DOJ were the use of force, in the Detroit Police Department's arrest and detention practices and in the conditions of the holding cells it used to temporarily confine people who are arrested (Damron, 2013).
- 2 Pseudonyms are used in place of the participants' names.

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Racially Neutral Policing?: Puerto Rican and Mexican Young Adults' Experiences with Order Maintenance Strategies

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ABSTRACT

Despite the proliferation of seemingly racially neutral police strategies, Latinos continue to report unfavorable views toward police. Limited attention has been given to how urban strategies, such as order maintenance policing, are experienced by young Latino males. The present study uses data from in-depth interviews conducted with male Latino youth in two Chicago neighborhoods: one majority-Latino, predominantly Mexican; and one mixed-race, gentrifying Puerto Rican. Results show that youth in both neighborhoods report enhanced surveillance and aggressive stop-and-frisks. Additionally, neighborhood context shapes the dynamics between police and young Latinos. In the Puerto Rican neighborhood, policing is enmeshed in culture clashes. In the Mexican neighborhood, policing is structured by a battle against drugs and gangs. The implications for order maintenance policing are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the national proliferation of police strategies widely touted as race neutral, young Latino males residing in urban neighborhoods continue to report unfavorable perceptions of the police (see Solis, Portillos, & Brunson, 2009). Limited attention has been given, however, to how inner-city policing strategies are experienced by young Latino males. Order maintenance strategies, particularly those grounded in stop-and-frisk procedures, are examples of police strategies that display apparent racial neutrality and are

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defended under the auspices of public safety, but, in practice, subject inner-city minority residents to disproportionate quantities of unwelcome police contacts (Fagan & Davies, 2000) and can foster mistrust of the police (Gau & Brunson, 2010).

Wilson and Kelling (1982) introduced order maintenance policing, a police strategy aimed at dissolving serious neighborhood crime by targeting minor disorder. According to Wilson and Kelling, encouraging police officers to do such things as remove rowdy youth from the corner, force panhandlers to move along, or dissuade men from drinking in public involved harmless strategies aimed at establishing an orderly environment. Aggressive enforcement against low-level crimes and nuisance offenses was theorized to ultimately prevent serious crimes by creating an environment wherein it was clear that misbehavior would not be tolerated. While they acknowledged the need for police officers to understand the local customs and values within a community, Wilson and Kelling delineated an approach that, in practice, could criminalize longstanding cultural behaviors and be perceived as harassment by residents of minority neighborhoods (see Gau & Brunson, 2010). Order maintenance policing quickly became a staple of police departments' strategies nationwide (e.g., Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006). Its influence on police practice—particularly in urban communities—has been profound (Duneier, 1999; Harcourt, 2001; Kelling & Coles, 1996).

At the same time, an amassed body of research shows racial discrepancies in how order maintenance policing plays out on inner-city streets (e.g., Fagan & Davies, 2000; Fagan, Geller, Davies, & West, 2009). The signature tactic of the order maintenance strategy is the pedestrian stop. An officer with reasonable suspicion that an individual is engaged in criminal activity is permitted to briefly detain that person and, if there is a reasonable belief that the person is armed, to frisk the suspect's outer layer of clothing (*Terry v. Ohio*, 1968). Due to a series of decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court (e.g., *Illinois v. Wardlow*, 2000), police officers are permitted to consider neighborhood-level crime rates as a factor in determining whether there is reasonable suspicion for a stop. This has resulted in harsh criticism of police stop-and-frisk strategies in distressed inner-city neighborhoods (e.g., Harris, 1994), which are disproportionately home to impoverished minorities (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987). Studies have shown that Blacks and Latinos are more likely to be subject to pedestrian stops than are Whites, even controlling for area crime rates (Fagan & Davies, 2000), and that the stop-to-arrest ratio is higher for minorities than for Whites, which suggests that stops of minorities rest on shakier legal grounds (Fagan & Davies, 2000; see also Harris, 1994).

Qualitative studies have provided a picture of how minorities, particularly youth, experience order maintenance policing in their urban neighborhoods of residence. These studies have yielded important information about how aggressive law enforcement can undermine police legitimacy (Gau & Brunson, 2010), deter people from calling the police to report crimes (Carr,

Napolitano, & Keating, 2007), and even lead to beliefs that the police are racist (Brunson, 2007). These studies, however, have focused primarily on Black youths and young adults; less research has been devoted to young Latinos' experiences with urban policing tactics (Martinez, 2007). This is a significant gap in the knowledge base, as it has been shown that Latinos' attitudes toward police tend to be more positive than Blacks' are, but more negative than Whites' are, a finding especially pronounced in police-initiated contacts such as pedestrian stops (Skogan, 2005; see also Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). Latinos tend to fall in between Blacks and Whites on measures of trust in police (Tyler, 2005). Thus, Latinos cannot be presumed to have the same experiences with police, or the same attitudes toward them, as either Whites or Blacks have. Latinos are a separate group and require individualized research attention (Weitzer, 2014; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). As yet, there is a paucity of attention in general and, in particular, a lack of understanding about how a staple of urban policing—order maintenance—affects them and shapes their attitudes toward the police. There is, moreover, limited information on the ways in which urban policing is differentially experienced by subgroups within the overarching Latino umbrella category.

The current study addresses these gaps in the literature by presenting the results of a qualitative study conducted in two predominately Latino neighborhoods in Chicago, one occupied by a racial plurality where the slight Puerto Rican majority faces gentrification efforts by incoming Whites, and the other where Mexican immigrants constitute the majority. Both neighborhoods are characterized by socioeconomic distress and high crime rates, although each also confronts unique cultural challenges and problems with police. Due to male youth being the group most likely to experience contacts with police—particularly involuntary contacts initiated by officers (Skogan, 2005)—the current study focuses on young males within these neighborhoods. Analyses of data gleaned from in-depth interviews will add to the existing body of literature tapping into the lived experiences of minority youths as they navigate socioeconomically depressed urban environments and the policing tactics deployed therein. Moreover, the themes drawn from the data will highlight the differences between the two Latino subgroups—Mexicans and Puerto Ricans—in the types of interactions had with officers, thus demonstrating the heterogeneity of experiences within the overarching Latino categorization.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Order Maintenance Policing in the Urban Environment

The advent of order maintenance policing marked a fundamental shift in policing strategies, one eagerly embraced by politicians and police organizations. Some academics, too, sought to defend, support, and find empirical proof for the effectiveness of order maintenance policing. Skogan (1990),

for example, applauded order maintenance policing and concluded that, “[b]roken windows do need to be repaired quickly” (p. 53). Kahan (1997) concluded that order maintenance policing has been implemented with remarkable results in places such as New York City (see also Kelling & Bratton, 1998; Kelling & Sousa, 2001).

Other scholars are skeptical of the order maintenance approach. Harcourt (1998) argued that order maintenance policing imposes tremendous costs. In New York alone, arrests for misdemeanors increased by 50% after the introduction of the strategy in the 1990s. Those arrests impose considerable burdens upon those caught in the crossfire of order maintenance policing; being arrested, handcuffed, transported, booked, strip-searched, and jailed, he suggests, are costly and undesirable experiences. Furthermore, complaints of excessive force increased after the introduction of order maintenance policing (see also Greene, 1999). Harcourt contended that there is a counterfeit logic proposed by order maintenance advocates, whereby “[d]isorder becomes a degree of crime: breaking a window, littering, jumping a turnstile become grades along a spectrum that leads to homicide” (p. 74).

In addition to the potential conceptual problems arising from order-maintenance strategies, targeting low-level offenses may also lead to racial discrepancies in enforcement activities. According to Parascandola, Fermino, and Gregorian (2013), 85% of individuals stopped by the NYPD are minorities (see also Fagan & Davies, 2000). A popular defense raised to explain these disparities is that officers are simply searching for guns and drugs in high crime neighborhoods, which coincidentally are inhabited by minorities; however, in 98.5% of the stop and frisk cases, no guns or drugs are found, which seems to undermine this claim (Alexander, 2012; Pascandola et al., 2013; Romero, 2006). Moreover, most of those stopped are not ultimately arrested for criminal wrongdoing (Weisburd, Telep, & Lawton, 2013), and arrest rates among stopped minorities are even lower than among stopped Whites (Fagan & Davies, 2000), further weakening the argument that enhanced surveillance of minorities is legitimate due to disproportionate criminal involvement. Despite warnings against aggressive order maintenance policing (e.g., Drakulich, 2013; Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006), order maintenance has become a cornerstone in many urban police departments (Kubrin, Messner, Deane, McGeever, & Stucky, 2010). According to Zimring (2012), the police are not really interested in turnstile jumping offenses by youth or removing youth from corners; instead, their ultimate goal is serious crimes such as eliminating guns off the street (see also Kelling & Coles, 1996). Attention to minor offenses is the pretext that provides the legal basis for police to intervene in an individual’s freedom of movement.

Order Maintenance Policing and Latino Neighborhoods

Bonilla-Silva (1997) introduced a structural framework of race, the premise of which is that police strategies need not be explicitly racially

coded to produce harmful outcomes for Latino communities. Bonilla-Silva (2002) contended that American society is operating within a “post race” paradigm, where racist or racially coded strategies become invisible to the general public. As he wrote, “[T]he language of color blindness is slippery... and often subtle” (p. 42). In a “post race” society, the bulk of organizational strategies and practices are colorblind or racially neutral; “[T]he Jim Crow overt style of maintaining white supremacy was replaced with ‘now you see it, now you don’t’ practices that were subtle, apparently non-racial, and institutionalized” (p. 43). These supposedly colorblind strategies give the American public the impression of a fair, neutral, non-biased system of policing. If officers are stopping Latinos or African Americans disproportionately, it is reasoned that this occurs not because the police are racist or that police strategies fuel the number of arrests, but instead that people in those neighborhoods are responsible for the crime in the neighborhood. When highly controversial cases emerge (such as unarmed men of color being killed by police), they are often understood as aberrations or “rare incidents” limited to specific geographic locations, or as a byproduct of criminal activities in an area, instead of patterns of aggressive policing prompted by organizational strategies disproportionately applied to neighborhoods of color.

Bonilla-Silva (1997) assumed that despite their colorblind appearance, racially neutral police strategies can shape the aggressive policing that Latino neighborhoods experience. Giroux (2013) underscored how inner-city Latinos are exposed to strategies and policies in their neighborhoods that facilitate their criminalization. The seemingly innocuous zero tolerance policies, militarization of schools, and controversial police strategies (e.g., wolf packs, contact cards, special units), prompt early contact with police and the acquisition of an arrest or adjudication record that can have serious consequences in future interactions with officers (see also Durán, 2009a, 2009b). Applying Bonilla-Silva’s ideas, officers’ personal racist beliefs, or lack thereof, are irrelevant in comparison to the organizational strategies that are manufactured and adopted within inner-city police departments. Bonilla-Silva (2002) concluded, “Analysts unaware of these developments [colorblind policies] (or unwilling to accept them) will continue producing research suggesting that racial matters in the United States have improved dramatically and, like color blinders, urge for race-neutral social policies” (p. 63). Despite their facial neutrality, racially neutral police strategies such as order maintenance policing can, in practice, be the starting point of a broader process of aggressive policing that disproportionately criminalizes the actions of Blacks and Latinos residing in urban environments.

The colorblind policies that Bonilla-Silva warned about, in this case order maintenance policing, also promote the criminalization of cultural behaviors (e.g., young people playing ball in the street, loud music playing during community functions, parking cars in the front yard) in Latino neighborhoods. While police attempts to remove or prevent physical disorder (e.g., graffiti,

litter) are perhaps uncontroversial, their efforts to regulate social disorder raise complex dilemmas surrounding the definition of what is, and is not, acceptable public behavior (Duneier, 1999). The police may define the standard practices that exist within Latino neighborhoods as disorderly. According to Perez (2010), what changes from one day to the next is not Latinos' cultural behaviors, but rather the criminalization of such actions. In his study of a Latino Chicago neighborhood embroiled in the process of being gentrified, Perez found that normative cultural practices became the precursor to routine police stops under a wide range of circumstances.

The impact of policing and order maintenance strategies within Latino neighborhoods has been largely overlooked in the academic literature, with few exceptions (see Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Solis et al., 2009). Little information is currently available regarding how young Latino males experience seemingly racially neutral order maintenance strategies, or the extent to which Latino neighborhoods are policed in the same ways and for the same reasons as their White counterparts (see Varsanyi, 2010). Scarce data has been offered to answer these questions, despite the fact that the Latino population is growing rapidly in the United States (Brown, 2014). In some communities and even in some states, the White majority has given way to racial plurality where Whites and Latinos constitute roughly equal proportions of the population (Lopez, 2014). Whites and Latinos are increasingly living in close proximity to one another, which can heighten intergroup tensions and conflict. In Latino neighborhoods, there are longstanding cultural behaviors that could be incorrectly defined as disorderly by the police and the public alike (see Perez, 2010). There are several often-overlooked factors and processes that contextualize the Latino neighborhoods under which order maintenance strategies are often employed.

For example, entrepreneurship in Latino neighborhoods can easily be misinterpreted as disorder. There are numerous entrepreneurial enterprises in Latino neighborhoods that are outside the boundaries of typical business ventures, yet are inaccurately characterized as falling under the umbrella of an "underground economy" or unlawful activities. For example, it is not uncommon to find a Latino neighborhood where vendors are selling *aguas frescas* (flavored waters), *elotes* (shredded corn with cheese), *churros* (Mexican pastries), *gelatinas* (flavored gelatin), *tamales* (corn pastries), and other foods in the street (Vera Sanchez & Adams, 2011). Other entrepreneurial efforts can range from selling legal items (e.g., hand-sewn blankets) to peddling prohibited items (e.g., fake social security cards, passports). Individuals who sell goods on streets and corners without a permit appear visibly disorderly to the outside observer, yet are a standard part of the neighborhood order within many Latino residential areas. While some of these activities are illegal (e.g., selling stolen items or forged documents), much of it is benign commerce that reflects cultural norms. The emergent problem is that

police might not see or acknowledge these differences and instead simply treat all activities as uniformly disorderly.

Other commonplace activities within Latino neighborhoods, such as youths' leisure activities, can be defined by outsiders as disorderly rather than being recognized as traditional recreational pastimes. One study centered on Latinos and policing found that cultural behaviors of minor legal significance, such as youth playing baseball in the street, became aggressively policed to appease the wishes of the incoming middle-class Whites in a Puerto Rican neighborhood (Perez, 2010). Forcing youth to play baseball at a local park instead of in the street may appear innocuous at face value, but playing baseball in the street actually promotes family bonding and community engagement as onlookers cheer players on and watch to see who wins. It is also a method of informal social control whereby parents can keep an eye on their children (see Horowitz, 1983).

CURRENT STUDY

The present study focuses on order maintenance policing in distressed urban areas, as experienced by young Latino males who live in these places and bear the brunt of officers' scrutiny. In-depth interviews with male Latino youth in socioeconomically depressed Chicago neighborhoods were used to examine the ways that this group experiences urban policing, particularly policing that operates under an order-maintenance framework. This study contributes to the literature in two ways. First, it adds to the emerging body of research showing that although order maintenance policing is racially neutral on its face, it can be highly problematic in practice. The problem arises largely from the lack of a shared definition of social disorder, and the attempts by more powerful groups to impose their definitions of order onto groups whose social and political marginalization make it difficult for them to effectively resist these enforcement efforts. Second, this investigation addresses a noticeable gap in existing research by focusing solely on Latinos residing in predominately Latino neighborhoods. A fair amount of research has illuminated the ways in which urban policing strategies can exacerbate tensions between police and Black residents, but Latinos continue to be underrepresented in research studies (Weitzer, 2014) despite their increasing presence in the population nationwide and the unique sets of experiences they have with police (Martinez, 2007). Prior work suggests that there are important aspects of the encounters between police and Latinos that differentiate Latinos from other minority groups (see, e.g., Duran, 2009a, 2009b; Weitzer, 2014; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). The present study sheds light on how young Latino males residing in distressed inner-city neighborhoods experience, interpret, and navigate urban policing.

METHODS

Sample and Neighborhoods

The data for the present study were drawn from the final stages of ethnographic research conducted in Chicago during the year 2007. Most studies documenting minority experiences with the police involve close-ended survey research with adult samples. Qualitative studies that center on the views, experiences, and attitudes of young minority males are less common (see Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Carr et al., 2007). The present research project capitalizes upon the detailed understanding that can be gleaned from the use of face-to-face, in-depth interviews.

All interviews followed IRB guidelines as stipulated by the University of Illinois at Chicago. In addition, all interviewees received compensation of 10 dollars each for their participation. The interviewees were told, uniformly, that this study was about young people's experiences with the police. Given the sensitive nature of the information, coupled with the fact that these youth represent vulnerable populations, the interviews were not tape-recorded. The researcher took detailed notes of youths' accounts and then imputed the information into a word document no later than three hours after an interview was completed. The youth were sampled by contacting community organizations. In both neighborhoods, several community organizations that worked with young adults were contacted (e.g., after-school programs) and the directors assisted with setting up the interviews. Thereafter, through snowball sampling, young persons were recruited and asked to participate in the study. No one who was approached refused to participate.¹

Latinos are not a pan-ethnic group, and as a result, the first author, who is Mexican, had to negotiate an insider and outsider status depending on the Latino group he interviewed (i.e., Mexican or Puerto Rican). In the Mexican neighborhood, cooperation was seamless; his insider status was advantageous (similar to Durán, 2013). In the Puerto Rican neighborhood, however, given some of the previous conflicts between Mexican and Puerto Rican individuals documented in Chicago (Ramos-Zayas, 2003), it was initially challenging to find a group willing to be interviewed. Ultimately, several Puerto Rican residents did decide to participate.

Although we recognized that a sample cannot cover the full range of experiences with police, these interviews were a subset of years of published ethnographic research in the same communities (see Vera Sanchez & Adams, 2011; Vera Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2011). The primary author has spent considerable time and effort conducting interviews with youth, adults, and police officers in the same neighborhoods for a total span of five years.

All interviews were semi-structured and followed a flexible interview schedule. Some questions were asked verbatim from all respondents, such as "Can you please describe your neighborhood in as much detail as possible?" In addition, questions like "Have you ever been stopped by the police, and

can you tell me about those experiences?" were asked. Probes such as "Can you tell me more about that incident?" encouraged interviewees to elaborate on their experiences. Importantly, the interviewer did not ask about harassment and excessive force. These were themes that surfaced consistently throughout their narratives and originated directly from the interviewees.

Although this study focuses on young Latino males, some of the themes that emerged were confirmed while conducting ride-alongs with police officers and interviews with adults in the same neighborhoods. These sources were used to triangulate the data to ensure reliability. Only the interviews with the young-adult respondents are used for the current analyses.

The sample of young Latino males ($N = 20$) was gathered through snowball sampling techniques, initially through community organizers who assisted in locating interviewees during the process of data collection. A "young Latino male" was defined as any male from 18 to 26 years of age. The interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The interviews were conducted by the first author.

Two Latino neighborhoods were selected through a process of writing neighborhood profiles and analyzing census data, followed by a narrowing procedure conducted by a research team; this yielded a Mexican and a Puerto Rican community. The neighborhoods were also defined by mapping corresponding data with census-block data. The Puerto Rican community was chosen because it had the largest Puerto Rican presence in the city, although the Puerto Rican presence has been waning due to gentrification efforts by city planners and incoming Whites. The Mexican neighborhood was also chosen because of its high proportion of Mexicans living in the area. Finally, both neighborhoods were selected because they registered higher homicide and socioeconomic disadvantage in comparison to the city of Chicago as a whole.

The table presents 2010 census data for the two neighborhoods and for the city. The sampled neighborhoods had higher rates of poverty, low education, and homicide; lower median incomes; and lower rates of homeownership. These two neighborhoods thus typified distressed urban neighborhoods nationwide. The Mexican neighborhood was clearly predominated by Latino residents, while the Puerto Rican neighborhood showed more of a plurality, with Latinos constituting a slight majority, African Americans trailing close behind at 41%, and Whites constituting 4%. Thus, the Puerto Rican community was not entirely Puerto Rican. Community members and scholars were convinced that due to gentrification, Puerto Ricans were or would soon become the minority in this neighborhood (Betancur, 2002). Nevertheless, there was a significant Puerto Rican presence in demographic size, cultural heritage and practices, as well as political activism.

Table 1: Community and City Demographics

Community	% Poverty	% Latino	Median income	% Homeowners	% Adults with no HS diploma	Homicide per 100,000
Mexican	28.1	83.0	\$33,593	36	54.8	24
Puerto Rican	32.6	53.0	\$29,605	37	34.6	22
Chicago	21.4	28.9	\$47,371	47	19.8	16

Note: All above information reflects Census 2010 information. The only exception is homicide data, which reflects 2007 information.

Analytic Techniques

The coded themes were generated systematically. Silverman (2005) suggested that one method to maximize data analysis is to begin the process once the first interviews are conducted. The data analysis took approximately six months. In order to become acquainted with the data, a careful reading of the text was conducted (Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Ryan & Russell, 2000). For a theme to be considered valid, at least 30% of the sample has to demonstrate some evidence of the finding. Most themes, however, exceeded this modest benchmark. For example, 100% of the Mexican participants reported experiencing excessive force. Throughout the data-collection phase, analytic memos were maintained to record observations and insights and to explore theoretical directions. Analytic memos operate as a journal of the research process. They support themes coded from the interviews and offer opportunities to explore key moments.

Comparisons and contrasts were made between the respondents in the two neighborhoods. For example, after a theme was discovered in one group, such as police harassment, comparison with the other group was made (Puerto Rican versus Mexican male youth) when applicable. A repeated comparing and contrasting of the themes and concepts was conducted until thematic saturation had occurred.

Summarized findings were provided in hard copy to select interviewees in the organizations interested in the results. These individuals provided feedback through discussions. This type of triangulation (O'Connell Davidson & Layder, 1994) was an invaluable source of insight and was implemented to do justice to the voices of the interviewees. The results were not altered, however, based on respondents' comments. Instead, their comments were employed to further refine themes. Finally, past research was used to confirm, challenge, or develop the generated themes.

In the following analysis of the interview data, it is acknowledged that respondents' accounts of contacts with police were subjective. All efforts were made to validate the respondents' descriptions of their experiences through

extensive ethnographic research in both communities, but, nonetheless, the perspectives of police or of others in the community were not represented in these accounts. This is consistent with the intent of the research, for it is the narratives that young men construct around their experiences that matter in a cultural sense. The discourse is of greater theoretical importance to this study than is the objective accuracy of the events themselves (see Brunson & Weitzer, 2011).

The Puerto Rican Sample

The Puerto Rican interviewees ($n = 11$; average age = 19.5 years) spent their time improving their communities. Every time that the researcher visited the Puerto Rican community, some type of pro-social activity occupied the time of the young Puerto Rican men. In one instance, an organizational meeting of young people was in progress, with coordinators as young as 15 years of age. On separate occasions, groups of youth planted flowers in the community, set up a skate night, received homework tutoring, and watched a film about gentrification. Unlike the pathological Puerto Rican barrio that Bourgois (1995) described in New York City, this community registered strong elements of social organization.

The majority of the Puerto Rican young adult men interviewed had graduated from high school or were attending an academy in the community committed to social change. A number of participants were taking college preparatory courses or were currently enrolled in college. The mean level of education was 12.9 years or some college. The interviewed men were arguably some of the most politically active and promising in the community, a persona seemingly incompatible with police-initiated contacts; however, this proved to be a faulty assumption that was quickly disconfirmed.

The young Puerto Rican males reported harassment and excessive force by the police. On average, the Puerto Rican participants experienced 2.13 acts of harassment by the police, and 5 cases of excessive force involving being punched, kicked, or hit with an object (e.g., baton). The youngest age of an experienced negative encounter was 13. The most recent encounter with the police ranged from 1 day before the interview to 5 months previously. There was not a single interviewee who had never been stopped by the police. Lastly, many of the Puerto Rican youth admitted minor forms of delinquency (e.g., painting graffiti).

The Mexican Sample

The sample in the Mexican community ($n = 9$) differed from the one in the Puerto Rican neighborhood. These interviewees were involved in pro-social activities, such as obtaining their high-school equivalency degrees, yet the selected community organization that helped identify potential respondents for the study was not oriented toward social justice. Hence, the Mexican respondents were attempting to improve the likelihood of securing a job or attending college through basic skills proficiency. Most of the Mexican in-

terviewees had not completed high school. The highest grade completed was 9th, and they were older, averaging 21.2 years.

The young men in the Mexican community resembled each other in characteristics such as gang affiliation and victimization. Some of the men admitted prior gang affiliation and involvement in serious criminal activities. In addition, in the sample of nine, three had been shot with a firearm in the head, groin, or stomach. All men reported experiencing victimization by either the gangs or the police. They reported an average of 2.2 incidents of police harassment. Every participant reported physical abuse by the police (mean = 1.4 incidents). These incidents included, but were not limited to, being punched, kicked, or hit with an object (e.g., baton). The youngest age at which a negative police encounter occurred was 14. All interviewees had experienced pedestrian or motor vehicle stops by police.

RESULTS

Neighborhood Context and Aggressive Policing

The gentrifying Puerto Rican neighborhood. Gentrification was an overarching theme in the Puerto Rican community. Gentrification is a recurring process in many distressed neighborhoods in Chicago. Hagedorn (2005) underscored how during the 1960s, white flight occurred in Chicago and other major cities. However, with the advent of deindustrialization and globalization, downtown areas became highly valorized. The result is a reversal of white flight by young, middle class, mostly White professionals. Generally, the first newcomers are artists who want to move into a community that has cheap rents. Thereafter, community developers and other actors initiate a process of community "beautification." Once the community reveals some elements of improvement, the property taxes begin to increase. Once the taxes increase, the rent and mortgage gets more expensive. Families unable to pay either sell their properties or move elsewhere. Many of the current residents in this Puerto Rican neighborhood were well aware of this process and saw it as an unfair usurpation by middle class Whites. The lofts and newly constructed housing on the east of the community, constant antagonism with incoming Whites, and police efforts convinced several long-term, minority residents that they were losing their community.²

Puerto Rican males described being aggressively policed as a function of this gentrification process. The interviewees pointed out that longstanding cultural behaviors suddenly became criminalized. According to Rafael, "There are classes of Bomba [music] and the White people call the police because the music is too loud." Sound ordinances, which were rarely enforced previously, became the impetus for officers' actions even during or before annual Puerto Rican's Day celebrations in Chicago. Alberto illustrated, "We used to have a celebration before the big event until 12 pm [midnight], now we have sound ordinances."

Those sound ordinances, however, did not appear to be imposed on the incoming White residents. As Ramon suggested, "The yuppies have loud music until 3 or 4 in the morning. They [Puerto Rican residents] call the police, the police do not do anything." According to interviewees, the differential treatment that Puerto Ricans experienced was so obvious that it is difficult to ignore. As Ramon recounted, "The yuppies had a bathtub with an umbrella in the street. They were in shorts and bikinis. You could not pass by [blocking traffic], and they had a dog that was barking at people. The police came, waved, and left." Hence, the seeming criminalization of Puerto Rican cultural activities was coupled by police disinterest in enforcing order maintenance codes against Whites engaged in similar behaviors. This finding is consistent with Perez's (2010) observations; in his study of Puerto Rican youth in a gentrifying neighborhood, respondents reported that while they were subject to increased scrutiny by police, White youth who used drugs and behaved in a disorderly fashion were generally ignored by police or handled informally. The present findings affirm the link between enhanced White presence and perceptions of police unfairness by long-time Latino residents.

According to the respondents, officers also began to criminalize several informal recreational activities which they previously ignored, such as youth playing baseball in front yards, gambling in the park, and so on. While these activities were perhaps disorderly or were minor law violations, young men in the sample were disturbed by the marked change in enforcement patterns that accompanied the influx of White residents. Interviewees lamented that incoming Whites wished to remove cultural symbols such as the two large metallic Puerto Rican flags in the neighborhood. Rafael explained, "This is the cultural heart of Puerto Rico in Chicago. Due to gentrification they [Whites] want to take the flags down. Those who come back will have nothing...there is a threat to the cultural symbols, a loss of identity, culture." Hence, the chasm between incoming Whites and Puerto Ricans, prompted by gentrification efforts, revealed the heated neighborhood context under which Puerto Ricans are being policed. As Roberto described,

There is a lot of hostility due to the gentrification. There is a loss of identity and even affects more social ills...now you have gentrification so you have more blue lights [placed by the police], cameras on every block, which is ridiculous...now you increase patrols, but you also increase gang shootings, arrests, and fights—because they [gangs] are sometimes also fighting for their neighborhood.

This quotation illustrates that gentrification was salient to interviewees, as well as its perceived impact on the Puerto Rican neighborhood. Technological monitoring (e.g., cameras), saturation of police, and increased violence were some of the trends that Puerto Rican youth identified. Moreover, as the community began to change (e.g. Whites moving in, removal of cultural artifacts, suppression of cultural activities), these youth described the

loss of the community in terms of cultural identity, coupled with the advent of newfound unfavorable trends (e.g., gang fights, problems with police, etc.). Gentrification was then not simply about individuals moving in to the neighborhood; instead, it represented a significant destruction of cultural identity, a shift in community dynamics, and an unwelcome style of policing.

A war against drugs and gangs in the Mexican neighborhood. Young Mexican males reported that the neighborhood context under which police operated centered on a traditional battle against drugs and gangs. Participants reported being victimized by gangs who occupied several territories in the community. Luis illustrated his apprehension about gang violence: "You don't want to walk at night time. The [gang name] come through and start bucking [shooting]." Three of the nine interviewees had survived shootings by gangs. Additionally, the neighborhood context paved the way for gang affiliation. Marcos explained, "We didn't grow up around doctors. We grew up around drug dealers, killers, rapists, those are our heroes here...I grew up around gang members, so I became a gang member." Many interviewees described violence in the Mexican community, an element of the neighborhood context that structures aggressive policing tactics. Javier offered insight into this phenomenon:

Lots of fights over gang territory...One half is [gang A] and [gang B]. Students who are not in the gang stop going to the school. That is why a while ago there was a hunger strike to get a new school because people were getting harassed trying to get their education. Once they got past [street name], it got rough.

In the Mexican neighborhood, order maintenance practices, according to the respondents, targeted cultural practices of a different kind. For example, youths' baggy clothing, hairstyles, colors, or any other insignia, part of the culturally standard and valued attire of inner-city youth, were equated with criminality (Anderson, 1999; Fine et al., 2003). According to interviewees, wearing baggy clothing or sporting shaven haircuts inspired street encounters with the police. One interviewee suggested, "Being a Latino with a bald head [hairstyle of many gang members], cops are all over you [stop you]." These experiences cultivated a deep dissatisfaction with the police, as explained by Victor:

I get stopped every day by the police. Their job is to discriminate. Not in the rulebook, but no matter what, we are animals, can't see past the skin, we still get harassed. Every nine out of ten youth are harassed by the police. You asked me what is the most memorable time I got stopped, every time is memorable. They are not here to protect and serve. They are evil, a gang, the strongest gang in Chicago.

In the Mexican neighborhood, a traditional war against drugs and gangs (a strategy stemming from the Nixon administration that employs racially neutral language but has been recognized as having consequences for racial groups; Alexander, 2012; Durán, 2009b), was a recurring theme amongst the interviewees. Street oriented styles of dress, hair, mannerisms, and speech, often valued by inner city youth, and have been found in various neighborhoods across the nation (Anderson, 1999), were believed to heighten police suspicion and aggression. In fact, some of the interviewees unapologetically referred to the police as a “gang” and described routine harassment, brutal treatment, and the gang-like behavior (e.g., dropping of gang members in their rival’s territory, beatings, etc.) they experienced.

Order Maintenance Policing as a Precursor to Harassment in both Neighborhoods

The independent accounts by Mexican and Puerto Rican young adult males suggest that order maintenance strategies were perceived as the starting point of a broader process of aggressive policing. Chief among officers’ order maintenance tactics were pedestrian stops of the sort derived from the *Terry* case. The majority of stops involved street encounters, while the youth was alone or in the presence of others, prompted by some seemingly innocuous activity by the youth (e.g., playing loud music, hanging out late at night in front of someone’s house) and followed by questioning about drugs sales or gang affiliation. The sample reported an average of 2.18 incidents of harassment, with Puerto Ricans reporting fewer accounts (mean = 2.13) than Mexicans (mean = 2.22). The most frequently described scenario involved walking down the street, often with companions, and being stopped for what appeared to be an insignificant offense. According to respondents, stops involved intimidation by officers who cut pedestrians off with moving police cars on the sidewalk, sprinted from vehicles to make contact, spoke in a confrontational manner, or had guns drawn. Individuals were typically ordered to place their hands in a visible position (e.g., hood of the car) or behind their heads, along with kneeling on the ground. These street encounters bore strong resemblance to those reported by youth in past research (e.g., Fine et al., 2003; Gau & Brunson, 2010). Searches were invasive—officers’ handled young people’s genitals, unzipped their pants, or had them disrobe in public.

Roberto described a resurfacing narrative of police-youth street encounters initiated during the process of hanging out in the Puerto Rican neighborhood:

We were sitting with chairs outside my friend’s house with other people...enjoying the street at 11 pm, not drinking, not smoking...the cop [gets out of the car and] says, ‘You selling weed?’ They [other people] made a smart remark and said that if they sold weed, they would be living in a better place. They [police] put their gloves on and searched them between

their testicles—how embarrassing. In the middle of the street and obviously they did not have anything.

Longstanding cultural behaviors were associated with police—youth encounters, as well as questioning that centered on gang affiliation, drug sales, or illegal contraband (e.g., carrying guns). Some interviewees admitted occasional marijuana use or delinquency in the past, yet the majority of stops occurred in the absence of criminal activity. Police questioning was assumptive (“You selling weed?”, “What gang are you in?”) and threatening (“You wanna get locked up?”). Many of these assumptions were unwarranted, since neither contraband nor arrest materialized. These young men resented officers’ presumptions about their criminal involvement. Thus, these young men reported experiencing a combination of personal and vicarious harassment (see Brunson, 2007) at the hands of officers ostensibly engaged in order maintenance policing.

Order Maintenance Policing as a Precursor to Excessive Force

Both Puerto Rican and Mexican young adult males experienced what they saw as excessive force after being stopped for supposed orderly conduct violations. Excessive force included physical contact such as punching, kicking, and even hitting respondents with objects in situations where the totality of circumstances did not appear to require force. Participants reported an average of 1 incident of excessive force, with Mexican interviewees voicing more incidents than Puerto Ricans (1.4 and 0.6, respectively). Excessive force episodes sometimes involved minor criminal activity by participants (e.g., carrying marijuana). Interviewees primarily experienced excessive force either personally or while with their associates, yet police reportedly also occasionally exercised force toward participants’ families. One respondent reported, “[Officer’s name]...takes me to the house...when the door opened, my friend’s mom was there. He kicked my friend’s mom, she fell to the floor, put a gun to her face.” Excessive force was not limited to street encounters, but also carried over to custodial situations. Mario indicated, “Every time one of us looked up [when held at the police station], they had this compressed ball of paper that they would hit us with over the head. They called...one person at a time to rough us up before we went to the cell.” Excessive force was attributed to “teaching you a lesson [street justice]” for participating in criminal wrongdoing (e.g., when arrested at the police station), for showing a lack of deference to police authority, or sometimes for no apparent reason at all (e.g., victimizing family members).

Similar to instances of harassment, excessive force incidents for Mexican youth involved some behavior assumed to be a proxy for gang affiliation. In some street encounters, wearing colors associated with gangs, especially if those gangs had allegedly been involved in criminal activity, inspired stops and accompanied a type of street justice that officers applied to Mexican youth. Cristobal and Jose reported, respectively:

Someone killed a cop in the crossfire. I was walking with some friends with a t-shirt of the color [gang colors]-I had some lemonheads [hard candy] in my mouth. I remember the cop got out of the car, walked up to me and punched me. The candy just popped inside my mouth, I was all cut up and shit. It was one White and one Latino. Told me to get my hands on the car, took my shirt off. The neighbors came out. They [police] kept the shirt. I was shirtless, they gave me no explanation.

They [police] have kicked me from behind in the groin. They know I was shot in the testicles, that I had surgery. They hit me there. I have scars. They make fun of it. They ask, 'Does your dick still work?' Some people have been shot in the knees, they tell the officer, 'Officer, I can't get on my knees, I've been shot in the knees.' They still make them get on their knees. They [police] start laughing.

Puerto Rican interviewees also recounted events wherein even pro-social activities such as playing football were the starting point of police encounters that culminated with excessive force. These incidents, according to these respondents, did not involve interviewees resisting arrest or aggression against an officer or committing serious criminal activity, but nevertheless climaxed with excessive force. Carlos and Marcos each recalled personal victimization by police:

We were playing football. They frisked us, found someone who had drugs, shoved us all to the floor. One cop told the other, 'Hey, I got something.' The got all of us, kicked me in the shins-I fell to the floor, slapped the cuffs on me. Other four cops showed up, ran up [approached quickly], shoved us to the floor. No warning or nothing. One cop pulled out his nightstick, said 'Get to the floor.' They just slapped the handcuffs on.

I have been pushed against the brick floor before and they called my friend a nigger and my other friend a spic. They look at our record and find nothing. Then leaders [Puerto Rican leaders recognized by the community such as lawyers and professors who came to the aid of youth] have to come out or they [police] will arrest you for no reason.

These accounts demonstrate that routine activities, such as playing football or going to the store, did not shield interviewees from what they describe as excessive force. Kicking interviewees in the shins or shoving them to the floor or against the wall, as well as using derogatory language, was unjustified to the interviewees based on minor incidents such as carrying a small amount of marijuana or doing nothing at all (e.g., hanging out in the street). Puerto Rican interviewees sometimes were able to invoke adult profession-

als who helped young people out of these predicaments and would assist in avoiding criminal processing or criminal records.

Race and Aggressive Policing

Race has been heavily intertwined with order maintenance policing nationwide, given the enormous discretion that this strategy vests in individual police officers. Critics point to the data showing that Blacks and Latinos make up the majority of persons stopped in urban areas (Fagan & Davies, 2000; Pascandola et al., 2013), which raise questions about whether order maintenance policing is a proxy for racial profiling. In the interviews reported here, both Puerto Rican and Mexican respondents spoke to the issue of race. It became clear that neighborhood characteristics were salient in determining how and when police were perceived to use race as a basis for stopping a person.

Puerto Rican respondents. Puerto Rican youth were convinced that race was an ingredient of aggressive policing. In these young men's experiences, racial differences and racial bias operated in two distinct ways—*intergroup* differences, wherein Latinos were juxtaposed against Whites, and *intragroup* differences, where the skin-color variation within the group resulted in lighter-skinned Puerto Ricans being treated better than their darker-complexioned neighbors. Differential policing on an intergroup basis is illustrated by Puerto Rican men's accounts of circumstances where Whites and Puerto Ricans occupied the same setting and Whites went unnoticed by the police. As Rafael indicated, "they [police] see a yuppie smoking weed, they don't stop them. I hang out with my friend and there is a White guy smoking weed and drinking, walking around with it, then they see us and grab us." Intragroup differences surfaced as well, and not all Puerto Ricans were equally policed or seen as vulnerable to police maltreatment.

Puerto Rican men suggested that some Puerto Ricans possessed "White privilege" which enhanced their immunity against aggressive policing. Individuals described as "White Puerto Ricans" were assumed to possess more privilege than "Black Puerto Ricans." Whiteness operated as a type of capital that enhanced upward mobility. As Rafael illustrated, "When you come to the U.S. some [Puerto Ricans] are White and pass as White, get a better job, better pay." The capital of Whiteness was so invaluable that many of the interviewees' parents and grandparents had rejected their African roots. According to Jose, "When my grandmother came to the U.S., they called her a nigger on the bus; she did not know what that was. She has internalized that racism saying, 'I am not like those people.'" Furthermore, Black Puerto Ricans encountered intragroup racism similar to that experienced by African Americans. Rafael reported, "There is always hatred against Blacks, racism, ignorance. They sometimes push Black Puerto Ricans to assimilate to Black. If you are a Black Puerto Rican, you have to prove it." For some Puerto Ricans,

"proving it" signified demonstrating to others one's place within the Puerto Rican in-group after being categorized as "Black."

Several interviewees were convinced that "White Puerto Ricans" possessed privilege that extended to police encounters. These categorizations were far from being fixed; as Roberto suggested, "I identify with just being Puerto Rican but we joke around that you are Puerto Rican until you get stopped [by the police]; then you're Black." Within-group racial variations have consequences for economic gain (Hunter, 1998, 2002) and for criminal sanctioning (e.g., Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006). Racial categorizations remained fluid and were offset by other characteristics (e.g., Spanish names). Ramon stated, "A time I was arrested, two Latinos [officers] and they thought that I was Black. When I said my name was Ramon, they calmed down. They had assumed that I was Black." Based on youths' accounts, being thought of as Black made them susceptible to aggressive policing, while being viewed as Latino offered temporary immunity from negative police encounters. Angel reported, "Police look for Black or those who look like Black...the police move toward Black Puerto Ricans, then dress, then behavior—that has to be the order." Juan further explicated this phenomenon among Puerto Rican young people:

Those that that are lighter skin get better treatment. Straight hair, light skin, that is the standard of what is considered beautiful, the privilege of being White than having dark skin, nappy hair. They [police] look at you different if light or dark skin. A dark skin nappy hair Puerto Rican.

What Puerto Rican respondents described is a racial caste system that makes some Puerto Ricans vulnerable to aggressive policing, depending on which part of the phenotypic spectrum they occupy. This racial caste was not only contingent on skin color, but also on language, Spanish surnames names, and other signifiers that made some interviewees easily occupy the category of being Black. These racial categorizations were not limited to police encounters. For example, Juan indicated, "I have gone to Puerto Rican restaurants and they start speaking to me in English [thinking he is African American] and explaining what is on the menu. I tell them '*Yo se que es*' [I know what the dishes are]. Then they start speaking to me in Spanish." These racial categorizations are complex, fluid, and imperfect, and underscore how race is socially constructed. Miguel suggested, "In the U.S, I am a Puerto Rican, in Puerto Rico I am a mulatto. I am also a Latino in the U.S. racially. I have always been considered Black, less so now for some reason. Now people think that I am mixed Black and White [because of his speech and mannerisms]...I am Puerto Rican." Therefore, what the Puerto Rican respondents describe in terms of police encounters, as well as White Privilege, appears to be part of a much larger racialized process described among Puerto Rican populations and their categorizations in the U.S., with broader implications beyond the field of policing (see Thomas, 1997).

Mexican respondents. In contrast to Puerto Rican respondents, young Mexican males indicated that officers were rarely inclined to stop young people based on race. In the Mexican community, most of the community were ethnically Mexican (83%); the participants pointed out that racial homogeneity made racial differentiations by the police unlikely. The racial demography was more diverse in the Puerto Rican community, thus allowing for intra-neighborhood differences in the treatment of individuals. A different racial self-awareness (see Lee, Steinberg, & Piquero, 2010) and neighborhood racial homogeneity were possible reasons why Mexican participants did not often believe race structured the aggressive policing style they described.

The Mexican interviewees also had a straightforward way of articulating their racial identities as Latino, Hispanic, or to a lesser extent, Mexican. They often responded with one or two words and repeated their prior answer when probed. When Joel was asked how he would describe himself in terms of race or ethnicity, he answered "Latino" without further elaboration. The interviewees sometimes even self-identified with terms considered to be politically incorrect in academic circles such as "Hispanic." The term Hispanic has been criticized for being federally imposed, recognizing Spanish but not indigenous lineage. Mexican interviewees did not at all feel that the term Hispanic was offensive, nor did they identify a racial caste system in the neighborhood. Past research, however, has found that individuals of Latino descent can possess highly indigenous (*Indios*) to European (*Gueros*) features, and that those categorizations are associated to social, economic, and political outcomes (Gonzales, 2000). Whether or not these characteristics impact vulnerability to stops with the police, however, was not reported among the participants.

Instead of race, markers of gang affiliation such as wearing hoodies (sweat shirts with hoods), oversized jeans, particular colors (e.g., gold and black for certain gangs), or baseball caps positioned in a specific direction were believed to heighten police suspicion. Some young people alluded to the importance of race, but did not make differentiations between lighter skinned Mexicans or those appearing to be indigenous. Approximately half of the participants appeared to acknowledge the fact of race but to place greater emphasis on what might be called behavioral, as opposed to racial, profiling. Alejandro's account illustrated this attitude: "It's not only about skin color, the way you talk, walk, the way you look. How you walk, they will think you're in a gang."

The other half of the Mexican sample stressed the importance of race. These individuals were mixed in their beliefs about whether African Americans were more vulnerable than Latinos to mistreatment, or whether both groups faced similar hazards. Interviewees such as Mario indicated what being Latino represents within a larger social context, "If you are labeled Latino, from a White perspective, you are a Black or Brown piece of shit, don't deserve to live, you live off welfare, you're lazy and do not work." However,

when probed deeper about the police, he further elaborated, "They [police] all equal [treat people the same] but not with Black people. White cop with Black guy pulled over, you know why. Equal for Latinos." Similar to the Puerto Rican respondents, these young Mexican interviewees believed that those defined as Black suffered the worst treatment. Jose stated, "I would not say better, but African Americans get treated worse than Latinos. In the U.S. they are the bad people, especially gang bangers."

DISCUSSION

The objective of this study was to examine how young Latino males experience urban policing within the context of order maintenance. Data derived from in-depth interviews with Puerto Rican and Mexican youths showed, overall, that the gentrification of the Puerto Rican neighborhood was viewed as placing these youths at risk for aggressive order maintenance. Traditional recreational and cultural behaviors, such as hanging out in the front yard, playing baseball in the street, or being out late at night, become aggressively pursued under loitering and sound ordinances. In the Mexican neighborhood, by contrast, a more traditional crusade against drugs and gangs appeared to structure order maintenance strategies. Respondents reported high rates of *Terry*-type stops, many of which occurred without apparent legal justification, according to these youths. Despite occasional wrongdoing on the part of respondents, the majority of stops involved questioning and assumptions about their involvement in criminal activities irrespective of whether they were engaged in illegal acts at the time of the stop.

The primary conclusion from the study results is that, in practice, seemingly racially neutral order maintenance strategies shaped by gentrification or traditional campaigns against drugs and gangs criminalize Puerto Rican and Mexican youth. As the youths' reports made clear, young Latino males' encounters with police evinced wide variation; it would be erroneous to believe that all Latino males experience urban policing in the same way.

Two frameworks can be used to understand the experiences of youths in these two neighborhoods and to contextualize the similarities and differences of their experiences. First, Puerto Rican youths' exposure to order maintenance policing might be best understood within the parameters of the defended neighborhood thesis. Young minority males report widespread problems with police in areas with substantial White populations (Stewart, Baumer, & Brunson, 2009; see also Meehan & Ponder, 2010), and the current study suggests that this phenomenon may carry over into neighborhoods undergoing gentrification processes. Although defended neighborhoods are generally considered to be those traditionally occupied by Whites but that have recently experienced an influx of minorities, the present study speaks to the opposite set of events, where Whites seek to establish residential territory in a neighborhood traditionally occupied by non-Whites. Gentrifica-

tion may spark a process whereby incoming middle-class Whites, eager to take advantage of low-cost property, see the activities of existing Latino residents not as culturally derived but, rather, as symbols of disorganization. As Green, Strolowitz, and Wong (1998) wrote, "Conflict over neighborhood territory [can be traced to] the onset of racial integration" (p. 376). White newcomers, having invested in the area and formed an attachment to it, may engage in cognitive mapping where they use environmental cues to draw inferences about the general state of social (dis)organization in the area (see Unger & Wandersman, 1985). When alarmed by what they see as disorderly or threatening behaviors by Latino youth, White residents may enlist police assistance in imposing a version of organization that is more conducive to Whites' perceptions of a good neighborhood.

The second framework that can be used to contextualize respondents' experiences is that of the war on drugs and gangs. This framework applies to the male Mexican youth, who, like the Puerto Rican respondents, reported a high rate of involuntary police contacts that they felt were unjustified. However, unlike the Puerto Rican youth, Mexican youth experienced these contacts under the backdrop of an urban war on crime and felt that the poor treatment visited upon them by officers was less a result of their race, *per se*, than the product of police assumptions about these youths' involvement in crime. Interviewees' comments revealed that assumptions about gang affiliation and gang violence consumed officers' attention. The Mexican community has a noticeably higher rate of homicide than the rest of the city. When the zeal for crime control becomes an obsession, however, one must carefully evaluate the consequences for those being policed. The war on drugs, in particular, has been linked to high rates of unlawful stops and frisks (Gould & Mastrofski, 2004), and institutional practices such as an emphasis over the quantity of arrests rather than the quality of them can function to pipeline young Latino males into jail and prison (Rios, 2011). In the present study, Mexican respondents reported feeling that police frequently stopped them for no reason, merely to manufacture an opportunity to question them about their potential involvement in drug or gang activity. Police researchers have critiqued the war model as creating problematic divisions where one side is designated as the enemy that must be conquered or suppressed (Bittner, 1970). Mexican respondents' accounts seemed to confirm the validity of this concern.

The clear differences that emerged between Puerto Rican and Mexican youths have implications for future research. This variation suggests that it would be erroneous to assume that all Latinos experience urban policing in a similar way, even Latinos who live in the same city, as the present respondents did. The discrepancies between the two groups was likely a function of the racial variation between the two neighborhoods; Puerto Rican youth lived in a racially mixed neighborhood and thus were easy to categorize on the basis of their race, while the Mexican youths' neighborhood was predominantly Latino. The relative homogeneity of the Mexican respondents'

area of residence did not remove race from the equation, but it changed the dynamic insofar as it muddied respondents' perceptions of officers' ability to discriminate between different people inside the neighborhood boundaries.

Overall, the present study's results speak to the inherent racialization of an order maintenance style police strategy that, while race-neutral on its face, plays out in practice as notably discriminatory (see Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Zimring (2012) described the same situation in his commentary on the New York City Police Department's massive order maintenance campaign:

The problem with using a predicate offense-alcohol, loud radio noise in a car, marijuana-as justification for selective enforcement of non-serious crimes-is that it really does become the more equivalent of racial profiling. A much larger percentage of the African American and Hispanic kids picked up for truancy and curfew will be on parole, probation, or "criminal record" group (p. 119)

Thus, seemingly racially neutral order maintenance strategies which police organizations justify under the guise of public safety may, in practice, have a powerful impact on the nationwide overrepresentation of Latinos in the criminal-justice system.

The results of this study lend themselves to policy recommendations for urban police departments engaged in order maintenance or similar policing strategies. These departments should place a premium on understanding the cultural milieus in which they operate. Police administrators should acknowledge that certain activities currently constituting an unquestioned, integral element of police training and socialization (e.g., looking out for people who "don't belong" in a certain area) can be interpreted by minorities as race-based and highly discriminatory (see Engel & Johnson, 2006). Awareness of existing racial or cultural tensions within the neighborhoods they police is necessary for officers to deal effectively with the resultant clashes and to approach conflict situations willing to see both parties' sides. Police officers assigned to multi-racial areas should adopt heightened awareness of the delicacy of their position, since they will often be called upon to serve as mediators rather than law enforcers. In this way, order maintenance policing can be used in a manner that avoids criminalization of minorities' cultural activities and traditional modes of recreation, as well as the appearance of race-based profiling or discrimination. Also, equal enforcement of laws against disorder and nuisance offenses is crucial; the present study highlights the resentment that Latinos feel when officers turn a blind eye toward Whites engaged in the very same activities that likely would have invited scrutiny had the participants been Latino. The appearance of fairness and neutrality must be maintained if urban police are to earn trust and enjoy legitimacy (e.g., Tyler, 2006).

This study has limitations that warrant some caution in the interpretation of the results and that provide avenues for future research on Latinos and policing. The study was qualitative and thus prioritized depth over breadth; although respondents were able to give detailed accounts of their experiences, the sample size was small and of unknown generalizability to Latino males, as a group, in Chicago or elsewhere. Future research could gather larger samples containing a mix of races and ethnicities to compare different groups' experiences with urban police strategies that are supposed to be colorblind. Despite these limitations, the present study offers insight into an area of research that is currently sparse and in need of greater attention. Researchers should continue efforts to uncover the unique way that Latinos, and the various sub-groups within that larger designation, experience policing within the urban context and under the rubric of order maintenance and the war on drugs, gangs, and crime in general. Better understanding will help inform police policy and facilitate informing the public and policymakers that although policies may appear to be race-neutral on their face, this may not be the case.

ENDNOTES

- 1 The lead author explained to interviewees the general scope of the study, and all were eager to participate. None of the community organizations outright refused to participate, although the Puerto Rican neighborhood was wary of strangers since they were undergoing gentrification efforts. The Puerto Rican organization that finally agreed, whose mission was centered on social justice, felt that it was their duty and responsibility to help out a graduate student in desperate need of finishing their dissertation and to describe their accounts of policing in their community. In fact, one person pressed for time agreed to be interviewed by stating that *la causa* (the cause) is more important than his tight schedule. After spending months with young people in both organizations, rapport was established, which led to a richer picture of their neighborhoods.
- 2 Gentrification was a recurring theme that the first author noted in extensive field notes surfacing not only from the interviewees, but also the political action, grassroots efforts from various organizations, fliers posted around the community, etc. The process of gentrification was happening east to west beginning closer to Lake Michigan and moving outward. Other nearby communities in the east had already been gentrified at the time this research was conducted (e.g., Cabrini Green). The residents saw what can be described as the beginning of the gentrification efforts. Thus, although Whites represent a minority, gentrification was salient in these youths' minds.

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Variations in Patrol Officers' Concerns About Racial Profiling Across Communal Contexts

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ABSTRACT

Numerous studies have explored the issue of racial profiling, but only a few studies have examined how officers view racial profiling and whether such views affect officers' patrolling of racial minorities. These latter studies generally have found that officers rationalize and dismiss the issue of profiling. However, studies pertaining to citizens' perceptions of the police and studies identifying policing imperatives that officers associate with particular spaces suggest that there are characteristics of communities that may play an important role in shaping officers' perceptions of profiling and patrolling of racial minorities. The current study, which is based on ethnographic ride-along interviews with and observations of 52 officers in three demographically different suburban communities in a northeastern state, examines how particular community contexts affect officers' views of racial profiling, and whether the salience of racial profiling as an issue constrains officers' patrolling of various racial minority groups. The author finds that officers' perceptions of racial profiling and patrolling of racial minorities vary by race and space across and within towns. Community-based constituency pressures, residential and school-related spatial arrangements, and perceptions of what racial minorities are doing in particular spaces appear to play a significant role in shaping the saliency of profiling concerns, and in turn, officers' patrolling of racial minorities.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of racial profiling, which refers to police officers' targeting and stopping of individuals primarily or exclusively based on perceived racial group status rather than individualized suspicion, has garnered substantial attention over the past two decades.¹ Although there is a significant body of research that has examined whether racial disparities in police stops and

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arrests are attributable to racial profiling, and a growing number of studies are available that investigate citizens' perceptions of being racially profiled, only a handful of researchers have addressed how officers view and respond to the issue of racial profiling. While heightened public attention to racial profiling appears to have contributed to police officers' greater sensitivity to accusations of such profiling (Miller, 2007), the limited research on officers' perceptions of profiling does not clearly establish whether such sensitivity acts as a constraint on officers' policing of racial minorities. The few studies exploring officers' perceptions of profiling generally suggest that officers rationalize and dismiss the issue of racial profiling, but these studies do not address why some officers do not dismiss the issue; the research does not elaborate on why many officers appear to do so and does not examine whether, and if so, how, officers' perceptions of racial profiling affect their actual patrolling of minorities. The current study, which examines officers' perceptions of racial profiling in three suburban communities, builds on a few citizen perception studies that imply that officers' perceptions and approaches toward racial minorities are shaped by neighborhood or communal context (e.g., Weitzer, 2000). The extant study directly investigates how different communal contexts affect how officers think about racial profiling and patrol racial minorities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Two important overall trends emerge from the limited number of studies that have examined how officers view the issue of racial profiling. First, while only a minority of officers appear to express concern about potential accusations of racial profiling (Bornstein, Charles, Domingo, & Solis, 2011), the majority of officers indicate some awareness of such accusations due to extensive media coverage of some profiling cases (Heumann & Cassak, 2007; Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009). Second, regardless of whether officers appear to express concern about profiling accusations, a majority of officers engage in some type of rationalization of their policing of people of color that effectively neutralizes any potential concerns about profiling.²

How officers dismiss the issue of racial profiling (or potential accusations of profiling) via rationalizations depends on whether or not officers acknowledge differential policing of racial minorities. Some officers make egalitarian-based rationalizations, which argue that police treat racial minorities and Whites the same. Other officers acknowledge that they disproportionately patrol racial minorities, but rationalize that such disproportionality is justified.

Many egalitarian-based rationalizations focus on the attitudes and behaviors of individual officers. For instance, some of the officers in Bornstein et al.'s (2011) study invoked color-blind rationalizations, claiming that they and other officers "don't see race or color," show respect and fairness, and

engage in no discrimination (p. 12). Officers in Glover's (2007) study emphasized that they focused on Whites who were out of place in non-White spaces to argue that they treated all people who were "out of place" the same.

Rather than emphasizing color-blindness, egalitarian-based rationalizations invoking the ethos and practices of police organizations stress a sensitivity to racial diversity. Officers in Satzewich and Shaffir's (2009) study dismissed the possibility of profiling by noting that their police department was intolerant of prejudice and committed to diversity through its multicultural recruiting (pp. 215-216). Officers suggested that such a diverse and sensitized workforce precluded officers from treating racial minorities different from Whites.

A third subset of egalitarian-based rationalizations focuses on the motives of police critics. Some officers in both Bornstein et al.'s (2011) and Satzewich and Shaffir's (2009) studies suggest that those who accuse the police of racial profiling are reverse racists who have negative attitudes toward the police. Officers in these latter studies also contend that police critics play the race card (Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009) in order to either deflect attention away from their own wrongdoings (Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009), or to take out their problems or failures on the police (Bornstein 2011). Like the aforementioned color-blind rationalizations, blaming police critics implies that the unjustly maligned officers treat everyone fairly and equally.

Unlike egalitarian-based rationalizations, most other rationalizations directly or implicitly acknowledge that officers disproportionately patrol racial minorities, but argue that such disparate policing is justified. These non-egalitarian rationalizations fall under three interrelated subcategories that respectively focus on (a) the behavior of racial minorities; (b) the appropriateness and effectiveness of law enforcement; or (c) the features and demographics of areas and characteristics of specific cases.

Under the first subcategory, officers contend that they stop and arrest racial minorities more than Whites because racial minorities commit a disproportionate percentage of crimes (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Bornstein et al., 2011; Heumann & Cassak, 2007; Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009). This presumed criminality rationalization places blame squarely on individual racial minorities, suggesting that they are responsible for any disproportionate policing outcomes.

Linked in part to the assumption of the first subcategory, the second subcategory focuses on racial profiling as good and necessary law enforcement (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Harris, 2002; Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009). Some officers view racial profiling as appropriate (Barlow & Barlow, 2002, p. 337) and effective enforcement (Harris, 2002; Heumann & Cassak, 2007) based on the implicit assumption that racial minorities commit a disproportionate amount of crime. Instead of alluding to demographic crime patterns as the basis for effective law enforcement, other officers emphasize that the nature

of police work itself forces officers to stereotype and discriminate. For these latter officers, racial profiling is synonymous with criminal profiling, such that profiling amounts to professional conduct (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009).

In contrast to the first subcategory's emphasis on the criminal propensities of Blacks & Latinos,³ the third subcategory of rationalizations implies that officers just happen to have more encounters with Blacks and Latinos based on the areas in which they disproportionately live, demographic probabilities of encounters, and the characteristics of specific descriptions of suspects. Some officers explain away officers' disproportionate encounters with racial minorities by arguing that such encounters are more likely because racial minorities disproportionately live in high crime neighborhoods (Bornstein et al., 2011:15) or problematic areas (Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009). Other officers rationalize that disproportionate encounters with minorities are simply due to the available pool of people within a patrol area (Bornstein et al.). These officers contend that it is reasonable to have a greater percentage of encounters with racial minorities in areas disproportionately populated by racial minorities (Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009). Similarly, some officers dismiss profiling accusations by arguing that officers are just stopping racial minorities who fit the description of a suspect (Bornstein et al., 2011). Rather than demonizing racial minorities, all of the third subcategory rationalizations treat disproportionate encounters with racial minorities as detached statistical probabilities.

There are a number of variables that appear to affect whether or not officers rationalize and hence dismiss racial profiling as an issue. At the individual level, officers' personal and vicarious experiences can preclude any rationalizations of profiling. Black and Latino officers who claim that they have been victims of profiling generally do not rationalize/dismiss the issue of profiling (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Bornstein et al., 2011; Harris, 2002). Some officers of all races who claim to have observed other officers engage in profiling or treat Whites more leniently also are highly unlikely to rationalize such profiling (Bornstein et al., 2011).

While individual-level variables dealing with officers' profiling-related experiences may play a role in whether or not officers rationalize racial profiling, the unanimous denials/rationalizations of profiling by all officers of color and White officers alike in Glover's (2007) and Satzewich and Shaffir's (2009) studies, and by the majority of officers of color and White officers in Bornstein et al.'s (2011) study suggest that structural variables play more of a significant role than individual-level variables do. Some of these structural variables pertain to police organizational policies and procedures, whereas others relate to the perceived characteristics of communities.

One organizational structural variable that appears to affect whether or not officers rationalize profiling is a department's deployment policy. Officers who are deployed to urban minority neighborhoods where drug- and

other criminal activity is more visible are more likely to rationalize profiling as being effective law enforcement (Barlow & Barlow 2002).

Officers' rationalizations of profiling also appear to be influenced by a police organization's incentive structure. According to Barlow and Barlow (2002) and Harris (2002), police departments in recent decades have rewarded officers with pay increases, commendations, desirable assignments, and promotions for making high numbers of drug arrests. Officers who perceive that it is easier to go after Blacks and Latinos in making such arrests are more likely to rationalize that their livelihoods and career advancement depend on such arrests.

Apart from incentive structures, organizational pressures and officers' relative lack of power appear to contribute to officers' rationalizations and dismissals of profiling. Barlow and Barlow (2002) contend that officers engage in various rationalizations of their disproportionate stops and arrests of racial minorities because of pressures from superiors and the majority of the public to make such stops and arrests. Satzewich and Shaffir's (2009) finding that officers' denials of and rationalizations for their policing of racial minorities were learned through immersion in a police subculture implicitly suggests that officers faced pressure to conform to certain organizational cultural norms. Duran (2009a) argues that regardless of any perceived pressures, officers' lack of structural power to alter their deployment and crime prevention tasks further contributes to officers' dismissals of racial profiling.

Notwithstanding the influence that organizational-based structural variables may have in shaping whether officers rationalize racial profiling, a body of literature on race and policing suggests that communal-based structural variables may play a particularly influential role. Symbolic interactionist studies have identified the different meanings officers assign to different communal spaces, e.g., safe spots and danger spots (Werthmann & Piliavin, 1967); structural, ecological-based macro-level studies have revealed that officers make distinctions between neighborhoods and communities based on configurations of race and class, as well as perceived rates of crime (Alpert & Dunham, 1988; Smith, Visher, & Davidson, 1984; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). A number of studies examining racial profiling suggest that officers' perceptions of how communal spaces are structured play a an important role in determining whether officers rationalize/ dismiss racial profiling as an issue (e.g., Bornstein et al., 2011; Duran, 2009a, 2009b; Goldsmith, Romero, Rubio-Goldsmith, Escobedo, & Khoury, 2009; Romero, 2006; Solis, Portillos, & Brunson, 2009; Vera Sanchez & Adams, 2011). These latter studies, but most notably Bornstein et al. (2011), implicitly indicate that where officers perceive that there is some critically important law enforcement or community-related imperative associated with a particular communal space (e.g., neighborhood), such imperative overrides or trumps any competing concerns about racial profiling. Officers appear to be more likely to

rationalize/dismiss racial profiling within a communal space where there is an imperative dealing with violent crime (Bornstein et al., 2011; Solis et al., 2009); gangs (Duran, 2009a, 2009b; Solis et al., 2009; Vera Sanchez & Adams 2011); illegal drug activity (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Harris, 2002); illegal immigration (Goldsmith et al., 2009; Holmes, 1998; Romero, 2006; Solis et al., 2009); and gentrification or urban renewal (Romero, 2006; Vera Sanchez and Adams, 2011). Officers' racialization of communal spaces marked by or associated with a particular imperative (e.g., that a gang area is a Black or Latino area) further contributes to the rationalization/dismissal of racial profiling in such spaces (Solis et al., 2009). These imperatives seem to provide a basis on which officers can rationalize away disproportionate policing of racial minorities without experiencing any sense of ambivalence. When faced with such pressing imperatives in particular spaces, any concerns that officers may have about profiling appear to be eclipsed.

While the policing imperative framework provides an important communal/spatial basis for understanding why officers may rationalize/dismiss the issue of racial profiling, this is a static model that assumes that we should see the same phenomenon in every similarly structured space. For instance, officers should similarly rationalize/dismiss profiling as an issue in every high crime space. However, there are some studies, particularly those examining citizens' perceptions of police (Holmes, 1998; Jacob, 1971; Weitzer, 1999, 2000), which suggest that the dynamics shaping officers' perceptions of such spaces are more complex.

Citizen perception studies generally have offered some indirect evidence of how officers' perceptions of race and policing may vary by neighborhood. These studies typically have found that residents' perceptions of policing differ across and within neighborhoods, and that race and class are associated with such neighborhood-level variation (Holmes, 1998; Jacob, 1971; Weitzer, 1999, 2000). These findings suggest that police perceptions of racial profiling also should differ between and within neighborhoods that vary by race and class.

Some citizen perception studies have provided greater insight into the relationship between officers' perceptions and the neighborhoods that they patrol by examining role of constituency groups (e.g., Weitzer, 1999, 2000). These studies suggest that how officers view profiling and other issues is significantly shaped by the officers' perceptions of the constituency groups that reside in a particular community, and that such groups' expectations, demands, and activism may make profiling a salient issue notwithstanding whatever policing imperatives are associated with the area. For instance, Weitzer (1999, 2000) found that the Black residents of neighborhoods in a lower-class tract were far more likely than the Black residents of a middle-class tract to claim that the police were engaged in proactive harassing and abusive patrolling (e.g., greater monitoring, and more stops, questioning, and arrests). Weitzer (2000) indicates that the residents of the Black middle-

class tract were politically connected, well organized, and powerful professionals who “would not hesitate to complain to the authorities about police abuses” (p. 147). Most significantly, Weitzer (2000) notes that the police were aware of and paid heed to the clout of these Black middle-class residents; he cited examples of such residents who contended that the police went further to satisfy the residents of their neighborhoods in order to avoid complaints. Weitzer’s (2000) findings suggest that the police are far more wary of engaging in any kind of racial profiling in a neighborhood where the residents are influential and likely to challenge perceived mistreatment by the police and hold them accountable.

Some studies examining race and policing that do not focus on citizen perceptions also point to the importance of investigating constituency groups within a community in order to ascertain whether officers rationalize/dismiss profiling concerns. For example, Duran (2009b) found aggressive anti-gang profiling of Latinos in Denver, Colorado subsided after Latino residents there organized and protested, but that similar anti-gang profiling continued unabated in Ogden, Utah because there was a powerful White residential neighborhood watch group that encouraged such profiling and because there was no organized opposition/activism on the part of Ogden’s Latino residents. Barlow and Barlow (2002) reported on an officer who contended that the police are more likely to proactively stop and arrest Blacks in order to please wealthier residents who request (or are likely to request) such stops even in the absence of any crime-related problem in these residents’ neighborhoods. Like citizen perception studies, these latter studies suggest the possibility that police may exhibit concern for racial profiling notwithstanding a larger imperative (e.g., combating high crime) to engage in such profiling, or may rationalize/dismiss racial profiling even where there is no larger imperative.

Building on the aforementioned studies that identify communal constituency pressures on police as well as studies that highlight the importance of imperatives that officers associate with particular spaces, the current study seeks to better understand the influence of communal contexts on how officers perceive and respond to the issue of racial profiling. This study investigates officers’ profiling-related perceptions and patrolling practices in three suburban towns that vary in terms of demographics, constituencies, and spatial configurations and intends to identify whether and how profiling concerns are salient across communities. Moreover, this investigation will assist in identifying the communal features that contribute to the salience of profiling concerns and act as a constraint on officers’ patrolling of racial minorities.

DATA & METHODS

The data upon which this article is based were principally gathered through a series of ethnographic interviews and observations that I conduct-

ed during the course of 52 approximately four-hour ride-alongs with patrol officers during varied shifts, days, and patrol districts in the three suburban municipalities of Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro⁴ in a northeastern state between July, 2006 and December, 2006. There were 18 ride-alongs totaling 73 hours in Coretown, 17 in Longwood totaling 72 hours; 16 of the ride-alongs totaling 66 hours were in Middleboro. Each ride-along was with a different officer. In addition to the 52 interviews conducted during the ride-alongs, I carried out a shorter, 30 to 45 minute follow-up interview with each of the 52 officers in a private room at their respective police stations on a subsequent date. The officers interviewed in the three towns were representative of the three towns' disproportionately White and male officer corps.⁵ Sixteen of the 18 officers interviewed in Coretown were White, and all were male. Sixteen of the 18 officers interviewed in Longwood were White, and 17 were male. Thirteen of the 16 officers interviewed in Middleboro were White, and 15 were male.

Unlike quantitative methodologies, ethnographic studies help "to answer the questions of why and how" (Markowitz, 2001, p. 12), and provide a means of determining how social actors make sense of, organize, and attach meanings to people and places within their social worlds (Orbuch, 1997). By examining the meanings that actors assign to phenomena within their specific, work-related cultural and social milieux (Spradley, 1979), ethnographic methods allow for the discovery of how officers cognitively develop understandings of the various people they serve and organize such understandings into social group schemata. Consistent with the central characteristics of an ethnography, the site of the patrol car out in the community provided a natural work-related setting that was most conducive to developing an understanding of how officers perceive and interpret the issue of racial profiling (Nurani, 2008). Moreover, conducting interviews during the course of four hour ride-alongs afforded ample opportunity to establish rapport with officers and provided a secure, comfortable environment in which officers were more likely to provide candid responses. The setting of the ride-along also afforded the opportunity to compare the officers' interview accounts to their actual practices, allowed for a firsthand assessment of both how officers schematically interpreted and classified people in the field, and how such accounts compared with actual patrolling practices.

To learn more about officers' attitudes about racial profiling and whether potential accusations of profiling acted as a constraint on their patrolling of racial minorities, I asked officers general questions relating to their awareness of and concern about racial profiling and specific questions about any concerns or challenges they had in patrolling specific, different racial groups in specific spaces (see Appendix I). While the former line of questioning did not specify any particular racial groups, the latter line of questioning specifically focused on officers' patrolling of Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in several

prominent, highly patrolled parts of town. Asking officers' about their patrolling of Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in key spaces provided an indirect way of gauging whether any thoughts relating to racial profiling were salient in particular spaces.

In order to produce interview notes as close to verbatim as possible, I amended my shorthand notes during every period in which the officer exited the patrol car to handle a particular matter or when there was a break (e.g., a dinner break). Within an hour after completing each ride-along, I expounded on the notes by reading them into a tape recorder rather than transcribing them by hand. This afforded me a quicker means of creating a record of what was said and a better vehicle for recreating officers' statements. I later transcribed these audiotaped notes into text for purposes of analysis. Informal follow-up interviews on a subsequent visit provided an opportunity to clarify any ambiguities in the ride-along interview notes.

The analysis of my interview and field notes was in accordance with the steps set forth by Spradley (1979). I searched the text for cultural symbols (native terms that officers used to signify practices) and then sought out relationships among such symbols to identify symbolic categories or domains; this domain analysis led to the identification of larger themes that appeared across several domains (Spradley 1979). The analysis process was carried out inductively at multiple stages throughout the data collection process, and concepts, categories, and themes were revised as emergent, iterative products that eventually led to the formation of a grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Spradley, 1979). In addition to manifest content analyses of what officers stated, inferences were made in the interpretation of some of the interview data in order to best elaborate on the tacit meanings that officers conveyed and to tie officers' statements to themes (Charmaz, 2006). For instance, while some of the officers' statements about powerful residents did not expressly indicate direct influence on officers' policing, it was clear from the context of the officers' other responses and clarifying remarks that these statements related to the theme of resident/constituency influence.

In analyzing my empirical data I employed a manual filing method of coding described by Lofland and Lofland (1995). Consistent with this method, I devised a list of codes for the cultural symbols, domains, and themes that I identified, marked these codes in the margins of copies of the field notes and then cutup the coded copies and placed the cut up strips into folders corresponding to each code. I then arranged and rearranged the coded strips in ways that were most logically consistent with my emergent theory at each iteration of the analysis.

Research Site Selections: Choosing the Towns and Police Departments

In order to discern whether or not officers' perceptions regarding profiling vary across communities, it is imperative to study patrol officers in

at least two towns as part of a comparative ethnography (Sullivan, 1989). Comparative ethnography provides an opportunity to assess how the particular communal context in which officers work may shape officers' profiling-related perceptions. Akin to Jacob's (1971) and Weitzer's (1999, 2000) studies which examined citizens' perceptions in three different neighborhoods, focusing on three towns provides an even greater opportunity for assessing both between- and within-town variation in officers' profiling-related perceptions.

Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro were selected in part because these were among the handful of towns in which police chiefs granted access to do ride-alongs. A standard letter was sent to police chiefs of 50 towns with a population between 20,000 and 40,000 that were within a 50-mile radius of the researcher. Access was granted to do ride-alongs in the three respective towns following an interview with each town's police chief.

Like the three neighborhoods that varied by race and class in Jacob's (1971) and Weitzer's (1999, 2000) citizen perception studies, Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro were specifically selected for this study as research sites because their demographic and spatial variations allowed for the opportunity to ascertain whether and how race, class, and space shape officers' perceptions across and within towns. Coretown is predominantly White (94%), whereas Longwood and Middleboro have White majorities but some racial diversity (see Table 1). Blacks make up approximately 23% of the residents in Longwood and 33% of the residents in Middleboro, whereas Latinos make up 15% of the residents in Longwood. Whites control local government in Coretown and Longwood, but Blacks and Whites share control over local government in Middleboro. Residents in both Coretown and Middleboro are largely middle- to upper-middle-class, whereas Longwood residents are largely working- and lower-middle-class (see Table 1). Middleboro's Black population is divided between poor and working-class residents who mostly live in the largely segregated southeastern section of town, and middle- and upper-middle-class residents who live in integrated neighborhoods throughout much of the rest of the town. Longwood's Black and Latino population is largely working-class and spatially segregated. Longwood's Black residents are clustered in the northeastern section of town,⁶ whereas Whites and Latinos are clustered in the northwestern and southern parts of town respectively.

Although Coretown has a small percentage of residents of color, most of whom are Black (4.5%), it has several key visitor spaces that attract racial minorities. Coretown is home to a large county college, Orion County College, which brings in several thousand students on any given day while school is in session, and close to three-quarters of these students are non-resident racial minorities. An alternative high school that serves nearly 200, mostly non-resident, disproportionately Black and Latino students, is also situated in Coretown. While there are few Latino residents in both Coretown and

Middleboro, both towns have large commercial districts in which disproportionate percentage of Latinos are employed. In addition, all three towns are in close proximity to towns with substantial poorer Black and Latino populations. These demographic and spatial features made Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro fruitful settings for assessing whether concerns of racial profiling were salient for officers.

Table 1: Select Race and Class Features of Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro

Town	Racial Makeup		Median Income	% Below Poverty Level
Coretown	White Black Latino	94% 4.5% 0.9%	\$76,300	2.5%
Longwood	White Black Latino	66% 23% 15%	\$46,300	6.4%
Middleboro	White Black Latino	59.8% 33% 3%	\$74,900	5.6%

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau (2002)

Another consideration in selecting Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro was their respective police departments' emphasis on traffic enforcement. Preliminary interviews with the chiefs and captains in the three towns' police departments revealed that while traffic enforcement was a top priority in Coretown, it was not a high priority in either Longwood or Middleboro. As of 2006, Coretown had the highest rate of tickets issued for traffic violations in Orion County, whereas Longwood had the second lowest. Middleboro had close to the lowest rate of tickets issued in Edward County. Given that traffic enforcement has been at the center of the issue of racial profiling, the varying degrees of traffic enforcement in the three towns made these towns conducive sites for assessing the impact of racial profiling on officers' cognition and patrolling practices.

Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro also were chosen because of their police departments' organizational similarity, which fostered similar channels of community influence. The three departments had basically the same set of bureaus and divisions, rank structure, and size and number of patrol districts. Patrol practices including shifts, patrol assignments and rotations, and officers' tasks, responsibilities, and discretion were also strikingly similar. Officers patrolled alone in each town, which allowed for unfiltered interactions with the community. Each department's funding and contracts were

authorized by a town council, suggesting that citizens in all three towns had similar avenues of influence over the police department. Finally, the three departments apparently shared a service orientation by which the police sought to identify and satisfy the demands of the community (Wilson, 1968). Such shared organizational features made it more likely that any differences in how officers thought about and responded to the issue of racial profiling would be a product of communal, rather than organizational, variation.

In addition, Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro were selected as research sites because of the similar backgrounds of their police officers, which makes communal influences more salient. The majority of officers were not only similar in terms of race (White) and gender (male), but also in terms of social class (lower-middle class), childhood residence (grew up in same region), educational background (approximately two-thirds were college graduates), and professional socialization (all graduated from the same police academy). Officers' socialization within the same geographic region minimized the possibility that regional differences might affect how officers understood and approached policing. It was likely that the officers in the three departments had largely internalized similar ideas about race, ethnicity, class, and criminality while growing up, and that these officers brought a similar social group schema with them when they began working. In sum, the selection of three structurally and culturally similar departments afforded an opportunity to assess how environmental features of the towns, rather than background and organizational factors, conditioned officers' perceptions of racial profiling.

FINDINGS

Coretown Officers' Accounts of Racial Profiling and Patrolling of Racial Minorities

Coretown officers expressed a great deal of concern about how their patrolling practices might be perceived by others as profiling. However, such profiling-related concerns were qualified by both race and space (see Table 2). Officers only expressly referenced "Blacks" when discussing profiling concerns, suggesting such concerns were limited to the patrolling of Blacks. For instance, a White Coretown officer stated:

You just try to do your job and the color of the driver shouldn't matter, you know, you're just doing your job. But you still gotta be careful.... So I pull over a Black, say, who's speeding. What are people gonna say? "Oh, he was speeding?" No, they're gonna say, "What are you doing stopping a Black guy?"

Coretown officers' interchangeable use of the terms minority and Black or African-American when discussing profiling, and their express reference

to Blacks and Latinos when discussing non-profiling-related issues, further signify that officers' profiling concerns were limited to Blacks.

Table 2: Profiling Concerns and Practices in Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro

Town	Concern about Profiling	Racially Selective Concern	Spatially Selective Concern	Aggressive Patrolling
Coretown	Yes	Yes, only for Blacks	Yes	Yes for Blacks in some spaces, & yes for Latinos in all spaces.
Longwood	No	Not applicable	Not applicable	Yes for Blacks in some spaces, & no for Latinos in all spaces.
Middleboro	Yes	No	No	Yes for Blacks in some spaces, & no for Latinos in all spaces.

Officers' apparent racially selective concern about profiling also was reflected by racially skewed traffic enforcement patterns. Those whom officers defined as Latino were most likely to be stopped and ticketed. Of the observed motorists stopped (129 in total) and ticketed (60 in total), Latinos were more than twice as likely than Blacks to be stopped (48 Latinos versus 20 Blacks), and more than three times as likely to be ticketed (37 Latinos versus 12 Blacks).⁷

Although Coretown officers expressed concerns relating to the profiling of Blacks, such concerns were spatially qualified. Officers conveyed a high degree of concern about how their patrolling of Blacks might be perceived in some spaces and seemingly showed no concern in others. In particular, officers only voiced profiling-related concerns when discussing their patrolling of Blacks on Newman and Summer Avenues, the town's two main east-west roads, and within the town's central commercial district. For instance, a White Coretown officer stated the following while conducting traffic enforcement on Summer Avenue:

I do most of my traffic enforcement here and on Newman. I try to treat everybody the same, but I just worry sometimes about how it would look.... I think twice about pulling somebody over if they're Black. And unless it's something flagrant, I just hold back....

Coretown officers' spatially qualified concerns regarding their patrolling of Blacks were starkly reflected in their stop and ticketing practices

during the course of the ride-alongs. Blacks constituted only 5.1% of those stopped (4 out of 78) and 2.7% of those ticketed (1 out of 37) along Newman and Summer Avenues and within the central commercial district, but represented 39% of those stopped (16 out of 41) and 47.8% of those ticketed (11 out of 23) along the roads leading to and from an alternative high school and a county college. In contrast, Latinos were disproportionately stopped and ticketed at high rates in both sets of spaces.

Coretown officers' profiling-related concerns about Blacks along Newman and Summer Avenues and within the central commercial district were linked with several communal features. The town's demographic makeup—notably, its relatively large White population (94%) and its relatively small Black population (4.5%)—was a key communal feature that officers exclusively referenced in these spaces. Officers suggested that the issue of racial profiling became salient in these spaces against Coretown's White demographic backdrop. For instance, in explaining his concerns relating to profiling on Newman Avenue, a White Coretown officer remarked:

I mean, no one likes to admit it, but this is a White town. Yeah, there's a few Blacks scattered here and there, but it's still a White town.... You got mostly White people, and you're stopping Black people, I mean, c'mon, that's not gonna look right.

Besides the town's demographic make-up, the interests of the town's White business and civic leaders were particularly salient for officers in these Coretown spaces. Officers described how the town's business and civic leaders had raised a significant amount of money through several bond issues to improve the town's central commercial district, which was part of a larger effort to upgrade the town's regional status and compete with the nearby town of Windham. When discussing their patrolling of Blacks in this commercial district, as well as along Newman and Summer Avenues, both of which cut through this district, officers emphasized that the town's business and civic leaders were concerned about avoiding any publicity that might sully the town's reputation. In particular, officers cited how accusations of racial profiling might tarnish the town's image, and in turn, upset the town's leaders. For instance, a White Coretown officer commented:

A lotta people have pumped a lotta money into this downtown. They've got a lot invested here. The last thing they wanna see is some story in the *Norville Gazette* about cops harassing Blacks in Coretown.... They don't want this place to be seen as some racist, backwards kinda place.... They don't want anything that's gonna give the town a black eye.

In addition to the aforementioned communal features, officers' assumptions about what racial minorities potentially were doing along Newman and Summer Avenues and within the commercial district appeared to condition officers' concerns about profiling. More specifically, officers' assessments of

racial minorities in these latter spaces hinged on whether members of these largely non-resident racial groups would be staying in town for extended periods of time and causing trouble. A White Coretown officer alluded to this when discussing patrolling of non-residents, "You get a lot of people who cut through here, and some of them ... don't really have any other reason than to come here and hang out and cause trouble."

Coretown officers made no references to Blacks causing trouble when discussing patrolling along Newman and Summer Avenues and within the central commercial district. Officers saw non-resident Blacks in these spaces as passing through town rather than staying for extended periods of time and interacting with others. For instance, in discussing his patrolling of Blacks in these spaces, a White Coretown officer stated:

Why would you profile someone, I mean, if they are just passing through town. They're not bothering anyone. What would that accomplish? The only thing that would do is get everybody saying, "What are you doing? Really, c'mon." It would be obvious to everyone that we had no reason to be pulling over Blacks.

As reflected by these remarks, Coretown officers believed that any targeting of Blacks in these spaces would appear gratuitous to potential observers because Blacks posed no discernible threat. As a result, others' potential profiling-related criticisms became salient to the officers.

In contrast to Coretown officers' apparent heightened concern about how people might perceive officers' policing of Blacks along Newman and Summer Avenues and within the commercial district, Coretown officers expressed seemingly no concern regarding potential scrutiny as they patrolled Latinos in these spaces. Officers routinely described Latinos as being either a threat or a nuisance. Unlike the negligible Black residential population, the dearth of Latino Coretown residents (less than 1%) did not appear to contribute to any concerns about how profiling might be perceived against Coretown's White demographic backdrop. Moreover, even though Coretown officers explained that many non-resident Latinos worked in establishments in the commercial district, these officers paradoxically did not see Latinos as being legitimately present in this space or along the connecting spaces of Newman and Summer Avenues.

Any potential legitimacy that Latinos may have had from their status as workers was eclipsed by officers' stereotypical images of Latinos as drug runners, thieves, and gang members. Officers made numerous assertions about Latinos trafficking illegal drugs between two nearby towns, Elmwood and Piedmont. Officers also frequently made reference to Latino workers' petty crimes such as shoplifting, implying that these workers' jobs were a front for criminal activity. For instance, after stopping a Latino male dishwasher, a White Coretown officer stated: "You never know with these guys.

Yeah, he says he works as a dishwasher, but what is he really up to. I bet a lot of these guys are doing more than just washing dishes." Moreover, Coretown officers saw the commercial district as a networking site for Latino criminality. A White Coretown officer stated the following about Latinos, "They like to powwow with their hombres.... You've got Mexicans from all over working down there; that's where they meet up, that's where they wheel and deal."

In addition to presenting Latinos as a threat, Coretown officers also characterized Latinos as a nuisance. This latter characterization was based on a group of Latino male day laborers who congregated near the commercial district's train station. Officers saw this group, which numbered near 100 during morning hours, as engaging in nuisance-related offenses such as blocking vehicular and pedestrian traffic, urinating in public, and littering. These perceptions bolstered officers' view that Latinos were not legitimately present. In sum, officers saw non-resident Latinos, unlike non-resident Blacks, as staying in town for extended periods of time and causing trouble.

In marked contrast to their stated profiling-related concerns regarding patrolling Blacks along Newman and Summer Avenues and in the commercial district, Coretown officers voiced no such concerns in other heavily-patrolled spaces. In particular, officers expressed no apparent concern about profiling accusations when discussing their patrolling of Blacks at the Alternative High School (AHS), which serves nearly two hundred youths who are unable to function in traditional classrooms and are from around Orion County, and at Orion County College (OCC), which is a year-round community college that serves 9,000 students, most of whom hail from other towns in Orion County, and the north-south roads leading to and from AHS and OCC. Rather, officers' accounts of their patrolling of Blacks in these latter spaces were dominated by references to criminal threat. In contrast to their patrolling accounts of Blacks and Latinos along Newman and Summer Avenues and within the commercial district, officers' patrolling accounts of Blacks and Latinos in the spaces associated with AHS and OCC were indistinguishable. Moreover, officers routinely made joint references to Blacks and Latinos when discussing their patrolling in these latter spaces, but carefully distinguished Blacks and Latinos when discussing their patrolling in other spaces. For Coretown officers, the potential threat posed by both Latinos and Blacks eclipsed any profiling-related concerns in spaces associated with AHS and OCC.

Coretown officers' seeming lack of concern about racial profiling in the spaces associated with AHS and OCC were reflected in Blacks' substantially higher stop and ticketing rates in these spaces. Blacks not only were far more likely to be stopped and ticketed in the spaces associated with AHS and OCC, but were stopped and ticketed at higher rates than those of Latinos in these spaces. Officers' distinction between Blacks and Latinos appeared to vanish at AHS, OCC, and along the roads leading to and from AHS and OCC.

Coretown officers' apparent lack of concern about racial profiling and their aggressive patrolling of both Blacks and Latinos in spaces associated with AHS and OCC were derived from officers' view of AHS and OCC as Black and Latino non-resident spaces ensconced within White residential areas. AHS and OCC served as a triggering mechanism for pathologies officers associated with criminogenic, lower-income Black and Latino communities in the surrounding area. The presence of Blacks and Latinos at or near AHS and OCC activated officers' thoughts of these problematic Black and Latino communities. Coretown officers' discussions of AHS and OCC students invariably included some reference to drug- and gang-related problems in Black and Latino towns such as Piedmont and Elmwood. For instance, a White Coretown officer said the following about a minor shoving match involving several AHS students. "Who knows what the hell they were fighting over. Probably somebody stole somebody else's dope. They bring that shit in from Piedmont and Elmwood and deal it over here."

Based on their numerous references to drug dealing, car theft, and gang activity, Coretown officers appeared to assume that unlike non-resident Blacks along Newman and Summer Avenues and within the commercial district, Blacks and Latinos within the vicinity of AHS and OCC were staying in town for an extended period of time to commit crimes. A White Coretown officer alluded to this when discussing non-resident Blacks and Latinos at OCC. "You've got Blacks and Hispanics from Norville, Elmwood, places like that, and they're coming here to stir the pot, you know, just cause trouble. They're not coming here for school, just to cause trouble, that's all."

In discussing their concerns about non-resident Blacks and Latinos causing trouble at or in the vicinity of AHS and OCC, officers appeared to be most worried about the possibility that these non-residents would corrupt other students, particularly White students, and would possibly detrimentally influence youth in the White residential areas in which AHS and OCC were ensconced. For instance, nearly all Coretown officers referenced an incident involving a White male AHS student from Coretown who claimed to be a member of the Crips gang. A White officer who had arrested this youth for fighting described how this youth apparently had become a Crip:

There were several kids from the alternative school who got into a big fight.... One of the ones we arrested was this 16-year-old Coretown kid. I started asking him what happened, and ... he tells me that he's a Crip.... Apparently he'd been hanging around with some kids from Piedmont over at the alternative school who got him into that Crips thing.... I... told him, "These kids you've been hanging with are no good."

Through this often-recounted Crip story, officers suggested that Black and Latino non-resident AHS students were influencing vulnerable, generally good White Coretown youths to join gangs.

Similarly, officers suggested that Black and Latino non-resident drug dealers were corrupting White youths at OCC. In recounting an illegal drug distribution ring led by non-resident Blacks and Latinos in a lounge in one of OCC's main buildings, Coretown officers emphasized that they were most alarmed by the numerous White Coretown youths they had arrested for buying weed. A White Coretown officer remarked:

There were several dealers from Norville and Edgerville who had set up shop in the lounge.... At first we thought it was mostly Blacks and Mexicans selling to each other. Come to find out that most of the ones buying were Caucasian.... [Y] ou had high school kids from Coretown buying weed over at OCC. That's when we knew that things were out of control.

Officers referenced White drug buyers at OCC, like that of the White Crip at AHS, not for the purpose of condemning White youths, but rather to emphasize how Black and Latino non-residents were preying upon such youths.

Coretown officers' spatially divergent perceptions of and approaches toward Blacks highlight the importance of communal context, perceptions of what different groups' members are doing, and space in shaping how officers think about racial profiling and go about patrolling racial minorities. In particular, the officers' radically different perceptions of and approaches toward Blacks travelling on Newman Avenue compared to that of Blacks travelling to and from AHS and OCC demonstrates how racialized assumptions about space lead to differential policing. Although many of the Black motorists travelling to AHS or OCC first travelled westward on Newman Avenue upon entering Coretown, officers' concerns about and approach toward Black motorists depended on whether these motorists stayed on Newman Avenue. If Black motorists stayed on Newman Avenue, officers viewed these motorists as harmlessly passing through town, which in turn increased the saliency of communal interests opposing the racial profiling. However, as soon as Black motorists either turned left or right off of Newman Avenue, officers saw these motorists as coming to stir the pot and cause trouble, and any potential profiling concerns were eclipsed by concerns of threat to White residents' interests. Thus, Coretown officers' apparent sensitivity to racial profiling accusations hinged upon how officers understood racial minorities' behaviors in relation to communal interests within particular spaces.

Longwood Officers' Accounts of Racial Profiling and Patrolling of Racial Minorities

Like Coretown officers, Longwood officers viewed racial profiling as an issue solely pertaining to the patrolling of Blacks. While Longwood officers made numerous references to the term Black when discussing the issue of profiling, they never used Latino, Hispanic or any other racial terms. Moreover, consistent with their virtual lack of concern about and restrained patrolling of Latinos, Longwood officers did not allude to profiling when dis-

cussing Latinos. Longwood officers, like Coretown officers, saw profiling as a Black issue.

Although Longwood officers and Coretown officers similarly framed racial profiling as a Black issue, Longwood officers, in contrast to Coretown officers, expressed no apparent concern about the issue of racial profiling (see Table 2). All Longwood officers were dismissive of the possibility that their patrolling practices might be perceived by others as profiling. Most officers were dismissive in an indifferent, nonchalant way, but several officers were dismissive in a sarcastic, somewhat brash way. For instance, a White male officer remarked, "Yeah, so I stop some Blacks. What are they gonna do? Accuse me of profiling or something? Yeah, right."

In dismissing the issue of racial profiling, a majority of Longwood officers also suggested that racial profiling was a manufactured problem that deflected attention away from the reality that Blacks commit a disproportionate amount of crime. A White Longwood officer stated:

The real problem, but no one wants to admit it, is that Blacks just happen to commit a lot of crimes. Everyone points the finger at us, but we just deal with who is committing crimes.... If we stop more Blacks it's 'cause they're involved in more crime. It's that simple.

As reflected by this officer's matter-of-fact tone, Longwood officers confidently and unequivocally conveyed that racial profiling was a non-issue. Unlike Coretown officers, Longwood officers neither expressed trepidation about how others might judge their patrolling of Blacks nor exhibited any apparent defensiveness.

Longwood officers' insouciant attitude toward the issue of racial profiling appeared to be tied in part to Longwood's demographics. In explaining their disproportionate encounters with Blacks, Longwood officers suggested that it was normal for officers to have such encounters. One White Longwood officer stated the following when discussing officers' frequent interactions with Black male teens and young adults:

You know I wish I didn't have to deal with the shittums [(young Black males)]. You know, if it was up to me, I'd just stay the hell away from them.... But there's no way you can avoid 'em; they live here. You're gonna run into them whether you like it or not.

For Longwood officers, Longwood's sizable (23%) Black population made encounters with Blacks seem routine, and, in turn, precluded officers from viewing such encounters as profiling.

While demographics may have helped to normalize encounters between Longwood officers and Blacks, these officers' lack of concern about racial profiling appeared to be mainly connected to their perceptions of Longwood's

dominant White residents' interests. Longwood officers suggested that vocal, active members of this dominant, powerful constituency group of White residents, which constituted two-thirds of the town's population, expected officers to aggressively, proactively patrol Blacks in White lower-middle-class neighborhoods in the large northwestern part of town, as well as along the western border of the town's working-class and poor Black section in the northeastern part of town. In particular, Longwood officers discussed White residents' expectation that officers would move along Black students walking home from Longwood High School (LHS) after 3 P.M. on school days. For example, a White Longwood officer remarked:

The people who live over here on Maple [Street], they go nuts if somebody tramples on their flowers or leaves candy wrappers on their lawn. Now the ones who're at work, they can't prove it's Black kids from the high school, but when they complain, you know who they mean. But the ones who are home, they're like ready to pounce if you don't keep these kids moving. There's one lady that's always flaggin' us down, telling us that they are cuttin' through her yard, messin' up the place, hangin' socks on her trellis....

In discussing these White residents' expectations regarding officers' patrolling of Blacks, Longwood officers emphasized the high probability that the former would complain to superior officers or town officials if officers did not disperse Black youths from White neighborhoods. For instance, a White Longwood officer stated the following when discussing Black high school students congregating in the streets in White neighborhoods:

You know that if you don't do anything, you know Mrs. Jones down on Maple Street, or Mrs. Jackson down on Oak Street, you know they're gonna be on the phone with the Lieutenant.... There was a lady who wrote a letter to the Chief saying that some Blacks from the high school were blocking the sidewalk and harassin' her kids on the way back from school.... We put a stop to that.... You don't want any headaches.

As this officer revealed, Longwood officers saw White residents as potential complainants who wielded leverage over officers. Accordingly, Longwood officers felt compelled to proactively police Blacks in order to avoid the wrath of these residents.

Longwood officers' concerns of appeasing powerful White constituents was reflected by officers' aggressive, proactive patrolling of Black pedestrians in groups of three or more in White northwestern neighborhoods. Longwood officers routinely motioned to and verbally confronted groups of Black youths in these neighborhoods.⁸ In particular, officers regularly monitored and confronted groups of Black students walking home from LHS on school days between 3 and 5 P.M. The apparent goal of this racially selective pa-

trolling, which officers described as *herding*, was to informally escort Black students out of White neighborhoods. Officers routinely engaged in what they described as a cat and mouse game with Black student pedestrians, repeatedly reprimanding these students for loitering, walking in the street, or crossing residents' properties. For instance, after spotting a group of five Black male and three Black female students who were standing in the street about a block and a half to the southeast of LHS, a White male Longwood officer pulled up his patrol car and stated from the window of car, "You can't have a block party here. It's time to take the show on the road. Now let's go. Let's go guys."

Longwood officers' aggressive, proactive patrolling of Blacks, particularly younger Black males, along northern and western perimeter area of District 4 in the northeastern part of town, which officers' referred to as the Black section of town and the target area, also appeared to be fueled in part by officers' concerns about appeasing powerful White residents. Officers not only explained that their disproportionate patrolling of this Black perimeter area was due to the area's alleged high rate of illegal drug and other low-level criminal activity, but also because White residents in the northwestern part of Longwood were concerned about such activity spilling over into their neighborhoods. For instance, while discussing officers' patrolling of the target area, a White Longwood officer linked up such patrolling with the concerns of residents of the White Bright Acre section in northwestern Longwood:

You've got drug dealers, some gangster wannabes, hustlers, you name it, over here. That's why it's called the target area. We do the best we can to keep things under control, but there's only so much you can do; we just don't have the manpower. We just try to make sure that shit doesn't spill over into Bright Acre. They would go ballistic if it did.... They don't want the 'hood in their neighborhoods.

Longwood officers' concerns about powerful White residents appeared to provide officers with a license to racially profile Blacks, as either part of an effort to keep Blacks out of White neighborhoods or contain Blacks to Black neighborhoods. Such concerns seemed to preclude officers from seeing such patrolling as profiling or feeling conflicted about it.

In addition to the perceived pressures from White residents, officers' patrolling of Blacks, particularly in White spaces, appeared to be shaped by Longwood's residential and school-related spatial configurations. Longwood's largely racially segregated neighborhoods, coupled with assumptions about how neighborhood schools shaped friendship patterns, seemed to contribute to officers' sense that Blacks were out of place in White neighborhoods. Officers explained that as a result of residential patterns, few Black and White children attended elementary and middle schools together. Con-

sequently, these children's friendship networks were solidified along racial lines by the time these children reached Longwood's racially integrated high school. In turn, officers did not expect Black and White youth to be mingling outside of school. A White Longwood officer described these links between residential spaces, schooling, and race while discussing officers' patrolling in White northwestern neighborhoods:

The Blacks they mostly keep to the Blacks, and the Whites mostly keep to the Whites. They don't really have much to do with each other. I think a lot of that is due to the schools. They don't go to school with each other, I mean before high school, so how do you expect them to get to know each other and be friends?... So, if you see Black kid in Bright Acre, your first thought is, "What is he doing here?" It's not being racist, you just don't expect kids from District 4 hanging out here. Just like you don't see kids from Bright Acre over in District 4. They just don't have much to do with each other. You see it outside of the high school. The Whites stand with the Whites, and the Blacks stand with the Blacks. That's just the way it is.

As this officer's comments suggest, assumptions about space and social patterns not only contributed to officers' sense that Blacks were out of place in White neighborhoods, but that officers' selective monitoring of Blacks in these neighborhoods was legitimate, rational policing rather than illegitimate, irrational profiling.

While communal features such as powerful constituents' interests and residential and schooling spatial patterns appeared to significantly contribute to how officers viewed Blacks in particular spaces, such views also seemed to be contingent on what officers perceived Blacks as doing. Like those of Coretown officers, Longwood officers' determinations of whether people were out of place were not simply based on the presence of those people in certain racially marked spaces, but rather depended on what officers perceived those people as doing in those spaces. Although Longwood officers aggressively patrolled Blacks in White residential spaces, such patrolling was generally limited to Black pedestrians. Officers generally paid little attention to Black motorists in such spaces, unless these motorists stopped and lingered. Like Coretown officers, Longwood officers appeared to view Blacks who were passing through White spaces as legitimately present. Officers assumed that Black motorists' fleeting presence in such spaces, unlike that of Black pedestrians, precluded the possibility of engaging in behaviors that might upset White residents.

Officers' assumptions about what Blacks were doing in relation to communal interests appeared to affect officers' patrolling of Blacks inside the perimeter of Longwood's northeastern Black section and within commercial spaces. Longwood officers generally ignored Blacks in these spaces because

they expected Blacks to occupy these spaces and did not perceive Blacks as engaging in activities that threatened the interests of Longwood's dominant White group. Unlike Coretown officers' restrained patrolling of Blacks in some Coretown spaces, Longtown officers' restrained patrolling of Blacks in the latter Longwood spaces did not appear to be driven by any concerns about racial profiling. While the overall communal context of Coretown seemed to constrain officers' patrolling of Blacks in some spaces, the overall communal context of Longwood appeared to provide little, if any constraint on officers' patrolling of Blacks. Longwood officers' apparent restraint with respect to patrolling Blacks seemed to be tied to the absence of any communal-based reasons to do so, rather than the presence of communal constraints. As the officer's comment at the beginning of this section suggests, Longwood officers gave the impression that they could target Blacks without any repercussions.

Middleboro Officers' Accounts of Racial Profiling and Patrolling of Racial Minorities

Like Coretown officers and unlike Longwood officers, Middleboro officers expressed a great deal of concern about possible accusations of racial profiling (see Table 2). However, Middleboro officers' concerns were broader than those of Coretown officers in two respects. First, Middleboro officers' profiling-related concerns were not limited to Blacks. Although Middleboro officers, like both Coretown and Longwood officers, generally seemed to equate the issue of racial profiling with Blacks, Middleboro officers voiced concerns about how others might perceive their patrolling of Latinos.⁹ Second, Middleboro officers' concerns about profiling were not spatially qualified. Unlike Coretown officers, Middleboro appeared concerned about possible profiling accusations in all spaces.

Middleboro and Coretown officers both seemed to be defensive when discussing the issue of racial profiling, but Middleboro officers' defensiveness was much more apparent. Middleboro officers were far more likely than Coretown officers to suggest that their jobs were potentially at risk because of profiling accusations. A White Middleboro officer remarked, "You've got to watch your step. A buddy of mine nearly lost his job after some people complained that he was targeting minorities." Middleboro officers also expressed greater resentment and frustration when discussing the issue of profiling. In particular, Middleboro officers were more likely than Coretown officers to indicate that potential profiling accusations hampered officers' ability to do effective police work. For example, a White Middleboro officer stated, "It's hard. You try to do your job, but you're worrying that if I do my job, somebody might turn around and call me a racist."

Middleboro's officers' broader and deeper concerns about profiling appeared to be linked mainly to their desire to avoid incurring the wrath of Middleboro's dominant, highly organized, and vocal informal collaboration

between Black and White middle-to upper-middle class residents. Officers indicated the members of this liberal and pro-civil rights collaboration generally assumed that the police unfairly targeted or harassed minorities. With a combination of trepidation and resentment, Middleboro officers indicated that these residents actively monitored the police's handling of racial minorities, and were quick to protest or complain about the police to various media, such as the local newspaper or the town's unofficial website, or to rights-based organizations such as the NAACP and ACLU.

In particular, officers noted that members of this informal collaboration routinely intervened on behalf of poorer Blacks from Middleboro's largely segregated southeastern section; over half of the officers referenced the response of wealthier Black Middleboro residents to an incident in which a White Middleboro officer mistakenly arrested a poor Black southeastern male he thought fit the description of a suspect wanted for several robberies. The arresting officer remarked:

Not long after I started here a couple of years ago I got into trouble. We'd had a bunch of robberies down over at Lakeview Plaza, and we were looking for a Black guy with an orange hat and a white shirt. I arrested a guy over by Magnolia [Street] who fit the suspect's description. It turned out it wasn't him. Well people here went berserk, especially the Blacks. It was like World War III. Not so much with the ones from the south end, but people with money. There was this Black lawyer, who organized some kind of rally. They had articles in the *Middleboro Times* about it, he was saying this was like apartheid. I mean, give me a break.

In recounting this and other incidents, Middleboro officers suggested that wealthier Black residents perceived the arrests of any Blacks, including the poorest Blacks in the Norman and Monroe Streets area, as being profiling or harassment. Middleboro officers attributed this perception to wealthier Blacks' personalizing every incident involving a Black person.

Although Middleboro officers repeatedly expressed concerns about upsetting the town's wealthier Black residents, approximately two-thirds of the officers' profiling-related concerns pertained to White residents. All officers described over half of the town's White residents as vigilant hawks who ardently defended and came to the aid of Blacks, especially Black children, during encounters between the police and Blacks. For instance, an Asian Middleboro officer recounted an incident in which a middle-aged White woman swiftly intervened on behalf of a group of Black youth whom officers were questioning in relation to an alleged fight that had taken place:

You'd think that just the Blacks would be the ones who care about the Blacks, but here, the thing that's different about this place is the Whites. One time we got this call that there's a

group of Black kids fighting over on Willow [Street], and one of them has a gun. We had seven cars that responded. It turns out that it was just some kids screwin' around with a painted toy gun. The boy with the gun got scraped by one of the police cars, but he jumped up. Well, as soon we got there, a bunch of people in the area came over right away and start in with, "Why'd you hit him with your car?" "Why do you need so many police?" "Why can't you just let them play?" I'll never forget, in the middle of this whole thing, this one White lady says, "What are you doing to these kids?" Then she turned to a couple of them and said, "Are you okay, honey?" Meaning like we were hurting them or something.... Before she left, but she tells us that we'd better not harass these boys, and that she'd be watching us. Can you believe that, that she'd be watching us!

Against this backdrop of seemingly omnipresent monitoring and likely intervention by powerful White and Black residents, concerns about racial profiling were highly salient for Middleboro officers whenever they encountered racial minorities and contributed to a cautious, restrained approach to patrolling racial minorities in most spaces.

In a more indirect way, Middleboro officers' heightened sensitivity to profiling accusations and cautious patrolling approach appeared to be tied to perceptions of residential and school-related spatial patterns. Officers indicated that not only were many of the Middleboro's neighborhoods racially integrated, but that the town's schooling patterns enhanced racial integration in most spaces throughout town. Officers explained that Middleboro used a random selection process for assigning students to elementary and middle schools, which in turn normalized and legitimized the presence of people of any race or class in virtually any space. A White Middleboro described this school-related legitimization:

The ways the schools are set up here, anybody could be anywhere. It's not like you can say, "What is he doing in the neighborhood, or what is she doing in the neighborhood." No, I mean, even if you can tell somebody's not from the neighborhood, you can't assume, "What are you doing here." They might be visiting a friend, picking up their child, you never know. Because the kids all go to school with each other, they've got friends all over the place. It's not like where I grew up, where you were pretty much just friends with whoever lived in your neighborhood. No, here, you expect kids to be hanging out outside of their neighborhoods.

As this officer suggested, the random assignment of students starting at the beginning of their school careers not only conditioned officers to expect

that children and parents or caretakers of different races and classes would be in various parts of the town related to school-related business and activities, but that children would develop friends in other parts of the town and socialize with them. As a result, Middleboro officers, unlike Longwood officers, did not consider it odd to see children or adults of different races and classes in residential neighborhoods that were relatively homogeneous in terms of race and/or class. Children might be visiting friends in such neighborhoods, or their parents or caretakers might be dropping them off or picking them up. Such socially-defined spatial patterns, coupled with officers' perceptions of Middleboro's dominant Black/White resident collaboration, made Middleboro officers highly conscious of and concerned about how others perceived their patrolling of racial minorities.

Notwithstanding Middleboro officers' apparent high degree of concern regarding potential profiling accusations, Middleboro officers aggressively patrolled some Blacks in the vicinity of an upscale shopping area located on the western part of the town's large southern commercial district and along the southernmost point of Omega Road, a major cross-town street. In patrolling the shopping area, Middleboro officers spent a disproportionate amount of time monitoring Blacks who, based on dress and demeanor, appeared to be from Middleboro's lower-class Norman and Monroe Streets area in the southeastern part of town. This was the only space in Middleboro where officers suggested that some Blacks were out of place. A White male officer stated, "If you spot someone from Norman and Monroe over here, you know that they're not window shopping. If they want to hang out, they gotta find some other place."

For Middleboro officers, Norman and Monroe Street Blacks lacked the in-place legitimacy of middle-class and wealthy Blacks (perceived as patrons of the area's establishments) and Latinos (seen as workers in such establishments).

The vicinity of the upscale shopping center also was only place officers confronted any Black pedestrians during the course of the ride-a-longs. In particular, officers regularly confronted younger Blacks, especially males, along the shopping center's eastern border. The bulk of these confrontations occurred on the sidewalk in front of a place called the Chicken Shack, which was located a block and a half east of the shopping center. Officers claimed that the Chicken Shack was a front for drug activity and routinely dispersed the group of mostly Black male teens and young adults who congregated outside of it in an eastward direction away from the shopping center.

Middleboro's officers' aggressive patrolling of Norman and Monroe Street Blacks within the vicinity of the upscale shopping area appeared to be exclusively driven by concerns of appeasing business owners. Officers indicated that over the past ten years or so, store and restaurant owners had repeatedly complained about groups of Black youths congregating in front of

or near their establishments. Officers noted that these complainants claimed that these groups of Black youths loitered, made excessive noise, littered, and sometimes intimidated or harassed patrons. A Latina Middleboro officer described the complaints made by the owner (Jose) of the Epicurian Café, which was located on the eastern fringe of the upscale shopping area:

Every time I see Jose he tells me about these punks from the Norman and Monroe who hang out in front of his café, making all kinds of noise, throwing their trash on the sidewalk, and basically actin' a fool. He's always tellin' them they have to move, and when they don't, he chases them down the block.... We try to help him out as much as we can.

Unlike Coretown officers' aggressive patrolling of Blacks and Latinos within the vicinity of AHS and OCC, Middleboro officers' aggressive patrolling of Blacks within the vicinity of the upscale shopping area was characterized by a high degree of ambivalence. In contrast to Coretown officers, Middleboro officers appeared to weigh competing interests and to be constantly mindful of the issue of racial profiling. Although Middleboro officers appeared to assign more weight to the interests of business owners than those of the town's informal collaboration of Black and White residents, concerns about the latter left Middleboro officers feeling conflicted and uneasy.

Middleboro officers also engaged in aggressive patrolling of Blacks at the southernmost part of Omega Road, which was a principal entry point for non-residents. Officers both expressly and implicitly conveyed that they chose this point on Omega Road in order to monitor and possibly intercept suspicious non-residents from disproportionately Black, poor and working-class towns like Omega, Edgartown, and Winslow. A White male Middleboro officer indicated that he chose to do traffic enforcement at this location because it would enable him to prevent "outsiders" from bringing their crime-related problems such as illegal drug dealing into Middleboro. This officer said:

This is good spot to do radar 'cause you've got people coming and going from all the different towns. If you're gonna catch something, you're gonna catch it here. And if you do, it's a good way to tell outsiders that they're not welcome to bring their dirt¹⁰ here.

As in the upscale shopping area, Middleboro officers appeared to be ambivalent about the disproportionate traffic enforcement that they conducted along this part of Omega Road. While officers spoke of concerns about outsiders coming into Middleboro to engage in crimes, officers simultaneously spoke of possible complaints of profiling from liberal residents. However, officers also noted that even liberal residents were somewhat conflicted about the issue of disproportionately monitoring drivers entering Middleboro via Omega Road. For instance, a White Middleboro officer described residents' ambivalence as follows:

They don't want us profiling, but they don't won't crime in their neighborhoods either. The reality is, whether they like to admit it or not, is that most of the ones breaking into homes and stealing cars are Blacks from Omega, Edgarville, Norville. They know that, but if we try to do something about it, it's like we're the bad guys.

The salience of concerns about crime, coupled with perceived ambivalence of even Middleboro's liberal collaboration of Black and White residents, appeared to enable Middleboro officers to target Black motorists entering town on Omega Road despite competing concerns regarding profiling.

While resident group pressures and spatial arrangements appeared to play in significant role in conditioning Middleboro officers' concerns regarding racial profiling, the town's racial demographics did not. As in Longwood, officers in Middleboro did not view encounters with Blacks to be unusual due to the presence of a sizable Black population. However, despite the normality of encounters with Blacks, Middleboro officers, unlike Longwood officers, were highly concerned about possible profiling accusations. This suggests that the presence of a substantial minority population, in itself, is not sufficient to temper concerns about profiling.

DISCUSSION

The findings from Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro show that officers think about and respond to the issue of racial profiling in variable ways across and within communities. Communally-shaped concerns about racial profiling contribute to differences in how officers patrol a particular racial minority group in different spatial contexts. Unlike the rather uniform, dismissive view of profiling documented by the few prior studies examining officers' profiling-related perceptions, the variable profiling-related concerns exhibited by officers in the current study suggest that officers possess complex racial schemas that can be constituted by different sets of seemingly contradictory information about race and policing. It appears that prior studies of officers' perceptions of profiling have not sufficiently examined the communal contexts in which officers are ensconced. The variability of officers' racial schemas and patrolling of racial minorities further suggest that theoretical perspectives that predict the uniform patrolling of racial minorities may miss critical inter- and intra-communal differences in officers' patrolling of particular racial groups. For instance, this variability of profiling concerns is inconsistent with the conflict theory-based racial threat thesis, which argues that criminal justice authorities exercise coercive control over all racial minorities to neutralize any perceived threats to dominant White group interests (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006).

These findings also provide a number of theoretical insights into the communal features/processes that shape how officers think about racial

profiling and approach racial minorities. Consistent with conflict theory (e.g., Chambliss & Seidman, 1971), officers appear to be particularly attuned to the interests of powerful resident/constituency groups within their towns of employment. However, in contrast to the racial threat variant of conflict theory, officers' attentiveness to such interests may lead to greater concern about racial profiling and less aggressive patrolling of racial minorities in some communal contexts. Coretown officers' elevated concerns about racial profiling and restrained patrolling of Blacks in some spaces appeared to be due in part to the officers' fears of upsetting business owners, whereas Middleboro officers' heightened concerns about racial profiling and restrained patrolling of all racial minorities in most spaces seemed to be principally driven by fears of incurring the wrath of powerful Black and White residents. We should expect officers to engage in a more restrained type of patrolling with respect to a particular racial group where officers perceive that a powerful community resident group is opposed in some way to the targeting of that group.

While officers in some communities, like those in Longwood, may encounter one set of resident/constituency pressures that are salient and predominant in all communal spaces, officers in other communities, like those in Coretown and Middleboro, may face conflicting resident/constituency pressures. In the latter communities, the saliency of particular resident/constituency interests affects both officers' degree of restraint in patrolling racial minorities as well the degree to which officers' feel conflicted about such patrolling. If officers, like those in Middleboro in the vicinity of the upscale shopping area, are confronted with two or more sets of similarly salient resident/constituency pressures, officers will tailor their patrolling to the most salient set, but will feel conflicted. If one set of resident/constituency pressures is highly salient compared to that of others, officers will accommodate those pressures without feeling conflicted (as in Coretown).

In addition to resident/constituency pressures, overall spatial arrangements appear to shape the saliency of profiling concerns and the patrolling racial minorities. Consistent with prior research that has demonstrated that racial profiling is most likely to occur when officers perceive racial minorities as being *out of place* in White spaces (Bates & Fasenfest, 2005; Meehan & Ponder, 2002), the findings from the three towns show that profiling-related concerns are likely to be more prominent and might constrain officers' patrolling of racial minorities where arrangements of spaces confer *in place* legitimacy to racial minorities. For instance, the arrangement of schools in Middleboro appeared to confer *in place* legitimacy to the Norman and Monroe Street Blacks in all residential spaces, but this *in place* legitimacy did not extend to the upscale shopping area.

However, the findings from Coretown in particular suggest that having some ostensibly legitimate connection to a particular space is not necessarily sufficient to generate or sustain concerns about profiling. Rather, the

Coretown findings show that officers' perceptions of what racial minorities are doing in particular communal spaces is critical for predicting whether profiling concerns will be prominent. In contrast to Loewen (2005), who found that police did not profile Blacks who worked in a White town because the officers saw Blacks as being in town for a work-related purpose, the findings here show that merely being in town for a legitimate purpose is not enough. Profiling concerns in Coretown only appeared to be salient if officers perceived racial minorities as engaging in activities consistent with the meanings attached to work- or school-related spaces. Notwithstanding Latinos connections to work-related spaces in the commercial district, and Blacks and Latinos connections to the school-related spaces in and around OCC and AHS, Coretown officers appeared to exhibit no concerns about profiling these respective groups in these spaces due to assumptions that these groups were causing trouble.

While the findings from Coretown suggest that the absence of racial minorities may make profiling-related concerns more salient, the conflicting findings from Longwood and Middleboro suggest that the presence of racial minorities does not necessarily make such concerns less prominent. Although Middleboro's fairly large Black minority population contributed to the likelihood of encounters between officers and Blacks, officers exhibited a high degree of concern regarding how they patrolled Blacks in most spaces. This finding suggests that resident/constituency pressures and the meanings associated with spatial arrangements play a more significant role than demographic information in conditioning how officers think about and respond to profiling-related concerns.

The findings herein provide an initial step toward identifying communal features/processes that shape the salience of profiling-related concerns and affect officers' patrolling of racial minority groups. While the context-specific nature of ethnographic research precludes generalizing the findings from any one town to predict what particular features may be salient in another specific town, the patterns of between-town and within-town variation found in this study suggest that there are some aspects of communities that contribute to officers' variable understanding and articulation of racial profiling. Accordingly, a close examination of a particular community is warranted in order to best ascertain how officers within that community view and respond to the issue of racial profiling. In order to develop a better understanding of potential influential communal features, future research should investigate multiple communities that are diverse in terms of spatial characteristics and resident demographics and constituencies.

Another potential limitation of the ethnographic findings is the trustworthiness of officers' responses. In light of the highly controversial and sensitive nature of the topic of racial profiling, it is possible that officers may provide responses that are politically correct or "what they think the researcher would like to hear" (Nurani, 2008, p. 446). Again, the pattern of

between-town variation in officers' responses implies that this was not a significant issue in the extant study, as similar politically correct responses would have been found across towns. The inclusion of multiple sites in this study increased the external validity of this study, not because each respective site's findings confirmed the findings of the others (Nurani, 2008), but rather because it afforded the possibility to establish variability in responses across towns.

In addition, the nature of interview setting and the relationship between the researcher and the respondents also suggest that the officers' responses generally were forthright and trustworthy. The natural setting of the patrol car appeared to assist in eliciting candid responses from officers, as it helped to make officers think less of themselves as research subjects (Nurani, 2008). Moreover, the similar status characteristics of the researcher and the majority of officer respondents appeared to facilitate candid responses. Officers generally appeared very comfortable interacting with the researcher, whose White, male status characteristics were consonant with those of the majority of officers in each town.

While similar status characteristics of the officer samples from the three respective towns assisted in minimizing the potential influence of individual-level variables on officers' responses, it is possible that more racially diverse samples of officers may reveal that individual-level variables play a more influential role than communal features in shaping officers' perceptions of racial profiling; it is possible that officers of color, like the majority of officers in Barlow and Barlow's (2002) all-Black officer sample, may exhibit greater concerns than White officers about racial profiling, and that these concerns will be largely consistent across towns. However, since few officers of color in the extant study provided responses that were similar to those of their fellow officers in each of the three respective towns, it appears that individual-level variables play a secondary role to structural, community-based variables.

Besides examining police departments with more racially diverse samples of officers, as well as communities that are diverse in terms of spatial characteristics and resident demographics and constituencies, future research should investigate towns that appear to differ in terms of their police organizational structures and subcultures. A comparison of towns with different police organizational structures and subcultures may demonstrate that such organizational and subcultural variables play a more central role than outside communal variables in shaping how officers think about the issue of profiling. Such diverse, future multi-site studies of officers' perceptions of profiling will not only provide a better understanding of the possible communal mechanisms that contribute to such perceptions, but also will help to clarify the respective influence that individual-level and organizational variables may have in some town contexts.

ENDNOTES

1. Racial profiling represents a type of aggressive policing. Aggressive policing encompasses proactive surveillance, stops, questioning, ticketing, searches, and arrests.
2. Several studies have found that salience of racial profiling as an issue has constrained officers' patrolling of racial minorities, but do not provide any clear evidence regarding how officers themselves think about the issue. Warren and Tomaskovic-Devey (2009) found that local media accounts of racial profiling and racial profiling legislation in North Carolina significantly contributed to a reduction in the proportion of searches of Black motorists relative to those of White motorists by officers of the North Carolina State Highway Patrol's drug interdiction team. Similarly, Warren and Farrell (2009) found that increased media coverage of racial profiling and change in the police organizational leadership led to a reduction in the disparity of searches of Black motorists relative to those of White motorists by officers in Providence, Rhode Island. However, in both of these studies, it appears that officers were responding to the directives and sanctions of superiors, rather than directly to political discussions that they heard via the media and the legislature.
3. Consistent with De Genova and Ramos-Zayas (2003), I treat "Latinos" as a "race group." Officers discussed "Latinos" as a racial grouping distinct from that of Blacks and Whites.
4. Coretown, Longwood, and Middleboro are pseudonyms. Pseudonyms are also used for all references to places within these communities.
5. The majority of officers in each town were White (92% in Coretown, 91% in Longwood, and 84% in Middleboro) and male (96% in Coretown, 98% in Longwood, and 92% in Middleboro).
6. The clustering of most of Longwood's Black population in the northeastern part of town appeared to augment officers' perceptions of the size of Longwood's Black population.
7. Coretown officers estimated that 75% to 90% of motorists traveling in Coretown were White.
8. Officers did not mention White residents' concerns about Latino students, and the only time officers' motioned to or confronted Latino students was when they were in the company of a group of Black students.
9. However, like Coretown and Longwood officers, Middleboro officers did not mention Asians when discussing racial profiling.
10. This officer defined "dirt" as meaning drug dealing and other crime- and gang-related activity.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. General Questions about Profiling:

1. How do you view the issue of racial profiling?
2. How much do you think about the issue of profiling?
3. Do you worry about potential accusations of profiling? When? Where? By whom?
4. How do other officers in your department view the issue of profiling?
5. How do residents in your town [of employment] appear to view the issue of profiling?
6. What complaints have been made about profiling within your town? Who has made such complaints? Were the complainants complaining about how they have been profiled or how some other group has been profiled?

II. Patrolling Racial Groups and Spaces:

1. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling [space X]?* [*Repeat this question for all prominent spaces within town.]
2. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Whites?
 - A. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Whites in [space X]? [Repeat this question for all prominent spaces within town.]
3. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Blacks?
 - A. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Blacks in [space X]? [Repeat this question for all prominent spaces within town.]
4. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Latinos?
 - A. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Latinos in [space X]? [Repeat this question for all prominent spaces within town.]
5. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Asians?
 - A. What concerns or challenges do you face in patrolling Asians in [space X]? [Repeat this question for all prominent spaces within town.]

“Age is Just a Number in Here”: A Qualitative Study of Adulthood in a Women’s Prison

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ABSTRACT

Desistance from crime is a significant marker of adulthood, while persistence in criminal behavior is inconsistent with a subjective sense of adulthood (Massoglia & Uggen, 2010). To understand the relationship between crime and adulthood in greater detail, however, it is important to understand how offenders interpret and conceptualize the notion of adulthood in the first place. Based on interviews and mail correspondence with 35 incarcerated women, I explore this question through an examination of how incarcerated women construct definitions of adulthood while in prison. The findings indicate that in a restrictive environment marked by a lack of independence, women in prison rely on intangible markers to define adulthood. Moreover, the inmates believe that these markers are best manifested by those women who have been incarcerated for long periods (5 years or more). I discuss these findings by drawing on older prisonization literature and life-course literature on adulthood.

INTRODUCTION

Life-course researchers (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Laub & Sampson, 1993) have consistently concluded that an important feature of the transition to adulthood is a movement away from delinquency. Age norms shift throughout the life course, and behavior that is acceptable during adolescence is proscribed once individuals attain adulthood (Neugarten, Moore, & Lowe, 1965). These norms, combined with formal and informal social control mechanisms, structure the transition to adulthood such that most individuals will age out of delinquent behavior once they become adults. Highlighting the close relationship between crime and adulthood, Massoglia and Uggen (2010) concluded that desistance from crime is now seen as one of many markers of adult status in the U.S.

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In addition to the research documenting the significance of adulthood in questions of offending patterns, there is also merit in investigating how offenders conceptualize adulthood in the first place. For instance, prior research has shown that offending is linked to a breakdown in individuals' commitment to conventional adult institutions such as work and marriage (Sampson & Laub, 2005). Understanding whether offenders do indeed view engagement in and commitment to these institutions as key markers of adulthood would help explain the process through which offenders lose their "stake in conformity."

In a socio-cultural landscape where crime and adulthood are closely tied, and markers of adulthood are simultaneously becoming more diverse (Arnett, 1997; Aronson, 2008; Massoglia & Uggen, 2010), exploring how offenders interpret and give meaning to the notion of adulthood is important. I explore this question through an examination of how women prisoners construct definitions of adulthood while incarcerated, as well as their views on the impact of incarceration on their subjective sense of adulthood (how adult they feel). Examining this question is particularly crucial to the extent that the experience of incarceration "interrupts" (Dyer, 2005) the inmates' abilities to conform to conventional expectations of adulthood (such as motherhood and marriage) that are tied to desistance efforts.

Women and Adulthood

Scholars have devoted significant attention to the modern transition to adulthood, arguing that this transition has become longer as young adults pursue a more diverse range of pathways to adulthood (Furstenberg, Kennedy, McCloyd, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2004). While there has been less research focused on women specifically, there is evidence that women's notions of adulthood have shifted somewhat in recent years. It appears that women in contemporary America are living in a post-feminist age where independence—be it financial, emotional, or residential—is strongly valued and even preferred over the experience of marriage and motherhood as markers of adulthood (Aronson, 2008). This is a particularly important finding for the purposes of this study because inmates, by definition, are denied the independence that women in the community consider central to their sense of adulthood. It may also be the case, however, that women in prison do not consider independence to be a key marker of adulthood. Women in prison represent a particularly disadvantaged subgroup (Moloney, Van den bergh, & Moller, 2009); many of them may not have experienced the kind of independence that the more privileged women in Aronson's sample enjoy. Women in prison who have never experienced financial, residential, or even emotional independence because of the social and structural difficulties they have faced may seek alternative markers of adulthood that more closely reflect the realities of their lives.

In fact, there is countering evidence that suggests that motherhood remains a salient priority in the lives of many women, particularly those belonging to low-income groups. Specifically, Edin and Kefalas (2005) argued that while low-income women aspire to be married, motherhood is more than simply an aspiration; it is a necessity that is closely intertwined with the women's sense of identity and meaning. Importantly, the researchers who have argued that contemporary American women value independence more than marriage and motherhood have based their findings on studies conducted with women and young girls in the general population rather than imprisoned women. Although Edin and Kefalas drew their participants from inner cities rather than prisons or jails, their sample may be more similar to the sample in this study on certain metrics, given the less privileged backgrounds of women prisoners. However, there is still merit in investigating conceptions of adulthood among imprisoned women, given the uniquely restrictive and punitive environment in which they live.

The current literature thus suggests that for women, marriage may be less important as a marker of adulthood than motherhood, and that independence may be the most significant indicator of adult status. These findings have interesting implications for a study on women prisoners. Dyer (2005) argued that incarceration serves as an "interruption" to inmates' relationships, and Goffman (1961, p. 12) concluded that institutionalized individuals such as prisoners "cannot possibly maintain a meaningful domestic existence." More recent research has confirmed these preliminary findings, concluding that incarceration is positively linked to a higher likelihood of divorce because of the strain that separation places on partners (Massoglia, Remster, and King, 2011).

Dyer (2005) further theorized that being incarcerated destabilizes the identities of incarcerated fathers by preventing them from enacting the roles that are meaningful to that identity. Under normal circumstances, fathers can simply modify their behavior to bring it in line with the standards they hold for themselves as good fathers. Inmate fathers, however, are limited in their ability to enact such behavior modifications. The result is that inmates are forced to shift the criteria they employ in defining what it means to be a good father. If the same holds true of incarcerated women who value motherhood, being in prison may necessitate the use of strategies that alter how they define motherhood and/or assess their own mothering practices. It merits mention, however, that the structural disadvantages that inmates face before incarceration may make it impossible for them to modify their parenting practices even when they are not in prison. This is a possibility that Dyer does not explicitly address. If this is the case, however, the incarceration event may not serve as an interruption to the mothering identity to extent that Dyer might suggest, specifically because these women have either abandoned attempts to mother in conventional ways already or because they have already altered their definitions of good mothering.

In the same vein, if the inmates consider independence to be a marker of adulthood, the impact of their loss of independence cannot be diminished through behavior modification in any major sense, given the restrictions they face in the prison environment. If they are to reconcile their status as adults with their status as inmates, therefore, they may be compelled to (re) construct their definitions of adulthood through the use of markers other than independence. I explore this possibility by examining the processes through which the inmates construct definitions of adulthood and negotiate their own identities as adults.

Prisonization

Older criminological research focused extensively on the process of prisonization (Sykes, 1958; Thomas, 1977; Thomas and Foster, 1972), where prisonization is understood as the degree of assimilation into the inmate subculture (Zingraff, 1980). Prisonization can also be understood as the process by which inmates cope with the difficulties posed by the prison environment (Thomas, 1977). Wheeler (1961) argued that prisonization increases over the sentence length but eventually decreases as inmates anticipate their reentry into mainstream society and shed the prison norms they have absorbed. Thomas and Foster (1972) stated that understanding the process of prisonization is important to criminologists for two reasons, (a) it sheds light on the dynamics of the inmate subculture; and (b) prisonization stands to affect both the prison and post-prison lives of inmates.

The concept of prisonization is significant for the purposes of this study in particular because it highlights how the prison environment shapes the attitudes, perceptions, and coping strategies of the people functioning within it. If women become socialized into the prison culture, as Clemmer (1940) claimed every incarcerated person is to some degree, their understandings of normative adult behavior may shift during their period of incarceration. Inferring from Clemmer's prisonization theory, one would expect women with longer sentences to be most deeply absorbed in the anti-social prison culture.

Insofar as women inmates are denied the freedom and independence that Aronson (2008) has argued is crucial to modern women's sense of adulthood, the inmates may conform to unconventional notions of adulthood that are developed in the prison environment. This may especially be the case if women forge bonds with other inmates over time and become less invested in relationships with members of conventional society as a result. Indeed, Zingraff (1980) noted that female inmates place a stronger emphasis than their male counterparts on interpersonal contacts within the prison. However, the greater investment in interpersonal relationships with other inmates surprisingly weakens the impact of confinement on the women. As such, whether or not women who form relationships with other inmates abandon conventional notions of adulthood and adult status markers remains unclear. I thus draw on the prisonization literature to explore whether women in-

mates absorb prison culture over time in a way that might alter their constructions of adulthood.

While early criminologists focused extensively on the impact of prisonization on inmates' subjective experiences, this research is no longer the primary focus of many researchers. To the extent that the lived experiences of women in prisons have been explored in more recent literature, researchers have highlighted the theme of motherhood. These scholars have examined the coping strategies of women separated from their children (Celinska & Siegel, 2009), and their experiences with being mothers behind bars (Enos, 2001). However, the almost-exclusive focus on mothering has resulted in a dearth of knowledge regarding other facets of women's lived experiences. Indeed, while motherhood is a natural and important issue to focus on, such a focus should not preclude investigations of other parts of women's prison culture. In fact, we must take care not to simply assume that motherhood is the most important role for women in prison by focusing exclusively on this role. Doing so may reinforce the very "mothering discourse" that penologists studying motherhood in prison have critiqued (Enos, 2001). Although motherhood is a salient theme in this study because of its significance for adult women, rather than focusing exclusively on this theme as others have done, I contextualize it within a broader investigation of the impact of incarceration on women's sense of adulthood.

Drawing on the prisonization literature of the '70s, some scholars (Kruttschnitt, Gartner, & Miller, 2000; Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2005) used in-depth interviews to explore how women's pre-prison experiences influence how they do time. Genders and Player (1990) also examined women serving life sentences, focusing especially on how these prisoners experience the initial stages of an indeterminate sentence. As such, though some scholars have sustained an interest in prisonization and the lived experience of inmates, there is much room to expand on this research to encapsulate a more diverse range of features of women prisoners' lives. To this end, I invoke the concept of prisonization specifically to examine the extent to which women's narratives suggest that immersion in the prison culture affects their views on and/or sense of adulthood.

The Current Study

Although Massoglia and Uggen argued that offenders view desistance from crime as a marker of adult status, there are strong theoretical justifications for an investigation of prisoners' constructions of adulthood, since this population in particular might use markers other than those employed by members in conventional society. Goffman (1961), for example, noted the negative impact of "total" institutions on individuals' identity and self-image, and Sutherland (1939) argued that the prison environment can be problematic because inmates learn deviant behavior through association with other inmates. To the extent that women inmates' beliefs are shaped by their expe-

rience in the prison environment instead of conventional society, the women may thus be more likely to learn and adopt deviant definitions of adulthood that in turn increase their likelihood of reoffending.

Alternatively, inmates may see their prison experience as a crucial aspect of their social and emotional maturation; an ex-inmate interviewed in a study on women prisoners' reentry to the community described her time in prison as an experience "growin' up" that helped her in her efforts not to reoffend (O'Brien 2001, p. 293). Both possibilities offer plausible theoretical reasons to believe that women prisoners' notions of adulthood affect their future reoffending. In this study, I thus examine how adulthood is defined in a prison environment that is characterized by a lack of independence and control. To answer this question, I revive prisonization literature that has in recent years been placed on the backburner of criminological research, and I integrate this body of work with the more recent life-course literature on adulthood.

METHODS

The Site

SCI Muncy is a women's prison located in Muncy, Pennsylvania that also serves as the diagnostic and classification center for the state's female inmates. As of December 31st, 2013, there were 1,432 inmates housed at Muncy, and it was operating at 101.6% of its bed capacity of 1,410 inmates. In 2011, 56.8% of inmates at Muncy were White, 34.8% were African-American, 6.6% were Hispanic, and 1.7% were classified as Other.

The Sample

The final sample in this study consisted of 35 adult women between the age of 18 to 55 who were incarcerated at the facility. I used 18 as the minimum age in the sample because offenders below this age may be housed in the youth offenders' wing at the prison, where their experiences may be sufficiently different from those of other women in the sample; this would render their narratives incomparable. I also limited the sample to adult women because perceptions of adulthood might not be firm in the minds of younger women. More importantly, given the pervasiveness of age-related norms (Neugarten, Moore, & Lowe, 1965) adult women are more likely than adolescent women to have attained or to have contemplated attaining the traditional markers of adulthood described in the literature (marriage, motherhood, employment, etc.). I retained 18 as the minimum age (instead of a higher threshold) to compare notions of adulthood among those in the "emerging adulthood" phase with those who are past this stage and into a more established period of adulthood (Arnett, 1997). As I describe in the findings section, constructions of adulthood among this group were in fact shaped by their emerging adulthood experiences, so their inclusion in the sample was important. Morse (2008) argued that samples in qualitative research are not reflective of a

goal to generalize findings across whole populations. Instead, qualitative researchers seek to understand a specific phenomenon in depth by designing samples that consist of participants who are similar to one another based on the specific experience or phenomenon being studied. For this reason, I also excluded women who were above 55 years of age because their experiences were likely to be sufficiently different from other inmates, which would render their narratives difficult to compare to those of other inmates.

I recruited participants¹ through purposive sampling using a list (provided by the state Department of Corrections) of all the inmates housed at Muncy. In particular, I selected participants to obtain diversity in age, race, and sentence length. After constructing a list of inmates who responded to an invitation letter, I categorized participants based on their sentence length (Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2005). Specifically, I placed inmates into three categories²: Long-term inmates (those who had been at the prison 5 years or longer); short-term inmates (those who had been at the prison for 7 months-2 years); and recently admitted inmates (those who had been at the prison for 6 months or fewer). Although some women in the recently-admitted category may have spent a good portion of their time in Muncy in the Classification wing, I include them to introduce a diversity of perspectives on the prison environment. As I will point out later, sentence length emerged as a particularly important theme in the inmates' narratives and including inmates who had limited exposure to the prison environment was therefore important. The final sample generally reflected the broader prison population, insofar as it was predominantly White, with the majority of inmates between 25-39 years of age. Table 1 provides some key demographic information regarding the sample.

The Interviews

Although 35 was the target number of interviews, I was prepared to conduct more interviews if necessary, based on whether theoretical saturation had been reached. Determining theoretical saturation is ultimately a subjective decision made by the researcher, but when this stage is reached, no new properties or dimensions should emerge from continued coding or comparison (Holton 2007; Morse 2007). Although clear patterns had emerged in the data when 20-25 interviews had been completed, I collected 35 interviews to meet the target sample size. I also chose to continue collecting interviews to attain consistency in the number of participants in each category of inmates. Similar to other qualitative research (Carbone-Lopez and Miller, 2011), while the sample size precludes wide generalizability of the findings, the goal of this study is not generalizability. Rather, it seeks to understand the phenomenon of adulthood in depth, a goal that rich data obtained from qualitative interviews is best-suited to attain.

The interviews with inmates were conducted between September and December, 2012 in private rooms in the Superintendent's office building³.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics (N=35)

Sentence Length	Race			Age			Marital Status			Parental Status	
	W	B	H	Younger (< 35)	Older (35 - 55)	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Never Married	Children	No Children
Recently Admitted (6 months or fewer) (n=11)	8 (72.7)	2 (18.2)	1 (9.1)	6 (54.5)	5 (45.5)	2 (18.2)	5 (45.5)	0 (0)	4 (36.4)	7 (63.7)	4 (36.4)
Short-term (7 months- 2 years) (n=13)	3 (23.1)	6 (46.2)	4 (30.8)	6 (46.2)	7 (53.8)	2 (15.4)	5 (38.5)	1 (7.6)	5 (38.5)	10 (76.9)	3 (23.1)
Long-term (5 years or more*) (n=11)	4 (36.3)	3 (27.3)	4 (36.4)	6 (54.5)	5 (45.5)	0 (0)	5 (45.5)	0 (0)	6 (54.5)	7 (63.7)	4 (36.4)
Total (N=35)	15 (42.9)	11 (31.4)	9 (25.7)	18 (51.4)	17 (48.6)	4 (11.4)	15 (42.9)	1 (2.86)	15 (42.9)	24 (68.6)	11 (31.4)

Note: Percentages in parentheses

Abbreviations: W=White; B=Black; H=Hispanic

* Includes Hannah, a 20-year-old inmate who volunteered to participate because of her interest in Sociology even though I had not sent her a letter. Since she had served 3 years in Muncy (and 4 in total), and because her narrative reflected her self-identification as a long-terminer, I placed her in the long-term category. She identified as a long-terminer because she interacted primarily with other long-terminers and lifers, she was serving a 6-12 year sentence length, and she had been facing a life-without-parole sentence

The interviews lasted between 32 minutes and 1 hour and 10 minutes. The interviews began with close-ended questions aimed at obtaining basic demographic information (relationship history, parental status, incarceration history, etc.). Following this, I asked the inmates a series of open-ended questions aimed at understanding how they conceptualize adulthood (for example, "What do you think makes a woman feel like an adult? or "What do you think it means to be a good wife or partner?"). I also asked a series of questions about the women's experiences related to adulthood (for example, I asked inmates when they got married (if they were/had been married) and about their employment histories). Finally, I asked inmates about their views on how the prison environment affected their views on, and sense of, adulthood. Here, I asked the inmates whether they viewed the other inmates as adults, what kind of behavior they associated with inmates they viewed as adults in Muncy, etc. I obtained information on the crime the inmates were convicted of through the list provided by the state Department of Corrections. This list also contained each inmate's full name, race, age, and sentence length.

I recorded the interviews and thereafter transcribed them, choosing pseudonyms to maintain participant confidentiality. In addition to the audio recordings of the interviews, I also took detailed field notes while at the correctional facility.

Analysis of the Interviews

Analytic method. To analyze the interview data, I used the grounded theory approach of qualitative data analysis. There have been several interpretations of this approach, but in this study, I employed Charmaz's application of grounded theory. All variations of the grounded theory approach have certain common elements, including simultaneous data collection and analysis, the search for emerging themes during early data analysis, and the inductive construction of abstract categories based on emerging patterns in the data. Charmaz describes her approach as one that "builds upon a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective with constructivist methods." (Charmaz 2003, p. 314). In her version of grounded theory, Charmaz makes several assumptions: That multiple realities exist; that the data reflect both the researcher's and the participants' mutual constructions; and that the researcher is affected, however incompletely, by his/her engagement with the participants' worlds.

Coding. Charmaz describes coding as the "first analytic step that moves the researcher from description to conceptualization of that description" (Charmaz, 2003, p. 319). Initial coding was conducted using sensitizing concepts (such as identity, self-image, negotiation etc.) drawn from the symbolic interactionist tradition generally (Charmaz, 2003), Massoglia and Uggen's interactionist theory of desistance (2010), and the literature on prisons and prisonization. During this phase, I conducted line-by-line coding using Atlas.

ti (a qualitative data analysis program), searching for patterns of similarities and differences in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Following the emergence of core themes, I conducted focused coding to construct abstract concepts and theoretical generalizations that unified the data in a meaningful way. Specifically, I drew on reappearing initial codes to sort through and synthesize large amounts of data by integrating these codes into more abstract categories. Throughout the coding process, I also kept detailed memos that ranged from loose free-writes to tightly written analytic notes.

The letters. Following the collection and initial analysis of the interviews, I continued communicating by mail with a sub-sample of the women I had already interviewed⁴. I undertook this second stage in the research process because preliminary analysis of the interview data revealed the significance of the prisoners' early childhood and adolescent experiences in their narratives on adulthood. In a total of 38 letters with 10 women who were interviewed, I asked the inmates a series of open-ended questions about their lives, beginning with their childhood and ending with the period just prior to their current incarceration. Although these letters focused on themes that are not central to the topic of this article, I also used the letters to solicit feedback and clarification from the participants about my interpretation of their interviews. Finally, many of the inmates expanded on issues raised in the interview that they believed required further detail based on my questions to them in the letters. For these reasons, I present data from the letters in this article where relevant.

"Age is just a number in here."

The conceptual (in)significance of age in Muncy

Like modern American women in the community (Aronson, 2008), the vast majority (almost 70%) of the inmates considered independence to be the most significant marker of adult status. The participants understood independence primarily to mean one's ability to rely on oneself. Although this encapsulated the women's emotional independence, most women used the word *independence* to mean financial independence specifically. Like women in the community, independence and self-reliance among this sample of women was also closely tied to their desire and ability to make decisions and live their lives autonomously. Unlike their counterparts in the community, however, by virtue of their status as prisoners, the women in this sample are deprived of this independence that they consider essential for their subjective sense of adulthood.

Considering how pervasive age-related norms that dictate adult behavior are in the community, as an alternative marker of adulthood in the absence of independence, I investigated the women's views on age and its relation to adult status. The majority of the inmates (29 of the 35 women in the sample) were emphatic in their belief that other inmates' age did not shape whether

or not they perceived these inmates as adults. Many women, however, drew a distinction between their beliefs regarding the significance of age in the context of adult status before they entered prison and their beliefs following their incarceration. Keysha, 23 years old, was serving 1-2 years for endangering the welfare of a child. She stated:

I feel like we're in this like...this um, this camp. And like everybody's young, because I would think an adult, you know.... When I was home, being home, an adult is an adult. And in here it's like, they feed into you know, the negativity...they're actually worse than the young ones!

The experience of incarceration, therefore, appeared to alter their conceptualization of adulthood. Coming to prison injected a level of uncertainty and doubt into the women's heretofore firmly-held views on the relationship between age and adulthood. As inmates began to question the certainty of the normative belief that people of a certain age should behave a certain way (Neugarten et al, 1956), their emotional and social stability became increasingly tenuous. This was particularly true of women who had been recently incarcerated, perhaps because many of these women had been confined in the Classification wing of the prison and were only now beginning the period of adjustment to the general prison culture.

It is important to note, however, that most of the women who believed that age did not matter in Muncy did not reject age as a significant factor that shapes adult status generally. Indeed, the inmates were very much aware of age-prescribed norms that guide transitions into adult roles, and they considered these norms significant, but only in the outside world. Within the prison walls, however, Christine summarized the opinion of a large majority of the sample when she said, "Age is just a number in here."

Inmates who had served time in prison before or who had been incarcerated for longer periods did not have as much difficulty confronting this element of the prison environment. Reflective of their integration into a prison subculture where age was irrelevant, these inmates remarked on insignificance of age with wry humor rather than the confusion and frustration that characterized Keysha's interview.

Saila was 29 years old and was serving 2.25-6 years for a drug offense. She shared:

'Cause it's females in here that are fifty and swear they're twenty! You know, it's...it's...it's just...I dunno, it's a lot in here. I done seen it all. Like if they was [sic] to put this place in a movie, they would get an Oscar for it. They definitely will. It's too much.

Serving 10-20 years for burglary, Jordan was 33 years old. She said,

I used to think, you know what? [laughs] I used to think...and it's taught me a lesson here...I used to think that at a certain age...I don't know where this stereotypical idea came from. I used to think that at a certain age, people...not just women, but people should stop doing certain things. You know? That is so not true. Like even some of the officers, some of the staff, like...I'm like ugh. You know, like you're too ... the common saying, you're too old to act like that. It's...it just doesn't apply.

Although the women were emphatic in their opinion that age did not matter in determining other inmates' status as adults, their narratives reflected a keen awareness of age-based norms when evaluating their own lives. In appraising herself, Samantha, for example, expressed disappointment in herself for being incarcerated at her age:

- S: I am too old to be in jail. That's what I think. [laughs] I guess there's no age limit to be in jail, but I be thinking like...like I'll be 40 next month. What am I doing in jail?!
- I: Why do you think age is important in that kind of assessment of yourself?
- S: I'm not saying anyone should come to jail. I don't wish that on nobody, but at least if you came to jail at a younger age, I guess...I don't know. I don't know why I think that. Maybe because you have...like a lot of places hire younger people.

Samantha was 40 years old; she was serving 7.5-15 years for aggravated assault and had some difficulty articulating why it disturbed her that she was incarcerated at 40 years of age, ultimately concluding that an incarceration record at her age might damage her chances of gaining employment upon release. However, her rhetorical question—"What am I doing in jail?!"—suggests a more deep-seated awareness of age norms that stigmatize incarceration and offending, especially beyond a certain age (Massoglia & Uggen, 2010; Neugarten et al., 1965).

Katie, 30 years old, was serving 3-6 years for robbery. Her narrative demonstrated a similar awareness of age-prescribed norms and a great deal of critical reflection on what it meant to be incarcerated at her age, which she considered fairly young.

I had an older lady make a comment to me...I was like "you're too old to be in jail." She said...she said, well how did she say it to me? [Laughs a bit] "Well you're too...you're too...you're missing all your adulthood being in jail." And I sat and I thought about it. You know, she got to live all that. And she only came to jail at her age and here I am missing out on all the good years. Do you see? So I was like...I kinda thought about it one day. Like, oh, man.

As such, despite their commitment to the idea that age is “just a number” in Muncy, the inmates’ narratives demonstrated an introspective reflection on the meaning of age in the context of their own incarceration. When probed on the reasons behind the lack of significance of age in determining the adult status of other inmates in prison, the women provided two principal explanations for why age did not matter—drug use and incarceration at a young age.

Over 20% of the women in the sample argued that inmates’ sense and enactment of adulthood were often affected by whether or not they were addicted to drugs. The inmates expressed the belief that women addicted to drugs got “stuck” at the age at which they began their drug use, and their sense of adulthood was severely undermined by their desire for what the inmates described as their “next high.” Regardless of age, then, the inmates believed that some women who were trapped in a drug addiction were either unable or unwilling to adapt to adult roles because of their addiction. Whether their development was stunted due to extreme drug use or they were simply ill fitted for adult responsibilities, age was largely irrelevant as a factor affecting adulthood for drug addicts.

Zelda was serving 20-60 years for kidnapping. At age 34, she stated, “Well I’m not a drug addict. And you know, when people do drugs, their mind gets like stagnated in whatever stage they started doing drugs, so their comprehension levels or their naiveness is way beyond...they’re child-like ways.” Barbara was 40 years old and was serving 10-20 years for kidnapping to inflict injury. Her view on drugs was, “I think when I started using drugs, time had somehow stopped and I was stuck within myself and some of the things that had happened to me throughout my life.”

In addition to drug use, some women argued that women got stuck at the age they were when they were first incarcerated. Incarceration is a life-course event that has reverberating consequences for individuals long after they are released (Pettit & Western, 2004), and the stagnation of the inmates’ sense of adulthood upon incarceration is one way in which inmates might feel the effects of their incarceration even after their sentence concludes. This representation of the far-reaching consequences of incarceration is one that research has thus far not touched upon. Khloe, a 20-year-old inmate who had been incarcerated for several years already on a robbery conviction, said, “Being as though that I had to grow up here, I’m still stuck at that age when I first came in.” Women who continue to age in prison, but who do not feel that their subjective sense of adulthood develops simultaneously, may face difficulties in readjusting to conventional society where timely transitions to adult roles are valued (Furstenberg et al., 2004; Neugarten et al., 1965). Since offenders’ beliefs regarding how adult they feel are important in shaping their motivation to desist from crime (Massoglia & Uggen, 2010), women inmates who feel that they are stuck at the age at which they first entered prison may be more likely to return to a lifestyle of crime upon their release.

There are many lasting negative effects of incarceration, including difficulties finding employment (Western, Kling, & Weiman, 2001) sustaining relationships (Massoglia, Remster, & King, 2011) and maintaining residential stability (Gowan, 2002). A more subtle, yet perhaps equally damaging impact of early incarceration is the inmates' inability to develop a subjective sense of adulthood that is appropriate for their age and that will assist them in sustaining a crime-free lifestyle.

The inmates' belief that age is not a defining feature of adulthood is especially important because offenders coming into contact with the criminal justice system are already *off-time* in making key transition to adult roles (Pettit & Western, 2004). For those inmates who begin to doubt previously held beliefs regarding the strength of the tie between age and adulthood, a timely transition to adulthood may be further disrupted. The combination of not feeling adult and questioning the importance of age-structured transitions could thus negatively impact the inmates' reentry into society and the conventional adult roles that come with this transition.

If age is not considered an important marker of adulthood, and independence is not a feasible marker in the restrictive prison environment, how do the inmates then define adulthood? In the following section, I explore whether, as Dyer (2004) might suggest, inmates who cannot simply modify their behavior in prison develop alternative ways to define their identities.

Adulthood in the "Muncy World"

The inmates at Muncy repeatedly referred to inmates whom they did not view as adult as *messy*. When asked to clarify their use of this term, the inmates described a messy inmate in Muncy as one who gossips, spreads rumors, and initiates conflicts and disagreements. To use Owen's (1998) term, a messy inmate at Muncy is one who is involved "in the mix." Keysha was 23 years old and was serving 1-2 years for endangering the welfare of a child. She described this phenomenon succinctly. "Like they're the ones that get it started, they try to, you know...we call up here 'messy' where they tell one thing and it goes to another." For the women in this sample, adulthood was defined relative to the standard set by messy inmates. A true adult in Muncy was everything a messy one was not—she stayed out of the politics of the inmate population, refrained from engaging in confrontations, and carried herself with class and dignity.

The phenomenon of being messy goes hand-in-hand with being involved in what Hannah referred to as the *Muncy world*. This expression refers to the way in which Muncy is a self-contained environment, one that both resembles and is segregated from the real world. Hannah was serving 6-12 years for robbery and was 20 years old. In describing why she felt that some inmates did not behave like adults, she described the Muncy world as a central feature in the process of institutionalization.

H: I think being in jail, because you have no responsibilities other than yourself, your priorities get so messed up. You lose focus of what you're supposed to be doing for the outside. You know, prepare yourself for the outside. A lot of people lose focus of that, and they get stuck in this...we call this the "Muncy world." This little area.

I: It just kinda becomes their world?

H: Yeah, it becomes...it is their world. Like this is all they see.

Interestingly, Hannah's comments imply that those women who have grown accustomed to prison life were also the women least likely to behave like adults. This belief is consistent with Clemmer's (1940) argument that inmates who have longer sentence lengths are more likely to experience higher degrees of prisonization and become assimilated into the antisocial prison culture (a key feature of the Muncy world). Hannah herself, however, directly contradicted this idea when she described those inmates whom she viewed as the most adult-like in prison—the lifers and other inmates who had been incarcerated for a very long time.

"They Finally Got It": The Adult Status of Lifers and Long-termers

A particularly interesting finding pertains to the inmates' views on the long-term impact of incarceration on women's sense of adulthood. Despite the women's belief that early incarceration experiences stunted inmates' transition to adulthood, and contrary to Clemmer's prisonization theory, the inmates noted that prolonged periods of incarceration appeared to bolster their subjective sense of adulthood. Specifically, 10 women in the sample expressed the strong belief that, of all the inmates incarcerated at Muncy, those who had been in prison the longest⁵ were the ones most likely to behave like adults. Four of the women noted the positive impact that long-termers and lifers had on younger inmates undergoing the transition to adulthood. Finally, all but one of the long-termers noted that their sense of adulthood had strengthened over the duration of their sentence.

The finding that lifers and long-termers generally attempt to stay out of trouble in prison is one that prior research has uncovered (Johnson, 2002). The findings of this study, however, reveal that this behavior is closely tied to how inmates construct adulthood in the prison setting, and that inmates see this behavior as reflective of a process of socialization. When asked about what kind of behavior the lifers and long-termers exhibited that resulted in the perception that they were the adults in prison, inmates pointed to the lifers' day-to-day behavior. To be an adult in Muncy was to refrain from being messy—lifers and long-termers embodied this lifestyle best because they pointedly refused to engage in the he-said/she-said of prison life, as well as the fighting and the politics of same-sex relationships that prevailed in

Muncy. Instead, these inmates carried themselves with class and dignity, and others described them as humble.

Additionally, the significance of sentence length was evident in the narratives of inmates who described how those who had been incarcerated for longer periods had passed through the different responses to incarceration. A 20 year old, Hannah was serving 6-12 years for robbery.

The ones that have been here for awhile, like they have been where we were at one point when we came in-loud, hyper, mixed up in all this. They did that already. And a lot of them have gotten the...got that they weren't gonna get nowhere. They got it. They finally got it. After awhile, but they got it.

Implicit in Hannah's statement is the notion that shorter-term inmates were less frequently perceived as adults. Indeed, inmates who had recently arrived at Muncy or who expected to be released after a short sentence were more often perceived as immersed in the street-life behavior that characterized messy inmates' prison lives. Serving 20-60 years for kidnapping, Zelda was 34 years old.

So the short-timers, they really don't care what's important and what's not, 'cause this is just temporary and they're going home. You know what I mean? They don't even care about cleaning their room or their hygiene—they're going home.... Now the long-timers and the lifers, we're more on the know about our medical, you know, what laws pass, who got granted what, why we don't have our rights, why our rights getting stripped from us, you know, like certain things that happen in here and what not. We're more on that.

Jordan, 33, had been incarcerated for 7 years at the time of the interview. She explained that her first 3 years at Muncy were the hardest. She described herself as being in denial during these years, providing further support for the finding that the period directly following the incarceration event is the most chaotic. After the first few years, however, Jordan became involved in religious activities in the prison, and she concluded that she now felt like much more of an adult:

I: Okay, so based on your opinion now, do you feel like an adult now?

J: Yes. I think more. I think more.

I: About what kinds of things?

J: Just life in general. As far as choices, and career moves, and certain opportunities when I get out of here. I never thought about retirement, saving for retirement. You know, I think about those types of things now. Like life insurance.

Jordan's narrative reflects her commitment to traditional markers of adulthood, such as employment. Importantly, she emphasized that her interest in these conventional adult concerns developed only after several years in prison. Contrary to Clemmer's theory of prisonization, therefore, inmates who were in prison the longest appeared to develop more conventional rather than anti-social attitudes. Further, unlike Wheeler's theory of prisonization, these inmates conformed to conventional norms even if their release dates were uncertain and far away. Their conformity to these norms thus did not appear to be tied to a shedding of the prison culture as their release dates approached. Instead, it reflected the inmates' gradual socialization into the positive elements of the prison culture and their growing distance from the toxic "mix" in the prison, regardless of their release date.

In addition to the long-termers' views on their own status of adulthood, inmates in both the short-term category and recently-admitted category also agreed on the adult status of long-termers and lifers because they viewed these inmates as role models and mother figures. Joanna, 25, was serving 3 years, 1 month, 29 days–10 years for theft. When asked what kind of inmate she saw as an adult, she said, "It's generally your lifers and women that have been here for quite some time, you know? They've established within themselves the acceptance of reality. And I see them as like mother figures here."

That younger inmates such as Joanna, Hannah and Khloe saw older long-termers and lifers as mother figures is particularly significant because it reflects commitment to a very traditional—and very gendered—adult role for women. Prior literature (Celinska and Siegel, 2009; Enos, 2001) has extensively documented women prisoners' commitment to mothering and the motherhood role. The findings in this study suggest that this importance may be partially rooted in the fact that women consider motherhood to be a key part of their definition of adulthood. In the absence of the opportunity to mother conventionally, the inmates sought out ways to enact the mothering role even after years of being incarcerated. In fact, the inmates relied on this form of mothering as a unique way in which inmates could enact adulthood in the restrictive prison setting. Although the women in this sample resembled middle-class women in the community in their focus on independence (Aronson, 2008), unlike these women, the inmates did not downplay the significance of motherhood. Despite evidence of changing markers of adulthood among modern American women (Aronson, 2008), therefore, women prisoners in Muncy reflected conformity to motherhood as an age-old marker of adulthood that reflects gendered socialization.

Marie, for instance, is a 33-year-old lifer who said she did not think she would ever have children of her own. Instead, she was heavily involved in the puppy training program at Muncy. In fact, she shared, "I treat my dog like my child. [laughs] Like I act like she's my child." Marie also noted the importance in her life of an older inmate to whom Marie looked up as a role model. In response to a question about how she saw her life in 10 years, Ma-

rie said “Um, I wanna say outta here. [laughs] Yeah. If I was here, I’d probably be doing what my friend does. She’s been here 42 years and basically she just raises us young ones that come, that come in. Like me.” In this way, the lifers and long-termers were viewed as adults not only because they manifested the intangible markers of adulthood that the inmates relied upon, but also because they very actively enacted a role that is conventionally tied to adulthood among American women.

DISCUSSION

Like other modern American women, the inmates in this sample repeatedly noted that a sense of independence was crucial to their subjective sense of adulthood. Yet unlike most women, the inmates in this study live in an environment characterized by a lack of independence and control. Given this context, this study aimed to investigate how women inmates construct adulthood in the prison setting.

The findings of the study indicate that in spite of the lack of independence in prison, the women believe that it is possible to be an adult in prison. Instead of independence as a key indicator of adulthood, the inmates relied on intangible markers of adulthood such as carrying oneself with class and dignity. The inmates most likely to manifest these traits were those who had been incarcerated the longest. For analytic purposes, it can be concluded that lifers and long-term prisoners in Muncy were perceived as the adults for three reasons:

1. Despite the inmates’ rejection of the idea that age serves as a marker of adulthood in prison, many conflated lifers’ and long-termers’ age with their sentence length. As such, while many of the women expressed the belief that age is just a number in Muncy, they also recognized that the older long-termers and lifers were the inmates that they considered adults. Although this appears to be a contradiction in the inmates’ views, it can also be seen as reflective of the mixture of prison-specific and mainstream norms to which the inmates conform. The inmates were taken aback by the absence of age-appropriate behavior in prison, but their conflation of age and sentence length reflects their firm belief that age is an important determinant of adulthood generally. This finding is significant also because it suggests that the maturational process of aging out of anti-social behavior that researchers (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Laub & Sampson, 1993) have repeatedly documented persists even in the prison environment—an issue that prior research has not explored.
2. Although the inmates sometimes conflated the impact of sentence length with the natural process of aging out of

antisocial behavior in the prison, it is crucial to remember that these inmates underwent the aging process during a long prison sentence. Sentence length was thus more important than just age, and older inmates who had spent much of their adulthood in and out of prison (rather than in prison for a long, continuous stretch) were not viewed as adults. Although I do not causally test the relationship between sentence length and adulthood, the inmates' narratives suggest that the aging process over several years in the prison environment is the most important factor in shaping inmates' status as adults in Muncy. Indeed, there was strong evidence that long-termers and lifers were perceived as adults because they had undergone a long process of socialization in the prison setting. Specifically, long-termers and lifers had already cycled through the range of responses to their incarceration, and many inmates reported that their first few years in Muncy were the hardest. Having already passed through the chaotic phase of their incarceration that was marked by antisocial behavior, the long-termers and lifers were now at a stage of acceptance, a stage in which they also strove to help other (often younger) inmates. For this reason, they were considered role models and mother figures.

3. Finally, the women in this sample considered lifers and long-termers to be adults because, consistent with Arnett's (1997) discussion of markers of adulthood, they adhere to intangible markers of adulthood in prison such as carrying oneself with class and dignity and responding maturely to stressful or confrontational situations. These women's lack of involvement in the Muncy world, along with their seemingly-genuine efforts to give back convinced other inmates that they were the true adults in Muncy. It merits mention, however, that the young adults in Arnett's (1997) research who relied on these intangible markers of adulthood were not members of an ostracized population living in an extremely restricted environment. While the inmates' similar adherence to such markers of adulthood may be taken as further evidence of a shift in young Americans' conceptualization of adulthood, it is important to note that they relied on these markers specifically, and perhaps only, because of their restricted environment. Indeed, as mentioned, there was ample evidence of conformity to motherhood as a conventional marker of adulthood.

Contrary to older prisonization literature (Clemmer, 1940), there was little evidence in this study of an increase in anti-social behavior over a long period of incarceration. Instead, there was evidence of a decrease in such behavior. Moreover, there was no evidence that inmates underwent a recovery

period during which they shed of the prison culture as they drew closer to their release date (Wheeler, 1961). Consistent with the concept of prisonization, however, the long-term inmates and the lifers have, over time, become deeply ingrained in the prison culture, and their roles within this culture are significant. Despite this, limitations of the initial definition of prisonization as the “taking on in greater or less degree of the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of the penitentiary” (Clemmer, 1940, p. 299) are evident insofar as the culture the long-termers and lifers belong to is very different from that of the newer inmates. Indeed, it is difficult to pinpoint what the general culture of Muncy is, since the prison world of the newly-admitted inmates hardly resembles that of the long-termers and the lifers.

It is important to note that the distance that lifers and long-termers maintain from the politics of same-sex relationships and conflict in Muncy does not mean that they are distanced from the prison culture generally. Instead, there was evidence of a process of “positive prisonization,” whereby over time, the aging process in prison combined with the socialization of other prisoners who had been incarcerated for longer periods resulted in the inmates’ adoption of adult-like behavior. Through positive prisonization, inmates do absorb the prison culture, but also over time, learn to select those elements of the prison culture that most align with their own sense of adulthood. For instance, these inmates are closely involved in prison programs, and they are eager to support newer inmates as they transition into their time at Muncy. These long-term inmates eventually join networks of other inmates serving long sentences, eventually forming a closely-knit subculture that is generally prosocial and, according to many inmates in this study, the best manifestation of adulthood in prison.

Bosworth and Carrabine (2001, p. 501) have argued that penologists must be wary of assuming that “those who do not challenge authority accept the legitimacy of the institution.” The lifers and long-termers who were considered the true adults in Muncy were considered as such partly because of the distance they maintained from the Muncy world with its fighting and gossip. Yet this finding should not be taken to imply that these inmates accepted the legitimacy of the prison or those who controlled the inmates’ independence. Rather, those who had been incarcerated for a long time had already cycled through the more tumultuous responses to their incarceration; instead of accepting the authority of the prison environment, their attitudes now reflected an identity-protecting and coping strategy intended to ease their remaining time at Muncy and avoid granting the institution further control over their lives. Long-termers and lifers, having experienced the rebellious phases of their response to incarceration, also crystallized their identities as the adults of Muncy by acting as role models and mother figures to younger and newer inmates as a way of giving back.

With regard to markers of adulthood, the women noted that before they arrived in prison, they strongly believed that age was an important determi-

nant of adult status. After spending time in the prison environment and being exposed to other inmates' behaviors, however, they no longer posit that age and adulthood are closely tied, even though they recognize the importance of in their own self-appraisals. In spite of this latter belief (or perhaps because of the negative implications of this belief for their own identities), the inmates adopt intangible markers of adulthood instead of using age to define adulthood. By defining adulthood through intangible markers instead of age or independence, the inmates in this study were able to reconcile their lack of independence with their notions of adulthood.

Contrary to literature positing the development of anti-social norms in the prison environment, the women in this study did not describe alternative, antisocial markers of adulthood. It is important to note, however, that the inmates' questioning of their prior-held belief in the close tie between age and adulthood appears to be closely tied to their contact with the anti-social prison subculture (or the Muncy world) where age-prescribed norms do not hold weight as they do in the mainstream community. This finding is significant because the belief that age and adulthood are not closely related to one another may be especially problematic in the case of inmates in the emerging adulthood phase who are already off-time in making key transitions to adult roles.

Finally, given literature that suggests that offenders are more likely to desist if they feel like adults (Massoglia & Uggen, 2010), the inmates' belief that some women get stuck at a certain point in their life course because of their incarceration is practically and theoretically significant. The transition to adulthood appears to be a crucial period during which incarceration can result in positive changes that stem from prolonged self-reflection. It can also, however, result in a delayed (or non-existent) transition to adulthood if women believe that their social and emotional growth is stunted at the age at which they were incarcerated. More attention should thus be paid to the impact of incarceration on young women undergoing the transition to adulthood, specifically in the context of the women's subjective sense of adulthood.

CONCLUSION

The findings in this study indicate that the women in this sample actively construct definitions of adulthood that are consistent with their status as prisoners. Contrary to prior literature on the negative impact of the prison environment, however, these definitions of adulthood are neither antisocial nor unconventional. Instead, the women define adulthood by drawing on markers of adulthood similar to those employed by college-aged students in Arnett's (1997) research. Although women prisoners resemble women in the community in this way, we must be careful to note that prisoners do not have the luxury of choice that many women in Arnett's sample may enjoy. In fact, the inmates' reliance on intangible markers may be solely because they are

compelled to seek out alternative markers of adulthood while incarcerated. Nevertheless, Massoglia et al. (2011) have argued that criminologists should shift their focus away from the ways in which incarceration represents a unique life-course stage, and instead consider the ways in which it is similar to other transitions that individuals undergo in the life course. The results of this research suggest that criminology might benefit from a similar shift away from examinations of how prisoners are different from individuals in the community toward an investigation of how and why inmates resemble individuals outside prison.

The findings also suggest that lifers and long-term inmates represent a unique category of prisoners as the true adults in Muncy, and they are thus a group deserving of more scholarly attention. The inmates in the long-term category noted that their behavior was in turn shaped by the fact that they had already cycled through the more volatile phases of their incarceration. The implications of the positive impact of longer prison sentences outlined here must be addressed. Though the data in this study indicate that inmates' sense of adulthood is strengthened over longer prison sentences, much more comprehensive statistical analyses are needed to confirm whether there is a causal link between sentence length and a subjective sense of adulthood. The qualitative data used in this study are geared toward shedding light on how women inmates interpret and give meaning to their prison lives and identities. The finding that those who have been incarcerated the longest behave in the most conventionally adult manner should not be taken to mean that longer prison sentences result in the development of prosocial identities. Such a conclusion is beyond the reach of the data and methods employed here, and is one that future research can and should seek to evaluate.

Further, it is important to note that inmates who had been incarcerated the longest are seen as the true adults in Muncy. The finding that the long-term inmates and the lifers are seen as the adults in the prison environment should not be taken to mean that they would be able and willing to adopt conventional adult roles outside prison. In fact, their status as adults may be limited to the prison environment alone because they stand in stark contrast to inmates involved in the chaotic prison subculture known as the Muncy world. Whether or not these inmates would continue to feel adult, be perceived as adults, or be able to enact adulthood successfully once released is thus far from obvious. In the absence of more comprehensive data, we must thus be careful not to conclude that incarcerating offenders for longer periods would have the beneficial impact of making offenders feel or behave more adult once they are released. Rather, the findings of this study reveal the limits of prior conceptions of the prisonization process, and they point to the important and valuable role that lifers and long-termers play in the prison environment.

Finally, although the inmates in this study did not describe antisocial markers of adulthood when they were asked about their definitions of adult-

hood, it is important to note that some women who are heavily involved in the Muncy world may have chosen not to participate in this study and may in fact define adulthood using antisocial markers. Future researchers may focus exclusively on the women's prison culture as past researchers have (Heffernan, 1972; Owen, 1998), specifically to assess the salience of these antisocial norms and the extent to which they shape definitions of adulthood among the inmates.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Readers interested in issues of reflexivity and access in this study may review Janani Umamaheswar. 2014. "Gate-keeping and the Politics of Access to Prisons: Implications for Qualitative Prison Research." *Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice and Criminology* 2(2): 238-267.
- 2 The sentence length refers to the inmates' current sentence. While prisonization could have occurred over multiple sentences, like Wheeler (1961), I chose the current sentence length in order to assess how different periods of continuous incarceration appear to affect inmates' attitudes toward adulthood.
- 3 It is possible that some inmates were uncomfortable with being interviewed in an office in the Superintendent's building. While I had little choice in determining the precise location of the interviews, the inmates seemed comfortable in the setting. There were other inmates who were working or otherwise occupied in the same building, and many of the women I interviewed chatted informally with other inmates and correctional officers before and after the interview. The interviews were also conducted quite informally. The inmates were not constrained in any way, they sat next to me at a table (instead of across from me), and the door was always closed to ensure privacy.
- 4 Muncy's policy is to monitor inmates' mail randomly, and I was therefore unable to guarantee that facility officials would not read the inmates' letters. I made this fact clear to the inmates in the letter inviting them to participate in the second stage of the study. While some inmates may have chosen not to participate in the study because of concerns related to the confidentiality of their letters, many inmates seemed to appreciate the opportunity to correspond by mail. These inmates sent me letters that were often several pages long and that contained very sensitive, personal narratives that they had not shared in the interviews.
- 5 It is important to point out that the women referred to those inmates who had been incarcerated a long time as long-termers and lifers even though one could conceive of long-termers as those inmates who have long sentences, regardless of the amount of time they have already served. The definition of long-term inmates used by inmates was the same definition I chose to use in this study because of its intuitive appeal. Elicia,

for example, was serving a life sentence, but had been incarcerated for under one year at the time of the interview. Despite being a lifer in one sense, the inmates that the women in this sample thought of when they described lifers were those who had been incarcerated for many years.

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Book Review:

Adam Calverly, *Cultures of Desistance: Rehabilitation, Reintegration, and Ethnic Minorities*

Routledge, 2012; 230 pp.

ISBN: 978-0-415-62348-3

Reviewed by: Whitney Threadcraft-Walker, Texas Southern University, USA

Third in an international series investigating desistance and rehabilitation, Adam Calverly's *Cultures of Desistance* builds on the extant desistance literature through a comparative analysis of the impact of micro-, meso-, and macro- level factors on the processes associated with criminal disengagement on Indian, Bangladeshi and Black/Dual Heritage offenders in the Brixton neighborhood of London. The author has previously established expertise in the area of ethnicity and desistance through such as *Understanding Desistance from Crime: Emerging Theoretical Directions in Resettlement and Rehabilitation* (2005) co-authored with Steve Farrell and *Black and Asian Offenders on Probationers* (2004). Much of the data presented in *Cultures of Desistance* was originally gathered as a part of the author's doctoral dissertation. Currently, Calverly holds a position as a lecturer in Criminology at the University of Hull.

In his introduction, Calverly states his central research question clearly: "What are the factors and processes associated with desistance from crime among some of the UK's principal minority ethnic groups?" (p. 4). Hypostatizing the redemptive narratives of Rois Ali and Levi Roots, Calverly explores the transition from offender to law abiding (even successful) member of society. Speaking to the larger contextual issue, Calverly questions whether the processes that influenced desistance for Rois Ali and Levi Roots are specific to the individuals themselves or whether they are indicative of disengagement for members of each respective ethnic group. The author's inductive approach to desistance constitutes a welcomed departure from previous studies; he weaves together both structural (i.e. family, friends, and employment) and cultural (i.e. religion, values, recognition) level indicators, serving to not only posit contextual factors of the individual offender but, also, illustrate the backdrop in which their choices to desist occur.

Having established the overall direction for his tome, the author then embarks upon a review and critique of relevant literature, covering the ins and outs of ethnicity, desistance, and crime. Calverly clearly argues that ethniciti-

ty should enjoy similar prominence among theories seeking to explain desistance. *Cultures of Desistance* differs from previous research; it maintains that critiques of why individuals turn from crime should include feedback from those engaged in the process. This feedback should then be integrated into programs, policies, and initiatives to aid desistance. Additionally, the author argues that desistance is best thought of as a process rather than an event, a novel approach that accounts for a more accurate depiction of the dynamic interplay between micro-, meso-, and macro- level impediments faced by desisters and would-be desisters.

A detailed outline of methodology comprises Chapter 3. Calverly's analysis involves 34 one-on-one semi-structured interviews. The author painstakingly details the processes of selecting and interviewing participants for the study, which included former offenders and supervisory staff who worked with these individuals in a professional capacity. He also describes the demographic characteristics of his sample including ethnicity, age at first conviction, and current sentence status at the time of interview before explaining the qualitative analytic approach adopted to make sense of his data.

The next three chapters (4, 5, and 6) follow members of each respective ethnic group under study, detailing their individual experiences of rehabilitation and reintegration. While examining the processes associated with desistance amongst the ethnic minority offenders under study, Calverly demonstrates that family is a strong factor influencing desistance among the Indian and Bangladeshi participants. Through a system of financial, social and sometimes spiritual support, Indian and Bangladeshi families are able to act as a safety net for those likely to fall back into criminal activity. While findings for Indian and Bangladeshi offenders emphasize the central role of family on desistance, data suggest unanticipated results for Black/Dual Heritage offenders and their families. Specifically, Calverly posits that key factors like endemic poverty and institutional discrimination adversely impacted the network of social and economic support available to Black/Dual heritage offenders, effectively diminishing the Black/Dual Heritage families' protective power. This lack of a safety net, Calverly argues, leads to increased susceptibility to criminogenic environments for Black/Dual heritage offenders as they are left to identify innovative means for survival. In addition to the attention Calverly rightly draws to ethnicity and desistance, his work also serves as an impetus for further study into the differential needs of ethnic minorities vis a vis rehabilitation and reintegration, in an effort to provide for more accurate and effective allocation of time and resources.

In sum, *Cultures of Desistance* is a worthwhile contribution to the body of knowledge on desistance. However, the intricate methodology section and lofty themes throughout may be too difficult for the lay reader. For this reason, this text may be best for academics, experienced practitioners, and policymakers. Moreover, although Calverly's decision to limit the analysis to desisters was understandable given the already expansive scope of the

study, it would have been interesting to see the author compare desisters to a sample of individuals who persisted in their criminal engagement, as well as individuals without any formal criminal history in order to identify compositional differences between groups. Moreover, it would have been enlightening if more differentiation between African, Caribbean, and Dual Heritage desisters and their families were presented because the cultural traditions of these members of the African Diaspora are not monolithic in nature. Despite these concerns, *Cultures of Desistance* stands as a well-crafted, exploratory accounting of the influence of ethnicity on the path to rehabilitation and reintegration.

Book Review:**Michael Welch, *Escape to Prison: Penal Tourism and the Pull of Punishment***

**University of California Press, 2015; 280 pp.;
ISBN: 978-0-520-28616-0**

Reviewed by: Lindsey L. Upton, Old Dominion University, USA

Prisons and asylums are unique institutions of confinement that attract our gaze long after they are abandoned. In *Escape to Prison*, Michael Welch draws attention to ten prison museums across the world where the histories of punishment and control found in each respective culture are presented for our consumption. Welch analyzes prison museums as sites of power and authority. *Escape to Prison* is an invaluable contribution to cultural criminology because it studies each prison museum in the context of their respective cultures and provides connections between dark tourism and the history of punishment across the globe.

A number of things qualify Michael Welch to write a piece on penal tourism. One does not have to look far into his vitae to find extensive scholarship that focuses on punishment, prisons, the State, and media. His past work, guided by Durkheim and Foucault, on State power and prisons is published in several national and international journals and translated into several languages. *Escape to Prison* documents his recent visits to prison museums through manuscripts that are published in major criminology and criminal justice journals. Welch effectively connects each chapter with previous chapters, using a style that brings the readers from the historical to the present, as if they are experiencing the museum for themselves. Much like the tour itself, *Escape to Prison* ends with analysis of the gift shop at the exit. His extensive scholarship in this area and international appointments at universities (including the UK, Italy, Argentina and Australia) contribute his qualifications for publishing this piece on penal tourism.

Escape to Prison fuses literature at the intersections of cultural sociology of punishment, governance, and dark tourism. Neo-Durkheimian and Foucauldian theoretical frameworks are used to take the reader through the reconstruction of each prison's history, meanwhile comparing the power of politics and science that existed at each site. Over the course of a few years, Welch visited ten prison museums in Argentina, the United States, South Korea, South Africa, Australia, and more. He conducted case studies of each museum and published a series of articles that are brought together in this book. Fundamental to his analysis is the way the museum is organized and

portrayed to enhance the effect of museum displays in storytelling—or as he calls it, “museum effects.” Welch argues that the symbolism found in each museum reiterates social values, punitive practices, and existing social order. For example, the powerful influence of religion found both presently and in the history of punishment is evident in the construction of the Argentine Penitentiary Museum. Comparatively, Hyde Park Barracks museum in New South Wales and Old Melbourne Gaol museum in Australia focus less on the role of religion and more on signs of struggle for human rights. Welch argues that the narrative found in each museum is situated in the context of its culture where varied influences of the Church and State are found and is occasionally sanitized by the representations found in the museum.

Imagery and the reconstruction of the prison spaces, both internal and external to the prison, further narrate messages of governance and confinement. First, space is examined through insight into the architectural designs and the role of architects and city planners. *Architectural parlante*—the “speaking architecture” (p. 79)—and the significance found in physical structure to tell a story is analyzed at each prison. Welch discusses the ways the prison is situated in the community to send messages of the prison’s purpose, namely to “reinforce the prison museum’s actual sitedness from which it acquires its social authority” (p. 45). For example, Alcatraz (United States) and Robben Island (South Africa) are fixed structures; its surrounding communities are constantly in view of the prison and are reminded of its social authority. Welch says “they exude a strong phenomenological and cultural presence” (p. 46).

Welch’s study examines the role of religion and work as forms of discipline. First, Durkheimian socio-religious constructs provide insight into governing powers of religion found in the prison. Ideas of the sacred and pure reiterate the need for “society’s normative solidarity, group identification, and collective action” (p. 112). The prison itself, as well as its museum, serve to further produce thoughts concerning church and state and their place across time and place. In addition to the creation of moral purity through imprisonment (Ch 5), economic productivity found in the history is analyzed (Ch 6). Like religion, work has served as a way to punish and exploit the poor, such as in the Clink museum where stories are shared about inmates with unpaid debts. Work is also used as a reward for inmates—at Eastern State Penitentiary inmates were rewarded with work, both inside and outside of the prison, for good moral behavior. Work and religion are used as both concept and reality by the penitentiary to further correct the immoral, impure population within its walls.

The influence of positivism and science found in the history of prisons is also discussed. Human suffering, pain, and experimentation are found at each museum. From the instruments of torture on display at the Clink museum to the physics of hanging discussed at the Melbourne Gaol, the convicts’ suffering is rationalized through the quest for scientific knowledge (Ch 7).

Further, connections are drawn from dark tourism and cultural criminology to illustrate both entertainment and repulsion found in the histories of prisons that sanitize suffering by using the terms scientific knowledge (Ch 7) and colonialism (Ch 8), and excusing actions by calling them humane progression in an evolved world. Through the exhibits, tourists learn about the rise of colonial authority, forms of resistance, and alternative ideas of rehabilitation found in the prison. Welch describes the Hong Kong Correctional Services Museum's dedication to humane treatment of offenders as a response to the historically brutal punishment of the British Empire. The cultural imagination is engaged to participate in museum displays of science and suffering and is left with a sense of progressive reform in the prison system. Welch suggests this further legitimizes the criminal justice machine as a science.

A key weakness of Welch's book concerns race, class, and gender—scant anecdotal histories of punishment, immigration, and gender are provided. Although the inequalities of race, class, gender, and sexuality are briefly touched upon in various spots, the text would benefit from further consideration of the presence or absence of these found in prison museums today. Perhaps a future book of its own (or another edition) would provide further analysis into what is sanitized from the narratives found at each museum. Particularly, what is missing are narratives of women and children in relation to the prison system and how it relates to politics of their time. We often fail to see youth as part of this narrative, however youth have long been a part of the criminal justice system. The brief discussions spark important curiosity into specifically how curators relay narratives surrounding race, class, gender, sexuality, and age. Welch begins to intellectually contemplate this investigation as it relates to the social, political, and cultural histories found at the 10 sites, and beyond; however this would make an interesting point if further analyzed in future work.

A second weakness found in this study concerns the implications for future policy and work. During a number of the pages, Welch emphasizes the importance of history in understanding the present and future of prisons. He sees the museum as reiterating longstanding practices and beliefs that underpin the penal system; however, insight into why it matters for future policy and implication would be fascinating given his expansive study on this subject. Specifically how we see the current politics of the prison industry being relevant to the histories is examined.

Escape to Prison is an effective tool for examining the cultural power of punishment over time. Each prison tour provides an experience of power and authority that continues to govern the visitor as it once governed those it incarcerated. Prison tours from Alcatraz to the Argentine Penitentiary included in this book provide an invaluable critical contribution to the growth of cultural criminology and dark tourism literature that critiques forms of governance consumed today while examining their power to further produce legitimacy of incarceration.

Book reviews typically focus on new noteworthy books based on topics relevant to the particular journal. For JQCJC, this means qualitative studies and research methods books focusing on qualitative methodologies. Once a book has passed its expiration date—typically one to three years after publication—the book is no longer considered fresh and worth reviewing. Over time, however, some books which should not be forgotten or neglected seem to fall by the way-side. Here at JQCJC, we believe that it is worth revisiting these works and evaluating their contributions (or potential contributions) to the discipline. With that goal in mind, most issues of JQCJC include a historical book review of a noteworthy but underappreciated work with the intent to make the old relevant once again. Hopefully these reviews will encourage scholars to sift through the academic waste bin, as Jeff Ferrell might say, to find works which have been discarded or overlooked but still have much to offer Criminal Justice and Criminology.

*Kevin F. Steinmetz
Book Review Editor*

Historical Book Review: Shaw, Clifford, *The Jack Roller*

**University of Chicago Press, 1930; 205 pp.;
ISBN: 0-226-75126-0**

Reviewed by: Richard Tewksbury, University of Louisville, USA

Learn from the classics. Understand where you came from. Know the past so you won't repeat it. Be informed about those that have preceded you. Find the foundation your own work is based upon. All of these are viable, valuable, and unfortunately, often unheeded pearls of wisdom. I, for one, can admit that while I've espoused these lessons many times, I have not adhered to my own advice. Although we all are well versed (at least for an undergraduate level lecture or two) on the history of our field and the influential scholars and works of the field, unfortunately far too many of us have ignored or simply glossed over the classics in criminology and criminal justice. From that perspective I approached the task of reading and reviewing Clifford Shaw's *The Jack Roller*.

What I found when I read this book—yes, admittedly for the first time—was a text rich with ideas, theoretical concepts, and evidence to support many of our present day theories and beliefs about crime, criminals, and criminal justice. Yes, the book was published nearly one hundred years ago (1930), and at times the language appears outdated and quaint; some particulars of the stories reference processes and structures that have changed significantly (riding street cars, working for 33 cents/hour, etc.); however, the first person narrative style, the core ideas, and understandings are consistent with today's experiences. If nothing else, the reading provides evidence to support nearly any contemporary theory of criminology.

The Jack Roller is a book about a young criminal, Stanley, and his early-in-life development of delinquent and criminal ways. Through a retrospective account of his life, Stanley offers readers insights into his personality, his thinking patterns, his social world, and what readers can quickly see as the universality of social forces that create, maintain, occasionally intensify, and sometimes attempt to ameliorate delinquent and criminal behaviors. Stanley is not just a product of his environment or his historical time, Stanley is more. In a reading of *The Jack Roller* today, one is shown that there is a core set of social experiences that constitute being a small-time, chronic offender. This stands then at the core of what we endeavor to understand in our discipline, why does crime happen? Here we look at the small time offender, one easily characterized as a social nuisance and bothersome, although not necessarily dangerous or predatory. Stanley is a regular criminal, not an extreme case,

not a high profile offender. To read about and understand Stanley's life and criminal career is to understand how and why crime happens. To see the beginning of delinquency and criminality is to see it at its foundation. Stanley is the vessel for teaching the fundamentals of criminology, even though Shaw undoubtedly never realized the ubiquity of Stanley's story for his time, or the subsequent century.

The story of Stanley begins with his dabbling in theft and truancy at the age of 6. Due to the death of his mother and his father's remarriage, Stanley finds himself in a new world, with new people, and new social norms. Stanley's inability to adapt to the new social context turns his attention outward and pushes him toward his (older) peers and their subcultural ways of life. Through attempts to escape an overcrowded, poor, and abusive home, Stanley turns to the streets of Chicago for exciting adventures, numerous repeated encounters with the police, court interventions, and periods of brief incarceration and in so doing, develops into an independent, self-reliant, rebellious, and authority-resisting adolescent. Within 10 short years, Stanley goes from being yet another forgotten-about child in poverty to being a skilled thief, burglar, and robber (*jack rolling* drunks) with an advanced education in living and surviving in jail, prison, and on the streets. Stanley encounters numerous officials (sometimes caring and sometimes indifferent) as well as socially conscious and well-intended community members and officials who intervene on his behalf. As we know today, sometimes these interventions work, sometimes they do not. For most of Stanley's life, the interventions are both minimal and ineffective. Yes, incarceration and caring interventions sometimes help him out, but only for a short period. The lasting effects of any interventions are not realized, largely because the interventions are simplistic or last only a specified length of time, and then Stanley is "free" once again. Coupled with treatment in what he perceived as either abusive or overly rigid institutions, Stanley develops a resentment of authority and a life view absent the ability to see long term. In the end, as a result of the intervention of "Mr. Shaw" and his resources, redemption is achieved. At the same time, the effective interventions come at about the time in life that we know criminals age out of offending. Considering his stage of life (not chronological age), Stanley does more or less age out of his criminal ways, finds love and support in a family setting, and establishes a life in a mainstream, non-criminal, supportive family and community. Seemingly, Stanley ends with the American dream.

While a very enjoyable and realistic read, it is not the particulars of Stanley's story that are the primary contribution of this book. What stands, at least today, as the big contributions of *The Jack Roller* are two issues. First, the story of delinquency and crime in the 1920s and 1930s transcends time and could very, very easily be a story from the 1990s or today. Second, reading a classic such as this reminds and reinforces for scholars the contributions that can be gained by seeing the insights afforded through a life history

method and appreciating that we can make arguments, propose and support theory, and make conclusions about the efficacy and efficiency of structured criminal justice and other processes without statistics and citations. The story of Stanley is educational and convincing, but completely devoid of contemporary indicators of quality of research or scientific proof.

The timelessness of the story is the first thing that struck me as I read this. I opened the book thinking it would be different and quaint, because it reflects a socio-historical period in which day to day life was very different from today. However, I found a story and issues that were familiar and predictable, because of the parallels to what we know about crime and criminals today. Certainly the fact that Stanley's juvenile parole officer was one of two for the city of Chicago would be astonishing today, but the challenges of his parole officer (large caseloads, few alternatives for responding to violations, communications difficulties with clients and other system agencies) are those we still know today. Throughout his young life, Stanley frequently relies on stealing for daily survival, for there are no or no reliable social services to provide him with a stable and safe lifestyle. Today, our ex-offenders face similar circumstances. Today, we may have reliable transportation, cell phones, and instant access to almost any information at our fingertips, but the problems and challenges of managing stigma, a lack of resources, and bureaucratic organizations that have a limited scope of influence all persist. What we know today is seen clearly and consistently in the experiences recounted here, from nearly a century ago.

As a criminologist, it would be impossible to read the text and not repeatedly have "aha!" moments. Throughout Stanley's story there are incidents and his own reflexive observations that point to the issues and theories we know so well today. In every instance and every story, there are issues of social learning, differential association, social control theory, labeling, biological and cultural issues, and many more. Whether it is Stanley consciously rebelling against his abusive step-mother and leaving the house to find someone upon whom to take out his frustrations, or when he is essentially sitting at the feet of older, wiser, more-criminally involved inmates and learning their stories and techniques of stealing, or at times when he is reminiscing about how only his old friends in the old neighborhood can understand him—these are clearly incidents reflective of our theories of crime today. And although such points are obvious and rather blatant today, for those who do not catch the significance of such events, Shaw steps in to point out such theoretical points in well placed footnotes throughout the text. This is done in a manner to help the reader and serve as a reminder of the relevance of a point, not as a way to cite sources or name issues. Even those readers who get caught up in the minutiae of Stanley's life story will come away with insights and understandings of the *why* for Stanley's criminality.

The second significant contribution of this book today is that it serves as a reminder that understanding crime, criminals, and justice agencies is

our goal, and that we can achieve that goal in many ways. *The Jack Roller* is a book about a boy, one boy, and his context-specific challenges, behaviors, and thoughts. And when taken as a whole, it is easy to see the ways that these specifics aggregate to produce the man that Stanley becomes. We learn *why* by being shown *why*. We do not learn *why* by reading about others or commonalities of offenders or variables and their isolated effects on behavior. There are no citations to prove the points that Shaw presents; there is only the case study and its particulars. Readers are not introduced to a theory, and there is no explanation of how specifics fit or do not fit a particular theory. There is only the well told story of events and how Stanley experienced them. Viewing his attempts to maneuver in the social, economic, political, and cultural context of his time and place provides an understanding of who he is, how he feels, and why he behaves as he does. Yet, despite the fact that Shaw avoids coming out to tell us *why* and how Stanley became the criminal he did, readers come away having seen it happen through Stanley's eyes. As such, a different depth of understanding develops; the reader truly knows how it is that Stanley ended up who he is and why his life progresses in the steps that are taken. Shaw teaches his readers, but in a subtle, conversational, and easy to read way.

As I completed the text, I could not help but think "I should read more stuff like this." But, the fact is, I do read a lot of qualitative, especially ethnographic, work. But, very rarely do I remember reading something that allowed me to come away thinking that everything made sense and all fit together very nicely. Many of the books that my graduate students read lead them to point out weaknesses in an argument or places where arguments are weakened or broken. Here where there are "just the facts" of the case laid out, this may be less likely to occur. So, logically then, why do we not have students read things like this anymore? Yes, we have newer, more historically relevant to today, theoretically rich and driven accounts of crime and criminals. But, do we have things that teach us without us realizing it? Do we have texts that show that to *understand* is what we are striving for, and that we can get to that point without hypotheses, research questions, careful operationalization of variables, and all of the other newest, shiniest, most-impressive techniques for collecting and analyzing data? Such texts today would seem few and far between. However, here in one of the classics—a book that nearly all criminology students have certainly heard of, but probably never read—is exactly that type of text.

Students and scholars would be well advised to return to the classics, not so much so as to learn what we do not yet know, but to be reminded about what we do our studies for, and how perhaps our best evidence may be seen in identifying commonalities across time and settings and particulars. It is in this realization—with only a few details about stories adjusted—that we can identify processes, structures, and interactions which serve as the foundation for the causes of crime.

The knowledge for which we strive is more universal than we sometimes remember and definitely more universal than whatever statistical sense of generalizability that we may (or may not) be able to achieve with our advanced methodologies of today. *The Jack Roller* served to remind me of this and to reinforce the idea that we can learn and make convincing arguments in many different ways. Perhaps we need to revisit the classics. Perhaps today's budding criminological scholars should be exposed to the classics and not just as a sentence or two in an introductory book. To look back at from where we have come can be extremely beneficial. If we want to advance in our understandings and approaches, sometimes we need to go back to the beginning and remind ourselves of how and why we embarked on our quest for knowledge and understanding in the first place. To (re)read the classics is to be reminded of our past and to have our grasp and means of working in the present reinforced.

Clifford Shaw's *The Jack Roller* is a book I am very happy I (finally) read. My students will be reading it, too. I am certain that at least initially they will protest and claim to not understand why such an old book would be relevant to their lives and learning. But once they begin, I am certain that the recognition of concepts, theories, and understandings we have about crime, criminals, and criminal justice will be sparked, and they will come to appreciate how the basics of an argument remain relevant in the 21st century.



CALL FOR PAPERS

SPECIAL ISSUE:
Recognizing 100 Years of Criminal Justice Education

**Guest Editor: Willard M. Oliver,
Sam Houston State University/ACJS Historian**

**September 2016 Issue
Deadline: March 1, 2016**

In the summer of 1916, Berkeley Police Chief August Vollmer, working with the University of California at Berkeley, began a program in higher education for his police officers that earned them a college degree. In time, the program was opened to non-police officers as well. From 1929 to 1931, Vollmer served as the first Professor of Policing at the University of Chicago, and after his retirement from the Berkeley Police Department in 1932, he served as a full-time Professor of Policing at the University of California. The policing program, titled "Criminology" at the time, was the antecedents for modern day Criminal Justice Education. Therefore, in the summer of 2016, Criminal Justice Education will celebrate its 100th anniversary. In recognition of this anniversary, the *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* will feature a special issue containing articles that pertain to the history of criminal justice education.

Topics may include, but are not limited to:

- Histories of early police training programs and their contribution to CJ education
- History of early colleges/universities that impacted the development of CJ education
- The specific contributions of early police leaders and/or police scholars to CJ education
- The development of Criminal Justice curriculum over the past 100 years
- The historical development of Ph.D programs in CJ education
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THE FUTURES OF QUALITATIVE INQUIRIES JANUARY 14-16, 2016

Twenty-five years ago we started The Qualitative Report (TQR) in a world much different than we see today in education, business, and technology; and in our lives in general. The degree to which qualitative research was practiced, published, and appreciated was in distinct contrast to its wider distribution, acceptance, and popularity today. How this quarter century of expansion and proliferation predicts the next twenty-five years for qualitative research is debatable, but we at TQR want to explore this topic in a year long inquiry into yesterday, today, and tomorrow. We started the process in earnest at the sixth The Qualitative Report annual Conference when Sally St. George, Dan Wulff, and Ron Chenail presented some of the main trends of qualitative inquiry, product, and training from 1980's to 2014 and suggested some possible new and novel trajectories for 2015 and beyond. We then outlined the activities the TQR community will sponsor all 2015 culminating in the 2016 TQR conference with its theme, "The Futures of Qualitative Inquiries." Following what author William Gibson once observed, "The future is already here—it's just not very evenly distributed," we think many things which will become typical and widespread in the next two decades and half could very well be slightly obscured and overlooked today. We want to spend the next year surfacing some of these soon-to-be difference makers.

So, please join us in this time traveling adventure by submitting your presentation ideas for The Qualitative Report Seventh Annual Conference. Every year since 2010, we have invited qualitative research practitioners, faculty, and students from around the world to join us on the Nova Southeastern University campus for TQR16 so please consider coming to South Florida in January of 2016 for our three day event organized around our theme "The Futures of Qualitative Inquiries" by sending us your creative ideas for paper and panel presentations, as well as, intensive workshops. We encourage prospective presenters to submit proposals that will inspire conference attendees to consider and re-consider qualitative research's future.

We will be accepting submissions from February 1st to April 30th, 2015. The Conference will be taking place at Nova Southeastern University from January 14-16, 2016. Over the next few weeks we will share more details about [TQR 2016 conference page](#). As always, please let us know your questions and comments by sending us your emails to tqr@nova.edu posting to our Facebook page, or by tweeting us!

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