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Race, Racism, & Crime:
An Empirical Assessment of African American Offending

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By

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B.S. & B.A., University of Georgia, 2006
M.S., Northeastern University, 2009

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An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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Abstract

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In the United States, African Americans are disproportionately more likely to be arrested and incarcerated. Much of this disparity may be explained by the overrepresentation of African Americans in disadvantaged neighborhoods or the systemic discrimination within the criminal justice system. Self-report and victimization data, however, still reveal significant racial differences in criminal behavior. The theory of African American offending (TAAO) posits African Americans experience racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices which lead to negative emotions and weakened social bonds and increase the likelihood of offending. TAAO brings race central to the understanding of offending by emphasizing the significance of racial socialization as a conditioning factor in African Americans' pathway to crime. Agnew's racialized general strain theory (RGST), relatedly, argues African Americans are more likely to experience strains that are conducive to crime, in addition to racial discrimination. Due to their unique history and resultant social position, African Americans are hypothesized to be more likely to encounter economic strains, familial strains, educational strains, community strains, as well as strains such as prejudice and victimization. African Americans are more likely to view these strains as unjust increasing the likelihood of negative affect, particularly anger. The present study examines the utility of TAAO and RGST to explain serious and violent offending and substance use among an economically diverse sample of youth and young adult African Americans from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods data. This work adds considerable knowledge on a unique and vital portion of the American population and their offending behaviors.

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Chapter One

An Introduction

At the heart of the problem is the fact that the United States is a racially divided nation where extreme racial inequalities continue to persist. ~Robert Bullard

Racism is cruel and unjust. It cuts and lingers long in individual and community memories. And it is not a thing of the past… We all have a duty to do what we can to turn this around.
~William Deane

What does it mean to be black in America? How does race impact one's daily interactions in a racially stratified society? How does a racial history rooted in slavery, oppression, injustice, and discrimination influence one's outlook on the American social world? Over a century ago, W.E.B. Du Bois (1898, 1899) declared that such questions should guide any understanding of racial disparity in America, including any theory of African American offending. The race and crime relationship has been debated, studied, and theorized about since before the emergence of criminology as a discipline (Engel & Swartz, 2014; Walker, 1990). Scholars continually report the overrepresentation of African Americans, particularly males, across all forms of crime statistics (e.g., Bucerius & Tonry, 2014; Guerino, Harrison, & Sabol, 2012; Peterson, Krivo, & Hagan, 2006; Provine, 2007; Tonry, 2011; Unnever, 2014) and proclaim that these continued disparities demand explanation (Martin, McCarthy, Conger, Gibbons, Simons, Cutrona, & Brody, 2010). Extensive lines of research and theorizing have battled with these issues providing vital insight into the relationship between race and crime.

From a critical perspective, scholars suggest structural racism exist within public and crime control policies to maintain the status quo of a racial hierarchy in America (e.g., Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Reiman, 2007; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Tonry, 2004,

2011). While systemic discrimination within the criminal justice system, what Alexander (2010) calls the "New Jim Crow," may explain much of the disparity in arrest and incarceration data, self-report and victimization data still demonstrate significant racial differences in offending (e.g., Elliot, Huizinga, & Morse, 1986; Like-Haislip, 2014; Johnston, O'Malley, Miech, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2014). Much attention has been placed on structural and social conditions that may contribute to understanding this remaining disparity.

Ecological theorists suggest African Americans disproportionately reside in disadvantaged areas marked by residential mobility, economic deprivation, family disruption, and low collective efficacy (Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Sampson, 2013). Such spatial segregation reinforces racial stratification as it impacts school quality, political representation, government services, and employment opportunities (Peterson, 2012). In other words, racial inequality in the United States pushes lower-income African Americans into living situations where they have little connection with mainstream institutions and must navigate neighborhoods where violence thrives. Residency in such areas leads to the internalization of the code of the street, which condones the use of violence as a means for respect, according to subcultural theorists (Anderson, 1999).

Leading micro-level theories of crime also provide insight into the relationship between race and offending. Control theorists suggest black youth have weaker bonds to conventional others and institutions, such as parents, teachers, and school. Additionally, they argue black youth are under less direct control from parents and neighbors, freeing them to commit crime. Furthermore, the lack of monitoring and consistent sanctioning lead to lower levels of self-control for black youth (e.g., Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005;

Oshinsky, 1997; Unnever, Cullen, Mathers, McClure, & Allison, 2009). Social learning theorists proclaim African Americans disproportionately live in underprivileged areas increasing their likelihood of associating with deviant others and internalizing deviant beliefs (Akers, 2009; Burgess & Akers, 1966). And finally, general strain theory suggests African Americans are more likely to suffer certain criminogenic strains than other racial groups. For instance, a disproportionate number of African Americans live in poverty, which increases the likelihood of residing in disadvantaged communities with high levels of violence and a lack of cohesion, as well as experiencing family tensions and disruptions. Furthermore, African Americans exceedingly encounter discrimination, prejudice, and victimization. Such strains are likely to be perceived as unjust increasing the likelihood of responding with anger and crime (Agnew, 2006; Kaufman, Rebellon, Thaxton, & Agnew, 2008). Thus, African Americans' position in America's stratified society limits legitimate opportunity, lowers control, supports beliefs conducive to crime, and increases strain in turn increasing their likelihood of offending.

While much is known from such inquires, the majority of African Americans – including those residing in economically disadvantaged areas and who frequently face a variety of strains – do not offend. The extant literature fails to account for the complexity of race, particularly African Americans' unique history, social position, and resulting worldview in the understanding of variations in African American offending. Recently, Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) answered the call of Du Bois and aimed to fill this gap in the literature with the theory of African American offending (TAAO). At its core, TAAO argues African American offending results from the cumulative effects of "being black in a racially stratified society with conflicted race relations" (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011, p.

174), specifically focusing on the impacts of racial discrimination, racialized criminal justice injustices, and racial socialization. This dissertation provides one of the first empirical assessments of TAAO. Additionally, I draw upon general strain theory (GST) to expand TAAO's explanation highlighting other strains that disproportionally affect African Americans as well as the differential effects of anger and depression on their likelihood of offending (Agnew, 1992, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008).

This research is vital as few scholars have actively engaged in "black criminology," focusing on the unique lived experiences of African Americans by bringing the role of race and racism central to understanding African American offending. Leading crime theories generally suggest African Americans' position in America's stratified society limits legitimate opportunity (Anderson, 1999; Sampson & Wilson, 1995), lowers control (Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Oshinsky, 1997; Unnever et al., 2009), supports beliefs conducive to crime (Akers, 2009; Burgess & Akers, 1966), and increases strain (Agnew, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008), in turn increasing their likelihood of offending. Such thinking has led to "add and stir" approaches to theory testing of racial differences. In other words, much extant research includes race as a control instead of identifying unique factors that may impact certain groups – in this case, African Americans. I highlight three such factors – racial discrimination, racialized criminal justice injustices, and racial socialization – as distinct indicators predicting within groups differences in offending for African Americans.

In the subsequent chapters, I first discuss the relationship between race and crime, presenting statistics from official data as well as self-report surveys followed by an overview of prior explanations of African American offending. I then layout my

theoretical framework, pointing out how TAAO builds off prior understandings and integrating Unnever and Gabbidon's hypotheses with racialized general strain theory. To assess my hypotheses, I employ secondary data analysis of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) data. The PHDCN data are ideal for this foundational analysis due to the inclusion of all central theoretical variables, additional theoretical controls, known correlates of crime, as well as community characteristics, allowing for one of the most thorough assessments of TAAO and RGST, independently, to date. I close with a discussion of the theoretical significance and potential policy implications, but now I turn to a review of crime statistics and criminological theory highlighting the disparities faced by African Americans.

Chapter Two

Race and Crime: The Statistics and Theories

Crime is not evenly distributed across the population. Whites account for

approximately 78 percent of the U.S. population while African Americans comprise

about 13 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Yet in 2011, 69.2 percent of all arrestees

were white and 28.4 percent were African American.[1] African Americans are

disproportionately represented in most arrest statistics – they are more than twice as

likely to be arrested in general and nearly four times more likely to be arrested for murder

and robbery. Furthermore, African Americans accounted for approximately 50 percent of

arrests for murder and non-negligent homicides and 56 percent of robberies (*Crimes in*

the United States, 2012). Additionally, arrests statistics suggest African American males,

who comprise approximately 6 percent of the American population, account for nearly

half of all arrests for the most violent crimes (e.g., murder, rape, robbery) annually in the

United States (*Crimes in the United States,* 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Likewise,

African Americans are between 2 to 11 times more likely to be arrested on drug charges

than whites, depending on the location in the United States (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

Black females, also, are five times more like to be arrested for murder and nine times

more likely to be arrested for violence than white females of similar class status (Males,

2008).

Racial disparities are also seen in incarceration rates. In 2010, whites accounted

for more than 44 percent and African Americans nearly 38 percent of inmates (Minton,

2011). In relation to the American population, African Americans are incarcerated at a

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[1] Similarly to the U.S. Census, the Federal Bureau of Investigations reports race and ethnicity
independently. Thus, those classified as "white" or "African American" are not necessarily Non-Hispanic,
and vice versa. See http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/crimestats for further discussion.

rate six times higher than whites, with black males imprisoned at a rate seven times higher than white males (Guerino et al., 2012). Nearly 70 percent of African American males with less than a high school education will spend time behind bars at some point in their lifetime (Pettit & Western, 2004). Relatedly, one in eight African American men in their 20s is in jail or prison on any given day (The Sentencing Project, 2010). African American offenders receive sentences 10 to 20 percent longer than white offenders for the same offenses (Sentencing Times, 2009). Black youth are also overrepresented in the criminal justice system. They account for approximately 16 percent of the American youth population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), but in 2011, black youth accounted for about 33 percent of all juvenile arrests, 51 percent of violent offenses, 41 percent of homicides, and 72 percent of robberies (*Crimes in the United States,* 2012).

While systemic discrimination within the criminal justice system, such as biased police practices and legal proceedings, explain much of the racial disparities in arrest and incarceration rates (e.g., Alexander, 2010; Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Reiman, 2007; Russell-Brown, 2009; Schlesinger, 2011; Tonry, 2004), self-report and victimization data still demonstrate there are significant racial differences in deviant and criminal behavior (e.g., Elliott & Ageton, 1980; Johnston, Bachman, & O'Malley, 2013; Laub, 1987; Like-Haislip, 2014; Rand, 2009). For instance, the National Youth Survey (NYS) consistently finds African American youth engage in more delinquent behavior than their white counterparts (Mosher, Meithe, & Phillips, 2002). Analysis of the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health (Add Health) also reveals African American adolescents report higher levels of involvement in serious violence than whites (McNulty & Bellair, 2003; Peck, 2013). Using the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods

(PHDCN) data, Sampson, Morenoff, and Raudenbush (2005) find the odds of engaging

in violence were 85 percent higher for African Americans than whites. Furthermore, the

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) reveals that approximately 25 percent of

crimes committed by a lone offender and around 30 percent of crimes committed by

multiple offenders were allegedly perpetrated by African Americans (Rand, 2009). The

NCVS also reports that African Americans experience violent victimization at higher

rates than all other minorities and whites (except for simple assault) (Rand, 2009). These

patterns are similar among youth, with African American youth reportedly being

victimized more than any other racial group (Rand, 2009). Additionally, the Centers of

Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reports homicide is a leading cause of death for

African American youth (Heron, 2010). Thus, the question arises – what accounts for the

consistently high rates of African American offending? Leading crime theories have

attempted to provide an answer.

Race and Criminological Theory

Race is not an innate, genetic, determinant factor, but a product of history, culture,

and structure that guides social interaction with real social, individual, and biological

implications (Barak, Leighton, & Flavin, 2010; Gabbidon & Greene, 2009; Sewell, in

press). Scholars of racial disparities in crime argue the rate of African American

criminality cannot be fully understood without considering African Americans'

distinctive history and resulting lived experience. African Americans are unique in their

historical and structural positions in America. They are the only group to have been

forcefully brought to America and enslaved (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2010), to then be

systemically discriminated against by Jim Crow laws (Gabbidon & Greene, 2009), and

face an "American apartheid."[2] The criminal justice system has historically played a role in the oppression of African Americans (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011), and this systemic racism is seen today largely in relation to mass incarceration. This "New Jim Crow" refers to disparities in laws, such as "three strikes" policies and drug type discrepancies, along with prison conditions and the stigma faced upon re-entry (Alexander, 2010).[3] African Americans live with the knowledge of such chronic discrimination and prejudice. This shared knowledge influences their perceptions and evaluations of situations and interactions with others. This, in turn, impacts how they live their daily lives and navigate the social world – a social reality unparalleled by any other group in America.

While leading theories of crime provide invaluable insight into the causal factors of offending, they do not account for the unique experience of disadvantaged groups. Empirical studies find people who are strained, have low levels of social and self-control, have delinquent peers, and have been negatively labeled are more likely to engage in crime regardless of race (Broidy, 2001; Capowich, Mazerolle, & Piquero, 2001; Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Matsueda, 1992; Pratt & Cullen, 2000; Pratt, Cullen, Sellers, Winfree, Madensen, Daigle, Fern, & Gau, 2010). Yet, often times racial differences in criminal behavior remain after the major causes of crime are considered (e.g., Higgins &

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[2] An "American apartheid" is a dislike of African Americans by whites that manifests in residential segregation and perpetuates discrimination and racial subordination (Massey, 1990).

[3] One of the biggest examples of the drug type discrepancy is the 100-to-1 policy for minimum sentencing for possession of cocaine. While cocaine is the same drug in crack and powder form, to be charged with a felony crack users (typically lower class, African Americans) need to possess only 5 grams, while powder cocaine users (typically middle and upper class, white Americans) need to possess 500 grams. The Fair Sentencing Act in 2010 reduced this disparity to 18-to-1. Another policy readily cited as an example of racist practices is the "three strikes" policy, designed to insure that repeat offenders would receive harsher punishments. If someone has been convicted of two prior felonies, the third conviction – no matter the charge – will result in a minimum sentence of 25-to-life. Georgia has a "two strikes" policy for some felony offenses, including rape. Given African Americans are disproportionately arrested and convicted initially, such policies exacerbate the negative effects of having a felony conviction and falling under the watchful eye of parole officers (see Alexander, 2010; Tonry 1995, 2004, 2011; Reiman 2007).

Ricketts, 2005; Adams, Johnson, & Evans, 1998; Piquero & Sealock, 2010). Nonetheless, leading theories pinpoint significant factors that lay the foundation for understanding the high rates of African American offending. The following section will briefly review the key contributions of the leading criminological perspectives – control, social learning, labeling, ecological, and subcultural theories – and central to the present project, general strain theory (GST). While this dissertation is theoretically grounded in the theory of African American offending (TAAO), reviewing other leading perspectives lays the foundation for understanding Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) arguments and the theoretical gaps TAAO fills. Furthermore, I will use one of the leading criminological theories, GST, to provide additional hypotheses in relation to African American offending. This section will conclude with a summary of these key social factors and their role in the present analyses.

Control Theories

Control theories do not attempt to explain criminal behavior, but instead ask: why *don't* people engage in crime? Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory states that four main bonds restrain individuals from crime. First, he argues that *attachment* to parents, family, and friends decreases the likelihood for crime. Second, *commitment* to conventional pursuits, such as educational and professional success, buffer one from criminal actions. Third, *involvement* in traditional activities, such as community service and religious groups, also lessen the likelihood of offending. Last, *belief* in the legitimacy of authority, law, and conventional morals reduces the likelihood of engaging in crime (Hirschi, 1969). Furthermore, other control theorists also highlight the importance of direct control, which involves setting rules, monitoring behavior, and consistently sanctioning deviance

(Agnew, 2006, 2009). Control theorists argue that African Americans have a higher rate of offending due to: their weaker bonds to conventional others, such as parents and teachers; lower commitment to conventional institutions, such as school; lower direct control by parents and others; and reduced likelihood of holding beliefs that condemn crime (Hagan et al., 2005; Oshinsky, 1997).

In a re-examination of Hirschi's original data, Unnever and colleagues (2009) find support for Hirschi's social bond predictions among black youth. Black youth with a greater attachment to their parents are less likely to engage in delinquency. Those doing well in school are less likely to offend, whereas those who spend little time on their homework are more likely to be delinquent. Additionally, those with little respect for police are more likely to be delinquent. Such findings highlight the importance of social bonds, and they are a central intervening variable in TAAO.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that the above types of social control are only important to the extent that they contribute to the development of self-control early in a child's life. "(P)eople who lack self-control will tend to be impulsive, insensitive, physical (as opposed to mental), risk-taking, short-sighted, and nonverbal, and they will tend therefore to engage in criminal and analogous acts" (Gottfredson & Hirschi 1990, p. 90). Low self-control emerges when caregivers fail to properly monitor their children, acknowledge deviant behavior, and punish children's offenses. Low self-control increases one's criminality, or the propensity to engage in deviance. Self-control theory suggests racial differences in offending arise from differences in parenting practices that foster one's level of self-control. There has been considerable support for self-control theory using various samples (e.g. Burt, Simons, & Simons, 2006; Church, Wharton, &

Taylor, 2009; Longshore, 1998; Stewart, Elifson, & Sterk, 2004), but some research suggests that self-control is less important among African Americans. For example, Higgins and Ricketts (2005) find low self-control does not account for black youth's delinquency while it does for whites. In their comprehensive meta-analysis of self-control theory, Pratt and Cullen (2000) find no studies to date report effects for separate racial groups. Yet, the effect size of low self-control for racially integrated samples was smaller, but still significant, than white-only samples. In the present analysis, self-control is embedded in the measure of social bonds as it primarily focuses on parenting and bonds to family.

Social Learning Theories

Social learning theory argues that individuals learn deviant behavior through interaction with intimate others. Influential others and groups differentially reinforce crime and conformity; define beliefs and behaviors as right or wrong, justifiable or excusable; and model deviant behaviors. Racial differences in offending stem from the disproportionate number of African Americans in underprivileged areas lacking reinforcement for conventional behaviors. In other words, African Americans are overexposed to deviant models and definitions due to interaction with others who offend, and they tend to lack positive reinforcement for holding and enacting mainstream beliefs and behaviors (Burgess & Akers, 1966).

Akers (2009) more directly addresses race in his social structure social learning model. He suggests that race, along with other socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, locate the places and roles persons hold in the social structure. These positions provide the context for individual's learning and influence their likelihood for deviant

actions. Differences in groups' rates of offending vary to the extent that cultural norms, traditions, and social control systems inhibit or promote learning and socialization of deviant beliefs and behaviors. Thus, structural conditions and, in turn, social characteristics influence the likelihood of interaction with deviant others, models, definitions, and reinforcement (Akers, 2009).

Pratt and Cullen (2000) analyzed the explanatory power of social learning indicators. They find that, on average, social learning variables explained nearly twice as much of the variation in crime and analogous behavior compared to self-control. Additionally, Matsueda and Heimer (1987) show that delinquent definitions mediate the effect of parental attachment on delinquency for black youth. In a meta-analysis of studies based on social learning theory, Pratt and colleagues (2010) demonstrate that peers' delinquent behavior is one of the strongest indicators of delinquency. Similarly, Warr (2002) declares deviant peers is one of the strongest predictors of delinquency overall, and suggests it should be the focus of social control agents (also see Ardelt & Day, 2002; Joon, 2002).

Thus, while there has been little race-based research stemming from social learning theories (see Higgins, 2010), this leading theory of crime is assumed to apply to all races. Particularly, association with deviant peers is consistently a strong predictor of deviance (e.g., Pratt et al., 2010; Warr, 2002). Therefore, a measure of peer deviance is included in the current analysis.

Labeling Theories

Labeling perspectives are grounded in the works of symbolic interactionists such as Cooley, Mead, and Goffman. In 1922, Cooley acknowledged the unique perspective of

African Americans, when he wrote, "there is no understanding [the Negro question] without realizing the kind of self-feeling a race must have who, in a land where men are supposed to be equal, find themselves marked with indelible inferiority" (p. 262). Symbolic interactionism suggests that an individual's identity, self-concept, cognitive processes, values, and attitudes exist only in the context of acting, reacting, and changing through social interaction with others (e.g., Bem, 1972; Cooley, 1902; Felson, 1985; Mead, 1934). Thus, labeling perspectives emphasize that labels such as "good," "bad," or "delinquent" shape an individual's identity, self-concept, and actions (Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1951). One's self, therefore, is not innate, but a product of the social environment (Goffman, 1963; Williams & McShane, 2004).

Labeling theories focus on how societal reactions to crime impact individuals. Labeling theories seek to determine why some people are negatively labeled while others are not, and what impact being labeled a criminal or deviant has on an individual. In particular, labeling perspectives suggest that once a primary deviance occurs, others react to the behavior and characterize the deviant with a negative label. In turn, others react to the labeled offender, treating him differently and seeing him as a deviant. In time, he begins to see himself as an offender and will engage in more deviant actions (called secondary deviance) to match his new master status. Negative labels create a delinquent self-concept, which in turn reduces control, increases strain, and fosters social learning thereby enhancing the likelihood of continued offending (Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1951). African Americans are more likely to be labeled and treated as a criminal due to social stereotypes, increasing the potential of the negative effects described above (Eschholz,

Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003; Fishman, 2006; Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 2007; Winnick & Bodkin, 2009).

Pager (2003) experimentally demonstrates how formal labeling increases racial disparities in crime. She hired 12 male college students matched for age, race, appearance, and general style of self-presentation. They each were assigned a fictitious résumé with identical education, work experience, and background. One member of each matched pair was randomly assigned a felony drug conviction. Approximately 3,500 applications were sent out in New York City. Two-thirds of the white men with felony convictions received a positive response (defined as receiving a second interview or job offer) – the same level of positive response for the African American men without a criminal history. In contrast, only six percent of the African American men with a felony conviction received a positive response. Such results clearly demonstrate the disproportionate effects of negative formal labels on African Americans, especially black males. Furthermore, Adams, Johnson, and Evans (1998) find informal labels – judgments made by teachers, family and peers – negatively influence black youth even more than formal labels. Specifically, informal labels have twice the effect on delinquency for nonwhite youth compared to white youth. This effect remains significant for nonwhite youth in analyses also involving deviant peers, but not for white youth.

Variations of labeling theory, particularly in terms of labels applied to African Americans, have been around since the late 1800s (e.g., Lemert, 1951; Miller, 1908; Tannenbaum, 1938). Overall, labeling perspectives show how stereotypes influence society's views of a particular group, such as African Americans, and have lasting effects on individual criminal involvement. Additionally, racial stereotypes are a leading cause

of discrimination and criminal justice injustices according to TAAO (Unnever &

Gabbidon, 2011). Recent empirical work from the labeling tradition focuses on the

impact of stereotypes and resulting prejudices on certain groups, including their

offending behaviors.

 Wilson's (2005) qualitative investigation of news coverage of violence in black

communities during the 1980s and 1990s suggests that this era produced a moral panic

around "black-on-black violence." During this time, America was "under siege by a new

horde of criminals – the black predator – taking over cities, suburbs, and rural places"

(Wilson, 2005, p. 131). Such thinking fueled punitive policies and the massive rise in the

incarceration of African Americans, as well as, fostered stereotypes of place, labeling

lower-income, urban communities as breeding grounds for crime. While framed as

concern, Wilson (2005) proclaims such focused attention is a form of passive racism that

perpetuates the problem.

 Russell-Brown (2009) formulated the concept of *criminalblackman* to describe

the stereotype that most criminals are black men and the social impact that has on the

African American community. Numerous scholars have assessed the impact of racial

stereotypes through the criminal justice process (Chaves & Provine, 2009; Free, 2005;

Plant & Peruche, 2005), particularly sentencing (Fisherman, Rattner, & Turjeman, 2006;

Pager, Western, & Sugie, 2009), as well as media portrayals (Dixon, 2007; Eschholz,

2002).

 Overall, research reveals that labels and stereotypes have the power to influence

attitudes, decisions, and behaviors, particularly for African Americans. Given the use of

secondary data for the present investigation, no direct indicator of labeling gauging

criminal identity or self-concept is available. Yet, labeling is indirectly assessed in the measures of discrimination and criminal justices injustices, which index the extent to which individuals attribute their negative treatment to their race. While I am unable to empirically distinguish the impact of negative labels on African American offending in this study, labeling perspectives still shed light on why discrimination and injustice influence criminal offending as TAAO predicts.

Ecological Theories

On average, African Americans do not achieve the same quality of housing as white Americans (Logan & Alba, 1993). In 1980, nine out of ten whites lived in communities with lower rates of poverty than the typical African American (Firebaugh & Farrell, 2012). Such disparity persists with high SES African American families still falling short of the typical housing levels of low SES whites (Rosenbaum & Friedman, 2006). Given that African Americans disproportionately reside in lower-income communities, many criminologists turn to structural rather than individual explanations for their high rates of offending.

At the beginning of the 20th century, scholars noticed the simultaneous rise in crime along with urban growth. This increase in crime was attributed to the social disorganization arising in urban cities. In general, social disorganization is the inability of a community to recognize residents' shared values and engage in effective social control (Bursik, 1988; Kornhauser, 1978). Socially disorganized areas are marked by residential mobility, economic deprivation, and ethnic heterogeneity (Shaw & McKay, 1942), and more recently, family disruption (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Sampson & Groves, 1989).

These characteristics lead to a breakdown in social bonds between neighbors and, ultimately, social control. Thus, poor structural conditions lead to high crime rates.

Collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997) extends social disorganization theory (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Shaw & McKay, 1942) by suggesting that structural characteristics, such as residential mobility and concentrated disadvantage, lead to a lack of cohesion and trust among residents which in turn lowers informal social control and increases crime rates. Such control perspectives posit that collective efficacy is not present in structurally disadvantaged communities because cultural diversity and residential turnover resulting from concentrated poverty undermine the capacity for collective action, thus indirect control. Communication styles and languages vary among residents, which hinder trust and prevent residents from seeing themselves as a socially cohesive group (Sampson et al., 1997). In early assessments, collective efficacy, "not race or poverty, was the largest single predictor of the overall violent crime rate" (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1998, p. 2). Thus, context matters when explaining variations in violence. Support for social disorganization and collective efficacy theories has been found for both heterogenous samples (e.g., Browning, Feinberg, & Dietz, 2004; Cancino, 2005; Kirk & Matsueda, 2011; Mazerolle, Wickes, & McBroon, 2011) and among African American samples (e.g., Christian & Thomas, 2009; Simons, Simons, Burt, Brody, & Cutrona, 2005; Western & Wildeman, 2009).

Social disorganization and collective efficacy suggest that African Americans are disproportionately involved in crime because they are more likely to live in disadvantaged communities with low collective efficacy and high levels of violence. They are more likely to reside in these communities "…because of larger processes of

segregation and migration, then, even when African American neighborhoods… generate collective efficacy, or when they achieve middle-class status, their residents still face the added challenge of being situated in a wider environment characterized by social and criminal justice disadvantage" (Sampson, 2013, p. 13). Such spatial segregation reinforces racial stratification as it impacts school quality, political representation, government services, and employment opportunities (Peterson, 2012). Thus, while social disorganization and collective efficacy are often criticized for their over emphasis on the lower classes, research shows middle-class African American neighborhoods, which are often nested between less stable and high crime areas, teeter on the edge of social disorganization and dysfunction (Pattillo, 1998).

Extensions of social disorganization theory acknowledge such disorganization and segregation are not "natural" parts of urban growth. As discussed earlier, U.S. communities are highly segregated not only by class, but race. Such spatial inequality makes true racial comparisons nearly impossible (Sampson, 2013). Incorporating concepts from Wilson's (1987) *The Truly Disadvantaged*, Sampson and Wilson (1995) suggest disorganization is linked to racial inequality. In particular, political decisions that consciously segregated African Americans (such as regulation of public housing and urban renewal) as well as changes in the economy (such as the shift from a manufacturing to a service-based market), increased the likelihood that African Americans resided in neighborhoods plagued by concentrated poverty and family disruption. Sampson and Wilson (1995) argue such structural forces foster concentrated disadvantage and social isolation resulting in weakened social ties and cultural disorganization. In other words, racial inequality in the United States pushes lower-

income African Americans into living situations where they have little connection with mainstream institutions and must navigate a neighborhood where violence thrives. In such communities, rates of violence and crime are high (Sampson & Wilson, 1995).

Sampson and Wilson's (1995) racial invariance thesis suggests black-white disparities in violence are solely due to racial segregation of African Americans into truly disadvantaged communities. Peterson and Kirvo (2010) recently assessed this proposition using the National Neighborhood Crime Study assessing 8,931 census tracts across 87 urban areas in the United States. They find most white neighborhoods have low disadvantage and rates of violence. In contrast, high rates of disadvantage and violence plague the majority of African American neighborhoods. Yet, when internal social conditions (such as concentrated disadvantage and residential mobility) and spatial location (i.e., urban, suburban, or rural) are controlled, rates of violence practically equalize. McNulty (2001) finds similar results for neighborhoods in Atlanta. So, race itself is not a direct cause of crime, but it is rather a status characteristic that marks differential position in American society. While Sampson and Wilson's (1995) argument highlights how African Americans' disadvantaged social position explains most of the variation in rates of offending between African Americans and whites, they do not fully explain why some residing in such places offend and others do not. Yet, as the theories above suggest and empirical evidence reveals (Pratt & Cullen, 2005), neighborhood context, particularly the influence of concentrated disadvantage, is a significant and consistent predictor of violence. Thus, neighborhood characteristics serve as important controls in the present analysis.

Subcultural Theories

Subcultural theories seek to explain how criminal subcultures form in response to the inability to achieve culturally valued goals in a structurally stratified society. Thus, many of their articulations are focused on minorities. Subcultural theorists suggest African Americans are likely to recognize their limited opportunities due to racist structural constraints, making them more likely to blame the "system" and justify criminal behavior (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). For instance, a young black male may believe he cannot obtain a well-paying job because of his race, so he resorts to drug dealing to acquire the lifestyle he desires. Additionally, a lack of opportunities has been empirically shown to lead to "status frustration,"[4] particularly for African American men (Oliver, 2003, 2006). Some have argued that a subculture of violence emerges in response to this chronic status frustration.

A subculture of violence exists when, in some social situations, a violent and physically aggressive response is either expected or required. Members are obliged to resort to violence to defend their honor and respect (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). Thus, when people cannot achieve status or respect by conventional means, they are more likely to obtain it through force. School and work are de-emphasized, and routes towards "easy," fast money are encouraged. In fact, "anything associated with conventional white society is seen as square; the hip things are at odds with it" (Anderson, 1999, p. 112). The dominance of the violent drug culture among this population is evident as for "many inner-city residents, crack has become a seemingly permanent fixture of life, and dealing

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[4] Cohen (1955) says status frustration arises when the lower-class becomes frustrated at the disadvantage and inequalities they face in society.

is a way of earning a living – even for a few, to become rich" (Anderson, 1999, p. 121).

Despite the lack of empirical support for the existence of a unique African American

subculture of violence (see Gabbidon, 2009 for discussion), the significance of respect is

a vital part of a dominant subcultural approach: the code of the street (Anderson, 1999).

Through an ethnographic assessment of lower-class, urban Philadelphia,

Anderson (1999) argues that a "code of the street emerges where the influence of the

police ends and personal responsibility for one's safety is felt to begin, resulting in a kind

of 'people's law,' based on 'street justice'" (Anderson 1999, p. 10). The code, which

emphasizes respect, acts as a behavioral guide for the neighborhood's residents who are

under a constant threat of violence. Those socialized by the code internalize the

importance of respect, which is continuously shaped by one's presentation of demeanor,

behavior, and attitude in public space. Even those who do not internalize the code, but

maneuver the environments ruled by it, must be aware of its rules and regulations and

respond accordingly. The code applies to all who occupy a space – young, old, male,

female, black, and white, but mostly young, black males. Life is a constant dangerous

dance for power and safety with the prize being the opportunity to live for another day.

Those who internalize the code actively defy civil norms, lack respect for authority, have

a cynical outlook towards others, and are in a constant battle to "one-up" whoever they

may encounter. Such "street values [are] represented by the fast life, violence, and crime"

(Anderson 1999, p. 145).

Anderson's work has found considerable empirical support, especially among

African Americans (e.g., Matsueda, Drakulich, & Kubrin, 2006; Stewart, Schreck, &

Simons, 2006). Stewart and Simons (2006) find that code beliefs partially mediate the

effects of neighborhood structure, family conditions, and discrimination on violence among black youth. Stewart, Simons, and Conger (2002) reveal code beliefs are positively related to aggression, controlling for other factors. Heimer (1997) also finds deviant peers reinforce code beliefs. Race, however, is not always a significant predictor of code beliefs in mixed samples (e.g., Brezina, Agnew, Cullen & Wright, 2004; Heimer, 1997; Markowitz & Felson, 1998). It seems, then, social circumstances that are typically correlated with race, such as low SES and disadvantaged neighborhood context, are more likely to foster beliefs conducive to crime than race itself. Subcultural theories, however, particularly the code of the street (Anderson, 1999), point out the importance of culture and values in explaining group variations in offending.

I now close my review of the leading theories of crime with a discussion of general strain theory. I save its presentation for last because its causal ordering and racialized articulations serve as a theoretical framework for the integration of TAAO with GST's racialized predictions.

General Strain Theory

Expanding on the work of Merton (1938) and other strain theorists, Agnew (1992, 2006) suggests that strains arising from negative interactions lead to negative emotions which may prompt criminal coping. The likelihood of criminal coping is influenced by conditioning factors such as social control and peer relationships. Specifically, strains are the loss of something positive, the receipt of something negative, or the failure to achieve something desired. These strains lead to crime because they foster negative emotions, such as anger, frustration, and depression, which compel people towards corrective action for said emotions. Corrective action is likely to be deviant when one lacks the resources

and abilities to cope in a legal manner, the costs of crime are low, and one holds a deviant disposition (Agnew, 1992, 2006).

In terms of race, Agnew argues African Americans are more likely to experience strains that are conducive to crime than whites. In particular, African Americans are more likely to encounter economic strains, such as high unemployment and poverty; familial strains, like poor parenting techniques; educational strains, such as under performance and unfair discipline; community strains, like high levels of violence, prominent disadvantage, and a lack of cohesion; as well as discrimination, prejudice, and victimization (Kaufman, Rebellon, Thaxton, & Agnew, 2008). African Americans are more likely to view these strains as unjust, given their link to structural discrimination and micro-aggressions. Furthermore, African Americans are hypothesized to experience increased negative affect, particularly anger, as well as feel an increased sense of injustice in response to strains compared to whites. It is also predicted African Americans have less social support and access to legitimate coping resources due to their disadvantaged status (Kaufman et al., 2008). Even prior to this racialized specification, GST found consistent empirical support for explaining racial disparities in crime (e.g., Jang & Johnson, 2003, 2005; Simons, Chen, Stewart, & Brody, 2003; Piquero & Sealock, 2010).

A key distinguishing strain for African Americans is discrimination. While not always directly assessing GST, numerous studies have revealed strong relationships between discrimination and crime. For instance, discrimination is linked to depression and substance abuse (e.g., Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Stock, Gibbons, Walsh, & Gerrard, 2011; Sanders-Phillips, Kliewer, Tirmazi, Nebbitt, Carter, & Key,

2014; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Unnever et al. (2009) find that discrimination at school greatly increases the impact of weak social bonds on offending for black youth. Additionally, discrimination is positively associated with code beliefs (Simons, Chen, Stewart, & Brody, 2003; Stewart & Simons, 2006) and anger (Allport, 1979; Berkowitz, 1989; Felson, 1992). Simons, Chen, Stewart, and Brody (2003) find that anger and depression mediate the impact of discrimination on delinquency for black boys, but only partially mediate the relationship for black girls. Such findings lend support to the significance of discrimination in the ways GST suggests.

Piquero and Sealock (2010) discover strain is positively associated with anger and depression for nonwhites, but only anger is significant for whites. Furthermore, they reveal that strain has significant effects on aggression for nonwhites only, but the relationship is not mediated by negative affect as GST predicts. They also find strain and deviant peers increase the likelihood for aggression, while family support and positive coping decrease the likelihood for aggression for nonwhites, consistent with GST. Such findings lend support to the proposition that strain mechanisms function differently by race. Agnew (2006) suggests anger should lead to other-directed deviant expressions, such as violence, and in turn, depression should lead to self-directed deviant copings, such as drug use. Jang and Johnson (2003) test this hypothesis with a nationally representative African American sample with one additional caveat. Past research suggests African Americans are more likely to externalize their negative emotions due to racial consciousness and a history of prejudice and discrimination (Hagan & Peterson, 1995; Neighbors, Jackson, Broman, & Thompson, 1996; Ogbu, 1990). Thus, Jang and Johnson (2003) suggest both anger and depression should result in other-directed crime

for African Americans, though the relationship should not be as strong as same-directed effects. They find support for these hypotheses, which align with TAAO and GST's racialized predictions. Additionally, they find religion is a significant coping mechanism for African Americans, as it buffers the effects of both anger and depression on deviance, but not the effects of strain. Thus, negative affect and religion are key variables for the present investigation.

More recently, Peck (2013) assessed the effects of various strains on depression and non-serious and serious delinquency between African American, Hispanic, and white youth. Using the Add Health data, she discovers the effects of strain on depression vary by race, with community safety concerns, prejudice of peers, and criminal victimization increasing the likelihood of depression for African Americans. Furthermore, in support of racialized general strain theory, she finds different strains are differentially associated with different forms of offending for African Americans. Being unhappy with one's neighborhood, economic strain, and criminal victimization are positively associated with non-serious delinquency, whereas a family member attempting suicide, economic strain, and criminal victimization are positively associated with serious delinquency. Depression, also, significantly predicts serious delinquency, but is not significantly associated with non-serious delinquency, aligning with previous research (e.g., Jang & Johnson, 2003). Also using a subsample of African Americans from the Add Health data, Hoskins (2011) reveals perceiving prejudice is positively associated with violent behavior. Together, these results lend additional support to the need for investigation into the varied effects of strains and forms of negative affect across racial lines.

Furthermore, Broidy and Agnew (1997) present a gendered-GST arguing males and females experience and cope with strain in very different ways, thus leading to the discrepancy in their criminal involvement. First, they suggest males and females experience different types of strain, with males encountering more strain conducive to criminal coping whereas females are more likely to face strains related to self-directed coping strategies. Females are purported to have a broader emotional range in response to strains than males. Males are more likely to experience anger, increasing their likelihood for a criminal response. Females are likely to feel anger along with depression and frustration. Gendered GST suggests the other negative emotions along with anger inhibit an external criminal reaction and redirect the coping strategies internally (Broidy & Agnew, 1997). Thus, females are more likely to engage in drug use, self-harm, or other deviant, yet non-criminal, behaviors. Newer research suggests gendered expression of emotions and the interaction of different emotions also influences the gendered responses to strain (De Coster & Zito, 2010). Additionally, males are believed to have more opportunity for criminal coping, and females have more access to legitimate coping strategies and social support, further pushing males towards crime and lowering the likelihood of female offending (Broidy & Agnew, 1997).

Beyond finding support with general samples (e.g., Broidy, 2001; Hay, 2003; Piquero & Sealock, 2004; Sharp, Brewster, & Love, 2005), Jang and Johnson (2005) tested these gendered propositions with an African American sample. In support of gendered GST, they find black females do experience more strains than black males. Black females are also less likely to engage in aggressive behaviors due to having more coping resources, particularly religion, and more complex emotional reactions (anger in

conjunction with depression) than black males. Thus, while African Americans in general may experience increased emotional responses to strain, it is suggested black females feel this range of emotions the most. Furthermore, while religion is a significant coping resource for all African Americans, it is more so for black females. Therefore, black females should be protected from the exaggerated effects of racial strains due to gender.

In summary, GST suggests that beyond discrimination and prejudice, African Americans are more likely to experience financial hardships that impact parenting practices and family relationships. African American youth are more likely to have negative school experiences, and residing in disadvantaged areas increases the likelihood of victimization. African Americans are more likely to perceive such experiences as unjust and react with a range of negative emotions, particularly anger. While in general African Americans tend to have fewer legitimate coping resources due to their structural position, black females find more support in others and religion than black males. Additionally, black males are more likely to deal with their disadvantaged status through illegitimate channels than black females, thus gender should remain a significant predictor of offending within an African American sample. Such propositions seamlessly align with TAAO predictions and provide a framework for an expanded understanding of African American offending.

Based on the theories and empirical evidence presented above, it starts to become clear why African Americans' have high offending rates (Higgins & Ricketts, 2005). Control theorists suggest black youth have weaker bonds to conventional others and institutions, such as parents, teachers, and school. Additionally, they argue black youth are under less direct control from parents and neighbors, freeing them to commit crime.

Furthermore, the lack of monitoring and consistent sanctioning lead to lower levels of self-control for black youth. Social learning theorists proclaim African Americans disproportionately live in underprivileged areas increasing their likelihood of associating with deviant others and internalizing deviant beliefs. Labeling theorists argue African Americans (and African American communities) are more likely to be criminally labeled formally by the police and informally by teachers, business owners, and others due to prominent racist stereotypes in American society. Beyond the individual, ecological theorists suggest African Americans disproportionately reside in disadvantaged areas marked by residential mobility, economic deprivation, family disruption, and low collective efficacy. Residency in such areas with limited opportunities and chronic discrimination leads to the internalization of the code of the street, which condones the use of violence as a means for respect, according to subcultural theorists. Thus, African Americans' position in this stratified society limits legitimate opportunity, lowers control, supports beliefs conducive to crime, and increases strain in turn increasing their likelihood of offending.

While the leading crime theories provide insight into why African Americans as a group offend more than other racial groups, they do not capture the whole story. Echoing Du Bois, Peterson (2012) says race must be central to any understanding of crime, and research must acknowledge the realities of racism (Anderson, 1999; Oliver, 1994) and the discrimination faced in the daily lives of African Americans (Hawkins, 1995), especially in unpacking the within groups differences in offending. In other words, any understanding of African Americans must be grounded in their lived experiences – recognizing the unique history of slavery and the chronic experiences of discrimination

and prejudice. Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) make African Americans' lived experiences central to their theory of African American offending. Furthermore, they present why key factors emerge and continue to compel some African Americans to offend and others to not.

In the next chapter, I review Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) TAAO and present my central hypotheses. I then expand upon TAAO by presenting additional hypotheses incorporating factors from racialized general strain theory.

Chapter Three

Racism and Crime:
The Theory of African American Offending and Racialized General Strain Theory

While much is known about the relationship between race and crime from extant literature (see Chapter Two), the majority of African Americans – including those residing in economically disadvantaged areas and who frequently face a variety of strains – do not offend. Previous research and theories fail to account for the complexity of race, particularly African Americans' unique history, social position, and resulting worldview in the understanding of African American offending. In other words, extant literature does not account for the collective and individual effects of being African American in a racist society (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011).

Over a century ago, Du Bois (1899) declared that any explanation of African American offending must reflect an understanding of African Americans' position in a racially stratified society. In 1922, Cooley acknowledged the unique position of African Americans, when he wrote, "there is no understanding [the Negro question] without realizing the kind of self-feeling a race must have who, in a land where men are supposed to be equal, find themselves marked with indelible inferiority" (p. 262). Echoing Du Bois, Peterson (2012) argued that race must be central to any understanding of crime, and research must acknowledge the realities of racism and the discrimination faced in the daily lives of African Americans (Anderson, 1999; Hawkins, 1995; Oliver, 1994). In other words, any understanding of why African Americans are different must be grounded in their lived experiences – recognizing the unique history of slavery and the chronic experiences of discrimination and prejudice.

Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) place African Americans' lived experiences central to their theory of African American offending (TAAO), making them among the few to actively engage in "black criminology" (Russell, 1992). Furthermore, they explain why key factors emerge and continue to compel some African Americans to offend. This study is one of the first to empirically examine patterns of offending predicted by TAAO building off the empirical groundwork of Unnever and Gabbidon themselves as well as others whom have focused on TAAO's central predictors. Below, I outline Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) theory of African American offending. I then integrate their propositions with racialized general strain theory (RGST) (discussed in Chapter Two; Agnew, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008).

Theory of African American Offending

A Shared Worldview

Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) theory of African American offending (TAAO) focuses on the unique factors affecting African American individuals' likelihood to offend. Unnever and Gabbidon argue that African Americans experience racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, which induce a range of negative emotions, including anger and depression. Such experiences also weaken bonds to conventional society. Together, negative emotions and weakened social bonds increase the likelihood of offending. These relationships, in turn, are conditioned by racial socialization.

TAAO rests on the basic assumption that African Americans have a unique experience unparalleled by any other racial or ethnic group. Given their distinct history, largely shaped by social dynamics beyond their control, African Americans share a unique racial lens that guides their beliefs and behavior. This shared worldview

encompasses an awareness of race and racism, particularly in relation to how it bears on daily life. African Americans throughout history have been treated as unwelcomed guests in America from their historical entrance as slaves, to Jim Crow, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the modern war on drugs (Barak, Leighton, & Flavin, 2010; Gabbidon & Greene, 2009). Tonry summarizes the effects of African Americans disadvantaged social position saying, "(M)ountains of social welfare, health, employment, and education data make it clear that black Americans experience material conditions in life that, on average, are far worse than those faced by white Americans" (1995, p. 128). Such historical, vicarious, and personal experiences are chronic and dynamic and sensitize African Americans' perceptions of racism and shape their lived experiences. While the collective memory underlying this shared worldview seems pessimistic, it also holds memories of survival and resistance, such as the progress made since the Civil Rights Movement and the election of an African American president. Thus, TAAO suggests the remembrance of survival mitigates the negative effects of injustice and discrimination for most African Americans, but historic and chronic subordination may exacerbate the effects of racism for others motivating them to offend (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011).

Unnever and Gabbidon (2013) test this underlying assumption using a 2008 national Gallup poll. Specifically, they assessed for individual differences in public opinions on the criminal justice system, racial issues, economic mobility, and immigration issues in American between U.S.-born and foreign-born black Americans. While there was some variation within groups, results suggest black Americans' opinions, particularly on issues related to race relations, are more collective than divided

(Unnever & Gabbidon, 2013). This lends empirical support to the TAAO assumption of a shared worldview particularly among U.S.-born African Americans and the potential for political solidarity around issues of race.

Racial Discrimination & Criminal Justice Injustices

According to TAAO, two major components of this shared worldview are perceptions of criminal justice injustices and racial discrimination. The criminal justice system has played a role in the subordination of African Americans throughout U.S. history (Alexander, 2010; Provine, 2007; Tonry, 2004; Reiman, 2007). Ayres and Borowsky state that data consistently show "African Americans… are over-stopped, over-frisked, over-searched, and over-arrested" (as cited by Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011, p. 171). For many in the African American community, police are considered "bullies in uniform" (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009, p. 879). African Americans have collectively and personally experienced being unjustly targeted in some fashion by authorities. Additionally, media portrayals of hoards of cops taking down and brutally beating a lone African American man reinforce the belief that one will be the subject of unwarranted criminal justice attention at some point in life.

The collective experience and sense of injustice lessens the legitimacy of police and the criminal justice system. Lack of legitimacy and trust weaken ties to mainstream, "white" institutions, and thus forms of social control, making official policing and crime control difficult and increasing the likelihood for serious and repeat offenses (Tyler, 1990, 2001). Unnever and Gabbidon point out that "it is difficult for African Americans to believe that they should obey the law when they see it as a racist means to disrespect, harass, humiliate, bully, and unfairly imprison them" (2011, p. 173). Beyond criminal

justice injustices, African Americans face additional forms of racial discrimination, such as being denied employment, housing, or service, as well as subtle derogatory remarks, gestures, or insults. Such feelings of injustice lead to negative emotions that drive one to retaliation and/or aggression (Agnew, 1992, 2006; Bernard, 1990). Research suggests such emotions are more likely to lead to aggression if the injustice comes from someone of higher status, was delivered in public, and was intentionally disrespectful (Mikula, 2003; Miller, 2001). Research also finds that such emotions and aggression are sometimes displaced, which accounts for higher rates of black-on-black crime (Sherman, 1993).

Besides leading to negative emotions, racial discrimination undermines the formation of strong social bonds. For instance, Mattison and Aber (2007) found racist school climates weaken bonds to school and promote delinquency. Likewise, Gregory and Weinstein (2008) argue teens are more likely to be defiant when they perceive their teachers to treat students differently because of race. Thus, following arguments from control and general strain theories, TAAO suggests criminal justice injustices increase negative emotions and weaken social bonds, which in turn increase the likelihood for offending.

Numerous studies have revealed strong relationships between discrimination and crime. For instance, discrimination has been linked to depression and substance abuse (e.g., Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Unnever and colleagues (2009) found that discrimination at school greatly increased the impact of weak social bonds on offending for black youth. Additionally, discrimination is positively associated with code beliefs (Simons, Chen, Stewart, & Brody, 2003; Stewart

& Simons, 2006) and anger (Allport, 1979; Berkowitz, 1989; Felson, 1992). Simons and

colleagues (2003) found anger and depression mediate the impact of discrimination on

delinquency for African American boys, but only partially mediate the relationship for

girls. Martin and colleagues highlight the importance of distinguishing between structural

racism and personal discrimination, or "unequal, harmful treatment of a person because

of their minority status, by an individual or individuals from a dominant group" (2010, p.

662). Many theories and scholars, including the TAAO, call for further investigation

between the unique forms of discrimination and micro-aggressions, particularly between

those from ordinary citizens, such as strangers and shop clerks, and representatives of

governmental authority, such as the police. This study is believed to be the first to

distinguish between and collectively assess the effects of discrimination from the police

versus ordinary citizens. This is a major contribution of TAAO as well as the present

work and leads to my first two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices increase the likelihood
      of offending.

Hypothesis 2: Negative emotions and weakened social bonds increase the likelihood of
      offending, in turn lessening the effects of racial discrimination and criminal
      justice injustices.

Racial Socialization

      Acts of racial discrimination are rooted in stereotypical beliefs. While many want

to believe America is colorblind (Carr, 1997; Williams, 1998), between half to three-

fourths of whites still hold some degree of negative stereotypes against African

Americans (Bobo & Charles, 2009). Everyday experiences of racism have three

collective consequences: "the *marginalization* of blacks, the *problematization* of African

American culture and identities, and the symbolic and physical *repression* of their

resistance through humiliation or violence" (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011, p. 174). As research suggests, effects are not limited to adults. Children develop a stereotype consciousness between the ages of six and ten, with African American children recognizing broadly held stereotypes prior to white children (McKown & Weinstein, 2008). Thus, racist encounters are not isolated experiences that spark violent actions, but chronic conditions that impact structure, culture, and individuals. Racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices lead to negative emotions, weaken social bonds, and increase the likelihood of negative outcomes for adults and children alike. TAAO suggests these effects, however, are conditioned by racial socialization, which begins in childhood.

Racial socialization is the "specific verbal and non-verbal messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity" (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p. 400). Research suggests racial socialization involves cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism, and the mistrust of whites (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009). Cultural socialization includes sharing black history and heritage as well as encouraging racial pride. Research finds cultural socialization fosters a positive racial identity and buffers negative outcomes (Caughy, Nettles, O'Camp, & Lohrfink, 2006). Preparation for racial bias entails instilling proper coping mechanisms, such as the social skills needed to successfully overcome the consequences of negative stereotypes. Research suggests that such preparation may serve as a buffer to negative effects of discrimination and injustice (Harris, 1999), but it could also increase anxiety if proper

coping strategies are not emphasized (Caughy et al., 2006; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006). For instance, Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, and Bishop (1997) found African American boys whose parents stressed preparation for bias controlled their anger less than African American boys socialized to have racial pride.

Egalitarianism refers to de-emphasizing race and stressing life skills and personal qualities. Research finds while such thinking buffers the effect of discrimination and injustice on negative emotions, egalitarianism tends to also lower one's self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Outten, Giguére, Schmitt, & Lalonde, 2010). Finally, mistrust of whites stresses the need for caution in interracial encounters. When parents tend to over emphasize wariness of other races without providing the skills to successfully manage such interactions, racial socialization cultivates mistrust. Hughes and Chen conclude "parental perceptions of *some* unfair treatment may prompt preparation for bias, perceptions of *a lot* of unfair treatment may prompt promotion of mistrust" (1997, p. 993). Biafora, Taylor, Warheit, Zimmerman, and Vega (1993) found mistrust of whites is the strongest predictor of serious and minor offending. Thus, mistrust is the most negative type of racial socialization and most likely to increase offending.

TAAO proposes the effects of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices will either be mitigated or exacerbated depending upon which type of racial socialization messages a child receives. With emphasis on racial pride, positive coping strategies, and life skills, racial socialization is likely to reduce the impact of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices on the likelihood of offending. In contrast, when African Americans learn to mistrust whites and lack development of skills to cope with racist

interactions, racial socialization tends to increase the likelihood they will offend. The emphasis on racial socialization is a central hypothesis of TAAO and another one of Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) key contributions to understanding African American offending. The present study focuses on the buffering effects of positive racial socialization, particularly cultural socialization, as African Americans cope with discrimination and criminal justice injustice experiences.

Burt, Simons, and Gibbons (2012) were among the first to assess the relationship between racial socialization and crime. Using the Family and Community Health Study (FACHS), a longitudinal study of African American families in Georgia and Iowa, they analyze the effects of interpersonal racial discrimination, preparation for bias, and cultural socialization on offending. Through a series of structural equation models, they find positive racial socialization buffers against the criminogenic effects of racial discrimination. Preparation for bias significantly reduces the effects of discrimination, particularly by attenuating negative behavioral responses. Cultural socialization also provides some resilience, but the greatest protection occurs when both forms of positive racial socialization are present in conjunction with authoritative parenting (Burt et al., 2012). While not in a TAAO framework, these results provide an empirical foundation for the conditioning effects of racial socialization on racial discrimination in a model of criminogenic outcomes. Building off of Burt and colleagues (2012) and applying a TAAO framework, I present my third hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: Positive racial socialization conditions the effects of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices on offending.

Unnever (2014) recently assessed the core propositions of TAAO using the National Survey of American Life (NSAL), a nationally representative study of African

Americans. Using a series of regression models, Unnever finds further evidence for a shared worldview. Additionally, in support of TAAO, he finds racial discrimination significantly increases the likelihood of arrest, substance abuse, experiencing anger, and suffering from depression. Furthermore, the direct effects of racial discrimination are reduced when anger and depression are incorporated into the model, suggesting partial mediation effects.

Unnever and Gabbidon (2013), Burt and colleagues (2012), and Unnever (2014) provide an empirical foundation for TAAO, which the present analysis builds off of in two major ways. First, it presents the most comprehensive TAAO model to date. Figure 1 is a replication of Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) basic theoretical model. My analysis follows this depiction by first assessing racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices as independent factors. I then incorporate negative emotions and social bonds, and conclude with an analysis of the conditioning effects of positive racial socialization. While the cross-sectional nature of the data does not allow for a full assessment of causal ordering, the stepwise progression provides evidence for the projected associations proposed by TAAO.

Figure 1: Theory of African American Offending (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011)[5]
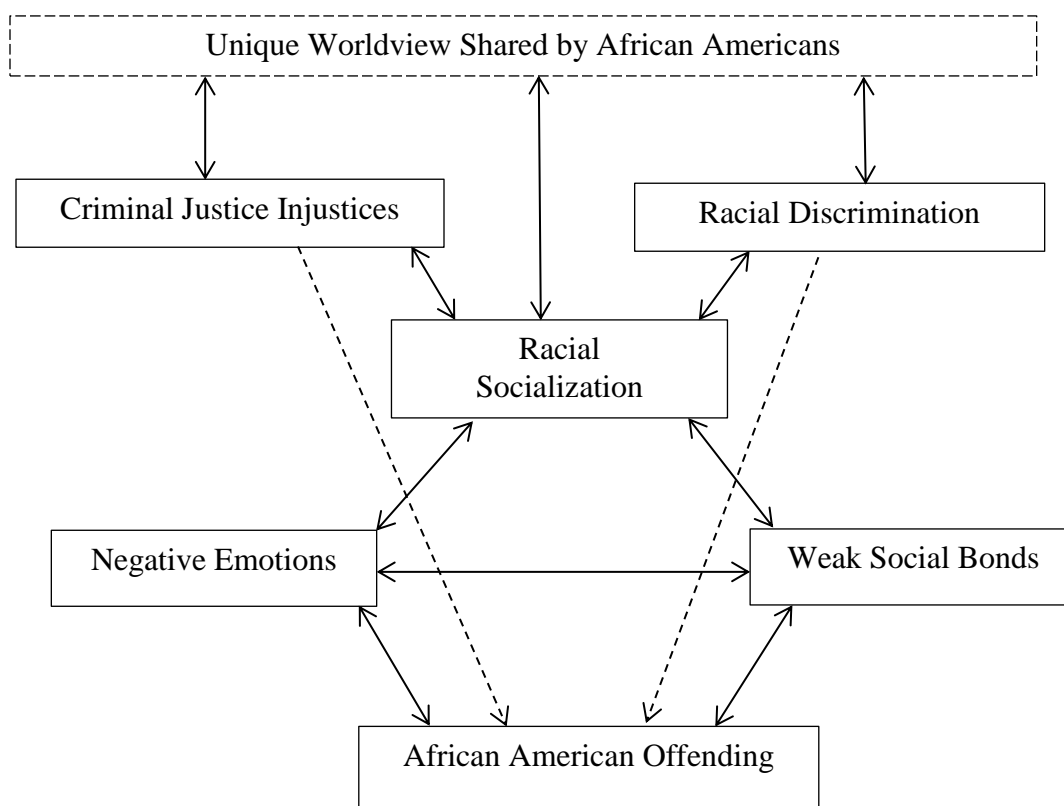
Second, I employ another well-known dataset, the Project on Human

Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN). The PHDCN data are ideal for the

present project because they include all central theoretical variables – racial

discrimination, criminal justice injustices, positive racial socialization, negative emotions,

and social bonds – as well as additional theoretical controls and measures of known

correlates of crime. Furthermore, the dataset includes items regarding community

characteristics, thus accounting for multi-level effects. Such data allow for a thorough

preliminary investigation of the hypotheses proposed by TAAO as well as RGST. The

findings from these data, in addition to the non-urban sample of the FACHS and the

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[5] See Unnever and Gabbidon (2011, p. 188)

nationally representative sample of the NSAL, add to the generalizability of TAAO and establish an empirical baseline to future primary work.

Racialized General Strain Theory

While TAAO pinpoints fundamental causes and mediating mechanisms for understanding African American offending, it still falls short of fully explaining the variation in their criminality. For example, it does not acknowledge the qualitatively different strains African Americans face due to their social positioning, such as a disproportionate amount of poverty and residence in lower-class, inner-city neighborhoods. Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) also fail to recognize the mediating effects of beliefs such as the code of the street (Anderson, 1999), individual traits like self-control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), and the potential influence of peers (Burgess & Akers, 1966). Finally, Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) TAAO does not clearly articulate the role and importance of conditioning variables such as social support, coping resources, and neighborhood context (Agnew, 2006). Yet, as Unnever and Gabbidon state, TAAO is intended to supplement, not replace, the leading theories of crime to more clearly understand African American offending. Therefore, following my examination of TAAO in Chapter Five, I present an assessment of RGST in Chapter Six.

In addition to examining racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, I assess additional strains purported to disproportionately impact African Americans. Specifically, I examine family strain, objective and subjective financial strains, as well as vicarious and direct victimization. I also examine the roles of anger and depression independently, as RGST and previous research suggest various strains should lead to different and/or complex emotional outcomes. The analysis in Chapter Six builds on the

previous work surrounding race and GST (see Chapter Two), which was granted

parsimony by Kaufman and colleagues (2008), and incorporates other leading predictors

of crime as theoretical controls (Agnew, 1995), making it among the first and fullest

assessments of RGST.

Beyond assessing RGST as articulated by Agnew (2006; Kaufman et al., 2008), I

integrate a central element of TAAO – racial socialization – as a conditioning factor.

Much like Broidy and Agnew (1997) argue gender socialization conditions the

experience of strain for males and females adding understanding to the gender gap in

crime, racial socialization may condition additional strains beyond racial discrimination

and criminal justice injustices providing insight into the differences in offending between

African Americans.

This theoretical integration leads to three additional hypotheses that are assessed

in Chapter Six:

Hypothesis 4: Other strains (family, financial, victimization) increase the likelihood of
offending for African Americans beyond the effects of racial discrimination and
criminal justice injustices.

Hypothesis 5: Anger and depression have different effects on the relationships between
the assessed strains and offending, with anger being associated with serious and
violent offending and depression associated with substance use.

Hypothesis 6: Positive racial socialization conditions the effects of other strains on
offending.

A Word on Gender

Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) aimed for their TAAO to not only explain African

American offending rates, but the gender disparity in offending between African

Americans. They present several hypotheses for the African American gender gap in

crime. Primarily, they propose African American males and females encounter different

degrees of injustice and discrimination. They suggest these differences in degree emerge largely due to disparity in racial socialization between sons and daughters. Particularly, Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) hypothesize females are socialized to have greater racial pride and have more positive racial socialization experiences, especially due to greater involvement in church. Furthermore, daughters are taught more egalitarian values, specifically in relation to large social institutions such as school. Thus, due to more positive racial socialization, African American females are less likely to feel personally judged by their race; and if they do, they are less likely to negatively react due to their strong racial pride. In other words, African American females have stronger social bonds to conventional society than African American males. And finally, females are prepared to deal with racial prejudice and discrimination in a more positive way resulting in less intense negative emotions than males. For instance, African American females are more likely to proactively and prosocially confront their abuser than African American males. Additionally, African American females are more likely to actively seek support, such as calling a friend, going to church, or praying, to deal with their negative emotions than African American males (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011).

Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) contend racial stereotypes are primarily targeted towards men, particularly the notion of the *criminalblackman*. Harvey Wingfield describes this stereotype saying, "(G)endered racist stereotypes of Black men in particular emphasize the dangerous, threatening attribute associated with Black men and Black masculinity, framing Black men as threats to White women, prone to criminal behavior, and especially violent" (2009, p. 9). This overarching stereotype influences the perceptions held and racial socialization experienced by males and parents of sons

differently than for females and parents of daughters. Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) argue being chronically aware and defensive of such labels and stigma is emotionally depleting, and lowers one's self-control, increasing the likelihood of offending. Furthermore, African American men may internalize the reactions of others, and over time, come to accept themselves as criminal (e.g., Braithwaite, 1989; Lemert, 1951).

In short, Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) contend gender differences emerge due to the African American males having more negative experiences and the different forms of racial socialization messages emphasized for sons verses daughters, rather than something distinctive about gender. Relatedly, Broidy and Agnew (1997) suggest females experience more complex negative affect such as anger and depression in reaction to strains than males. Such emotions are hypothesized to reduce their likelihood of engaging in aggressive acts, but increase their likelihood of partaking in self-directed, harmful acts such as drug use. Males on the other hand, are fueled primarily by anger increasing their likelihood of other-directed actions such as violence.

The current analyses aim to assess the primary propositions of TAAO and RGST, and therefore a thorough intersectional analysis of gender and race are beyond the present scope. However, the theories at present posit a significant main effect of gender, thus it currently serves as a central control. Furthermore, knowing the gendered arguments of the present theories not only provides insight on current results, but lays the groundwork for intersectional assessments in the future. In the following chapter, I describe the PHDCN data in more detail followed by a presentation of my analyses. I close with a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of my findings.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Data and Sample

The following series of analyses utilize the third wave of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) cohort study along with the community survey (Earls, Brooks-Gunn, Raudenbush, & Sampson, 1997; 2002a). The PHDCN's initial aim was to evaluate social and psychological development in urban communities as well as the causes and trajectories of crime, drug use, and violence. The city of Chicago, Illinois was selected for its diverse population based on race, ethnicity, and social class characteristics. The PHDCN data are ideal for the present project because they include all central theoretical variables – racial discrimination, criminal justice injustices, positive racial socialization, negative emotions, and social bonds – as well as measures of additional strains, theoretical controls, and known correlates of crime. Furthermore, the dataset includes items regarding community characteristics. Such data allow for thorough investigations of the hypotheses proposed by the theory of African American offending (TAAO) (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011) as well as racialized general strain theory (RGST) (Agnew, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008).

Data collection began in 1995 with the community survey. Chicago's 847 census tracts were collapsed into 343 neighborhood clusters based upon aggregate racial/ethnic composition and socioeconomic characteristics. A representative sample of 8,782 adults residents across the 343 neighborhood clusters were interviewed for the community survey (Earls et al., 1997). A stratified probability sample of the neighborhood clusters was then conducted to identify a sub-sample of households to participate in the cohort

study. Blocks within the neighborhood clusters were randomly selected; then a comprehensive listing of all occupants of each selected block was obtained. From these lists, all pregnant women, children, young adults, and their primary caregivers were screened as potential participants. Participants and/or their primary caregivers were interviewed at three points in time about the changing circumstances of their lives and the personal characteristics that may lead them towards or away from a variety of antisocial behaviors. Of those eligible for the study, 6,228 participated at wave one, 5,338 participated at wave two, and 4,850 participated at wave three (Earls et al., 2002a). The present analyses are limited to wave three because it is the only time point when all of the items measuring theoretical factors were administered.[6] Wave three data were collected between 2000 and 2002, and the present subsample involves cohorts originally aged 9, 12, 15, and 18 in 1995. Thus, the age range of the present sample is 15 to 24 years old.

The present project uses the personal identity files for the age 9, 12, 15, and 18 cohorts at wave three as the base file, resulting in a starting sample size of 1,957 (Earls et al., 2002b). This sample was analyzed for systematic or randomly missing data patterns. Missing values were replaced using the multiple imputation technique prior to creating summary measures.[7] The current analysis focuses only on African Americans making the

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[6] A table depicting the data structure may be found in Appendix A, and a table showing the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research's (ICPSR) PHDCN file structure may be found in Appendix B.

[7] Multiple imputation is a statistical technique for handling missing data that involves imputing missing values several times, analyzing across the imputed values, and pooling the results (Rubin, 1987; van Buuren, 2012). SPSS employs Marko chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) techniques for multiple imputation, which simulates random draws from nonstandard distributions using Marko chains (see Gilks, Richardson, & Spiegelhalter, 1996 for detailed discussion). Following the pooling technique of Rubin (1987), imputation was completed on the subsets of data before being combined into the final dataset. In the first series of analysis on the TAAO, only two indicators – negative emotions (7.8 percent) and income (11.2 percent) – were missing enough cases (greater than 1 percent) to require attention prior to scale development. Once measures were created, it was revealed the combined discrimination measure was missing 2.4 percent of responses. Thus, the individual items were imputed and the discrimination summary

sample size 686 post imputations. The PHDCN study was one of the first surveys to allow respondents to provide multiple responses for their racial and ethnic identity, in categorical and open-ended form, as well as rank their primary identity. To determine racial classification, respondents were coded as African American if they listed such as their main identity in the open-ended question and/or as their sole or first identity in the categorical questions. If the categorical and open-ended responses did not align, the open-ended responses took precedence. This racial distinction determined the final sample. An additional 19 cases were excluded due to missing values on focal measures resulting in a final sample size of 667 African Americans. The mean age of the final study sample is 18 year old and is 46 percent male.

Measures

Dependent Variables. Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) present TAAO as a general theory of offending for a specific population, thus it should explain propensity across various forms of criminal behaviors. The present analyses examine serious and violent offending as well as substance use. Respondents were asked, "In the last year have you…" and provided a yes or no response. Twenty-three felony offenses were provided including arson, burglary, drug dealing, assault, and rape.[8] The final measure of *serious and violent*

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measure was re-created. When the additional indicators were added for the second series of analysis on RGST, both items in the subjective financial strain measure – "How worried are you about not having enough money?" and "How worried are you about not having enough money for the next 5 year?" – were missing 10.1 percent and 10.2 percent of cases, respectively. The same multiple imputation technique described above was implemented prior to the summary measure's creation and inclusion in the final dataset.

[8] Specific questions are: Carried a weapon; purposefully damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to you; purposely set fire to a house, building or vacant lot; entered or broken into a building to steal something; snatched someone's purse or wallet or picked someone's pocket; stolen from a car; knowingly bought or sold stolen goods; stolen a car or motorcycle to keep or sell; sold marijuana or pot; sold cocaine or crack; sold heroin; hit someone you live with with the idea of hurting them; hit someone you did not live with with the idea of hurting them; attacked someone with a weapon; used a weapon or force to get money or things from people; thrown objects at people; chased someone to scare or hurt them; shot someone; shot

offending is a count outcome of how many types of offenses a person had participated in over the past year. *Substance use* is measured by a dichotomous variable crafted from items asking respondents if they used marijuana, cocaine, and other substances during the last year.[9] While such indicators do not provide a true rate of offending or substance use, they do measure variety in offending, which is highly correlated with frequency (Mosher, Meithe, & Phillips, 2002).

Independent Variables. TAAO argues *criminal justice injustices* and *racial discrimination* uniquely impact African Americans increasing their likelihood to offend (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). Criminal justice injustices are assessed with two questions: In the past year, were you discriminated against by the police; did you worry about being discriminated against by the police. Respondents replied yes or no; the mean of the responses[10] are used to measure criminal justice injustices ($\alpha = 0.696$). Racial

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at someone; been in a gang fight in which someone was hurt or threatened with harm; threatened to physically hurt someone; had or tried to have sexual relations with someone against their will

[9] The measure of substance use comes from combining two surveys: "Drug Use" for cohorts 9 and 12 and "Drug Use Follow-up" for cohorts 15 and 18. The younger cohorts were asked if they used (i.e., yes or no) nine different substances (i.e., sedatives, tranquilizers, amphetamines, analgesics with codeine, inhalants, LSD/hallucinogens, heroin, cocaine, and marijuana) over the past year. The older cohorts were asked about their frequency of use of marijuana, cocaine, and other substances over the past year (i.e., 0 = never, 1 = <1/month, 2 = 1-3/month, 3 = 1-2/week, 4 = 3-4/week, 5 = almost daily). For cohorts 15 and 18, any reported use of marijuana, cocaine, or other substances within the past year was recoded to 1. For the younger cohorts, all other substances besides marijuana and cocaine were combined into a single indicator of other substances with any reported use coded as 1(only two subjects reported incidents of use of another type of drug besides marijuana or cocaine). These measures were combined into a count variable ranging from 0 to 3. Less the 2 percent reported use of more than one type of drug over the last year, and 93 percent reported only using marijuana. Thus, the measure was truncated into a dummy variable for substance use.

[10] Factor analysis, a series of statistical techniques gauging the interrelationship among items as well as their ability to measure an underlying, or latent, construct (Kim & Mueller, 1978a, 1978b), was considered for the present analysis. And, principal components analysis, another data reduction technique that utilizes orthogonal transformations to convert the observed variables into a set of components with the first component explaining the largest possible variance (Kim & Mueller, 1978a, 1978b), was used in preliminary analyses to determine which combination of items provided the best measures for the needed constructs. Such analysis supported the independence of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices due to their items loading on separate components (available upon request). However, because many of the final measures are count indices, a single item or a combination of two items, and because the Likert-scale

discrimination questions followed the same pattern; in the past year were you

discriminated against in your neighborhood, outside of your neighborhood, when you

wanted service, when you first met someone new, or other times. Respondents were also

asked if they had worried about being discriminated against in the same situations,

totaling ten items. Again, mean scores are used as a measure of discrimination (α =

0.771). Respondents were asked if they believed the discrimination and injustices was

due to their ethnicity or skin color; if they responded "no," the answers to the above

questions were recoded to zero so the remaining responses were race-based. This

transformation was conducted prior to reliability analysis.

In addition to racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, Agnew and

colleagues (Kaufman et al., 2008) suggest African Americans are more likely to

experience several other strains primarily due to their disadvantaged structural position.

For instance, African Americans are more likely to experience economic strains due to

severe poverty, chronic unemployment, or employment in the secondary labor market

(e.g., Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015; Colvin, 2000; Massey, 1990). Agnew (2001,

2006) states strains may be either objective (i.e., events or conditions that are generally

considered negative) or subjective (i.e., events or conditions that are deemed particularly

negative for the individual experiencing them), with subjective strains being more

emotionally taxing and thus more likely to lead to offending. *Objective financial strain* is

a count measure totaling eight items gauging negative financial situations during the past

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items combined had the same unit of measurement, the use of the mean scores as summary measures was
deemed appropriate for the present analyses.

6 months or year. Respondents[11] were asked, providing a yes or no response, if they had experienced situations such as being unemployed, receiving welfare, not having enough food, or being evicted from their home.[12] *Subjective financial strain* is measured by two questions: "How worried are you about not having enough money?", and "How worried are you about not having enough money for the next 5 years?" Responses ranged from 1 = not at all to 5 = extremely, with the mean providing the measure of subjective financial strain ($\alpha = 0.780$).

Limited income leads to greater likelihood of residing in disadvantaged areas (e.g., Krivo & Peterson, 1996; Sampson & Wilson, 1995), which in turn increases the likelihood of criminal victimization (Harrell, 2007; Holt, Turner, & Exum, 2014), though victimization of African Americans occurs across all socio-economic lines (Harrell, 2007; Logan & Stults, 1999). African Americans are victimized at a rate 28 percent higher than whites (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015). African Americans account for nearly half of all homicide victims, and of those nearly half are between the ages of 17 and 29 years old. The average rate of aggravated assault for African Americans is nearly twice the rate of whites. And, nearly half of all African American victimization involves serious injury or an assailant armed with a weapon (Harrell, 2007). Victimization is one of the most consequential forms of strains (Agnew 2001, 2006; Brezina 1998), leading to increased anger (Camodeca & Goossens, 2005; Ditton, Farrall, Bannister, Gilchrist, & Peace, 1999; Rutter, Weatherill, Taft, & Orazem 2012), depression (Hoschstetler, DeLisi,

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[11] Respondents were the subject's primary caregiver for cohorts 9 and 12 and the subject for cohorts 15 and 18, thus providing a measure of the financial situation of the subject's household.

[12] Specific questions are: Primary caregiver (or self) ever unemployed during the past year?; Primary caregiver (or self) receive public assistance during past year?; Was your welfare ever reduced because requirements not met?; Ever told of time limit to welfare?; Ever no money for food in last 6 months?; Ever cut meal sizes in last 6 months?; Ever have heat and/or electricity cut-off in last 6 months?; Ever evicted from home in last 6 months?

Jones-Johnson, & Johnson, 2014; Vaske, Makarios, Boisvert, Beaver, & Wright, 2009),

reduced self-control (Agnew, Scheuerman, Grosholz, Isom, Watson, & Thaxton, 2011),

drug use (Snipes, Green, Benotsch, & Perrin, 2014; Tyler, Kort-Butler, & Swendener,

2014) as well as violence and crime (Hay & Evans, 2006; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, &

Tritt, 2004; Tyler et al., 2014). In addition to direct victimization, research finds vicarious

victimization, particularly witnessing the victimization of family and close friends,

increases the likelihood of victimizing others for African Americans (Agnew, 2002;

Attar, Guerra, & Tolan, 1994; McGrath, Marcum, & Copes, 2012). Respondents were

asked, "In the past year, were you… chased to be hurt; hit; attacked with a weapon; shot

at; shot; sexually assaulted; or threatened or seriously hurt?" providing a yes or no

response. *Direct victimization* is a count measure of how many of these forms of threats

and violence the subject experienced over the past year. Items measuring vicarious

victimization followed the same pattern, asking if, "In the past year, did you… see

someone chased to be hurt; see someone hit; see someone attacked with a weapon; see

someone shot; see someone shot at; see someone killed; see someone threatened or

seriously hurt; learn an acquaintance was shot; learn an acquaintance was killed; learn an

acquaintance was raped?" providing a yes or no response. *Vicarious victimization* is a

count measure of such victimization indirectly experienced over the past year.

Finally, RGST suggests African Americans' experience of economic strains,

racial discrimination, victimization, and other external factors will increase tensions

within the household, disrupting parenting and causing familial strain (Agnew, 2006;

Kaufman et al., 2008). One form of such external factors impacting the home is contact

with the legal system, particularly if a family member is imprisoned (Clear, 2007;

Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014). *Family legal problems* serves as a conservative proxy for familial strain and is measured by the question, "Any family members have legal problems in the past year?," with respondents answering yes or no.

Unnever and Gabbidon (2011), in TAAO, theorize that negative emotions generally increase the likelihood of offending (see Figure 1 in Chapter 3). In the first series of analyses, which is an initial assessment of TAAO, anger and depression are combined into an overall measure of negative emotions. *Negative emotions* are measured with six items from subsets measuring depression and aggression from the Youth and Young Adult Self Report Protocols,[13] which have been shown to be reliable measures of several emotional problems (Earls et al., 2002c, 2002d). The six items are: I argue a lot; I scream a lot; I have a hot temper; I feel lonely; I cry a lot; I am unhappy, sad, or depressed. Responses ranged from 0 = not true to 2 = very or often true, with the mean providing a measure of negative emotions ($\alpha = 0.682$).

Emotions scholars, however, argue emotions such as anger and depression emerge from different social and cognitive processes and have varying behavioral outcomes (e.g., Stets & Turner, 2007). In criminology, general strain theory (GST) (Agnew, 1992, 2006) argues anger is most likely to lead to outward aggression and violence, whereas depression is mostly dealt with through drug abuse. Thus, in the second series of analyses assessing RGST, anger and depression are assessed independently. *Anger* is measured by the questions, "I argue a lot;" "I scream a lot;" and "I have a hot temper" ($\alpha = 0.671$).

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[13] The Youth Self Report Protocol was developed by Achenbach System of Empirically Based Assessment, and more information of the psychometric development, including which items assess which emotional traits, may be found at aseba.org.

Depression is measured by the questions, "I feel lonely;" "I cry a lot;" and "I am unhappy, sad, or depressed" (α = 0.668).

Social bonds are measured with a series of questions previously used by Maimon, Browning, and Brooks-Gunn (2010) and Browning, Brooks-Gunn, and Leventhal (2005). The questions are, "No matter what happens, I know that my family will always be there for me should I need them;" "My family lets me know they think I am a valuable person;" "People in my family have confidence in me;" "People in my family help me find solutions to my problems;" and "I know my family will always stand my me." Responses were coded on a scale of 1 = not true to 3 = very true, with the mean of the total items providing a measure of social bonds (α = 0.799).

The measure of positive racial socialization is adapted from the Puerto Rican Adolescent Survey (Earls et al., 2002b). Respondents were asked, "Please name the one ethnic or religious group that you think is most important to you," and the group provided served as the reference category for five items: I tried to learn about (GROUP) history, traditions, and customs; I think a lot about how being (GROUP) has affected my life; I feel like a member of the (GROUP) community; I have often talked to other people to try to learn more about my (GROUP) culture; I feel good about being (GROUP). Responses ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree. If the respondent did not provide a racial or ethnic group as their most important group, the above questions were recoded to zero so the remaining responses would be race-based. The mean of the recoded responses are used as a measure of positive racial socialization (α = 0.988).

Control Variables. Control variables include items known as correlates of crime or represented in leading criminological theories. Gender is coded as a dummy variable,

where female = 1. Income is a categorical measure ranging from 1 = less than $5,000 annually to 11 = over $90,000 annually.[14] Age is a continuous variable calculated from date of birth and the date of survey administration. Given the inclusion of young adults and adolescents in the sample, special attention is needed for their varying levels of direct control and independence during this time of emerging adulthood (see Arnett, 2007; Marcus & Jamison, 2014; Piquero, Brame, Mazerolle, & Haapanen, 2002). Thus, student status is represented by a dichotomous indicator where 1 = currently in school. Likewise, employment status is a dichotomous indicator where 1 = currently employed. Dummy variables were also created to control for living at home (1 = yes) and if parents are married (1 = yes). Having delinquent peers is one of the strongest predictors of delinquency (Pratt et al., 2010), and is measured by the question, "Do you hang out with gang members?" (1 = yes).[15] Religion, a known buffer for offending, particularly for African Americans (Jang & Johnson, 2005; Kaufman et al., 2008), is represented by the question, "How important are your religious beliefs?" Responses ranged from 1 = not important and 4 = very important. The extant literature also suggests community

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[14] Measures of SES are meant to capture individual's access to social and economic resources. Income is a common proxy and is a stronger predictor of associated outcomes (e.g., health) than other SES indicators such as education and occupation (Duncan, Daly, McDonough, & Williams, 2002). In the present analysis, income is based on primary caregiver income for respondents in cohorts 9 and 12 and self-reported income for respondents in cohorts 15 and 18. While household income is a strong indicator of standard of living, all family members may not have equal access to income. Additionally, for the older cohorts, much like retirees, personal income may not adequately reflect standard of living or all financial resources (e.g., family, savings) (Duncan et al., 2002). The PHDCN does not capture (i.e., education) or is missing the majority of responses (i.e., occupation) for indicators needed to craft an ideal measure of SES. Furthermore, only personal information – and no family or primary caregiver information – was ever collected for participants in cohort 18 (See Appendix A). Thus, the present measure of income is a conservative proxy for SES. Its limitations, however, are lessened by the additional controls of neighborhood SES (captured within concentrated disadvantage) and controls of emerging adulthood status.

[15] The PHDCN data contains a "Deviance of Peers" survey, but it was only administered to cohorts 6, 9, and 12. This question comes from the "Gangs" survey and provides a conservative control for delinquent peers.

characteristics account for much of the variation in crime rates (Bursik & Grasmick,

1993; Sampson & Groves, 1989). Concentrated disadvantage, residential stability, and

immigrant concentration are measured with indicators created by the original PHDCN

investigators (Earls et al., 1997; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997).[16] Table 1 reveals

the present sample distribution across the neighborhood clusters.

Table 1. Sample Distribution across Neighborhood Clusters

Racial and Ethnic Composition by SES Strata: Distribution of 667 African Americans across the Neighborhood Clusters in the PHDCN data				
	Neighborhood SES			
Neighborhood Race and Ethnicity	Low	Medium	High	Total
≥75% Black	182	101	98	381
≥ 75% White	0	5	2	7
≥ 75% Latino	7	3	0	10
≥ 20% Latino & ≥ 20% White	14	3	2	19
≥ 20% Latino & ≥ 20% Black	20	67	0	87
≥ 20% Black & ≥ 20% White	25	60	24	109
NC not classified above	25	29	0	54
Total	273	268	126	667

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[16] The original PHDCN investigators constructed ten items from the 1990 U.S. Census to create the factor scores presently used. Concentrated disadvantage comes from the percentage of African Americans, juveniles, unemployed, female-headed households, individuals living below the poverty line, and people on public assistance in a neighborhood cluster. Residential stability comes from the percentage of individuals who have resided in the same home since 1985 and percentage of those who own their home. Immigrant concentration comes from the percentage of Latinos and the percentage of other foreign-born individuals. Original items used to create the given factor scores were eliminated from the restricted data presently used and obtain from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) for confidentiality reasons. For further discussion of the measures see Earls et al. (1997) and Sampson et al. (1997).

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptives	Mean	SD	Skewness
Serious & Violent Offending	1.13	1.77	2.40
Substance Use	0.18	0.38	1.70
Racial Discrimination	0.14	0.19	1.47
Racial Criminal Justice Injustice	0.22	0.36	1.30
Family Legal Problems	0.35	0.48	0.64
Objective Financial Strain	1.08	1.46	1.48
Subjective Financial Strain	2.02	0.94	0.88
Direct Victimization	0.44	0.83	2.17
Vicarious Victimization	2.84	2.28	0.82
Negative Emotions	0.52	0.39	0.90
Anger	0.73	0.52	0.60
Depression	0.34	0.44	1.18
Social Bonds	2.73	0.37	-1.75
Racial Socialization	1.34	1.64	0.47
Gender (Female=1)	0.54	0.50	-0.17
Age	17.71	3.35	0.27
Religion	3.37	0.82	-1.26
Deliquent Peers	0.27	0.44	1.07
Income	4.94	2.59	0.55
Employment Status	0.23	0.42	1.26
Student Status	0.60	0.49	-0.41
Live at Home	0.86	0.35	-2.07
Parental Marital Status	0.21	0.41	1.44
Concentrated Disadvantage	0.33	0.71	0.68
Residential Stability	0.44	1.15	-0.12
Immigrant Concentration	-0.38	0.87	0.79

Analytical Strategy

The analytical strategy is consistent across both series of analyses. Given that the

dependent variables are a count variable and a dummy variable, I utilize negative

binomial and logistic regression analyses, respectively.[17] A series of stepwise regressions

are reported for each dependent variable in the results chapters. For ease of interpretation,

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[17] Because the dependent variable is a count measure, OLS regression is inappropriate. Additionally, the data suffers from over-dispersion, meaning the variance (3.12) is greater than the conditional mean (2.42, SD = 0.11, Skewness = 2.09) (i.e., the mean of those with at least one reported offense), thus a negative binomial regression model is most appropriate for the present data. A zero-inflated negative binomial model was also considered given the offending counts are highly positively skewed. This would allow for an assessment between those that never offend, those that may possibly offend, and repeat offenders. Assessments of model fit, including deviance tests and likelihood ratio tests, however, revealed the inflation factor to be non-significant, suggesting the negative binomial model is more appropriate. [Poison Model: D = 1160. 83; Negative Binomial Model: D = 627.91; Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial Model: likelihood ratio test (χ^2 = 33.05, df = 649, ns); The lower deviance between of the negative binomial model and poison models reveal the negative binomial model is a better fit. The likelihood ratio test between the negative binomial model and the zero-inflated negative binomial model (the Vuong test is inappropriate because the data are nested) is not significant suggesting the negative binomial model best fits the present data.]

incidence rate ratios (IRR) are provided for the negative binomial regressions and odds

ratios (OR) are provided for the logistic regressions. The IRR provides the percentage

change (determined by the difference between the IRR and one) in serious and violent

offending for a one unit change in the given predictors holding all other variables

constant (Hilbe, 2011). The OR suggests higher odds of substance use if the OR is greater

than one and lower odds of substance use if less than one (Hilbe, 2011). An advantage of

the PHDCN data is the community characteristics. The sample is nested within

neighborhood clusters with varying degrees of disadvantage and stability. While a

hierarchical linear model was considered, the focus presently is on individual-level

constructs controlling for their neighborhood conditions. Stata allows for the control of

clustering effects, thus yielding conditional results accounting for the nested nature of the

data and providing robust standard errors. Variance inflation factors suggest none of the

present measures suffer from multicollinearity.[18] To assess conditioning effects,

interaction terms were created by taking the product of positive racial socialization and

racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, respectively, in the first series and

positive racial socialization and the additional strains in the second series.[19] The data

were cleaned using SPSS and analyses were finalized in Stata. Table 2 provides

descriptive statistics for all variables in the analysis, and Table 3 presents the full

correlation matrix for both series of analyses.

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[18] VIF were all below 3.0; available upon request.

[19] While multicollinearity is detected for the interaction terms (VIF range between 2.3 and 4.2), there are no adverse consequences to the *p*-values or other results, thus the interaction terms are not mean-centered in the current presentation (Allison, 2012; Jaccard & Turrisi, 2003). Analyses were conducted with the mean-centered interaction terms as well, and results remained unchanged as supported by the literature, thus are not presently presented, but available upon request.

Table 3. Correlation Matrix

Correlation Matrix		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
A	Serious Offending	1																									
B	Substance Use	.203**	1																								
C	Racial Discrimination	.124**	.089*	1																							
D	Criminal Justice Injustice	.213**	.144**	.547**	1																						
E	Family Legal Problems	.163**	.115**	.048	.126**	1																					
F	Objective Financial Strain	.089*	.048	.033	.043	.109**	1																				
G	Subjective Financial Strain	.091*	.054	.059	-.017	.052	.389**	1																			
H	Direct Victimization	.428**	.134**	.113**	.128**	.024	.062	.067	1																		
I	Vicarious Victimization	.465**	.272**	.235**	.271**	.160**	.074	.037	.424**	1																	
J	Negative Emotions	.208**	.105**	.123**	.039	.065	.120**	.127**	.226**	.142**	1																
K	Anger	.269**	.074	.065	.062	.075	.095**	.071	.027	.199**	.035	1															
L	Depression	.034	.099**	.115**	-.018	.012	-.086	-.078	-.039	-.130**	.021	-.014	1														
M	Social Bonds	-.154**	-.081*	-.051	-.094*	-.129**	-.119**	-.104**	.031	.209**	.120**	.168**	.012	1													
N	Racial Socialization	-.038	.005	.131**	.096*	-.007	-.113**	-.002	-.051	.008	-.050	-.064	.031	.031	1												
O	Gender (Female=1)	-.175**	-.078*	-.003	-.204**	-.010	.073	-.011	-.084*	-.140**	-.003	-.011	.001	.032	.017	1											
P	Age	.033	.295**	.118**	.169**	.067	-.086	-.078	.027	.199**	.035	-.019	.006	.068	.121**	.057	1										
Q	Religion	-.191**	-.022	-.019	-.094*	-.129**	-.119**	-.104**	-.039	-.130**	.021	-.014	.066	.197**	.028	.077*	.077*	1									
R	Delinquent Peers	.146**	.077*	.025	.063	.082*	.029	.061	.031	.209**	.120**	.168**	.012	-.068	-.005	-.005	.001	-.047	1								
S	Income	-.044	.008	.029	-.006	.033	-.404**	-.291**	-.011	-.036	-.034	-.066	.001	.090*	.061	.012	.057	.113**	-.021	1							
T	Employment Status	.017	.134**	.081*	.082*	.013	-.126**	-.143**	.003	.087*	-.073	-.094*	-.062	.047	.133**	-.003	.620**	.062	-.067	.113**	1						
U	Student Status	-.124**	-.280**	-.074	-.148**	-.087*	.036	.079*	-.105**	-.205**	-.089	-.011	-.031	-.050	-.066	-.062	-.787**	-.074	-.032	-.026	-.678**	1					
V	Live at Home	-.044	-.207**	-.011	-.073	-.111**	-.014	.039	.016	-.066	-.059	-.037	-.025	.019	-.077*	-.070	-.427**	-.065	.038	-.014	-.224**	.346**	1				
W	Parental Marital Status	-.083*	-.102**	-.059	-.054	-.057	-.128**	-.029	.014	-.051	-.013	-.010	.010	.002	-.030	-.031	-.130**	-.024	-.007	.310**	-.092*	.169**	.208**	1			
X	Concentrated Disadvantage	.096*	.119**	-.036	-.015	.049	.101**	.070	.032	.112**	.004	-.006	.016	-.033	-.126**	-.070	-.071	-.100**	.040	-.251**	.085*	.075	.037	-.087*	1		
Y	Residential Stability	-.050	-.074	.012	-.051	-.043	-.135**	-.107**	.020	-.060	.050	.039	.040	-.019	.011	.065	.080*	.116**	-.033	.228**	-.073	-.077*	.053	.106**	-.346**	1	
Z	Immigrant Concentration	.022	-.031	.045	.022	.057	.108**	.047	-.036	.029	.006	.029	-.006	.014	-.046	.004	-.085*	.009	-.054	-.094*	-.067	.084*	.025	-.017	-.077*	-.399**	1

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

Chapter Five

An Empirical Assessment of the Theory of African American Offending

Table 3, shown in the previous chapter, presents the correlation matrix. In general, the predictor variables are weakly to moderately correlated with the measures of offending. For instance, racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices are positively correlated with serious offending and substance use. As expected, negative emotions are positively correlated with serious offending and substance use and social bonds are negatively correlated with the same variables. Yet, social bonds are not significantly correlated with racial discrimination or criminal justice injustices and negative emotions are only weakly associated with racial discrimination and not significantly associated with criminal justice injustices. Furthermore, racial socialization is not significantly correlated with serious offending or substance use, but is positively associated with racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices. While most of the significant associations lend support to the intricate relationships proposed by TAAO, the lack of significant correlations or weak associations between negative emotions and social bonds with racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices suggest the mitigating effect proposed may not find support in the multivariate models.[20] The correlations suggest racial socialization should increase the likelihood one perceives racial discrimination and criminal justice

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[20] TAAO suggests the direct effects of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices are mediated by negative emotions and social bonds (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). For a variable to function as a mediator, it must be significantly related to the dependent variable as well as the independent variable and diminish or eliminate the association between the independent variable and dependent variable when included in the model (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Given negative emotions and social bonds are not significantly correlated with racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, it seems unlikely they will function as mediators in the present analysis and may serve instead as additional covariates. The present analysis (and the analysis in the following chapter), however, only provides a rudimentary assessment of such effects through a stepwise analysis (i.e., the change in direct effects are considered with the addition of other controls in subsequent models).

injustices; and while negative emotions and social bonds may not modify the relationship between racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, they may function as additional predictors of each type of offending.

The results for the negative binomial regressions on serious and violent offending are presented in Table 4. Models were built in a stepwise fashion to best assess the intricate relationships proposed by TAAO. First, the effects of the control variables are fairly stable and in the directions suggested by previous theorizing and empirical studies across all of the models. Being female, in school, religious, and having a stable family structure decrease the likelihood of serious offending, while being younger, having delinquent peers, and residing in a disadvantaged community increase the likelihood of serious offending. Hypothesis one predicts racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices increase the likelihood of offending. Model 1 reveals criminal justice injustices significantly increase the likelihood of serious offending by 59 percent holding other variables constant, partially confirming hypothesis one. Surprisingly, racial discrimination is not a significant predictor of serious offending. This lack of an effect is inconsistent with hypothesis one and previous research that finds racial discrimination is a strong predictor of criminal behavior (e.g., Burt et al., 2012; Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004; Simons et al., 2006).

Hypothesis two predicts negative emotions and weakened social bonds increase the likelihood of offending in turn lessening the effects of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices. In Model 2 when negative emotions and social bonds are added to the model, negative emotions greatly increase the likelihood of serious offending by 179 percent and social bonds significantly decrease the likelihood of

offending by 22 percent, as expected. Yet, the effect of criminal justice injustices remains significant and slightly increases, rather than being attenuated, disconfirming the second hypothesis.

Hypothesis three predicts positive racial socialization conditions the effects of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices on offending. Racial socialization, added in Model 3, has no direct relationship with serious offending similar to past research (e.g., Burt et al., 2012). The final model assesses the conditioning effect of racial socialization on racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices with the inclusion of interaction terms. These conditioning effects are not significant, counter to TAAO predictions reflected in the third hypothesis. This finding is inconsistent with other works that show that positive racial socialization buffers the effect of perceived racial discrimination and injustices on deviant outcomes (e.g., Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Caughy et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2006). Unsurprisingly based on the results, both measures of model fit suggest Model 2 best fits the current data and provides the best predictions of serious offending. [21] Present results suggest criminal justice injustices, negative emotions, and social bonds significantly influence the likelihood of serious offending, while racial socialization does not provide a significant safeguard.

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[21] AIC and BIC are presented in each results table, and each are based on different assumptions and modeling strategies. Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) is relative for the given data, and is best for exploratory analysis, when models grow in complexity, and for assessing the accuracy of overall prediction. Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) uses Bayesian modeling techniques to find the posterior probability for each model, and is best for confirmatory analysis, when models represent known processes, and for finding the correct model (Aho, Derryberry, & Peterson, 2014; Dziak, Coffman, Lanza, & Li, 2012). Following the guidance of Dziak et al. (2012), both are presented currently as each provide insight into the model fit for the present sample (AIC) and the overall theoretical validity (BIC). For each, the smaller indices indicate better models.

Table 4.

Negative Binomial Regressions on Serious and Violent Offending								
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE
Racial Discrimination	1.52	.449	1.16	.358	1.18	.353	.79	.431
Racial Criminal Justice Injustice	1.59**	.239	1.67**	.277	1.67**	.282	1.65*	.406
Negative Emotions	---	---	2.79**	.345	2.78**	.347	2.75**	.346
Social Bonds	---	---	.78*	.092	.78*	.093	.79*	.091
Positive Racial Socialization	---	---	---	---	.99	.037	.95	.047
Racial Socialization X Discrimination	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.25	.269
Racial Socialization X CJ Injustices	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.01	.101
Controls								
Gender (Female = 1)	.62**	.077	.49**	.060	.49**	.061	.50**	.060
Age	.91**	.023	.92**	.023	.92**	.024	.92**	.024
Income Level	1.01	.023	1.02	.026	1.02	.026	1.02	.026
Employment Status	.80	.119	.96	.144	.96	.14	.94	.145
School Status	.40**	.056	.47**	.070	.47**	.070	.45**	.070
Live at Home	.78	.149	.88	.153	.88	.15	.89	.154
Parental Marital Status	.79	.126	.77^	.115	.77^	.115	.77^	.118
Religion	.75**	.050	.76**	.051	.76**	.050	.76**	.050
Delinquent Peers	1.73**	.231	1.58**	.218	1.58**	.218	1.56**	.214
Concetrated Disadvantage	1.20*	.110	1.18*	.093	1.17^	.094	1.17^	.097
Immigrant Concentration	1.10	.090	1.09	.085	1.09	.085	1.08	.085
Residential Stabilty	1.05	.052	1.02	.045	1.01	.046	1.01	.047
AIC	1868.92		1823.67		1825.54		1827.51	
BIC	1940.97		1904.72		1911.09		1922.07	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-918.46		-893.83		-893.77		-892.76	
^p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01								

Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) suggest African Americans, particularly males, are more likely to internalize their anger and self-medicate with substance use. Table 5 reveals the logistic regression models applying TAAO pathways to substance use. Again, controls are fairly consistent across models. Females and those employed and/or in school are less likely to engage in substance use, while older individuals and those with delinquent peers and residing in disadvantage communities are more likely to engage in substance use. [22] Surprisingly, Model 1 reveals no significant direct effects between racial

[22] In general, offending peaks in adolescence and early adulthood then decreases with age, particularly for violent offenses; this is known as the age-crime curve (Farrington, 1986; Loeber & Farrington, 2014). This consistent finding justifies the assessment of late-adolescents and emerging adults, despite their varying degrees of social control and independence which may differentially impact their likelihood of offending (Arnett, 2007; Marcus & Jamison, 2014; Piquero et al., 2002). While I include numerous controls to

discrimination and criminal justice injustice on substance use, disconfirming hypothesis one. This counters much extant literature that finds perceived discrimination is strongly associated with drug abuse (e.g., Gibbons et al., 2010; Hunte & Finlayson, 2013; Terrell, Miller, Foster, & Watkins, 2006). In support of TAAO and the second hypothesis, Model 2 suggests negative emotions significantly increase the odds while social bonds decrease

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account for these factors (i.e., living at home, employment status, student status, parental marital status; see Chapter Four), age remains a significant predictor of both forms of offending across all models, but in opposite directions – younger subjects are more likely to engage in serious offending and older subjects are more likely to engage in substance use. While sample size does not allot the power for full sub-sample analysis, I do conduct some secondary analysis to parse out these effects. First, I re-assessed all models presented above with the additional control of a dummy indicator for juvenile status (1 = under age 18). In the serious offending models, juvenile status is not significant and does not affect the other predictors. In the substance use models, however, juvenile status becomes significant and age is no longer significant, with juveniles having significantly lower odds of substance use. The other main effects are not significantly changed from those presented in Table 5.

As an additional sensitivity analysis, I analyze a series of crosstabs between juvenile status and each dependent variable. As expected, there is not a significant difference between age groups and levels of serious offending ($\chi^2 = 9.324$, df =12, p = 0.675). There is, however, a significant difference for substance use ($\chi^2 = 69.95$, df = 1, p < 0.000). Previous research supports this pattern. The National Institute on Drug Abuse (2003) reports only 8.6 percent of African Americans between 12 and 17 years old report using any illicit drug in the last month compared to 15.7 percent of African Americans between 18 and 25 years old. And similar to the present study, the majority of drug users report only using marijuana (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2003). In the current study, only 118 participants reported using drugs during the last year. Of these reported users, 91 are 18 years old or above, and only 27 are juveniles. Thus, the variance in significance between age and juvenile status is most likely due to the sample instead of true differences between the groups.

While the sample size generally, and the small number of reported substance users specifically, disallows extensive investigation into the differences between juveniles and young adults, I conducted one additional sensitivity analysis. I correlated juvenile status with the additional predictors to assess if these associations varied from the associations with age. While most of the associations are of the same magnitude and significance, a few indicators are substantially different. Social bonds are not significantly related to age, but they are weakly associated with juvenile status with juveniles having stronger bonds than young adults (r = -0.093). Two strains – family legal problems and objective financial strain (analyzed in Chapter 6) – also vary in their correlations with age and juvenile status. While family legal problems are not significantly associated with age, they are significantly, weakly correlated with juvenile status (r = -0.091). In the other direction, while objective financial strain is significantly correlated with age, it is not significantly associated with juvenile status. Finally, the community characteristics vary in their associations. Concentrated disadvantage is not correlated with age, but is significantly correlated with juvenile status (r = 0.097). Immigrant concentration and residential stability are not significantly association with juvenile status, where they are significantly correlated with age. This variance in significance suggests juvenile status may differentially influence the effects of certain factors adding insight into the differences found earlier. For example, juveniles are impacted by different laws making them more vulnerable of becoming wards of the state if a parent goes to jail or increases the likelihood of arrest for a status offense in a disadvantage neighborhood, possibly explaining some of the correlational differences discussed above. Further investigation into these differences is beyond the power and scope of the present analysis. Yet, such analysis is warranted, particularly with larger samples of various age groups and with more comprehensive drug measures. (All supplementary results are available upon request.)

the odds of substance use. But, similar to the serious offending models, Models 3 and 4 reveal racial socialization is not significantly related directly or indirectly to substance use, further disconfirming the third hypothesis. Model fit statistics yield different results, suggesting Model 2 (AIC = 541.30) best fits the current sample, while Model 1 (BIC = 615. 52) yields the best combination of predictors for substance use.

Table 5.

Logistic Regressions on Substance Use								
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variables	OR	RSE	OR	RSE	OR	RSE	OR	RSE
Racial Discrimination	1.73	1.269	1.22	.922	1.24	.965	2.15	1.655
Racial Criminal Justice Injustice	1.29	.430	1.36	.470	1.36	.467	.91	.475
Negative Emotions	---	---	2.05*	.618	2.05*	.615	2.09*	.626
Social Bonds	---	---	.60^	.160	.60^	.159	.60^	.162
Positive Racial Socialization	---	---	---	---	.99	.068	.96	.094
Racial Socialization X Discrimination	---	---	---	---	---	---	.70	.257
Racial Socialization X CJ Injustices	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.31	.297
Controls								
Gender (Female = 1)	.61*	.120	.52**	.123	.52**	.123	.52**	.117
Age	1.20**	.075	1.22**	.081	1.22**	.081	1.22**	.080
Income Level	1.07	.049	1.09^	.053	1.09^	.053	1.09^	.054
Employment Status	.50*	.159	.54^	.177	.54^	.182	.54^	.185
School Status	.37**	.138	.40*	.145	.41*	.144	.41*	.143
Live at Home	.65	.188	.71	.209	.71	.209	.70	.200
Parental Marital Status	.63	.211	.61	.206	.60	.205	.54^	.185
Religion	.92	.093	.95	.096	.95	.096	.95	.099
Delinquent Peers	1.59*	.344	1.44^	.307	1.44^	.303	1.45^	.309
Concetrated Disadvantage	1.65**	.314	1.66**	.304	1.65**	.308	1.66**	.300
Immigrant Concentration	.97	.156	.96	.149	.96	.148	.96	.148
Residential Stabilty	.87	.113	.84	.110	.84	.107	.84	.103
AIC	547.98		541.30		543.26		545.60	
BIC	615.52		617.84		624.31		635.65	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-258.99		-253.65		-253.63		-252.80	
Pseudo R^2	.168		.185		.185		.188	
^p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01								

The present study finds mixed support for TAAO. Results show criminal justice injustices, negative emotions, and social bonds are significant predictors of serious offending. Additionally, negative emotions and social bonds are significantly related to substance use. Yet, the predicted roles of racial discrimination and racial socialization are

not empirically supported by the present models. Assessments of model fit also suggest the controls along with racial discrimination, criminal justice injustices, negative emotions, and social bonds are the most parsimonious predictors of serious offending and substance use than TAAO as a whole.

Chapter Six

An Empirical Assessment and Extension of Racialized General Strain Theory

The theory of African American offending (TAAO) is rooted in a general strain theory (GST) (Agnew, 2006) argument: African Americans experience racialized strains, specifically racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, that lead to negative emotions along with weakened social bonds and increase the likelihood to offend (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). Agnew (2006; Kaufman et al., 2008), however, suggests African Americans are more likely to experience other forms of strain as well, such as familial, financial, and victimization. In this chapter, I present the results surrounding the racialized general strain theory (RGST) hypotheses as well as their TAAO extensions with the inclusion of positive racial socialization in the analysis.

Referring back to the correlation matrix presented in Table 3 provided in Chapter 4, similar to the variables assessed in the TAAO models, the additional RGST predictor variables are mostly weakly to moderately correlated with the measures of offending in the directions expected. Family legal problems and the financial strains are weakly, positively associated with serious and violent offending, whereas the victimization indicators are moderately, positively correlated with serious offending. Family legal problems and measures of victimization are also weakly, positively associated with substance use. These associations align with the predictions of RGST, hypothesizing that victimization, which is high in magnitude socially, physically, and emotionally as well as perceived as highly unjust, is more likely to evoke a range of responses from anger and outward aggression to depression and drug use. Family strains and financial strains, while still deeply felt, are more likely to be coped with through non-violent means, such as

minor property crimes or drug abuse (Agnew, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008). Also in

support of RGST, anger is positively associated with serious and violent offending,

whereas depression is positively associated with substance use. Racial socialization is

only significantly associated with one additionally strain, having a weak, negative

correlation with objective financial strain, and is not significantly associated with either

anger or depression. Such weak associations for racial socialization suggest results will

be repeated from the TAAO analysis, and I may not find support for a conditioning effect

of positive racial socialization on these additional forms of strain.

The results for the negative binomial regressions on serious and violent offending

are presented in Table 6. Following the same strategy as the TAAO analysis, models

were built in a stepwise fashion to best assess the intricate relationships proposed by

RGST. Again, the effects of the control variables are fairly stable and in the directions

suggested by previous theorizing and empirical studies across all of the models. Being

female, younger, in school, and religious decrease the likelihood of serious offending,

whereas having delinquent peers and living in a disadvantaged community increase the

likelihood of serious offending. Social bonds, while a predictor in the TAAO models,

serve as a theoretical control in the RGST analysis, and are found to significantly buffer

effects against serious offending, but only when anger is not included in the model.

Hypothesis four predicts other strains (family, financial, and victimization)

increase the likelihood of offending for African Americans beyond the effects of racial

discrimination and criminal justice injustices. Model 1 reinforces the findings from the

previous chapter revealing criminal justice injustices significantly increase the likelihood

of serious offending by 62 percent holding other indicators constant, and providing a

baseline for hypothesis four. Model 2 presents the effects of the additional strains. In support of hypothesis four, family legal problems significantly increases the likelihood of serious offending by 35 percent, and both direct and vicarious victimization significantly impact serious offending increasing the likelihood by 36 percent and 19 percent, respectively, holding other variables constant. Neither form of financial strain, however, is significantly associated with serious offending. Criminal justice injustices remain a significant predictor of serious offending, but its effect is diminished with the inclusion of the additional strains. Overall, hypothesis four is confirmed and aligns with past research finding various forms of strain, in addition of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, impact African Americans likelihood of serious offending (e.g., Peck, 2013; Piquero & Sealock, 2010; Spohn & Wood, 2014).

Table 6.

Negative Binomial Regressions on Serious and Violent Offending														
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Variables	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE	IRR	RSE
Racial Discrimination	1.40	.43	.86	.35	.86	.35	.83	.32	.85	.34	.87	.35	.78	.36
Racial Criminal Justice Injustice	1.62**	.25	1.39*	.23	1.36^	.24	1.40*	.23	1.37^	.24	1.37^	.25	1.42	.32
Family Legal Problems	---	---	1.35**	.15	1.34**	.13	1.35**	.15	1.35**	.13	1.35**	.13	1.31*	.17
Objective Financial Strain	---	---	1.00	.04	1.00	.04	1.00	.04	1.00	.04	1.00	.04	.96	.05
Subjective Financial Strain	---	---	1.05	.06	1.04	.06	1.05	.06	1.04	.07	1.04	.07	1.07	.09
Direct Victimization	---	---	1.36**	.07	1.31**	.06	1.34**	.08	1.30**	.07	1.30**	.07	1.19**	.07
Vicarious Victimization	---	---	1.19**	.03	1.17**	.03	1.19**	.03	1.17**	.03	1.18**	.03	1.18**	.03
Anger	---	---	---	---	1.84**	.20	---	---	1.83**	.21	1.82**	.21	1.79**	.20
Depression	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.16	.15	1.04	.14	1.04	.14	1.09	.15
Positive Racial Socialization	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.97	.03	.95	.09
Racial Socialization X Discrimination	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.00	.23
Racial Socialization X CJ Injustices	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.00	.10
Racial Socialization X Family Legal Problems	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.02	.06
Racial Socialization X Objective Financial	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.03	.02
Racial Socialization X Subjective Financial	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.97	.04
Racial Socialization X Direct Victimization	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.08**	.03
Racial Socialization X Vicarious Victimization	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.00	.01
Controls														
Gender (Female = 1)	.62**	.07	.73**	.09	.63**	.08	.70**	.08	.62**	.08	.62**	.08	.62**	.08
Age	.92**	.02	.90**	.03	.91**	.03	.90**	.03	.91**	.03	.91**	.02	.91**	.02
Income Level	1.02	.03	1.02	.03	1.03	.03	1.02	.03	1.02	.03	1.03	.03	1.03	.03
Employment Status	.78	.12	.94	.14	1.06	.14	.96	.14	1.06	.14	1.08	.15	1.04	.14
School Status	.39**	.06	.58**	.11	.62**	.10	.60**	.11	.63**	.10	.64**	.10	.63**	.09
Live at Home	.83	.15	.73^	.13	.78	.13	.74^	.13	.78	.14	.78	.13	.80	.13
Parental Marital Status	.79	.12	.80	.13	.79	.12	.80	.13	.79	.12	.79	.12	.77	.13
Religion	.78**	.05	.82*	.08	.82*	.07	.82*	.08	.82*	.07	.82*	.07	.82*	.07
Delinquent Peers	1.68**	.24	1.39**	.15	1.29**	.13	1.40**	.15	1.29**	.13	1.29*	.13	1.29*	.13
Social Bonds	.64**	.08	.75**	.09	.85	.10	.76*	.09	.86	.10	.85	.10	.87	.11
Concetrated Disadvantage	1.21*	.11	1.14*	.07	1.14*	.07	1.14*	.07	1.13*	.07	1.12^	.07	1.12^	.07
Immigrant Concentration	1.10	.09	1.05	.07	1.04	.07	1.05	.07	1.04	.07	1.03	.07	1.03	.07
Residential Stabilty	1.04	.05	1.02	.05	.99	.05	1.01	.05	.99	.05	.98	.05	.99	.05
AIC	1862.51		1739.21		1705.23		1739.87		1707.12		1708.35		1715.05	
BIC	1939.05		1838.27		1808.79		1843.43		1815.19		1820.92		1859.14	
Log Pseudolikehood	-914.253		-847.605		-829.614		-846.934		-829.561		-829.174		-825.526	
^p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01														

Hypothesis five predicts anger and depression have different effects on the relationships between the assessed strains and offending, with anger being associated with serious and violent offending and depression associated with substance use. GST predicts strain leads to negative affect which in turn leads to crime (Agnew, 2006). Thus, I first regress all of the strains on anger and depression to establish their associations prior to their inclusion in the regressions on serious and violent offending as well as substance use (discussed below). Table 7 reveals criminal justice injustices (b = .10) and direct victimization (b = .09) are significantly related to anger, whereas subjective financial strain (b = .05) and direct victimization (b = .09) are significantly related to depression. In addition, racial discrimination (b = .27) is marginally significantly related to depression. Family legal problems and objective financial strain are not significantly related to either emotion; and vicarious victimization (b = .02) is only marginally significantly related to anger. These results provide some support to the first part of hypothesis five, as the different strains do differentially affect anger and depression. Additionally, direct victimization increasing the likelihood of anger and depression leans support to the complexity of emotional responses suggested by GST (Agnew, 2006) as well as reinforces victimization as one of the most disruptive strains (Agnew, 2001, 2006). Furthermore, finding criminal justice injustices is significantly related to anger and racial discrimination is marginally significantly related to depression reinforces their distinction as unique racial strains.

Table 7.

OLS Regressions on Anger and Depression				
Dependent Variable	Anger		Depression	
	b	SE	b	SE
Racial Discrimination	-.04	.11	.27^	.10
Racial Criminal Justice Injustice	.10*	.05	-.04	.05
Family Legal Problems	.02	.04	-.01	.04
Objective Financial Strain	.01	.02	.02^	.01
Subjective Financial Strain	.00	.02	.05*	.02
Direct Victimization	.09**	.02	.09**	.02
Vicarious Victimization	.02^	.01	-.01	.01
Controls				
Gender (Female = 1)	.22**	.04	.22**	.03
Age	-.01	.01	.00	.01
Income Level	-.01	.01	.01	.01
Employment Status	-.13^	.07	-.11^	.06
School Status	-.07	.06	-.08	.06
Live at Home	-.07	.05	-.02	.05
Parental Marital Status	.02	.04	.02	.04
Religion	.02	.02	.04*	.02
Delinquent Peers	.15**	.04	.00	.04
Social Bonds	-.21**	.06	-.14^	.05
Concetrated Disadvantage	.00	.03	.04	.03
Immigrant Concentration	.03	.03	.01	.03
Residential Stabilty	.03	.02	.01	.02
F	11.31		11.35	
R²	0.154		0.167	
^p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01				

Referring back to Table 6, Model 3 reveals anger significantly increases the likelihood of serious offending by 84 percent holding other covariates constant. GST purports strains increase crime through negative affect (Agnew, 2006). While complete mediation analysis is beyond the present scope, when anger is included in the model criminal justice injustices become only marginally significantly associated with serious offending. [23] This lends rudimentary support to the mitigating effect of anger and this central GST hypothesis. Direct victimization is the only other predictor significantly related to anger (see Table 6), and its effects of serious offending do not significantly

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[23] As a fundamental way of analyzing mediation effects, when the mediator variable is included in the model, the direct effects of the independent variables should no longer be significant (Baron & Kenny, 1986) or at least significantly reduced (MacKinnon, 2008).

change. [24] Additionally, the effects of vicarious victimization and family legal problems

on serious offending do not significantly change with anger's inclusion in the model.

Model 4 repeats this assessment with depression in lieu of anger. As GST

predicts, depression is not significantly related to serious offending. Furthermore, the

significant effects of criminal justice injustices, family legal problems, direct

victimization, and vicarious victimization do not significantly change from Model 2.

Model 5 presents anger and depression in conjunction, and the revealed effects are not

significantly different from Model 3. Taken together, the results support the

differentiation between the effects of anger and depression, as hypothesis five predicts.

Yet, only mild support for the mollifying effect of anger on the relationship between

criminal justice injustices and serious offending is presently revealed. Based on the

current models, anger seems to largely function as an additional predictor of serious

offending, only partially supporting RGST.

Hypothesis six states positive racial socialization conditions the effects of other

strains on offending and is assessed in Models 6 and 7. Much like the TAAO analysis,

positive racial socialization has no direct relationship with serious offending. The final

model assesses the conditioning effect of racial socialization on all the strains with the

inclusion of interaction terms. While racial socialization does not condition most of the

strains, it does significantly impact direct victimization, lending some support to

hypothesis six and the integration of RGST and TAAO. Additional analysis is warranted

to unpack the conditioning effect of racial socialization on direct victimization. A

subcommand in Stata provides the IRR for each level of racial socialization and direct

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[24] Significance difference in effects between models was assessed using the formula: $z = (b_1 - b_2)/\sqrt{[(SEb_1)^2 + (SEb_2)^2]}$ (Paternoster, Brame, Mazerolle, & Piquero, 1998). Results available upon request.

victimization in conjunction holding other covariates constant (Buis, 2010). [25] Thus, for

ease of interpretation, imagine Table 8 being interjected within Table 6.

Table 8.

Multiplicative Effects on Serious Offending		
	IRR	RSE
0 0: No Racial Socialization by No Victimization	.79**	.06
1 0: Racial Socialization by No Victimization	.66**	.07
0 1: No Racial Socialization by Victimization	2.18**	.18
1 1: Racial Socialization By Victimization	2.66**	.31
^p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01		

Table 8 reveals the effects of racial socialization and victimization in conjunction;

in other words, their multiplicative effects.[26] Lacking positive racial socialization and not

experiencing direct victimization significantly decreases one's likelihood of serious

offending by 21 percent holding other covariates (in Table 5) constant. As the second line

reveals, having positive racial socialization and not experiencing direct victimization

significantly decreases the likelihood of serious offending by 34 percent holding other

covariates constant. Thus, in the scenario of no direct victimization, positive racial

socialization seems to function as TAAO predicts, providing an additional buffer for

serious offending.

The last two lines, however, tell a different story. Lacking positive racial

socialization and experiencing direct victimization significantly increases the likelihood

of serious offending by 118 percent. Having positive racial socialization and being

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[25] "margins" is the command; see Buis (2010) for full discussion

[26] Because racial socialization and direct victimization are continuous and count measures, respectively, groups had to be created to conduct the margins analysis (Buis, 2010; Jaccard & Turrisi, 2003). Because both variables are highly positively skewed (for racial socialization, 394 respondents are coded as 0 with 273 coded as > 0; for direct victimization, 481 report not being victimized and 186 report at least one form of victimization), the common method of assessing differences at the means and one standard deviation above and below is not appropriate. Thus, groups were created for each based on those coded as 0 compared to those coded as above 0.

directly victimized increases the likelihood of serious offending by 166 percent holding other covariates constant. This finding is counter to TAAO predictions, as positive racial socialization amplifies the likelihood of offending for those that have been victimization instead of adding a protective factor.

The marginal effects of positive racial socialization, meaning the effects of racial socialization within the subcategories of those directly victimized and those without victimization experiences, were also examined.[27] As seen in Table 9, for those experiencing direct victimization, positive racial socialization increases the likelihood of offending by 49 percent, but this change is not significant. For those that have not been directly victimized, having positive racial socialization decreases the likelihood of offending by 13 percent, but this change is also not significant. Taken together, positive racial socialization seems to have a general amplifying effect, increasing the effect of whatever one may experience – positive or negative, instead of a buffering effect as TAAO predicts and past research has found (Burt et al., 2012); though the significance of this effect within groups is not presently supported. Therefore, the current results lend some support to hypothesis six as positive racial socialization does condition direct victimization, but racial socialization does not solely provide a buffering effect as theorized.

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[27] Marginal effects are calculated by taking the multiplicative effect (presented in Table 7) of victimized without racial socialization and subtracting it from the multiplicative effect of victimized with racial socialization (Buis, 2010). The significance level is determined by calculating the z-score and determining the p-value (Buis, 2010; Paternoster et al., 1998).

Table 9.

Marginal Effects of Racial Socialization		
	Margins	z
Victimized	0.49	1.38
Non-Victimized	-0.13	1.40
^p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01		

Racialized general strain theory is also a generalized theory of crime, thus should explain various forms of offending (Agnew, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008). Additionally, GST at large predicts various forms of negative emotions will lead to different deviant and criminal outcomes (Agnew, 2006). Therefore, as with the TAAO analysis, the above RGST models were repeated on substance use.

Table 10 reveals the logistic regression models applying RGST pathways to substance use. Like the serious offending models, controls are fairly consistent. Being female and in school reduce the odds of substance use; whereas being older[28] and living a disadvantaged community increase the odds of substance use.

As with the TAAO analysis, Model 1 reveals neither racial discrimination nor criminal justice injustices are significantly related to substance use. Model 2 presents the effects of the additional strains. Only vicarious victimization significantly increases the odds of substance use holding other variables constant. Thus, mild support is found for hypothesis four in terms as substance use as vicarious victimization is the sole significant predictor for the present sample.

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[28] Much like the TAAO models, the significance direction of age sifted with the dependent variables. The supplementary analysis of juvenile status was also conducted on the RGST models revealing the same pattern – age remained significant in the serious offending models and juvenile status was significant in the substance use models. See footnote 3 in Chapter Five for additional discussion.

Table 10.

Logistic Regressions on Substance Use	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Variables	OR	RSE	OR	RSE	OR	RSE	OR	RSE	OR	RSE	OR	RSE	OR	RSE
Racial Discrimination	1.41	1.03	.95	.70	.96	.72	.82	.63	.83	.81	.84	.68	1.51	1.30
Racial Criminal Justice Injustice	1.40	.46	1.28	.44	1.25	.43	1.30	.47	1.28	.47	1.29	.47	.93	.50
Family Legal Problems	---	---	1.21	.37	1.22	.37	1.23	.37	1.24	.38	1.24	.38	.92	.34
Objective Financial Strain	---	---	1.10	.10	1.10	.10	1.09	.10	1.09	.10	1.09	.10	1.13	.12
Subjective Financial Strain	---	---	1.18	.16	1.17	.16	1.13	.16	1.13	.16	1.14	.16	1.12	.20
Direct Victimization	---	---	1.12	.16	1.10	.16	1.06	.16	1.05	.16	1.05	.16	.87	.17
Vicarious Victimization	---	---	1.19**	.07	1.18**	.07	1.19**	.07	1.19**	.07	1.19**	.07	1.27**	.09
Anger	---	---	---	---	1.24	.30	---	---	1.12	.30	1.12	.30	1.06	.29
Depression	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.88*	.53	1.84*	.55	1.84*	.55	1.95*	.59
Positive Racial Socialization	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.99	.07	1.03	.19
Racial Socialization X Discrimination	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.64	.28
Racial Socialization X CJ Injustices	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.27	.32
Racial Socialization X Family Legal Problems	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.25	.23
Racial Socialization X Objective Financial	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.96	.06
Racial Socialization X Subjective Financial	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.00	.09
Racial Socialization X Direct Victimization	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.18	.12
Racial Socialization X Vicarious Victimization	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.95	.04
Controls														
Gender (Female = 1)	.62**	.12	.65**	.13	.62*	.14	.55**	.12	.54**	.13	.54**	.13	.54**	.13
Age	1.21**	.08	1.21**	.08	1.22**	.09	1.22**	.09	1.22**	.09	1.22**	.07	1.21**	.08
Income Level	1.09^	.05	1.11^	.06	1.11*	.06	1.01^	.06	1.10	.06	1.10	.06	1.11*	.06
Employment Status	.48**	.16	.59	.20	.60	.20	.63	.21	.63	.22	.64	.22	.60	.22
School Status	.36**	.13	.49*	.18	.50^	.18	.50^	.21	.51^	.18	.51^	.18	.48*	.16
Live at Home	.69	.19	.68	.22	.70	.22	.69	.23	.70	.23	.69	.23	.67	.23
Parental Marital Status	.62	.21	.60	.21	.59	.21	.60	.21	.60	.21	.60	.21	.58	.20
Religion	.98	.11	1.09	.13	1.08	.12	1.04	.12	1.03	.12	1.03	.12	1.02	.13
Delinquent Peers	1.53*	.33	1.29	.30	1.25	.29	1.31	.30	1.29	.30	1.29	.30	1.26	.28
Social Bonds	.50**	.13	.60^	.16	.64	.18	.68	.19	.69	.20	.69	.20	.67	.21
Concetrated Disadvantage	1.65**	.32	1.58**	.26	1.58**	.26	1.58**	.25	1.57**	.25	1.57**	.27	1.59**	.25
Immigrant Concentration	.97	.15	.91	.14	.91	.14	.91	.13	.90	.13	.90	.13	.93	.14
Residential Stabilty	.85	.11	.83	.11	.83	.10	.82	.10^	.82^	.10	.82^	.10	.82^	.10
AIC	544.55		534.29		535.50		531.01		532.81		534.77		541.65	
BIC	616.60		628.84		634.56		630.07		636.37		642.84		681.24	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-256.28		-246.14		-245.75		-243.50		-243.40		-243.38		-239.83	

^p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01

Hypothesis five, assessing the differences between anger and depression, is tested in Models 3, 4, and 5, as well as, Table 7. Again, general strain theory predicts strains that lead to depression are most likely to result in substance use (Agnew, 1992, 2006). Table 7 reveals direct victimization and subjective financial strain are significantly related, and racial discrimination is marginally significantly related, to depression. Yet, Table 10 reveals none of these strains significantly increase the likelihood of substance use. Therefore, the present models suggest a mitigating effect for depression between strains and substance use as purported by RGST is unsupported.

Returning to Table 10, Model 3 reveals anger is not significantly related to substance use, in support of GST predictions. Additionally in support of GST, Model 4 reveals depression significantly increases the odds of substance use controlling for other

factors. Vicarious strain remains significant and unchanged between Model 2 and Model 4, reinforcing depression does not mollify the effects of strain in the present models. And finally, Model 5 presents anger and depression in conjunction, revealing the results from Model 4 on depression hold with the addition of anger. Taken together, the results again support the differentiation between the effects of anger and depression, as hypothesis five predicts. Thus, based on the present models, depression seems to function as an additional predictor of substance use, again only partially supporting RGST. And finally, the conditioning effects of racial socialization are assessed in Models 6 and 7. In line with the previous analysis of TAAO, racial socialization does not have a significant direct or indirect effect on substance use, disconfirming the sixth hypothesis.

Overall, the present models lend support to RGST as well as its integration with TAAO. Other strains in addition to racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices do matter for African Americans. Family legal problems and direct and vicarious victimization increase the likelihood of serious offending in addition to criminal justice injustices. Vicarious victimization also increases the likelihood of substance use. While anger functions more as an additional predictor of serious offending, it also seems to mitigate the effects of criminal justice injustices. Depression, on the other hand, functions solely as an additional predictor of substance use. Lastly, despite finding little support for the overall conditioning effect of racial socialization, some interesting and counter intuitive effects are revealed. Racial socialization conditions the effects of direct victimization on serious offending, and additional analysis reveals positive racial socialization, particularly cultural socialization, amplifies the effects of positive and negative conditions instead of providing a protective buffer as predicted, though change

in these effects are not significant. Measures of model fit reinforce these mixed results. For serious and violent offending (Table 6), AIC (1705.23) and BIC (1808.79) find Model 3 assessing strains and anger to best fit the current sample and predict the outcome, in support of RGST. Much like the TAAO substance use models, however, fit statistics in Table 10 reveal Model 4, assessing strain and depression, best fit the data (AIC = 531.01), but Model 1 provides the best over prediction of substance use (BIC = 616.60). Overall, TAAO and RGST seem to lend greater predictive power to serious and violent offending over substance use for African Americans based on the present data.

Chapter Seven

Discussion

The theory of African American offending (TAAO) (Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011), drawing primarily upon two leading theories of crime – general strain theory (Agnew, 1992, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008) and social bond theory (Hirschi, 1969) – states that African Americans experience the unique racist strains of discrimination and criminal justice injustices that lead to negative emotions and weakened social bonds and in turn increase the likelihood of offending. In addition, TAAO brings race central to its explanation of offending by emphasizing the significance of racial socialization as a conditioning factor in African Americans' pathway to crime. While TAAO highlights two distinct strains faced by African Americans, it ignores other impactful strains that disproportionately affect African Americans, such as family disruptions, economic troubles, and victimization. Furthermore, TAAO does not distinguish between the types of negative emotions that result from racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices.

Racialized general strain theory (RGST) addresses these gaps, arguing that in addition to racial discrimination African Americans disproportionately experience chronic under- or unemployment, increasing the likelihood of residing in disadvantaged communities, their children attending under-preforming schools, experiencing family tensions, and being victimized (Agnew, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008). The present studies examined the utility of TAAO and RGST to explain serious and violent offending as well as substance use among an economically diverse sample of youth and young adult African Americans drawn from the PHDCN data. I explored the relationship between racial discrimination, criminal justice injustices, additional strains, negative emotions,

social bonds, and positive racial socialization. These studies are among the first

comprehensive empirical assessments of TAAO and RGST as race-centered explanations

of offending.

Theory of African American Offending

Overall, the first series of analyses provide mixed results for TAAO. First,

findings suggest perceiving or experiencing criminal justice injustices significantly

increases the likelihood of engaging in serious or violent crime, similar to past research

(Brownfield, 2005; Bouffard & Piquero, 2010; Scheuerman, 2013). Though surprisingly,

and counter to extant literature (Burt et al., 2012; Caldwell et al., 2004; Simons et al.,

2003), racial discrimination is not a significant predictor of serious offending. One

explanation could be that criminal justice injustices are more impactful for African

Americans than racial discrimination. In other words, while everyday discrimination is a

negative experience, it is so pervasive many may be desensitized to its effects. Criminal

justice injustices, however, may have more substantial negative effects given they come

from a system that is supposed to protect and serve all citizens, yet it treats African

Americans in a racist and unjust manner.

A different, yet not mutually exclusive, explanation may be due to the sample.

Nearly 57 percent of the sample resides in a low or middle income minority majority

neighborhood (see Table 1, Chapter Four). Some scholars suggest living in such

communities reduces interactions with non-minorities, therefore decreasing the likelihood

of having discriminatory encounters (Hunt, Wise, Jipguep, Cozier, & Rosenberg, 2007),

while residing in disadvantaged communities increases the likelihood of negative contact

with the police (Carr, Napolitano, & Keating, 2007; Geller & Fagan, 2010). Yet, only 26

percent of the sample report experiencing discrimination from the police, whereas 46

percent report experiencing at least one other form of racial discrimination, making this

proposed contextual effect presently unlikely.

Finally, another explanation draws upon the potential confounding effects. While

similar, TAAO suggests racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices are distinct

strains faced by African Americans that function tangentially (Unnever & Gabbidon,

2011), which implies the need for their separate operationalization and yet simultaneous

inclusion in the analyses. A spurious relationship, and in turn a confounding effect, may

arise when each predictor is associated independent of each other to the outcome, yet are

also associated with each other (Hagan, 2006). Most research on racial discrimination

includes these elements together in a single measure of discrimination instead of

assessing them as unique strains (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). The differential impacts

of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices need to be further distinguished in

future research.

Again providing mixed support for TAAO, negative emotions and social bonds

are significant predictors of serious and violent offending as well as substance use, yet

they do not seem to mitigate the effects of racial discrimination and criminal justice

injustices as proposed. Yet, scholars have begun to suggest full mediation of effects and

significant associations between predictors, mediators, and outcomes are not always

needed for mediation effects to still exist (Hayes, 2013; MacKinnon, 2008). While

beyond the scope of the present paper, additional analyses are warranted to investigate

the proposed mediation effects further, especially in light of supplementary investigations

into the psychometric distinctions between racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices.

A central contribution of TAAO to criminological theory is the addition of racial socialization to create a race-centered model of offending. The present study, however, did not find support for the buffering effect of racial socialization between racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices and serious offending or substance abuse. Yet, these unsupportive findings could be due to measurement limitations. Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) highlight the various types of racial socialization and stress the importance of parenting to foster a racial identity that provides a protection from the strains of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices. While the current measure of racial socialization is sound, it is limited to one type – cultural socialization, which alone may not mitigate the effects of discrimination and injustices on offending. Additional analysis is needed with varying measures of racial socialization, positive and negative, to fully decipher the proposed effects.

Racialized General Strain Theory

Critical criminologists contend 1) race (and other status characteristics, such as gender) is not an innate, biological difference, but a product of history, culture, and structure; 2) socially defined racial relations guide social interactions; 3) racial groups are not considered parallel, but structured in a hierarchal fashion with whites in a dominant position; and 4) knowledge within society is crafted from the perspective of those in power; and because of these reasons, mainstream theories of crime cannot be applied to socially-dominated groups, such as African Americans and females (Agnew, 2011; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Dekeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2012; Ross, 2010). Agnew, however,

is one of the few mainstream theorists to attempt to address the critiques of critical criminologists with gendered (Broidy & Agnew, 1997) and racialized (Kaufman et al., 2008) articulations of general strain theory.

The second series of analyses provide one of the most comprehensive assessment of RGST and finds overall support for its racialized propositions. In addition to criminal justice injustices, family strain as well as direct and vicarious victimization, significantly increase the likelihood of serious and violent offending, in line with past research (e.g., Baron, 2009; Hay & Evans, 2006; Maxwell, 2001; Peck, 2013; Piquero & Sealock, 2010). Like extant literature, I also find criminal justice injustices and victimization predict anger, and anger serves as an additional predictor of serious and violent offending (e.g., Brezina, 1998, 2010; Jang & Johnson, 2003; Piquero & Sealock, 2010). Lending further empirical support to RGST, results reveal racial discrimination, financial strains, and direct victimization are associated with depression (e.g., Aranda & Lincoln, 2011; Carson, Sullivan, Cochran, & Lersch, 2009; English, Lambert, Evans, & Zonderman, 2014; Szanton, Thorpe, & Gitlin, 2014), and depression and vicarious victimization predict substance use (e.g., Agnew, 2002; Lin, Cochran, & Mieczkowski, 2011).

Together these findings lend credence to RGST as articulated. Racial differences in offending cannot be explained solely by racial discrimination (Hawkins, Laub, & Lauritsen, 1998; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997), but other strains also increase the likelihood of offending for African Americans. Additionally, different strains lead to a range of different emotions, with anger having the most significant impact on violent and serious offending (Agnew, 1992, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008). Furthermore, RGST not only explains differences between racial groups (e.g., Peck, 2013; Piquero & Sealock,

2010), but provides insight into the varying emotional and motivation processes and variation in offending between African Americans.

I also expand upon RGST by incorporating racial socialization, a central contribution of TAAO. Racial socialization may condition the cognitive attributions surrounding strain, providing a buffer against the negative effects of anger and depression and decreasing the likelihood of offending. I find positive cultural socialization conditions one of the most significant strains, direct victimization. Further analysis, however, reveals cultural socialization amplifies the impact of direct victimization instead of providing a buffering effect as hypothesized and counter to previous research (e.g., Burt et al., 2012; Caughy et al., 2006). One explanation could be the type of attributions cultural socialization may promote. If one feels strong racial pride and is deeply embedded in the African American culture, this may increase the likelihood of making racial attributions in negative encounters. For example, if one's attacker is of a different race, strong cultural socialization may increase the likelihood of attributing that attacker's actions to one being African American. However, given most violent encounters are intra-racial (e.g., between 1980 and 2008, ninety-three percent of African American homicide victims were killed by African Americans [Cooper & Smith, 2011]), this inter-racial dynamic is an unlikely reason for the present finding. A more likely, and somewhat related, explanation may be a sense of betrayal associated with one's victimization by another African American amplifying negative emotions and increasing the likelihood of reacting violently oneself. Parsing out such attributions is beyond the present scope but warrants future analysis of racial socialization.

In general, this study adds to the breadth of research on GST and race and GST, specifically. It identifies additional strains that enhance understanding of motivational processes that lead to offending for different racial groups, but also improves understanding of variations in offending between African Americans. It also lends empirical support for further investigation into the relationship between racial socialization, strain, and offending as more scholars address critical criminological critiques (DeKeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2012) within mainstream understandings of criminal behavior (Agnew, 2011).

Limitations

Arguably the present analyses provide more empirical support for the roots of TAAO in general strain theory and social bond theory than TAAO itself given the robust significance of negative emotions, social bonds, and additional strains and limited support for the role of racial socialization. Such findings, however, may be due to the limitations of secondary data analysis. The PHDCN is ideal for this exploratory investigation as it has indicators of all the relevant variables, includes measures of theoretical controls, and is a well-known, widely used dataset. Yet, it suffers from some shortcomings, primarily in measurement as alluded to above.

First, similarity in construction of the racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices questions may be causing confounding effects. Much extant literature has assessed these together (Blank et al., 2004), including Unnever (2014) and Burt and colleagues (2012). But, TAAO draws an important distinction between these types of racism, and the present study lends some support to their differential impacts on offending. Yet to fully decipher their unique effects, multiple indicators are needed to

conduct robust psychometric analysis between these latent constructs. Such analysis is beyond the present scope of this paper and power of the PHDCN, but a worthwhile endeavor for future research.

Second, while I gauge most of the strains highlighted in RGST (Kaufman et al., 2008), I do not assess them all and some indicators are less than ideal. For instance, I do not measure educational strain. While the PHDCN has some indicators of grades and relationships with teachers, these surveys were not administered to the current sub-sample at wave three (see Appendix A). Furthermore, RGST frames disadvantaged community conditions as macro-level strains which independently influence crime rates and condition individual-level strains (Agnew, 1999, 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008). Community characteristics are included as controls in the present analysis, but the theoretical distinction between social disorganization and macro-level strain theory as well as the specific impacts this may have on individual-level racialized strains is beyond the present scope. Finally, the present measure of family strain is limited. Agnew (2006; Kaufman et al., 2008) purports parental strains (e.g., residence in a disadvantaged community, under- or unemployment, divorce) disrupt parenting practices creating tensions in the home and increasing social and educational strains for children. Family legal strain is only one form of such home disruptions, but does not completely gauge family dynamics. Future investigations into RGST should assess more complete measures of strain as well as assess the multi-level dynamics proposed – macro, meso, and individual.

Third, the present measure of social bonds, though used in past assessments of control theories (e.g., Browning et al., 2005; Maimon et al., 2010), solely focuses on

attachment to parents and family negating the bonds of commitment to and involvement in social institutions and belief in social norms (Hirschi, 1969). The lack of inclusion of indicators of commitment, involvement, and belief (particularly in reference to "white," normative institutions) may limit the extent of then revealed effect of social bonds given the current emphasis on family attachment. Relatedly, the measures of negative emotions – anger and depression – tap trait instead of state characteristics. Agnew (1997) argues trait negative affect, or having a negative emotional temperament, creates a disposition for deviant coping. Thus, while lowering one's threshold for strain, perpetual negative feelings will not provide the pressure needed in a specific moment to provoke one to crime. State emotions, or responses in the moment, are needed to provide the trigger that perpetuates criminal responses to strain (Agnew, 2006; Agnew, Brezina, Wright, & Cullen, 2002; Brezina, 2010). This trait-state distinction explains why anger and depression are additional predictors of offending currently. Future research would benefit from the inclusion of both state and trait emotions to further investigate the emotional responses hypothesized for African Americans.

Fourth, as noted above, the measure of positive racial socialization only gauges cultural socialization, excluding other types of racial socialization that potentially have stronger impacts on offending, particularly preparation for bias (see Burt et al., 2012) or negative forms such as mistrust of whites. Furthermore, the measure of cultural socialization was psychometrically validated on a Puerto Rican sample. There are numerous measures of racial socialization crafted for African American populations (e.g., Simmons, Worrell, & Berry, 2008; Vandiver, Worrell, & Delgado-Romero, 2009). Future

research of TAAO should incorporate such indicators to strengthen the analysis of the role of racial socialization in African American offending.

Fifth, while the control variables are fairly comprehensive, some are flawed. As discussed previously (see Chapter Four), I only control for income, but an ideal measure of socioeconomic status would capture education, occupation, and income for both the subject and primary caregiver to craft a complete measure of social resources. I also lack a measure of self-control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), code beliefs (Anderson, 1999) and deviant labels (e.g., Chaves & Provine, 2009; Pager et al., 2009), thus not fully controlling for the predictive power of other theories of crime (Agnew, 1995). Furthermore, while the current reported rates of substance use align with extant literature on drug use among African Americans (e.g., Broman, Neighbors, Delva, Torres, & Jackson, 2008; National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2003, 2014), the measure of substance use does not capture variety, frequency, or onset (see Chapter Four for full discussion). The lack of breadth in the measure may explain the limited power of the current models to predict substance use instead of a shortcoming of the theories. The power of RGST and TAAO to explain drug abuse needs to be assessed with more thorough measures in the future.

Sixth, the methodology employed to create the current measures may also limit the results. While many scholars use mean scores and count indices as composite measures of latent constructs, there are better methods to gauge the intended factors. Beyond the use of psychometrics to distinguish between racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices, methodologies such as factor analysis and item response theory produce superlative indicators with minimized bias and optimal measurement

power (Loehlin, 2011). As a discipline, there should be a movement to use more sophisticated measurement techniques over mean scores and count indices, as sound indicators more accurately assess the constructs of interest and yield more reliable estimates of the predicted outcomes. Last, the cross-sectional nature prevents an assessment of causal order and the intricate and reciprocal pathways proposed by TAAO and RGST.

Implications and Future Research

The first series of analysis is a conservative test of the central propositions of TAAO, and the second series is a comprehensive assessment of RGST. While they lend mixed support to the proposed relationships between racial discrimination, criminal justice injustices, additional strains, negative emotions, social bonds, racial socialization and offending, they provide a firm empirical foundation for further investigation of these race-centered theories. Additionally, these are among the few quantitative investigations of race and crime to incorporate the complexity of race through not only the inclusion of racial socialization but allowing respondents to place themselves in multiple racial categories and provide rankings of identities to determine racial group membership. Future research is needed to continue to psychometrically distinguish the concepts of racial discrimination and criminal justice injustices. Additionally, further analysis is needed with varying measures of racial socialization to more fully decipher its role in African American offending. And, longitudinal analysis is warranted to assess the causal order and reciprocal effects proposed by TAAO and RGST.

Building off the present series of analyses, I plan to use the PHDCN for three additional studies related to the present results. First, as predicted, gender is a robust

significant predictor of each type of offending, and further investigation of its unique effects for African Americans is warranted. While TAAO and RGST acknowledge the differential effects of strains and emotions between males and females (Agnew, 2006; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011), they fail to capture the multiplicative social effects of being an African American female (Potter, 2013). In fact, many feminist, and particularly black feminist, scholars would disagree with Unnever and Gabbidon's (2011) "masculinist biased" (Collins, 2009) gendered predictions. Counter to Unnever and Gabbidon's claim, African American females face derogatory stereotypes as well. "From the mammies, jezebels, and breeder women of slavery to the smiling Aunt Jemimas on pancake mix boxes, ubiquitous Black prostitutes, and ever-present welfare mothers of contemporary popular culture, negative stereotypes applied to African American women have been fundamental to Black women's oppression" (Collins, 2009, p. 7). Particularly, some argue African American females face race AND gender discrimination, increasing their likelihood of negative outcomes. African American females, thus, are "doubly unprotypical" (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013), facing additional obstacles (and at times freedoms) than their racial or gendered counterparts. King (2005) suggests African American females experience a unique type of "ethgender discrimination" that is more harmful than racist or sexist discrimination alone.

While gender discrimination is equally important to black and white women (Krieger, 1990; Ro & Choi, 2009), race or the intersection of race and gender seem more salient for African American females than gender alone. For instance, Lykes (1983) found 54 percent of African American females interviewed attributed discrimination experiences to race, while the other 46 percent attributed such experiences to both race

and gender. Additionally, Miller (1988) found African American females have a stronger emotional response to racial discrimination than gender discrimination. Furthermore, King (2005) found racial and ethgender (i.e., race X gender) discrimination significantly increase stress for African American females, but gender discrimination does not.

Racial and gender discrimination are consistently linked to negative psychological and health outcomes for males and females (e.g., Borrell, Kiefe, Williams, Diez-Roux, & Gordon-Larson, 2006; Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997; Williams, 2002); yet, racial and gender discrimination tend to have more psychological and emotional effects for African American females (Cogburn, Chavous, & Griffin, 2011; Keith, Lincoln, Taylor, & Jackson, 2010), opposed to additional behavioral outcomes for African American males (Cogburn et al., 2011), much like gendered GST (Broidy & Agnew, 1997) suggests. Thus, while African American females may experience more and different types of discrimination and injustices, these are less likely to lead to offending outcomes than the discrimination and injustices experienced by African American males. Using the PHDCN data, I will examine the differential impacts of discrimination, injustices, additional strains, anger, depression, and social bonds on the likelihood of offending between African American males and females. Additionally, I will investigate the differential conditioning effects of racial socialization by gender, as positive racial socialization, and particularly the cultural socialization measured in the PHDCN, will more likely provide a buffer for African American females than males.

Unnever and Gabbidon (2011) also argue African Americans face distinct forms of strains, particularly discrimination, from any other racial or ethnic minority primarily due to their unique history and perpetual subordination in the United States. For these

reasons, TAAO is presented as a discrete understanding of offending only applicable to African Americans. I question, however, how divergent their proposed mechanisms are, particularly when compared to Latinos.[29]

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Latinos compromise 16 percent of the American population (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011), and are projected to account for 25 percent of the U.S. population by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). In 2013, Latinos composed 16.6 percent of all arrests, and 23.3 of violent crime arrests (*Crimes in the United States*, 2014). In 2007, Latinos were the largest racial or ethnic group imprisoned in federal penitentiaries, making-up 40 percent of federal inmates (Lopez & Light, 2009). And, according to an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Report, Latino youth have a lower prevalence of street crime than African Americans, but higher rates than their white counterparts (Huizinga, Loebar, & Thornberry, 1994).

While Latinos have warranted some recent attention in the criminological literature (e.g., Alvarez-Rivera, Nobles, & Lersch, 2014; Miller & Gibson, 2011; Peterson, Krivo, & Hagan, 2006; Thomas, 2011), most studies focus on differences between African Americans and whites, with very few studies examining the distinct effects for other minority groups (Schuck, Lersch, & Verrill, 2004). Furthermore, extant literature focuses primarily on macro-level processes, specifically the "Latino paradox" (Sampson & Bean, 2006; p. 20; referring to the consistent finding that immigrant concentration does not affect homicide rates for Latinos, but it is a consistent predictor for African Americans) or the links between acculturation and assimilation and negative outcomes (see Miller & Gibson, 2011; Thomas, 2011).

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[29] Latino "refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011, p. 2).

The base sub-sample used for the present analyses includes 868 self-identified Latino adolescents and young adults.[30] Repeating the above analyses on this sub-sample builds on the extant literature in three major ways. First, it would determine the uniqueness of TAAO for African Americans, as proposed by Unnever and Gabbidon (2011). Extant literature finds many Latinos feel a mistrust towards the police (e.g., Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004), face stereotypes and ethnic discrimination generally (e.g., Eitle & Taylor, 2008; Stacey, Carbone-López, & Rosenfeld, 2011) as well as from the police and criminal justice system specifically (e.g., Romero, 2006; Welch, Payne, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2011). Thus, discriminatory experiences, and even a shared worldview, may not be as distinct to African Americans as Unnever and Gabbidon suggest. Second, examining the role of ethnic socialization may add further insight into the complex relationships between acculturation, assimilation, and offending (see Schuck et al., 2004), potentially providing a missing moderating mechanism accounting for past inconsistencies (e.g., Alvarez-Rivera et al., 2014; Miller & Gibson, 2011; Thomas, 2011). And finally, such analyses bring Latinos into the larger mainstream and critical theoretical discussions. As Alvarez-Rivera and colleagues state, "Latinos differ from Whites and African Americans in that there are processes (i.e., acculturation) that affect them but do not affect U.S. White and African American offenders…" (2014, p. 316). Incorporating how such processes impact other mechanisms, such as strain, negative emotions, control, provides insight into the paradoxes surrounding Latino offending while grounding them in general theoretical frameworks. With the growing American Latino population and continued debate around immigration policy, criminologists can no

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[30] See Chapter Four for full discussion; base sample comes from age cohorts 9, 12, 15, and 18 at wave three; ethnicity was based on self-reported ethnicity similar to the racial categorizations.

longer treat racial and ethnic differences in crime solely as black and white. Re-analysis of the current models with Latinos will add to the literature moving toward inclusivity and fuller understanding of criminality for all groups.

And finally, I will employ a more robust mediation analysis to parse out the effects of negative emotions and social bonds in TAAO and RGST. According to the causal steps approach, for a variable to function as a mediator, it must be significantly related to the dependent variable as well as the independent variable and eliminate the association between the independent variable and dependent variable when included in the model (Baron & Kenny, 1986). This method, however, is heavily criticized. First, it has low statistical power, meaning it is one of the least likely mediation methods to yield significant effects (Fritz & MacKinnon, 2007; MacKinnon, 2008; MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). Second, the mediation effect is not directly assessed, but inferred through a series of hypothesis tests, increasing the likelihood of decision error and accepting the null hypothesis (Hayes, 2009). Statistical scholars have begun to suggest full mediation of effects and significant associations between predictors, mediators, and outcomes are not always needed for mediation effects to still exist. Specifically, methods that minimize the number of assessments needed and quantify the indirect effects rather than infer them provide more statistical power and optimal estimates over the causal steps approach (Hayes, 2009, 2013; MacKinnon, 2008).

For instance, the Sobel test (Sobel, 1982, 1986) eliminates the assumptions of significant effects linking the independent variable to the mediator and the mediator to the dependent variable, and it estimates the significance of the indirect effect based upon

the product of *ab* and its standard error. [31] It, however, requires the assumption that the

sampling distribution of the mediation effect is normal, which is highly atypical, thus

limiting its use (Hayes, 2009). An alternative is the empirical *M*-test, which has higher

statistical power and better Type I error control, but is tedious and makes numerous

assumptions (Hayes, 2009). Thus, the superlative methodology is bootstrapping.

Bootstrapping generates a sampling distribution of the indirect effect by taking numerous

draws with replacement creating a resample from which *a* and *b*, and their product, are

estimated. [32] This process is repeated *k* times (usually a minimum of 1,000), and the

distributions of the produced estimates over *k* serve as an empirical approximation of the

indirect effects based upon the original sample (Hayes, 2009, 2013). Simulation analysis

reveals bootstrapping is among the most valid and powerful mediation techniques

(MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004; Williams & MacKinnon, 2008).

MacKinnon (2008) applies such advanced techniques to various forms of data

distributions and measurement scales, but none he suggests are appropriate for the

present data structure (i.e., positively skewed, over-dispersed, and nested). Hayes (2013),

however, recently developed a macro for MPlus that accounts for the present data

structure and utilizes Monte Carlo and bootstrapping techniques to estimate mediating

(and moderating) effects.[33] Using this macro, I intend to directly assess the mediating

effects of negative emotions and social bonds in the TAAO models and anger and

depression in the RGST models. Additionally, I will reassess the gender and Latino

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[31] *a* = the direct effect of the independent variable on the mediator; *b* = the direct effect of the mediator on the dependent variable; see Hayes (2009, 2013) or MacKinnon (2008) for illustrations of various conceptual mediation effects.

[32] See footnote 31

[33] Available from http://www.afhayes.com/spss-sas-and-mplus-macros-and-code.html

models with this more robust analysis. Following these assessments with the PHDCN data, I intend the continue to assess the unique motivational processes for African Americans and other under-privileged populations using the National Survey of American Life and the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study.[34]

The present studies highlight the importance of pinpointing the unique characteristics of marginalized populations that increase their likelihood to offend and incorporating these elements into empirical investigations. With the advancement of such theories and research, we may more clearly inform policies to decrease the racial gap in crime statistics. Such work is critical as America is at a vital tipping point in the wake of racial tensions sparked by the recent police involved deaths of unarmed African American men in Ferguson, MO and New York City as well as a 12-year-old African American boy in Cleveland, OH. TAAO provides insight into the outrage incited by such injustices and further highlights to importance of nurturing positive and respectful relationships between police and African American communities. As Yale University law professor, Tracey Meares, states, "The disproportionate involvement of African-American men in the criminal justice system just starts with the police, but it doesn't end there… (P)olice have a unique opportunity to make a difference…" (2009, pp. 654-655). This work as a whole provides a theoretical bridge between three prominent lines of research – racial discrimination, racial socialization, and policing – promoting a systems approach to understanding and combating discrimination and racial disparities in the United States (Reskin, 2012). Only by taking a multi-level, interdisciplinary, integrated

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[34] More information on the National Survey of American Life may be found at http://www.rcgd.isr.umich.edu/prba/nsal.htm; and more information on the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study may be found at http://www.fragilefamilies.princeton.edu/index.asp.

approach may we understand the difference between and within racial groups and move

toward a just society. This series of analyses are a step in that direction.

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Appendix A: PHDCN Data Structure

Data Source: S = Subject; PC = Primary Caregiver; PC^ = Primary Caregiver on Subject; PC* = Primary Caregiver on Self; I = Interviewer or Coder

PHDCN Data Structure / Subsections	Cohort 0			Cohort 3			Cohort 6		
	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Community Survey (1994-1995)									
8,782 randomly selected adults across 343 neighborhood clusters									
Neighborhood Structure									
Community Relationships									
Neighborhood Social Order									
Normative Beliefs									
Victimization									
Fear of Crime									
Attitudes towards Police									
Demographics									
Longitudinal Cohort Study (3 Waves, 1994-2002)									
6,228 randomly selected children, adolescents, young adults and their primary caregivers over eight years									
Master File, Wave 1 (1994-1997) (all cohorts one file)									
Master File, Wave 2 (1997-2000) (all cohorts one file)									
Master File, Wave 3 (2000-2002) (all cohorts one file)									
Demographics and Administrative Data									
Demographic File	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC
Employment, Income, Race/Ethnicity, Welfare Status,									
Marital Hardships									
Addendum (Primary Caregiver)									
PC in Wave 3, but not Wave 2:			PC			PC			PC
Prenatal and Early Health									
Health Screen									
Household Composition									
Family Suicide Interview									
My Child's Exposure to Violence									
My Exposure to Violence (Subject)									
YA in Wave 3, but not Wave 2:									
Addendum (Young Adult)									
Household Composition									
Health Screen									
Language Screen									
Suicide Interview									
Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised									
Adolescent Dissociative Experiences Scale									S
Self-report of dissociative experiences									
Alcohol Use			PC*			PC*			PC*
Use of alcohol by primary caregivers									
Adapted from the short form of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (UM-CIDI Short Form)									

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 9			Cohort 12			Cohort 15			Cohort 18		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Community Survey (1994-1995)												
8,782 randomly selected adults across 343 neighborhood clusters												
Neighborhood Structure												
Community Relationships												
Neighborhood Social Order												
Normative Beliefs												
Victimization												
Fear of Crime												
Attitudes towards Police												
Demographics												
Longitudinal Cohort Study (3 Waves, 1994-2002)												
6,228 randomly selected children, adolescents, young adults and their primary caregivers over eight years												
Master File, Wave 1 (1994-1997) (all cohorts one file)												
Master File, Wave 2 (1997-2000) (all cohorts one file)												
Master File, Wave 3 (2000-2002) (all cohorts one file)												
Demographics and Administrative Data												
Demographic File	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	S	S	S	S
Employment, Income, Race/Ethnicity, Welfare Status, Marital Hardships												
Addendum (Primary Caregiver)												
PC in Wave 3, but not Wave 2:			PC			PC						
Demographic File												
My Child's Exposure to Violence												
Family Suicide Interview												
Household Composition												
Health Screen												
Prenatal and Early Health												
Addendum (Young Adult)												
YA in Wave 3, but not Wave 2:									S			S
My Exposure to Violence (Subject)			S			S						
Household Composition												
Health Screen												
Language Screen												
Suicide Interview												
Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised												
Adolescent Dissociative Experiences Scale												
Self-report of dissociative experiences												
Alcohol Use			PC*			PC*			PC*			
Use of alcohol by primary caregivers												
Adapted from the short form of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (UM-CID) Short Form)												

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 0			Cohort 3			Cohort 6		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Alcohol Use Follow-Up									
Use of alcohol by subject									
adapted from the Diagnostic Interview Schedule (DIS-IV) Alcohol Module									
Antonucci Map									
Close friendships									S
Asthma History									
Asthma and Allergies			PC^			PC^		S	PC^
Attitudes Towards Mother and Father									
How subjects feel about parents									S
Caregivers' Employment									
Male and Female PC's employment when subject was 18			S						S
Caregiver-Subject Conflict Scale		PC			PC			PC	
Modified from the Wave 1 parent-child version of the Conflict Tactics Scale									
Child and Adolescent Behavior Rating Scale			—		—	—	—	—	—
Interviewer rating of subject's behavior									
Child Behavior Checklist		PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^
Parent reporting measure for assessing children's emotional and behavioral problems									
Preschool version and Long form (4-18)									
Wave 2 a subset of Wave 1 questions									
Child Care Interview			PC						
Similar to the School and Daycare Screen, Wave 2									
Children and First Pregnancy									
Subject's experience with parenthood									
Circles			S			S			
Subject's motor control									
Community Involvement and Collective Efficacy (Young Adult)									
Same as the PC version									
Community Involvement and Collective Efficacy (PC)			PC*			PC*			PC*
Similar to the Community Survey									
Conflict Tactics for Parent and Child									
Derivative of Conflict Tactics Scale			PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		
Conflict Tactics Scale for Parent and Child			PC*			PC*			PC*
Modified from the Wave 1 "Conflict Tactics for Parent and Child"									
Conflict Tactics Scale for Partner and Spouse	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*
Widely used measure of victimization in North American intimate partner relationships (CTS)									
Wave 3 modified from Wave 1									
Related to "Physical Abuse Scale", Wave 2									
Consequences of Substance Use									
Outcomes of being caught; Cohorts 15 & 18 slightly differ from 9 & 12									

PHDCN Data Structure / Subsections	C9 W1	C9 W2	C9 W3	C12 W1	C12 W2	C12 W3	C15 W1	C15 W2	C15 W3	C18 W1	C18 W2	C18 W3
Alcohol Use Follow-Up									S			S
Use of alcohol by subject												
adapted from the Diagnostic Interview Schedule (DIS-IV) Alcohol Module												
Antonucci Map			S			S						
Close friendships												
Asthma History			PC^									
Asthma and Allergies												
Attitudes Towards Mother and Father			S			S						
How subjects feel about parents												
Caregivers' Employment												S
Male and Female PC's employment when subject was 18												
Caregiver-Subject Conflict Scale		PC			PC			PC				
Modified from the Wave 1 parent-child version of the Conflict Tactics Scale												
Child and Adolescent Behavior Rating Scale		–	–		–	–		–				
Interviewer rating of subject's behavior												
Child Behavior Checklist	PC^	PC^	PC^	PC^	PC^	PC^	PC^	PC^				
Parent reporting measure for assessing children's emotional and behavioral problems												
Preschool version and Long form (4-18)												
Wave 2 a subset of Wave 1 questions												
Child Care Interview												
Similar to the School and Daycare Screen, Wave 2												
Children and First Pregnancy						S			S			
Subject's experience with parenthood												
Circles												
Subject's motor control												
Community Involvement and Collective Efficacy (Young Adult)									S			S
Same as the PC version												
Community Involvement and Collective Efficacy (PC)			PC*			PC*			PC*			
Similar to the Community Survey												
Conflict Tactics for Parent and Child	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*			PC*		
Derivative of Conflict Tactics Scale												
Conflict Tactics Scale for Parent and Child						PC*						
Modified from the Wave 1 "Conflict Tactics for Parent and Child"												
Conflict Tactics Scale for Partner and Spouse	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	S		S	S		S
Widely used measure of victimization in North American intimate partner relationships (CTS)												
Wave 3 modified from Wave 1												
Related to "Physical Abuse Scale", Wave 2												
Consequences of Substance Use						S			S			S
Outcomes of being caught; Cohorts 15 & 18 slightly differ from 9 &12												

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 0			Cohort 3			Cohort 6		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Depression		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*
Adapted from the short form of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (UM-CIDI)									
Slight differences between Wave 2 and 3									
Depression Scale			PC*			PC*			PC*
Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale									
Deviance of Peers			S			S			S
36-item self report interview									
Wave 2 modified from Wave 3, Cohort 18 received shorter version									
Wave 3 identical to Wave 2									
Diagnostic Assessment of Reading			S			S			S
Pre-reading ability									
Wave 3 closely related to Wave 2									
Discrimination			PC*			PC*			PC*
Drawn from the Puerto Rican Adolescent Survey									
Same questions appear in "Identity-Personal", Wave 3									
Drug Use			S			S			S
Self-report of use of specific drugs									
Dysthymia		PC*			PC*			PC*	
Adapted from the short form of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (UM-CIDI) (depression)									
Emotionality, Activity, Sociability, and Impulsivity Temperament Survey				PC*			PC*		
40-item EASI, by Buss and Plomin									
Employment and Income Interview	PC*			PC*			PC*		
Economic conditions of families									
Exposure to Violence (PC)				PC^			PC^		
Adapted from Survey of Children's Exposure to Community Violence									
My Child's Exposure to Violence		PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^
More detailed than "Exposure to Violence," Wave 1									
Wave 2 closely related to Wave 3									
My Exposure to Violence, Primary Caregiver		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*
Adult version of "My Child's Exposure to Violence"									
Compliments child version									
Exposure to Violence (Sub)									
My Exposure to Violence, Subject								S	
Cohort 6 received a shorter version									
My Exposure to Violence (Subject and Young Adult)						S			S
A short form given to Cohorts 3 & 18									
Compliments adult version									
Closely related to "My Exposure to Violence, Subject", Wave 2									
Extended Family Health			PC			PC			PC
Physical health, mental health, criminal history, and drug use history of anyone whoever lived in the same household as the subject									

PHDCN Data Structure

Subsections	Cohort 9			Cohort 12			Cohort 15			Cohort 18		
	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Depression		PC*	PC*	PC*	PC*	PC*	PC*	PC*	PC*			
Adapted from the short form of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (UM-CIDI)												
Slight differences between Wave 2 and 3												
Depression Scale												
Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale												
Deviance of Peers	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S				S
36-item self report interview												
Wave 2 modified from Wave 3, Cohort 18 received shorter version												
Wave 3 identical to Wave 2												
Diagnostic Assessment of Reading												
Pre-reading ability												
Wave 3 closely related to Wave 2												
Discrimination			PC*			PC*	PC*					
Drawn from the Puerto Rican Adolescent Survey												
Same questions appear in "Identity-Personal", Wave 3												
Drug Use			S			S			S			
Self-report of use of specific drugs												
Dysthymia		PC*			PC*			PC*				
Adapted from the short form of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (UM-CIDI) (depression)												
Emotionality, Activity, Sociability, and Impulsivity Temperament Survey	PC*			PC*			PC*					
40-item EASI, by Buss and Plomin												
Employment and Income Interview	PC*			PC*			PC*					
Economic conditions of families												
Exposure to Violence (PC)	PC^			PC^			PC^					
Adapted from Survey of Children's Exposure to Community Violence												
My Child's Exposure to Violence		PC^	PC^		PC^			PC^				
More detailed than "Exposure to Violence", Wave 1												
Wave 2 closely related to Wave 3												
My Exposure to Violence, Primary Caregiver												
Adult version of "My Child's Exposure to Violence"												
Compliments child version												
Exposure to Violence (Sub)	S			S			S					
My Exposure to Violence, Subject		S			S			S				
Cohort 6 received a shorter version												
My Exposure to Violence (Subject and Young Adult)			S			S			S			S
A short form given to Cohorts 3 & 18												
Compliments adult version												
Closely related to "My Exposure to Violence, Subject", Wave 2												
Extended Family Health			PC			PC			PC			
Physical health, mental health, criminal history, and drug use history of anyone whoever lived in the same household as the subject												

PHDCN Data Structure	Subsections	Cohort 0 W1	Cohort 0 W2	Cohort 0 W3	Cohort 3 W1	Cohort 3 W2	Cohort 3 W3	Cohort 6 W1	Cohort 6 W2	Cohort 6 W3
Family Environment Scale	*Adapted from FES developed by Rudolf H. Moos; present includes Control, and Moral-Religiosity scales*	PC^			PC^			PC^		
Family Legal Update	*Family member legal involvement since W1 (W2) or within last year (W2)*		PC	PC		PC	PC		PC	PC
Family Legal Update (Young Adult)	*Similar to "Family Legal Update"*									
Family Mental Health and Legal History	*Family's history with alcohol and drug abuse, depression, nervous breakdowns, suicide, frequent fighting, trouble keeping a job, and frequent discipline problems and if such led to legal issues*	PC			PC			PC		
Family Structure and Health History	*Family relationships, household composition, & family health history*		PC			PC			PC	
Family Suicide Interview	*Adapted from the Major Depression Disorder module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)*									
Fear and Guns	*Closely related to "Where Are You Afraid?" (W2) & "Gun Ownership" (W2 & W3)*			S			S			S
Flagged Instrument List	*Instruments with possible problems during administration*			—			—			—
Forward Memory	*Taken from the attention and memory battery of the Leiter International Performance Scale*			S						
Gangs	*Presence in neighborhood & own involvement*			S						S
Generalized Anxiety Disorder (PC)	*Adapted from the Anxiety module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)*		PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^
Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Sub)										
Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Primary Caregiver and Young Adult Report on Self)	*Similar to "Generalized Anxiety Disorder (PC)"*			PC*			PC*			PC*
Gift Wrap	*Impulsivity and Restraint*			S						S
Gun Ownership	*Access and use; related to "Fear and Guns"*									
Header Data			—							
Header Data (PC)				—			—			—
Header Data (Subject and Young Adult)	*Administrative data*		—	—		—	—		—	—
Health Screen	*Physical and mental health last 30 days (W1)*		PC^	PC^	S or PC	PC^	PC^	S or PC	PC^	PC^
Home and Life Interview	*Taken from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance Survey (W2 & W3)*		PC	PC		PC	PC		PC	PC
	A restructured version of the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME) Inventory									

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 9			Cohort 12			Cohort 15			Cohort 18		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Family Environment Scale *Adapted from FES developed by Rudolf H. Moos; present includes Control, Conflict, and Moral-Religiosity scales*	PC^			PC^			PC^			S		
Family Legal Update *Family member legal involvement since W1 (W2) or within last year (W2)*		PC	PC		PC	PC		PC	PC		S	
Family Legal Update (Young Adult) *Similar to "Family Legal Update"*		PC			PC				S			S
Family Mental Health and Legal History *Family's history with alcohol and drug abuse, depression, nervous breakdowns, suicide, frequent fighting, trouble keeping a job, and frequent discipline problems and if such led to legal issues*	PC			PC			PC			PC		
Family Structure and Health History *Family relationships, household composition, & family health history*	PC			PC			S			S		
Family Suicide Interview *Adapted from the Major Depression Disorder module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)*		PC			PC			PC				
Fear and Guns *Closely related to "Where Are You Afraid?" (W2) & "Gun Ownership" (W2 & W3)*			S			S			S			
Flagged Instrument List *Instruments with possible problems during administration*			I			I			I			I
Forward Memory *Taken from the attention and memory battery of the Leiter International Performance Scale*												
Gangs *Presence in neighborhood & own involvement*			S			S			S			S
Generalized Anxiety Disorder (PC) *Adapted from the Anxiety module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)*		PC^	PC^									
Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Sub)		S	S		S	S		S	S			
Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Primary Caregiver and Young Adult Report on Self) *Similar to "Generalized Anxiety Disorder (PC)"*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*			
Gift Wrap *Impulsivity and Restraint*												
Gun Ownership *Access and use; related to "Fear and Guns"*		S			S			S	S		S	S
Header Data		I			I			I			I	
Header Data (PC)			I			I						
Header Data (Subject and Young Adult) *Administrative data*			I			I			I			I
Health Screen *Physical and mental health last 30 days (W1)*	S	PC^	PC^	S	PC^	PC^	S	PC^	S	S	S	S
Home and Life Interview *Taken from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance Survey (W2 & W3)*		PC	PC		PC			PC				
A restructured version of the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME) inventory												

PHDCN Data Structure	Subsections	Cohort 0			Cohort 3			Cohort 6		
		W1	W2 (PC or S)	W3 (PC or S)	W1	W2 (PC or S)	W3 (PC or S)	W1	W2 (PC or S)	W3 (PC or S)
Household Composition	*Demographics of people in subject's household*									
Infant Assessment Unit	*Related to "Family Structure and Health History" (W1)*	PC & S								
	Prenatal and Postnatal Conditions									
Interviewer Impressions (PC)			—	—		—	—		—	—
Interviewer Impressions (Sub)				—			—			—
Interviewer Impressions (Young Adult)	*Demographics and impressions of environment*									
Language Screen	*Use of non-English languages in and outside of home*			S		PC	S		S	S
Life History Calendar	*Recall of life events*									
Major Depressive Disorder (PC)			PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^
Major Depressive Disorder (Sub)										
Major Depressive Disorder (Subject and Young Adult)	*Adapted from the Depression module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC4)*			S			S			S
Measurement of Environment	*Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME) protocol*	PC			PC			PC		
Mental Health Services	*Adapted from the Service Utilization module of the Use, Need, Outcomes, and Costs in Children and Adolescent Population study*			PC^		PC^	PC^			PC^
	Closely related to "Service Use" (W2)									
Neighborhood Activity	*Subject's community involvement*									
Oppositional Defiance Disorder (PC)						PC^	PC^		PC^	PC^
Oppositional Defiance Disorder (Sub)	*Adapted from the Disruptive Behavior module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)*						S			S
Perceptions of Drug Risk	*The perceived harm in using substances, the difficulty of obtaining substances, and the experience of being approached to buy drugs*						S			S
Pesonal Identity	*Racial/Ethnic identity (originally collected in Demographic File (W1 & W2)*						S			S
	Discrimination & Group Identity adapted from the Puerto Rican Adolescent Survey									
Physical Abuse Scale	*Replaced Conflict Tactics Partner-Spouse (W1)*		PC*			PC*			PC*	
Physical Development Scale	*Subject's self-perceived changes in height, body hair, skin, and weight*			S			S			S
Picture Vocabulary Test	*Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT)*									

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 9			Cohort 12			Cohort 15			Cohort 18		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Household Composition		PC or S	PC or S		PC or S	PC or S		PC or S	S		S	S
Demographics of people in subject's household												
Infant Assessment Unit												
Related to "Family Structure and Health History" (W1)												
Prenatal and Postnatal Conditions												
Interviewer Impressions (PC)		—	—		—	—		—	—			
Demographics and Impressions of environment												
Interviewer Impressions (Young Adult)											—	—
Interviewer Impressions (Sub)		—	—		—	—		—				
Language Screen		S	S		S	S		S	S			
Use of non-English languages in and outside of home												
Life History Calendar											S	
Recall of life events												
Major Depressive Disorder (PC)		PC^	PC^									
Major Depressive Disorder (Sub)		S			S			S				
Major Depressive Disorder (Subject and Young Adult)		S	S		S	S		S	S			
Adapted from the Depression module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC4)												
Measurement of Environment	PC			PC			PC			PC		
Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME) protocol												
Mental Health Services			PC^			PC^			S			S
Adapted from the Service Utilization module of the Use, Need, Outcomes, and Costs in Children and Adolescent Population study												
Closely related to "Service Use" (W2)												
Neighborhood Activity											S	
Subject's community involvement												
Oppositional Defiance Disorder (PC)		PC^	PC^									
Oppositional Defiance Disorder (Sub)		S	S		S	S		S	S			
Adapted from the Disruptive Behavior module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)												
Perceptions of Drug Risk		S	S		S	S		S	S		S	
The perceived harm in using substances, the difficulty of obtaining substances, and the experience of being approached to buy drugs												
Pesonal Identity			S			S			S			S
Racial/Ethnic identity (originally collected in Demographic File (W1 & W2)												
Discrimination & Group Identity adapted from the Puerto Rican Adolescent Survey												
Physical Abuse Scale		PC*			PC*			PC*				
Replaced Conflict Tactics Partner-Spouse (W1)												
Physical Development Scale		S	S		S			S				
Subject's self-perceived changes in height, body hair, skin, and weight												
Picture Vocabulary Test												
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT)												

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 0			Cohort 3			Cohort 6		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Lifetime (PC)									
Adapted from the Anxiety module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC4)									
Cohort 18 received a different version									
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Lifetime (Sub)									
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (PC)									
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (Sub)					PC^			PC^	S
Prenatal Health Screen	PC								
Adapted from the National Maternal and Infant Health Survey									
Prenatal and Early Health		PC							
Date of conception, due date of baby, and if the pregnancy was planned									
Primary Male Caregiver			PC*			PC*			PC*
Primary Female Caregiver			PC*			PC*			PC*
Person most responsible for raising the subject									
Provision of Social Relations (PC)	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*
Provision of Social Relations (Sub)									
Provision of Social Relations (Subject and Young Adult)									S
Social support and relationships									
Pubertal Development Scale									
Subject's self-perceived changes in height, body hair, skin, and weight									
Relationships									
Information about dating, attitudes toward sex and having babies, and experience with sexual intercourse									S
Routine Activities									
Drawn from Osgood's Unstructured Routine Activities									
School and Day Care Screen		PC^			PC^			PC^	
Subject's educational situation, parental involvement in school and expectations for the subject									S
School Interview									
Adapted from the school section of the Youth Interview Schedule used in the Philadelphia Family Management Study									S
School Screen				PC^		PC	PC^		PC
Info on schools attended, involvement in day care or after-school programming, and enrollment in any special programming									
W3 closely related to Home and Life Interview (W2), School and Day Care Screen (W2), and School Screen (W1)									
Self Perceptions						S			S
The subject's views of their abilities in math and reading, as well as overall self worth, social competence, and safety in their neighborhoods									
Self Report of Offending									S
Adapted from the Self-Report of Delinquency Questionnaire and the Self-Report of Antisocial Behavior Questionnaire									

PHDCN Data Structure / Subsections	Cohort 9 W1	W2	W3	Cohort 12 W1	W2	W3	Cohort 15 W1	W2	W3	Cohort 18 W1	W2	W3
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Lifetime (PC)	PC^											
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Lifetime (Sub)	S											
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (PC)		PC^	PC^									
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (Sub)		S	S		S	S		S	S			S
Adapted from the Anxiety module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC4)												
Cohort 18 received a different version												
Prenatal Health Screen												
Date of conception, due date of baby, and if the pregnancy was planned												
Prenatal and Early Health												
Adapted from the National Maternal and Infant Health Survey												
Primary Female Caregiver		PC^	PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		S				
Primary Male Caregiver		PC^	PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		S				
Person most responsible for raising the subject												
Provision of Social Relations (PC)	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*	PC*		PC*			
Provision of Social Relations (Sub)	S		S	S		S	S		S			
Provision of Social Relations (Subject and Young Adult)			S			S			S			
Social support and relationships												
Pubertal Development Scale	S		S	S		S	S		S			
Subject's self-perceived changes in height, body hair, skin, and weight												
Relationships			S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Information about dating, attitudes toward sex and having babies, and experience with sexual intercourse												
Routine Activities		S	S		S	S		S	S		S	
Drawn from Osgood's Unstructured Routine Activities												
School and Day Care Screen		PC^			PC^			PC^				
Subject's educational situation, parental involvement in school and expectations for the subject												
School Interview		S	S		S	S		S				
Adapted from the school section of the Youth Interview Schedule used in the Philadelphia Family Management Study												
School Screen	PC^		PC	PC^			PC^			S		
Info on schools attended, involvement in day care or after-school programming, and enrollment in any special programming												
W3 closely related to Home and Life Interview (W2), School and Day Care Screen (W2), and School Screen (W1)												
Self Perceptions												
The subjects' views of their abilities in math and reading, as well as overall self worth, social competence, and safety in their neighborhoods												
Self Report of Offending	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Adapted from the Self-Report of Delinquency Questionnaire and the Self-Report of Antisocial Behavior Questionnaire												

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 0			Cohort 3			Cohort 6		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Service Use									
Adapted from the Service Utilization module of the Use, Need, Outcomes, and Costs in Children and Adolescent Population study		PC^			PC^			PC^	
Substance Use Follow-Up									
Adapted from the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (CIDI)									
Closely related to Substance Use (Waves 1-3)									
Short Michigan Alcohol Screening Test		PC*			PC*			PC*	
PCs use of alcohol and alcohol-related problems									
Stanford-Binet									
Utilizes Lewis M.Terman and Maud A. Merrill's 1972 update of the SB Intelligence Test									
Substance Use									
Adapted from the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse				S	S				
Cohort 18 received a different version in Wave 2									
Suicide Interview									
Adapted from a section of the Major Depression Disorder module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)									
Things I Can Do If I Try									
An assessment of self-efficacy in five domains: future, school, neighborhood, home, and social									
Voting Practices									
Subject's voting behavior									
Walk-A-Line									
Measurement of motor skills			S						
Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised									
Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised						S	S	S	S
A verbal subtest of vocabulary									
Where Are You Afraid? (Fear)									
Subject's fear in certain situations									
Wide Range Achievement Test						S	S	S	S
Basic skills of reading, spelling and arithmetic									
Young Adult Self Report									
Respondents' psychological and behavioral functioning									
Closely related to the Youth Self Report									
Youth Self Report									
Eight sub-scales: Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Anxiety and Depression, Social Problems, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Aggressive Behavior, and Delinquent Behaviors									S

DATA SOURCE: S = Subject, PC = Primary Caregiver, PC^ = Primary Caregiver on Subject, PC* = Primary Caregiver on Self, I = Interviewer or Coder

PHDCN Data Structure	Cohort 9			Cohort 12			Cohort 15			Cohort 18		
Subsections	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
Service Use — *Adapted from the Service Utilization module of the Use, Need, Outcomes, and Costs in Children and Adolescent Population study*		PC^			PC^			PC^				
Substance Use Follow-Up — *Adapted from the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (CIDI)* / *Closely related to Substance Use (Waves 1-3)*									S		S	S
Short Michigan Alcohol Screening Test — *PCs use of alcohol and alcohol-related problems*		PC*			PC*			PC*				
Stanford-Binet — *Utilizes Lewis M. Terman and Maud A. Merrill's 1972 update of the SB Intelligence Test*												
Substance Use — *Adapted from the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse* / *Cohort 18 received a different version in Wave 2*	S	S		S	S	S	S	S	S			
Suicide Interview — *Adapted from a section of the Major Depression Disorder module of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC 4)*			S			S			S			
Things I Can Do If I Try — *An assessment of self-efficacy in five domains: future, school, neighborhood, home, and social*		S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S			
Voting Practices — *Subject's voting behavior*									S			
Walk-A-Line — *Measurement of motor skills*												
Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised	S	S		S	S	S	S	S	S			
Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised — *A verbal subtest of vocabulary*	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S			
Where Are You Afraid? (Fear) — *Subject's fear in certain situations*		S			S			S				
Wide Range Achievement Test — *Basic skills of reading, spelling and arithmetic*	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S			S
Young Adult Self Report — *Respondents' psychological and behavioral functioning*									S	S	S	S
Youth Self Report — *Closely related to the Youth Self Report* / *Eight sub-scales: Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Anxiety and Depression, Social Problems, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Aggressive Behavior, and Delinquent Behaviors*	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	

DATA SOURCE: S = Subject, PC = Primary Caregiver, PC^ = Primary Caregiver on Subject, PC* = Primary Caregiver on Self, I = Interviewer or Coder

Appendix B: ICPSR Raw Data File Organization

Project on Human Development in Chicago Nieghborhood Data
Raw File Organization (ICPSR)

Primary File	Secondary File	Subpart	Wave	Cohorts
phdcn1	s13608	Master File, Wave 2	2, 1997-2000	all
phdcn1	s13614	Depression	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn1	s13616	Dysthymia	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn1	s13617	My Exposure to Violence, Subject	2, 1997-2000	6-15
phdcn1	s13618	My Exposure to Violence, Primary Caregiver	2, 1997-2000	0-6
phdcn1	s13619	My Child's Exposure to Violence	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn1	s13622	Family Legal Update	2, 1997-2000	0-18
phdcn1	s13623	Family Suicide Interview	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn2	s13624	Generalized Anxiety Disorder (PC)	2, 1997-2000	3-9
phdcn2	s13625	Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Sub)	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn2	s13630	Home and Life Interview	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn2	s13636	Major Depressive Disorder (PC)	2, 1997-2000	3-9
phdcn2	s13637	Major Depressive Disorder (Sub)	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn2	s13640	Oppositional Defiance Disorder (PC)	2, 1997-2000	3-9
phdcn2	s13641	Oppositional Defiance Disorder (Sub)	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn2	s13646	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Lifetime (PC)	2, 1997-2000	6-9
phdcn2	s13647	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (PC)	2, 1997-2000	3-9
phdcn2	s13648	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Lifetime (Sub)	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn2	s13649	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (Sub)	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn2	s13658	Self Report of Offending	2, 1997-2000	9-18
phdcn2	s13660	Suicide Interview	2, 1997-2000	12-18
phdcn2	s13661	Things I Can Do If I Try	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn2	s13666	Young Adult Self Report	2, 1997-2000	18
phdcn3	s13627	Header Data	2, 1997-2000	0-18
phdcn3	s13629	Health Screen	2, 1997-2000	0-18
phdcn3	s13702	Flagged Instrument List	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn3	s13705	Forward Memory	3, 2000-2002	0
phdcn3	s13712	Header Data (PC)	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn3	s13713	Header Data (Subject and Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn3	s13715	Health Screen	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn3	s13717	Pesonal Identity	3, 2000-2002	6-18
phdcn3	s13718	Interviewer Impressions (PC)	3, 2000-2002	0-12
phdcn3	s13719	Interviewer Impressions (Sub)	3, 2000-2002	0-12
phdcn3	s13720	Interviewer Impressions (Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn3	s13732	Picture Vocabulary Test	3, 2000-2002	0
phdcn3	s13737	Relationships	3, 2000-2002	9-18
phdcn4	s13580	Master File, Wave 1	1, 1994-1997	all
phdcn4	s13581	Demographic File, Wave 1	1, 1994-1997	0-18
phdcn4	s13587	Employment and Income Interview	1, 1994-1997	0-18
phdcn4	s13592	Family Structure and Health History	1, 1994-1997	0-18
phdcn4	s13597	Provision of Social Relations (PC)	1, 1994-1997	0-15
phdcn4	s13598	Provision of Social Relations (Sub)	1, 1994-1997	9-18
phdcn4	s13602	Substance Abuse	1, 1994-1997	9-18

phdcn5	s13579	Infant Assessment Unit	1, 1994-1997	0
phdcn5	s13582	Child Behavior Checklist	1, 1994-1997	3-15
phdcn5	s13583	Conflict Tactics Scale for Partner and Spouse	1, 1994-1997	0-18
phdcn5	s13610	Child and Adolescent Behavior Rating Scale	2, 1997-2000	3-15
phdcn5	s13613	Diagnostic Assessment of Reading	2, 1997-2000	3
phdcn5	s13621	Where Are You Afraid? (Fear)	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn5	s13626	Gun Ownership	2, 1997-2000	9-18
phdcn5	s13638	Neighborhood Activity	2, 1997-2000	18
phdcn5	s13643	Perceptions of Drug Risk	2, 1997-2000	9-18
phdcn5	s13653	School and Day Care Screen	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn5	s13659	Substance Use	2, 1997-2000	9-18
phdcn5	s13662	Voting Practices	2, 1997-2000	18
phdcn6	s13584	Conflict Tactics for Parent and Child	1, 1994-1997	3-18
phdcn6	s13585	Deviance of Peers	1, 1994-1997	9-18
phdcn6	s13586	Emotionality, Activity, Sociability, and Impulsivity Temperament Survey	1, 1994-1995	3-18
phdcn6	s13588	Exposure to Violence (PC)	1, 1994-1997	3-15
phdcn6	s13589	Exposure to Violence (Sub)	1, 1994-1997	9-18
phdcn6	s13590	Family Environment Scale	1, 1994-1995	0-18
phdcn6	s13591	Family Mental Health and Legal History	1, 1994-1997	0-18
phdcn6	s13593	Health Screen	1, 1994-1997	3-18
phdcn7	s13603	Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised	1, 1994-1997	18
phdcn7	s13604	Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised	1, 1994-1997	6-15
phdcn7	s13605	Wide Range Achievement Test	1, 1994-1997	6-18
phdcn7	s13611	Child Behavior Checklist	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn7	s13612	Caregiver-Subject Conflict Scale	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn7	s13642	Physical Abuse Scale	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn7	s13645	Physical Development Scale	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn7	s13652	Stanford-Binet	2, 1997-2000	3
phdcn7	s13663	Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised	2, 1997-2000	18
phdcn7	s13664	Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised	2, 1997-2000	6-15
phdcn7	s13665	Wide Range Achievement Test	2, 1997-2000	6-18
phdcn7	s13667	Youth Self Report	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn8	s13595	Pubertal Development Scale	1, 1994-1997	9-15
phdcn8	s13601	Self Report of Offending	1, 1994-1997	9-18
phdcn8	s13606	Young Adult Self Report	1, 1994-1995	18
phdcn8	s13607	Youth Self Report	1, 1994-1997	12-15
phdcn8	s13615	Deviance of Peers	2, 1997-2000	9-18
phdcn8	s13628	Household Composition	2, 1997-2000	0-18
phdcn8	s13631	Interviewer Impressions (PC)	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn8	s13632	Interviewer Impressions (Sub)	2, 1997-2000	3-15
phdcn8	s13633	Interviewer Impressions (Young Adult)	2, 1997-2000	18
phdcn8	s13634	Language Screen	2, 1997-2000	3-18
phdcn8	s13635	Life History Calendar	2, 1997-2000	18
phdcn8	s13655	Self Report (Young Adult)	2, 1997-2000	18

phdcn9	s13609	Demographic File, Wave 2	2, 1997-2000	0-18
phdcn9	s13644	Prenatal and Early Health	2, 1997-2000	0
phdcn9	s13651	Routine Activities	2, 1997-2000	9-18
phdcn9	s13654	School Interview	2, 1997-2000	9-15
phdcn9	s13656	Service Use	2, 1997-2000	0-18
phdcn9	s13657	Short Michigan Alcohol Screening Test	2, 1997-2000	0-15
phdcn9	s13668	Master File, Wave 3	3, 2000-2002	all
phdcn9	s13669	Demographic File, Wave 3	3, 2002-2002	0-18
phdcn9	s13679	Child Behavior Checklist	3, 2000-2002	0-12
phdcn9	s13716	Home and Life Interview	3, 2000-2002	0-9
phdcn9	s13730	Physical Development Scale	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn9	s13738	Routine Activities	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn9	s13742	Self Report of Offending	3, 2000-2002	6-18
phdcn9	s13743	Substance Use	3, 2000-2002	6-18
phdcn9	s13750	Wide Range Achievement Test	3, 2000-2002	3-18
phdcn9	s13751	Young Adult Self Report	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn10	s13599	Stanford-Binet	1, 1994-1997	3
phdcn10	s13672	Adolescent Dissociative Experiences Scale	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn10	s13673	Alcohol Use	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn10	s13674	Antonucci Map	3, 2000-2002	3-12
phdcn10	s13675	Asthma History	3, 2000-2002	0-9
phdcn10	s13676	Attitudes Towards Mother and Father	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn10	s13677	Alcohol Use Follow-Up	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn10	s13678	Child and Adolescent Behavior Rating Scale	3, 2000-2002	0-12
phdcn10	s13680	Child Care Interview	3, 2000-2002	0
phdcn10	s13681	Caregivers' Employment	3, 2000-2002	18
phdcn10	s13682	Depression Scale	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn10	s13683	Children and First Pregnancy	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn10	s13684	Community Involvement and Collective Efficacy	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn10	s13686	Community Involvement and Collective Efficacy (Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn10	s13687	Consequences of Substance Use	3, 2000-2002	9-18
phdcn10	s13688	Conflict Tactics Scale for Partner and Spouse	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn10	s13689	Conflict Tactics Scale for Parent and Child	3, 2000-2002	0-9
phdcn10	s13690	Diagnostic Assessment of Reading	3, 2000-2002	0
phdcn11	s13691	Depression	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn11	s13692	Discrimination	3, 2000-2002	0-12
phdcn11	s13693	Deviance of Peers	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn11	s13694	Drug Use	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn11	s13697	My Exposure to Violence (Subject and Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	3-18
phdcn11	s13698	My Child's Exposure to Violence	3, 2000-2002	0-9
phdcn11	s13701	Fear and Guns	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn11	s13703	Family Legal Update	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn11	s13704	Family Legal Update (Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn11	s13706	Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Primary Caregiver Report on Subject)	3, 2000-2002	3-9
phdcn11	s13707	Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Primary Caregiver and Young Adult Report	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn11	s13708	Generalized Anxiety Disorder (Subject and Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	6-15
phdcn11	s13709	Gangs	3, 2000-2002	6-18
phdcn11	s13710	Gift Wrap	3, 2000-2002	0
phdcn11	s13711	Gun Ownership	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn11	s13714	Household Composition	3, 2000-2002	0-18

phdcn12	s13600	School Screen	1, 1994-1997	3-18
phdcn12	s13650	Relationships	2, 1997-2000	12-18
phdcn12	s13670	Addendum (Primary Caregiver)	3, 2000-2002	0-12
phdcn12	s13671	Addendum (Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn12	s13685	Circles	3, 2000-2002	0-3
phdcn12	s13695	Extended Family Health	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn12	s13696	My Exposure to Violence (PC)	3, 2000-2002	0-3
phdcn12	s13721	Language Screen	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn12	s13722	Major Depressive Disorder (PC)	3, 2000-2002	3-9
phdcn12	s13723	Major Depressive Disorder (Subject and Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	6-15
phdcn12	s13724	Mental Health Services	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn12	s13726	Oppositional Defiance Disorder (PC)	3, 2000-2002	3-9
phdcn12	s13727	Oppositional Defiance Disorder (Sub)	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn12	s13728	Perceptions of Drug Risk	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn12	s13729	Primary Female Caregiver	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn12	s13731	Primary Male Caregiver	3, 2000-2002	0-18
phdcn13	s13594	Measurement of Environment	1, 1994-1997	0-18
phdcn13	s13596	Prenatal Health Screen	1, 1994-1997	0
phdcn13	s13733	Provision of Social Relations (PC)	3, 2000-2002	0-15
phdcn13	s13734	Provision of Social Relations (Subject and Young Adult)	3, 2000-2002	6-18
phdcn13	s13735	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (PC)	3, 2000-2002	3-9
phdcn13	s13736	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Past Year (Sub)	3, 2000-2002	6-18
phdcn13	s13739	School Screen	3, 2000-2002	3-9
phdcn13	s13740	School Interview	3, 2000-2002	6-12
phdcn13	s13741	Self Perceptions	3, 2000-2002	3-6
phdcn13	s13744	Substance Use Follow-Up	3, 2000-2002	15-18
phdcn13	s13745	Suicide Interview	3, 2000-2002	9-18
phdcn13	s13746	Things I Can Do If I Try	3, 2000-2002	9-12
phdcn13	s13747	Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised	3, 2000-2002	12
phdcn13	s13748	Walk-A-Line	3, 2000-2002	0
phdcn13	s13749	Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised	3, 2000-2002	3-12
phdcn13	s13752	Youth Self Report	3, 2000-2002	6-12
---	s2766	Community Survey	1994-1995	---