Public Policy and Social Control: A Frazierist Inspired Examination of Race Specific Arrests and Racial Threat

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Abstract

In his analysis of race and public policy, the work of Michael Frazier (1946—2018, an African American professor of Political Science specializing in Public Administration for 30 years at Howard University in Washington DC, USA) is astute and impactful. One particular area of inquiry is his examination of race in the public sphere; for more on this, see his articles titled "Is it Public Policy Disagreement or Old Fashion Racism" (2016) and "Race, Multiculturalism and Education" (1985). This research follows Frazier's footsteps, by examining the use of the police as a social control agent in the Black community in the United States in response to the perceived infringement of Blacks in the areas of politics and employment. This paper contextualizes the events and tactics that generated the foundation for the politics of racializing crime and weaponizing stereotypes, arguing that they are not new phenomena but are tools that had been employed to justify slavery and to construct Jim Crow laws, policies and social norms.

Keywords: Public Policy, Social Contract, Frazierist Approach, Race Specific Arrests, Racioal Threat

Introduction

The issue of race, criminality and public policy has been inextricably linked in America's racist past. In the post-slavery era, scholars debated the relevancy of race in the crime discourse and how to best address the so-called Black criminality. The term "Black criminality" was first introduced by Hoffman (1886) in his classic book titled *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*. He argued that his work offered the definitive and first empirical analysis of Black criminality and public policy. It this seminal work, Hoffman pontificated that "Blacks were biologically inferior and naturally prone to criminality" (1886, 7). Other mainstream scholars such as Charles Henderson (1901) and F. W. Blackmon (1909) would embrace his findings and attempt to provide additional empirical support to the notion of Black criminality. To juxtapose these scholars' beliefs with that of W. E. B. Du Bois who stated that "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line" (1903, 2) highlighted how conservatives and anti-racists viewed race and public policy. For Du Bois, structural barriers,

racism and public policy were the focal points of everything that transpired in American society. All ot the institutions (political, economic and social) were "colored" by race and ethnicity. Thus, the color line was a symbol of the social, political, and economic division between Whites and Blacks. This invisible, yet significant "color line," was the structural foundation of American democracy. The dominant group (Whites) enjoyed privilege and true democracy, whereas Blacks were subjected to inequality and tyranny. Du Bois commented that if the unequal distribution of power and resources persisted in society, the color line would remain troublesome (DuBois 1903). The "color line" was the impetus for slavery and the Jim Crow Laws in the South and de facto discrimination in the North.

Race is purely a social construct established to justify oppression and colonialism (Roediger, 1991). Europeans (Whites) viewed themselves as culturally and morally superior to the dark skin "savages" they encountered in foreign lands. These "savages" were often characterized as beastly and viewed as subhuman (Roediger, 1991). They could not be afforded the same rights and privileges of Europeans (Whites). The dark skin savages, especially the imported Africans, were perceived to be genetically, biologically and culturally inferior to the Europeans. This ideology was the basis for chattel slavery in the New World where Africans were viewed in the same light as other beasts of labor.

The underlying principles that provided the cornerstone for slavery remained in the United States' conscious after the Civil War. In the South, the Jim Crow system which was a set of laws and informal expectations that subordinated Blacks to Whites in all areas of social and economic life was established (Roediger, 1991). According to Hacker (1992), Blacks continued to be an inferior species, not only unsuited for equality but not even meriting a chance to show their worth. Jim Crow represented the fundamental belief that Whites were biologically, culturally, and morally superior to Blacks and the structural separation (color line) of Blacks was necessary to maintain racial dominance.

As Blacks attempted to challenge the color line in all aspects of society in the 20th Century, Whites viewed their attempts as politically, economically and socially threatening. Thus, Whites employed the criminal justice system, specifically the police, to maintain White dominance in society. Maintaining law and order was a euphemism for controlling and keeping Blacks in their rightful "place." The Social Threat Theory proposes that racial minorities, particularly Blacks, present an economic, political and racial threat to the powerful elite in society (Liska, 1992). In response to these threats, some aggregated measures of social control were undertaken by society to minimize the threats posed by Blacks (Blalock, 1967). A proposition of the theory is that governmental agencies such as the police are essentially tools used by the powerful elite to maintain social order (i.e. norms, customs, and status quo) and White hegemony. Crime control measures are defined as those activities authorized by a governmental unit that are intended directly or indirectly to reduce crime or deviance (Liska, 1992).

This study examines the relationship among the relative size of Black employment, the relative size of Black voter registration, and race specific arrests from 1968 to 2006. All of the variables in the model operate at the national level by utilizing data from the United States Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. Additionally, only the data for Blacks and Whites are utilized in the research design. The reason for this is due to the central principles of the Social Threat Theory which emphasizes a direct competition between Whites and Blacks as a predicator of social control. This research focuses on two direct measurements of competition between Whites and Blacks: (1) political and (2) employment participation. Political competition

is measured as percent of Black voter registration and employment competition is measured as percent of Black employment.

Theoretical Foundation

The Social Threat Theory posits that a struggle exists between the powerful and the powerless in society. But, unlike the conflict perspective, the conflict is not a class struggle but a racial and ethnic struggle. Thus, the social threat view infuses race and ethnicity into the conflict perspective and makes the theory applicable in the discussion on race and crime. The core principles of the Social Threat Theory are closely related to the conflict perspective but with race and ethnicity factored into the following five principles: (1) an uneven distribution of self interests in crime control and an uneven distribution of power to implement self-interests and social policy; (2) the laws that most protect the interests of the powerful are most enforced; (3) violations of the law are more threatening when committed by some people than by others; (4) laws are enforced against those people who most threaten the interests of the powerful; and (5) the greater the number of acts and people threatening to the interest of the powerful, the greater the level of deviance and crime control (independent of actual crime levels, the capacity for social control and its exercise tend to increase with the relative size of the non-White population (Liska, 1982).

Two variables encapsulate the five principles of the theory: (1) threatening people and (2) threatening acts. Regarding threatening people, this construct is operationalized as the relative size of the minority community. Threatening acts are operationalized in terms of economic, political and racial behaviors of minorities that threaten the interests of the dominant group (Liska, 1992). When theory testing, some form of threatening people and/or threatening acts are examined with some measure of social/crime control (see Figure 1).
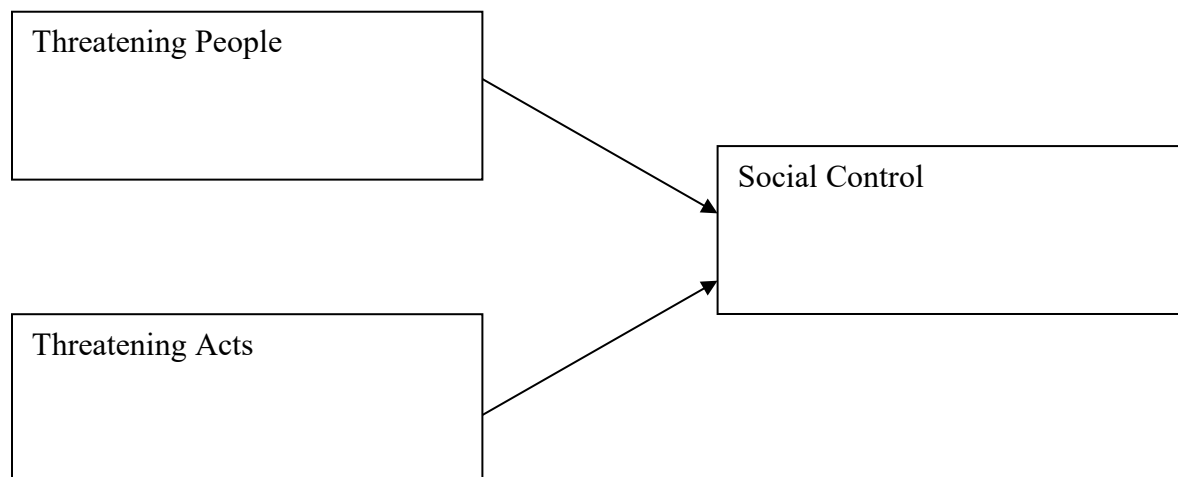

Figure 1: Traditional Social Threat Model
Source: Self-generated by the Author

Theoretical Background of the Measurements

Central to the Social Threat Theory are the concepts of threatening people and threatening acts. The measurement of threatening people in the current literature tends to focus on the aggregate

size of the Black population (Blalock, 1967; Chiricos, Welch and Gertz, 2004; Eitle, D'Alessio, and Stolzenberg, 2002; Liska and Chamlin, 1984; Parker and Maggard, 2005). Measuring threatening people in terms of the aggregate size of the bBack population is problematic due to the historical relationship of Black males in society.

The theoretical literature measures threatening acts in terms of economic and political threats. The economic threat proposes that the inter-group competition between Whites and Blacks for jobs and other finite economic resources results in an increase in the amount of aggregate social control imposed on Blacks (Blalock, 1967). In the current literature, the primary measurement of economic threat is in terms of the ratio of Black unemployment rates to White unemployment rates (see Blalock, 1956; Eitle, D'Alessio and Stolzenberg, 2002; Jacob, 1979; Jacobs and Wood, 1999; Parker and Maggard, 2005). The measurement denotes a competition between Whites and Blacks for job security and employment opportunities which is the basis of economic threat. Findings from the studies show mixed support for the models in explaining some variance in crime control practices and policies. The construct ratio of Black unemployment to White unemployment has demonstrated some explicative value; however, the measurement has only been employed in cross-sectional and pooled time series models.

The second measurement of threatening acts focuses on political threat. Blalock (1967) argues that as the percentage of Blacks in the population grows progressively larger the dominant group increasingly views Blacks as a threat to the political ascendancy of Whites. According to Blalock (1967), only those actions that directly challenge the political power of the dominant group in society are viewed as threatening. Blalock suggests measuring political threat in terms of Black political leadership activity or Black voter registration. Following the theoretical proposition of Blalock, Eitle, D'Allessio and Stolzenberg (2002) measure the construct as the percent of Blacks participating in political activities. This measurement is excellent in models that examine local or state level threat, but it is not well-suited for national models (Eitle, D'Allessio and Stolzenberg, 2002). Therefore, this model employs the second measurement of political threat: i.e. voter registration. It is believed that this construct is an excellent measurement of political threat at the national level. There are no studies that have measured political threat in terms of the number of Blacks registering to vote.

Group Threat

The group threat school within the conflict perspective tends to focus on the relationship between the minority population and the larger society. Central to the Group Threat Theory is the belief that minority groups are not integrated into society but are distinct sub-groups that operate on the fringes of society (Blumer, 1958). Thus, minority groups in many ways are viewed as "outsiders" and "interlopers" by the dominant group in society (Blumer, 1958). It is posited that minority groups represent a real threat to individuals as well as to the greater society.

There are two distinct branches within the social threat perspective: (1) social psychological approach (micro level) and (2) group threat hypothesis (macro level). The two approaches are rooted in the threat paradigm, but they take divergent approaches in examining the application of threat.

Herbert Blumer's Group Threat Theory focuses on individual and group level perspectives of social threat. He theorizes that the greater the sense of threat to their economic existence, the more likely are members of the dominant group to express prejudice against threatening outsiders, which leads to an increase in social control aimed at the outsiders (Blumer,

1958). The key component of Blumer's theory is racial prejudice, which promotes racial conflict between the dominant groups and subordinate groups. As Blumer states "Racial prejudice is a matter of the racial identification made of oneself and of others and of the way in which the identified groups are conceived in relation to each other" (1958,. 3).

According to Blumer (1958), there are four basic types of feeling that seem to be always present in race prejudice within the dominant group. They are the following: (1) "a feeling of superiority," (2) "a feeling that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien," (3) "a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage," and (4) "a fear and suspicion that the subordinate race harbors designs on the prerogatives of the dominant race" (Blumer, 1958, 4). It is the fourth feeling that is at the center of the group threat theory. Blumer states

> The remaining feeling essential to race prejudice is a fear or apprehension that the subordinate racial group is threatening, or will threaten, the position of the dominant group. Thus, acts or suspected acts that are interpreted as an attack on the natural superiority of the dominant group, or an intrusion into their sphere of group exclusiveness, or an encroachment on their area of proprietary claim are crucial in arousing and fashioning race prejudice, These acts mean "getting out of place (1958, 4).

Thus, racial antagonism increases in defense of a group's position which suggests that perceived threat is the force driving this outcome (Blumer, 1958). The procedure to measure the race specific crime threat implicit to the Group Threat Theory is to measure Whites' attitudes regarding issues involving racial minorities and crime. Measuring threat at the micro level demonstrates how racial attitudes directly influence social control (Quillian, 1995). The group threat perspective sheds light on individual level processes involved in threat and racial minorities; however, this research focuses on macro level processes and threat. Therefore, this research investigates the utility of the threat hypothesis in examining racial minorities and crime control in society.

Blalock's Threat Hypothesis

Herbert Blalock's threat hypothesis involves examining macro level processes and threat. In his seminal work titled *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations* (1967), Blalock offers one of the earliest conflict perspectives that focused on racial minorities. The book details Blalock's perspective on competition, discrimination, and race in the political and economic arenas and outlines the threat hypothesis he formulated years earlier. The foundation of the threat hypothesis is the notion that the relative size of the Black population is correlated with some form of political and/or economic discrimination (Blalock, 1967). Central to Blalock's threat hypothesis are the concepts of power and the relative size of the minority population. Power is defined as "the actual overcoming of resistance in a standard period of time" (Blalock, 1967, 111). Blalock essentially makes these concepts the catalysts for the various forms of discrimination in society. As Blalock states, "there can be no doubting the fact that racial discrimination is ultimately based on power relationships between a dominant and subordinate group. Power is a multiplicative function of two very general types of variables, total resources and the degree to which these resources are mobilized in the services of those persons or groups exercising the power" (1967,

53). Blalock further defines total resources and mobilization of resources in the following manner:

> By resources we mean the actual source of power or those properties of the individual or group which provide the power potential or ability to exercise power. Under the heading of resources, we list factors such as money, property, prestige, authority, and natural and supernatural resources. We also include physical strength and the ability to bear arms, voting rights, and various rights achieved by formal education, apprenticeship or membership in certain organizations. In general, we include under the heading of resources all factors relevant to the exercise of power which are ordinarily conceived as properties of the individual or group. Mobilization of resources has been conceptualized as providing the power potential or ability to apply power (1967, 54).

It is total resources coupled with mobilization of resources that allows groups to be powerful and dominant. Regarding the importance and measurements of resources and mobilization, Blalock theorizes that "resources seem to depend primarily on the motivation and goals of persons over whom power is exercised, whereas mobilization is more largely a function of the goals of the persons exerting the power" (1967, 114). Thus, the dominant groups employ this power to discriminate against subordinate groups in order to maintain their economic and political positions in society.

Blalock (1967) posits that competition, power, and minority percentage are the factors that influence the perception of economic and political threats in society. Inter-group competition for economic resources generates a real or perceived threat on the part of the dominant group. He states: "the larger the relative size of the minority, however, the more minority individuals there should be in direct or potential competition with a given individual in the dominant group and as the minority percentage increases; therefore, we would expect to find increasing discriminatory behavior" (Blalock, 1967, 148). The use of some form of social control mechanism aimed at the minority group is the manifestation of the increasing discriminatory behavior (Blalock 1967).

In addition, according to Blalock, "As the competition between the minority and white communities increases, there is a high probability that the number of political and overt acts of violence aimed at the minority communities will increase as well" (1967, 150). This statement represents the idea of power threat which is based on political threat. As the size of the minority population increases, the threat evolves from purely an economic to a political threat. The increased minority population has greater total resources and could mobilize its resources to gain power. To combat the increasing minority threat, the dominant group must exhaust greater resources and seek remedies at the macro level of society. Blalock (1967) writes:

> Where a greater degree of mobilization of resources becomes necessary in order to maintain power equilibrium, the variable components of mobilization become highly important. Organizational effectiveness must be improved if the power advantage is to be sustained. Ideological systems will usually be developed (or revived) which explicitly call the nature of the minority threat to the attention of dominant-group members. Deviants are more likely to be defined as traitors, and the more threatening stereotypes of the minority may be emphasized. …..In short, as the power threat increases, we are apt to find a disproportionately heavy

emphasis on mobilizing resources through organizational and ideological techniques (1967, 180).

For the dominant group, Blacks become the means to achieving economic and political power. Blalock outlines the most common ways in which minorities become linked with the means to five important goals: (1) "the minority may be a serious competitor, and discrimination "may serve as a means of restricting or eliminating such competition"; (2) it may be necessary to avoid the minority in order to achieve status objectives or to reduce the likelihood of uncomfortable contact situations"; (3) "a minority may be used directly as means toward status objectives through various forms of exploitation"; (4) "political power may be obtained or consolidated through the manipulation of prejudice"; and (5) "direct aggression against minorities may satisfy certain psychic needs produced by frustration" (1967, 41).

The precise form of the relationship depends on the nature of the threat. Where the Black population threatened the political hegemony of Whites, for example, discrimination is predicted to increase at an accelerated rate with proportion to the number of Blacks (Blalock 1967). Under certain conditions, we might expect a nonlinear positive relationship, with a decreasing slope, between the minority percentage and economically motivated discrimination based on the threat of competition (Blalock 1967). Thus, according to Blalock (1967), discriminatory practices and increased social control methods are the result of actions on the part of the White community to the increase in the relative size of the Black population. For whites, the increase in the relative size of the Black population produces policies aimed at controlling the growing threat. Blalock reported that "poor whites in the South may not have been able to regulate Negro competition directly by economic means, but they succeeded in accomplishing the same by political action and intimidation" (1967, 150). Whites used the political and economic institutions to control the growing Black population.

Blacks respond to the increasing size of their community by competing with Whites for jobs and participating in the political process (registering to vote and/or voting and assuming political leadership). As a result of these actions, Whites used their economic and political power to bar Blacks from competing for certain jobs and disenfranchised Blacks from the political process.

For political threat, there are several indicators that represent this construct: total number of voters, Black leadership activity, and voter registration data. Blalock suggests that "voter registration data are as satisfactory as any of our other measures of political discrimination" (1967, 63). As for the economic threat measurement, Blalock (1967) outlines several measurements as excellent indicators: a comparison between White and Black employment in the blue-collar labor market, total number of White skilled workers employed and the total number of available jobs in the market, the difference between White and Black median incomes, the percentage of Black males in the labor force in unskilled jobs to that of White males in the labor force in unskilled jobs, and the difference between the percentage of unemployed Black males in the civilian labor force and that of unemployed White males in the civilian labor force. The measurements for political and economic threats are not intended to represent the exhaustive list of options, but are only offered as a conceptual guide (Blalock, 1956).

In summary, both Blumer and Blalock operate within the social threat paradigm, but their methodology differs in respect to examining racial threat. Blumer (1958) focuses on the individual level perception of threat. A key belief of the theory is that threat operates at the individual level due to the nature of group competition. The methodology of Blumer's

perspective is to investigate Whites' perceptions of the increasing Black population. As the Black population increases, the White community perceives an economic threat from the growing Black population.

Contrastingly, Blalock (1967) examines the macro level indices of the economic and political threats caused by the increasing Black population. Threat is the result of the unequal power relationship between the dominant and subordinate groups in society. Central to Blalock's methodology are the measurements for economic and political threats. Society uses the political and economic institutions to respond to the increasing Black population. Thus, the methodology employs macro level measurements to investigate threat.

The discussions of ethnicity, minority group relations and crime are best investigated at the macro and not the micro level. So much of what takes place in society is structural and not individual in nature. The issue of why certain people commit crimes is not as important as why certain actions are deemed criminal and who are responsible for establishing these criminal definitions. It is acknowledged that crime is a social construct generated by the dominant group in society which implies that crime is a label or a definition. Quinney stated that "crime is a definition of human conduct that is created by authorized agents in a politically organized society" (1970, 54). Thus, it is not plausible to seek out individual level variables in investigating ethnicity and crime. For this reason, this research uses Blalock's social threat model to investigate how the two dimensions of threat impact race-specific rates from 1968 to 2006.

Social Threat and Race

Social Threat Theory speaks directly to the issue of discriminatory treatment of Blacks and how the system unfairly mobilizes crime control measures against them. The two principal concepts of the theory, threatening people and threatening act, capture the historical relationship of Blacks in United States society. The legacy of the unequal treatment of Blacks is well established and somewhat systematic to the American culture. From slavery to the Jim Crows laws and the recent driving while Black practices, blacks have been subjected to many forms of structural and institutional racism and discrimination. For example, it is suggested by historians that law enforcement in the South is derived from the threat of Blacks. Plantation owners established the slave patrols to "police" enslaved Africans, and this organization would later become the forerunner of the modern-day police agency in the South (Milovanovic and Russell, 2001). Today, Blacks are marginalized and ostracized in society and the continuation of discriminatory policies and laws, such as the disparate treatment for possessing powder cocaine and crack cocaine, suggest that structural and institutionalized explanations are required.

As Jerome Miller states, "when we talk about building more prisons, when we talk about longer sentences, when we talk about throwing away the keys…everyone knows that we're talking about blacks" (1996, 123). Blacks' involvement with the formal criminal justice system is not solely based on criminal activity as some suggest (see Blumstein, 1992), but also on the unjust practices and polices of the police, legislatures, courts, etc. Like the slave patrols of the South, modern day criminal justice agencies are designed to "control" the Black population (Miller 1996).

Economic Threat and Social Control

Blacks in the economy have been a source of contention for the dominant group for a long time.

First, northern factory workers competed against slavery in the South and openly complained about the unfair situation. Some historians believed that the civil war was fought over the unfair competition between White factory workers in the North and enslaved Blacks in the South (Roediger, 1991). After the Civil War, freed Blacks competed with White workers for jobs and economic resources. This situation resulted in White workers fiercely attacking and intimidating Black workers (Roediger, 1991). In response to the economic and political threats posed by Blacks, Jim Crow laws were instituted in the South and de facto discrimination practices were used in the North. Legitimate government agencies such as the police and courts enforced the unequal status of Blacks in the workforce and society. As a result, there was little competition between Blacks and Whites in the economy (Blalock, 1967). From post-Civil War to the late 1950s, economic competition was restricted by overt and covert discrimination against Blacks. Nonetheless, during the early Civil Rights movement, intra-group competition increased. The resulting reaction by the dominant group was the basis for the Social Threat Theory.

Blalock (1967) posits that Blacks represent an economic threat to the dominant group (White society). A large Black population could lead to increased economic discrimination and social control. The negative reaction of the dominant group to the relative size of the Black population is due in part to inter-group competition and power (Blalock, 1967). Prior to the cCvil Rights Movement of the late 1950s and 1960s, the dominant group (Whites) employed various legal and extra-legal methods to control the Black economic threat. Blalock states that "Southern whites have used both political power and violence in order to restrict the competition of Negroes" (1967, 153). Additionally, Whites minimized the economic threat posed by Blacks by restricting the types of jobs for Blacks. Only the lower paying jobs that Whites were not interested in performing were assigned to Black laborers (Blalock 1967). In the North, Blacks could not join trade unions and were relegated to lower level occupations.

There is a long history of adverse reaction by the dominant group to inter-group competition. Over the years, society has employed various forms of restraints to control the Black economic threat. The legal restrictions of Jim Crow laws are a shadow of the past, but de facto discrimination still exists in the United States. This research attempts to investigate the economic component of Blalock's threat hypothesis. Blalock (1967) theorizes that the direct competition between Blacks and Whites resulted in discriminatory policies/laws/practices on the part of Whites against Blacks. Thus, in accordance with Blalock (1967), this research measures economic threat in terms of the relative size of Black employment (difference between Black and White employments). As the difference between Black and White employments decreases, this will result in an increase in social control directed at Blacks.

Liska and Chalin (1984) examined the relationship between economic inequality and arrest rates for large metropolitan cities in 1972. The dependent variable, size of arrest rates, was measured by the ratio of arrests to population for both property and personal crimes. Percent non-White (primarily African American) was measured by demographics from the United States Census Bureau. Economic inequality was measured by the Gini index, which expresses the average difference in income between all pairs of individuals in a city relative to the average income of that city. The authors used the Gini index because it was a better measurement of economic inequality previously employed in the literature (see Jacob, 1979). Racial residential segregation was measured by the Dissimilarity Index. Control variables included in the model were: population size, the percentage of poor people (measured as the percentage of families below the "poverty line), and reported crime rates. Results from the regression analysis revealed that income inequality, segregation, and percentage non-White significantly impacted arrest rates

even after controlling for crime rates. The findings demonstrated strong support for the Social Threat Theory.

Political Threat (Voter Registration) and Social Threat

One of the key resources that Blacks possess in society is the ability to participate in the political process. By participating in the political process, Blacks hope to achieve a measure of power to influence the economic and social structures of society. Blalock (1967) recognizes that political participation is strongly connected to power, and power is the force that drives inter-group competition. Therefore, political participation by Blacks has long been regarded as threatening behavior by the dominant group in society (Blalock, 1967).

Political participation is strongly correlated with the size of the Black population. As their population increases, so does the level of political participation by Blacks. This relationship represents the mobilization of resources to gain power in society. According to Blalock (1967), an excellent measure of this relationship is voter registration. The total number of registered voters represents total resources and the potential to mobilize the resources to gain a competitive advantage over other groups in society. In response to Blacks' political participation, the dominant group has employed de jure discrimination in the form of Jim Crow laws and de facto discrimination in the form of residential isolation.

Political threat is the least tested measurement in the literature. Blalock (1960) tested the power threat hypothesis of the Social Threat Theory which viewed relationships between Blacks and Whites as a function of their competitive positions in political, economic and social arenas. In his study, Blalock investigated the relationship between political threat and discrimination in a medium-sized community in the South. He measured political threat in terms of Black leadership activity in the community (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—NAACP and the Urban League involvement in local political issues pertaining to Blacks). Blalock measured involvement as the total number of formal and informal civil rights complaints filed by the NAACP and the Urban League with the local, state and national governments, and the number of protest rallies and political demonstrations during the research period. He hypothesized that an increase in Black leadership activity would produce a significant increase in discrimination.

The findings revealed that Black leadership activities were extremely ineffective and minimum; thus, discrimination aimed at Blacks was relatively passive. Blalock interpreted the findings as support for the power threat hypothesis. He concluded that due to the lack of Black leadership activities, Blacks offered no threat to the political power of Whites in the community. Therefore, Whites did not have to use discrimination mechanisms to control the Black population.

Jackson and Marhewka (1986) examined the impact of Black visibility and early political victories on income inequality in 85 non-southern cities. Prior research in this area tended to focus on the relative size of the Black population as the primary measurement and ignored the salience of political threat. Also, prior studies concentrated on southern cities with very little empirical testing on northern cities. These two gaps were addressed by Jackson and Marhewka. Early political victories were calculated by identifying the time period during which a Black candidate was first elected to each of the following offices: city council, a citywide office, a judgeship, a countywide office, school board, lower house of the state legislature, upper house of the state legislature, United States Congress (final index was computed). Black visibility was measured by three variables: (1) the number of sit-ins, demonstrations, economic boycotts, and

school boycotts; (2) the number of people involved in the largest sit-in, demonstration, economic boycott, and school boycott since 1960; and (3) the average time period in which rent strikes, economic boycotts, and militant Blacks running for elective office first occurred. Both measurements of political threat dealt with inter-group competition for political power which was consistent with Blalock's power threat thesis.

The overall results of Jackson and Marhewka's study showed that both political threat measurements were statistically significant related to income inequality for Blacks, thereby providing support for the Social Threat Theory. The results also suggested that non-southern states responded to threat in the same manner as southern states. This finding was a significant contribution to the threat literature.

Investigating police expenditures in 90 non-southern cities in 1971, Jackson and Carroll (1981) used Black mobilization activity as a measurement for political threat. This measurement was employed in a previous study investigating threat and income inequality (see Jackson and Marhewka, 1986) with positive results. But, this was the first attempt in the literature to examine Black mobilization and some measure of social control. The dependent variable, police expenditures, was measured by per capita total expenditures for police in 1971, including expenditures for salaries and operations as well as capital expenditures. The results revealed that Black mobilization activity was positively associated with police expenditures in the 90 non-southern cities in 1971. Jackson and Carroll reported that the findings could possibly explain the role of law enforcement in controlling the political threat offered by Blacks in society.

Black Voter Registration

The importance of measuring political threat in terms of voter registration received support from Blalock (1967) when he asserted that voter registration was an excellent measurement of political threat. Black voters pose a direct threat to White hegemony in the political arena. Operationalizing political threat in terms of Black voter registration has received some support in the literature. According to Giles and Hertz,

> It might be argued that after prolonged experience with blacks as voters, whites no longer perceive higher concentration of potential black voters as a threat. The evidence for Louisiana indicates that this not the case. White electoral support for David Duke, an avowed racist, in his candidacy for the U.S. Senate in 1990 and the governorship of Louisiana in 1991 was positively linked to the percentage of registered voters who were black. The greater the concentration of blacks among the registered voters in a parish, the greater the percentage of registered whites who voted for Duke (1994, 319).

In essence, voter registration provides an excellent measurement of political threat and can be useful in explaining the threat and social control.

Giles and Hertz (1994) examined the relationship between Black political threat and the decrease in White support for the Democratic Party in 64 Louisiana parishes between 1975 and 1990. It was hypothesized that as Black voter registration increased within the Democratic Party, this would be viewed as threatening the White power structure within the party and White voters would exit the party for the Republican or Independent Parties. Black voter registration (Black concentration) was measured as the actual percentage of registered Democrats in each parish

who are Black. White defection from the Democratic Party was measured by the percentage of White voters registered as Independent and Republican in a parish for a given year.

To analyze the data, Giles and Hertz used pooled time series analysis technique. Using this technique allowed the researchers to investigate cross-sectional variables over time and space. The results from the analysis may yield important information regarding how the variables interact and change over time. Analyzing the results revealed mixed support for the theory. First, Black voter registration (Black concentration) was found not to be significantly related to the percentage of Whites that registered as Independents. This result was not surprising given the lack of a clear philosophical orientation for the Independent Party in Louisiana. Nonetheless, there was a statistically significant relationship between Black voter registration (Black concentration) and the percentage of White voters in a parish registered as Republicans. According to Giles and Hertz, "An increase of 10% in the black concentration is predicted to result in an increase of approximately 1% in white Republican registration (.10 *.0907 =.009). While this effect is not substantively large, it is consistent with the idea that Republican growth reflects, in part, a response to racial threat within the local context" (1994, 321).

This finding was not unexpected given the status of the Republican Party in the state. The party was viewed as a conservative party that endorsed law and order measurements and program initiatives that negatively impacted the African American population (Giles and Hertz, 1994). Thus, joining the Republican Party could possibly ensure that the existing power structure would remain in place.

Overall, the Giles and Hertz study found support for Blalock's hypothesis that voter registration could be a measurement for political threat. Thus, simply registering to vote is viewed as a threatening act against the power structure in society which could lead to increases social control. These findings represented a significance contribution to the literature. Buit, there were several limitations with the study. The scope of the study was restricted to the state of Louisiana and this greatly reduced the application of the findings. Also, the use of cross-sectional data restricted the depth and breath of the study. Employing longitudinal data in time series analysis could yielded more robust results. There exists very little empirical evidence in the literature concerning miscegenation relationships and social control. Nevertheless, the little indirect empirical evidence along with anecdotal evidence that exists is enough to warrant further investigation of this relationship.

Research Design

The central research questions in the current study pertain to investigating the relationship among social threat variables economic threat (difference to Black employment to White employment), and political threat (difference in Black and White voter registration) and social control (difference in total arrest rates for Blacks and Whites) from 1968 to 2006. The attendant research design employs primary data derived from two key sources: (1) the United States Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS) retrieved via Integrated Public Use Microdata Survey (IPUMS: CPS) and (2) the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report (UCR). Both data sets contain measurements on social threat and social control variables that were relevant to this study.

The Current Population Survey data were retrieved from the Minnesota Population Center (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series- Current Population Survey, IPUMS-CPS). This is a project operated by the Minnesota Population Center dedicated to integrating and

disseminating data from the United States Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. Its goals are to collect and preserve data and documentation, and harmonize data to be compatible over time and with United States decennial censuses. As a depository for the United States Census data, the IPUMS catalogs all of the data involving the Current Population Survey from its inception in 1940 to 2007 (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series 2008). To allow for time series comparisons using IPUMS-CPS data, more user friendly variables were coded identically or "harmonized" for the period covering from 1962 to 2007.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report was the data source for the race specific arrests measurement (social control) in the current research design. The Uniform Crime Report is a collection of crime statistics and other law enforcement information gathered under a voluntary national program administered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). There are approximately 17,000 city, county, and state law enforcement agencies participating in the program which comprises 93% of the population (US Department of Justice and Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2006). Law enforcement agencies submit monthly reports to the FBI involving offenses known to the police (index crimes: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape , robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson) and demographics about persons arrested (race, gender, and age).

This study is longitudinally designed to investigate the relationships among social threat variables: political threat (difference in Black and White voter registration), economic threat (difference in Black and White employment), and race specific arrests for Blacks (difference in the Black and white total arrests) from 1968 to 2006. The following measurements were retrieved from the IPUMS-CPS: aggravated size of Black employment, White employment, Black voter registration, and White voter registration. The measurement for race-specific arrests was extracted from the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice archives (Black and White arrests totals). Each data set operated at the macro level, and this provided me the opportunity to investigate the structural perspective within the Social Threat Theory. The data in the research model were analyzed using time series regression, which is a multivariate statistical technique that investigates the relationship between continuously distributed independent variables and one continuously distributed dependent variable.

Exogenous Variables

The model contained two exogenous variables: (1) difference in Black and White employments and (2) difference in Black and White voter registrations. Data for these exogenous variables were extracted from the United States Census' Current Population Survey (CPS) from 1968 to 2006. The following descriptions explain how each variable was extracted and constructed using the CPS data.

Difference in Black and White Employments

The variable measured the difference in employment for Blacks and Whites annually from 1968 to 2006. The variable was selected based on the work of Blalock (1967). Increased competition between Whites and Blacks in the area of employment resulted in more discrimination aimed at Blacks in society (Blalock, 1967).

To construct the economic variable, the work variables (Person) within the Person Record section in IPUMS-CPS were selected. There are numerous selections within the section

such as emstat (employment status), labforce (labor force status), occ (occupation), ind (industry), and many more. Employment status was selected for each year. There were numerous categories within employment status: 10 (at work), 12 (has job, not at work last week), 13 (armed forces), 14 (unemployed), 21 (unemployed, experienced worker), 22 (unemployed, new worker), 30 (not in labor force), 31 (not in labor force: housework), 32 (not in labor force: unable to work), 33 (not in labor force: school), 34 (not in labor force: other), and 35 (not in labor force: unpaid 15 hours). Within the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the categories were compressed into three primary selections: (1) employed, (2) unemployed, and (3) not in the workforce. Selections 10, 12, and 13 comprised employment; selections 14, 21, and 22 comprised unemployed; and selections 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35 comprised not in the labor force. These measurements represent the official categories of the United States Labor Department regarding employment status in the United States.

Additionally, to examine the employment status of Whites and Blacks, a split file was executed based on race. This divided the cases by race for employed and unemployed for each year in the sampling frame. Using the perwt variable in SPSS allowed the total number of employed whites and Blacks to be examined by year. The difference between the total number of employed Whites and Blacks was calculated for each year to generate the final measurement.

Difference in Voter Registration for Blacks and Whites

To construct the difference of Black and White registered voters, the numbers of registered Black and White voters were obtained for each even year beginning in 1968 (note: The Current Population Survey only contains voter registration for even years). The number of registered voters for odd years was obtained by averaging the totals for the even numbered years that were before and after the odd numbered years (for example: totals for 1996 and 1997 were averaged to get the total for 1997). Once the total numbers of Black and White registered voters were calculated for the period from 1968 to 2006, the number of Black registered voters was subtracted from the number of White registered voters to obtain the difference.

Endogenous Variable

The model contained one endogenous variable: difference in Black and White arrest totals. This variable was extracted from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports from 1968 to 2006. The difference in Black and White arrest was measured by extracting the total number of arrests for Blacks and Whites from the section titled "Characteristics of Arrestees in the United States" contained in the Uniform Crime Report (1968-2006). To generate the variable, the number of arrests for Blacks was subtracted from number of arrests for Whites for every year from 1968 to 2006. The data were retrieved from the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics at the State University of New York (SUNY).

Examining population and economic data over time can be problematic due to the fact that both types of data tend to show an increase over time. Thus, the relationship between the variables can produced misleading statistical relationships. It was necessary to employ some type of mathematical procedure, such as calculating the differences between variables, to control for false statistical significance. In addition, calculating the difference between two variables was an excellent proxy for establishing the relative size of one variable against another variable (i.e. Black vs White population) (Cureton, 2001).

The SPSS was employed to perform the analysis on the data. Within the social sciences, the SPSS software is highly respected for its ability to produce the appropriate diagnostic tables and graphs (correlation between variables, measurements of central tendencies, Durbin-Watson coefficient, autocorrelations) and inferential and significance statistics (R-squared, coefficient (B), standard error for (B), and t value). In addition, the software package permits the construction of a time series model that allows the investigation of how variables relate over time.

The data for the study were analyzed using the time series multiple regression procedure found in the SPSS software. Time series multiple regression analysis makes inferences, based on the estimated parameters, about the truth or falsity of a model (Ostrom, 1978). The great advantage of time series multiple regression analysis is that it is possible to both explain the past and predict the future behavior of variables of interest (Ostrom, 1978). The technique has two main goals: (1) identifying the nature of the phenomenon represented by the sequence of observations and (2) forecasting future events based on past performances of the variables (Ostrom, 1978).

The time series multiple regression analysis proposes a structural equation model and then tests it using time series data (Ostrom, 1978). The analysis computes the correlation coefficient between the value of the time series at time t and value at time t-1 (autocorrelation coefficient). The correlogram is a summary statistic for a time series that describes autocorrelation and is employed to explain time series and to identify models. A simple time series model is formulated in the following manner: $Y_t = a + bX_t + e_t$ where Y is the endogenous variable, X is the exogenous variable, e is the random disturbance term, a and b are the unknown parameters, e is the error term, and the subscript t indicates that X_t and Y_t are series of equally spaced observations through time (Ostrom, 1978).

The time series multiple regression models require that a leading indicator regression procedure be performed on the data prior to generating a model (Brandt and Williams, 2007). The purpose of this procedure is to produce the best leading indicator for the model and the approximate lag(s) for each indicator in the model. To produce the leading indicators and lag(s), a cross-correlation procedure was performed in SPSS. This procedure is found within SPSS under graphs, time series, and cross-correlation. The lag with the greatest correlation is shown as having the highest bar. A good indicator will have a high bar on zero or on one of the positive lags. All of the variables were placed in a cross-correlation matrix to investigate which variables were the leading indicators and the approximate lag(s) for each variable.

A graph was produced by the cross-correlation procedure indicating which variables were significantly correlated. For the purpose of the research model, the two independent variables and their relationship to the dependent variable were examined. Figure 2 demonstrated that the economic threat (difference between Black and White employments) was a leading indicator. The graph displayed that the difference between Black and White employments was significant at the 0.05 level with a lag of zero. Finally, the political threat (difference between Black and White voter registrations) was a leading indicator. In examining Figure 3, the variable is significant at the 0.05 level with a zero lag.

In examining the leading indicators, all the variables had a lag of zero. This indicated that a model with a lag(s) is not required in the research design. Thus, it was not necessary to compute new variables with their lags denoted in the equation. The variables were placed in a time series multiple regression without additional computing. Therefore, a non-lagged time series regression model was required to investigate the relationship among the threat variables and social control. A non-lagged model focuses on the relationships of variables over time in

which both the endogenous and exogenous variables are observed at the same point in time. Using a non-lagged model affords the opportunity to investigate the relationships of endogenous and exogenous variables during the exact period.
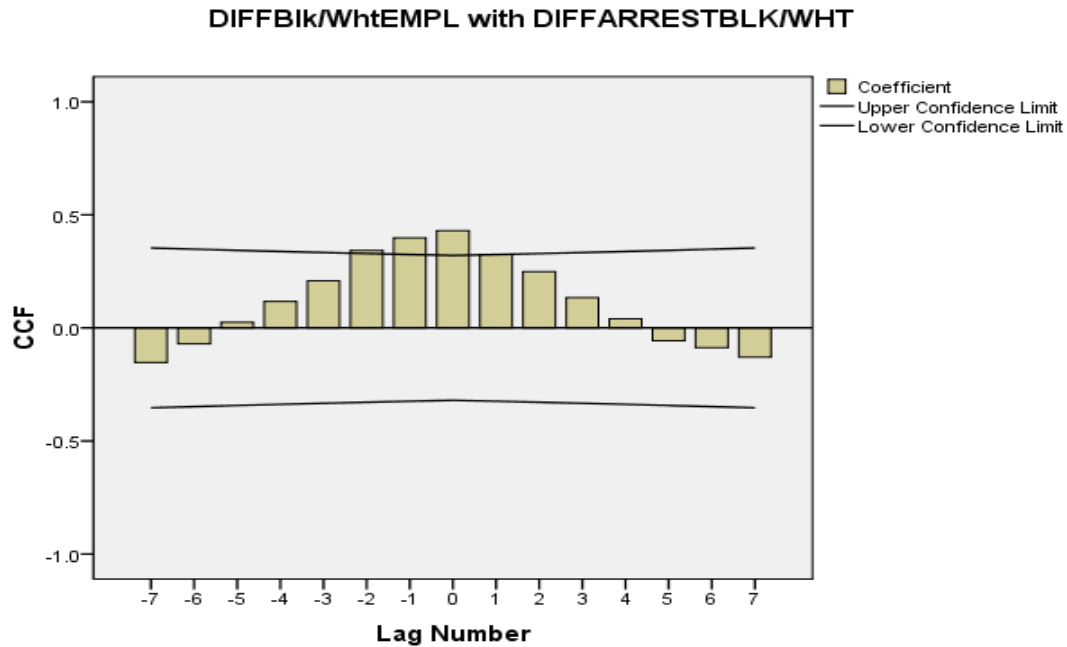
DIFFBlk/WhtEMPL with DIFFARRESTBLK/WHT

Figure 2: Difference Between Black and White Employments
Source: Self-generated by the AUITHOR Using SPSS
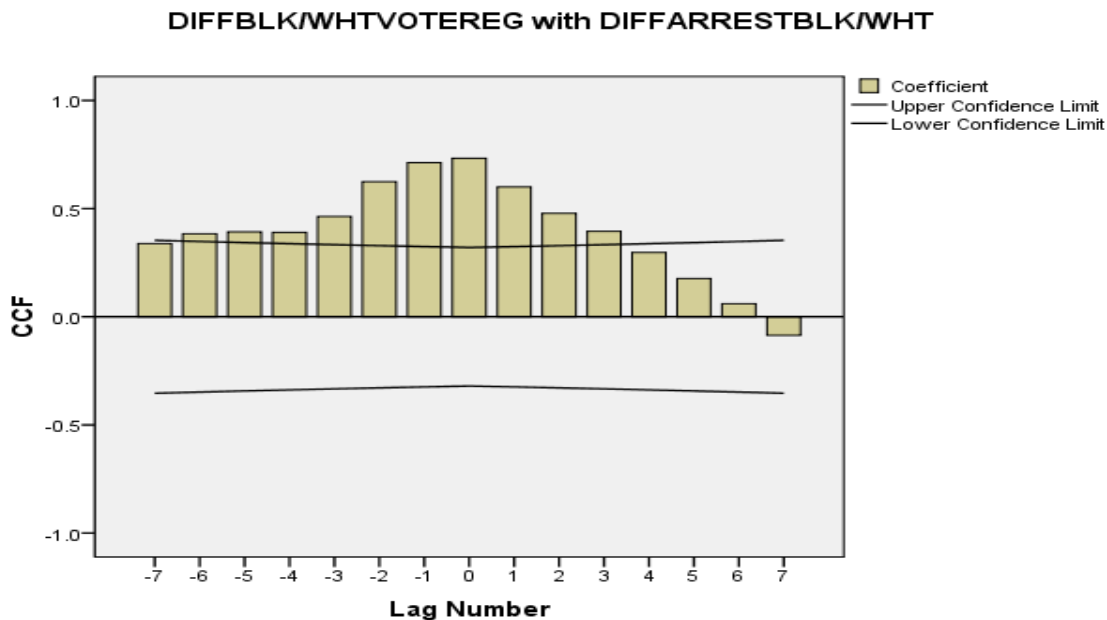
DIFFBLK/WHTVOTEREG with DIFFARRESTBLK/WHT

Figure 3: Difference Black and White Voter Registration
Source: Self-generated by the Author Using SPSS

Myers (1990) investigated the relationship between threat variables and social control by employing the time series analysis technique and found significant results, thereby applying time series multiple regressions that produced significant results in previous research. Like other statistical procedures, there are specific assumptions of the data that must be investigated prior to using time series multiple regression analysis. According to Ostrom (1978), the full specification of the time series regression model consists of the following basic assumptions: stationarity, linearity, independence, homoscedasticity, normality, uncontrolled autocorrelation, and uncorrelated random error. It is understood that by applying the technique to the data that all of the required assumptions have been met by the model. The validity of the coefficients and confidence intervals are severely comprised, and the regression model may be seriously biased or misleading if any of the assumptions are violated (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008). It is necessary to investigate each assumption and make the necessary correction if the data were in violation.

The assumption of stationarity of the data implies that the statistical descriptors of the time series are invariant for different ranges of the series and the variables are normally distributable. Another definition of stationarity requires that the variance remains homogenous for the series. Stationarity is often a major problem with economic data due to the fact that this type of data tends to rise over time, which generates serially correlated variables (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008). Thus, if the simple application of regression methods is employed to the data without addressing stationarity, the output could produce spurious correlations and multicollinearity. Therefore, the first step in time series analysis is to detect and achieve the stationarity in the data.

To detect stationarity, one must observe the mean value of the series which should remain constant over the time series and the variance remains homogenous for the series (Brandt and Williams, 2007). Durbin Watson is a test for autocorrelation that allows the researcher to test the assumption of stationarity. This test is used to determine the extent that the error terms are uncorrelated. The Durbin-Watson coefficient is produced by the SPSS output for simple time series analysis. If the value of the Durbin–Watson coefficient is well below 1.0, this indicates a severe case of serial correlation and presents a fundamental structural problem with the model. The value of the Durbin-Watson coefficient for the model was well below 1.0, which indicated that stationarity was a problem in the model.

To correct stationarity in the model, the practice of differencing, was needed. Differencing is a data pre-processing step which attempts to de-trend data to control autocorrelation and achieve stationarity by subtracting each datum in a series from its predecessor (Brandt and Williams, 2007). Single differencing is used to de-trend linear models. Differencing adjusts the autocorrelation coefficients to 0 or even in a negative direction. To apply differencing to the model, the command is found in SPSS in analyze under time series. After differencing was applied to the model, the Durbin–Watson coefficient was a robust 0.829, which indicated that stationarity was corrected and no longer presented a problem in the model.

The assumption of linearity mandates that the relationship between the endogenous and exogenous variables be linear in nature. This relationship is depicted by the equation (y = a + bx). To test for linearity, a residual scatter plot is employed. A scatterplot is used to visually display the relationship between the endogenous and exogenous variables. The scatterplot consists of two variables in this case, which are (1) the predicted values of the endogenous variables and (2) the standardized residuals or prediction errors. These variables are a part of standard time series regression output. The points should be symmetrically distributed around a horizontal line of the

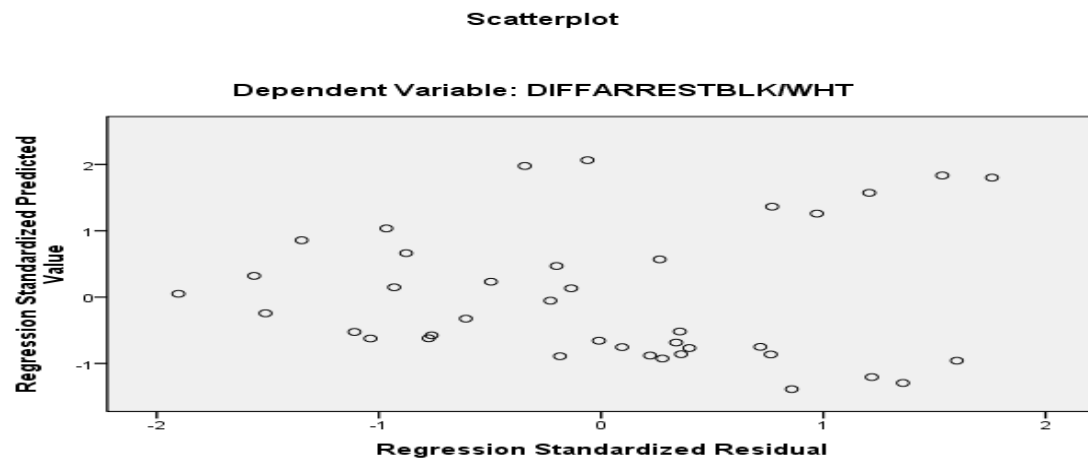scatterplot. In examining the scatterplot (Figure 4)**,** the assumption of linearity was not violated.

Figure 4: Standardized Scatterplot of Variables
Source: Self-generated by the Author Using SPSS

The assumption of homoscedasticity states that the variances of multiple variables are equal. This violation of homoscedasticity makes it almost impossible to understand the true standard deviation of the forecast errors, usually resulting in confidence intervals that are too wide or too narrow. Furthermore, homoscedasticity may also have the effect of giving too much weight to a small subset of the data (namely, the subset where the error variance was largest) when estimating coefficients (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008). To test for homoscedasticity, an examination of the plots of residuals versus time and residuals versus predicted value was observed. According to Figure 4**,** homoscedasticity is not a problem in the model.

The assumption of no outliners requires that no cases exist that have extreme values with respect to a single variable. This type of variable can alter the outcome of an analysis and are violations of normality. If outliners exist in the data set, there are usually four causes that produced this situation: (1) errors of data entry (not properly supervising data entry), (2) not defining missing values, (3) unintended sampling (eliminate non-population members from the sample), and (4) true non-normal distribution (the researcher may transform the data to pull in outlier values or may choose to analyze extreme cases (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008). An output produced by SPSS time series regression analysis demonstrated no outliners in the data.

Uncorrelated random error suggests that residuals in a good time series model will be randomly distributed, exhibit a normal distribution, have non–significant autocorrelations and partial autocorrelations, and have a mean of 0 and homogeneity of variance over time. This assumption does not invalidate the estimates but does enlarge the standard errors, making statistical inference difficult (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008). To test for uncorrelated random error, the Durbin-Watson coefficient, is used. The coefficient tests for autocorrelation in the data. An inspection of the Durbin-Watson coefficient produced by the SPSS output revealed no problem with uncorrelated random error.

The assumption of applying linear techniques to nonlinear data is a serious issue in time series analysis. Only data that are linear in nature should be employed in a simple time series

regression model. Employing linear techniques to nonlinear data will underestimate relationships and inflate the error of estimate (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008). To test for linearity, a plot of standardized residuals against standardized estimates (fitted values) of the dependent variable, should demonstrate a random pattern when nonlinearity is absent (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008).With regard to the linearity of the data, an inspection of Figure 5 shows that the data is linear.
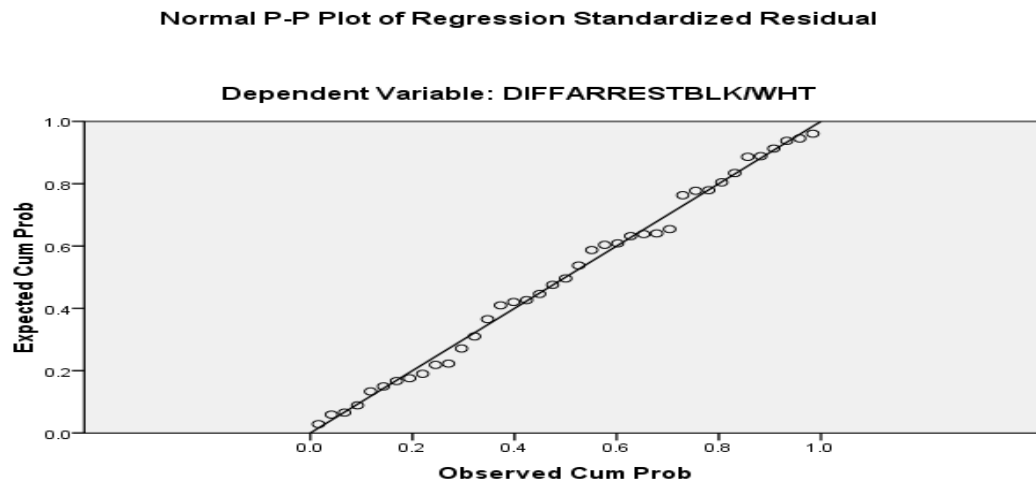

Figure 5: Normal P. Plot of Regression Standardized Residual
Source: Self-generated by the Author UIsing SPSS

The assumption of uncontrolled autocorrelation requires that two variables move upward in the data and tend to correlate highly when a linear technique is applied. Significance tests of time series regression analysis estimates assume non-autocorrelation of the error terms. It is also assumed that the mean of the error terms will be zero (because estimates are half above and half below the actual values), and the variance of the error terms will be constant throughout the time series. The value of a datum in time t largely determines the value of the subsequent datum in time t + 1, a dependency exists linking the error terms, and the non-autocorrelation assumption is violated (North Carolina State University Public Administration, 2008). Uncontrolled autocorrelation usually takes place in the data if the time series data are not established through differencing or some other techniques. The research model must control for autocorrelation to determine whether or not the data are related. Data could appear to be correlated based on time sequence and linearity. Thus, autocorrelation must be controlled before inferences are made about significance and predictability. The technique of differencing was applied to the model to eliminate the possibility of uncontrolled autocorrelation. The standard test for autocorrelation is the Durbin-Watson test. The Durbin-Watson coefficient produced by SPSS time series regression analysis demonstrated that uncontrolled autocorrelation was not a problem in the data.

The assumptions of time series multiple regressions were analyzed, and the appropriate action was taken to correct any violation of the assumptions. Therefore, the research model was constructed using SPSS time series model builder to investigate the causal relationship between the threat variables and social control.

This study included variables that are consistent with the social threat theory. Many of the variables have been included in previous models (Black voter registration and relative size of

Black employment) with generally good results (see Blalock, 1958; Eitle, D'Alessio and Stolzenberg, 2002; Myers, 1990). The present study employed a comprehensive model using longitudinal data to examine how the threat variables and crime control interact over time. It was the intent of this research to examine the following important research questions and accompanying hypotheses:

Research Question 1: Will the relative size of Black employment be an important predicator of race specific arrests between 1968 and 2006?
Hypothesis (1): The relative size of the Black employment will be a significant predicator of race specific arrests between 1968 and 2006, controlling for other variables in the model.

Research Question 2: Will the relative size of Black voter registration be an important predicator of race specific arrests over time?
Hypothesis (2): The relative size of Black voter registration will be a significant predicator of race specific arrests between 1968 and 2006, controlling for other variables in the model.

As previously mentioned, the conceptual model presented in this study provided a macro-level test of the logic of the group threat hypothesis of Blalock (1958). It is theorized that at the macro level of society, the instruments of social control have been employed to control the minority threat in employment, political and social institutions. The current research employed the differences between Black and White voter registrations, and Black and White employment rates as threat measurements. Each threat measurement along with the overall model will significantly influence race specific arrests at the macro level. The measurements included in the conceptual model are consistent with Blalock's operationalization of social threat which directly addresses the issue of threat or inter-group competition so germane to the Social Threat Theory.

Previous empirical studies have established a significant relationship among threat variables and social control, but there remain some issues surrounding a comprehensive model and operationalizing racial threat. The purpose of this research is to investigate the explicative value of longitudinal threat model along with the introduction of new methods of operationalizing threat. The presentation of the generated results is based on (a) a descriptive analysis which provides information on the zero order correlations; the zero-order correlation provides valuable information about the strength of association among variables and their direction; and (b) an inferential analysis which provides information on the regression summary statistics used to evaluate and respond to the research hypotheses.

Results

Prior to responding to the research hypotheses, the zero order correlations were observed to assess the association among variables included in the theoretical model. Each correlate in the model was continuously distributed. The following variables were included in the model: difference in Black and White employments (*DiffBlk/WhtEmpl)*, and difference in Black and White voter registrations *DiffBlk/WhtVoteReg* on the dependent variable, difference in the arrest totals for Black and Whites (*DiffArrestBlk/Wht)*.

As indicated by Table 1, the results showed the following associations among the key variables: (*DIFFBlk/WhtEMPL)* was weakly significantly correlated (0.430) at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); and the variable (*DiffBlk/WhtVoteReg)* has a strong positive correlation (0.733) at the

0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 1: Bivariate Correlation of DiffBlk/Wht Empl, DiffBlk/WhtVoterReg and DiffArrestsBlk/Wht

	DiffBlk/WhtEmpl	DiffBlk/WhtVoterReg	DiffArrestsBlk/Wht
DiffBlk/WhtEmplPerson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1	365* .022	430** .006
DiffBlk/WhtVoterReg Person Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	365* .022	1	733** .000
DiffArrestsBlk/Wht Person Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	365* .022	733** .000	1

** Correlation is significant at the 001 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 005 level (2-tailed)
Source: Self-generated by the Author Using SPSS

Results from the zero order correlations revealed that three variables were significantly correlated with the dependent variable. Although these results provided important information on the association among the independent and dependent variables included in the theoretical model, they speak little to the capacity of the independent variables' account for the variation in race specific arrests. To provide insight on the causal relationship among the independent and dependent variables, a time series multiple regression technique was applied to the data. This technique is used to examine the relationship between the continuously distributed independent variables and the one continuously distributed dependent variable.

Analysis

This section addresses the research questions and hypotheses presented in the research. Each research question along with the accompanying hypothesis is designed to investigate the strength and significance of the overall model along with the individual threat measurements on race specific arrests between 1968 and 2006. As stated earlier, two research questions were probed for the investigation into the relationship between social threat and social control. Table 2 displays the results of the variables employed in the model (note: difference in Black and White voter registration and difference in Black and White employment were the only variables discussed).

To respond to the first research question and its attendant hypothesis, the t value and its significance were observed. The results from the regression for the proposed conceptual model found that the t value for the relative size of the Black employment was 3.463, which was significant at the 0.001 level. Based on this result, the hypothesis was accepted.

For the second hypothesis its accompanying research question, the t value and its significance were observed. The regression for the proposed conceptual model found that the t value for the relative size of Black voter registration was 2.172 and its significance value was 0.037. Therefore, the hypothesis was also accepted.

Table 2: Proposed Regression Statistics

	b	β	Std.Error	T	t.sig
DiffBlk/WhtEmpl	13.469	0.327	3.89	3.463	0.001*
DiffBlk/WhtVoteReg	29.785	0.484	13.713	2.172	0.037**
DiffBlk/WhtMale	0.07	0.767	2714351	2.382	0.023**
DiffInteRacial	131	0.913	0.028	4.727	.000*
df			4		
Regression			1.35E+13		
Residual			3.87E+12		
R^2			0.777		
F			29.674*		

Note:*p<.01
Note: **p<.05
Source: Sekf-generated by the Author Using SPSS

The overall model proved to be a significant predicator of race specific arrests between 1968 and 2006. In addition, interracial households as a threat measurement proved to be a significant predictor of social threat. Based on these findings, the literature should extend the measurement of racial threat to include interracial households. Finally, operationalizing political and employment threats in terms of differences proved beneficial in establishing the relationship between threat variables and social control

Social Threat Theory posits that the relative sizes of the Black population as well as political, economic and racial threats are closely associated with some measure of social control (Liska, 1984). The theory has received a great deal of attention in the literature and remains a relevant theory in explaining race relations in the United States. Various research models within the social threat literature have produced significant findings regarding threat and social control. Yet, there remain significant theoretical and methodological issues in the literature.

About the theoretical issue, the operationalization of threat as the aggregate size of the Black population has been the dominant measurement in the literature. Nonetheless, this measurement has been cited for being too inexact (Liska, 1984). Additionally, the literature has only measured racial threat in terms of Black criminality and omitted other threatening behaviors that could be important in the threat literature. It was important to investigate social threat over time to determine the relationship of threat variables and some measure of social control.

The current study employs variables that are substantively different from those of Eitle et al. (2002) in measuring political and economic threats. Political threat is measured in terms of the relative size of Black voter registration (difference between Black and White registered voters), and economic threat is measured in terms of the relative size of Black and White employment (difference between Black and White employment rates).

The results of the study reveal that the relative size of Black employment was a significant predictor of race specific arrests between 1968 and 2006. The t value for the measurement was 3.463, which was significant at the 0.001. The level of significance is very robust, which suggests that the measurement is a very strong predictor of race specific arrests. This result indicates that as the difference between Black and White employment rates decreased, so did the difference between Black and White arrest totals between 1968 and 2006. This finding is not consistent with the finding in Eitle et al. (2002). Thus, it could indicate that measuring economic threat in terms of Black employment is a more important measurement than measuring

economic threat in terms of Black unemployment.

The logic of this conclusion could be drawn from the definition of economic competition, which suggests that Blacks and Whites compete for finite economic resources in society. It is this direct competition that results in social control aimed at controlling the Black population in society (Blalock, 1958). During the time period under investigation, Blacks were able to compete with Whites for employment opportunities, which substantially increased the number of Blacks in private and professional organizations (Andrew, 1999). Yet still, it can be posited that unemployed Blacks in the population could possibly be viewed as a "threat" due to their idleness and non-competition. Therefore, including a measure of economic threat in a model, it is plausible to measure the variable in terms of employment.

Conclusions

The riots in Detroit, Watts, and Chicago contributed to the notion that lawlessness was the central problem facing the United States. Therefore, the War on Crime was one of the initiatives employed during the Richard Nixon Administration to address the perceived crime problem in society. During the Nixon Administration, state and local law enforcement agencies received multi-million-dollar grants to combat "urban" crime. Law enforcement officials and some key policy makers viewed "urban" crime as the number one problem facing society (Milovanovic and Russell, 2001).

This War on Crime was continued by the Ronald Reagan Administration in the 1980s under the name of War on Drugs. Just like the previous War on Crime, the focus of the war was the "inner cities" of America and millions of federal dollars were directed at apprehending and incarcerating the menacing drug dealers (Mauer, 1999). Reagan made it a goal of his administration to take back the cities from the criminals and return them to the "decent" people in society (Davis, 2003). It was generally believed that inner-city crime and criminals were one of the biggest threats to law and order in the United States (Lynch and Patterson, 1996).

It has been suggested that the War on Crime and War on Drugs were really a war on Blacks (Davis, 2003). The terms "urban" and "inner city" were nothing more than euphemisms for Black criminality. During the 1980 presidential campaign, Reagan ran on the platform of law and order and a return to social conservatism. He spoke about criminals and "welfare mothers" socially corrupting society (Andrews, 1999). When Reagan spoke about "criminals" and "decent" people, it was nothing more than a code for Black and White. There was a strong sense in society that the Civil Rights Movement directly contributed to the crime problem in the United States. The restraints of the past were no longer in place to maintain law and order, and the manifestation of "urban" crime was a direct byproduct (Davis, 2003). To solve the issue of urban crime meant a return to a society that was based on social conservatism and status quo. Conversely, it was not surprising that the greatest percentage of those being arrested during the wars comprised of Black citizens.

The seemingly unrelated conditions that existed between 1968 and 2006 in society were the exact conditions that are theorized by the Social Threat Theory. Society witnessed an increased competition between Whites and Blacks, as well as, an increased in social control aimed at the Black population. Clearly, the findings offer some support for this position. What the overall findings suggest is that as the Black population competed and demonstrated success in the political, economic and social arenas, the White majority responded with social control aimed at controlling the threatening behaviors.

Finally, the findings indicate that official intervention on the part of the police is not solely based on criminal activity. There are possible underlying reasons that have nothing to do with criminal activity as to why an individual is arrested. History has proven that the fabric of American democracy is soiled with abuse and discrimination aimed at the Black population. The very beliefs that contributed to the establishment of slavery and Jim Crows laws have diminished, but remnants of these beliefs remain in the structures, systems and practices in society. It has not been that long ago when overt acts of social control aimed at Blacks to prevent them from competing in politics, economics, and social relationships were the norm. Many of the overt acts of social control are no longer tolerated or viewed as acceptable, but no less effective are the covert acts of social control which are disguised as legitimate acts. What the findings suggest is to a certain extent social control is still being employed to control the competition from Blacks in politics, economic and social relations.

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