

Constructing Distrust: The Consequences of African-American Encounters with Police

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Constructing Distrust: The Consequences of African-American Encounters with Police

Abstract: Local police traffic stops are one of the most prevalent direct encounters between citizens and state power. However, very little research examines how these stops are perceived by drivers, how driver race shapes perceptions of these stops, or whether these stops shape trust and confidence in the police. Our research employs data from a unique survey of drivers in the Kansas City metro area and explores African-American confidence in police how these attitudes are shaped by the direct and indirect experiences of individual African-American encounters with police. We find that discretionary stops by police contribute to high levels of African-American distrust in the police. We conclude that the widespread use of discretionary stops by local police contributes to the racial gap in confidence in police and political institutions.

How do drivers evaluate the legitimacy of a police stop? It is commonly thought that these evaluations are influenced especially by the severity of the sanction and whether the officer spoke respectfully to the driver.¹ Tom Tyler has argued that people accept the legitimacy of a police stop if they believe it was fair and that they believe it was fair if they perceive the officer as respectful.² While Tyler has consistently emphasized that officers should *be* fair as well as politely respectful, he has reported that *appearing* to be respectful “is especially advantageous in reducing public dissatisfaction about profiling.”³ The leadership of the International Association of Chiefs of Police responded to the racial profiling controversy by calling on police departments to train their officers to be respectful and professionally courteous during stops. And although there is considerable evidence that officers strive to be respectful and professionally courteous, especially while carrying out investigatory stops, many drivers do not focus on officer courtesy. Instead drivers complain of stop outcomes or feeling as though they were targeted for more intrusive actions, such as searches.⁴

¹ Ben Brown and William Reed Benedict, “Perceptions of the Police: Past Findings, Methodological Issues, Conceptual Issues and Policy Implications,” *Policing* 25(3): 543-580 (2002); Michael D. Reisig and Mark E. Correia, “Public Evaluations of Police Performance: An Analysis across Three Levels of Policing,” *Policing* 20(2): 311-325 (1997).

² Tom R. Tyler, “Public Trust and Confidence in Legal Authorities: What do Minority and Majority Group Members Want from the Law and Legal Institutions?” *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 19: 215-35 (2001); Tom R. Tyler and Yuen J. Huo, *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and Courts* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002); Tom R. Tyler, “Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law,” *Crime and Justice* 30: 283-357 (2003); Tom R. Tyler and Cheryl J. Wakslak, “Profiling and Legitimacy of the Police: Procedural Justice, Attributions of Motive, and Acceptance of Social Authority,” *Criminology* 42, no. 2 (2004): 253-81. Tyler’s emphasis on procedural fairness departs from earlier research that found that drivers’ evaluations are based on both the severity of the outcome and the demeanor of the officer. See Ben Brown and William Reed Benedict, “Perceptions of the Police: Past Findings, Methodological Issues, Conceptual Issues and Policy Implications,” *Policing* 25(3): 543-580 (2002); Michael D. Reisig and Mark E. Correia, “Public Evaluations of Police Performance: An Analysis across Three Levels of Policing,” *Policing* 20(2): 311-325 (1997).

³ Tyler, “Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law,” 342.

⁴ Charles Epp, Steven Maynard-Moody, and Donald Haider-Markel. *Pulled Over: Racial Framing of Police Stops*. (University of Chicago Press, 2013, forthcoming).

In this manuscript we show that while African American and white drivers evaluate the legitimacy of a police stop based primarily on whether they believe it was fair, these two groups frame their assessments of stop fairness in strikingly different ways reflecting their divergent experiences in stops. White drivers experience mainly conventional traffic-safety stops for such serious violations as excessive speeding. For most white drivers, therefore, a stop is just a stop: it is “normal,” even if disliked, and has no broader implications for their standing as citizens with unencumbered rights. White drivers have experienced (or heard of) being let off with a warning when a ticket was deserved, and they hold out hope for this outcome and evaluate stops more positively if they get it.⁵

For black drivers, a stop is rarely just a traffic stop. Black drivers experience, personally or vicariously, a much broader range of stops than white drivers. Some are stops made on the flimsiest of pretexts, seemingly in order to check out the driver or search the vehicle; being let off with a warning or treated politely by the officer does not assuage African Americans’ sense that these investigatory stops are deeply offensive. Other stops are conventional traffic-safety stops and, while many whites would view these traffic-safety stops as unproblematic, because African Americans commonly experience investigatory stops, many doubt the legitimacy of even these ostensibly conventional stops. They wonder: did he stop me for speeding or because I am black and he wants to check me out? They strive to assess the real purpose behind a stop, and when they are certain a stop was truly for traffic-law enforcement they evaluate it significantly more positively.

African American and white drivers thus frame police stops differently but, as Goffman observed of perceptual frames in general, these differing frames “are not merely a matter of mind.”⁶ The differing perceptual frames of African Americans and whites arise from and reflect different police practices.

⁵ For a complete description of the survey, methods, and narrative analysis that provide the basis for our evidence see Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

⁶ Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

African Americans' experiences of the persistent practice of investigatory stops and whites' experiences of traffic-safety stops frame these groups' perceptions of stops in very different ways.

Different Frames of Reference

Investigatory and traffic-safety stops are organized differently from start to finish. In much the same way, drivers' evaluations of a police stop begin virtually from the moment they realize they are being pulled over and continue to build as they interact with the officer during the stop. The differing organizations of investigatory and traffic-safety stops yield strikingly different framing cues to African American and white drivers.

How this process of framing unfolds is revealed by drivers' narratives of stops.⁷ Drivers' narratives describe sequences: how somebody acted, how another person responded, and how the first person responded to that response. This time-based character speaks to a crucial element of Tom Tyler's procedural fairness thesis, which posits that peoples' evaluation of the fairness of the stop is based largely on how respectfully the officer speaks during the stop.⁸ In this view, regardless of the reason or justification for the stop, if the officer is polite and respectful during the stop, drivers are likely to evaluate the stop as fair. If the officer is rude and disrespectful, regardless of the reason or justification for the stop, drivers are likely to evaluate the stop as unfair.

More commonly, drivers tell of making evaluations of the fairness of the stop quickly, typically within a few seconds of realizing they are being stopped and before the officer has spoken a word.⁹ In many narratives, white drivers describe doing a quick check of their own driving in the space of mere

⁷ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

⁸ Tom R. Tyler and Yuen J. Huo, *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and Courts* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002); Tom R. Tyler and Cheryl J. Wakslak, "Profiling and Legitimacy of the Police: Procedural Justice, Attributions of Motive, and Acceptance of Social Authority," *Criminology* 42, no. 2 (2004): 253-81.

⁹ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

seconds after first seeing the officer or first seeing the police car's lights behind them. Drivers describe making a judgment at this point as to whether they deserve to be pulled over.¹⁰

The stop narratives also reveal the contrasting evaluative frames used by black and white drivers. Most white drivers' narratives are of typical speeding stops. In many of these narratives the drivers evaluate the stop in relation to two considerations: whether they believed they deserved to be stopped and whether they were given a ticket or let off with a warning.¹¹ But in these legitimate speeding stops, whites also focus their evaluation on the sanction. The possibility of being let off with a warning frames each of these white drivers' evaluation of the stop.

African American drivers' frame of reference for evaluating traffic stops is strikingly different.¹² Although, like white drivers, many African Americans describe being let go without receiving a ticket, this ostensibly beneficial outcome is not the focus of their evaluation. Instead, African American drivers focus on whether or not the stop was really about traffic-law enforcement or something else. These drivers offer negative evaluations of surveillance or investigatory stops, whether or not the officer was polite, whether or not the driver was given a ticket.¹³

In sum, our narratives suggest that while both African American and white drivers consider officers' demeanor in evaluating the fairness of a stop, these two groups evaluate stops' fairness through different frames of reference. White drivers typically assess whether their speed was high enough to truly justify a stop, and they prefer being let off with a warning to a ticket even when they acknowledge excessive speeding. African American drivers, by contrast, consider whether the legal justification offered by the officer seemed to be simply a pretext to justify stopping and investigating them; such stops are rarely considered fair regardless of the officer's demeanor and the stop outcome. Unlike

¹⁰ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

¹¹ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

¹² Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

¹³

whites' complaints about getting a ticket rather than a warning, no black driver expressed concern about receiving a ticket independently of other complaints about the stop. .

A Statistical Verification

Our survey data confirm and refine the different conceptual frames evident in the stop narratives: across hundreds of drivers, whites and African Americans appear to evaluate stops through different lenses. In measuring drivers' evaluation of their most recent stop, we consider three distinct elements of the stop experience. The first is the perceived legitimacy of being pulled over for a particular reason or under particular circumstances: this is the perceived legitimacy of the officer's decision to make the stop. This measure is based on the question: "Would you say that the police officer had a legitimate reason for stopping you?" The second is whether the officer was perceived to have acted properly during the stop and is based on the question: "Looking back on this incident, do you feel the police behaved properly or improperly?" The third is the perceived degree of justice of the sanction or sanctions imposed by the officer in this stop: "To what extent was the outcome more severe than you deserved?" For some of the analyses below, we have combined these three perceptual evaluations into a single index, *Evaluation of the Stop's Legitimacy*.¹⁴

Figure 6.1 reports the mean response to each of these questions by the race and gender of the respondent. African Americans, on average, view their most recent stop as less legitimate on each of these dimensions than do whites. In each of these racial groups, men view their most recent stop as less legitimate than women. These differences between the races are large and statistically meaningful; the differences by gender are smaller. Still, the pattern is striking and is consistent with our observations above.

¹⁴ Cronbach's alpha for this index is .75. Higher values on the index indicate greater perceived legitimacy of the stop.

[Figure 6.1 about here]

Our central expectation for a multivariate analysis is that African Americans and whites will be influenced by different considerations in evaluating their most recent stop. The profound impact of investigatory stops on the African American experience and the comparative freedom of whites from these stops is the basis for these differences.

Investigatory stops. We expect that African Americans' evaluations—but not whites'—are framed by their experiences of both investigatory and traffic safety stops. Thus African Americans will evaluate traffic-safety stops as more legitimate than investigatory stops even when taking into account the officer's demeanor and the relative severity of the sanction. We use two measures of this distinction. The first is our basic measure of whether or not a stop was investigatory, which is based on the reason given by the officer for the stop. Robin S. Engel distinguished between speeding stops and all other types of stops and found that drivers evaluated stops for speeding as more legitimate than other stops.¹⁵ As discussed in chapter 4, we have adopted a more fine-grained measure of investigatory stops that is based on the full range of reasons given by officers. An additional measure distinguishing investigatory from traffic-safety stops is whether or not the officer gave the driver a lecture on safe driving. A lecture on safe driving directly indicates that a stop was made to enforce traffic-safety laws. Paradoxically, we expect that black drivers who are given such a lecture will evaluate the stop as more legitimate than otherwise because a lecture on safe driving indicates to the driver that the stop was a conventional traffic-safety stop.

Driving behavior and just deserts. If African American drivers' experiences are framed by the difference between traffic-safety and investigatory stops, whites' experiences are framed by variations within the range of typical traffic-safety stops—and these boil down to the degree to which whites

¹⁵ Robin Shepard Engel, "Citizens' Perceptions of Distributive and Procedural Injustice During Traffic Stops with Police," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 42, no. 4 (November 2005): 445-81.

believe their driving was deserving of punishment. White drivers' narratives, as we have seen, are replete with comments suggesting that they focus on whether or not the officer "had me dead to rights." We thus expect that whites' evaluations of their most recent stop will be influenced by measures of the degree to which they violate traffic-safety laws. We have four such measures. The first two of these we have introduced in previous chapters: how much drivers typically exceed the speed limit and how much they typically abide by the rules of the road (such as signaling lane changes, always coming to a complete stop at stop signs and the like). A third is the number of stops a driver has experienced over his or her lifetime. For whites—for whom, police stops are made primarily on the basis of driving behavior—the number of stops over the driver's lifetime is a measure of unobserved driving behavior: the more stops, the less the white driver is routinely law-abiding.¹⁶

Because African American drivers are accustomed to being stopped for seemingly arbitrary reasons, we expect that these indicators of just desert will be comparatively less influential in their evaluations. In their perceptions, determinations of just desert are always clouded by doubts that the officer may have an ulterior motive for making the stop. Thus, a black driver stopped for driving at ten miles over the speed limit may still wonder whether the real reason for the stop was to carry out an investigation. As Gau and Brunson observe, among young inner-city black men both the law-abiding and the law-violators were equally subjected to arbitrary police stops, leading both groups to question whether stops are ever truly based on their behavior.¹⁷ The meaning of previous stops is also different for African Americans and whites. Whites who have been stopped many times are those who routinely violate the traffic laws; African Americans who have been stopped many times have been singled out for investigation by the police. Thus while for whites having a history of many stops may contribute to an

¹⁶ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

¹⁷ Jacinta M. Gau and Rod K. Brunson, "Procedural Justice and Order Maintenance Policing: A Study of Inner-City Young Men's Perceptions of Police Legitimacy," *Justice Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2010): 255-79

acknowledgment that the most recent stop was legitimate, for African Americans a greater number of previous stops is not likely to be associated with a more positive evaluation of the most recent stop.

Severity of the sanction. In the routine traffic-safety stops that whites experience, these drivers always hold out hope for being let off with a warning. African Americans, by contrast, commonly experience investigatory stops that end in a warning and so this otherwise favorable outcome is not, for these drivers, necessarily an indicator of a legitimate stop. Therefore, we expect that white drivers, but not black drivers, will be influenced by the severity of the sanction: the more severe the sanction, the less legitimacy they grant to the stop. Black drivers' evaluations, by contrast, will not be much influenced by the severity of the sanction. Our measure of sanction severity is an additive index of whether or not the driver was issued a ticket or arrested.

Officer disrespect. Consistent with the findings of much past research, we expect that both black and white drivers will rate stop legitimacy lower the more the officer spoke disrespectfully. Our measure of officer disrespect is an index of responses to thirteen questions about officer demeanor during the stop, among them the extent to which the officer spoke loudly, used curse words, or said insulting things. We introduced this index in earlier chapters.

Controls. We control for the driver's gender, age, level of education, level of income, and political attitudes. Some of these variables have been found to have a significant influence on evaluations of the police in past studies.¹⁸ For instance, at least two studies have found that among African Americans, level of income is negatively correlated with evaluations of the police: the wealthier the person, the more skeptical he or she is of the police.¹⁹ We also control for drivers' background level of distrust in political institutions and whether drivers have heard stories of police disrespect from others. Patricia

¹⁸ For example, see Peggy Sullivan, Roger G. Dunham, and Geoffrey P. Alpert, "Attitude Structure of Different Ethnic and Age Groups Concerning the Police," *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology* 78 (1987): 177-96.

¹⁹ John Hagan and Celeste Albonetti, "Race, Class, and the Perceptions of Criminal Injustice in America," *American Journal of Sociology* 88 (1982): 329-55; Ronald Weitzer and Steven A. Tuch, "Perceptions of Racial Profiling: Race, Class, and Personal Experience," *Criminology* 40, no. 2 (May 2002): 435-56.

Warren has shown that these pre-existing biases may affect drivers' evaluations of stops.²⁰ When taking into account our measures of the stop experience, however, neither of these latter two variables even approaches statistical significance; including the indicator of whether drivers have heard stories of police disrespect from others also substantially reduces the number of observations and this increases the standard error of many estimates but does not otherwise change the results, and so we have omitted it in our reported findings below.

Results. In Table 6.1, we report results from Ordinary Least Squares Regression.²¹ In keeping with our expectation that African Americans and whites frame their evaluations in different ways, we analyze these groups separately.²² These multivariate results generally fit our expectation that African American and white drivers frame their evaluations of stops differently. Both, to be sure, downgrade the stop's legitimacy the more the officer spoke disrespectfully. This relationship is strong and statistically significant for both groups. But beyond that commonality, African Americans and whites evaluate stops with strikingly different rubrics. We present four separate equations. For both whites and African Americans, one of these equations tests the effect of investigatory stops versus others without controlling for whether the officer gave the driver a lecture on driving safety, and the other equation for both groups includes whether the officer gave such a lecture.

²⁰ Patricia Y. Warren, "Perceptions of Police Disrespect During Vehicle Stops: A Race-Based Analysis," *Crime & Delinquency* 57, no. 3 (2011): 356-76.

²¹ The dependent variable, drivers' evaluations of their most recent police stop in the past year, is not normally distributed. Responses cluster at the low and high extremes, indicating that drivers tended to either seriously question or fully accept the legitimacy of their most recent stop. Because of this departure from a normal distribution, we have checked the OLS results against those obtained using Tobit Analysis, with lower and upper censoring. The results are nearly identical in every respect; because OLS is a more efficient estimator and the results are more readily interpretable, here we only report the OLS results. See Lawrence C. Hamilton, *Regression with Graphics* (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1992), and C.R. Rao, H. Toutenburg, A. Fieger, C. Heumann, T. Nittner and S. Scheid, *Linear Models: Least Squares and Alternatives* (New York, NY: Springer Series in Statistics, 1999).

²² As Weitzer and Tuch observe, "analyses of pooled samples may mask important race-specific determinants of perceptions." Ronald Weitzer and Steven A. Tuch, *Race and Policing in America: Conflict and Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 6.

--Table 6.1 about here--

African Americans' evaluations of stops are heavily influenced by whether the stop was a conventional traffic-safety stop or an investigatory stop. Black drivers evaluate investigatory stops as significantly less legitimate than traffic-safety stops. White drivers make no similar distinction. Black drivers' evaluations likewise are influenced by whether the officers gave them a lecture on driving safety. Paradoxically, black drivers evaluate stops in which they are lectured as more legitimate than other stops, perhaps precisely because being lectured on driving safety is a clear cue that the purpose of the stop was conventional safety enforcement. Police lectures, by contrast, have no measureable influence on white driver evaluations of stop legitimacy.

Indicators of just desert powerfully influence white drivers' evaluations, but influence African American drivers' evaluations weakly or not at all. Both groups' evaluations, to be sure, are influenced by the extent to which they felt guilty about their behavior: the more they feel guilty, the more they judge the stop to be legitimate. But beyond this commonality the groups diverge sharply as expected. The more white drivers acknowledge violating traffic laws by speeding or engaging in risky driving behavior, the more legitimacy they grant to their most recent stop. Likewise, the more times that white drivers have been stopped prior to the stop they are evaluating, the more legitimacy they grant to the stop—probably because, for white drivers, police stops are recognizably correlated with traffic violations.

By contrast, acknowledged traffic violations have no significant influence on African Americans' evaluations of their most recent stop. While the lifetime number of stops is not significantly associated with evaluations of the most recent stop among African Americans as a whole group, it is negatively associated with these evaluations and this relationship comes very close to traditional statistical significance ($p=.052$) among African American men under age 50. Among these younger African

American men, the more stops over their lifetime the less legitimacy they grant to their most recent stop—precisely the opposite of the pattern among whites. This finding suggests that younger black men who have been frequently stopped are likely to view police stops as arbitrary and illegitimate. In all, these results suggest that for whites police stops are recognizably and legitimately a consequence of bad driving—but for African Americans police stops are not meaningfully related to whether they have violated traffic laws.

In light of our earlier observation that officers in the suburbs are especially likely to engage in intrusive investigations of African American drivers, we expected to find that these drivers would evaluate stops in the suburbs more negatively. But we find that this is not the case: the location of the stop, by itself, has no significant impact on African American drivers' evaluations of the stop.

Figures 6.2 and 6.3 illustrate the relative magnitude of the associations between various factors and drivers' evaluations of the stop. These figures present simulations using the Clarify procedure that holds all variables but one constant at their means in order to illustrate the impact of variation on the test variable.²³

We draw readers' attention to several key observations. First, taking into account all key explanatory variables, white drivers' evaluations of their most recent stops are substantially better than African Americans' evaluations (compare Figures 6.2 and 6.3). Second, while the level of officer disrespect toward the driver (varying from the 25th to the 75th percentile on the disrespect index) has a substantial impact on both white and black drivers' evaluations of the stop, its impact is not significantly greater than some other considerations. Among white drivers, feelings of guilt have a greater impact on evaluations of the stop than the level of officer disrespect, and the driver's acknowledged tendency to speed approaches the impact of officer disrespect. Among black drivers, while officer disrespect has a greater influence on perceived legitimacy than any other variable, driver feelings of guilt, whether the

²³ Gary King, Michael Tomz, and Jason Wittenberg, "Making the Most of Statistical Analysis: Improving Interpretation and Presentation," *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 2 (April 2000): 347-61.

stop was investigatory, and whether the officer gave a lecture on safe driving also have a substantial impact on evaluations of the stop, and whether the officer gave a lecture on safety is similar to the impact of officer disrespect on attitudes.

[Figures 6.2 and 6.3 about here]

Race frames peoples' evaluations of police stops at the most basic level. African Americans, as scholars have long known, evaluate police stops far more negatively than do whites. But this observation only begins to scratch the surface of the race-based differences in evaluations of stops. The heart of the matter is that African Americans and whites use strikingly different interpretive frames to evaluate police stops. These different frames grow from these groups' broadly different ranges of experience in police stops.

For white drivers, a stop is just a stop: annoying, embarrassing, costly, something to be endured but quickly forgotten. White drivers experience stops that vary across a relatively narrow range of alternatives. They are mainly stopped for the purpose of enforcing traffic-safety laws; speeding is the most familiar example. Within this narrow range of stops, violations are naturally more or less severe, and officers are more or less respectful toward the driver. Within this narrow range of experiences, white drivers generally hope to be "let off with a warning" or to be cited for a less serious violation than the one for which they were stopped.

If the police officer is reasonable, and especially if the ticket, or better yet a warning, is less than the maximum, white drivers evaluate the stop as fair. Being pulled over has no broader implications for their standing as mobile citizens free to travel when and where they want, as long as they stay roughly within the normative bounds of safe driving. In light of these frames, the most legitimate stop for white drivers is the stop made for a clearly excessive rate of speed ("15 over") in which the officer merely issues a warning and urges the driver to slow it down.

African Americans' experience with stops is more varied. Like white drivers, most have been stopped to enforce traffic-safety laws. When stopped for excessive speeding, African American drivers' assessments are similar to those of whites. However unpleasant, African American drivers consider such stops legitimate. But many African Americans have also been stopped on a pretext for the purpose of surveillance or investigation (or have heard personal stories of such stops). These are stops to get a better look at the driver and the visible contents of his or her vehicle, to ask questions, to run the driver's name through computer databases in search of a warrant, and to search the vehicle. Within this wide range of stops, black drivers, unlike white drivers, have difficulty correlating being stopped with whether they are violating traffic-safety laws: many safely-driving African Americans have experienced investigatory stops.

African American drivers, unlike white drivers, hope less to be let off with a warning than to be let go without a serious investigatory intrusion. Most investigatory stops end with no citation or formal sanction of any sort, but this ostensibly positive outcome does little to assuage the concerns of black drivers about these intrusive encounters. Moreover, in these investigatory stops, police are often polite, even "nice," but this politeness does little to improve the driver's evaluation of the stop. In such cases, blacks assess the stop as illegitimate because of its questionable justification and deep personal intrusions. But the meaning of such stops goes beyond this judgment. For black drivers, the fear and experience of investigatory stops brings into question whether they are freely mobile citizens. They are not free to drive to help a sick family member or get home from work, without being pulled over on a rainy day, or after a tiring late shift, so police can search their car, just in case they are trafficking drugs. For black drivers, a stop is rarely just a stop.

One lesson of this study is that addressing the widespread problem of public skepticism about the legitimacy of police stops will require more than simply training officers to be more respectful toward drivers in these stops. Disrespect, while harmful to drivers' evaluations of stops, is by no means

the only or even most important influence on these evaluations. The fundamental problem is African Americans' widespread experience of seemingly arbitrary, intrusive investigatory stops.

Distrust in the Police, its Basis in Experience, and its Impact on Social and Political Equality

African Americans' distrust of the police is so widely held and long-standing that it is possible to view it as a deep-seated cultural bias rather than the product of personal experiences with the police.²⁴

African Americans commonly share with each other stories of bad experiences with the police, and it might be thought that these widespread stories teach African Americans to distrust the police. To put the point sharply, African Americans' deep distrust of the police might be viewed as a *prejudice*. Robert Sampson and Dawn Jeglum Bartusch suggest that much of African Americans' distrust of the police reflects "'cognitive landscapes' where crime and deviance are more or less expected and institutions of criminal justice are mistrusted."²⁵

Is the widespread distrust in the police held by African Americans a product of deep-seated background biases or of personal experiences of investigatory stops? Likewise, is the greater trust of whites a product of personal experiences or background biases? And to what extent do African Americans' experiences of investigatory stops form an ever-present fear that, as Mike's narrative suggests, affects how they live their daily lives?

In this section we address these questions. As our measures of personal experiences in police stops are richer and more complete than in previous studies, we are in a better position to assess the contribution of police-stop experiences to peoples' level of distrust in the police and how they live their

²⁴ See, e.g., Robert J. Sampson and Dawn Jeglum Bartusch, "Legal Cynicism and (Subcultural?) Tolerance of Deviance: The Neighborhood Context of Racial Differences," *Law and Society Review* 32, no. 4 (1998): 777-804; Steven G. Brandl, et al., "Global and Specific Attitudes Toward the Police: Disentangling the Relationship," *Justice Quarterly* 11 (1994): 119-134; Dennis P. Rosenbaum, et al. "Attitudes Toward the Police: The Effects of Direct and Vicarious Experience," *Police Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (2005): 343-365.

²⁵ Sampson and Bartusch, "Legal Cynicism and (Subcultural?) Tolerance of Deviance," 801.

lives. We find that African Americans' distrust in the police is less a product of background bias than of direct, personal experiences, and whites' comparative trust in the police is less a product of personal experience than of background biases. Ironically, it is not African Americans but whites who stereotype: whites are predisposed to trust the police. These differing levels of trust in the police have direct consequences for African Americans' and whites' sense of their status in society.

African Americans do not fear traffic tickets but the all-too frequent investigatory stops and the degrading and intrusive police actions that accompany these stops: persistent questions about where the driver lives or why he or she is in the area, handcuffing, police searches, being ordered to stand at the front of one's vehicle as drivers pass and gawk. These fears shape where African Americans feel free to drive, what they feel free to wear, and ultimately, African Americans' sense of their status in American society.

Although white drivers do not like being stopped by the police, their dislike is fundamentally different than African Americans' fear of investigatory stops, and it has different implications for whites' sense of their place in society. If investigatory stops reinforce African Americans' sense of vulnerability, traffic-safety stops reaffirm whites' sense of their equality in a community ruled by law and, even, for some white drivers, their authority over the police.

Police stops thus contribute directly to the enduring racial dividing line in American society. Some people in any society have no doubt that they are full members of the community, deserving to be treated with dignity and respect by officials and peers alike. Others feel that that they are not respected as full members of the community. In the United States, the division between these two groups is still marked by race. While slavery and racial segregation are now illegal, African Americans are still too often treated as second-class citizens and often deeply feel that they are accorded lesser status. Police stops not only reflect this racial divide but actively affirm and deepen it.

Our analysis is consistent with the “procedural fairness” thesis, which, broadly understood, posits that peoples’ evaluation of authorities, including the police, is based primarily on whether they believe those in authority are acting in a procedurally fair manner and without bias.²⁶ Although we are not persuaded that people base their assessments of police fairness in an encounter mainly on whether the police spoke disrespectfully, people ultimately evaluate the legitimacy of the encounter through a lens of fairness.²⁷ In turn, these assessments of police fairness powerfully affect peoples’ level of trust or distrust in the police overall. African Americans’ assessments of police fairness are simply more experientially-based than whites’.

Distrust of the police

Distrust (or trust) of the police is an almost elemental condition. A person’s level of distrust in the police shapes his or her sense of membership in American society. Someone who distrusts the police is less likely to call them for help if he or she is the victim of a crime and less likely to cooperate with police efforts to control crime. Those who distrust the police are more likely to fear what officers may do even during a routine traffic stop, to eschew traveling in some areas to avoid police scrutiny and harassment, and to believe that the police do not treat him or her as an equal member of society.

Distrust in the police is related to race: African Americans are dramatically less trusting of the police than whites.²⁸ In addition, men trust the police less than women, and younger people less than older people—but these differences pale in comparison to the impact of race. This bedrock fact may be illustrated with a simple figure reporting the percentage of drivers, by race, gender, and age, who agree or strongly agree with the statement, “the police are out to get people like me” (Figure 7.1). The most

²⁶ Tom Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

²⁷ Tom Tyler and Cheryl Wakslak, “Profiling and Police Legitimacy.” *Criminology* 42 (2004): 253-281.

²⁸ Rod K. Brunson and Jody Miller, “Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States,” *British Journal of Criminology* 46 (2006): 613-40; Gau and Brunson, “Procedural Justice and Order Maintenance Policing.”; Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley, “Explaining the Great Racial Divide: Perceptions of Fairness in the U.S. Criminal Justice System,” *Journal of Politics* 67, no. 3 (2005): 762-83.

obvious difference is the dramatic gulf between blacks and whites: blacks are much less trusting of the police than whites. Age matters, too, but mostly for white drivers. As white drivers age, they become more trusting of the police. While increasing age works this magic on white men and women beginning with the symbolic dividing line of age 30, it has no similar effect on black women until age 50. Strikingly, black men age 60 and older distrust the police as much as do black men under age 30. Among both whites and blacks, women are generally more trusting of the police than men, although this difference by gender is not consistent and is not always statistically meaningful.

[Insert Figure 7.1 about here]

Fearing that “the police are out to get people like me” is one dimension of a broader phenomenon of distrust in the police. We asked drivers responding to our survey a number of questions regarding their level of trust or distrust in police. Figure 7.2 illustrates the level of distrust, by race of driver, across all of these questions. Blacks, in comparison to whites, have less trust in the police to do the right thing, have less confidence in the police, are less likely to believe the police treat people fairly without regard for race, are less comfortable calling the police if they need help, are more likely to disagree that police department does a good job of helping and protecting “people like me,” are more likely to agree that the police don’t care about “people like me,” are less likely to agree that the police are trying hard to be fair even if they make mistakes, are more likely to agree that the police are rude to “people like me,” and are more likely to disagree that they have always been treated fairly by the police. We have combined these ten questions into a ten-item index of the level of distrust in the police (Cronbach’s $\alpha=.91$). Higher values on this index indicate higher levels of distrust, and so we will call it our index of *distrust in the police*.

[Insert Figure 7.2 about here]

The sources of differing levels of trust by race

Why do African Americans distrust the police more than do whites? Or, to reverse the question, why do whites trust the police more than do African Americans? There are two broad types of explanations for varying levels of trust in the police. One attributes these variations to peoples' background predispositions.²⁹ Thus, according to this type of explanation, African Americans are more distrusting because, for a variety of reasons, they are predisposed by certain relatively stable, long-standing characteristics, to be distrusting. The other type of explanation attributes variations in trust of the police to peoples' very different experiences with the police. Thus, according to this type of explanation, African Americans are more distrustful of the police than are whites because African Americans experience more problematic police stops. While both types of explanation help to account for the black-white trust gap, we are struck by the extent to which direct, personal experiences with the police influence levels of trust in them.

Undoubtedly, some aspects of people's differing positions in society predispose some people to trust or distrust the police regardless of their direct, personal experiences with the police. One such factor may be race itself. According to the prominent "group-position" explanation, people's attitudes toward the police are shaped by their racial group's relative status.³⁰ In this view, whites, feeling they are a part of the dominant racial group in American society, trust the police, as they believe the police serve to maintain the social order. African Americans, feeling they are a part of a subordinate racial group, distrust the police for precisely the same reason. The group-position explanation helps to explain why a trust gap remains between African Americans and whites even after taking into account all other factors, including direct personal experiences with the police. But it is also true, as we will show, that a significant portion of the initial trust gap between whites and African Americans is explained by the

²⁹ Dennis P. Rosenbaum, et al. "Attitudes Toward the Police: The Effects of Direct and Vicarious Experience," *Police Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (2005): 343-365; Ronald Weitzer and Steven A. Tuch, *Race and Policing in America: Conflict and Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

³⁰ Weitzer and Tuch, *Race and Policing in America*. See also Jim Sidanius Felicia Pratto, *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) for a similar explanation of how racial group status in society shapes individual attitudes.

differing experiences of these two groups in police stops. These two explanations overlap as experiences with the police reinforce perceived “group position,” just as group position alters the meaning assigned to police encounters.

In addition to race, people’s level of trust in the police is influenced by background predispositions flowing from other personal characteristics, particularly gender, age, and levels of income and formal education. The higher a person’s level of formal education, the more she is likely to trust the police, and so we may say that higher levels of education contribute to a predisposition to trust the police. It is undoubtedly true that African Americans and whites differ in some key ways that may contribute to differing predispositions to trust or distrust the police. Whites, on average, have somewhat higher levels of education than African Americans, and education is related to higher levels of trust. Political conservatism is also associated with higher levels of trust in the police, and whites, on average, are more politically conservative than African Americans; this too, may explain some of the gap. There is some evidence that people with higher incomes trust the police more than those with lower incomes, and whites, on average, have higher levels of income than African Americans.

In addition to these various socioeconomic characteristics, we consider stories of police disrespect told by others to be a contributing dispositional factor, rather than a personal experience with the police. Such stories may reflect group cultural norms and understandings that, by repetition, “prime” the individuals who hear them to distrust the police regardless of the nature of their own personal experiences. Previous research shows that African Americans hear more stories of police disrespect than do whites.³¹ The prevalence of these stories in African American communities may reflect what some scholars have called the “different conceptual worlds” of whites and African Americans.³² These

³¹ Patricia Y. Warren, “Perceptions of Police Disrespect During Vehicle Stops: A Race-Based Analysis,” *Crime & Delinquency* 57, no. 3 (2011): 356-76; Weitzer and Tuch, *Race and Policing in America*.

³² Lee Sigelman and Susan Welch, *Black Americans’ Views of Racial Inequality: The Dream*

stories of police disrespect, especially if they overshadow individuals' direct personal experiences with the police, may contribute to a greater predisposition among African Americans to distrust the police.

We also take into account African Americans' neighborhood context, which all too often is impoverished and subject to high crime rates, and which, as we noted above, some have argued contributes to a general suspicion of the police among residents of these neighborhoods.³³

In contrast to these dispositional factors, we are especially interested for practical reasons in discovering the impact of direct personal experiences of problematic police behavior on people's level of distrust in the police. If the trust gap is due mainly to background dispositional factors, such as racial differences in education and income, we cannot hope for much short-term progress in closing this gap: trends in educational achievement and income move slowly. By contrast, if a significant portion of the trust gap can be explained by different personal experiences in police stops, then perhaps progress can be made by addressing the sources of these differences.

African Americans and whites differ considerably in their personal experiences with the police, as we have documented in earlier chapters. African Americans are stopped more frequently by the police than whites, and also are stopped more frequently for discretionary reasons like failure to signal a lane change. In these discretionary stops, African Americans are more commonly subjected to searches and other intrusive investigations. African Americans are also treated more disrespectfully than whites across all types of stops and are treated especially disrespectfully in discretionary investigatory stops. A large body of research finds that such personal experiences—particularly experiences of police

Deferred (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Hurwitz and Peffley, "Explaining the Great Racial Divide."); Nicholas J. G. Winter, *Dangerous Frame: How Ideas about Race & Gender Shape Public Opinion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

³³ Sampson and Bartusch, "Legal Cynicism and (Subcultural?) Tolerance of Deviance."; Michael Reisig and Roger Parks, "Experience, Quality of Life, and Neighborhood Context," *Justice Quarterly* 17 (2000): 607-629; Michael Reisig and Roger Parks, "Neighborhood Context, Police Behavior, and Satisfaction with the Police," *Justice Research and Policy* 5 (2003): 37-65.

disrespect and frequent subjection to stops—directly erode people’s trust in the police.³⁴ These differences in African Americans’ and whites’ personal experiences may help to explain the differences in trust of the police. If procedural fairness is understood broadly, as we have suggested, African Americans’ experiences of frequent, disrespectful, and intrusive stops arguably contribute considerably to widening the black-white trust gap.

We now turn to comparing the importance of these two broad explanations of distrust. Is the racial trust gap is due mainly to African Americans’ greater poverty, lower levels of education, and a subculture of police distrust, or is it mainly due to more frequent, poorly-justified and intrusive stops of African Americans?

As we discuss elsewhere,³⁵ we have extensive measures of the sorts of personal characteristics—race, gender, age, education, income, and political ideology—that underlie the dispositional explanation of the trust gap. We will not repeat a discussion of these measures here. We also include measures of the level of poverty (measured by the percent of families below the poverty level) and percent of the population who are African American in respondents’ jurisdictions, both of which vary dramatically within the Kansas City metropolitan area.

³⁴ Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law.*; Tom R. Tyler and Yuen J. Huo, *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and Courts* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002); Tom R. Tyler and Cheryl J. Wakslak, "Profiling and Legitimacy of the Police: Procedural Justice, Attributions of Motive, and Acceptance of Social Authority," *Criminology* 42, no. 2 (2004): 253-81; Ben Bradford, Jonathan Jackson, and Elizabeth Stanko, "Contact and Confidence: Revisiting the Impact of Public Encounters with the Police," *Policing and Society* 19, No. 1 (2009): 20-46; Rod K. Brunson and Jody Miller, "Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States," *British Journal of Criminology* 46 (2006): 623 (2006); Gau and Brunson, "Procedural Justice and Order Maintenance Policing,"; Gau, "A Longitudinal Analysis of Citizens' Attitudes about Police.,"; Leiber, Nalla, and Farnsworth, "Explaining Juveniles' Attitudes toward the Police"; Richard Scaglion and Richard Condon, "Determinants of Attitudes toward City Police," *Criminology* 17 (1980): 485-94; Wesley Skogan, "Citizen Satisfaction with Police Encounters," *Police Quarterly* 8 (2005): 298-321; Paul Smith and Richard Hawkins, "Victimization, Types of Citizen-Police Contacts, and Attitudes toward the Police," *Law and Society Review* 8: 135-52 (1973); Ronald Weitzer and Steven A. Tuch, *Race and Policing in America: Conflict and Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

³⁵ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

We measure the extent to which drivers have heard stories of police stops from others, and specifically, have heard stories of police disrespect in these stops. Significantly higher percentages of African Americans than whites report hearing stories of police stops from household members and others. We are especially interested in whether these stories are of officer disrespect or respect toward the driver. Compared to whites, significantly higher percentages of African Americans report that the stories they have heard are of police disrespect (see figure 7.3).

[Insert Figure 7.3 about here]

These differences lend a degree of plausibility to the claim that a subculture of distrust of the police primes African Americans to distrust the police. But the key question is whether these stories of police disrespect overwhelm African Americans' own personal experiences or simply confirm these experiences. If African Americans report hearing more stories of police disrespect, African Americans are also much more likely than whites to report personally receiving negative treatment by officers, as we have seen in previous chapters.

We have several measures of drivers' personal experiences with the police: the number of police stops experienced by the driver over his or her lifetime, and, if the driver was stopped in the past year, how he or she evaluated the most recent stop, and the driver's report of the degree to which the officer acted disrespectfully during the stop. We introduced these measures in previous chapters and will not discuss them again here.

Our data allow us to examine how much drivers' level of distrust in the police is shaped by direct personal experiences with the police versus factors that might contribute to a predisposition to distrust the police. We can examine the impact of these differing factors among all drivers (whether or not they were stopped in the past year), as well as among only those drivers who were stopped in the past year. For the subset of drivers who were stopped in the past year, our detailed questions about their

experiences in their most recent stop allow us to assess whether, as an influence on people's level of distrust in the police, the nature of that particular experience overshadows the impact of stories heard from others. We also can control for a host of factors that might affect drivers' level of distrust in the police (in addition to those identified in the table, we control for characteristics of the driver's vehicle as summarized elsewhere).³⁶

Among all drivers (not just those stopped in the past year), hearing others' stories of police disrespect significantly increases drivers' level of distrust in the police (see results of ordinary least squares regression analyses reported in Table 7.1).³⁷ This is true of both African American and white drivers. Beyond this commonality, however, distrust in the police is driven by very different factors among African Americans and whites. Whites' level of distrust is influenced by factors best characterized as disconnected from direct experiences with the police: the driver's gender, education level, time spent driving, risky driving habits, and political attitudes. For example, among white drivers, political conservatives are more trusting of the police than liberals, and highly educated people are more trusting than those with little education. The predominance of such factors suggests that whites' level of distrust in the police is shaped mainly by their background predispositions—their level of education and their political ideology, in particular.

[Insert Table 7.1 about here]

³⁶ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

³⁷ The dependent variable, drivers' level of distrust in the police, is not normally distributed. Responses are somewhat skewed toward the low end of the index, indicating that drivers tended to express more trust than distrust in the police. Because of this departure from a normal distribution, we have checked the OLS results against those obtained using Tobit analysis with lower censoring. Because of this departure from a normal distribution, we have checked the OLS results against those obtained using Tobit Analysis, with lower censoring. The results are nearly identical in every respect; because OLS is a more efficient estimator and the results are more readily interpretable, here we only report the OLS results. See Lawrence C. Hamilton, *Regression with Graphics* (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1992), and C.R. Rao, H. Toutenburg, A. Fieger, C. Heumann, T. Nittner and S. Scheid, *Linear Models: Least Squares and Alternatives* (New York, NY: Springer Series in Statistics, 1999)..

By contrast, African Americans' level of distrust in the police is influenced by only two background factors: age and time spent driving. In contrast to whites, African American distrust of police is influenced predominantly by direct personal experiences with the police as measured by the number of police stops over the driver's lifetime. Among African Americans, the more frequently a driver has been stopped, the less he or she trusts the police. Whites' level of trust is not eroded by increasing numbers of police stops. This difference is consistent with our earlier observation that whites and African Americans typically experience very different kinds of police stops. More stops of the kind experienced by whites—routine traffic safety stops—do not erode a driver's level of trust in the police. More such stops may simply confirm to the driver that he or she is a risky driver. But more stops of the kind experienced by African Americans—intrusive investigatory stops—erode a driver's level of trust in the police.

These differences between African American and white drivers become especially stark when we examine more finely-grained measures of drivers' experiences with the police, made possible by our more-detailed survey questions of drivers stopped in the past year. We have several measures of drivers' experiences in their most recent stop in the past year. Not all drivers reported being stopped in the past year, and so these reports were given to us by a sub-sample of all respondents to our survey. Among these recently stopped drivers, the level of distrust of both whites and African Americans is powerfully influenced by the extent to which drivers perceived police mistreatment in their most recent stop (see Table 7.2). The less that they believe that the stop was legitimate and/or the more they believe the officer acted disrespectfully, the more distrustful they become of the police generally. This is not surprising.

What is surprising and significant is that, when controlling for experiences in police stops, whites' but not African Americans' level of distrust is influenced by a number of background dispositional factors, among them hearing stories of police disrespect from others. For stopped African

Americans, direct personal experiences with the police—their lifetime number of stops and reported mistreatment by the police in their most recent stop—are the dominant influences on general distrust in the police. By contrast, even among whites who have been stopped in the past year, background attitudes—shaped by stories told by others, level of education and political ideology, significantly supplement personal experiences in influencing levels of general distrust in the police.

[Insert Table 7.2 about here]

Our interviews with white and African American drivers confirm these statistical results. Both white and African American drivers report hearing stories of questionable police stops, but these stories play a very different role in shaping the perceptions of members of these two groups. For white drivers, as drivers' narratives reveal, these stories appear to represent virtually their only direct information that police might treat African Americans and whites differently. For African American drivers, by contrast, these stories simply confirm their own personal experiences in police stops.³⁸

In sum, both our statistical results and our interviews with drivers point toward the same conclusion: ironically, for whites, not African Americans, background predispositions, including hearing stories told by others, influence levels of trust in the police. Few white drivers have personally experienced pretextual or investigatory stops, being asked what they are doing in the neighborhood or being searched. But a surprising number of white drivers have heard stories of such stops from African American friends or in media accounts. White drivers who hear such stories become more distrustful of the police. Many African American drivers, by contrast, have experienced problematic police stops. These direct, personal experiences are the most important influences on their level of distrust in the police. When African American drivers hear others' stories of such stops, these stories confirm their own experiences.

³⁸ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

Similarly, while African Americans' level of distrust in the police is influenced mainly by their personal experiences in police stops—and, especially, the frequency of police stops—whites' level of distrust is especially influenced by their background predispositions. White drivers' level of education and political ideology powerfully shape their level of distrust in the police. These background dispositional factors have no significant effect on African Americans' level of distrust in the police. For African American drivers, problematic personal experiences in police stops are the most direct and powerful influence on the level of distrust in the police.

African Americans experience problematic police stops at much higher rates than whites and, as a result, are much less trusting of the police than are whites. If the trust gap were simply a matter of abstract personal belief having little impact on peoples' lives, we might leave the matter here. But distrusting the police is a particularly powerful belief: it directly shapes how people live; distrust helps to segregate our cities.

How police stops segregate our cities

We asked respondents to our survey whether fear of the police influences where they drive and what clothes they wear.³⁹ African American drivers, in comparison to white drivers, are especially attentive to how police stops regulate where they may drive.⁴⁰ Police traffic stops even regulate what clothes African Americans feel comfortable wearing. Figure 7.3 illustrates the proportion of drivers, by race, gender, and age, who report that they “sometimes” or “often” have “avoided driving in certain areas because of the way police might treat you.” In all age groups, the gulf between white and African American drivers is wide. In each of these racial groups, men and women differ, too—but the widest gap is between whites and African Americans. Over 65 percent of African-American men—but 40 percent of white men—under age 30 report that they sometimes or often avoid driving in some areas

³⁹ See full appendices in Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Timothy Bates. “Driving While Black in Suburban Detroit,” *Du Bois Review* 7(1:2010):133-150

for fear of how the police might treat them. Just under half (47 percent, to be precise) of African Americans of both sexes ages 40 to 49—but only 17 percent of white men and 8 percent of white women of this age—report sometimes or often avoiding certain areas for fear of the police. Avoiding certain areas for fear of the police declines by age, but this decline is larger and steadier over time for whites than African Americans. African American men need to reach the age of fifty to feel the same freedom to travel as white men under the age of thirty. Overall, across all age groups, a stunning 40 percent of African Americans, compared to only 12 percent of whites, report that they “sometimes” or “often” avoid driving in certain areas for fear of the police. Likewise, 12 percent of African Americans, but less than 3 percent of whites, report that they sometimes or often are “careful about the clothes I wear because of how the police might treat me.”⁴¹

[Insert Figure 7.4 about here]

Table 7.3 examines to what extent distrust in the police directly contributes to these restrictions on freedom of travel. In testing for the impact of distrust in the police on these perceived restrictions on freedom of movement, we control for every factor that might conceivably contribute to a fear of driving in some areas “because of how the police might treat you.” For example, drivers who know they speed may avoid speed traps (“the police are real sticklers about speeding in that area, and since I tend to speed, I’ll avoid that area”), or drivers worried that the conditions of their car may attract police attention (“if you drive a beat-up old car, the police in that area will stop you” or “I have a broken tail-light and so I’ll avoid that area”). We also control for the driver’s gender, age, level of education, income, and political attitudes.⁴²

⁴¹ The difference between whites and blacks in their worry about the clothes they wear when they drive is highly statistically significant ($t = -9.23$; $p < .0001$).

⁴² We leave out the value of the driver’s car, as this variable does not approach statistical significance, including it does not substantially change the results, and missing values on this variable reduce the number of respondents available for analysis.

Table 7.3 reports results for all drivers of both races. The first column examines factors other than distrust of the police that may affect fear of driving in certain areas; the second column adds the level of distrust in the police. As reported in the first column, African Americans report limiting where they drive out of fear of mistreatment by the police dramatically more than whites, controlling for a wide range of other factors. To be sure, women report fewer limits on freedom of movement than men, older people than younger people, those with more education than those with less, and those whose vehicles have illegal conditions. But among these personal attributes, the driver's race is far and away the factor most strongly associated with limits on freedom of travel.

The equation reported in the second column indicates that distrust in the police helps to explain the vast gulf in perceived freedom of movement between African Americans and whites. Adding distrust in the police increases the model's explanatory power and considerably decreases the impact of the driver's race alone. This means that much of the racial gap in perceived restrictions on freedom of movement is due to differences between whites and African Americans in their levels of distrust in the police and their personal experiences in police stops.

[Insert Table 7.3 about here]

We are also interested in identifying whether investigatory stops (measured by whether the driver experienced an investigatory stop in the past year) and the number of stops over the driver's lifetime (prior to the past year) contribute to people's fear of driving in some areas. The results (reported in Table 7.4) reveal a striking observation: investigatory stops and the accumulation of stop experiences contribute to *African Americans' but not whites'* fear of driving in some areas. Neither group is affected by the experience of traffic-safety stops.

These differences between white and African American drivers are best understood in light of these groups' different stop experiences. As we have shown in previous chapters, whites are stopped

mainly because they have seriously violated traffic-safety laws. The results in Table 7.4 suggest that for whites, these sorts of traffic-safety stops do not make white drivers more fearful of how the police might treat them if caught driving in certain areas. African American drivers are also stopped to enforce traffic safety, but a much higher proportion are stopped for questioning or investigation. Accumulating experiences of these investigatory stops, as Table 7.4 suggests, powerfully affects African-Americans' fear of how the police might treat them for driving in certain areas.

[Insert Table 7.4 about here]

This analysis also documents that African Americans who have customized vehicles are significantly more likely to avoid driving in certain areas and many avoid wearing certain kinds of clothing for fear of the police. Whites who have customized vehicles feel free to drive where they please and do not worry about their manner of dress. One consequence of the heightened police scrutiny of African Americans is that blacks are more inhibited about looking different and standing out; they strive to be less visible, or if their car or appearance will attract attention, they limit their mobility.

We note, finally, that the location of the driver's most recent stop affects African Americans' but not whites' fear of driving in some areas. African Americans have a significantly higher fear of driving in some areas if their most recent stop was in the inner ring of suburbs bordering the core urban areas of the metropolitan area.⁴³ This perception by African American drivers is consistent with the biased stop patterns in the suburbs that we documented in earlier chapters.

As these results suggest, accumulating experiences of police stops, particularly experiences of investigatory stops, constrains African Americans' perceived freedom of movement. These experiences erode African Americans' trust in the police and lead African Americans to limit where they drive and what they wear out of fear of police mistreatment. Intrusive police stops thus carry on the work of long-

⁴³ This result is obtained by introducing in the above model dummy variables for stop locations (in place of type of stop; the type of stop variables are collinear with stop location variables).

repealed segregationist laws: they exclude African Americans from full and equal membership in the community. Ironically, police stops may contribute to whites' sense that they occupy a special, more protected place in the community, while at the same time confirming to African Americans that they may not freely drive in some places.

What to do?

No white driver told us that he feared police stops. No white driver told us that she feared what might transpire during police stops—of searches, handcuffing, and arrest. No white driver told us that he tried to teach his children how to avoid trouble in police stops. While African Americans express a simmering outrage over what they see as discriminatory police stops and some whites offer reservations and concern, blacks and whites express a resigned fatalism about the problem. People who face discrimination commonly hesitate to complain, preferring simply to get through the difficult times.⁴⁴ The stories told to us by African American drivers share some of these characteristics.

Police stops are both a great unifier and a great divider in American society. They are common, experienced by virtually every driver at some point. But beneath their apparent commonality, police stops also divide Americans into two groups. On the one side are people for whom police stops are the signal form of surveillance and legalized racial subordination. This group is populated largely by African Americans and other racial minorities. On the other side are people for whom police stops are annoyances that, at worst, yield expensive traffic tickets—but which also offer the occasion for gaming the system and coming out unscathed. This group is populated largely by white Americans.

Broader Implications: Racial Justice in Police Stops

Investigatory stops erode trust in the police. While these stops may “work” in the short term, over the long term they are profoundly destructive of ordered liberty and democratic equality. Racially

⁴⁴ Kristin Bumiller, *The Civil Rights Society: The Social Construction of Victims*. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1988).

framed investigatory stops intrude on individual liberty, drive further the wedge between racial minorities and the police, erode minorities' trust in, and willingness to cooperate with, the police, and turn minorities into second-class citizens. Investigatory stops are employed by the police especially in low-income minority neighborhoods and their borders.⁴⁵ While these stops yield guns and illegal drugs, "the 'hit rate' is extremely low," as Dennis Rosenbaum observes and as we have confirmed, "so the vast majority of persons who are inconvenienced (if not offended) by these stops are innocent persons of color and limited means."⁴⁶ Widespread stops, searches, questioning and arrests "drive a wedge between the police and the community, as the latter can begin to feel like targets rather than partners."⁴⁷ Residents of low-income, high-crime communities, like residents of all communities, appreciate police enforcement, but they also value freedom from intrusion and fair treatment; they resent being treated like criminals. As Rosenbaum observes, "positive attitudes about the police drop when citizens feel that they have been treated unfairly, disrespected, not listened to, or physically abused during encounters with the police."⁴⁸ African American neighborhoods and their residents are especially vulnerable. As the theory of institutionalized racial framing suggests, widespread stereotypes contribute to the perception that they are crime-prone, and their lack of political power and resources limits their capacity to challenge aggressive police tactics.

Aggressive investigatory stops are counterproductive in fighting crime. Over the long term, crime is controlled primarily by communities and not the police acting on their own.⁴⁹ Communities control crime by cultivating shared norms and by members' willingness to call the police for help, to cooperate in police investigations, and to identify suspects to the police. The police are best viewed,

⁴⁵ Dennis P. Rosenbaum, "The Limits of Hot Spots Policing," in David Weisburd and Anthony A. Braga, eds., *Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Bayley, David H. *Police for the Future*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. "[Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy](#)." *Science* 277 (1997): 918-24.

then, as crucial adjuncts to a community process of crime control rather than an independently efficacious force. Investigatory stops reverse this balance: they presume that the police can independently gain control of crime by aggressively stopping large numbers of drivers. In a narrow sense the tactic works to generate arrests. In a broader sense, as Rosenbaum observes, it erodes peoples' sense of empowerment and "run[s] the risk of further undermining social control and a community's capacity for self-regulation."⁵⁰ Worse, it may so embitter neighborhood residents toward the police that they decline to cooperate in police investigations or even come to share a norm, like "no snitching," *against* cooperating with the police.⁵¹

Our study helps to explain how the investigatory stop generates these profound but largely hidden costs. Foremost, we have confirmed that the people targeted for investigatory stops are disproportionately members of racial minorities. Dozens of studies have found that African Americans are more likely to be stopped by the police than whites, but the source of these disparities has been poorly understood. We have shown that these racial disparities are isolated in stops made for low-level violations like failing to signal a lane change or minor equipment violations, stops that are best characterized as investigatory. In these stops, officers use a low-level violation as a justification for stopping a driver that they wish to question or search. We have shown that African American drivers are two-and-half times more likely than whites to be stopped in investigatory stops, a yawning racial disparity. The inventory of racial disparities in the U.S. is tragically long. Racial disparities mar most aspects of U.S. social life from employment to lifespan, but few are as wide as the disparity in who is pulled over in investigatory stops. For example, African Americans suffering from heart disease are about 13 percent less likely than whites to be given angioplasties and about 33 percent less likely to be

⁵⁰ Rosenbaum (2006), 257.

⁵¹ For general discussion of "stop snitching," see Delores Jones-Brown, "Forever the Symbolic Assailant: The More Things Change, the More they Remain the Same," *Criminology and Public Policy* 6, no. 1 (2007): 113-14).

treated with bypass surgery, disparities that have caused widespread concern.⁵² By comparison, African Americans are 250 percent more likely than whites to be subjected to an investigatory stop.

This wide racial disparity in the likelihood of being subjected to investigatory stops is all the more striking in comparison to the equal treatment that we have documented in traffic-safety stops. *There are no significant racial disparities in the likelihood of being stopped for serious traffic violations.* When police are enforcing traffic laws, they target observed violators without regard for the driver's race; they focus on behavior. But when they are carrying out criminal surveillance, they disproportionately target African Americans. Investigatory stops are racially framed; the aggressive targeting of minority neighborhoods and minorities when outside their neighborhoods has been institutionalized into what is currently considered effective, legally-sound police practice.

The authorization to carry out investigatory stops *is itself the engine* that racially frames the hunt for criminality. This finding is strikingly consistent with a careful study of surveillance aimed at identifying potential shoplifters.⁵³ In that study, when trained observers were directed not to identify shoppers who had illegally taken an item but those who engaged in behaviors thought to be characteristic of *potential* shoplifters, the observers focused their attention disproportionately on racial minorities. *The policy of looking for people who look like criminals, rather than looking for criminal acts, racially frames the focus of attention.*

We have shown, too, that the racial disparity in who is stopped is compounded in what happens *during* the investigatory stop. During these stops the police act significantly more intrusively toward African Americans, and especially African American men, than whites. Officers may carry out a range of

⁵² U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, "Addressing Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care," <http://www.ahrq.gov/research/disparit.htm>, accessed March 4, 2011.

⁵³ Dean A Dabney et al., "The Impact of Implicit Stereotyping on Offender Profiling: Unexpected Results from an Observational Study of Shoplifting," *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 33, no. 5 (October 2006): 646-74.

investigatory intrusions: they may ask drivers probing questions about where they are going and why they are in the neighborhood, may search the driver and the vehicle on the basis of visible evidence of criminality or consent of the driver, may handcuff the driver, may conduct tests for sobriety, and ultimately may arrest the driver. Typically officers proceed further with these intrusions as their suspicions grow after their initial contacts with the driver or passengers.

Strikingly, these intrusions are largely isolated in investigatory stops: while only a few traffic safety stops lead to intrusive questioning or searches, a large number of investigatory stops do. It is equally striking that racial disparities in these intrusions are largely isolated in investigatory stops. In traffic safety stops *there is no significant racial disparity in how far police pursue these investigatory intrusions*. In these traffic-safety stops African Americans are no more likely than whites to be subjected to questioning, searches, or handcuffing. But in investigatory stops, police pursue their investigations more deeply and intrusively toward African American drivers than whites. For example, if a twenty-year-old white man is asked what he is doing in the neighborhood, a similar young African American man is likely to be asked this question and searched; if a twenty-year-old white man is asked intrusive questions and searched, a similar young African American man is likely to be asked these questions, searched, and handcuffed.

Drivers are well aware of these profound racial disparities, and this awareness shapes perceptions of the police and their own place in society. We know that police departments struggle with pervasive distrust among African Americans, and we have shown that this distrust is built, in part, directly out of experiences in police stops. No one likes to be stopped by the police, but police stops teach different lessons to African Americans and whites. They teach African Americans that police stops are unpredictable, arbitrary, and a tool of surveillance. They teach whites that police stops are predictable consequences of unsafe driving, and, remarkably, that even well-deserved stops may lead to being let off with a warning if the driver is respectful and polite to the officer. While police stops

confirm whites' common assumption that they are full citizens deserving of respect, and even a break, by the police, they teach African Americans that they are targets of suspicion and that "the police are out to get people like me."⁵⁴

As we have shown, African Americans' and whites' different experiences in police stops lead to very different frames of reference for evaluating stops. White drivers mainly experience traffic-safety stops for such ordinary violations as speeding. In these "normal" stops, white drivers' experiences vary between two poles: being given a ticket and being let off with a warning. Additionally, white drivers perceive officers as more, or less, polite in the face of their entreaties to be let off with a warning. White drivers told us stories of being given a deserved ticket, of being let off with a warning, and of being given a ticket when they earnestly hoped and believed they might be let off with a warning. They told us stories of officers who remained polite in the face of entreaties and others of officers who responded testily to these requests. If not for African American drivers' very different range of experiences, we would be tempted to call these experiences "normal" or "typical."

Within this narrow range of options, it is not surprising that white drivers evaluate stops based largely on whether or not they got a ticket and how polite they perceived the officer's behavior: the less severe the punishment and the more polite the officer, the more positively white drivers evaluate their most recent stop. Additionally, the more that white drivers acknowledge violating the traffic laws and the more experience they have with traffic stops, the more positively they evaluate their most recent stop. *For white drivers, greater experience with police stops confirms the inherent fairness of the police.*

By contrast, for black drivers, greater experience with police stops leads to increasing suspicion that these stops are *unfair*. The more African Americans are stopped, the more likely they are to have experienced extremely intrusive investigatory stops made on a pretext. It is almost as if whites and blacks drive in a different country. If for whites stops vary between tickets and warnings, for blacks

⁵⁴ This is the view reported in our survey by twenty percent of African American men under age 35.

stops vary between those made for obvious traffic-safety violations, like excessive speeding, and those made on the flimsiest of pretexts that lead to highly intrusive investigations. Within the range of stops experienced by African Americans whether or not the officer issues a ticket is hardly a relevant measure of the legitimacy of the stop.

Instead, in the context of this broader range of experiences, from traffic-safety stops to intrusive investigatory stops, African Americans evaluate stops especially in relation to the nature of the stop, which is to say that they recognize investigatory stops as *different as and* less legitimate than traffic-safety stops. A striking example of this fact is that African Americans, but not whites, evaluate stops in which the officer gave a lecture on driving safety as significantly more legitimate than others, almost certainly because such a lecture provides a direct indication of whether the stop was aimed at improving traffic safety rather than investigating the driver.

The longer-term consequence of investigatory stops is to erode African Americans' trust in the police as a whole. Among African Americans, about half of all stops are investigatory stops, and so these stops significantly drive up the number of stops experienced by African Americans over their lifetime. Not surprisingly, African Americans experience dramatically more police stops over their lifetime than whites. And the lifetime number of police stops is among the most important influences on drivers' level of trust in the police overall: the more stops, the less trust in the police. This dynamic is especially pronounced among African Americans. More stops expose African American drivers to a greater likelihood of investigatory intrusions, and these intrusions erode trust in the police.

A poignant component of distrust in the police is the perception that "the police are out to get people like me." African Americans are far and away more likely than whites to believe the police are out to get people like them. Equally troublingly, while this perception drops precipitously among whites after they leave their twenties, it remains a near-constant among African Americans across their lives as even older African Americans are subjected to investigatory stops.

Distrust in the police is not some abstract concept: it has powerful, direct consequences for individuals and society alike. The less people trust the police—and the more they feel the police are out to get people like them—the less likely they are to call the police for help, to report a crime, or to cooperate in a police investigation. A study by Chis Gibson, Samuel Walker and their colleagues showed that drivers who have been stopped by the police are less willing to call the police for help, and we have shown that the experience of investigatory stops especially erodes African Americans’ willingness to call the police for help.⁵⁵

By comparison, in both the United States and Britain, searches fall disproportionately on racial minorities, and a comparison of the black-white search disparity in these two countries raises troubling questions. In Britain, the search rate per year among whites is 1.7% while that of blacks is a stunning 12.9%, roughly seven and a half times the search rate of whites. In the United States, in our sample, the search rate among white drivers is .854%—less than one percent—while that of black drivers is 4.29%, roughly five times the search rate of whites. Our sample was drawn from an urban area, and search rates may be somewhat lower in other areas.⁵⁶ While a racial disparity of 500 percent in the United States is lower than Britain’s 750 percent, it is still, by any reasonable standard, a troubling disparity. Because most searches of vehicles in the United States occur in investigatory stops, and because investigatory stops as practiced by U.S. police are the closest equivalent to “stops and searches” in

⁵⁵ Chris L. Gibson, Samuel Walker, Wesley G. Jennings, and J. Mitchell Miller, “The Impact of Traffic Stops on Calling the Police for Help,” *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 21(2): 139-59 (2010).

⁵⁶ Across the U.S. population, the results of previous studies can be extrapolated to estimate that the search rates of white drivers nationally may be .56% while that of black drivers may be 1.34%, meaning that black drivers are searched 239% the rate of white drivers (Langan and his colleagues, relying on national survey results, reported that 10.4% of white drivers were stopped in 1999, and 12.3% of black drivers were stopped; relying on the same survey data, Engel and Calnon reported that 5.4% of stopped white drivers were searched, while 10.9% of stopped black drivers were searched; extrapolating from these results yields our estimate of the search rates for all drivers by race). Patrick A. Langan, *et al.*, *Contacts Between Police and the Public: Findings from the 1999 National Survey* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2001); Robin Shepard Engel and Jennifer M. Calnon, “Examining the Influence of Drivers’ Characteristics During Traffic Stops with the Police: Results from a National Survey,” *Justice Quarterly* 21(1): 49-90 (2004).

Britain, it is also useful to examine the racial disparity in these stops. In investigatory stops in the United States, as we elsewhere,⁵⁷ African Americans are searched at seven and a half times the rate of whites, precisely the racial disparity in Britain's stop-and-search rate.

The fact that racial disparities in police stops in the United States are similar to those in Britain should be cause for concern. In the past thirty years the British police have been no model. They have racked up scandal after scandal, and their treatment of Britain's racial minorities has led to intense popular protest and a number of sharply critical official reports.⁵⁸ One of these observed that British policing was shot through with "institutional racism," which it defined as "the collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin."⁵⁹ The United States, the historic home of the civil rights movement and the symbolic leader in racial egalitarianism, should do better. Policy-makers, political leaders, and the police themselves in the United States should be profoundly troubled by racial disparities in police stops that approach Britain's unenviable record. Still, the fact that these disparities in the United States are confined to only one type of police stop is cause for hope: this country's police *have* been reformed in many areas and it may be possible to extend these reforms so as to address the remaining racial disparities.

⁵⁷ Epp et al. (2013), *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 62, 202. See also Charles R. Epp, *Making Rights Real: Activists, Bureaucrats and the Creation of the Legalistic State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

⁵⁹ Sir William MacPherson, *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* (London: HMSO, 1999), paragraphs 6.34 and 6.39.

Table 6.1. Drivers' Evaluations of the Legitimacy Police Stops (ordinary least squares regression; coefficients with standard errors in parentheses)

	white drivers		black drivers	
Investigatory stop	.063 (.071)	.061 (.071)	-.265** (.132)	-.219* (.131)
Officer gave lecture on driving safety		-.065 (.075)		.417** (.164)
Severity of stop Sanctions	-.225*** (.064)	-.225*** (.064)	.062 (.103)	.018 (.103)
Extent speeding	.016*** (.005)	.016*** (.005)	.007 (.010)	.007 (.010)
Rule-abiding driving	.103 (.079)	.100 (.080)	-.011 (.151)	.017 (.148)
Felt guilty	.160**** (.024)	.160**** (.024)	.145*** (.053)	.144*** (.052)
Lifetime # of stops	.219** (.097)	.216** (.097)	-.190 (.158)	-.172 (.155)
Officer disrespect	-.493**** (.072)	-.482**** (.073)	-.671**** (.096)	-.668**** (.094)

Controls:

Sex (female)	.094 (.067)	.092 (.067)	-.127 (.144)	-.101 (.142)
Age	.004 (.003)	.003 (.003)	.002 (.007)	.003 (.007)
Education	.018 (.020)	.020 (.020)	-.006 (.044)	.006 (.043)
Income	.003 (.012)	.002 (.012)	-.044* (.024)	-.044* (.024)

Political

conservatism	.026 (.020)	.025 (.020)	.006 (.039)	.007 (.038)
Distrust in authority (local gov't)	-.028 (.041)	-.027 (.041)	-.051 (.100)	-.064 (.098)
Constant	-2.610**** (.662)	-2.563**** (.665)	-.657 (1.202)	-.757 (1.176)
n	341	340	135	135
adj. R ²	.35****	.35****	.43****	.46****

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01; ****p<.001

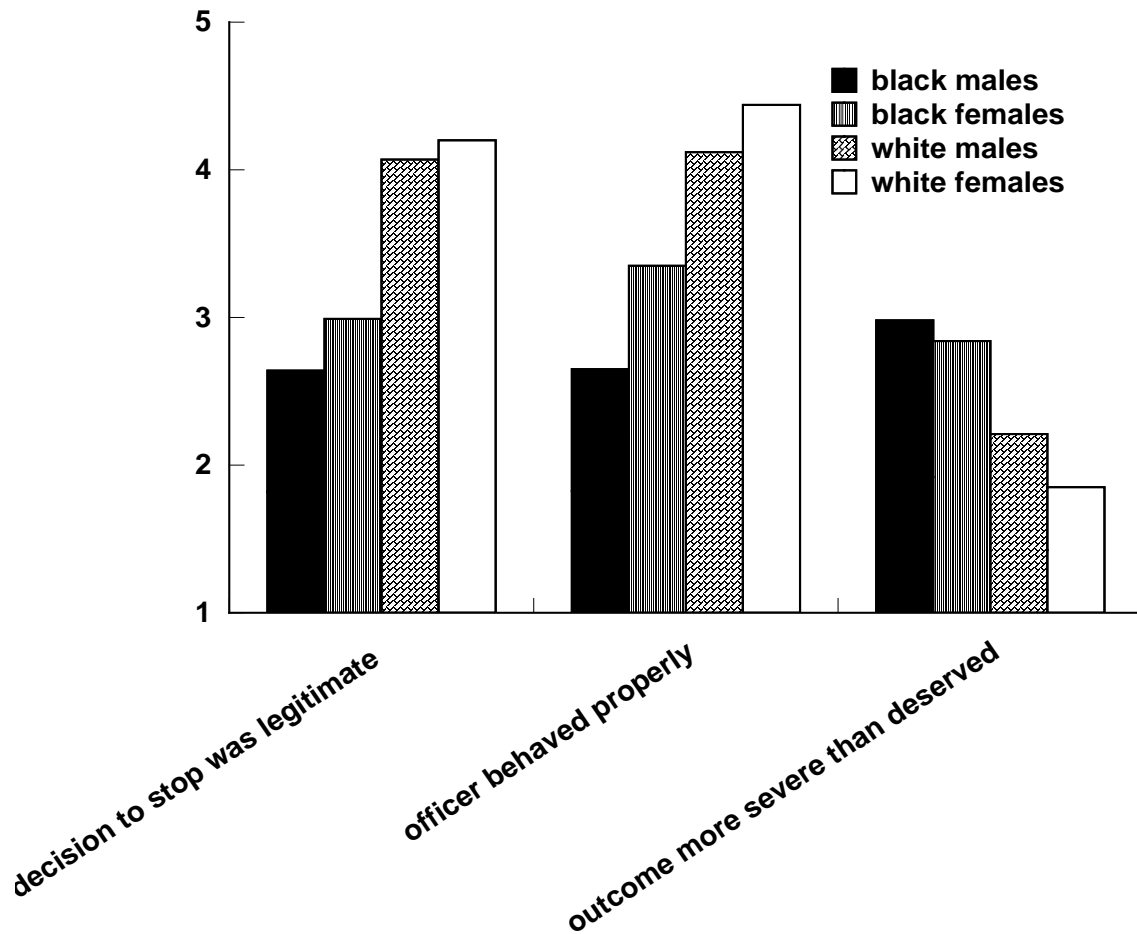


Figure 6.1. Evaluations of the legitimacy of the stop by race and gender of driver. All differences by race are statistically significant ($p < .001$, two-tailed); differences by gender are not statistically significant except for “officer behaved properly” (for both whites and blacks) ($p < .10$, two-tailed), and “outcome more severe than deserved” (for white respondents) ($p < .05$, two-tailed). *N*: stop legitimacy, 650; officer behavior, 637; severity of outcome, 636.

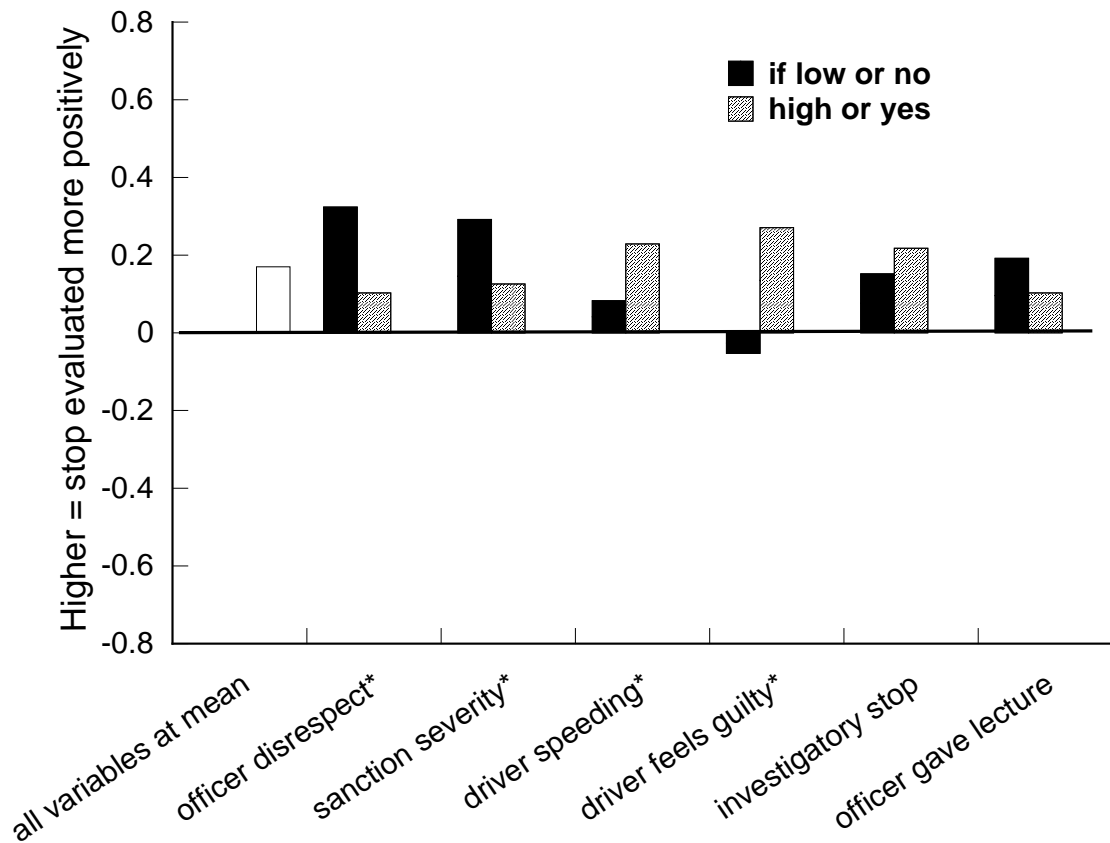


Figure 6.2. White drivers: the impact of various factors on the driver's evaluation of the stop. Each pair of columns represents the impact of variations in the identified variable on drivers' evaluations of their most recent stop, with all other variables set at their means. *Impact is statistically significant ($p < .05$). The figure's scale covers one standard deviation above and below the mean on the dependent variable (drivers' evaluations of the legitimacy of the stop). Results generated using the Clarify procedure in Stata⁶⁰

⁶⁰ King, Tomz, and Wittenberg, "Making the Most of Statistical Analysis."

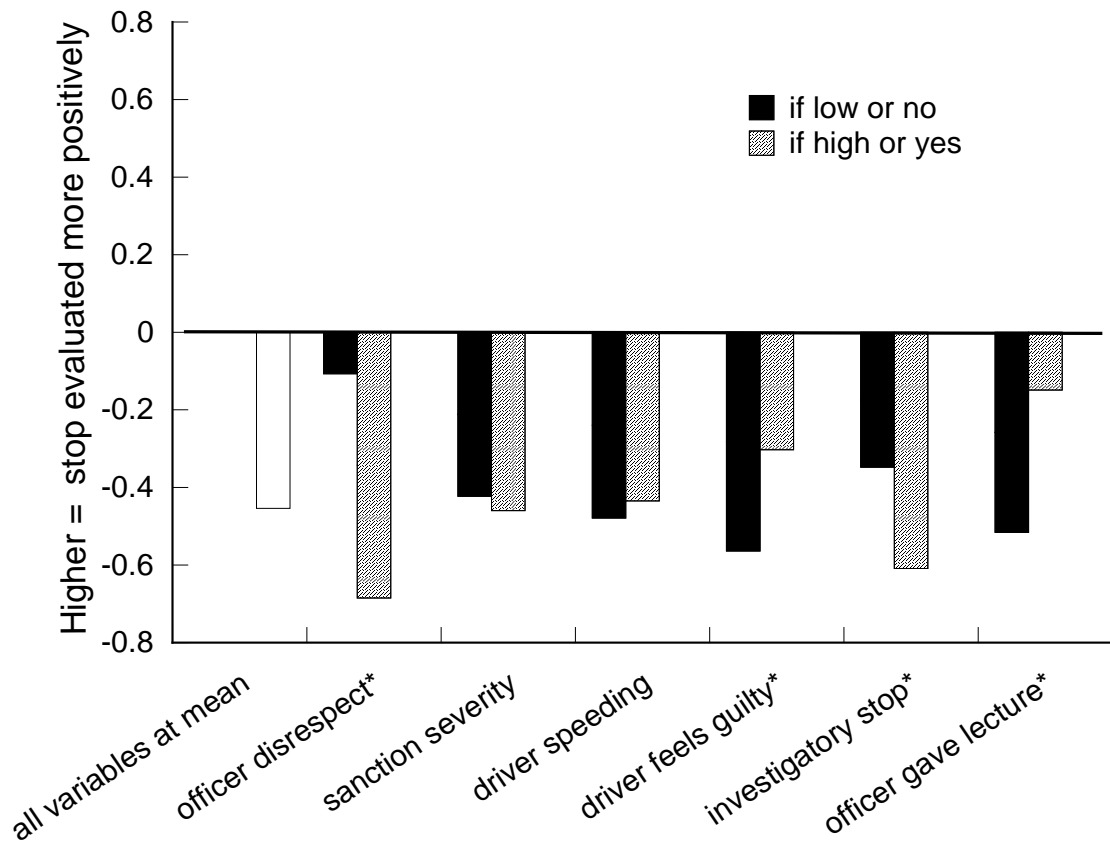


Figure 6.3. Black drivers: the impact of various factors on the driver's evaluation of the stop. Each pair of columns represents the impact of variations in the identified variable on drivers' evaluations of their most recent stop, with all other variables set at their means. *Impact is statistically significant ($p < .05$). The figure's scale covers one standard deviation above and below the mean on the dependent variable (drivers' evaluations of the legitimacy of the stop). Results generated using the Clarify procedure in Stata⁶¹

⁶¹ King, Tomz, and Wittenberg, "Making the Most of Statistical Analysis."

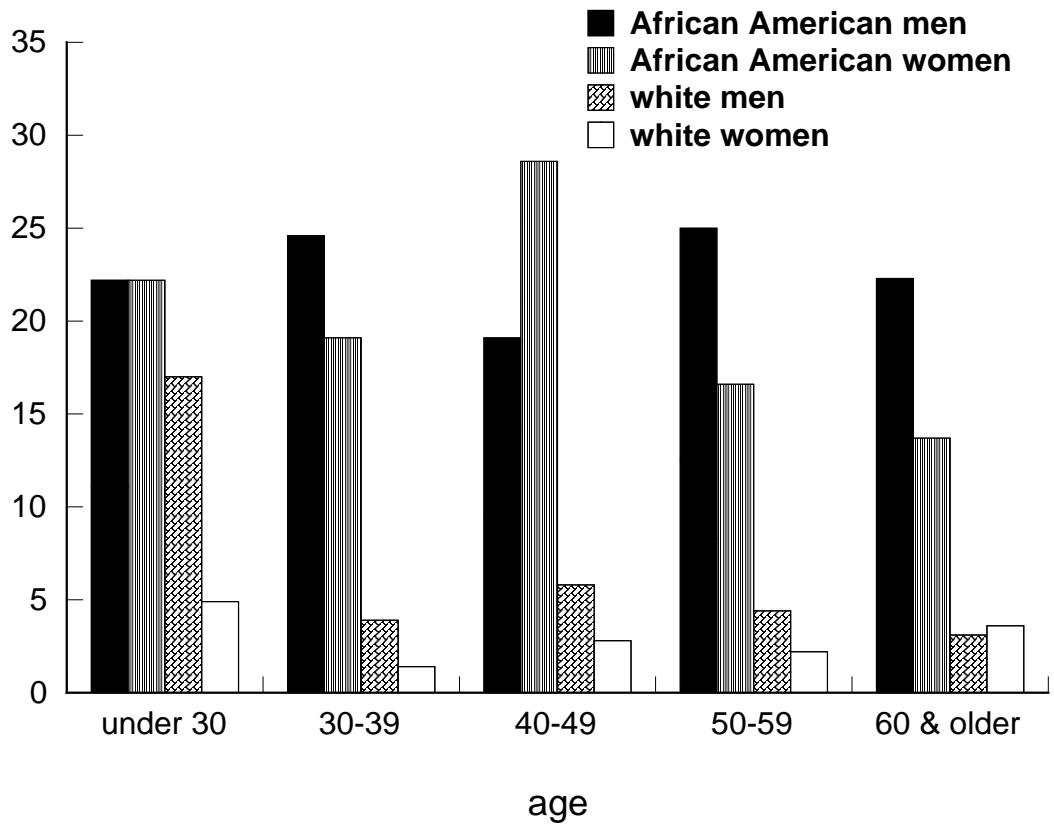


Figure 7.1. Percentage of drivers who agree or strongly agree with the statement, "the police are out to get people like me," by race, gender, and age.

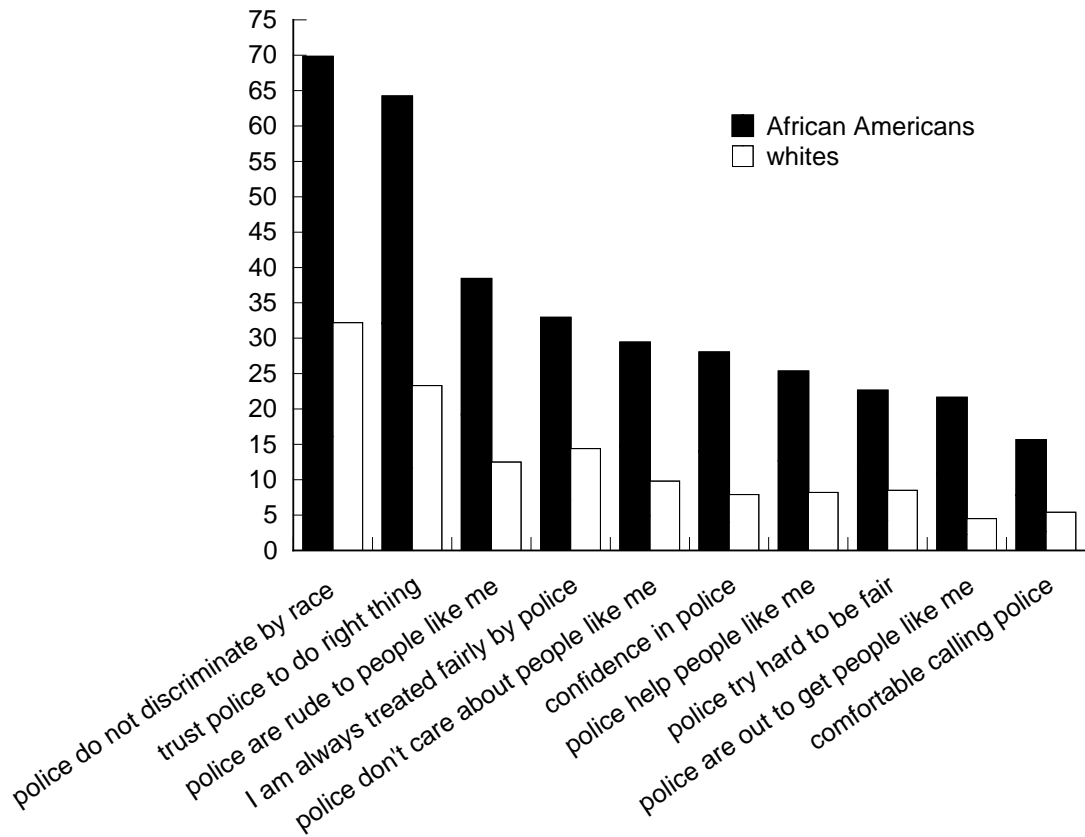


Figure 7.2. Percentage of drivers, by race, who distrust the police, on various dimensions of trust.

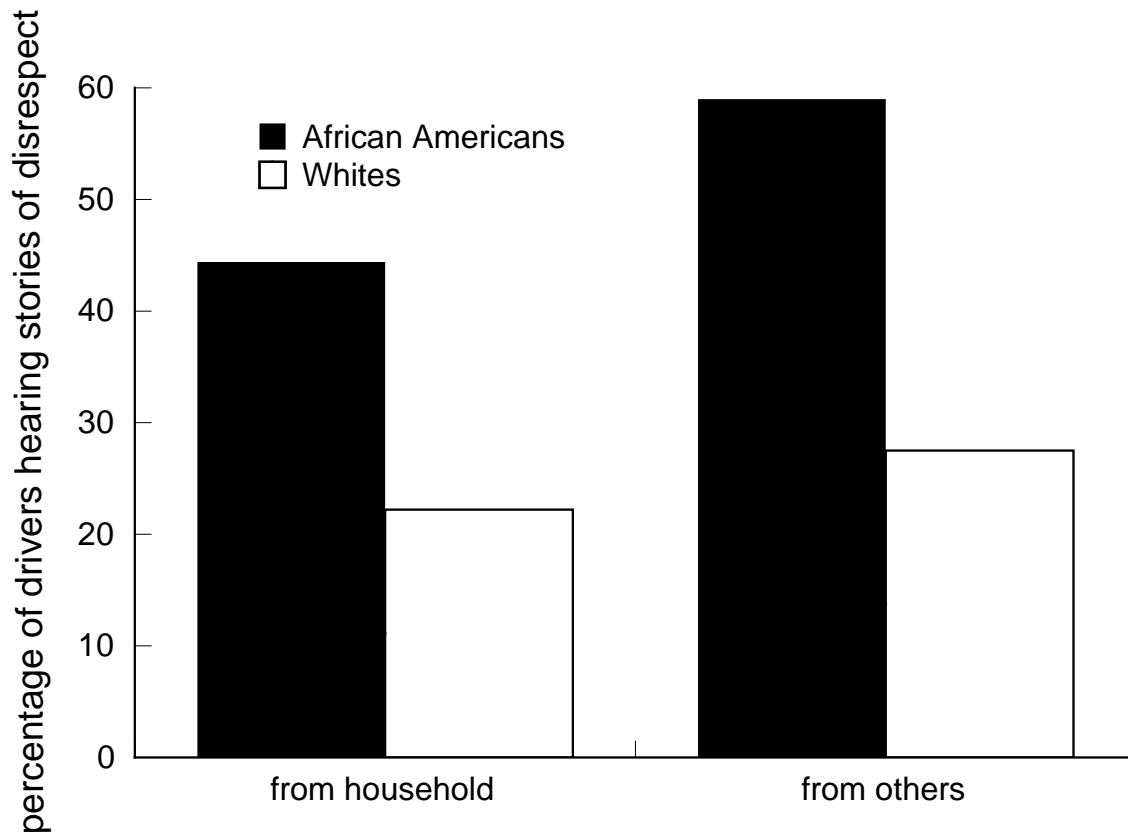


Figure 7.3. Stories of Police Disrespect: Percentage of drivers reporting that they have heard stories of police disrespect, by race of driver and source of story. Differences by race are statistically significant ($p < .001$).

Table 7.1. Distrust in Police: Differences between African Americans and whites, all drivers (whether or not stopped in past year) (ordinary least squares regression; coefficients with standard errors in parentheses)

Variable	All drivers	White	African American
<i>Personal experiences:</i>			
Investigatory stop	.171*** (.062)	.134* (.071)	.242** (.120)
Traffic-safety stop	.049 (.046)	.039 (.050)	.126 (.122)
Stops over lifetime	.096 (.074)	.051 (.088)	.244** (.099)
Hear stories of police disrespect to drivers	.299**** (.058)	.276**** (.071)	.354**** (.066)
<hr/> <i>Background characteristics:</i>			
Race (black)	.603**** (.046)		
Sex (female)	-.108** (.044)	-.120** (.050)	-.041 (.074)
Age	.0001 (.002)	-.0004 (.002)	-.004* (.002)
Education	-.035**** (.011)	-.038**** (.012)	-.007 (.020)
Income	-.011 (.007)	-.009 (.008)	-.018 (.013)
Political attitudes (lower = liberal)	-.053**** (.013)	-.063**** (.015)	-.009 (.019)
Rule-abiding driving	-.158**** (.056)	-.178**** (.064)	-.017 (.084)
Speeding	.002 (.004)	.004 (.005)	-.0004 (.004)

% of families in poverty in area of residence	.007 (.007)	.012 (.008)	-.003 (.007)
% of population who are black in area of residence	-.002 (.002)	-.004 (.003)	.005 (.003)
Constant	-.216 (.453)	-.284 (.568)	.326 (.511)
n	1264	790	474
R ²	.32****	.21****	.19****

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01; ****p<.001

Table 7.2. Distrust in Police: Differences between African Americans and whites, among drivers stopped in past year (ordinary least squares regression; coefficients with standard errors in parentheses).

Variable	All drivers	White	African American
<i>Personal experiences:</i>			
Evaluation of most recent stop	-.202**** (.051)	-.171*** (.061)	-.253** (.100)
Level of officer disrespect in most recent stop	.282**** (.069)	.293*** (.088)	.269** (.120)
Stops over lifetime	.089 (.083)	.013 (.101)	.272** (.131)
<i>Background characteristics:</i>			
Race (black)	.476**** (.081)		
Sex (female)	-.031 (.062)	-.080 (.068)	.134 (.145)
Age	-.0008 (.003)	-.002 (.002)	.005 (.006)
Education	-.032 (.019)	-.042** (.021)	-.011 (.047)
Income	-.009 (.011)	-.012 (.012)	-.00004 (.027)
Political attitudes (lower = liberal)	-.036* (.019)	-.046** (.022)	-.020 (.035)
Rule-abiding driving	-.034 (.069)	-.086 (.082)	.153 (.143)
Speeding	.001 (.005)	.002 (.006)	.002 (.008)
Hear stories of disrespect	.222*** (.077)	.229** (.095)	.120 (.134)
Constant	-.108 (.600)	.032 (.733)	-.313 (1.009)

n	401	284	117
R ²	.50****	.38****	.40****

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01; ****p<.001

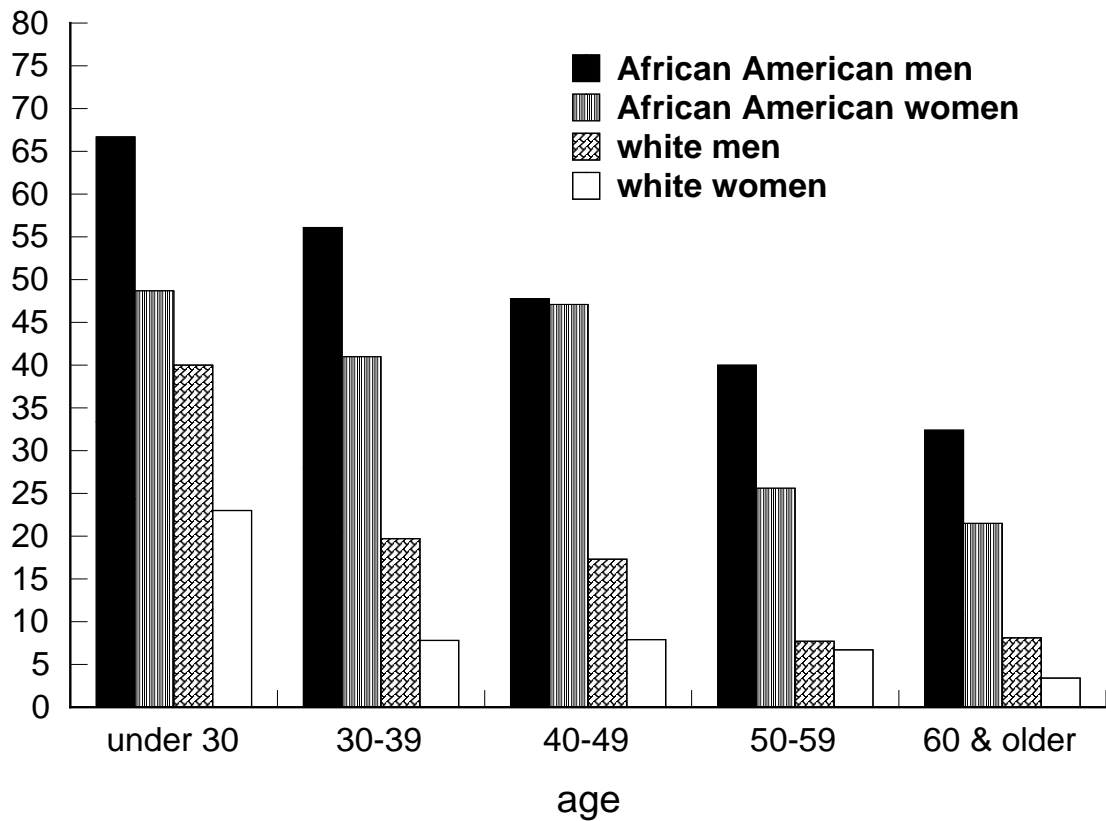


Figure 7.4. Freedom of Travel: the percentage of drivers by race, gender, and age who report that they "sometimes" or "often" avoid driving in some areas "because of the way the police might treat me." All differences are statistically significant except for the difference between African American men and women ages 40-49.

Table 7.3. Limits to Freedom of Travel: The Influence of Distrust in Police (ordered probit estimation, standard errors in parentheses).

Race (black)	.960**** (.080)	.593**** (.090)
Distrust in police		.612**** (.078)
<hr/> <i>Controls:</i>		
Sex (female)	-.360**** (.089)	-.294*** (.094)
Age	-.017**** (.003)	-.016**** (.003)
Income	-.008 (.017)	.0009
Education	-.069** (.027)	-.048* (.029)
Political attitudes (lower = liberal)	-.038 (.026)	.00003 (.027)
Rule-abiding driving	-.101 (.108)	.037 (.115)
Speeding	.0007 (.008)	.001 (.007)
Time spent driving	.0002 (.0004)	-.0003 (.0004)
Customized vehicle	.117** (.057)	.071 (.057)
Damaged vehicle	-.007 (.085)	.001 (.085)
Illegal vehicle condition	.257*** (.076)	.189** (.081)
n	1541	1540
Wald chi ²	296.19****	338.46****
Pseudo R ²	.12	.16

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01; ****p<.001

Table 7.4. Limits to Freedom of Travel: The Influence of Experiences in Police Stops (ordered probit estimation, standard errors in parentheses).

	All drivers	white	African-American
<i>Driver's race and experiences:</i>			
Race (black)	.761**** (.091)		
Investigatory stop	.275** (.120)	.133 (.159)	.462** (.192)
Traffic-safety stop	-.010 (.109)	-.087 (.133)	.146 (.204)
Number of stops over lifetime	.277** (.114)	.135 (.162)	.420** (.168)
<hr/> <i>Controls:</i>			
Hear stories of officer disrespect	.458**** (.083)	.399*** (.124)	.474**** (.115)
Sex (female)	-.302**** (.131)	-.400**** (.113)	-.168 (.129)
Age	-.012**** (.003)	-.011** (.005)	-.015 (.005)
Education	-.053** (.025)	-.110*** (.034)	.002 (.025)
Income	-.007 (.015)	-.015 (.020)	.002 (.025)
Political attitudes (lower = liberal)	-.040* (.023)	-.061* (.033)	-.025 (.032)
Rule-abiding driving	.026 (.100)	.011 (.137)	-.005 (.150)
Speeding	-.007 (.006)	.0009 (.010)	-.137 (.008)
Customized vehicle	.164*** (.052)	.061 (.075)	.261*** (.076)

Damaged vehicle	-.039 (.071)	.004 (.098)	-.068 (.103)
Illegal vehicle condition	.159 (.062)	.083 (.087)	.205 (.093)
% of families in poverty in area of residence	-.006 (.012)	-.006 (.019)	-.008 (.017)
% of population who are black in area of residence	.006 (.004)	.009 (.006)	.0006 (.007)
n	1262	791	471
LR χ^2	360.23****	103.37****	118.75***

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01; ****p<.001