The Socioeconomic Influence on Duke Students' Perspectives of Law Enforcement

Maddie McMorrow

Advisors: Professor Deondra Rose and Dr. Carolyn Barnes
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Abstract

Past research concludes that race affects people's perspectives of the police as defined by their perceived fairness, trust, and confidence in law enforcement in which blacks tend to have more negative perceptions of the police than whites. This study surveyed Duke University students to determine whether family income within different racial groups leads to varying opinions about their home state police, Durham police, and Duke police. The population of this study was undergraduate Duke University students.

I hypothesized that as family income rises, Duke students will have more positive views of home state, Durham, and Duke police. In addition, I predicted that within the negative opinions of the police, the nature of these negative feelings will vary between white and black Duke students. For example, white students will see the police as an annoying disruption to their daily life whereas black students will see the police as a more significant threat to their safety.

Findings confirm that race is the largest predictor when determining one's perspective of the police. Within racial groups, for black Duke students, as income rises, one's perspective becomes more positive of the police in all regards of trust, confidence, and perceived fairness. However, income appears to play less of a role in white students' perspectives of law enforcement. Finally, the survey results showed that as one evaluated more local types of police – from home state, to Durham, to Duke police – one's perspective became more positive. Thus, the Duke police force had the greatest satisfaction rates for all students, regardless of race. I offer recommendations to law enforcement departments based on my results.

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Introduction

Despite the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 affirming that all citizens have equal protection under the law, black citizens continue to be discriminated against in the United States. Failure to properly implement this Act has led the United States to pass subsequent legislation in an attempt to reduce racial discrimination. Some examples include the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 which guaranteed blacks the right to vote, the Supreme Court's ruling in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education* which prohibited deliberate public school segregation, and the decision in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* in 1968 which ruled that "actual desegregation of schools" in the South is required ("Civil Rights Chronology"). In 1966, the US signed the United Nation's International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD). This Act affirmed that discrimination cannot occur based on race; however, the United States did not ratify this agreement until 1994 (Harison 4). On February 22nd and 23rd of 2008, the CERD Committee reviewed the United States' implementation of CERD laws and found that the United States had failed to meet CERD standards. The committee also determined that America has blatantly rejected measures to counteract racial disparities in both private and public institutions (Watt).

As demonstrated by CERD, despite laws that have been passed to eliminate racial discrimination, effective implementation of these laws continues to be an ongoing problem in the United States. In the 1960's, blacks were reported to be five times more likely to be in prison than whites (Drake 16). Since then, this disparity has grown. As of 2014, black men are 3.8 to 10.5 times more likely to become incarcerated than white males across all age groups, with the largest disparity between black and white males ages 18-20 (Carson 1). This discrepancy in incarceration rates, leads racial minorities to feel targeted by police authorities, which reduces

trust and legitimatization of law enforcement ("Race, Trust, and Police Legitimacy"). This mistrust has increased even further as police brutality incidents against blacks trend on news stations and social media sites.

Protests and civil unrest erupted after the shooting on August 9, 2014 of unarmed teenager Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. Brown was 18 years old and had stolen cigarillos at a nearby gas station. After an altercation with the police officer, Brown was shot 12 times. A few months later, police maltreatment resulted in Freddie Gray's death and this event sparked a stream of Baltimore protests calling for an end to police brutality (Lopez). These incidents continue to bring national attention to the issue of police brutality and discrimination against racial minorities.

This thesis examines the relationship between socioeconomic status and blacks' and whites' perspective of law enforcement. Past studies have concluded that race shapes a person's opinion of the police. This thesis then analyzes whether income further impacts perspectives of the police (Tuch and Weitzer, 2002; Skogran and Frydll; Tuch and Weitzer 2005; Reisig and Parks). The study's sample consists of 191 Duke University students and compares responses among five different income brackets to assess whether socioeconomic status influences opinion of law enforcement. This study also explores the nature of negative police opinions and whether black and white Duke students perceive different levels of threat or degree of danger from police.

Research Questions

- Do Duke students from different family income brackets have significantly varying views about their home state police, Durham police, and Duke police?
- Does the nature and extent of negative opinions about the police differ between white and black Duke students?

Theoretical Framework

Effect of Media on Perspectives of Police

After nationally broadcasted police misconduct videos trend on media streams, researchers found that whites', blacks', and Hispanics', satisfaction and confidence in the police force diminished (Lopez). These effects are seen in recent shootings of the unarmed black man Walter Scott who was shot fleeing from a traffic violation (ibid). Media broadcasting of this video led even conservative defenders of police to speak out against police misconduct (ibid). The population's confidence in law enforcement decreases with these nationally broadcasted stories, but the levels of dissatisfaction shift more dramatically depending on the respondent's race (Tuch and Weitzer). White people tend to approve of the police more than Hispanics, and blacks generally disapprove of the police far more than either racial group (Tuch and Weitzer, 2002; Skogran and Frydll; Tuch and Weitzer 2005; Reisig and Parks).

In addition to the overall deterioration of the public's opinion about police after a nationally broadcast misconduct incident, it is also more common for blacks to categorize such incidents as examples of police brutality than whites (Tuch and Weitzer, 1997). This is highlighted in the case of Eulia Love when two officers were called to her home over an unpaid gas bill (Domanick). Love appeared to be out of control, threatening officers with a garden knife and screaming obscenities. The police responded by fatally shooting her eight times. Coverage of this incident trended on social media and horrified Los Angeles residents (Domanick). One study conducted after the news report of Love's story found that 51% of whites saw the attack on Love as an example of police brutality. This statistic does not compare to 81% of blacks who saw this event as an example of police brutality (Tuch and Weitzer, 1997). The discrepancy highlights the difference between how whites and blacks view police brutality against blacks.

Ten years later, in 2011, broadcast video clips of the Rodney King beatings resulted in differences in white and black Los Angeles residents' opinions. In the widely shown video clips, King attempts to stand up only to be beaten repeatedly by Los Angeles Police Department officers (Castro). Reports confirm that the officers hit King thirty-three times with a baton causing irreparable damage (ibid). After this video footage aired, 84% of whites, compared to 93% of blacks, believed that the police used too much force against King (Tuch and Weitzer, 1997). Fewer white residents see these events as examples of police brutality compared to black counterparts (Jones). This pattern is also prevalent in more recent cases such as the previously mentioned attack on unarmed, black teenager Michael Brown, in Ferguson, Missouri. Such national media coverage impacts different minorities' attitudes of the police at greater extremes, but overall, everyone's confidence in the police force is reduced (Lopez; Tuch and Weitzer, 2002). As incidents arise, race also influences people's opinions as to whether an event is an example of police brutality (Tuch and Weitzer, 2002).

Race as a Factor of Respondents' Trust and Confidence in the Police

When evaluating one's perception of the police, it is crucial to assess opinions by race. Numerous studies have shown that trust and confidence in the police differ depending on whether a respondent is black, white, or Hispanic (Newport; Skogan and Frydll; Weitzer & Tuch 2005). To determine a respondent's trust in the police, Newport questioned whether respondents perceive police officers to be honest and ethical. He found that 59% of whites believe police officers engage in honest and ethical actions, compared to 45% of blacks (ibid). Furthermore, 17% of blacks believe that police officers have low or very low ethics and honesty compared to 10% of whites (Newport). Blacks are also "twice as likely as whites to report that police did not behave properly, and when blacks were searched, they were less likely to believe that the

searches were legitimate" (Skogan and Frydll). This research suggests that blacks are more likely to distrust the ethics, conduct, and intentions of police officers than whites.

Citizens' confidence in the police has been further tested by asking respondents about their overall satisfaction with police (Tuch and Weitzer, 2004). Satisfaction indicates respondent's confidence because it highlights one's trust that the police are capable of fulfilling their duty to protect citizens and guarantee safety. In a study conducted by Weitzer and Tuch, nearly half of whites are "very satisfied" with the police in their city (2004). Contrastingly, slightly more than one-third of Hispanics and only about a quarter of blacks replied "very satisfied" with police (ibid). These results demonstrate that blacks and Hispanics are less likely to believe that police officers are fully meeting peoples' expectations to protect citizens and adjudicate crime.

Blacks tend to express lower satisfaction with police than whites and Hispanics. Hispanics' views of police are generally between that of white and black respondents (Skogan and Frydll). For example, 27% of blacks and 20% of Hispanics are dissatisfied with the police, compared to 14% of whites (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). Black respondents' confidence levels are far below the national average (Jones). If people are confident in the police's ability to protect them and their fellow citizens—as the surveys above ask—it shows that respondents value the police. The significant amount of research that has been done highlights the importance of these questions and the finding that whites generally have more trust and confidence in the police than do Hispanics and blacks, with blacks being the least trusting and least confident in law enforcement (Newport; Skogan and Frydll).

Race as a Factor of Perceived Fairness of Police

Many researchers have also questioned respondents about their perception of police fairness (Swift; Newport). Perceived fairness can be interpreted as one's belief in how often police discriminate, profile, and exhibit prejudice (Swift; Newport). Studies address this question by asking respondents about past experiences and encounters with the law enforcement (Swift; Newport). These studies show that a respondent's race shapes his or her perspective about whether the police treat people of different races differently (ibid). Nineteen percent of whites tend to think that the police treat minorities unfairly, compared to the 29% of Hispanics and 48% of blacks (Swift). Blacks tend to believe that racial minorities are treated unfairly at a much higher rate than respondents of other races and believe that people of their race are more likely to be stopped for illegitimate reasons (Swift; Skogan and Frydll). Complementing this study, Newport finds that 24% of black men between the ages of 18-34 and 20% of black men between the ages of 34-54 say they have been treated unfairly in the last 30 days due to race (Newport). These findings demonstrate that race influences perceived fairness and race is a vital factor in determining a person's perspective of the police.

Citizens' perceptions of police prejudice also follow the same patterns described above. Many Americans agree that police prejudice and racial profiling occurs in the United States (Tuch and Weitzer, 1997). However, the rate of this perception differs by race—whites believe that racial profiling and prejudice by police occurs less than black or Hispanic respondents (ibid). The more encounters a respondent has with the police, the more likely he or she feels targeted and victimized by racial profiling (ibid). Thus, we must ask about past interactions in our research to get a clearer understanding of why respondents believe racial profiling occurs and if there is a potential bias within the answers (Skogan and Frydll).

Race Affects Desire for Police Policy Reform

Low satisfaction rates with police present opportunities for improvement within the law enforcements' practices and policies. Reform in policy could reduce the amount of police misconduct. Simple changes could also be important and make a difference in the public's confidence and trust in police. As Weitzer and Tuch (2004) suggest, blacks generally tend to support more police reform. Implementing policies such as the explanation of a ticket, justification for pulling someone over, or valuing respectful citizen-police relations could improve relationships and overall satisfaction.

College Students Perceptions of Police

In studies examining perception of the police, education level has typically been one category that has been assessed. Education levels are typically defined in the following categories: no high school graduation, GED or high school degree, bachelor's degree, or graduate degree (Hawk-Tourtelot 4). As one's education level increases, his or her general satisfaction with the police also rises (Reisig and Parks; Weitzer and Tuch 2004). Although college students tend to have fewer criminal records than their non-college counterparts, college students are in the age group with the highest frequency of police encounters and arrests (Klockars, Haberfeld et. al). Opinions then often stem from these positive or negative interactions (Hawk-Tourtelot 4). Furthermore, there continues to be variability even within the same education levels (ibid). Those majoring or mastering in criminal justice specialties tend to understand the criminal system more thoroughly, and shape one's perspective and interactions with the police to be more positive (ibid). Acknowledging that Duke University students are both highly educated and, on average, have a higher frequency of police interactions, it is interesting to analyze the effect of socioeconomic status on perceptions of the police.

Demographics of Duke University's Student Body

It is important to understand Duke University's student body demographics – both financially and racially – to contextualize the results and analysis of this thesis. In 2016, Duke University's total estimated cost of attendance was $70,092 (Duke University). This cost is significantly higher than the average family's income in America, which is approximately $53,000 (DeNavas-Walt, Carmen, Proctor). Although 55% of Duke students do not pay the full cost of tuition, this high cost of education indicates that, on average, a Duke student is much wealthier than the average American. Furthermore, Duke's student body is 46% Caucasian, 22% Asian-American, 10% African American, 10% Foreign, 7% Hispanic, and 5% other (Duke University). Like income, Duke's student body is not proportionate with the racial demographics of the United States. The United States population consists of 62% Caucasians, 18% Hispanic or Latino, 13% African Americans, 6% Asian Americans, and 4% other ("Population Estimates"). The last factor to consider is that in the United States, only 33% of the population has attained a bachelor's degree or higher (Ryan and Bauman 1). At Duke University, everyone is on the path to attain a bachelor's degree. Thus, the education level of Duke's population is not representative of the American population. These statistics show that on average Duke students have more financial stability and a higher level of education than the average American. Both of these factors, as mentioned above, affect one's perception of the police. Therefore, the sample's results are innately biased due to these factors and the results from this thesis cannot be extrapolated to the United States' population.

Other Variables Contributing to Respondents' Perspectives

Studies have shown that an individual's race affects his or her view of the police by evaluating a respondent's trust, confidence, and perceived fairness of police. After media reports

of police brutality, almost everyone's positive perception of the police diminishes, but race continues to play a key role in a person's assessment of police brutality. It is also important to consider other variables. We have seen that blacks consistently value the police less than whites and Hispanics; however, there is limited information on the effects that income has on a person's perspective of the police. In order to explore the association of these two variables, this study analyzes the income levels of Duke students and their varying opinions of their home state police, Durham police, and Duke police.

Finally, blacks generally have more negative opinions of the police than whites, but the determination of "negative opinions" is vague. The extent and nature of a negative opinion could range from feeling panicked, threatened, or stressed to simply annoyed or irritated. Again, using the Duke student population, this study explores the nature and magnitude of these negative opinions by presenting a list of adjectives and allowing students to select the adjectives that best describe their reaction to police officers. This study then evaluates whether the selected adjective is significantly different between white and black Duke students.

Hypothesis

My first hypothesis is that Duke University students will have different opinions toward the police based on income level. Black and white Duke Students of lower income brackets will have more negative views of the police than students in higher income brackets with respect to the trust, confidence, and perceived fairness of the police. I measure economic status by asking the survey respondent's family income and reliance on financial aid and federal loans, grants, or assistant programs. The survey responses are divided into three response variables: perceived fairness, trust, and confidence in the police. Using these three variables in different linear regression tests, I compare the average responses across each of the five income categories. If

this hypothesis is correct, then I would expect to see a statistically significant difference in the response variables across all family incomes. The null hypothesis of this study is that all blacks and whites at Duke, regardless of respective income bracket, have similar opinions of the police, respective of racial groups.

My second hypothesis is that for white Duke students and black Duke students who have negative opinions of the police, the nature and extent of their negative opinion is different depending on the respondent's race. If this hypothesis is correct, then my data will show a statistically significant difference in which white students feel less threatened than black students from police, and see police as an more of annoyance in their daily life, while black students more commonly see the police as a danger or immediate threat. My hypotheses are summarized below.

HI: Across the five different income brackets, black and white Duke students will have statistically significant different views of the police. Furthermore, respondents with lower family incomes will view the police more negatively than those respondents with higher incomes.

HII: When students express negative opinions about police, black Duke students will see the police as more of a threat, than white Duke students, who will see the police more as a disruption to, rather than a threat to, their daily life.

Methodology

Sample

Many researchers have conducted studies to evaluate whether race plays a role in different perceptions of the police. College students come into contact with the police more often than the average person of similar age in the United States (Hawk-Tourtelot 3). Police appear on campus, at school sporting games, at on-campus and off-campus social events, on surrounding

city streets, and in many other situations during the college day-to-day. Therefore, I build upon the insights provided by previous studies to assess the different opinions of the police within this microcosm of college students. Furthermore, I explore the effect of income on attitudes toward the police *within* racial groups, which helps me to expand upon existing data.

This study surveyed a wide variety of students from different ethnic and economic backgrounds in order to determine respondents' opinions of police fairness, trust, and confidence. I collected responses from 191 undergraduate Duke students – a response level close to one that has previously yielded statistically significant results from the Duke population (Becker). The sample results come from 27 black Duke students, equaling 14.2%, paralleling Duke's student body's diversity which is 10% African American (Duke University) and 124 white Duke students, equaling 64.9%, paralleling Duke's student body of 46% Caucasian students.

Surveys were emailed out to Duke University organizations approximately two weeks prior to the end of the 2015-2016 school year. I continued to distribute my survey during the summer of 2016 and into the following 2016-2017 school year.[1]

Procedure

Prior to distributing my Qualtrics survey, I piloted the survey on ten friends to receive initial feedback. I recorded the average times it took to complete the survey and altered confusing wording. I utilized Duke's Social Science Research Institute consultants to determine if questions within the survey contained wording bias, and changed phrases accordingly. After finalizing the survey, I received additional approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB)

[1] I recognized that many Duke students did not have time to thoroughly complete a survey during the finals period, so my distribution of surveys in the summer and beginning of the 2016 school year increased response rates.

to offer a raffle for participants. Respondents were eligible to enter their email in a different survey to receive a $25 electronic Amazon gift card. By entering the email in a different survey, respondents maintained personal privacy and all responses were anonymous. This prize was thought to incentivize college students to participate in this study and increase response rates. After the completion of my survey distribution, I awarded these gift cards to four participants.

The survey gathered data on each respondent's family income, as well as his or her attitudes toward the police—particularly, trust, confidence, and perceived fairness of the police. I contacted Duke University's Economics, Public Policy, Political Science and African & African American Studies departments, Interfraternity Council, and Panhellenic, in addition to the Black Student Alliance, National Pan-Hellenic Council, and Center for Multicultural Affairs groups to reach a wide range of Duke students. The survey was distributed by email to students in these organizations. Members within these organizations also posted the survey to their private Facebook groups, as college students may be more responsive through this media outlet. To increase response rate and to access a greater number of students more quickly, I utilized Facebook by posting in Duke University's Class of 2017, Class of 2018, Class of 2019, and Class of 2020's respective Facebook pages. My sample reflects a convenience sample, so I cannot ensure that the sample is representative. However, my large sample size of approximately 200 undergraduate students is expected to counteract any existing convenience bias.

For my second hypothesis regarding the difference in the nature of negative opinions between white and black Duke students, I used my survey data from the above organizations. Again, this is a convenience sample, but my large sample size still provides insight into the differences in negative opinions toward police depending on a Duke student's race.

Survey Design

My data collection was based on an electronic survey in which respondents shared their opinions of the police on perception scales from 0-10 and yes-or-no questions in order to quantify and compare means of respondents' answers. The questions were situation-based to better understand the respondent's true perception of the police. For example, "If you see a police officer, do you automatically feel 0 (very scared) – 10 (very safe)." These questions were intended to get at the extent of a respondent's feeling of trust, confidence, and fairness without directly asking.

I worked with the stated Duke departments and organizations to access members' emails and send my Qualtrics survey to a large number of people, gaining a more informed, unbiased data set. In regards to the survey itself, I worked with Duke's Social Science Research Institute to create the aesthetic appeal of the survey and to avoid using wording bias that could affect respondents' answers. The survey is shown in Appendix A.

Measures

The independent variables of my survey are the respondent's family income and race. Once race and income were identified, I analyzed how the interaction between income and race impacted my dependent variable of the respondent's attitudes toward the police. In terms of race, I focused primarily on black and white Duke students. Those that identify as multiracial were asked to provide details. In order to understand the respondent's income level and background, I evaluated the following variables:

Variable	**Description**
Family income	Categorized family income in five groups: <25,000; 25,000-50,000; 50,000-100,000; 100,000-150,000; >150,000
Socioeconomic background	Categorized by: working class, lower middle

	class, middle class, upper middle class, upper class
Financial aid status	Categorized by answering yes or no if respondent is on financial aid at Duke University
Federal grants or loans	Categorized by answering yes or no if respondent has eligibility to apply for federal grants and loans such as Pell Grant, Perkins Loan, or FSEOG program
Benefitted from support programs	Categorized by answering yes or no if respondent has benefitted from the following programs: Food stamps, school lunch programs, TANF, Medicaid, or Housing Voucher Program "Section 8"

With this information, I categorized different income brackets and assessed the attitudes towards the police between each group.

In order to assess students' perception of police, I assessed the following dependent variables for home state police, Durham police, and Duke police:

- Sense of safety in neighborhood back home
- Perceived fairness of the police
- Past interactions with the police (personally)
    - Race and gender of officer
- Past interactions with the police (through family members or friends)
- Perceived belief of police officers' ethical actions
- Confidence in police
- Trust in the police
- Opinion of policy reform

All of these response variables were measured on a scale of 0-10. Furthermore, I controlled for the respondent's age, gender, school major, neighborhood safety, and current state of residence. I removed participants that are not from, or have not spent the majority of their life, in the United States to control for potential bias. I controlled for these variables to evaluate whether there was a correlational relationship between these and my dependent variable—the respondent's view of the police.

Analysis

To investigate whether my first hypothesis is correct, I evaluated whether students from different income brackets have varying perceptions of respondent's perceived fairness, trust, and confidence in the police respective of their race. If my hypothesis is incorrect, then I will see that student responses across income brackets will be consistent respective of their race (similar average response on the quantitative scale. I supplemented my data with an open-ended final question allowing the respondent space to share any experiences or other feelings about the police. Analyzing this additional question gives a better understanding of the respondent's perspective.

To answer my second question, I compared negative attitudes expressed by both white and black students. A statistically significant difference between those respondents would indicate that the negative feelings felt by students toward the police varies by race. If correct, then I will observe that the nature and extent of white Duke students' negative feelings toward police is different from those of black Duke students. For example, white students may more commonly view the police as less threatening and more of an annoying disruption to their lives than black students, who may perceive the police as an immediate, physical threat. Research has shown that blacks have more negative perceptions of the police (Tuch and Weitzer, 2002; Skogran and Frydll 15; Tuch and Weitzer 2005; Reisig and Parks 36). However, I assess whether there is a difference in the extent and nature of "negative opinions" toward the police based on race. By asking a wide range of questions in my survey, I could experiment with various regression models to determine other unknown relationships unacknowledged prior to my data collection.

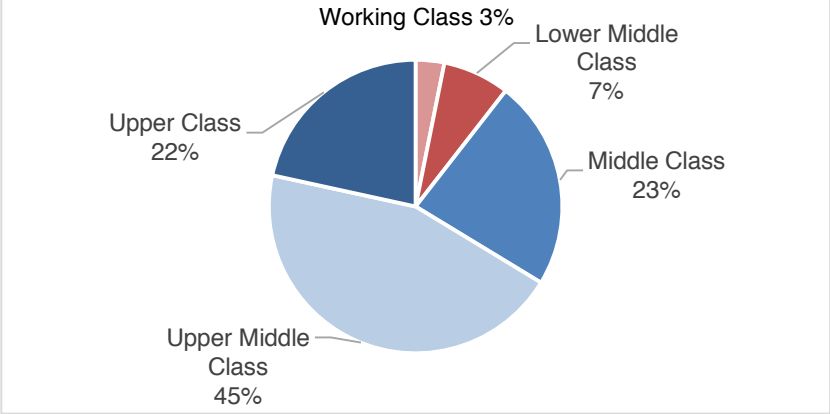
Empirical Findings

I assess my sample's social class distribution, income distribution, and perceptions of police officers to better initially understand my sample group. The data indicates that the average person in my sample group is financially better off than the average American, and thus, my conclusions cannot be directly extrapolated to the United States' population as a whole. Furthermore, the sample population's implicit feelings toward the police tend to be more negative than positive. These findings are further discussed below.

Social Class Distribution of Sample

Looking at survey respondents' self-identified social class, it is clear that the sample group has a higher economic status than the general populace. Approximately 67% of the survey participants identify as upper middle class or upper class; whereas, in the United States, only 30% of people are considered to be upper or upper middle class (DeNavas-Walt, Carmen, Proctor). This is most likely a result of Duke's status as a top university as well as the high tuition cost, which impacts the number of students who have financial limitations. To receive acceptance to Duke, students must exemplify great extracurricular activities, top high-school educations, and stellar SAT scores – all of which are also fostered at a greater rate in wealthier communities. The Duke population, and thus, my population for this sample, is more likely to come from backgrounds of higher social class as exemplified in the chart below.

<u>Chart 1</u>: Duke Sample's Distribution of Social Class



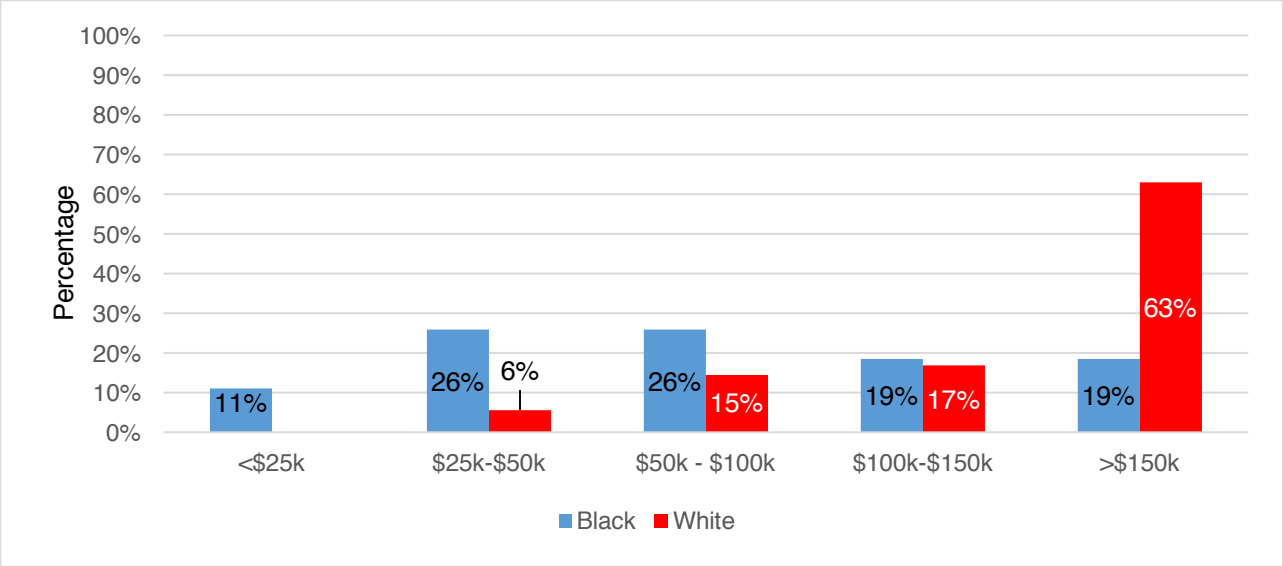
The above graph highlights the sampled Duke students' self-identified social classes. The Upper Middle Class accounts for 45% of the sample, closely followed by the Middle Class (23%) and Upper Class (22%). As mentioned above, 67% of students qualify themselves as upper class or upper middle class compared to the 10% of students who self-identify as lower middle or working class.

Income Distribution of Sample

In addition to evaluating the social class of respondents, I also assess the sample's income distribution for white and black students. As Chart 2 highlights below, 80% of white respondents have a family income greater than $100,000/year and no white students have a family income of less than $25,000/year. This is almost double the national average for family income of $53,000/year (DeNavas-Walt, Carmen, Proctor). Black respondents' income levels are more uniform across income brackets with 38% having a family income greater than $100,000 and 11% having a family income of less than $25,000. However, within this sample, black respondents still tend to have a higher family income than the average African American, which is $37,000/year (ibid). This population's higher income reflects the high cost of a Duke education, which limits the students who can attend Duke.

The estimated cost of attending Duke is $70,092 annually (Duke University). Although 55% of students do not pay the full tuition, the average amount of money given to in-need students is $45,979 (ibid). However, that still leaves $24,113 remaining in tuition fees and costs, which amounts to half of the average American family annual income. Even those receiving financial assistance probably still have an income level greater than the average American family. Therefore, the results from the Duke student sampling group cannot be extrapolated to the United States' population. Nonetheless, the findings are still relevant and noteworthy to see the varying opinions that occur within the Duke Community. Moreover, given the significant and wide-spread violence African Americans have suffered at the hands of law enforcement, further studies incorporating a broader sample group appear to be warranted.

Chart 2: Sample's Proportion of Income Distribution by Race



After gaining a better understanding of my sample group, I assessed the students' perception of the police comparing survey averages from white and black respondents.

Reactionary Thoughts of Police

My survey asks each participant to select the adjective that best describes his or her immediate feeling when seeing a police officer. The options include feeling "annoyed", "comforted", "stressed", and "threatened". The table below shows the number of survey respondents within each category of adjectives separated by race.

Table 1: Instant Feeling Towards Police

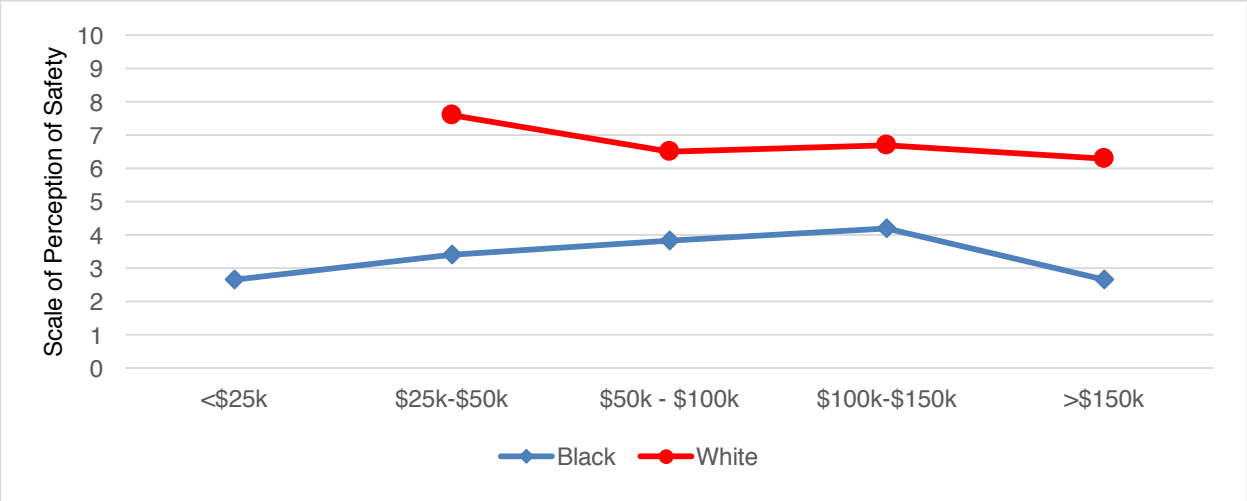
Identified Race	Stressed	Threatened	Annoyed	Comforted
Asian	**11** – 44%	**2** – 8%	**4** – 16%	**8** – 32%
Black	**15** – 71%	**2** – 10%	**4** – 19%	**0** – 0%
Caucasian	**44** – 42%	**4** – 4%	**18** – 17%	**39** – 37%
Multiracial	**8** – 80%	**0** – 0%	**0** – 0%	**2** – 20%
Percentage of Total	48%	5%	16%	30%

Overall, 30% of respondents selected the positive word (comforted) to indicate their feelings towards the police while 70% of the sample selected a negative word (including annoyed, stressed, threatened) to describe their response. This shows the sample has an instant negative reaction to the police. The overall 30% to 70% positive-negative reaction ratio remains fairly consistent throughout all races except for black respondents. As seen in Table 1, zero black Duke students select a positive word to describe their gut reaction to seeing a police officer, and instead 100% of black students have a negative reaction. This highlights that black respondents are more negatively alarmed by police officers than peers of other races.

I then evaluated the nature of these negative opinions for white and black respondents to develop findings for this study's second research question. The reactions *"stressed"* and *"threatened"* reflect fear of a legitimate negative experience upon interaction with the officer. While *"annoyed"* reflects minimal fear, and rather a disruption to the respondent's life. Both white and black students are approximately equally likely to feel annoyed by the police (17%

and 19%, respectively). However, the greatest difference in negative opinions is seen with the more intense, fear-evoking reaction noted above. For black Duke students, 81% of respondents selected either *"stressed"* or "*threatened"* compared to 46% of white Duke students. Black Duke students are almost twice as likely to actually fear the interaction with officers than white Duke students. This significant discrepancy suggests that the degree of black students' negative opinions is much more severe than for whites. This trend is also demonstrated by black students' instant reactions to seeing a police officer on a qualitative scale of 0-10 as seen in the graph below with zero signifying "very scared" and ten signifying "very safe".

Chart 3: Mean Perception of Security with to Police Officers[2]



As seen in Chart 3 above, throughout all income brackets, black respondents are more likely to feel unsafe at the sight of a police officer than white Duke students. The average black respondent rates his or her instant sense of security as a 3.5/10 meaning they feel fairly unsafe compared to white Duke students who average a 6.45/10 signifying that they feel more safe at the sight of an officer than not. When controlling for race as a factor of variability with a linear

[2] Perception of safety is based on a 0-10 scale where 0 signifies "very unsafe" and 10 signifies "very safe" – this graph marks the means of respondents.

regression model, the model reports a p-value of .0000131. Using the standard p-value=.05 to test for statistical significance, our model shows that race plays an instrumental role in predicting a student's instant reaction to police officers. This statistically significant difference in sense of security confirms other studies' findings that blacks have more negative views of the police than whites. In the last decade, there has been a rise of reported shootings and fatalities of unarmed black civilians. These incidents appear to happen without strong justification from the officers, and thus, black communities do not trust officers' judgments and fear the same fate of the victims they hear on the news. Justifiably, blacks feel less safe, and that is reflected in this study's results.

Chart 3 suggests that there is a decrease in the sense of security for respondents that fall within the highest income bracket (>$150,000) for whites and blacks. This result may stem from the correlation between income and involvement with the Greek Life community at Duke University for both races. Greek life fees at Duke range from hundreds to thousands of dollars each year, so students involved in this community often have more disposable income and therefore, overall wealth. Involvement with Greek life also tends to increase the number of negative interactions with police because officers often appear at fraternity and sorority parties to enforce underage drinking laws and address noise complaints. Furthermore, greater disposable income often results in Duke students' more frequent attendance at Durham bars where again, officers are patrolling to prohibit use of fake identification cards and underage drinking. These negative interactions between wealthier Duke students and law enforcement may explain the decrease in one's sense of safety at the sight of an officer as Chart 3 depicts.

Desire of Law Enforcement Accountability

Although white Duke respondents have a stronger sense of safety when seeing a police officer than black Duke respondents, the data suggest that all respondents, regardless of race, desire more police accountability. This study analyzes respondents' desire of accountability through the survey question, "Should officers be required to wear body cameras?" The results of this question are seen below.

<u>Chart 4:</u> Percentage of Respondents in favor of Police Accountability

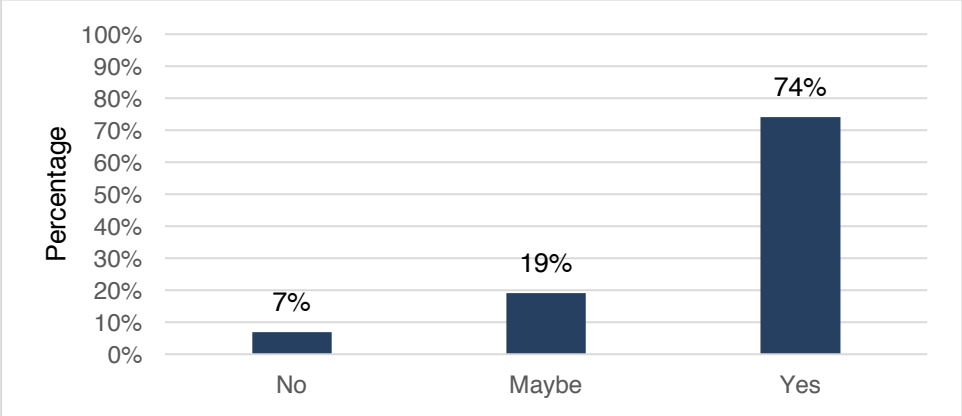


Chart 4 depicts that 74% of respondents believe officers should be required to wear body cameras compared to the 7% of respondents who believe officers should not be required to wear cameras. Body cameras lead to greater officer accountability because video footage of all interactions are recorded and can be reviewed if an incident occurs. Since 2012, the Black Lives Matter movement has led to the widespread broadcast of many police shootings of unarmed black men. These incidents have prompted citizens, media, and police department leaders to question whether the officers' actions were justifiable or illegal acts of racial prejudice. With body cameras, police officers would be more accountable to the public for their actions, and many believe, more restrained in their response to unarmed suspects. This survey reflects the opinion that the vast majority of respondents, regardless of race, believe body cameras would

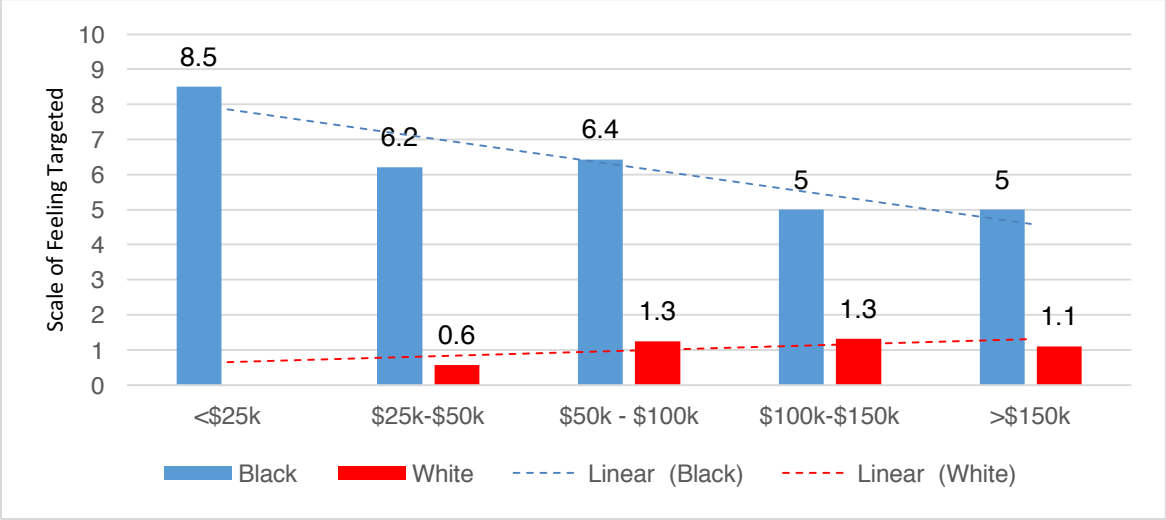
make police more accountable to the public they serve, and that this policy should be mandated for all law enforcement officers.

Throughout this thesis, I define one's perception of the police based on three aspects: perceived fairness, trust, and confidence. Within each of these categories, I also evaluate the respondent's perspective of his or her home state police, Durham police, and Duke police to assess my primary research question.

Analysis of Perceived Police Fairness

To evaluate perceived fairness of the police, I ask respondents to rate on a scale of 0-10, whether they "have ever felt the following types of officers have targeted respondent more than another person due to race?" Zero in this scenario indicates that the respondent has never felt targeted more than another person due to race while a ten signifies that the respondent constantly feels targeted by police due to his or her race. This question assesses perceived fairness because it provides insight into how often the respondent feels racially profiled or discriminated against by the police – unfairly being treated due to the color of their skin. Chart 5 below shows the average response rates by income for black and white survey participants within their respective income brackets for home state police.

Chart 5: Mean Perception of Feeling Targeted by Home State Police[3]



Results from Chart 5 indicate that income is an influential factor in determining black respondent's perception of police fairness. There is a large discrepancy between white and black respondents sense of being targeted by their home state police.

The trend line depicting black student responses shows a fairly steep negative relationship between the sense of feeling targeted by police and income. As seen by Chart 5, as income rises, black respondents' sense of being targeted also decreases. Black families living in poverty (<$25k) often reside in communities where there are lower levels of education, higher rates of incarceration, and increased crime. As a result, more police officers are usually on duty in these higher-risk areas. More police lead to more citations, arrests, or other negative interactions between the officers and community members. As previously mentioned, one's perception of feeling targeted is based on one's past encounters with the police. Duke students from lower income families who reside in higher-risk areas are more likely to have greater exposure to the police and a higher number of negative encounters – ultimately making

[3] Perception of feeling targeted by home state police is recorded on a 0-10 scale where 0 signifies the sense of "never being targeted" by the police and 10 signifies a sense of "always being targeted".

respondent feel targeted. As income rises, and black Duke students are able to reside in more affluent environments, they feel less targeted by the police. This again may correlate to the fact that fewer police patrol higher end neighborhoods, reducing interactions, and one's sense of being a target.

Across all income brackets, white and black respondents' average ratings of feeling targeted are largely varied– the total average between the two races is 4.6 points. This signifies that blacks are 46% more likely to feel targeted by their home state police than whites. This discrepancy may stem from the institutional racisms that prevail in our criminal justice system. Blacks are disproportionately incarcerated in America, and consequently, implicit biases then associate blacks with higher crime involvement– leading police to target the black population. The data suggests that a number of black Duke students have been a victim of this implicit bias from home state officers, increasing their belief that they are targeted by the police. As income rises, the discrepancy between feeling targeted between blacks and whites also decreases and this may be due to the fact that higher income blacks are less racially profiled as high-risk individuals.

Finally, the role of income appears to have less of an effect in white respondents' perceptions due to the fairly uniform average scores and flat trend line across all income brackets. These results reflect the implicit biases inherent in America's criminal justice system. Fewer white civilians are incarcerated, and thus, less associated with the criminal justice system. The findings suggest that this makes officers less likely to target whites regardless of their income bracket.

Although not as dramatic, the trend line for black respondents feeling targeted by police continues to be downward sloping for the both the Durham and Duke police. This again indicates

black respondents with greater family incomes continue to feel less targeted by the police than blacks with lower income. Income again does not play a significant role in the opinions of white respondents. Student perspectives of Durham and Duke police are seen below.

Chart 6: Mean Perception of Feeling Targeted by Durham Police[4]

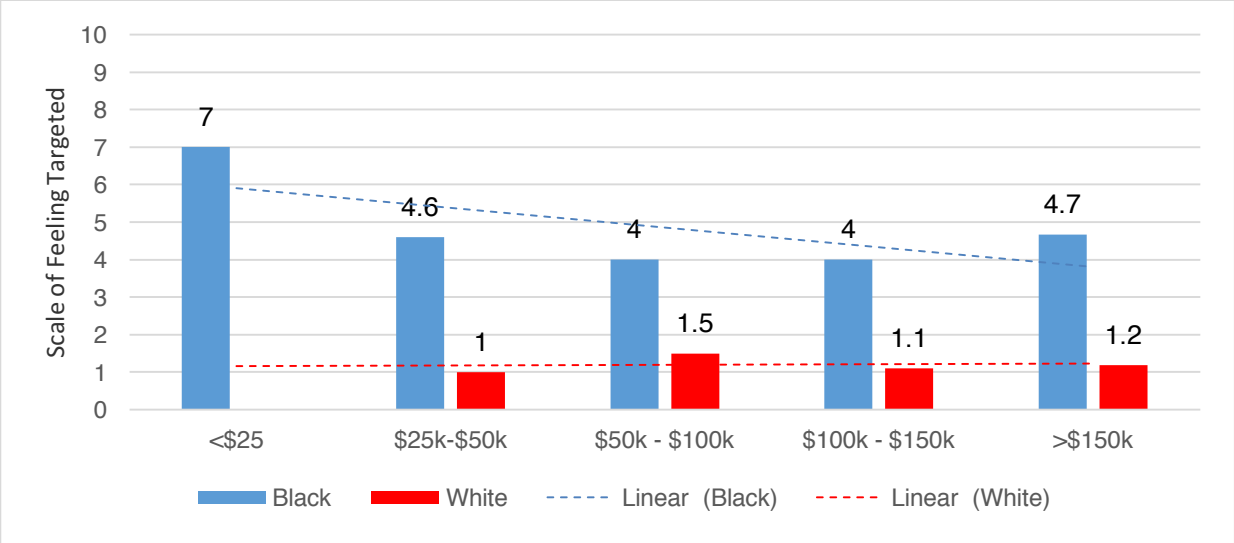
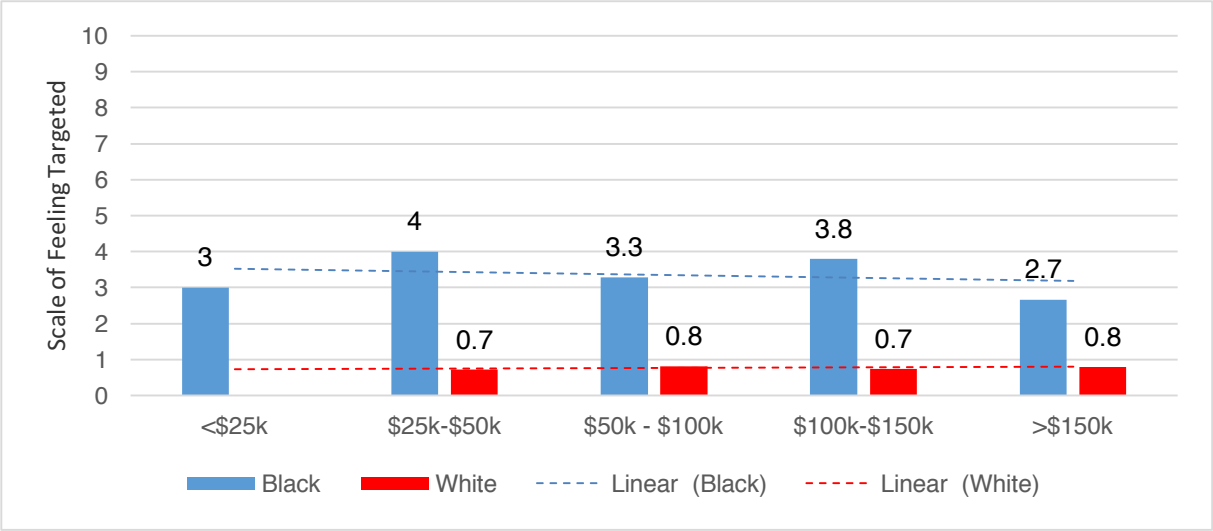


Chart 7: Perception of Feeling Targeted by Duke Police[4]



[4] Perception of feeling targeted by home state police is recorded on a 0-10 scale where 0 signifies the sense of "never being targeted" by the police and 10 signifies a sense of "always being targeted".

As seen in Chart 7, no income group exceeds a score of five, meaning the average student, regardless of race, believes Duke police are more fair than home state or Durham Police and less frequently target a student based on race. When black respondents rate home state to Durham to Duke police, their overall sense of being targeted diminishes with the more local police. This result could stem from the officers' diminishing lack of contextual understanding for these respondents as Duke students as we move further away from the Duke campus. Duke police primarily work on or around the Duke University campus, so black student respondents are identified and profiled beyond the color of their skin as highly educated, hardworking, and ethical students. In the Durham community, black respondents are more often identified in the context of being Duke students. However, Durham police association of these black respondents with Duke is less than Duke police's association. Finally, with home state police, officers do not see these same black respondents as highly educated Duke students. As a result, these officers are more likely to judge these students sole based on the color of their skin and reflect a stronger implicit racial bias. The officers' implicit biases are significant because these biases then shape the actions of the officers and the black respondents react accordingly. Meaning home state police have a more negative implicit bias of these black students, and as a result, these officers then target the students more regularly.

Throughout all of these tests, my dependent variable is perceived fairness of the police. To determine statistical significance, I conducted a linear regression model on the above data using black and family income as my independent regressors for Model 1 and white and family income for Model 2. Below is a table of my results for perspectives on home state, Durham, and Duke Police.

Table 2: Duke Students' Perceptions of Fairness in Law Enforcement

	Home State: Model 1	Home State: Model 2	Durham: Model 1	Durham: Model 2	Duke: Model 1	Duke: Model 2
Black	4.437 *** (0.597)	---------	3.679 *** (0.511)	---------	3.305*** (-0.063)	---------
White	---------	-2.195 *** (0.461)	---------	-2.041*** (0.383)	---------	-1.636*** (0.374)
Income	-0.244 (0.182)	-0.442 * (0.194)	-0.070 (0.151)	-0.202 (0.158)	-0.063 (0.502)	-0.207 (0.153)
R^2	0.313	0.192	0.289	0.197	0.256	0.150
N	165	165	157	157	155	155

Source: *2016 Duke Student Law Enforcement Attitudes Survey*
*p ≤ .05 , **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

This model confirms that one's race has a statistically significant influence on his or her opinion of home state police, Durham police, and Duke police. The positive coefficients throughout the black respondent variable in home state, Durham, and Duke police represent the slope of the line documenting the relationship between black students and their sense of feeling targeted. The positive slope indicates that if respondents are black, then they are more likely to feel targeted by the police (using the same perception scale of fairness). While the negative coefficient for the white variable highlights that if respondents are white, then they are more likely to never feel targeted by police.

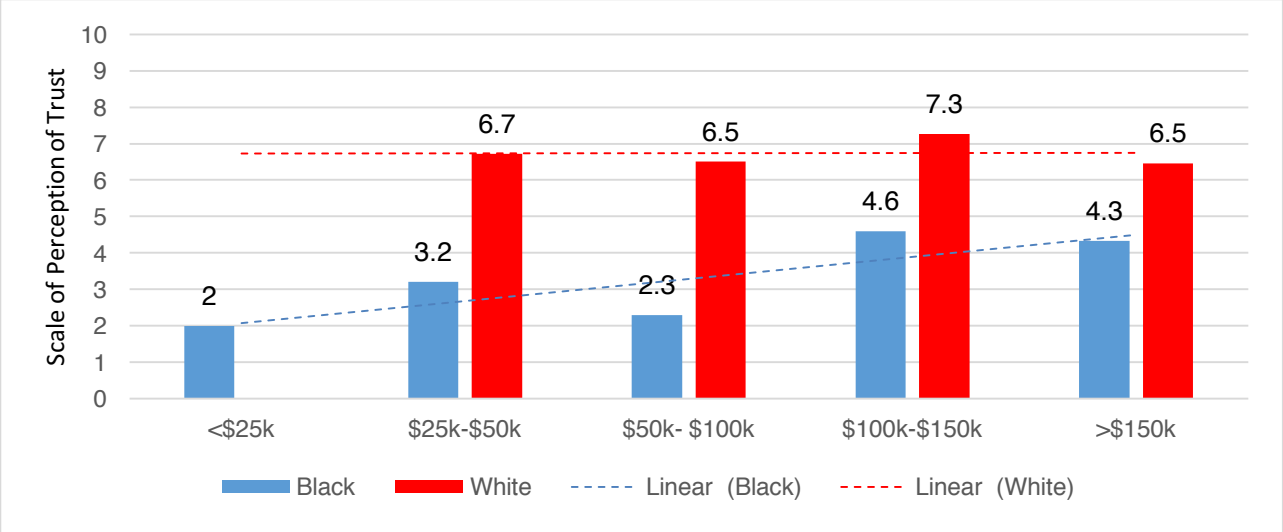
This model also tested for the role that income plays in one's perception. Table 2 above shows a negative coefficient for income across all forms of law enforcement. This suggests that as income rises, respondents are less likely to feel targeted, and perceptions of the police become more positive. The negative coefficient on income most likely reflects the black respondents' relationship with income because white respondents are less varied. Although these results are

not statistically significant, they do have fairly low p-values. It is probable that additional black survey respondents would lead to a statistically significant result because the number of respondents is a key part of the statistical significance equation.

Analysis of Trust in the Police by Race

In addition to perceived fairness, I evaluated respondents' perception of trust with respect to their home state police, Durham police, and Duke Police. The graphs below reflect the data in response to the question, "How much do you trust the home state, Durham, and Duke Police force?" ranked on a 0-10 scale. Zero indicates that respondents have no trust in police while ten signifies that respondents have complete trust in the police. Following the trends of the data analyzing perceived fairness, respondents are most distrusting of their home state police. Both black and white students have increasing levels of trust the more local the police. Both sample groups have more trust in Durham police than their home state police, and more trust in the Duke police than they have in Durham and their home state police. Three charts of these results with respect to each category of police are seen and analyzed below.

Chart 8: Mean Perception of Trust in Home State Police[5]



The difference between blacks' and whites' perceptions of trust is not as dramatic as the difference in these two groups' perceptions of fairness in their home state police (difference in trust: 3.5 versus difference in fairness: 5.2). Black respondents' scores are about same for both trust and fairness (based on respective scales), so this decrease in differences is actually reflective of the white population's decrease in trust for their home state police. White Duke respondents are less trusting of the police than they are in perceiving the police to be fair. The reason for this finding is discussed below.

When encountering an officer, someone can interpret how fair that officer was to them based on the officer's treatment throughout the experience. However, that same person has less insight into the ethics and honesty of that officer, insinuating trust, through that interaction. Therefore, respondents' trust most likely comes from how the news and media portray police officers' behaviors rather than by personal experience. Recent shootings of unarmed black civilians have been portrayed in the media as illegal, racially charged actions by police. These

[5] Perception of trust in respondent's home state police was measured on a 0-10 scale. In this graph, 0 signifies "no trust at all" while 10 signifies "absolute trust".

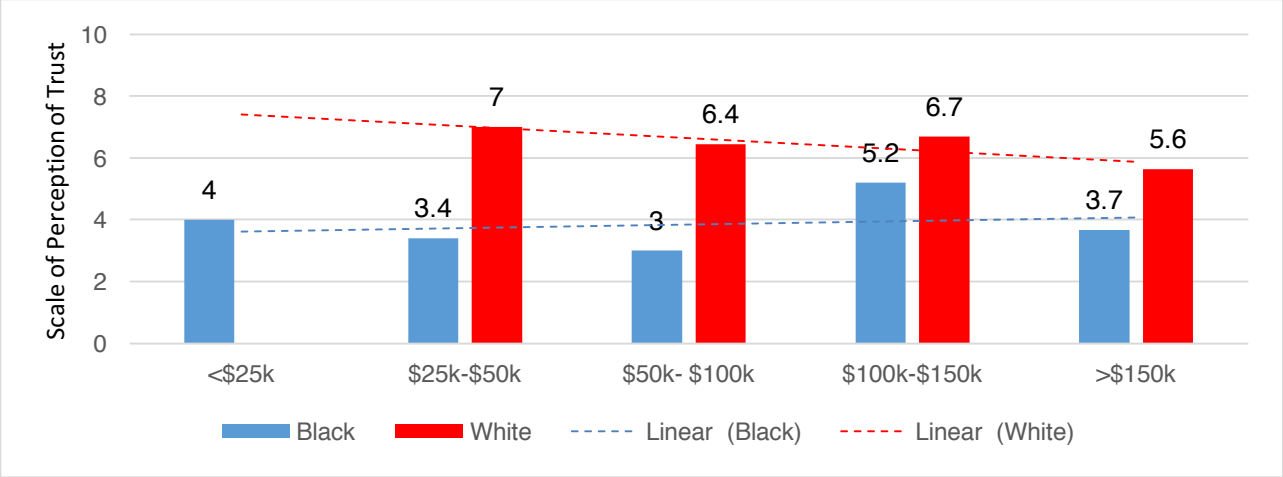
events evoke fear in the black community, but also make whites question the morality and ethics of officers. Media stories about violent police misconduct have garnered much national attention and publicity, which affects and reduces everyone's trust in law enforcement as the data suggests.

Although white respondents show little trust in police, black respondents have even less trust in the police, which is consistent with the racial discrepancy of perceptions. Black Duke students trust in police are universally below the midway mark (5) across all income brackets meaning black students are more likely to not trust their home state police than to trust them. Black respondents' distrust probably stems from how the black community has been institutionally discriminated against in the United States. Similar to whites, blacks see the recent police shootings as a reflection of law enforcement's institutional racism and failure to implement anti-discriminatory practices. Blacks believe officers partake in illegal and discriminatory actions which reduces black respondents' overall trust in law enforcement.

As Chart 8 depicts, a rise in family income results in a greater sense of trust in black respondents' opinions of their home state police. Contrastingly, white respondents' income does not appear to affect one's sense of trust in home state police, and the average score remains fairly linear across all income brackets for white students. For the reasons described above, a black respondent from a lower family income has more negative encounters with the police living in a high-risk community which lower his or her trust in police; however, as income level rises, one has fewer personal interactions with officers and one's perception is based more on the media's reporting of law enforcement.

Chart 9 and Chart 10 below also depict the results for Duke students' perception of Durham and Duke police respectively.

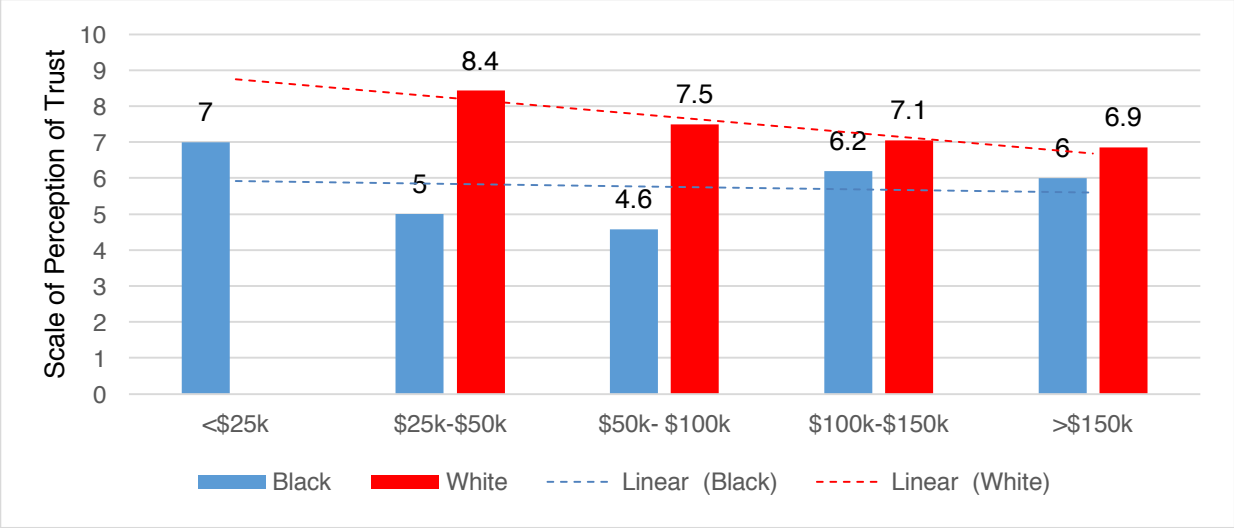
Chart 9: Mean Perception of Trust in Durham Police[6]



In Chart 9 above, black respondents' rise in family income again results in slightly higher levels of trust in the Durham police. However, the variation between income levels is fairly small and thus, income plays less of a factor in blacks' trust of the Durham police than for home state police. For white respondents, as income rises, one's level of trust in the Durham and Duke police actually decreases as seen in Chart 9 above and Chart 10 below.

[6] Perception of trust in respondent's home state police was measured on a 0-10 scale. In this graph, 0 signifies "no trust at all" while 10 signifies "absolute trust".

Chart 10: Mean Perception of Trust in Duke Police[7]



This decrease in white's trust as income rises for Durham and Duke police could be a result of the wealthier white population's involvement in Greek life and Durham nightlife. Durham and Duke police are often seen at Greek organized parties and at student bars around the Durham area. In these interactions, Durham and Duke police officers are either in uniform or undercover, but they often act on busting underage drinking and confiscating fake identification cards. Therefore, for white Duke students, as income rises, students have greater personal exposure to police, potentially undercover, enforcing underage drinking laws and trust the Durham and Duke police force less.

Furthermore, as the police force becomes more local to Duke respondents, black and white respondents' overall trust in the more local police tends to increase. Black respondents on average rate their trust in home state police at a 3.23, which is lower than Durham or Duke police. Black respondents' trust in Durham police is rated on average at 3.86 and local Duke police at 5.76. White respondents on average rate their trust in home state police at a 6.75,

[7] Perception of trust in respondent's home state police was measured on a 0-10 scale. In this graph, 0 signifies "no trust at all" while 10 signifies "absolute trust".

whereas Durham police are rated at 6.43 and Duke police are rated at 7.48. The data indicates all students have the most trust in Duke police, and this could be due to the relationship between Duke students and Duke police. These officers are seen on campus everyday by students and often in positive interactions with students– scanning the library to secure stranded laptops, patrolling dimly lighted areas to protect students in unsafe walking zones, and providing a safe environment for the community. This personal and positive relationship with Duke increases blacks' and whites' perceptions of trust because students see the positive effects of the Duke police everyday. Contrastingly, for Durham and home state police, respondents are less likely to see the day to day positive benefits to their community and more commonly see these law enforcement agencies through the media's negative portrayal of police and their own personal negative interactions with police.

This study conducted linear regression models to test the significance of these results as seen below in Table 3.

Table 3: Duke Students' Perceptions of Trust in Law Enforcement

	Home State: Model 1	Home State: Model 2	Durham: Model 1	Durham: Model 2	Duke: Model 1	Duke: Model 2
Black	-2.590 *** (0.650)	---------	-2.026** (.632)	---------	-1.409* (0.620)	---------
White	---------	2.245*** (0.452)	---------	1.607 *** (0.447)	---------	1.258** (0.437)
Income	0.295 (0.199)	0.284* (0.191)	-0.031 (0.193)	-0.020 (0.188)	-0.003 (0.189)	-0.014 (0.184)
R^2	0.137	0.178	0.066	0.080	0.035	0.053
N	165	165	165	165	165	165

Source: *2016 Duke Student Law Enforcement Attitudes Survey*
*p ≤ .05 , **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

Table 3 indicates that respondent's race has a statistically significant impact on their trust in home state police, Durham police, and Duke police. For black respondents, the negative coefficient indicates a negative slope depicting a negative relationship between blacks and perception of trust– meaning identifying as black suggests less trust in law enforcement. On the contrary, identifying as white suggests more trust in law enforcement as explained by the positive coefficient reflecting a positive slope in this relationship.

However, the perception gap between white and black respondents decreases with locality of law enforcement. On average, the difference in perception of trust from white and black respondents with respect to home state police was 3.51, Durham police was 2.57, and Duke police is 1.72. This decrease in difference between black and white respondents arises from black respondents' increase in trust for more local forms of law enforcement. Therefore, identifying as black becomes less of a determining factor when rating one's trust in more local law enforcement. This finding is confirmed as seen by the decrease in significance when identifying as black, illustrated in Table 3 with the decreasing number of asterisks for the black variable.

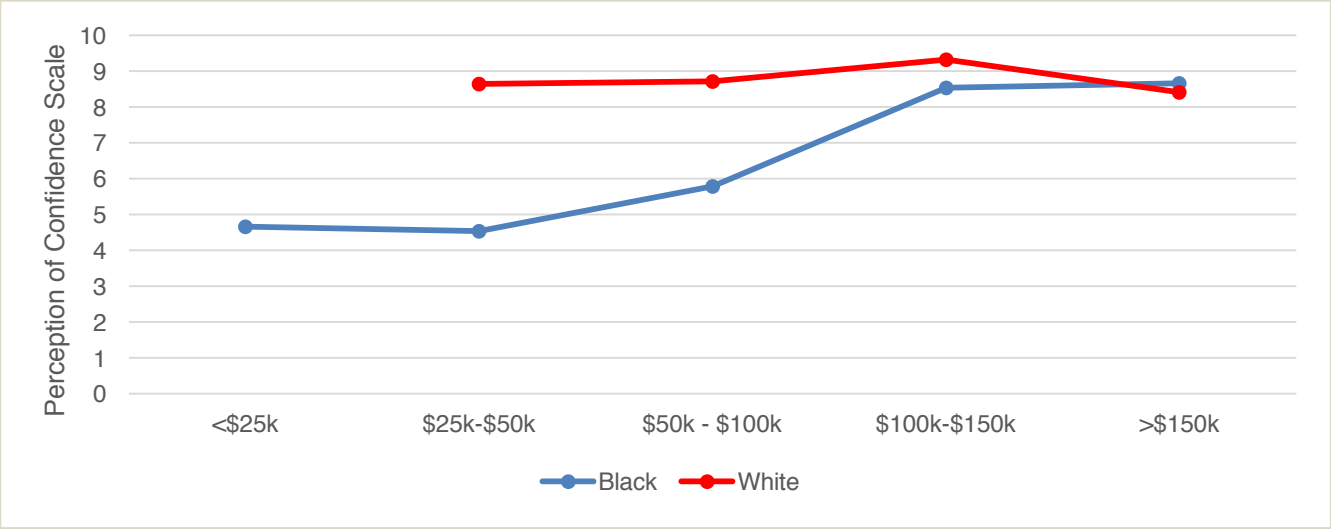
In regards to income, Model 1 and 2 of home state police, show income having a positive relationship with perception of trust while for Durham and Duke police, these models show income having a negative relationship. These results suggest that as income rises, one's trust in home state police becomes more positive, while for Durham and Duke police, as income rises one's trust decreases. The variable income is independent of race; therefore, the change in perspectives could be due to the fact that for home state police, this income variable is more reflective of black respondents' sense of trust because income does seem to play as great a role in black respondents' perspective as it does for whites (see Chart 8). For Durham and Duke

police, the income variable is more reflective of white respondents' perception of trust because income has less of a role for black respondent's who are less affected by the level of income (see Chart 9 and 10).

Analysis of Confidence in the Police

I evaluated confidence in the police by asking the question, "If in harms way, would you contact the following forms of police for help?" Respondents scores are measured on a 0-10 scale, with zero indicating that the respondent would never call the police and ten indicating the respondent would definitely call the police. This represents confidence because if a person is in danger, then calling the police reflects the person's belief and confidence that the officers can protect them and keep them safe. The chart below indicates the average confidence in all the three categories of police forces for all income groups by race.

Chart 11: Mean Perception of Confidence in the Police[8]



[8] Perception of confidence is measured on a 0-10 scale where 0 signifies respondents would "never call" while 10 signifies respondents would "definitely call" the police.

For black survey participants, the slope of the line shows that as respondents' incomes rise, their comfort in calling the police, and thus their confidence in the police, also rises. However, with a family income greater than $100,000, the slope of the line becomes flatter indicating that family income greater than $100,000 has less of an impact on one's willingness to call the police. Furthermore, Chart 11 shows for the first time, that for respondents with family incomes greater than $150,000, black respondents are more confident in police than white respondents. This is further discussed when I divide these survey responses into the three categories of home state, Durham, and Duke police to evaluate perceptions of individual forms of law enforcement. Chart 12, 13, and 14 reflect the results and Table 4 highlights significance.

Chart 12: Mean Perception of Confidence in the Home State Police[9]

Respondents' confidence in police is reflective of how safe people feel in their communities because greater safety reflects that officers are successfully doing their job. Not surprisingly, low income black Duke students have less confidence in their home state police. These low income students most likely reside in less expensive and less safe neighborhoods, with higher rates of

[9] Perception of confidence is measured on a 0-10 scale where 0 signifies respondents would "never call" while 10 signifies respondents would "definitely call" the police.

crime. Therefore, their opinion reflects the fact that they do not feel safe, and thus lack confidence in law enforcement's ability to provide a safe environment. However, as income rises for black students, they most likely reside in more expensive and safer neighborhoods, and thus, the police are perceived to be more capable of doing their jobs.

As further seen in Chart 12 above, the difference between whites' and blacks' perceptions of confidence for respondents with family incomes greater than $150,000 is .2 with blacks having more confidence in police than whites. This minimal difference shows that race plays almost no role in determining confidence in home state police for respondents with high incomes of $150,000 or more. This again comes as a result of one's perception of safety within their own communities. Black and white students with family incomes greater than $100,000 presumably reside in neighborhoods with similar levels of safety. Therefore, regardless of race, living in a wealthier and safer community affects both black and white respondents' perception of police equally. Chart 12 and 13 below highlight responses for respondents' perceptions of Durham and Duke police.

Chart 13: Mean Perception of Confidence in the Durham Police[10]

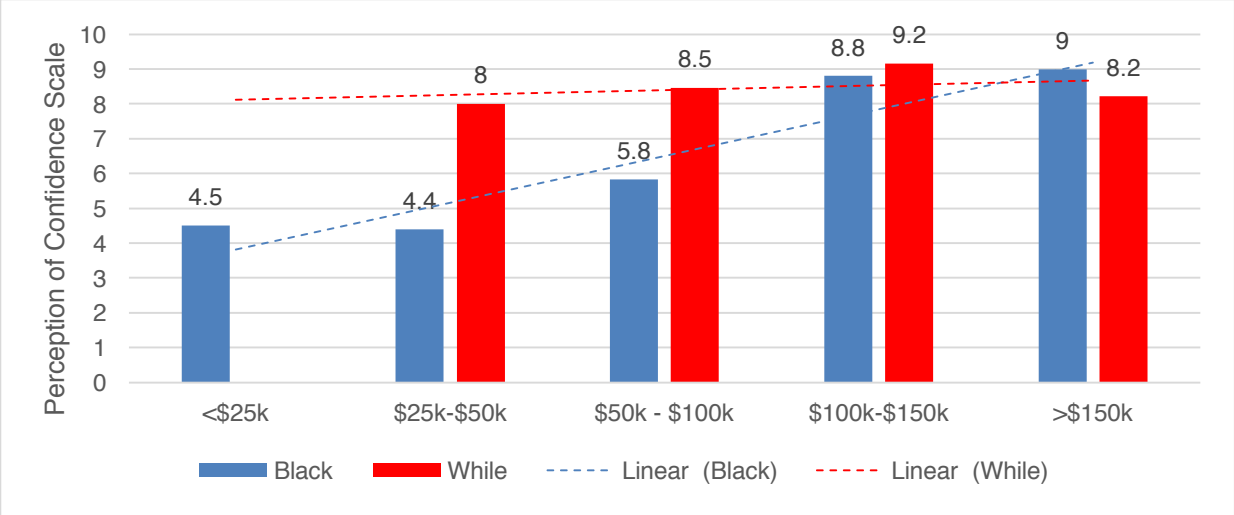


Chart 14: Mean Perception of Confidence in the Duke Police[10]

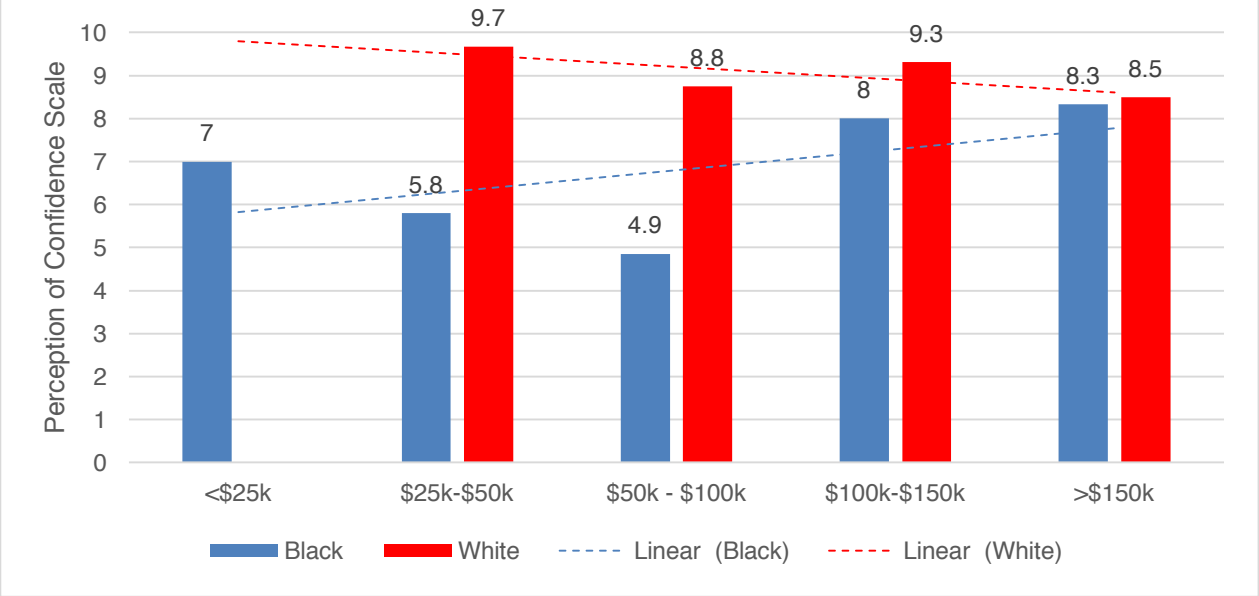


Chart 14 shows that as income rises, white respondents' confidence in the Duke police decreases. However, when comparing white respondent ratings for Duke police to the same respondents' opinions for home state and Durham police, there is minimal difference in the scores except for

[10] Perception of confidence is measured on a 0-10 scale where 0 signifies respondents would "never call" while 10 signifies respondents would "definitely call" the police.

income between $25,000-$50,000. In this income bracket, the score from Durham police (8) jump to 9.7 for Duke police – while the other income brackets remain the same. As a result, there appears to be this downward slope when in reality, there is just an abrupt boost of confidence in the Duke police for whites with family incomes between $25,000-$50,000. This boost of confidence may indicate that whites living in lower-income neighborhoods do not see the support from police as much as they do at Duke. At Duke, these students observe Duke police constantly making an effort to make the community safer – walking fearful students to their dorms at night and patrolling dim lit areas to increase security. While at home, students from lower-income neighborhoods do see these same impacts from their home state police. As a result, low income white students have more confidence in DUPD's efforts to promote safety. Table 4 below confirms previous analysis after using linear regression modeling.

Table 4: Duke Students' Perceptions of Confidence in Law Enforcement

	Home State: Model 1	Home State: Model 2	Durham: Model 1	Durham: Model 2	Duke: Model 1	Duke: Model 2
Black	-1.798*** (.557)	---------	-1.390* (.594)	---------	-1.831** (0.576)	---------
White	---------	1.161** (0.398)	---------	.870* (0.423)	---------	0.877* (0.416)
Income	0.405** (0.168)	0.446** (0.166)	0.310 (0.180)	0.347* (0.178)	0.060 (0.176)	0.145 (0.176)
R^2	0.135	0.126	0.076	0.069	0.076	0.041
N	161	161	159	159	158	158

Source: *2016 Duke Student Law Enforcement Attitudes Survey*
*p ≤ .05 , **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

As previously mentioned, among whites and blacks, we continue to see the same relationship between race and income. Despite the same patterns, income appears to be statistically significant for predicting one's confidence in home state police (as seen by Table 4, Home State Model 1's and 2's ** significance). This variable is most likely reflecting the difference in income brackets between black respondents because white respondent's do not have a similar discrepancy in confidence level based on income. Therefore, this significant variable regression of income in confidence perception begins to show that income does in fact statistically influence and alter black Duke student's perspective of the police – supporting the predicted hypothesis that as income rises, one's perception becomes more positive of the police.

Furthermore, across all three categories of law enforcement, Table 4 shows that identifying as black generates a negative slope, and thus, a negative relationship between race and willingness to call the police. This regression model confirms that those identifying as black are less likely to call the police. Although, it is interesting to note that identifying as black has a smaller impact on one's willingness to call the Durham police. This is seen by the less significant p-value represented by one asterisk compared to the home state's three asterisks and Duke police's two asterisks (Table 4). To determine the significance of this result, I compare the differences in averages for white and black respondents across the three categories of law enforcement.

Table 5: Averages in Differences Between Races

	White Respondent Average	Black Respondent Average	Difference
Home State	8.80	6.02	2.68
Durham	8.48	6.50	1.98
Duke	9.08	6.80	2.88

With respect to perceived fairness and trust, the study concludes above that the more local the law enforcement, the greater is one's perception of fairness and trust. However, when analyzing confidence in the police, white respondents' opinion of Durham police is lower than that of their confidence in home state police and Duke police, which is inconsistent with the locality hypothesis (identified by Table 5's number in red). This lower confidence in Durham police for white respondents actually makes the differences based on race less significant, resulting in a smaller p-value when identifying as black. Thus, the single asterisk on black respondents (Table 4, Durham: Model 1) for Durham police suggests that identifying as black is less significant because white respondents actually feel less confident in the Durham police and having comparable scores to black students.

Continuing the discussion of locality, all respondents are most confident in the local Police force, DUPD. Students' confidence in Duke police stem from the students' ability to see the Duke police's tangible efforts to promote safety on campus on a daily basis. These positive, personal experiences give white and black students a greater sense of confidence in the Duke Police's support and ability to maintain a secure campus.

Finally, for all respondents, regardless of race, perceptions of confidence are higher than students' trust and perceived fairness of police. Confidence provides insight into one's sense of personal safety, for example, that police will respond if called. Respondents seem to have greater faith in police officers' capabilities, reflected in students' perceptions of confidence, than police officers' morals, reflected in students' perceptions of trust and perceived fairness. With this respect for police capabilities, students can hopefully improve their trust in police and their perceptions of police fairness with improved law enforcement policy.

Conclusion

Principle Findings

After generating several linear regression models, testing for dependent variables of trust, perceived fairness, and confidence in the police, it is clear that black Duke students have statistically significant, more negative views of the police in all categories than white Duke students. This result parallels the findings of the many studies referred to in the theoretical framework of this thesis.

In regards to the effect of income, white Duke students' family income levels are not as telling of one's perception about the police. However, for black Duke students, as incomes rise, there are consistent trends that reflected increased positivity towards all levels of law enforcement. Although income levels do not have a statistically significant p-value for perceived fairness and trust in police, respondent's income level is a statistically significant predictor for one's confidence in their home state police. With this finding, and the consistent trends that resulted, the data from this study clearly suggests that as income rises for black Duke students, perception of the police becomes more positive. With an increased number of black respondents, I believe that this study would obtain more statistically significant results as the number of respondents plays an important factor within the p-value calculation. This hypothesis was agreed upon by Duke's Social Science Research Institute consultants.

Furthermore, survey respondents had an increasingly more positive view of the more local law enforcement. Students were able to see the tangible efforts put forth by the Duke police, and their personal relationship with these officers made Duke police consistently viewed as more trustworthy, more fair, and more reliable than Durham police, or their home state police.

Policy Implications

Key differences between Duke and Durham police departments' policies and practices could provide insight into why students have a more positive perception of Duke police than the Durham police force. Chief of Police for the Duke University Police Department (DUPD), John Dailey believes these results come from the Duke police force's emphasis on positivity, focus on diversity within the workforce, implementation of additional trainings, and the requirement of body cameras for all on-duty officers.

Chief of Police Dailey emphasizes the importance of a positive outlook within the mission statement and recruitment process. DUPD's mission statement reads, "to build strong relationships with everyone in the community to understand their needs and to work together to enhance a safe environment" (Dailey). This mission statement is not "fighting crime" that may create a us-versus-them environment, but rather, more optimistically aspiring to create a safe environment for everyone. Contrastingly, Durham Police Department's mission statement is, "to minimize crime, promote safety, and enhance the quality of life in partnership with our community" ("Operations and Management Study" 45). This mission statement has a greater emphasis on fighting crime resulting in a more negative response.

Consistent with its mission statement, during recruitment, DUPD evaluates candidates' positive attitudes and empathy levels with emotional intelligence tests. The hope of this process is that one's positive attitude will translate to an officer's daily interactions within the Duke community. Thus, the police and community members will have more positive interactions, and the Duke population will better perceive the DUPD. This strategy is thought to contribute to the more positive perception among Duke students to Duke police. Accordingly, I recommend other

law enforcement agencies conduct similar emotional intelligence tests assessing positivity in police candidates during recruitment.

In parallel with hiring more emotionally intelligent and positive officers, DUPD also emphasizes the importance of recruiting a diverse police force. Duke's police force consists of 50% people of color compared to the Durham police force which consists of 27% (Dailey; "Operations and Management Study" 14). Chief of Police Dailey states that a diverse police force enables officers to work along-side and connect with officers of different socioeconomic backgrounds and upbringings. These relationships can then create empathy towards other races and reduce the implicit biases that innately exist within all of us. Reducing this implicit bias then translates to the community in which these officers interact with on a daily basis. The Durham police have much less diversity within their workforce than the Duke police force, so Durham officers are not benefitting from this exposure to a diverse workforce, and implicit biases are perpetuated and felt by the Durham community. In addition to racial diversity, Duke police officers are 30% female while Durham Police are only 14% female (Dailey; "Operations and Management Study" 15). Once again, DUPD officers are consistently working with a more diverse group of colleagues, which broadens officers' perspectives and reduces implicit basis. With respect to both race and gender diversity, the Durham community also has a more diverse set of officers with whom they interact. This diversity would presumably make minority and women community members feel more confident and trustworthy of the police force. Emphasizing diversity in the recruitment process is a cost-free solution that can help resolve many issues between community members and police forces. Thus, it is the strongest suggested recommendation this thesis provides for law enforcement agencies.

The Duke police may also be perceived in a more positive light because of their additional training sessions. All Duke officers undergo an eight-hour training on de-escalation and since 2014, DUPD has required a one-day session on implicit bias for all officers (Dailey). The de-escalation training helps officers establish a positive interaction between themselves and civilians. This training also teaches officers how to better control situations making each interaction a safer space for the officers and the citizen. People's perceptions of the police stem from previous interactions, so it is important that the officer attempts to make the experience as positive as possible while enforcing the law and promoting a safe environment. The implicit bias training is helpful because it teaches officers about implicit biases that they all innately have and how that impacts their perceptions of community members.

Both of these trainings make Duke police more effective and capable to interact with citizens, and make these interactions more positive. Durham police, on the other hand, do not have any additional police training after hiring. Outside of standard police academy, Durham officers are not further trained on the effect of implicit bias and the role that bias may have on officers' perceptions of citizens. The results of my study suggest the importance of these additional trainings and the positive impact they can have on the community and the community's perception of the police. Trainings help to mitigate racial discrimination and would be beneficial for all law enforcements to implement to reduce black civilians fear of the police.

Finally, in August 2015, DUPD required that all on-duty officers wear body-cameras. In March of 2016, the Durham police mandated a similar requirement (Dailey). Officers are prohibited from turning off the camera while interacting with citizens. Cameras act as a way to ensure that all officers are treating citizens with respect regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, and other factors. It makes officers more accountable for their actions and forces the

interactions to be more friendly. As seen previously (Chart 4), 74% of respondents agreed that body cameras would be a beneficial attribute to law enforcement policy.

In summary, police departments should recruit candidates with a focus on positivity and empathy, emphasize diversity within the workforce, implement additional trainings for all officers, and require all on-duty officers to wear body cameras. Effective implementation of these policies and practices would likely result in more positive perceptions of police by their respective community as it has done for the Duke police force and the Duke community.

Limitations

As mentioned in the beginning of my research, my sample is not representative of the United States' population. Duke students are more educated, and from my survey results, are also wealthier than the average American. Therefore, an average Duke University student is not comparable to the average American and the results from this study cannot be extrapolated to the American population. However, the research is still valid and interesting to show the differences within the Duke population. Furthermore, a greater number of black respondents should be tested to obtain more accurate and statistically significant results. I was able to assess trends and the beginnings of low p-values to suggest the effect of income, but a greater number of respondents would make my results more telling of the relationship between income and one's perception of the police, particularly for black respondents.

Further Research

After determining the effect of socioeconomic status on one's perception of the police, some remaining gaps in the literature still persist. While analyzing my data, I coded respondents' home state police into four geographic categories – West Coast, Midwest, South, and Northeast. Respondents' home state police were determined by the location where respondents had spent

the majority of their life. After initial analysis and regression modelling, the geographic region of home state police did not appear to impact one's perspective of the police (in all three categories: perceived fairness, trust, and confidence). However, with additional survey participants, other scholars may look at the effect that geographic location has within different racial groups to determine perspectives of the police. My hypothesis would be that black respondents living in the South would have more negative views of the police than black respondents living on the West Coast or Northeast. If a study was able to gather more racially diverse respondents from each of the four continental regions, it would be interesting to test this hypothesis.

It would also be fascinating to conduct this same survey outside of the Duke community. Using national polling to select a large set of random Americans would make the study's results applicable to the United States. It would be interesting to see how the results of the survey of the American population compared to that of the Duke population. I predict that the results representing the greater American population show even greater disparities between white and black respondents, and income plays a significant factor within black respondent's perspectives of the police.

Finally, in previous literature, many studies have also compared white and black responses to those of Hispanics in America. Although my sample size did not allow for deeper analysis of the Hispanic population's perception about police, other studies could target this population to gain a better understanding of Hispanics' opinions of the police and the effect of Hispanics' income levels on their perceptions. I would predict the results would be consistent with previous similar studies discussed above where viewpoints from Hispanics tend to lie in between those of white and black respondents. In an even greater, more racially diverse study,

this research could be expanded to look at many different races including Asians and Native Americans perspectives.

This study answered the question regarding the role that income plays with respect to white and black respondents' views of the police, but there are many other unanswered questions that remain.

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Appendix A

Duke
UNIVERSITY

Default Question Block

How old are you?

Which best describes your gender?

- ○ Male
- ○ Female

Please select which category most closely aligns with your major.

- ○ STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics)
- ○ Public Policy, Political Science, History
- ○ African & African American Studies
- ○ Other (Economics, Psychology, Cultural Studies, etc.)

Are you Hispanic or Latino?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Please select your race.

- ○ Black or African American
- ○ Caucasian
- ○ Asian
- ○ Other

○ Multiracial (please elaborate)

What is the general income of your family? (If unknown, please give your best guess)

○ <$25,000
○ $25,000-$50,000
○ $50,000 - $100,000
○ $100,000-$150,000
○ >$150,000

Where have you spent the majority of your adult life? (State, Country)

Are you on financial aid at Duke?

○ Yes
○ No

Are you eligible for need-based federal loans or grants for college (e.g., Pell Grant, Perkins Loan, FSEOG program)?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Unsure

Have you ever benefited from any of the following programs: Food Stamps, School Lunch Program (free or reduced lunch meals), TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families), Housing Voucher Program "Section 8", or Medicaid?

○ Yes
○ No

What socioeconomic status would you consider your family?

How would you rate the safety of your neighborhood back home?

- ○ Very Unsafe
- ○ Unsafe
- ○ Neutral
- ○ Safe
- ○ Very Safe

What is your instant reaction to seeing a police officer?

Very Scared Very Safe

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Please select from the list of words below the word which best completes this sentence for you personally.

When encountering an officer, I feel _____ by their presence.

- ○ threatened
- ○ annoyed
- ○ stressed
- ○ comforted
- ○ happy
- ○ something else (please specify)

Do the police make you feel more or less safe compared to 10 years ago?

100% less safe same 100% more safe

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Have you ever had a past interaction with police?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

How many past interactions?

For the following questions, base your answers on the MOST negative encounter you have had with the police.
What was the interaction? (MOST negative if multiple.)

- ○ Warning
- ○ Ticketing
- ○ Arrest
- ○ Jail time
- ○ Other

Do you feel like you were treated fairly in this interaction?

Not at all Absolutely

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

What was the race/ethnicity of the officer?

- ○ Caucasian
- ○ Hispanic
- ○ Black

- ○ Asian
- ○ Other
- ○ Unknown

What was the gender of the officer?

- ○ Male
- ○ Female

Has anyone in your family had past interactions with the police?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Have any of your friends had past interactions with the police?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Was your friend's or family member's experience conducted appropriately and without hostility (if multiple, the most negative)?

Extremely hostile Perfectly professional

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Have you ever felt like the following types of officers have targeted you more than another person due to race?

Never targeted Always Targeted

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Home State Police

Durham Police

Duke Police

Rate how much you agree with this statement: I have been targeted by the police due to my race at least once in my life.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
	0	1	2	3 4	5	6 7	8 9 10
Home State Police							
Durham Police							
Duke Police							

Rate your feeling of trust towards the following officers.

	No trust at all										Completely Trust
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Home State Police											
Durham Police											
Duke Police											

Do you believe the following officers partake in honest and ethical behavior?

	Partake in no ethical behavior										Every action is ethical and honest
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Home State Police											
Durham Police											
Duke Police											

If in harms way, would you contact the following officers for help?

	Absolutely Not					Maybe					Yes, definitely

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Home State Police											
Durham Police											
Duke Police											

Should officers wear body cameras while on duty?

- ○ Yes
- ○ Maybe
- ○ No

Do you think there should be more diversity within the police force?

- ○ Yes
- ○ Maybe
- ○ No

Are you satisfied with the diversity in the Duke police force?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't really know

When is a situation that police should be allowed to use force?

Any other comments about your experiences, views, or anything regarding the police?

Appendix B

Thank you for participating!

Would you like to participate in our raffle in which 4 respondents will be randomly chosen to receive a $25 electronic Amazon gift card? Your email will not be associated with your responses to this survey and your identity will remain confidential. The winners will be emailed their gift card after the study is over.

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

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Appendix C

Dear Duke Students,

My name is Maddie McMorrow and I am a current junior at Duke University. Under the supervision of Public Policy Professor Carolyn Barnes, I am conducting a brief survey to explore the relationship between income and views toward the police.

This brief questionnaire, which will take about 10 minutes to complete, and **FOUR participants will be chosen to win a $25 electronic Amazon gift card!**

I will ask about your past experiences with the police, your friends' and family members' past experiences, and your general trust, confidence, and satisfaction with the Durham and Duke police. **The survey is anonymous**, so please feel free to answer as honestly as possible. It is completely up to you whether to participate. You may withdraw at any time and may skip questions you would prefer not to answer.

If you choose to enter into the lottery to win a $25 electronic Amazon gift card, you will be asked to provide your email address at the end of the survey. Your information and responses will remain anonymous. Your name and email address will be reported to Duke Accounting, but again, they will not be associated with your responses.

If you agree to participate in this research, please **click the link at the end of this email** to begin the survey.

Please reach out to me or my advisor if you have any other questions about my research. This will also not affect the confidentiality of your responses. Thank you so much!

Best,
Maddie McMorrow
madeleine.mcmorrow@duke.edu
650-888-0592

My advisor, Professor Carolyn Barnes of the Sanford School of Public Policy can be reached as a reference for my research at caroyln.barnes@duke.edu. If you have questions about the rights of participants in research, please contact the Chair of Human Subjects Committee at +919-684-3030 or at campusirb@duke.edu.

SURVEY LINK:
https://duke.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_9uhEbQagc4ghnJX