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Hispanics and the War on Drugs: An Explanation for the Rise in Hispánica Imprisonment

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HISPANICS AND THE WAR ON DRUGS: AN EXPLANATION FOR THE RISE IN
HISPÁNICA IMPRISONMENT

By

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Bachelor of Arts – Criminal Justice
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2018

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand racial disparities that persist throughout the criminal justice system. Since the early 1970s, the U.S. female prison population has risen at a faster rate than the male prison population (Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016). Overall, a plethora of research has linked the rise in imprisonment to the War on Drugs and the criminalization of drug use. This thesis examined these questions: 1) are drug crime initiatives driving the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment in comparison to Black and White females and 2) using Blalock's (1967) theory on group threat, do drug crime prison admission rates for Hispanic females correspond with the increase in the Hispanic population from 1980 to 2010 in the United States (Owens, 2010)? Using state-level data collected by the National Corrections Reporting Program (7 years; 32 states), this study sought to fill in the gaps of literature pertaining to Hispanic females' interactions with the criminal justice system by investigating differences in drug crime admissions for females (Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Lopez & Pasko, 2017). This thesis adds a new edition to the substantial research focused on the dichotomous Black and White disparity analysis by including Hispanics, more specifically Hispanic females into the analysis. A major limitation of the previous scholarship is the scarcity of research available on Hispanic females' interactions with the criminal justice system (e.g., police interactions, sentencing, and imprisonment), and how or if the War on Drugs affected them (Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Lopez & Pasko, 2017). By using an F-test to compare drug crime prison admissions, the results indicated that Hispanic females were admitted to prison at lower rates than Black and White females for all drug offenses. This study found minimal to no support for Blalock's threat hypothesis based on race/ethnicity.

Keywords: *Racial Disparities, War on Drugs, War on Crime, Hispanic Females, Race, Gender*

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Louis and Mary, who have raised me to be the person I am today. You have stood by my side and been with me every step of the way through the good times, the bad times, the calm times, and the stressful times. Thank you both for all the unconditional love and support that has given me the strength to persevere even in times that I did not feel I had the strength to carry on. Thank you both for the guidance and for helping me to succeed. Thank you both for being my anchors and for instilling in me the confidence that I can overcome any obstacle that stands in my way. Thank you for showing me that I must be willing to put in the work and go get it. Thank you for everything.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2018, the United States had the highest rate of incarceration out of all other countries. This occurred by amassing over 2.3 million people and trapping them within the criminal justice system (Wagner & Sawyer, 2018). Sorting through prison data revealed that mainly Blacks and Hispanics filled these correctional institutions (Tucker, Sr., 2017). Even though the majority of those incarcerated were men, rates of women incarcerated across the United States also rose. Indeed, just like the overall incarceration rate, the U.S. also had the highest female incarceration rate in 2018 (133 per 100,000 residents) (Kajstura, 2018). A slight majority (54%) of the imprisoned female population was Black and Hispanic. The vast majority (80%) of crimes committed by females were drug related (Alleyne, 2007; Kajstura, 2018).

This “mass incarceration state” was birthed from the get-tough-on-crime-ideologies, the War on Drugs, and the War on Crime (Griffin & Yaroshefsky, 2017, p. 319; Ostermann, 2009, p. 140). Policies passed under the Nixon, Reagan, Bush Sr., and Clinton administrations further widened the impacts of the War on Drugs and the War on Crime. These domestic wars sought to divide and stoke fear within White Americans towards Blacks, Hispanics, crime, and drugs (Morín, 2008; Tonry, 2011). These wars, in effect, carried on the lineage of slavery and the Southern ideology of Jim Crow. Simultaneously, these policies created a new mechanism of social control that oppressed Blacks (Alexander, 2012; Tonry, 2011).

History has shown that Blacks and Hispanics have confronted many hurdles of oppression. These oppressive forces have taken many systematic forms and thus led to both intended and unintended consequences (Alexander, 2012; Tonry, 2011). Similarly stated, Morín (2008) and Romero (2014) explain that the government has targeted Hispanics with analogous methods used against Blacks. Hispanics have endured governmental targeting via laws and

policies that included topics of immigration, social and economic disenfranchisement, and the weaponizing of the criminal justice system. These governmental actions threatened the livelihoods of Hispanics and denied them basic rights. Simultaneously, these actions vilified and branded all Hispanics as criminals, drug dealers, and illegal aliens in the U.S., regardless of citizenship (Morín, 2008; Romero, 2014).

In 1971, President Nixon declared drugs “Public Enemy number 1,” and Reagan later fanned the flames that furthered the War on Drugs (Provine, 2011, p.45). The declaration of War on Drugs occurred despite the public’s lack of consideration that drugs were a serious problem during the 1970s (Alexander, 2012). False narratives broadcasted to the country echoed sentiments that drugs threatened the nation’s civility. The reverberation of Nixon’s declaration of the War on Drugs led to an increased focus on drug crimes nationally. This attention sparked interventions by the criminal justice system, and, to a point, drug crimes accounted for 20% of state and 60% of federal prison populations’ offenses (Blumstein et al., 2000). Throughout the 1970s, Hispanics consistently accounted for 20% of state and 32% of federal prison populations, mainly for drug offenses linked to marijuana and crack (Morín, 2016). Because of these numbers and media reports, crack was viewed as the drug of poor Blacks and Hispanics. On the other hand, powder cocaine was the middle- and upper-class White drug. Due to exaggerated media portrayals, Blacks and Hispanics were associated with crack and criminalized for the use and possession of it. In contrast, the media portrayed Whites more positively and as a result, Whites’ use and possession of cocaine was not as heavily criminalized (Alexander, 2012; Dixon, 2008; Eschholz, 2003; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; Morín, 2016; Perry, 2018; Provine, 2007; Tonry, 1997).

These messages highlighted the biases of White Americans and stoked fear towards people of color, crime, and drugs. This was despite the reality that Whites converted cocaine to crack for use more frequently than Blacks and Hispanics (Morín, 2016). In addition, these early drug policies also produced the “100-to-1-ratio,” which punished crack offenses more harshly than powder cocaine offenses (Alexander, 2012, p. 112; Provine, 2011; Sirin, 2011; Tonry, 2011). This ratio stems from the 1986 Anti-Drug Act, which set forth that the possession of 5 grams of crack triggered a 5-year mandatory minimum. On the other hand, the possession of 500 grams of cocaine triggered the same mandatory minimum (Alexander, 2012; Provine, 2011; Sirin, 2011).

Furthermore, the War on Drugs under Reagan, Bush Sr., and Clinton’s War on Crime, led to the passage of mandatory minimums, sentencing guidelines, Three-Strikes-rules, and Truth-in-Sentencing-laws. These punitive policies mainly harmed predominantly poor communities of color, but more specifically Black and Hispanic females (Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; MacKenzie, 2001; Morín, 2008). Consequently, the criminal justice system’s net widened in terms of who was arrested, charged, sentenced, and imprisoned.

As a direct effect of the policies listed above, by 1998, 5.9 million people were under some form of correctional supervision (MacKenzie, 2001). Drug offenses were the leading cause for increases in the prison population in the years that followed the passage of 1994 Crime Bill (Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; MacKenzie, 2001; Tucker, Sr., 2017). The enactments of these policies were a concentrated effort to birth a new racial caste system which continued the legacy of othering Blacks and Hispanics with targeted discrimination (Alexander, 2012; Coker, 2003; Morín, 2008; Perry, 2018).

In concert with the above policies, the government also incentivized police departments with funding and military equipment to round up people whom they suspected sold or used drugs from predominantly poor communities of color (Alexander, 2012; Balko, 2013; Beckett & Sasson, 2003; Tonry, 2011). Departmental quota systems tracked arrests made and assisted in determining the allocation of governmental funding to combat the alleged drug crisis. This system emphasized that a high volume of arrests equated to a large problem. Thus, more money and resources were required to combat said problem (Alexander, 2012; Balko, 2013; Tonry, 2011). Due to these incentives, police were more likely to suspect Blacks and Hispanics of using and dealing drugs than Whites. These perceptions led to police targeting Blacks and Hispanics for drug offenses despite research showing all races use drugs at similar rates (Alexander, 2012, Morín, 2008; Tonry, 2011).

This thesis sought to answer these questions: 1) are drug crime initiatives driving the rise in *Hispánicas*¹ imprisonment and 2) using Blalock's (1967) theory on group threat, do drug crime prison admission rates for Hispanic females correspond with the increase in the Hispanic population from 1980 to 2010 in the United States, which may be perceived as an ethnic threat to Whites (Owens, 2010)? Numerous gaps exist in the research regarding differential treatment in the criminal justice system across the social constructs of race and gender (Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Lopez & Pasko, 2017). In addition, previous research falls short in addressing the racial disparities that directly affect Hispanic populations (Beck & Blumstein, 2018).

¹ *Hispánicas* is the Spanish word for Hispanic women. Both the Spanish and the English terminology are used throughout the proposal because the data made available uses Hispanic and Non-Hispanic, Black, and White to identify the participants. The data does not differentiate Latinas/os from other Hispanics. Latino/a is used typically for anyone with ancestry stemming from Central America, The Caribbean, and South America. Hispanic refers to anyone from a Spanish-speaking country (Garcia-Navarro, 2015).

This study used state-level data collected by the National Corrections Reporting Program (1983-2008; 32 states) and examined the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment compared to Black and White female imprisonment. The following section reviews literature on the racial and gender disparities in interactions with the police, courts, and prisons, which are methods of social control. These institutions were altered because of the War on Drugs and War on Crime in terms of their policies and practices (Alexander, 2012; Balko, 2013; Beckett & Sasson, 2003; Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008; Provine; 2011; Tonry, 2011). These research summaries illustrate subtle changes in policies and practices of each institution that further perpetuate disparities, leading to the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment. Following the review of this previous work, in Chapter 3 the theoretical framework is presented. In Chapter 4, the methods section, the hypotheses are discussed and the F-test statistical procedure that was conducted is outlined. In Chapter 5, the results of the F-test will be presented. After the results, Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the results. Lastly, Chapter 7 provides a conclusion, which entails a summary of the study, the results, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW: RACIAL AND GENDER DISPARITIES IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Overall, there is insurmountable evidence describing the racial and gender disparities that plague the criminal justice system (Blumstien et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016; Spohn, 2000, 2009; Woldoff & Washington, 2008). These disparities pertain to Black and Hispanics' interactions with police, differential treatment endured in the courts, and disparities in imprisonment. The following will explain the racial and gender disparities throughout the criminal justice system regarding Hispanic females compared to Black and White females. The following literature review will start with police interactions, transition to the courts, and end with research on prisons.

Racial and Gender Disparities in Police Interactions

Research on police interactions emphasizes that people of color have greater amounts of contact with the police than Whites (Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Blumstien et al., 2000; Hurwitz et al., 2015, Tonry, 2011). Concurrently, police departments have created profiling strategies that target Non-White racial groups. As a result, the usage of these profiles created the perception that Blacks and Hispanics commit more crime than Whites do. Due to these realities, Black and Hispanic men and women – as well as the police – endure strain from the public (Morín, 2008; Uchida, 2015).

Blacks' and Hispanics' interactions with police, especially when negative, deteriorate trust in the system and law enforcement. Woldoff and Washington (2008) explain that people of color do not commit more crime than Whites, but police (often due to racial profiling) stop people of color more often. Morín (2008) also notes that police often “single out” Blacks and Hispanics due to the way they look, the attire they wear, and their behavior (p. 21). For example,

research completed by the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) (2012) found that Blacks and Hispanics accounted for 85% of all Stop, Question, and Frisk (SQF) interactions with law enforcement and their inequitable consequences. These police practices demonstrate the influences of racial bias and profiling at work, especially seeing as though the vast majority (about 85%) of these individuals were not convicted of any crime (NYCLU, 2012).

Furthermore, these stop-and-frisk realities are said to be due to, in large part, police being assigned to communities and beats possessing higher concentrations of people of color. Thus, Blacks and Hispanics are surveilled more closely by police in their own communities than Whites are in their communities (Alexander, 2012; Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Coker, 2003; Muehlmann, 2018). Prior research by Alleyne (2007) explains that hyper-aggressive police conduct creates disparities in arrests between Black, Hispanic, and White women as well. Consequently, arrests for drug offenses occur more frequently in communities of color because drug markets are outside and thus prone to police intervention. In contrast, White men and women camouflage their illegal behavior and drug activity in the privacy of their homes (Alexander, 2012; Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Kowalski & Lundman, 2007; Lyons et al., 2013; Morín, 2016; Tonry, 2011).

When considering women's interactions with the police, White women receive more leniency from the police than Black and Hispanic women do because White women tend to stay within the gender normative role of female (e.g., non-hostile behavior). This is a common occurrence when the offense is drug or property related (Visher, 1983). There is also a greater chance that police officers would be more chivalrous towards White mothers than to Black and Hispanic mothers despite the fact that they may have committed the same crime (e.g., violent, property, or drug crimes) (Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008; Visher, 1983).

In addition, Steffensmeier and Demuth (2001) found harsher punishments, biased interactions, and aggressive police tactics often stemmed from erroneous stereotypes of Hispanics. Based on this premise, Morín (2008) further explains that police develop a “them-versus-us” mentality as they go through the police trainings that encourage them to break their bonds to their community (p. 24). As a result, police do not view these biased interactions with Blacks and Hispanics as negative. On that same note, racial disparities stem from citizens’ perceptions of police interactions as well. A study by Hurwitz et al. (2015) examined individuals’ perceptions of racial groups’ interactions with police. This study found that Blacks recognized the discrimination endured by Hispanics, but Hispanics were less likely to recognize the mistreatment of Blacks. Whites and Asians were unable to recognize the unfair treatment endured by Blacks and Hispanics and blamed them, not the police, for negative interactions (Hurwitz et al., 2015). Ironically, over a decade earlier, Davis and Henderson (2003) found that Hispanics were less likely to go to the police for help or report crimes than Blacks and Italians. Therefore, the perceptions that the police and the public hold towards Hispanics provides a possible explanation for why Hispanics may avoid the police particularly in times of need and receive differential treatment compared to Whites (Carter, 1985; Davis & Henderson, 2003; Hurwitz et al., 2015; Roles et al., 2015).

When discussing Hispanics interactions with police, immigration must be taken into consideration. Messing et al. (2015) utilized Pew Hispanic Center data to understand how fear of deportation affected Hispanic women’s trust in the police. Other scholars note that Hispanic females feared that police would use unnecessary force, act hyper-aggressively, and seek to deport them (Messing et al., 2015). Also, Martinez (2015) and Morín (2008, 2016) emphasize that Hispanic men and women face an added disadvantage when interacting with the police. For

example, in states that line the Southern border, policies give local police the power to ask about individuals' citizenship. This questioning makes it difficult for many Hispanics to interact with the police. Overall, this avoidance of the police stemmed from the stigma attached to the label of non-citizen (Martinez, 2015; Morín, 2016). Further, Morín (2016) points out that, at the end of 1990, there were only 8,000 deportations. Throughout the 1990s, there were over 50,000 deportations of those convicted of drug offenses. Bump (2015) explains that between 1990 and 2001 over 1.87 million people were deported from the United States. This number continued to rise in between 2000 and 2008 to 2.00 million deported. Ultimately, the fear of deportation eliminates Hispanics' trust in police (Messing et al., 2015; Morín, 2016).

The above research on police interactions illustrates similar experiences faced by Blacks and Hispanics. In addition, police tactics (e.g., stop-and-frisk and profiling), public perceptions, and policies on immigration perpetuate disparities that affect Hispanic females' experiences differently when compared to Black and White females (Alexander, 2012; Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Coker, 2003; Martinez, 2015; Morín, 2008). Now, we turn to the next stage in the criminal justice system, the courts, for further exploration of disparities that exist.

Racial and Gendered Disparities in Court Sentencing

Research on court sentencing illustrates how defendants experience differential treatment across race/ethnicity, class, and gender. For example, Spohn (2000, 2009) as well as Demuth and Steffensmeier (2004), note that Blacks and Hispanics receive the harshest sentences for various offenses in comparison to other racial groups. Research by Morín (2005, 2008, 2016) charts the ways that immigration status, ethnicity, gender, and mitigating factor generate harsher sentences for Hispanics females. Specifically, in focusing on drug trafficking cases, Logue (2009) highlights the realities that immigration status, aggravating factors, mitigating factors, and

ethnicity result in more punitive sentences for Mexican-Americans. Harmon and O'Brien (2011) also found that sentencing reforms negatively affects Black and Hispanic women more than White women. Thus, court sentencing is riddled with racial and gender disparities.

Similarly, when reviewing research on misdemeanor charges, research by Muñoz and Martinez (2001) reveals that *Hispánicas* had a far greater chance of receiving multiple misdemeanor charges compared to White women at their initial court appearance. Again, compared to White women, Hispanic females were also more likely to receive probation and jail time instead of fines (Morín, 2008; Muñoz & Martinez, 2001). Scholars contend that the bias in enforcement and sentencing of misdemeanors towards Hispanic females starts in one part of the system and permeates throughout the rest of the system (Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Muñoz & Martinez, 2001; Tonry, 2011). Thus, the presence of bias in law enforcement and court sentencing leads to the observed disparities throughout the criminal justice system.

Judges play a major role in the proliferation of the disparities in the U.S. Criminal Justice System as well. Before a trial, bail is extended to persons presumed to be innocent. Yet, prior research on bail disparities further promotes the idea that disparities exist. For example, Haney Lopez (2003) observed how judges treated Hispanics during criminal proceedings and found they were biased in their decision-making process. White judges favored White men and women but were more punitive with Hispanics (Haney Lopez, 2003). Later studies conducted on drug cases found that 80% of Blacks and 70% of Hispanics did not receive bail (Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004; Schlesinger, 2005). Although insufficient funds for bail are a factor, research acknowledges that judges factor the offenders' races/ethnicities into bail decisions (Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004). For instance, Clair and Winter (2016) interviewed 59 judges and found they were prone to relying on past experiences for decision-making. The judges were

also cognizant that disparities stemmed from their own actions as well as the actions of other prior officials. Only a couple judges faulted social factors (e.g., poverty) and individual factors (e.g., the offender's free will) for current racial disparities plaguing the system (Clair & Winter, 2016).

In addition to this research on sentencing, misdemeanor trials, and bail, research also suggests that one's pretrial status also influences the sentence received. Morín's research (2008) emphasized how defendants who were "not legal citizens" and "Black or Hispanic" received longer sentences compared to Whites, regardless of gender (p. 23). Spohn (2009) also explains that, on average, 8 out of 10 defendants are unable to make bond and await trial in jail. This research also explains how those held in jail before their trial receive more severe sentences compared to others who are released on bail (Blumstein et al., 2000; Spohn, 2009).

The mode of conviction has great impact on defendants' overall sentences. According to Díaz-Cotto (2006) Hispanic females with no prior record tended to reject plea-bargains under the assumption that they would be found innocent. However, most Hispanic females lacked funds to post bail or hire a private attorney like other women charged with similar crimes. Innocent Hispanic females also frequently pled guilty to lesser offenses to reduce their sentences in comparison to those women who are similarly situated but have access to private attorneys. Spohn (2009) acknowledges that 9 out of 10 defendants plead guilty in both state and federal courts. The courts possess the power to perpetuate racial disparities or foil them and often chose the former. Now, the attention must turn to the prisons, more specifically disparities in female imprisonment.

Racial and Gender Disparities in Imprisonment

Based on race and gender, Black and Hispanic women have faced a double prejudice not experienced by White women, especially in terms of imprisonment (Alleyne, 2007; Crenshaw, 1991; Kajstura, 2018; Morín, 2008, 2016; Muehlmann, 2018). Overall, female imprisonment has risen, but there is still substantial variation in rates across race (Mauer et al., 1999). Briefly, between the years of 1974 and 2001, the Hispanic female prison population increased more than tenfold (8,000 to 86,000 Hispanic female prisoners) (Bonczar, 2003). Guerino et al. (2011) illustrated that between 2000 and 2010, Black female imprisonment decreased 35% while Hispanic and White female imprisonment increased 28% and 38% respectively. Nevertheless, in the early 2000s, Hispanic women were imprisoned 2.2 times that of White women while Black women were imprisoned 5.5 times the rate of White women (Bonczar, 2003). Substantial changes from 2000-2009 were evident by a 48.4% increase in the number of White women imprisoned and a decrease of 24.6% among Black women (Mauer, 2013; Mauer & King, 2007). Overall, these earlier research projects found that the likelihood of a woman of color being incarcerated was 1 in 19 for Black women and 1 in 15 for Hispánica women compared to 1 in 118 for White women.

In focusing on rates of incarceration for Hispanic women, Morín (2008) underscores the reality that, of late, Hispanic female representation in state and federal prisons has doubled (you should provide the dates). Indeed, the War on Drugs also negatively affected Hispanic women. More recent research notes that, in 2010, Black women were incarcerated almost three times the rate of White women (133 versus 47 per 100,000) while Hispanic women were incarcerated at 1.6 times the rate of White women (77 versus 47 per 100,000) (Tucker, Sr., 2017). The following year, in 2011, Hispanic women were imprisoned at 1.4 times the rate of White women (67 vs. 49 per 100,000) (Carson & Sabol, 2012). Despite a slight decrease in Hispanic female

imprisonment, they are still imprisoned at greater rates than White women. Morín (2016) later explains that these increased rates further demonstrate the impact of the War on Drugs as a war against women, but against Black and Hispanic women specifically. These sentiments were previously echoed by other researchers like Chesney-Lind (1995, p.111) regarding the "War against Women" and more pointedly women of color (Bush-Baskette, 2000, 2013).

Current research by Harmon and Boppre (2016) sought to explain racial disparities that affected Black women in prisons. Their study unveiled the overrepresentation of Black men and women in prison. They also found, between the years 1983 and 2008, Black women had a seven times greater chance of imprisonment than White women (Harmon & Boppre, 2016). Black women still have a three times greater chance of imprisonment than White women when looking at data that are more recent (2012-2017). Specific to Hispanic women, Tucker (2017) notes that they experience an imprisonment rate that doubles the imprisonment rate of White women. Again, based on the work of Morín (2005, 2008, 2016) and Harmon and Boppre (2016), findings reveal that Black and Hispanic women have a greater chance of imprisonment for violent, property, and drug crimes when compared to White women. The greatest disparities exist with drug crimes, and more specifically, drug possession (Harmon & Boppre, 2016).

From the research above, there are several takeaways. First, Hispanics, like Blacks, are more frequently surveilled, racially profiled, and SQF by police than Whites (Alexander, 2012; Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Muehlmann, 2018; The New York Civil Liberties Union, 2012; Woldoff & Washington, 2008). Second, Hispanics, like Blacks, are more likely denied bail and receive harsher sentences compared to Whites (Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004; Schlesinger, 2005; Spohn, 2000, 2009). Lastly, Hispanic female imprisonment rates have risen in lieu of the

War on Drugs, mainly for drug offenses (Bonczar, 2003; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016; Tucker, Sr., 2017).

Limitations of Prior Research

Hispanic females in society face many social, economic, and political barriers that prevent their upward mobility. Criminological research has neglected the impacts of these structural and socio-political factors on Hispanic females (Lopez & Pasko, 2017). Of the research outlined above, many limitations and gaps were left unaddressed. First, most research available on Hispanic females' interactions with the criminal justice system (e.g., interactions with police, courts, and corrections) fails to investigate them as a target population. Instead, they are put into samples that contain Hispanic men and women of other races/ethnicities. In so doing, we have yet to understand the unique experiences of *Hispánicas*' (and *Latinas*', etc.) interactions with the criminal justice system.

In addition, some studies outlined above were only able to analyze small samples of Hispanic females. Because of these small sample sizes, findings are neither representative nor generalizable to larger Hispanic female populations. Also, these prior studies include small samples from cities like New York City (e.g., The New York Civil Liberties Union, 2012), and states like Illinois (e.g., Lyons et al., 2013). There is a limitation associated with possible cross population generalizability where studies completed in New York City might not apply to experiences of Hispanic females in Illinois and vice versa. Research attending to important regional differences is important. A similar limitation of the prior research is the lumping of all Hispanics into a homogenous group without accounting for the cultural differences that exist.

Also, and related to the above limitations, research on Hispanic experiences with the criminal justice system is androcentric (Muehlmann, 2018). This means that prior research is

male focused. The limitation associated with this is the failure to account for the differences between Hispanic men and women. In doing so, scholars fail to recognize the unique experiences of women's interactions with the CJS that men might not encounter.

Lastly, most of the research on racial disparities is quantitative with a few qualitative studies. Quantitative studies are beneficial in terms of proving causality but lack rich description and the human's perspectives on events (Schutt, 2015). On the other hand, qualitative studies are beneficial in terms of providing rich description but are low in generalizability and reliability making it difficult to determine causality from the results (Schutt, 2015). Future research that embraces either/or both methodologies are needed to truly understand how Hispanic females interact with the criminal justice system.

Given these limitations, more research on Hispanic females' interactions with the CJS is required. This thesis will address some of the limitations outlined above. First, Hispanic female imprisonment will be the focus of this study. Second, this study will account for regional differences that may affect rates of imprisonment. Third, this study will use a large sample size for the purpose of generalization. Lastly, this study will use a quantitative approach to determine the causality behind the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment. Now, the following will outline the theoretical framework of the research project.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY OF THREAT

At the most basic level, the social group threat perspective refers to the peril that manifests due to the presence of groups or individuals. The mere presence of these non-dominant groups can lead to the imposition of both formal and informal mechanisms of social control, which reinforce the control, confinement, and domination of the non-dominant group by the dominant group. The ideas surrounding the relationships between various types of threats and controls are layered and riddled with complexities. These intricacies stem from the historical and the theoretical advancements of social control theory and the application of social threat theory to various demographics, social circumstances, as well as the various control mechanisms that have been implemented. Over time, the concepts of social threat and social control have evolved due to dynamic social conditions as well as the introduction and adaptations to various theoretical frameworks. For example, throughout history, control mechanisms have been implemented through formal and informal means. At the same time, perceived threats have come in the forms of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and ideology. These conceptualizations of threats relative to racial threat, ethnic threat, and gender threat have been considered to provoke social control mechanisms at the micro, meso, and macro level of society.

Hubert Blalock (1967) established one of the most comprehensive theoretical accounts of macro-level factors that result in the implementation of social control mechanism on specific groups in society. Blalock explores the compounded associations between the presence of racial and ethnic groups as well as the instruments and styles of social control. According to Blalock, racial and ethnic group threat is divided into three major types of threat. These types of threat include status threat, economic threat, and overall power. The dominant group perceives other groups as potential threats to the attainment and maintenance of their group's position within the

social hierarchy and power dynamic. The dominant group may feel threatened by the presence of other racial or ethnic groups because they are competing for scarce economic resources, and as a result, this competition places the non-dominant group at risk. The group who wields the power, Whites, may also feel threatened by the political power and representation that communities of color (e.g., Blacks and Hispanics) seek to gain. The dominant group will thus implement measures that have the potential to restrict this representation. Perceived threats regarding the three above-mentioned categories are heavily influenced by fluctuating conditions like the relative size and traits of the dominant and non-dominant groups as well as social parameters. It is important to note that each type of threat results in the implementation of a different social control mechanism.

Blalock (1967) sets forth in his “Power Threat Hypothesis,” regarding the relationship between the group with power and the group with little to no power, that racial inequality can be explained through processes that occur at both the micro- and macro-level of society. Blalock’s theory is mainly focused on the root cause for inequality, rather than inequality itself. Discrimination that is motivated by race and ethnicity is the root cause of inequality, and Blalock lays out the causal model for this perspective. The model starts with the percentage of people of color in the population and then trickles down to the micro-level and produces discrimination by the dominant group, Whites, towards the non-dominant group.

This social threat theory is broken down into four main propositions. First, Blalock (1967) acknowledges that an increase in the population of a racial or ethnic group is identified as a viable threat to White people’s position and power in society. Second, individuals from the dominant group may possess the tendency to discriminate against communities of color as a response to these perceived threats (Blalock, 1967). Whites are thus motivated and inclined to

discriminate against communities of color because of the characteristics or personality traits of communities of color. Third, individuals who feel threatened by an increase in the number of people of color will associate with those who are similarly positioned in the social hierarchy to them, thus producing increased levels of concerted discrimination towards people of color. Lastly, Blalock (1967) proposes that the intentional discrimination imposed on these racial and ethnic groups causes the number of people of color to decrease, thus eliminating the perceived threat to the dominant group. The causal model for this theory illustrates that an increase in the quantity of people of color (e.g., Blacks and Hispanics) causes Whites to feel threatened by these communities and view them as a danger than must be eliminated or controlled. If these groups are not controlled the dominant group believes they will lose their social status, economic interests, security, and political power (Blalock, 1967).

Blalock's (1967) operationalization of social control goes hand and hand with this concept of threat, when examining the relationship between status threat and discrimination. The vast majority of those who are in the dominant group of society seek out achievement and also success at a high level. Individuals in other racial and ethnic groups also possess these same goals. These goals and aspirations create head-on competition with Whites for the resources that are required to attain and maintain this status. Members of the dominant group may not achieve their goal of moving up the social hierarchy simply because they must interact and compete with those from communities of color that are at lower positions in the social hierarchy.

Blalock (1967) acknowledges that social control for racial and ethnic threat is not just discrimination. Displaced aggressions as well as strict avoidance are common techniques utilized to controlling status threat. This displaced aggression is violence stemming from frustration that is directed at a person, group, or object that is not the actual cause of the frustration. Blalock

(1967) makes it clear that violent displacement can also arise as a reaction to status threat when populations of color are more visible due to deviance. A deviant action or deviance that threatens social norms and customs within society frustrates those in power. The social and economic stratification of society allows avoidance to occur as a response to status threat. This means that those who are in higher social classes allow their success to prevent any sincere interaction with people of color in the lower social classes. The dominant group uses avoidance as a control mechanism because they are aware of the social stratification within and between social groups as well as the existence of the status gap (Blalock, 1967).

Usually, there is a positive correlation between the increase in racial and ethnic populations and discrimination towards these groups, but there is some variance depending on the form of threat that is felt by the dominant group. The positive association between discrimination and population size exists when discussing economic and power threat that are influenced by population size (Blalock, 1967). The form of threat not influenced by the non-dominant group size and not positively associated with social control mechanism is referred to as Minority Group Threat. This form of threat sets forth that the perceived status threat stems from the placement of two groups in relation to each other in a stratified society, where the greatest threat is produced by the lowest ranking non-dominant group members.

Blalock (1967) explains that economic and political threat is driven by the size of the racial or ethnic group's population size, which focuses on the competition for economic resources and the clash of political power and influence. These two types of threat generate varying degrees of social control. The perception of economic threats is manifested when there is a competition between two or more groups over scarce resources. The dominant group discriminates against the non-dominant group because they are focused on their own economic

prosperity and well-being and will stop at nothing to ensure that their path to success is not hindered. The discrimination endured by the non-dominant group is the mechanism employed by the dominant group to control and eliminate the economic threat and competition. For this to occur the economic resources must be distributed across opposing groups. In addition to this condition, both conflicting groups must see the resources as worth something to compete for them (Blalock, 1967).

Under these conditions, Blalock (1967) asserts that there is an interesting dynamic associated with the degree of the non-dominant group's economic threat and the discrimination that is utilized by the dominant group to eliminate the perceived threat. Small racial and ethnic groups produce very little competition and do not pose a threat to the dominant group's economic security; thus, discrimination is rarely employed. Once the populations of racial and ethnic groups rise to a level that is both moderate and noticeable to the dominant group more controls will be imposed to eliminate the perceived threat. As the number of people of color increases, so do Whites' perception of this economic threat. The discrimination directed at and endured by people of color climbs in a linear fashion. This occurs due to the increase in the level of intergroup conflict between Whites and communities of color. In contrast to the above stated circumstances, as the population of racial and ethnic increases in an area that already has a high level of people of color, there is a lower level of competition between groups, thus a stabilization effect lowers the amount of discrimination, and other control mechanisms employed (Blalock, 1967).

The above-mentioned relationship between economic threat and discrimination is identical to the relationship between power threat and discrimination. Blalock (1967) explains that power involves two conditions, first, possessing all resources and second, the ability to

assemble the available resources in order to garner influence and power. Blalock maintains that there are four major components related to the battle for power. The four components include “minority group resources, minority group mobilization, dominant group resources, and dominant group mobilization” (Blalock, 1967, p.111). For the dominant group to maintain power, control and its social position, the group must employ their resource and implement means of discrimination to counter the resources and mobilization of the non-dominant group. These scenarios produce a curvilinear relationship. When the non-dominant group possesses little resources and no ability to gather them there is no threat to the dominant group’s power, so no discriminatory strategies are employed. The dominant group will implement control mechanisms in order to overcome the power threat from the non-dominant group and maintain their position of power in the social hierarchy. As the presence of people of color increases so will discriminatory practices (Blalock, 1967).

Blalock’s (1967) concepts of control and threat have been both expanded and transformed by other scholars to understand new sources of threat and new forms of social control mechanisms that have been implemented. One of the scholars that built upon the theoretical foundation of Blalock was Liska (1992) in *Social Threat and Social Control*, which alter the parameters in which threat and control were defined under Blalock’s parameters. Liska (1992) emphasizes the expansion of the theory on criminal threat. This form of threat stems from those who are perceived as deviant and crime, itself. Also, Blalock’s concept of social control has been modified to include institutional forms of social control or control mechanisms that are implemented by the government. Liska (1992) describes institutional control as the policies and procedures that are both approved and implemented by governmental entities that seek to decrease the prevalence of crime and deviance.

In an exploration of lethal social control mechanisms, Tolnay and Beck (1992) sought to understand the circumstance and motives behind lynching practices in the Deep South during the 30-year period between 1900 and 1930. They proposed that lynching was used in this time period as a means of social control, not necessarily crime control. Tolnay and Beck explain that the tactic of lynching by Southern Whites was probably due to the ineffectiveness of other means set forth to control Black's three forms of threat (e.g., power, economic, political threat)

Other researchers have focused on the coercive nature of social control mechanisms. For example, Warner (1992) analyzed how the reporting of crime was driving factor for the implementation of social control. Reporting crime to the authorities allows the public to muster up a response from the criminal justice system to respond to the threats that are associated with communities of color. The findings of this study did not support this proposition and revealed that under certain circumstances, Blacks reported crime at greater rates than Whites did. One of the most frequently used measures of coercive social control is the police response to perceived social threat. Chamlin and Liska (1992) operationalized the measure of social control as the arrest rate for Whites and the arrest rates for people of color. Their research found that the arrests rates for people of color rose while the arrest rates for Whites fell. This finding lead Chamlin and Liska (1992) to suggest that crime which occurs predominantly among communities of color is restricted and constrained to intra-racial offending. Chamlin and Liska also acknowledged a significant interaction that occurs between the concept of crime threat and race. This association is illustrated by the fact that increases in the crime rate also increase the arrest rates for all groups of people, but there is a more striking impact on people of color (Chamlin & Liska, 1992). The linkage between the variables crime rates, arrest rates, and race, asserts that social control mechanism significantly increase as a means of controlling communities of color.

Theorists have also used imprisonment to understand the social control mechanisms that have been implemented to control communities of color that are seen as viable group by Whites. For example, Inverarity (1992) articulates that there are connections between the non-dominant group and prison population. First, increases in incarceration rates are due to increases in the amount of crime, which is the underlying assumption of the rational public choice theories. Second, when the dominant group feels threatened by another group, Power elite theories suggest that this threat causes the increase in incarceration to control and minimize the threat posed by the non-dominant group (e.g., Blacks and Hispanics). Third, imprisonment rates are controlled by criminal justice policies and initiatives set forth by the economic elite, as stated by Managerial elite theories. Lastly, imprisonment, as described by Structural theories, is driven by the ebb and flow of conditions within the labor markets (Inverarity, 1992).

Liska (1992) illustrates that social control mechanisms have greatly altered as a reaction to Blalock's group threat perspective to a minority criminal threat perspective. This represents the entanglement of race, ethnicity, and crime and a new form of threat. Several scholars have noted that the amount of severe crime within a community determines how offenders are treated within the criminal justice system (Britt, 2000; Jacobs, 1979; Jacobs & Britt, 1979; Liska, Lawrence, & Benson, 1981).

Chamlin and Liska (1992) and Lizotte and Bordua (1980) sought to explore and explain the relationship between the threats posed by crime and race and as a result identified that crime rates manifest greater mechanisms of control directed at people of color than Whites. Qualitative research related to the relationship between race and crime has revealed that punishment is influenced by social structures and stratification. In depth, interviews with prosecutors have revealed the link between race, crime, and control. Research identifies that some prosecutors see

Blacks as a main source of crime and that they deserve to be locked up and off the streets. Other officials of the criminal justice system believe that the crime problem in America is a problem for people of color (Bridges, Crutchfield, & Simpson, 1987). Social control measures have a greater likelihood of being implemented in communities of color because crime infests the perception of threat that the White population has of other racial and ethnic groups.

Blalock laid the foundation for research to explore how the various forms of threat and forms of control manifest and interact. Researchers have built on this foundation and identified different forms of threat and control, which have been implemented by the dominant group in order to control and or eliminate the perceived threat that is posed. Theorists have for the last couple of decades described the variation in social control mechanism as they relate to race, ethnicity, and gender. Blalock in his initial threat theory assumed the disadvantage of racial and ethnic groups as a given and did not explore the individual influence of race and ethnicity on the level of discrimination imposed. This aspect has been picked up by other theorists to understand better the interaction between race and ethnicity and outcomes for punishment in the criminal justice system to expand the exploration of threat and control (Bridges & Steen, 1998; Spohn & Beicher, 2000; Steffensmeier et al., 1998). These adaptations and expansions to Blalock's original theory allows for a clearer illustration of the system that controls and manages the non-White racial and ethnic populations in the United States.

The theoretical framework for understanding the interaction between race and social control mechanisms is that the dominant group constructs Non-White racial and ethnic categories and associates negative traits and characteristics with these groups. One example in criminological literature that highlights the effects of race and ethnicity on judicial decision-making and judicial discretion within the administration of justice is Albonetti's (1991) theory of

bounded rationality. The theory asserts that the rationale for judicial actors during sentencing decisions have limited information and thus make their decisions based on previous experiences with similarly situated offenders, stereotypes, biases, and views of current events and create typical offenders and cases to maintain efficiency in the handling of cases (Thistlewaite & Wooldridge, 2014). Individuals within the courtroom workgroup (e.g., judges and prosecutors) use these schemas and mental short hands to provide explanations for defendants' behavior and the punishment that should be given. The conflict that arises from this bounded rationality is that judges justify sentencing Black defendants to harsher sentences due to these negative stereotypes and traits that the judge attributed to them (Albonetti, 1991). In a subsequent study, Albonetti (1997) described this by explaining that court actors utilized these stereotypes and thus associated them with defendants of color and their likelihood of recidivism and level of dangerousness. In this case, Blacks are at the greatest disadvantage in this process since they have an increased chance of being perceived as dangerous.

Like Albonetti, other scholars have cosigned this notion of judges' bounded rationality in terms of making sentencing decisions based on limited information. For example, Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer (1998) proposed focal concerns theory which center around the three main concerns that are considered in judicial decisions. These focal concerns emphasized on the offenders' blameworthiness for any injury sustained by the victims, the practical constraint of the criminal justice system or circumstances of the offender, and what is best to maintain a safe community (Spohn & Beichner, 2000; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). In both instances, the scholars illustrate that judges often assert that Black defendants are more dangerous and more culpable for their actions than other defendants who are similarly situated.

Thus, judges rely on this limited information and perceive people of color as habitual offenders with a higher degree of blameworthiness and dangerousness (Spohn & Beichner, 2000).

In analyses of court decision making processes related to Hispanic defendants Steffensmeier and Demuth (2000, 2001) emphasized that there exist four specific ways that Hispanics encounter discrimination from the judiciary. First, they assert that historically Hispanic Americans might overstate the cognizance of Hispanic variance to other racial and ethnic groups and the unique threats that Hispanics pose to Whites. Second, Hispanics in the United States are susceptible to enduring discrimination from Whites. Third, it is common that Hispanics may feel estranged and isolated in America, targeted by the criminal justice system, and viewed as being more uncompromising to American society. Lastly, the power structure established by Whites may perceive Hispanics as a threat to their standing in the social hierarchy (Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2000). The main findings of this study illustrate that when compared to Blacks and Whites, Hispanics received the most severe sentences; thus, it is likely that these above-mentioned circumstances and characteristics influence the sentencing decisions that judge impose on Hispanic defendants (Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2000).

In order to have a comprehensive understanding of how perceived threats interact with race and ethnicity to drive sentencing outcomes that are related to negative characterizations, situational factors must be considered. Several theorists have identified that these interactive effects influence sentencing decisions (e.g., the relationship between race and ethnicity and crime type). For example, James Q. Wilson (1992) articulated that fear is the driving force behind the discomfort that Whites feel towards Blacks that move into their neighborhoods, not racism or prejudice. This feeling of fear stems from Whites' schemas that increases in the Black population in their neighborhoods will bring crime, drugs, gangs, and violence. The underlying

premise of Wilson's argument is that specific criminal offenses have become associated with groups (e.g., violent and drug crimes). Further, Sampson and Laub (1993) explained that the association between race, class, and drugs, became commonplace in the 1990s. In terms of drug offenses, Steffensmeier and Demuth (2000) mention that these drug crimes have been historically associated with Blacks and Hispanics at a far greater magnitude than Whites. Their scholarship identifies the interactive threat that binds race, ethnicity, and drugs together. This combination produces discrimination that places Blacks and Hispanics at a disadvantage in terms of sentencing decisions. A similar association was proposed, prior to Steffensmeier and Demuth, relating crime rates and race, which was based on the assumption that an increase in the number of people of color would correspond with a spike in the volume of crime (Bridges, Crutchfield, & Simpson, 1987). The perceived racial threat was alleviated following the deployment of social control mechanisms (e.g., beat assignments for the police) to manage the areas that had the most crime. This argument draws upon the belief held by Whites that the majority of crime is committed by Blacks and Hispanics, and thus poses as threat to their well-being (Bridges, Crutchfield, & Simpson, 1987).

Considering the original framework proposed Blalock (1967), this theory mainly sought to provide a broad understanding of how an increase in the population of a non-dominant group is often met with a corresponding discriminatory response from the dominant group in the social hierarchy. Within the original theory, there was no real explanation of the process by which race, and ethnicity may ultimately influence the implementation of discriminatory practices and or other means of social control. The above-mentioned theorists expanded on the foundation laid by Blalock and provided more of an explanation at the individual level of analysis regarding the relationship between the concepts of race, ethnicity, and social control mechanisms.

All the theories that have sought to expand on the theoretical explanation of Blalock imply the importance of attribution. Attribution refers to the ways in which an individual associates one variable with another variable and draws a conclusion. This series of theories spans from bounded rationality to focal concerns, in relation to the implementation of social control mechanisms (Albonetti, 1991; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). The process of attribution occurs when judges and other criminal justice agents link Black and Hispanics with negative traits. Ultimately, this shows that Blacks and Hispanics are identified as being more dangerous to the community, more culpable for their actions, and pose a greater threat in comparison to Whites. Other theorists have provided context by analyzing how situational effects, like crime rates, interact with race, ethnicity, and social control mechanisms, and increase the likelihood that certain criminal acts become overtly associated with specific racial and ethnic groups (Chiricos, 1996; Wilson, 1992).

In addition, scholars have also revealed that Blacks and Hispanics who committed drug and violent offenses were more likely to experience higher levels of social controls than other Black and Hispanic offenders that did not commit these specific criminal offenses (Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2000; Tittle & Curran, 1988). These analyses build upon Blalock's original work and further theorize about the interactive influence of race and ethnicity on the social control mechanisms that are implemented by the group in power. These theorists have also expanded the scholarship to understand the relationship between being part of the non-dominant racial or ethnic group and the type of offense committed.

It should be noted that there is a distinct difference between race and ethnicity. According to the US Census Blacks and Whites are classified as two racial categories, while Hispanics are classified as an ethnicity. The difference between the two is that race is a matter of one's biology

and genetics, while ethnicity is a matter of culture and nation of origin (Gonzalez-Barrera & Lopez, 2015). The above theoretical expansions, Blalock's (1967) original threat hypothesis, and the work of Liska (1992), allows for the following assumptions to be made regarding the association between race, ethnicity, and social control mechanisms. First, when considering race, Blacks are more likely to endure greater levels of social control than Whites are. Second, when considering ethnicity, Hispanics are more likely to endure greater levels of social control. Third, when considering the interaction between race and offense type, Black drug, or violent offenders are more likely to experience greater levels of social control. Fourth, when considering ethnicity and offense type Hispanic drug or violent offenders are more likely to experience greater levels of social control. Fifth, Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to experience increases in the level of social controls when there are high crime rates in an area. Lastly, the increase in the racial and ethnic population leads to higher levels of social control placed on Blacks and Hispanics Liska, 1992).

The original work of Blalock (1967) and other scholars that followed provided the theoretical framework to explain the complicated relationship between race, ethnicity, and social control. It provided various forms of threat that were perceived by the dominant group, Whites, regarding other racial and ethnic groups (e.g., status, economic, and political threat). In furtherance of Blalock's original theory, several scholars have utilized its tenants to understand the threat posed by different genders and gender's influences on the implementation of social control mechanisms.

In 1998, Karlsen sought to explain how gender interacts with social control mechanisms through an analysis of the causes for the witch-hunts that occurred during the 17th century. She analyzed archival data form New England during the timeframe of 1629 to 1725, which included

approximately 344 individuals that were accused of some form of witchcraft. Karlsen produced findings, which had a striking resemblance to the theoretical tenants of Blalock, even though there was no direct mention of Blalock's threat hypothesis. Karlsen (1998) identified that witch hunts stemmed from the perceived social, status, economic, and power threat posed by women, which mirrors the forms of threat that Blalock referenced when discussing racial and ethnic group threat. She argued that the conception of witchcraft placed the Puritan society at risk, and thus it had to be eliminated so that the Puritan society could survive.

When analyzing the characteristics of those that were accused, Karlsen (1998) found that that majority of the accused were more than forty years of age. This is more than likely since at this age, women were passed the age, biologically, that they would bear children, and this was a women's primary role in Puritan society. Bearing and caring for children were the ways in which women gained status in society during this time. Karlsen (1998) also identified that marital status placed single women at greater risk of accusations because in the traditional Puritan society, a woman's main roles were to be a wife and a mother, and this thus conditioned the relationship that women had with their families. The threat to people within the Puritan community posed by older, single women falls in line with Blalock's argument that status threat stems for the groups of individuals that fail to conform or deviate from any of the cultural norms that dictate the behavior of other and the functionality of society. Further, the findings fall in line with the social control or societal reaction of displacement of the dominant group's aggression. For example, the older, single women who were first accused of witchcraft were tortured and executed merely because they failed to meet the socially and culturally accepted expectation of women in a Puritan society and the defining status of femininity (e.g., wife and motherhood) (Karlsen,1998).

Karlsen's analysis revealed the economic threat that females, in the Puritan society, posed to the males. This form of threat arose due to the rare occurrence where the female inherited land and money that belonged to the female's father or husband. Karlsen (1998) further discovered that of the women who were accused of witchcraft, a substantial majority of them had no male siblings or male children, but many of these women were the ones who were put to death. Since the acquisition of money and land was traditionally passed down to the next male heir (e.g., the son), this posed a threat to the Puritan way of life. There were only a few instances where women acquired an inheritance from their father or husband without enduring witchcraft accusations (Karlsen, 1998).

In addition to the economic threat, there were also several women accused of witchcraft that had challenged the power structure of the Puritan church and thus endured increased levels of social control through these offenses committed against the church (e.g., disorderly conduct or failure to strictly adhere to the values of the community) (Karlsen, 1998). These dynamics mirror Blalock's (1967) power threat in which the accumulation of resource by the non-dominant group triggers discriminatory practices of the dominant group. Thus, the accusations of witchcraft were used by the Puritan churches and leaders to eliminate the perceived threat posed by women who sought to shed their traditional roles and secure their standing in the community (Karlsen, 1998).

This analysis of the 17th century witch-hunts may seem like an unrelated topic to explain the ways in which social control mechanisms are imposed to both punish and control women concerning the criminal justice system. The findings of Karlsen (1998) taken in concert with the theoretical framework of Blalock provide an interesting description of how the concept of gender and social control interact with one another. Like racial and ethnic groups, women pose a status threat to the dominant group (e.g., White males) and the controls are put in place to eliminate this

threat. Second, women may encounter discriminatory practices directed at them when they are perceived as an economic threat from the group in power. Lastly, social controls were imposed on any women who were viewed as challenging the social norms and social hierarchy (Karlsen, 1998). Analyzing the relationship between gender and social control has uncovered several issues that were not just relevant back then in New England, but also today, regarding the punishment and control of women in society and the criminal justice system.

Scholars have long debated that two perspectives tend to explain the control mechanisms set forth by the criminal justice system and how they are impacted by gender. The first, perspective is the Chivalry or paternalistic hypothesis, which asserts that, compared to men; women are less of a threat and granted more leniency from criminal justice agents (Crew, 1991; Curran, 1983; Edwards, 1984). Second, Evil Women theory argues that women are targeted and punished more severely than men and encounter greater levels of social control overall. At the same time, the Evil Women perspective argues that women who commit crime will receive harsher punishments than men because of their deviation from gender norms and values that regulate what they can and cannot do (Chesney-Lind, 1996; Crew, 1991). This is similar to arguments made by other scholars, and furthers the notion that women will be treated more severely than men will during sentencing decisions (Edwards, 1984; Karlsen, 1998). From these circumstances arises a double offense, which includes the violation of the law and the social expectation of behavior for women.

Based on paternalistic theories women pose less of a threat than men. Thus, in this perspective male judges are more lenient to female defendants and see them as less culpable, dangerous, and blameworthy in comparison to male defendants (Edwards, 1984; Steffensmeier & Kramer, 1983). Judges also tend to take the position that they are acting as a protector and

fulfilling their social duty. In addition, Bickle and Peterson (1991) emphasize that male judges and the criminal justice system are lenient toward mothers who are responsible for raising and caring for children. This paternalistic perspective is also validated with research conducted by Spohn and Beichner (2000), which provided a theory regarding the process of attribution that assists judges in their decision-making when considering the outcomes of cases that involve female defendants. By interviewing judges, the researcher identified that women were less culpable for their crime, less likely to reoffend, and more likely to benefit from rehabilitative treatment (Spohn & Beichner, 2000). The findings of this study identify that the traits that judges attribute to different genders has a direct impact on the sentencing decisions and the decision to incarcerate the female. These attributions make it more likely that women will receive less severe sentences and have a lower chance of going to prison. Motherly duties were also one of the main reasons that judges showed female defendants more leniency compared to male defendants (Spohn & Beichner, 2000). The interviews conducted in this study found that there were several instances in which judges felt as though the societal costs stemming from incarcerating mother was too great to bear. These findings assert that women who have fulfilled the traditional purpose of womanhood – childbirth- experience leniency.

Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer (1998) proposed the focal concerns theory and identified that when judges make sentencing decisions, they consider any practical constraints. These practical constraints refer to any of the possible social consequences that come from the imposition of incarceration or other sentence as a form of punishment. These practical constraints were shown to favor women over men in terms of childcare responsibilities. Steffensmeier et al. (1998) revealed that judges, typically, were hesitant to impose a prison sentence on mothers because the consequences were far too great. The judges view women as

less of a threat to society than they do men. A follow up study conducted by Spohn and Beichner (2000) produced similar findings and further asserted that the perception that females have lower levels of culpability and the practical constraints of sending mothers to prison heavily influence sentencing decisions that judges make regarding female defendants.

Furthermore, Nagel and Hagan (1983) sought combine the hypotheses of the above-mentioned perspectives and found that women who engage in serious criminal activity receive punishments that mirror those issued to men. When comparing the females to other females, the researchers identified that females who engage in criminal activity that deviates from traditional gender norms (e.g., armed robbery or auto-theft) receive harsher sentences than females who commit typical female crimes (e.g., drug offenses, larceny, or embezzlement) (Nagel & Hagan, 1983).

The previous research that explores these differences in crime type and sentences received illustrates the impact that gender has on the social control mechanisms that are imposed. The findings from the above research lead to the assumption that women who commit crimes that are perceived to be threatening experience greater levels of social control. Furthermore, it is important to note the presents of interaction effects related to sex, social controls, and other characteristics, such as race. For example, under the paternalistic perspective, the supposed benefits associate with being female may diminish the disadvantage that is brought on by young age and Black or Hispanic (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). In addition, these researchers submit that women are perceived as less culpable than men are. When Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer (1998) sought to understand the relationship between gender, race, age, and sentencing, they explained that gender diminished the impact of age, but the same was not true for the impact of race on a sentence given to women.

The Evil Women and Chivalry perspectives illustrate two opposing stances that seek to explain the interaction between gender and social control mechanisms. The Evil women camp and Karlsen (1998) view women who fall short of obtaining what society views as the traditional gender norms as those who are at greatest risk for encountering social controls as a means of punishment. On the other hand, the Chivalry theories assert that judges identify that women are less culpable and blameworthy for their offenses. They also view women as less of a threat than men who commit crime. In addition, judges view women are more likely to be responsible for children and encounter practical constraints when deciding on sentences. This thus affects the sentence that is issued to the female defendants who have children. Both competing perspectives taken together illustrate the complexities that surround the relationship between gender and social control mechanisms.

In order to have a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between gender and social control, the analysis must consider the gender at the aggregate level. The principles laid out by Blalock (1967) articulate the macro and micro processes work in cohesion with one another to alter influence the imposition of social controls on communities of color. In order to apply these theoretical assumptions to women, it is logical to assume there are operationalized measures of gender threat that have an influence on the gender and sex on control mechanism. One of the limitations to the utility of Blalock's theory is that he did not articulate any measures of gender threat and the ways in which gender and social controls interact with each other.

Blalock did not mention these specific measures at the aggregate level, but Karlsen (1998) and other scholars, who expanded upon the Evil Women theory, provide some potential theoretically sound aggregate measures. First, those in the dominant and powerful groups of society view any women that break with the traditional and socially accepted norms of

womanhood as a threat. Second, some traits may pose greater threats than others, but deviation from traditional gender norms have the potential to alter, negatively, the association between gender/sex and the social control mechanisms that are imposed upon females. This thus places females at greater risk of encountering these control mechanisms due to their deviation from the gender norms. Some of the aggregate measures of threat include an increase in the percentage of single females in the U.S. population, the percent of women without children, and the median income for females. These examples illustrate the independence that women possess in society and how they defy the gender normative roles of female and produce a threat to the group in power. If the tenets of the Evil women theory are true, then these measures of gender threat at the aggregate level should show a strong association between gender and social control mechanisms.

There have been several theoretical adaptations to Blalock's original work, and these works will guide this study. Blalock (1967) proposes that as the population of a non-dominant group increases, the dominant group will impose social control mechanisms on the non-dominant group to eliminate a potential threat. For this study, the perceived threat will come from the percent Hispanic population for the 32 states that will be outlined in the next chapter. According to the Pew Research Center, the cumulative percentage for these 32 states has increased by 6.82% between 1980 and 2008 (4.09% in 1980; 5.14% in 1990; 7.91% in 2000; 10.91% in 2010) (See Table 1) (Pew Research Center, 2017). The social control mechanism analyzed in this study is imprisonment. More specifically, this study will consider prison admission rates because contrary to the overall incarceration rates, this measure focuses solely on prison intake. In contrast, incarceration rates account for all aspects of the prison population and thus would not give an accurate understanding of the influence of the percent Hispanic in a state on the prison population (e.g., admissions, standing population, and releases).

CHAPTER 4: METHODS OF THE THESIS PROJECT

Based on a review of literature attending to police interactions, experiences with the courts, and rates of sentencing and imprisonment, the inequalities present throughout the criminal justice system were outlined above. Prior research shows that, similar to Black females, Hispanic females are more frequently stopped by police, issued harsher sentences in court, and imprisoned at greater rates compared to White females (Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Harmon & O'Brien, 2011; Morín, 2008, 2016; Spohn, 2009). Little to no research has focused on causes for the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment. Therefore, this thesis attends to this gap in the research. The following section will describe the research questions and hypotheses, the data that will be used in this study, dependent, independent, as well as the statistical analyses that will be conducted to examine these research questions.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

More recent data from the Sentencing Project (2016) has shown that women are more likely to be admitted to prison from drug and property related offenses. In 2016 these two offenses accounted for about 51% (26% property and 25% drug offenses) of all female offense in state prisons. At the same time, the sheer volume of women that have been sent to prison for drug offenses has also increased. The sentencing project data reveals that in 1986 the percentage of women in prison for drug offenses and this increased to 25% in 2017 (The Sentencing Project, 2018). This thesis project examined these questions: 1) are drug crime initiatives driving the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment in comparison to Black and White females and 2) using Blalock's (1967) theory on group threat, do drug crime prison admission rates for Hispanic females correspond with the increase in the Hispanic population from 1980 to 2010 in the United States, which may be perceived as an ethnic threat to Whites (Owens, 2010)? For this thesis, it is

anticipated that drug offenses will have a far greater impact on Hispanic female imprisonment than Black and White female imprisonment. Previous research illustrates that most females in prison, more specifically Black and Hispanic females, are incarcerated for drug offenses (Alexander, 2012; Alleyne, 2007; Mackenzie, 2001; Morín, 2008, 2016; Steffensmeier et al., 1998). Also, it is anticipated that drug possession will produce greater disparities between Hispanic, Black, and White females in terms of imprisonment than drug trafficking offenses. This assertion stems from research showing that the role of females in the drug trade has been predominately that of a drug user, while the role of a drug trafficker was reserved for men (Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016; Muhlemann, 2018). Lastly, it is anticipated that drug crime prison admissions rates, drug possession prison admissions rates, and drug trafficking prison admission rates will correspond with the increase in the Hispanic population (Owens, 2010; Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2001).

Data: Secondary Data Analysis Plan and Examples

This project involved a secondary data analysis on state-level data originally collected by the National Corrections Reporting Program between 1983 and 2008. This study examined seven specific years across this time span, which included 1983, 1987, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004, and 2008. Data collection for this reporting program began in 1983. Prior to 1983, states did not record admission data on demographics like race, ethnicity, and sex specific prison admissions to the federal government. The year 1987 was chosen because it was the immediate year that followed the passage of the 1986 Anti-Drug Act. Harmon and Boppre (2016) explained that the War on Drugs reached its peak in 1988, so the year of 1990 and 1995 were selected to examine the lasting effects of the War on Drugs, and the introduction of the War on Crime. The War in Crime initiated with the passage of the 1994 Crime Bill. The years 2000 and 2004 were selected

due to the increase in the Hispanic population and the increase in deportation practices that were experienced in this time period (Bump, 2015; Guerino et al., 2011).

The year 2008 was the final year of analysis. After 2008, the Bureau of Justice Statistics stopped reporting annual state-level data detailing the racial, ethnic, and sex composition of the prison population. The data are restricted, and access was granted by ICPSR following the completion of an application approval process. This data set contained information from official state prison records on topics of race (e.g., White, Black, Hispanic origin), sex (e.g., male or female), age of inmates (e.g., at admission and release), admission to prison (e.g., type of admission), prior jail or prison time, length of jail or prison time, type of offense committed (e.g., violent, non-violent, property, or drug offense). The data set included information about the locations of sentences served, minimum amount of time served, total maximum sentence length, prior felony incarceration, community release prior to prison release, number of days on community release, prison release date, location of release, agency that assumed custody at release (e.g., 1st, 2nd, and 3rd), and type of release (e.g., parole, probation, expiration of sentence).

The National Corrections Reporting Program (NCRP) was collected from 32 out of the 50 state prison systems. Some states did not report data so missing data was a paramount limitation of this data set. These states included Arizona, Connecticut, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Montana, New Mexico, Vermont, and Wyoming. In addition, eight states inconsistently reported data between 1983 and 2008, so they were also eliminated from the analysis. These states included Alabama, Alaska, Delaware, Louisiana, Maryland, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Tennessee. In contrast, the data provided useful information for tracking trends in Hispanic female prison admission rates at the peak time of the War on Drugs and the War on Crime compared to the prison admission rates of Black and White females.

Examples of Published Research

Furthermore, researchers used this National Corrections Reporting Program data in over 40 studies to examine issues related to the justice-involved populations in the United States on a wide variety of issues (see Harmon & Boppre, 2016, 2017; Mechoulan & Sahuguet, 2015; Patterson, 2015). One study examined racial disparities in the determination process of who was released on parole (see Mechoulan & Sahuguet, 2015) and explored the myths of progress made by Black men involved in the criminal justice system (see Pettit, 2012). In addition, some researchers identified the social and economic consequences of incarceration for specific groups (Iguchi et al., 2002; Western, Kleykamp, & Rosenfeld, 2006).

For example, Iguchi et al. (2002) examined the effects that incarceration had on drug offenders, their families, and their communities. In their analysis of state and federal policies pertaining to felonious drug convictions, it was determined that the well-being of children and families, access to health care, access to housing benefits, access to higher education assistance, immigration status, employment opportunities, voting eligibility, and drug use or recidivism are all put at risk due to a drug conviction (Iguchi, 2002). Blacks and Hispanics have a greater risk of receiving a felony conviction and are more likely to lack access to the resources needed to navigate through society in a prosocial manner. This ultimately means that patterns of drug conviction and health disparities in society reinforce themselves. Therefore, reentry will disproportionately affect minority communities when considering that large volumes of people sent to prison for drug offenses are now completing their sentences and reentering communities (Iguchi, 2002). The lack of access to these vital resources (e.g., education, job opportunities, health care, housing, etc.) increases the likelihood of a drug offender recidivating, while also increasing the burden placed on their communities (Iguchi, 2002).

Furthermore, Western, Kleykamp, and Rosenfeld (2006) used this NCRP data to emphasize the effects of wages and employment on imprisonment. They analyzed prison admissions among Black and White men in specified age and education groups and identified a consequential increase in educational inequality between those who were incarcerated. The majority of the risk associated with imprisonment was isolated to men who did not go to college or have a college education (Western, Kleykamp, & Rosenfeld, 2006). The regression analysis of prison admission rates performed by Western, Kleykamp, and Rosenfeld (2006) illustrates the negative effects of wages and employment on Black men's imprisonment as well as the negative effects of wages on White men's imprisonment. They concluded that if wages and employment levels of the 1980s had continued at the same levels throughout the late 1990s, then prison admission rates would be about 15 to 25 percent lower for all non-college men (Western, Kleykamp, & Rosenfeld, 2006).

Lastly, Wildeman (2009) used this NCRP data to understand the intergenerational stigma attached to those who are incarcerated. Wildman (2009) explains how parental imprisonment transforms the social experiences of childhoods by assessing the risk of parental imprisonment before the age of 14 for Black and White children born in 1978 and 1990. Wildeman (2009) also explored the risk of parental imprisonment for children whose parents did not complete high school, stopped their education after completing high school, or attended college. This study revealed that 2.5% of White children born in 1978 and 4% of White children born in 1990 had an incarcerated parent while 14.3% of Black children born in 1978 and 25% of Black children born in 1990 had an incarcerated parent (Wildeman, 2009). Using this same data, these findings illustrate that inequality continues to grow in terms of the risk associated with parental imprisonment between White children of college-educated parents and all other children. A little

more than half of Black children born in 1990 to high school dropouts had an incarcerated father (Wildeman, 2009). Using this data, these findings indicate that parental imprisonment has emerged as a new childhood risk, which is heavily concentrated among Black children and children of parents with low levels of education (Western, Kleykamp, & Rosenfeld, 2006).

These studies are highlighted here to articulate that this data has been a reliable source for scholars to understand how race and class affects experiences with the criminal justice system, specifically imprisonment. Overall, though, these studies contribute to the dichotomous analysis of Black and White disparities. Simultaneously, few studies have used this NCRP data to examine female imprisonment or their interactions with the correctional agencies of the criminal justice system. Furthermore, to date, there has not been a single study completed with this data that provides an explanation for the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment with this data set.

Dependent Variables

For this study, the dependent variable were the Hispanic female prison admission rates per state female population compared to Black female prison admission rates per state female population compared to the White female prison admission rates per state female population. This analysis focused solely on a.) Drug crime prison admissions, b.) Drug possession prison admissions, and c.) Drug trafficking prison admissions. Harmon and Boppre (2016) used these variables to understand the rise in Black female imprisonment compared to White female imprisonment. Harmon and O'Brien (2011) used this data to see how sentencing reform influenced the imprisonment of males and females. This method allowed for the comparison of Hispánicas' prison admission rates compared to Black and White female prison admission rates based on the specific crime prison admission rates outlined in the next section. This data analysis

measured the effects of drug crime admissions on the odds of Hispanic female imprisonment in comparison to Black and White females.

Independent Variables

This analysis focused on the effects of race specific crime prison admissions on the likelihood of Hispanic female imprisonment compared to the imprisonment of Black and White females. The crime prison admissions data comes from the NCRP data set outlined above. In addition to these crime-specific prison admission variables, this study also used race and ethnicity to differentiate between the female participants within the data set. This study will focus on Hispanic, Black and White females, exclusively.

The data on Hispanic, Black, and White females' admissions will be collected in the form of counts of crime-specific admissions. They were converted into rates for each of the years included in the analysis. The total number of females per state per 100,000 came from the U.S. Census Bureau Data (1983-2008). Converting the counts of drug crime, drug possession, and drug trafficking admissions to rates per 100,000 made comparing across groups of different sizes easier. Next, the analysis for this study will be outlined.

Analysis of Data

To examine the variation in means of state-level prison admissions rates for White, Black, and Hispanic females for select years between 1983 and 2008 across 32 states an F-test was conducted. The F-test is a sampling distribution test frequently used in criminological research that assist in making statistical inferences about the relationship between more than two quantitative variables (Miethe & Madensen, 2015). In this case, the variables were prison admission rates for White, Black, and Hispanic females grouped by year (1983, 1987, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004, and 2008). These three groups were tested for significant differences among

means ($p < 0.05$) for drug crime prison admissions rates, drug possession prison admission rates, and drug trafficking prison admission rates. This analysis allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of how the events in a particular year influenced the prison admission rates for the specific demographic categories.

The null hypothesis for this analysis was **H₀**: No difference in mean prison admission rates for White, Black, and Hispanic females by year ($H_0: \mu_{\text{White female admissions}} = \mu_{\text{Black female admissions}} = \mu_{\text{Hispanic female admissions}}$). The alternative hypothesis for this analysis was: **H_a**: Difference in prison admission rates for White, Black, and Hispanic females by year (**H_a**: $\mu_{\text{White female admissions}} \neq \mu_{\text{Black female admissions}} \neq \mu_{\text{Hispanic female admissions}}$)

If the p value was greater than the alpha value of .05 then there was not enough evidence to support the rejection of the null hypothesis that there is no difference. On the other hand, if the p value was less than the alpha value of .05 then there was enough evidence to support the rejection of the null hypothesis that there was no difference in variance (Miethe & Madensen, 2015). This analysis also produced an ETA squared value (η^2) that illustrated the total effect size, which refers to the proportion of the total variance in a dependent variable that was associated with the membership of different groups defined by an independent variable. In this case it was the prison admission rates for each demographic grouped by the year that the individuals were admitted to prison (Miethe & Madensen, 2015). The following section outlines the results of the current study.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

The following graphs will illustrate some of the overall trends that occurred after the declaration of the War on Drug in 1971 and its peak in 1988. These graphs also illustrate the trends that were present in relation to the War on Crime that was initiated with the Omnibus Crime Bill of 1994. The following graphs identify the trends in prison admission rates for by demographic characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and drug crime type.

Figure 1: Prison admission rates for female by race/ethnicity, 1983-2008

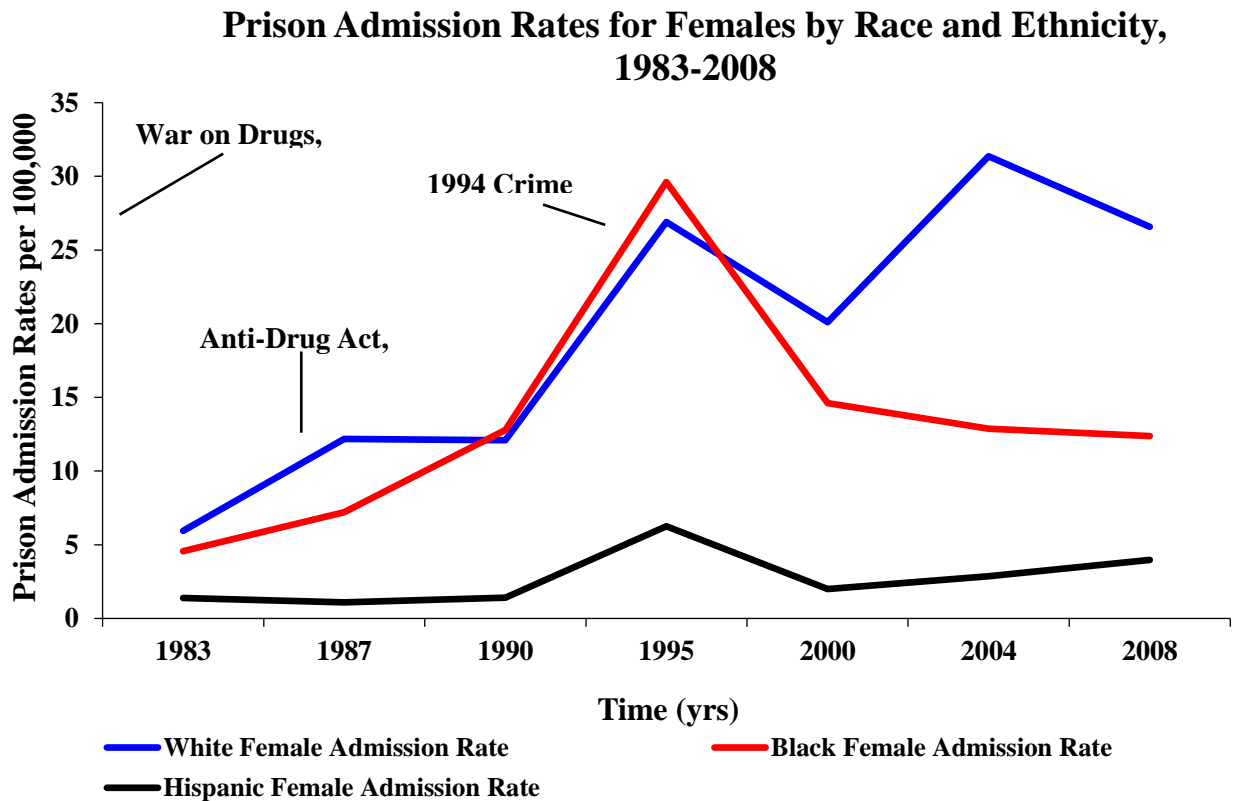


Figure 1 illustrates the prison admission rates for females by race and ethnicity from 1983 to 2008. From 1983 to 1996, there is an increase in the average prison admission rate for White, Black, and Hispanic females. This continuous increase is most prominent for Black females and White females. The prison admission rates for Hispanic females appear to somewhat steady from 1983 to about 1990. Once the 1990s begin, a sharp increase in Hispanic female prison admission rates exists that mimics the increase of Black female prison admission rates, but occurs at a much smaller magnitude. During this same span of time, there is a similar increasing pattern for White female prison admission rates. In the early part of the 2000s, there is a gradual increase in the prison admission rates for White females. This similar pattern is illustrated in the graph for Hispanic females as well from 2000 to 2008. Interestingly, the average prison admission rate for Black females seems to have slightly decrease as the graph progresses through the 2000s and increased slightly around 2008.

Figure 2: Drug crime prison admission rates, 1983-2008

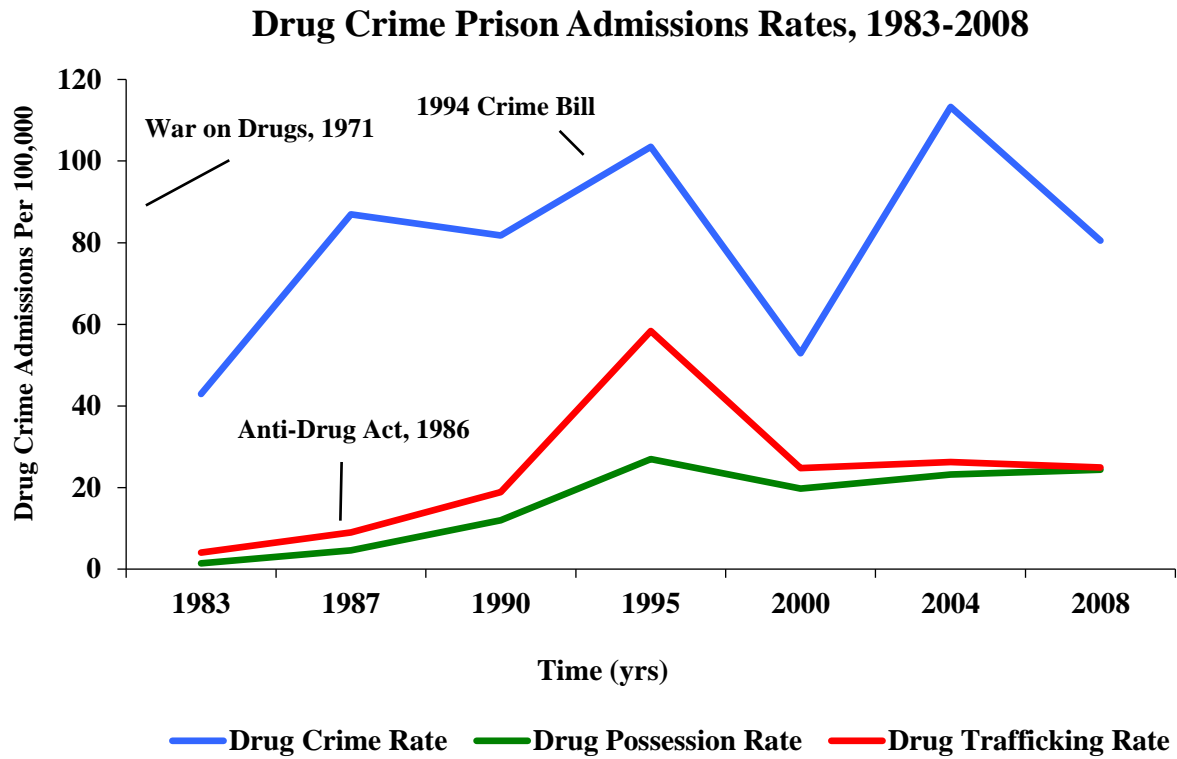


Figure 2 illustrates the prison admission rates for drug crimes, drug possession, and drug trafficking offenses from 1983 to 2008. This graph illustrates the drug crime prison admission rates have fluctuated considerably over time. Drug crime prison admission rates started out in 1983 at 43 per 100,000 and doubled to 86 per 100,000 in 1987. Drug crime prison admissions steadily rose in 1995 to 103 per 100,000. Throughout the first decade of the 2000s, the prison admission rates for drug crimes experienced a decline in 2000 and spiked in 2004.

Interestingly, when these drug crimes are further aggregated to specific drug possession and drug trafficking offense a different trend is revealed and both drug possession and drug

trafficking offenses follow a similar pattern. In the early part of the 1980s, individuals were more likely to be admitted to prison for trafficking drugs than drug possession. Each of these offenses continuously increased in a parallel fashion. The increase for drug possession and drug trafficking coincides with the passage of the Anti-Drug Act of 1986. The graph also indicates that the drug possession and drug trafficking admission rates increased to their highest point in 1995. Towards the latter part of the 1990s, the prison admission rates for drug possession and drug trafficking dropped and then both continued to increase into the 2000s and up until 2008.

Table 1 (below) illustrates that for each of the 32 states that were included in this analysis the Hispanic population has continued to increase from 1980 to 2010. This table shows that for all these states the total Hispanic population was approximately 4.09% and in 1990 the percentage increased to 5.14%. At the end of 2000, Hispanics made up a combine total of 7.91% of the total population in all 32 states. In 2010, the Hispanic population of these 32 states equaled 10.91% (Pew Research Center, 2017).

Table 1: % Hispanic Residents by State, 1980-2010

States	1980	1990	2000	2010	% Change
Arkansas	0.7	0.9	3.2	6.2	5.50%
California	19.3	25.4	32.3	37.7	18.40%
Colorado	11.9	12.8	17.1	20.8	8.90%
Florida	8.9	12	16.7	22.6	14%
Georgia	1.2	1.5	5.3	8.8	7.60%
Hawaii	7.7	6.8	7.3	8.9	1.20%
Illinois	5.7	7.7	12.3	15.9	10.20%
Iowa	0.9	1.2	2.7	5	4.10%
Kentucky	0.8	0.5	1.4	3	2.20%
Massachusetts	2.5	4.6	6.7	9.6	7.10%
Michigan	1.7	2	3.3	4.4	2.70%
Minnesota	0.8	1.1	2.9	4.7	3.90%
Mississippi	0.9	0.6	1.3	2.5	1.60%
Missouri	1	1.2	2.1	3.5	2.50%
Nebraska	1.8	2.3	5.4	9.2	7.40%
Nevada	6.8	10	19.7	26.6	19.80%
New Jersey	6.8	9.3	13.3	17.8	11%
New York	9.6	11.9	15	17.7	8.10%
North Carolina	1	1	4.7	8.4	7.40%
North Dakota	0.5	0.8	1.2	2	1.50%
Ohio	1.1	1.2	1.9	3.1	2.00%
Oklahoma	1.9	2.7	5	8.8	6.90%
Oregon	2.5	4	8	11.8	9.30%
Pennsylvania	1.3	1.9	3.3	5.7	4.40%
South Carolina	1.1	0.8	2.4	5	3.90%
South Dakota	0.7	0.8	1.3	2.6	1.90%
Texas	21.1	25.3	31.9	37.7	16.60%
Utah	4.2	5.1	9	13	8.80%
Virginia	1.5	2.5	4.7	7.8	6.30%
Washington	3	4.3	7.5	11.3	8.30%
West Virginia	0.7	0.4	0.7	1.2	0.50%
Wisconsin	1.4	1.8	3.6	5.9	4.50%
All	4.09	5.14	7.91	10.91	6.82%

Pew Research Center, 2017

Table 2 (below) illustrate the results from the F-test comparison of means for White females, Black females, and Hispanic females drug crime prison admission rates from 1983 to 2008. There were 224 observations inputted into this analysis (32 states x 7 years). Due to missing data only 193 observations for White female drug crime rate, 192 observations for Black

female drug crime rate, and 170 observations for Hispanic female drug crime rate produced the results for this analysis. The F-test reveals that the prison admission rate for drug crimes across each of the demographic fluctuated greatly over time. Throughout the latter part of the 1980s and the 1990s, Black females were admitted to prison at greater rates than White and Hispanic females. Each demographic saw an increase in 1995 for prison admissions related to drug crimes. The drug crimes prison admission rate for Hispanic females continued to rise in the latter part of 1990 and into the 2000s where their drug crimes prison admissions reached their peak. From 2000 to 2008 the Hispanic female drug crimes prison admission rate decreased. Over this same span of time, White female prison admission rate for drug crimes increased and stayed steady until 2008. Black female prison admissions for drug crimes slightly decreased from 2000 to 2008.

Table 2: F-test for drug crime prison admission rates for females by race/ethnicity

Drug Crime Prison Admission Rates and Group Comparison	N	1983	1987	1990	1995	2000	2004	2008	η^2	F test Result (* = $p < .05$)
Gender and Racial/ Ethnic Differences										
White Female Drug Crime Admission Rates	193	1.0016	1.9610	3.4316	9.8934	7.9587	1.0044	11.2329	0.133	F= 4.760 p = .000*
Black Female Drug Crime Admission Rates	192	.3895	1.1997	4.4261	13.1391	5.7765	4.3167	4.5909	0.198	F=7.632 p = .000*
Hispanic Female Drug Crime Admission Rates	170	.0846	.4368	.8542	3.5787	36.8467	1.3283	.9300	0.575	F= 36.691 p = .000*

The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically significant effect for White female drug crime prison admission rates, $F = 4.760$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = 0.133$ (Table 2). These results show that the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the means of White female prison admissions for drug crimes by year was rejected, and 13.3% of the variance in prison admissions for drug crimes was accounted for by the year. The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically significant effect for Black female drug crime prison admission rates, $F = 7.632$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = 0.198$ (Table 2). These results show the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the means of Black female prison admission rates for drug crimes by year was

rejected, and 19.80% of the variance in prison admissions was accounted for by the year. The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically significant effect for Hispanic female drug crime prison admission rates, $F = 36.691$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = 0.575$ (Table 2). These results show that the null hypothesis, that there is no difference in the means of Hispanic female prison admission rate for drug crimes by year was rejected, and 57.5% of the variance in prison admissions was accounted for by the year.

Figure 3: Drug crime prison admission rates for females by race/ethnicity, 1983-2008

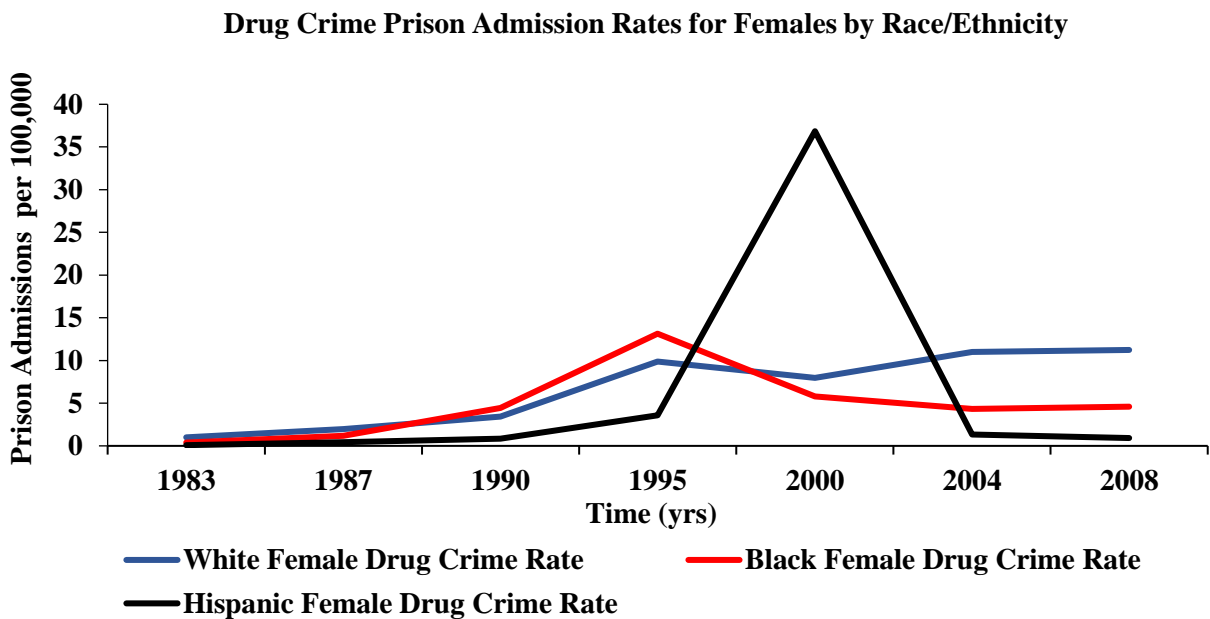


Figure 3 illustrates the average drug crime prison admission rates for females by race and ethnicity between 1983 and 2008 from Table 2. This graph shows that the drug crime prison admission rates for each demographic increased throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. Based on this graph, Black females were more likely to be admitted to prison for drug crimes than White

and Hispanic females throughout the 1990s. Black females experienced a decrease in prison admissions for drug crimes in the 2000s, while the opposite was true for White female drug crime prison admission rates. For Hispanic females, the graph indicates that they were admitted to prison for drug crimes at far lower rates than Black and White females each year. Hispanic females experienced a spike in prison admission rates for drug crimes in 2000 that was far greater than that of White and Black females. The increased prison admission rates for drug possession in the 1980s and 1990s coincide with the War on Drugs and War on Crime policies that were passed into law.

Table 3 (below) illustrates the results from the F-test comparison of means of drug possession prison admission rates for White females, Black females, and Hispanic females from 1983 to 2008. There were 224 observations inputted into this analysis (32 states x 7 years). Due to missing data only 171 observations for White female drug possession prison admission rates, 172 observations for Black female drug possession prison admission rates, and 143 observations for Hispanic female drug possession prison admission rates produced the results for this analysis. The F-test revealed an increase for each demographic group throughout the 1980s. Black females notably saw a dramatic increase in their prison admission starting in the 1990s and it reached a peak in 1995. During this same time period, White female prison admission rate also increased at a much smaller rate. From 1995 to 2000, Hispanic females saw the largest increase for drug possession.

Table 3: F-test for drug possession prison admission rates for females by race/ethnicity

Drug Possession Prison Admission Rates and Group Comparison	N	1983	1987	1990	1995	2000	2004	2008	η^2	F test Results (* = $p < .05$)
Gender and Racial/ Ethnic Differences										
White Female Drug Possession Admission Rates	171	.2443	.6452	1.3900	2.8410	4.1948	3.8481	5.4161	.144	F= 4.605 p = 0.000*
Black Female Drug Possession Admission Rates	172	.1579	.4116	1.9667	14.9720	2.9086	2.5219	2.5470	.038	F = 1.098 p = .366
Hispanic Female Drug Possession Admission Rates	143	.0520	.1144	.2240	.8382	49.1559	.4427	.4477	.055	F = 1.326 p = .250

The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically significant effect for White female drug possession prison admission rates, $F = 4.605$, $p = 0.000$, $\eta^2 = .144$ (Table 3 above). These results show that the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the means of White female drug possession prison admission rates by year was rejected, and 14.4% of the variance in drug possession prison admission rates for White females was accounted for by the year. The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically insignificant effect for Black female drug possession prison admission rates, $F = 1.098$, $p = .366$, $\eta^2 = .038$ (Table 3 above). These results show that the null hypothesis, that there is no difference in the means of

Black female drug possession prison admission rates by year was not rejected, and 3.8% of the variance in drug possession prison admission rates for Black females was accounted for by the year. The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically insignificant effect for Hispanic female drug possession prison admission rates, $F = 1.326$, $p = .250$, $\eta^2 = .055$ (Table 3). These results show that the null hypothesis of no difference in the means of Hispanic female drug possession prison admission rates by year was not rejected, and 5.5% of the variance in drug possession prison admission rates for Hispanic females was accounted for by the year.

Figure 4: Drug possession prison admission rates for females by race/ethnicity, 1983-2008

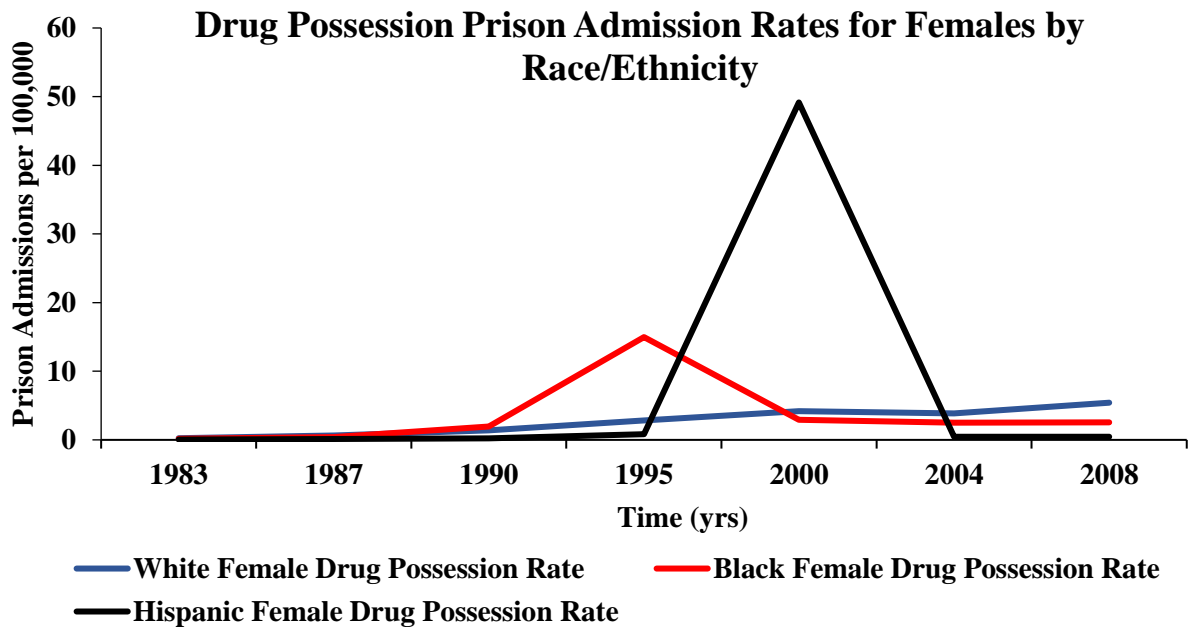


Figure 4 illustrates the average drug possession prison admission rates for females by race and ethnicity between 1983 and 2008 from Table 3. This graph shows that the drug possession prison admission rates for each demographic increased throughout the 1980s and the

1990s. Based on this graph, White females were more likely to be admitted to prison for drug possession than Black and Hispanic females in the 1980s. In addition, Black females were more likely to be admitted to prison for drug possession than White and Hispanic females throughout the 1990s. Black females experienced a decrease in prison admission rates for drug possession in the 2000s, while the opposite was true for White female drug possession prison admission rates. White females were more likely to be admitted to prison for drug possession in 2004 and 2008 than both Black and Hispanic females. For Hispanic females, the graph indicates that they were admitted to prison for drug crimes at far lower rates than Black and White females each year but saw a continuous increase in their prison admission rates for drug possession throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. Hispanic females experienced a spike in prison admission rates for drug possession in 2000 that was far greater than that of White and Black females. In 2004 and 2008, the prison admission rates for Hispanics were lower than that of White and Black females. The increased prison admission rates for drug possession in the 1980s and 1990s coincide with the War on Drugs and War on Crime policies that were passed into law.

Table 4: F-test for drug trafficking prison admission rates for females by race/ethnicity

Drug Trafficking Prison Admission Rates and Group Comparison	N	1983	1987	1990	1995	2000	2004	2008	η^2	F test Results (* = $p < .05$)
Gender and Racial/ Ethnic Differences										
White Female Drug Trafficking Admission Rates	181	.4241	1.1396	1.6822	4.8010	2.5723	3.8481	3.6750	.106	F= 3.427 p = .003*
Black Female Drug Trafficking Admission Rates	181	.2294	.6760	2.3063	6.8583	2.5161	1.8770	1.8929	.188	F= 6.693 p = .000*
Hispanic Female Drug Possession Admission Rates	154	.0900	1.2050	.5200	2.3981	31.8300	1.5408	.8395	.487	F= 23.264 p = .000*

Table 4 (above) illustrates the results from the F-test comparison of means for White females, Black females, and Hispanic females' drug trafficking prison admission rates from 1983 to 2008. There were 224 observations inputted into this analysis (32 states x 7 years). Due to missing data only 181 observations for White female drug trafficking prison admission rates, 181 observations for Black female drug trafficking prison admission rates, and 154 observations for Hispanic female drug trafficking prison admission rates produced the results for this analysis. The F-test reveals that the Hispanic female prison admission rate fluctuated throughout the 1980 and 1990s. Hispanic prison admission rates were lower than that of White and Black females

throughout this span of time. White, Black, and Hispanic females all saw an increase in the prison admission rates for drug trafficking in 1995 and this ballooned for Hispanic females through the latter part of the 1990s into 2000.

The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically significant effect for White Female drug trafficking prison admissions between 1983 and 2008., $F= 3.427$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2= .106$ (Table 4). These results show that the null hypothesis of no difference in the means of White female drug trafficking prison admission rates by year was rejected, and 10.6% of the variance in White female prison admission rates for drug trafficking was accounted for by the year. The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically significant effect for Black female drug trafficking prison admissions between 1983 and 2008, $F= 6.693$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2= .188$ (Table 4). These results show that the null hypothesis that of no difference in the means of Black female drug trafficking prison admission rates by year was rejected, and 18.8% of the variance in prison admissions was accounted for by the year. The independent between-group ANOVA yielded a statistically significant effect for Hispanic female drug trafficking prison admissions between 1983 and 2008, $F= 23.264$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2= .487$ (Table 4). These results show that the null hypothesis of no difference in the means of Hispanic female drug trafficking prison admission rates by year was rejected, and 48.7% of the variance in Hispanic female prison admissions rates for drug trafficking was accounted for by the year.

Figure 5: Drug trafficking prison admission rates for females by race/ethnicity, 1983-2008

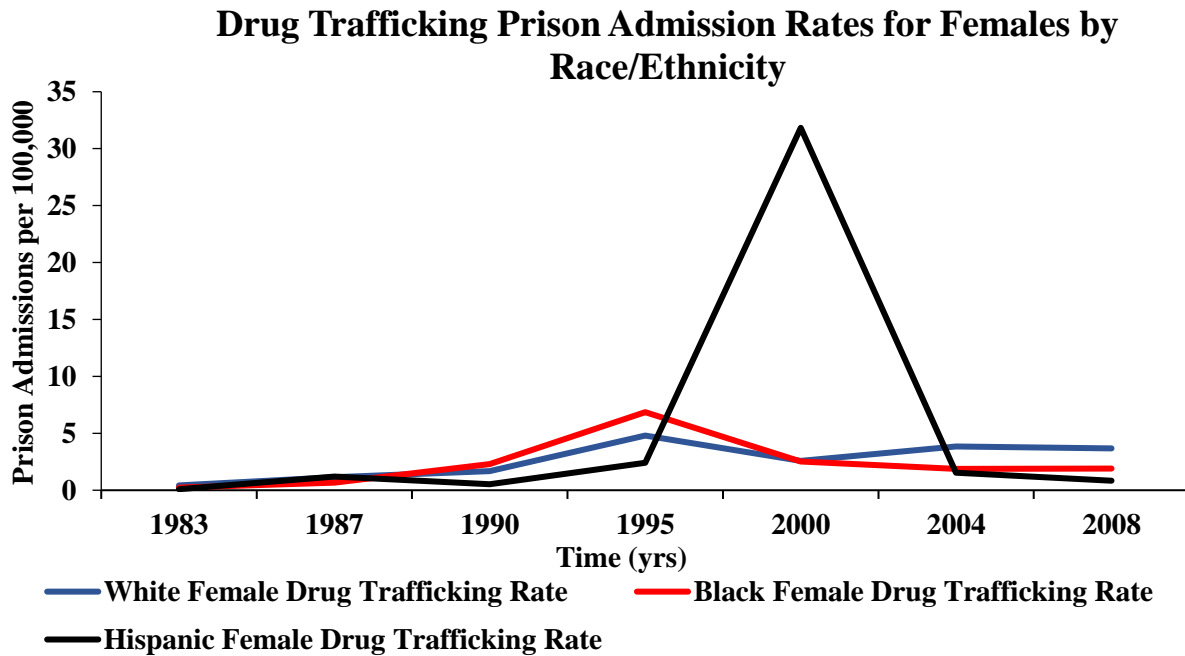


Figure 5 illustrates the average drug trafficking prison admission rates for females by race and ethnicity between 1983 and 2008 from Table 4. This graph shows that the drug trafficking prison admission rates for each demographic increased throughout the 1980s. Based on this graph, White females were more likely to be admitted to prison for drug trafficking than Black and Hispanic females in the 1983. Hispanic females were more likely to be admitted to prison from drug trafficking in 1987 in comparison to Black and White females. In addition, Black females were more likely to be admitted to prison for drug trafficking than White and Hispanic females throughout the 1990s. Black females experienced a decrease in prison admissions for drug trafficking in the 2000s, while the opposite was true for White female drug trafficking prison admission rates. Hispanic females experienced a spike in prison admission rates for drug trafficking in 2000 that was far greater than that of White and Black females. For

Hispanic females, the graph indicates that they were admitted to prison for drug trafficking at far lower rates than Black and White females throughout 2004 and 2008. The increased prison admission rates for drug trafficking in the 1980s and 1990s coincide with the War on Drugs and War on Crime policies that were passed into law.

Summary and Answers

The main findings of this analysis reveal that in each year analyzed between 1983 and 2008, males were more likely to be admitted to prison than females. In addition, this study found that overall, Black males and females combined were admitted to prison at far greater rates than White and Hispanic males and females combined. There were greater disparities between Blacks and Whites. Hispanic males and females combined were admitted to prison at a lower rate than Blacks, but a higher rate than Whites.

When comparing drug crime prison admission rates for females, the F-tests revealed that Black females are admitted to prison at greater rates than White and Hispanic females in the years of 1983, 1990 and 2000 for drug crimes. When looking at Hispanic females, there is a slight increase in the overall average prison admission rate for drug crimes, but it is substantially lower than the average drug crime prison admission rate for Black and White females. The F-test also illustrates a decrease in the Black female admissions rates for drug crimes throughout the early part of the 2000s to 2008 and an increase in the prison admissions for White females.

When comparing drug possession prison admission rates, Black females were admitted to prison at greater rates than White and Hispanic females starting in 1990 and 1995. From 1983 to 1995, the prison admission rates for drug possession of Hispanic females also rose, but at a much lower rate than the drug possession prison admission rates for Black and White females. This study anticipated that drug possession would produce greater disparities between Hispanic,

Black, and White females in terms of imprisonment than drug trafficking (Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016; Muhlemann, 2018). These findings reveal that Black and White females were admitted to prison for drug possession at greater rates than Hispanic females. These results show that there are disparities in terms of drug possession, but drug possession has a greater impact on Black and White female prison admission rates in comparison to Hispanic females.

When comparing drug trafficking prison admission rates, the results of F-test for the means of Black, White, and Hispanic females prison admission rates for drug trafficking offenses indicate that the rates for each demographic increase from 1983 to 1995 for drug trafficking. In 1995, the F-test revealed that Black female had the highest average prison admission rate for drug trafficking in comparison to White and Hispanic females. Throughout the 2000s, the F-test results indicate that White females were on average more likely to be admitted to prison for drug trafficking than Black and Hispanic females. The next section will provide a discussion of the results.

This thesis sought to these questions: 1) are drug crime initiatives driving the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment in comparison to Black and White females and 2) using Blalock's (1967) theory on group threat, do drug crime prison admission rates for Hispanic females correspond with the increase in the Hispanic population from 1980 to 2010 in the United States, which may be perceived as an ethnic threat to Whites (Owens, 2010)? For question 1, the results indicate that for drug crimes, drug possession, and drug trafficking, Hispanic females are least likely to be admitted to prison in comparison to Black and White females. Thus, this shows that drug crime initiatives are not driving the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment in comparison to Black and White females. For question 2, the results show that there are subtle increases in

prison admissions for drug crimes, drug possession, and drug trafficking, but for each year this data shows that the rates are relatively stable and there are not drastic increases that correspond with the percent Hispanic increases that are show in Table 1 from 1980 to 2010 (4.09% in 1980; 5.14% in 1990; 7.91% in 2000; 10.91% in 2010) (Pew Research Center, 2017). This would thus fail to provide support for the Blalock's (1967) threat hypothesis which states that there will be greater social controls imposed on the non-dominant groups when that population increase and is perceived as a threat to the dominant group. Furthermore, this finding is limited only to the use of prison as social control mechanism. The following section will further discuss these results.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the effects of race (Black and White), ethnicity (Hispanic), on drug crime prison admission rates for Hispanic females in comparison to Black and White females. This was all done in an effort fill in the gaps of literature pertaining to Hispanic females and their interactions with the criminal justice system. This study also sought to provide an explanation for the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment between 1983 and 2008. The following section discusses the key findings of the F-test analyses outlined in the previous section and provides context for the trends in the prison admission rates that were identified.

The results of the F-test indicate that the average prison admission rate for Hispanics is higher than that of Whites, but far as less than Blacks. This finding is consistent with previous research which shows that Blacks and Hispanics as two heterogeneous group are more likely have contact with the criminal justice system and end up in prison compared to Whites (Alleyne, 2007; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016; Tucker, Sr., 2017). In addition, the categorizations of what equates to a crime vs disease and treatment vs punishment stem primarily from the intersection between race, class, and gender within society (Campbell & Herzberg, 2017). For example, Crenshaw (1991) explains that the interplay between race and gender in society brands the excessive drug use by Whites as a health crisis. In contrast, identical actions pertaining to Blacks and Hispanics drug use were criminalized thus leading to the over-criminalization of these groups. This differential treatment is one possible explanation for why the racial and ethnic disparities exist in the criminal justice system. This analysis also reveals a relationship between prison admissions and percent Hispanic in the population of all 32 states and reveals some support for the group threat hypothesis.

These results reveal that White female prison admission rates are similar to the rates of Black females and higher in comparison to Hispanic females for each year included in this analysis. For example, White females were admitted to prison at greater rates in the 1980s in comparison to Black females. Black females were admitted to prison at greater rates than White and Hispanic females throughout the 1990s. There was a decrease in prison admissions for Black females and an increase for White females through the 2000s to 2008. Over this span of time, the prison admissions for Hispanic females were much lower than the rates for Black and White females. These findings are contrary to research that shows, Black and Hispanics females are incarcerated at greater rates than White females (Alexander, 2012; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008; Tonry, 2011). Other research also shows this to be a partial truth corresponding with the years of 2000, 2004, and 2008. Guerino et al. (2011) identified that Black female imprisonment decreased 35% between 2000 and 2010, while during this same time Hispanic and White female imprisonment increased 28% and 38% respectively. There is a similar trend illustrated in the results of this study during the between 2000 and 2008. One possible explanation for the increased prison admissions for White females for drugs is the imposition of state laws that have shifted enforcement towards prescription drugs and methamphetamine. Whites more frequently use these drugs than Blacks (Ajinkya, 2013; Mauer, 2013).

Previous research has consistently shown that Black and Hispanic females are incarcerated at far greater rates than White females (Tucker, Sr., 2017). The results of this analysis show that Black females were admitted to prison for drug crime, drug possession, and drug trafficking at greater rates than White and Hispanic females throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. Throughout the 2000s to 2008, there was a decrease in drug possession prison admission rates for Black females, while White female prison admissions increase during this time. Ironically,

the prison admission rate for drug possession by White females increased in 2000, decreased in 2004, and increased again in 2008. This trend is consistent with the previous research examining incarceration trends in throughout the 2000s for White, Black, and Hispanic females (Guerino et al., 2011).

For Hispanic, there is a noticeable spike in the year 2000 for drug crime, drug possession, and drug trafficking prison admissions. This is more than likely the result of an outlier within the data set that is augmenting the reality of the data and overstating the significance of the prison admission rate. If the year, 2000, was eliminated from the analysis, then it would be noticeable that the drug crime prison admission rates for Hispanic are relatively stable across the years in this analysis based on the NCRP data. This would fail to provide support for the racial and ethnic threat hypothesis that the drug crime prison admission rates correspond with the increases in the Hispanic population (Blalock, 1967; Owens, 2010). The results of the F-test did yield statistically significant results, meaning that there were in fact differences in the means of each demographic when accounting for the year that they were admitted to prison. These findings do show that Hispanic prison admissions are impacted by drug crimes, drug possession, or drug trafficking prison admissions, but the analysis of this data shows a minimal effect overall in comparison to the impact on Black and White prison admissions. Previous research illustrates that most females, more specifically Black and Hispanic females, in prison are incarcerated for drug offenses (Alexander, 2012; Alleyne, 2007; Mackenzie, 2001; Morín, 2008, 2016; Steffensmeier et al., 1998).

The results of the present study are not consistent with the focal concerns perspective and the threat hypotheses described earlier. Most notably, the findings suggest that Hispanic females are less likely to be admitted to prison for drug offenses when compared to Black and White females. Previous research by Demuth and Steffensmeier (2004) noted that Hispanic may be perceived differently and more threatening due to cultural differences and thus be punished more

severely. These findings do not reflect this stance. They also argued that Hispanic males and females may be stereotyped as drug dealers and drug users and thus receive harsher sanctions for drug crimes (Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004).

These findings are inconsistent with previous research the showing that drug crimes do influence the imprisonment of White, Black, and Hispanic female imprisonment rates differently. Drug offenses were the leading cause for increases in the prison population in the years that followed the passage of 1994 Crime Bill (Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; MacKenzie, 2001; Tucker, Sr., 2017). Muehlmann (2018) explains that the criminalization of drug use occurs along racial and gendered lines while disproportionately affecting Black and Hispanic females compared to White females. This analysis shows that drug crime prison admission rates were greatest through the latter part of the 1980s and the 1990s for Black females in comparison to White and Hispanic females. Muehlmann (2018) notes that work like Campbell (2000) as well as Campbell and Ettore (2011) discusses that Black and Hispanic females were a main target of the drug policy changes during the crack-cocaine epidemic of the 1980s. As a result, there was a public out-cry about Black and Hispanic females' drug usage and how this usage had dire consequences not experienced by others. Ultimately, these punitive punishments were used to punish females who disregarded their motherly duties of birthing children, raising them properly, and taking good care of them (Campbell, 2000; Muehlmann, 2018).

The experiences of females with the War on Drugs vary based on race as well. Muehlmann (2018) illustrates that these experiences diverge based on the pathways of treatment and punishment. More Hispanic and Black females face criminalization for their drug use while White females have more resources available to them for drug treatment (Franklin, 2008;

Muehlmann, 2018). Muehlmann (2018) further describes the War on Drugs as a gendered form of state oppression inflicted upon Black and Hispanic females. The fact that research on drug-related issues concerning females centered on females' drug use during pregnancy and parenting exemplified this idea. Research conducted in the 1990s regarding maternal drug use contextualized and politicized Black and Hispanic mothers' use of crack and created a panic (Maher 1997; Maher et al., 1996; Moloney et al., 2015; Sales & Murphy, 2007). Muehlmann (2018) points out that there was evident patriarchal tendencies and sexism within these studies. The media also highlighted the issue of maternal drug use in news and newspaper articles. In doing so, Black and Hispanic mothers endured public stigmatization because of this media attention. The nature of this stigma targeted primarily Black and Hispanic females because White mother's drug use was not publicized in the same way as Black and Hispanic mothers' drug use (Muehlmann, 2018). White females were more likely to receive treatment for their drug use while that was not the case for Black and Hispanic females. Access to treatment made White females' drug use an invisible problem (Muehlmann, 2018). Consequently, the government overly criminalized Black and Hispanic mothers for their drug use (Muehlmann, 2018).

It should be noted that the prison admission rates based on this data shows that the White female prison admission rates were in fact higher than the prison admission rates for Hispanic females. The inconsistency of these findings can be explained by the presence of missing data in the years and states that were analyzed. At the same time, the mis-categorization of Hispanic females as White females in the recording of this data by states is also part of the reason that these results should be called into question. For example, Nellis (2016) explains that it is necessary and of the utmost importance, that findings produced with secondary ethnicity data from the criminal justice system are suspect and should be questioned given the lack of ethnicity

data provided by various states. The missing data on ethnicity makes it difficult to depict the disparities that exist in the prison population, accurately, if Hispanics are mis-categorized as White males and females. This thus will skew the numbers that describe who are incarcerated and inflate the White prison population and White prison admission rates (Nellis, 2016).

Missing data and mis-categorization of Hispanics as White seems to be the problem with the National Corrections reporting program because of the small amounts of data that were available for the 32 states included in this analysis. Even some of states that consistently reported data failed to report data on ethnicity or had minimal data on this variable. This is an obvious flaw within the data set seeing as though some states recorded that they had 0 to 10 Hispanic females admitted each year to prison. The four states that Nellis (2016) acknowledges do not collected data on ethnicity are Alabama, Maryland, Montana, and Vermont. It should be noted that these states were exclude from the analysis because of inconsistent reporting and lack of this data. The true number of Hispanics that are admitted to prison is unknown due to the lack of data and recorded information by states, but it can be assumed that with more accurate data the true disparities could possibly be uncovered.

These results are contrary to other research, which explains that Hispanic female imprisonment rates have risen in lieu of the War on Drugs, mainly for drug offenses (Bonczar, 2003; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016; Tucker, Sr., 2011). In explaining a females' role in the drug trade, Muehlmann (2018) identifies gendered and racial differences between drug use and drug trafficking. Males and females have different experiences related to the War on Drugs, the drug trade, and addiction. In the drug trade, females have become overly sexualized to the point that they are vulnerable to harms of street life (e.g., disease and violence of a physical and sexual nature) (Bush-Baskette, 2000; Muehlmann, 2018; Richie, 2001).

Females often turn to prostitution in order to fuel a drug habit or survive when faced with homelessness and poverty (Maher, 1997; Miller, 1995). In addition, Bush-Baskette (2000) explains that the system treats drug users like drug dealers over the possession of small amounts of drugs as opposed to seeking to understand why they use drugs or the trauma that leads them to drug use.

Each of the analyses produced a reoccurring trend throughout the late 1980s and up until 1995. That trend indicates that Black females had the highest prison admission rate out of each of the three racial and ethnic groups for drug crime, drug possession, and drug trafficking. This increase corresponded with the passage of the 1986 Anti-Drug Act, which created different punishments for crack and cocaine offenses (Alexander, 2012; Provine, 2011; Sirin, 2011). Also, this increase in 1995 corresponds with passage of the 1994 Crime Bill which altered the criminal justice system by using mandatory minimums, sentencing guidelines, Three-Strikes-rules, and Truth-in-Sentencing-laws which increased the number people that were arrested, charged, sentenced, and imprisoned. These policies wreaked havoc on predominantly poor communities of color, but more specifically Black and Hispanic females for low level drug offenses (Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; MacKenzie, 2001; Morín, 2008).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The idea of social control is the bedrock on which the criminal justice system was built and thus it has been used to perpetuate the new racial and ethnic caste system that places Blacks and Hispanics at a further disadvantage in society (Tonry, 2011). This study was concerned with identifying the potential reasons for an increase in Hispanic female imprisonment through an analysis of drug crime prison admission rates for seven specific years (1983, 1987, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004, 2008) over a 25-year span of time.

This study was birthed from the notion that the United States has incarcerated the most people in the world and has done so for several decades. This devastating reality has altered people's lives, and those that have been most affected by this ever-growing incarceration rate are people of color, more specifically Blacks and Hispanics (Alexander, 2012; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008; Tonry, 2011). Currently, there are more than 2.3 million people held within the criminal justice system (Wagner & Sawyer, 2018). It is also a well-known fact that there has also been a dramatic increase in the female prison population, so much so that the United States has the highest incarceration rate for females when compared to all other countries (Alleyne, 2007; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Kajstura, 2018; Morín, 2008, 2016). Most of those females incarcerated are either Black or Hispanic, and most of them have committed some form drug offense (Alleyne, 2007).

From the moment President Nixon declared drugs "Public Enemy number 1," to the Anti-Drug Act under Reagan and following the passage of the 1994 Crime Bill under Clinton the War on Drugs and the War on Crime alter the criminal justice system's function (Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; MacKenzie, 2001; Morín, 2008; Provine, 2011, p.45; Tonry, 2011). Clinton's War on Crime created mandatory minimums, sentencing guidelines, Three-

Strikes-rules, and Truth-in-Sentencing-laws and these policies increased the sheer volume of who were arrested, charged, sentenced, and imprisoned. These punitive policies mainly harmed predominantly poor communities of color, but more specifically Black and Hispanic females (Blumstein et al., 2000; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; MacKenzie, 2001; Morín, 2008). At their core, the drug policies in the United States are racialized and gendered. It is logical to assume that these policies and laws were passed into law and their intentions were to play on the racial and ethnic fears of Whites (Alexander, 2012; Tonry, 2011). Consequently, the criminalization of drug use disproportionately affects Black and Hispanic females compared to White females (Muehlmann, 2018). The categorizations of what equates to a crime vs disease and treatment vs punishment stem primarily from the intersection between race, class, and gender within society and is pivotal in the determination of who is placed into prison and who is not (Campbell & Herzberg, 2017). For example, Crenshaw (1991) explains that the interplay between race and gender in society brands the excessive drug use by Whites as a health crisis. In contrast, identical actions pertaining to Blacks and Hispanics drug use are criminalized. Due to this, the criminal justice system has continually reinforced the second-class status that has been historically placed on Blacks and Hispanics. This has made it possible for Whites to experience privilege that is not bestowed upon Blacks and Hispanics alike with regards to interactions with the criminal justice system (Tonry, 2011).

From previous research examining racial disparities provides plenty of insight into the inner workings of the criminal justice system as it relates to police interaction, the court via sentencing decisions, lastly overall imprisonment. First, Hispanics, like Blacks, are more frequently surveilled, racially profiled, and stop-questioned-and-frisked by police than Whites across various states (Alexander, 2012; Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Muehlmann, 2018; The New

York Civil Liberties Union, 2012; Woldoff & Washington, 2008). Second, Hispanics, like Blacks, are more likely denied bail and receive harsher sentences in court than compared to Whites (Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004; Schlesinger, 2005; Spohn, 2000, 2009). Lastly, Hispanic female imprisonment rates have risen in lieu of the War on Drugs, mainly for drug offenses (Bonczar, 2003; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Morín, 2008, 2016; Tucker, Sr., 2017).

This study utilized National Corrections Reporting Program data to compare the drug crime, drug possession, and drug trafficking prison admission rates for White, Black, and Hispanic females. For further analysis, this study also compared the female prison admission rates for drug possession and drug trafficking to examine any additional disparities that may have stemmed from the War on Drugs and War on Crime policies and initiatives. The analysis that was employed was an F-test, which is an analysis of variance across three or more groups, and these demographic groups were grouped by years (Miethe & Madensen, 2015).

This study was guided by the theoretical assumption of Blalock's (1967) racial and ethnic threat theory. This theory proposes that an increase in the quantity of people of color (e.g., Blacks and Hispanics) causes Whites and those in position of power to feel threatened and view these communities of color as a threat to their social status, economic interests and security, and political power. Thus, measures must be established in order to control and/or eliminate the perceived threat. This study frames the War on Drugs and War on Crime policies as the social control mechanisms that are used to eliminate perceived threats by the dominant group in society.

The first question that this study sought to answer was: are drug crime initiatives driving the rise in Hispanic female imprisonment compared to Black and White females? The study hypothesized that Hispanic females were more likely to be admitted to prison for drug crimes

than Black and White females. These analyses show that the prison admission rates for these offenses were much greater for Black and White females than they were for Hispanic females. This study also hypothesized that drug possession crimes will produce greater disparities between Hispanic, Black, and White females in terms of prison admission rates than drug trafficking. The result of these analyses also revealed that Hispanic females were admitted to prison at far lower rates than White and Black females for drug possession and drug trafficking. It should be noted that the Hispanic female prison admission rates for drug crimes, drug possession, and drug trafficking are consistently lower than the averages for Black and White female admission rates.

Using Blalock's (1967) theory on group threat as a guide this study asked: do drug crime, drug possession, and drug trafficking prison admission rates for Hispanic females correspond with the increase in the Hispanic population from 1980 to 2010 in the United States, which may be perceived as an ethnic threat to Whites (Owens, 2010)? Steffensmeier and Demuth (2001) acknowledged that between 1980 and 2000 there was a 55% increase in the number of Hispanic Americans. Hispanics now make up almost 10% of the U.S. population, and by 2010, they would represent the largest racial or ethnic group in the United States. In the span of 10 years (2000–2010), the Hispanic population grew by nearly a quarter and this increase was three times as much as the increase in the entire population (Owens 2010). The results of this study do show that between 1983 and 2000 that there was an increase in the average prison admission rates for drug crimes and drug trafficking crimes of Hispanic females, thus giving some support to the idea that an increase in the Hispanic population affect prison admissions, but it is minimal to say the least. For each female group, though, regardless of race and ethnicity, the threat hypothesis could suggest that it is more about women and that there might be a tipping point.

From 2000 to 2008, the results of these analyses are skewed due to an unknown outlier within the data set. If the year, 2000, was removed, then the trend for Hispanic female prison admission would not provide support for the idea of racial and ethnic threat. This is so, because the prison admission rates for drug crimes, drug possession, and drug trafficking of Hispanics, based on the National Corrections Reporting program data, are relatively stable over the six remaining years that were included in these analyses. Another possibility for this skew in the data set includes the fact that more states may have state to report Hispanics in their prison data, and thus this new population saw a spike in admission rates

Social science research has left gaps in the literature pertaining to the interaction between the criminal justice system and ethnicity due to major shortfalls of state data on ethnic crime data, punishment data, and other records of criminal justice involvement. These shortfalls mainly stem from Hispanic males and females being counted in the at White or Black categories of these data sets (Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2001). Based on the analyses of this study using the National Corrections Reporting program data the data pertaining to Hispanic female underestimates the admission rates and makes it seem as though there are fewer Hispanics and more specifically Hispanic females in the criminal justice system than there actually are. Bonczar (2003) identified that between the years of 1974 and 2001, the Hispanic female prison population increased more than tenfold (8,000 to 86,000 Hispanic female prisoners). Research has shown that in the first decades of the 2000 there was a decrease in the overall incarceration of Black females, while the prison population for Hispanic and White females increased moderately (Guerino et al., 2011). The results do show a similar trend in terms of a decrease in the drug crime, drug possession, and drug trafficking prison admissions for Black female and an increase in the average admission rates for White females. Nevertheless, in the early 2000s, Hispanic women were imprisoned 2.2

times that of White women while Black women were imprisoned 5.5 times the rate of White women (Bonczar, 2003). The results of this study do not depict this reality.

The present study demonstrates the necessity of considering ethnicity as well race, not just for the examination of Hispanic and White prison admission differences, but also for correctly identifying Black and White prison admission differences. As discussed above, the inclusion of Hispanics into the White racial category produces biased racial findings that misrepresent Black and White disparities in prison admissions. These findings emphasize the necessity to identify or develop data sets that allow for an analysis of prison admissions across different Hispanic subgroups (e.g., Cuban, Mexican, and Puerto Rican).

Furthermore, like with any study, there are certain limitations that must be outlined and addressed. The benefits of doing this are that it can guide future research inquiries into the racial and ethnic disparities that are consistently found within the criminal justice system in terms of each institution (police interactions, courts via sentencing and bail, and the corrections). One of the paramount limitations of this study was the data itself. For example, these analyses included 32 states, but not all of them were include in the final outputs of the F-tests, due to missing data. Another problem with the data is that of 32 states that were included in this study several of them inconsistently reported data related to Hispanic females in the years analyzed. Because of this shortfall within the data, the F-test analyses were unable to capture all 224 possible observations (32 states x 7 years) in each analysis. The assumption can be made that the flaws of the data set itself skewed the findings and thus made them inconsistent with the previous research studies that have examined racial and ethnic disparities in terms of imprisonment.

There are many directions that future research can take in term of understanding the ways in which ethnicity impact the interactions with the criminal justice system. For example, future

research project can investigate the impact of immigration status on imprisonment. Future research can also examine whether the size of the immigrant population influences the imprisonment rate of that specific jurisdiction, or state. Another direction for future research is to analyze the states that have never reported data to the National Corrections Reporting program or analyze the states that were not included in this analysis. Some states did not report data so missing data is a paramount limitation. These states include Arizona, Connecticut, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Montana, New Mexico, Vermont, and Wyoming. In addition, eight states inconsistently reported data between 1983 and 2008, so they were also eliminated from the analysis. These states include Alabama, Alaska, Delaware, Louisiana, Maryland, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Tennessee. The research on these states is pivotal to an understanding of race and ethnicities impacts on the criminal justice sanctioning, seeing as though a few of the states listed above are in the South which has a dreaded history of racism and discrimination dating back to the time of slavery.

Future research can further explore the complexities of imprisonment seeing as though this study focused solely on prison admission rates, such as Hispanic females who are serving time and those that have completed their sentence and were released. Previous research has noted that race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sex have great influence over the outcomes that are seen within the criminal justice system (Alexander, 2012; Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Muehlemann, 2018). This study solely focused on drug crimes, drug possession, and drug trafficking offenses, so future research can compare other crime admission rates (e.g., property and violent crimes) across racial and ethnic demographics for females to possibly further reveal disparities. In addition, research can examine the pathways to crime for Hispanic females and seek to understand the difference in criminal activity compare to White females.

There are also avenues in terms of exploring the disparities of specific subgroups within the Hispanic culture and the impact of cultural differences. Future research should also assess the perceptions of correctional staff and police officers of racial disparities to determine if these schemas have influence on the decision-making processes in their specific line of work. One of the policy implications that this study stresses is to have more accurate government data on Hispanic and to mandate, federally, that states must report data uniformly on racial and ethnic demographics for understanding the true extent of racial and ethnic disparities that plague the system (Nellis, 2016; Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2001).

Previous research has noted that race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sex have great influence over the outcomes that are seen within the criminal justice system. In society, there is stratification and with stratification, there is conflict because there are those that have and there are those that do not. This stratification divides people into categories and institutions implemented to ensure that the division between the dominant group and the non-dominant group and maintain the social hierarchy, the power dynamic, and the status quo (Alexander, 2012; Beck & Blumstein, 2018; Harmon & Boppre, 2016; Muelhmann, 2018; Tonry, 2011). There is a plethora of research to support the idea that the criminal justice system has targeted Blacks and Hispanic at far greater rates than Whites for various crimes. In addition, there is an overwhelming consensus that the War on Drugs and its policies ignited the prison population increase identified in the data set between 1983 and 2008.

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