

Mediating Residents' Trust in Police Through Collective Efficacy Processes

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Abstract

Urban area neighborhoods are no stranger to the vastly changing economic and social structures that persist in their communities; in principle and in practice, in the United States, a residents' place matters. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between collective efficacy processes and the outcome of trust in police. Particularly, the process by which social cohesion activates a form of informal social control through the residents' perceived social experiences within their neighborhoods and how that relates to trust in police. Data utilized for this study derives from the Annie E. Casey Foundation's *Making Connections* Survey. Using path analysis, I found that informal social control acts as a mediator between social cohesion and trust in police. These results indicate that social cohesion through a residents' ability to intervene and regulate social control positively relates to the outcome of trust in police. As such, members of the community contribute to a socially cohesive system when they can ascribe to shared characteristics and perceive the ability to individually alter or influence the conditions of their neighborhood through social control mechanisms.

Introduction

Trust in the police is plummeting in the United States, following recent deadly police-citizen encounters in places such as Ferguson, Charleston, New York City, Baltimore, and many others, reaching a new 22-year low in overall police trust (Jones, 2015). Minority groups have consistently shown less trust in law enforcement compared to their white counterparts (Engel, 2005). This difference in trust appears to be based on minority groups reporting more direct negative personal experiences with law enforcement (Friedman, 2014). A trustworthy police force is defined as one that “is seen by the public to be effective, to be fair, and to have shared values, interests, and a strong commitment to the local community” (Jackson & Bradford, 2010, p.5). As such, communities with high levels of trust in police promote healthy interactions, whereas low levels of trust can undermine constructive relationships within neighborhoods. Moreover, if local police can demonstrate to their communities that they possess these abilities and values that align with local interests, it will strengthen the moral connection between citizens and the police (Bradford, 2009), encouraging more active public engagement in the regulation of social and community life. More specifically, the idea of trust extends beyond public assessments that police simply perform their duties effectively and efficiently. Rather, it includes a sense that the police understand the needs of the community, they treat members of the community fairly and with dignity, they provide information, and that they residents a voice to highlight local problems (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). As such, when residents have trust in police, they are more likely to cooperate with police by reporting crimes and informally

enforcing societal norms within their neighborhoods. In contrast, neighborhoods that have lower levels of trust in police are less likely to cooperate, report crimes, or enforce societal norms (Nix, Wolfe, & Roljek, 2014). Moreover, when residents observe unfair behaviors and treatment by the police in their neighborhoods it communicates separation and exclusion. As such, neighborhood contexts are influenced by the residents' level of trust in police.

Urban area neighborhoods are no stranger to the vastly changing economic and social structures that persist in their communities. In many impoverished neighborhoods, individuals and families remain in their communities until they are financially able to leave them, leaving urban neighborhoods in a constant state of transition because of residential mobility. Socio-economically deprived communities frequently house new immigrants, contributing largely to the ethnic and racial heterogeneity found within the same communities. In 1942, Shaw and McKay contributed these characteristics to define socially disorganized communities and the influence they have on social control and crime. As such, if a community is disorganized by factors such as economic decline and instability, it creates a breakdown in social institutions in which community members are unable to control delinquent behavior or criminal organizations from emerging in their community.

One of the core principles of social disorganization theory (SDT) is that place matters, particularly for residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Ruth Kornhauser defines social disorganization theory as, "...the inability of a community structure to realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls" (Kornhauser et al., 1978). As a process, it begins with community structure (e.g. residential mobility, ethnic and racial

heterogeneity, etc.) coupled with disorganized internal social patterns in the form of collective efficacy, leading to greater levels of crime in the community. The structure and dynamics of socio-economically deprived neighborhoods contributes to the concentration and persistence of crime, despite continual changes in the population that reside within the community. As such, interpersonal crime within neighborhoods relies upon the residents' capacity to control group-level processes and visible signs of social disorder (Sampson, 1997). SDT contends that community level factors influence intra-community processes, specifically collective efficacy, which then leads to greater levels of crime and other forms of social disorder within communities (Sampson & Groves, 1989).

Collective efficacy is a construct that emerged out of the social disorganization literature and is composed of two factors: social cohesion and informal social control. It is defined as "...social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good" (Sampson et al., 1997, p. 919). Social cohesion describes how residents think and feel about the relationships within their neighborhood and is more broadly defined as shared values, solidarity, and mutual trust among neighbors (Browning, Dietz, & Feinberg, 2004; Higgins & Hunt, 2016; Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999). Alternatively, informal social control is defined as residents' willingness to intervene and act on issues that affect their neighborhoods (Collins, Neal & Neal, 2016; Sampson et al., 1997). An example of collective efficacy can be seen in socially cohesive neighborhoods in which residents monitor play groups among children and are willing to intervene (utilizing informal social control), to prevent street-corner "hanging" or acts of

truancy by teenage peer groups (Sampson et al., 1997). Neighborhood variations in crime and violence are influenced by residents' capacity to realize and actualize their common values, principles, and collective goals. Determining these characteristics enables residents' cohesive ability to intervene and regulate community behavior via informal social control. As such, members of the community contribute to a socially cohesive system when they can ascribe to shared characteristics and perceive the ability to individually alter or influence the conditions of their neighborhood through social control mechanisms.

Neighborhood variations of collective efficacy stem from three dimensions of neighborhood stratification; concentrated disadvantage, immigrant concentration, and residential stability (Sampson & Groves, 1989). The need to study collective efficacy is important because prior research has reported that it significantly influences neighborhood-level factors, such as crime and delinquency (Sampson et al., 1997). Specifically, decreases in neighborhood crime and homicide have been associated with collective efficacy efforts (Wickes et al., 2013). These efforts are important in fostering communities that can collectively combat and change the social structures that are influencing their neighborhoods. More broadly, Bandura notes, "People's beliefs in their collective efficacy influence the type of futures they seek to achieve; how well they use their resources; how much effort they put into their group endeavor; their staying power when collective efforts fail to produce quick results or meet forcible opposition, and their vulnerability to discouragement" (Bandura, 1998, p.76).

The ways in which individuals relate to one another and their surroundings plays a significant role in the social organization or disorganization of communities. With the rise of

residential mobility and high-rise housing comes disadvantages to community and neighborhood relationships as they become more difficult to establish and maintain (Sampson, 1993). In addition to residential mobility and diminishing community relationships, the impact of racial inequality on neighborhoods has led to intensified social isolation and an ecological concentration of the disadvantaged which creates barriers that undermine social organization and the control of crime (Sampson et al., 1995, Collins & Guidry, 2018). Furthermore, neighborhood context influences attitudes towards the police (Nix et al., 2015). According to SDT, a residents' place matters, as does their neighborhood context and the social structures that persist within them. As such, understanding the ways in which neighborhood contexts influence residents' perceptions and attitudes toward the police is essential to understanding varying levels of trust in police. As such, a neighborhood's composition, social organization or disorganization, crime rates, and perceived collective efficacy have been associated with trust in police (Bradford, 2017). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between collective efficacy processes and the outcome of trust in police.

Current Study

The current study seeks to investigate the relationship between collective efficacy processes (i.e. social cohesion and informal social control) and trust in police. What is the relationship between social cohesion and trust in police? What is the relationship between informal social control and trust in police? What is the relationship between social cohesion and informal social control? Does informal social control mediate the relationship between

social cohesion and trust in police?” For the purposes of this study, I define two research questions:

RQ1: What are the individual and neighborhood factors that predict police trust?

RQ2: Does informal social control mediate the relationship between social cohesion and trust in police?

Literature Review

Previous literature on collective efficacy and the police generally investigates police legitimacy and cooperation more broadly, rather than trust in police specifically. There are studies that solely use social cohesion as an indicator of trust in police, but not in the context of both collective efficacy processes. As such, my research aims to help fill that gap in the literature. Conceptually, trust in the police derives from a feeling that police officers will exercise their authority with the best interest of the community in mind (Tyler and Huo, 2002). As such, this encourages the idea that community residents and the police are on the same side. Moreover, when residents feel they are treated equitably and justly, police communicate to residents that they are valued members of the social group that the police represent (Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Blader, 2000). In contrast, demonstrated unfair behaviors and treatment communicate separation, social denigration, and exclusion to residents, fostering an “us and them” mentality among communities. As such, fairness and shared values most strongly predict trust in police (Bradford & Jackson, 2010). In a study of 1,575 residents of Chicago, Tyler (1990)

demonstrates that the primary factor shaping residents trust in the police was the quality of treatment they received from law enforcement. Tyler and Huo (2002) also contend that how residents perceived the effectiveness of their police force to deal with crime within their communities as a predictor of trust in police. These studies suggest that residents' perceptions and trust in police are defined by the observed attitudes and actions of their local police.

The varying levels of trust in police among residents impacts their propensity to defer to and cooperate with local police when policing activities are required in their neighborhood. Prior research contends that trust conditions individuals' obligation to obey authority and shapes their willingness to cooperate with the police (Murphy, Mazerolle & Bennett, 2014). Moreover, when citizens trust the police, they are more likely to cooperate with them by reporting crimes as well as informally enforcing societal norms within their neighborhoods (Nix, Wolfe, & Roljek, 2014). As such, when residents believe police actions within their community are procedurally fair, they are more likely to perceive the police as a legitimate and trustworthy institution (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Just as trust in police is shaped by residents' perceptions and observed attitudes or actions of police, levels of trust or distrust in the police vary among the demographics of residents. Historically, minorities report less favorable opinions of the police than Whites (Engel, 2005; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). As such, minorities tend to be more distrustful of the police (Hindelang, 1974; Lasley, 1994; Tyler, 2005). Research suggests that as individuals age, they express favorable opinions and more trust in the police (Ren, Cao, Lovrich, & Gaffney, 2005). However, prior research is inconclusive regarding gender and trust in police, as some report that females express more favorably toward trust in

police (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996), whereas others find gender insignificant (Frank, Brandl & Stichman, 1996). As such, trust in police is influenced not only by resident demographics, but also by residents' perceptions of local law enforcement's just or unjust attitudes and behaviors.

Social cohesion is one component of collective efficacy theory that entails how residents think and feel about relationships within their neighborhoods. It also acts as a measure of residents' relationships, trusts, shared values, and willingness to help one another (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999, Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999). Moreover, social cohesion scholars have explained residents' individual membership behaviors and attitudes separately. Friedkin (2004) contends that the individuals' membership attitudes are exhibited by their desires or intention to remain in a group, how they identify to a group, how loyal they are to a group, and other attitudes regarding the group or fellow group members. Whereas individuals' membership behaviors are indicated through their decisions to sever, weaken, maintain, or strengthen their membership or participation in a group, their predispositions to interpersonal influence, and other behavioral indicators of commitment and attachment to the group (Auzoult, 2013, Friedkin, 2004). As such, individuals with these shared characteristics within neighborhoods, contribute to the building blocks of social cohesion, "through them we learn tolerance, co-operation and acquire a sense of social order and belonging" (Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p. 2130).

Maxwell (1996) contends that the benefit of social cohesion is "building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared

challenges, and that they are members of the same community". In communities that are more socially cohesive, exhibiting higher levels of trust and solidarity, encourages residents' willingness to supervise the community and deter crime (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997). Alternatively, in neighborhoods that do not exhibit socially cohesive behaviors and instead show distrust or fear of their neighbors, are less likely to work together to supervise the behaviors of individuals within the community (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). As such, the neighborhood context provides residents with the opportunity to build cohesive relationships of trust and cooperation that is mutually beneficial to improving the neighborhood and community (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977; Gilster, 2014; Putnam, 1995).

According to collective efficacy theory, social cohesion is a contextual precursor to social control (Sampson, 2004, 2008; Sampson et al., 1997). As social cohesion unites individual residents and fosters strong social relationships to support informal social control (Steenbeek & Hipp, 2011), some researchers have contended that perceived social cohesion as a predictor of social control (Drakulich & Crutchfield, 2013). More specifically, Kleinhans and Bolt (2014) found that for residents to enact social control mechanisms within their neighborhood, factors of neighborhood familiarity, low levels of fear, and social cohesion should be established. Moreover, the literature has also indicated that there are individual and structural characteristics related to the way in which residents perceive informal social control. Specifically, Silver and Miller (2004) found that at the individual level, resident stability, socioeconomic status, age, and race (specifically Hispanic) were positively related to perceptions of control. At the neighborhood (i.e. structural) level, residents' stability, low

homicide rates, neighborhood attachment, and satisfaction with police, were positively related to perceptions of control. More broadly, studies have also directly asked residents the degree to which they feel responsible for their neighborhood (Steenbeek and Hipp 2011; Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower 1984). As such, Gau's (2014) analyses of perceived social control indicated that the true value of social cohesion is its ability to encourage residents to act against threats made toward their neighborhood. More specifically, "social control refers generally to the capacity of a group to regulate its members according to desired principles-to realize collective, as opposed to forced, goals" (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997, p. 918). As such, in communities where informal social control practices are enforced by residents, individuals are less likely to engage in delinquent behavior (Simons, 1995). In these instances where community members are focused on informal norms and practices in preventing crime, they are less reliant on established formal institutions (Sampson, Morenoff, Rowley, 2002).

Considering the influence on individual and neighborhood outcomes, it is important to understand the social processes that constitute collective efficacy; that is, the processes by which cohesion activates a level of control, informally or formally, through residents perceived social experiences within their neighborhoods. Research has shown that as social cohesion increases among neighborhood residents', they tend to adhere to the social norms of the community (i.e. informal social control). For example, in a study of urban neighborhoods in the U.S., Collins, Neal and Neal (2016) found that a strong relationship between social cohesion and informal social control such that as cohesion increases, residents report greater levels of control. Specifically, they found that residents who report higher levels of social cohesion

within their neighborhoods also perceived their neighbors to exercise greater levels of informal social control.

As the context of neighborhoods plays an important role in shaping resident attitudes and perceptions and in the social disorganization tradition, structural disadvantages such as poverty and residential mobility encourage mutual distrust and reduced social cohesion among residents (Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942). Moreover, disadvantaged neighborhood contexts also influence individuals' attitudes toward the police as trust among neighbors diminishes. As residents view less collective efficacy in their neighborhoods due to a lack in normative standards, levels of mistrust in the police rise. More specifically, diminished perceived collective efficacy in neighborhoods may structure mistrust in formal social control agents (i.e. police) (Reisig & Parks, 2000, 2003; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998, Wu et al., 2009). Additionally, in neighborhoods where residents rarely self-regulate social norms, the police are less inclined to work diligently (Carr, Napolitano, & Keating, 2007). Thus, residents' perception and attitudes toward their neighborhood conditions act as an important source for trust in police. More specifically, lack of informal social control mechanisms and social cohesion among neighbors are associated with lack of trust in the police (Nix, Wofe, Rojek, 2015).

An influence on police trust and cooperation is not only the relationship in which residents have with police, but also the relationships in which they have with other residents in their neighborhood. More specifically, neighborhoods that report higher levels of social cohesion also report higher levels of public trust in police (Han, 2016). As such, residents that experience

a strong sense of social cohesion in their community are more likely to cooperate with and trust the police. Moreover, when there are challenges for the police to establish social and moral order in a community context, they utilize neighborhoods in which social cohesion is perceived to be high (Bradford & Jackson, 2016). Alternatively, low levels of social cohesion have been associated with weakened social control mechanisms, including cooperation and trust in police (Carr, 2003). As such, residents in communities that have low levels of both social cohesion and social control are more likely to withdraw from relationships with the group authorities (i.e. police) that they deem accountable for the diminishing norms, values, and standards of public behavior.

Mediation analyses are utilized to understand a known relationship by exploring the underlying process or mechanism by which one variable influences another variable through a mediator variable (Cohen, 2003). Collective efficacy has been found to be a mediator variable in two contexts. According to Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997), collective efficacy largely mediated the relationship between concentrated disadvantage and residential instability with violence. In addition, Stajkovic, Lee, and Nyberg (2009) found that collective efficacy is a full mediator between group potency and group performance. As such, mediation analyses were utilized in my study as the literature indicates the importance of its use in understanding collective efficacy processes as a mediator for similar social processes, as well as the overall nature of this study.

Methods

Study Context and Data

The data utilized for this study is from the Annie E. Casey Foundation's *Making Connections* (MC) initiative, which is a multi-year comprehensive community initiative with a goal of improving social, education, economic, and health outcomes for disadvantaged children and their families. The survey includes low-income neighborhoods across seven U.S cities (Denver, CO; Des Moines, IA; Indianapolis, IN; Louisville, KY; Providence, RI; San Antonio, TX; and Seattle/White Center, WA). Participant households were randomly selected, and 4,316 households completed the survey instrument.

As indicated in Table 1, the majority of respondents were female (66.6%). Of the respondents there were diverse racial backgrounds with 38.9% identifying as White/Caucasian, 30.6% identifying as Other, and 30.4% identifying as Black/African-American. Respondents also had a wide range in educational backgrounds with 24.7% having graduated high school, 21.4% having one to three years of college, 18.2% having completed eighth grade but did not graduate high school, 11.2% having eighth grade or less, 8.1% obtained an undergraduate degree, 6.8% having a GED, 4.5% having trade or vocational school training, 3.5% obtained a graduate degree, and 1.4% having some graduate education. Finally, respondents income had a mean of 30,972 and standard deviation of 29,030.68.

This data was utilized to explore the following research questions: RQ1: "What are the individual and neighborhood factors that may predict police trust?" and RQ2: "Does informal social control mediate the relationship between social cohesion and trust in police?"

Measures

Trust in Police

A three-item scale was used to assess trust in police among neighbors. Residents responded to items rated on a five-Point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5 ("Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree"). Sample items include, "Are police quick when called", "Are police honest with residents" and "Are police helpful with residents". Items were averaged by respondent to construct the scale resulting in a mean = 3.72 and SD = .934.

Social Cohesion

A four-item scale was used to assess social cohesion among neighbors, utilized as the independent variable. Residents responded to items rated on a five-Point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5 ("Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree"). Sample items include, "People in neighborhood help neighbors", "People in neighborhood have the same values", "People in neighborhood can be trusted", and "People in neighborhood don't get along". Items were averaged by respondent to construct the scale resulting in a mean = 3.27 and SD = .697.

Informal Social Control

A four-item scale was used to assess informal social control among neighbors, utilized as the mediator variable. Residents responded to items rated on a five-Point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5 ("Very Unlikely" to "Very Likely"). Sample items include, "Neighbors do

something about budget cuts", "Neighbors do something about fights", "Neighbors do something about graffiti", and "Neighbors do something about children skipping school". Items were averaged by respondent to construct the scale resulting in a mean = 3.39 and SD = .900.

Demographic Control Variables

Four demographic control variables were utilized for this study's analysis. Education was broken down into nine categories, *Eighth Grade or Less, Beyond Eighth Grade but No HS Graduation, GED, High School Graduation, Trade or Vocational School, One to Three Years of College, Graduated Four Year College, Some Graduate Education, Graduate Degree* and was entered into the model as an ordinal-type variable. Race was split into three categories, *Black/African-American, White, and Other*. Additional analyses also controlled for sex (male = 0, female = 1). All demographic control variables can be seen in Table 1 of the Appendix.

Path analysis was conducted to test the relationships between the variables of interest: social cohesion, informal social control, and trust in police. Path analysis provides the ability to estimate relations among variables while simultaneously testing for mediating effects. Given the nested nature of our data (i.e. households within cities), I utilized cluster-robust standard errors, which controls for clustering effects at the census tract level (Collins et al., 2014). Our model was estimated using full maximum likelihood with missing values (MLMV), which estimates the model using all available data points and inputs values for those that are missing for a complete sample (Muthén & Muthén, 2011).

Results

I conducted a path analysis using Stata 14.40 (StataCorp, 2017) utilizing the structural equation-modeling package to examine the following hypotheses:

H1a: Positive relationship between social cohesion and informal social control

H1b: Positive relationship between informal social control and trust in police

H1c: Positive relationship between social cohesion and trust in police

In each of these hypotheses, I suspect that each relationship will increase together. That is, if there is a positive relationship between the two variables I suspect that the levels of each variable will rise simultaneously. A conceptual model of this can be seen in Figure 2 in the Appendix.

My results show that informal social control fully mediates the relationship between social cohesion and trust in police, supporting my first hypothesis. More specifically, H1a was supported, finding that the relationship between social cohesion and informal social control are positive, ($\beta = .79$, $SE = .26$, $95\% CI = .74; .83$).

Further results also show that hypothesis H1b was also supported, finding that the relationship between informal social control and trust in police are positive, ($\beta = .35$, $SE = .02$, $95\% CI = .31; .38$).

Counter to the previous hypothesis results, I did not find support for the remaining hypothesis H1c in that there was not a positive relationship between social cohesion and trust in police ($\beta = .05$, $SE = .03$, $95\% CI = -.008; .111$), therefore instead supporting a fully mediated model.

A Sobel test for mediation (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) was conducted to identify mediation effects. Specifically, the path from social cohesion to informal social control (indirect effect = $\beta = .79$, SE = .03, 95% CI = .74; .83, $p < 0.01$) and the path from informal social control to trust in police (indirect effect = $\beta = .35$, SE = .02, 95% CI = .31; .38, $p < 0.01$) found that this path was fully mediated. This analysis indicated that the path from social cohesion to trust in police (direct effect = $\beta = .05$, SE = .03, 95% CI = -.008; .111) was not significant and therefore not partially mediating. A table of total, direct, and indirect mediation effects can be seen in Table 2 of the Appendix.

Discussion

In exploring the individual and neighborhood factors that may predict police trust, I found evidence for a fully mediated model between social cohesion, informal social control, and trust in police. Mediation analyses indicated that informal social control acts as a full mediator for social cohesion to trust in police. More specifically, this finding in my model indicates that there is no partial mediation occurring between social cohesion and trust in police as it does not indicate a significant value. Alternatively, social cohesion can relate to trust in police only through a mediator of informal social control. As such, this supports the collective efficacy (e.g., Browning et al., 2004; Sampson, 2008; Sampson et al., 1998a) researchers who specify similar mediated models of community function. Specifically, my results support the contention that neighborhood factors or processes (i.e. informal social control) may mediate the relationship between social cohesion and trust in police.

As such, two of my three hypotheses were supported by finding positive relationships between social cohesion and informal social control, as well as informal social control and trust in police. However, I surprisingly did not find a positive relationship between social cohesion and trust in police, in contrast to the literature that social cohesion is a contextual precursor to informal social control (Sampson, 2004, 2008; Sampson et al., 1997) and that neighborhood contexts are responsible for influencing residents' attitudes and trust toward police (Nix et al., 2015).

Conclusion

The results of this study have implications for community change practitioners and researchers. As social cohesion did not have a positive relationship with trust in police, future research can focus on the implications of such. However, as this study utilized data that is cross-sectional in nature, we cannot make causal inferences. As such, discussion or implications that may gear toward causality is not empirically causal but instead theoretically causal.

As this study was conducted within urban neighborhoods across the United States, results may not generalize to other neighborhood contexts such as rural or suburban neighborhoods, as well as contexts outside of the United States. This study was also unable to fully control for a large variety of potential contextual issues that may influence the relationships between specific model variables. The goal of the *Making Connections* initiative is to improve social, education, economic, and health outcomes for disadvantaged children and their families and build the capacities for residents in these settings to address issues that

concern their neighborhoods, other contextual factors (e.g. unemployment, crime rates, etc.) may influence outcomes of the initiative. Future research should study and attempt to model some of these additional factors that were not taken into consideration in my study. More broadly, future research could also benefit from investigating collective efficacy processes across a variety of contexts.

Appendix

Table 1. Demographic Information

Characteristic	n	Valid (%)
Race		
Black	1,214	30.46
White	1,550	38.9
Other	1,221	30.64
Sex		
Female	2,874	66.65
Male	1,438	33.35
Education		
Eighth Grade or Less	480	11.27
Beyond Eighth Grade (But no HS Graduation)	776	18.22
GED	290	6.81
High School Graduation	1,051	24.68
Trade or Vocational School	193	4.53
One to Three Years of College	911	21.4
Graduated Four Year College	345	8.1
Some Graduate Education	60	1.41
Graduate Degree	152	3.57

Table 2. Mediation Effects: direct, indirect, and total effects.

Mediation Effects	
*p<0.01	
Effect	Estimate (S.E.)
Total	.325*
Direct	.052 (.030)
Indirect	.273 (.016)*

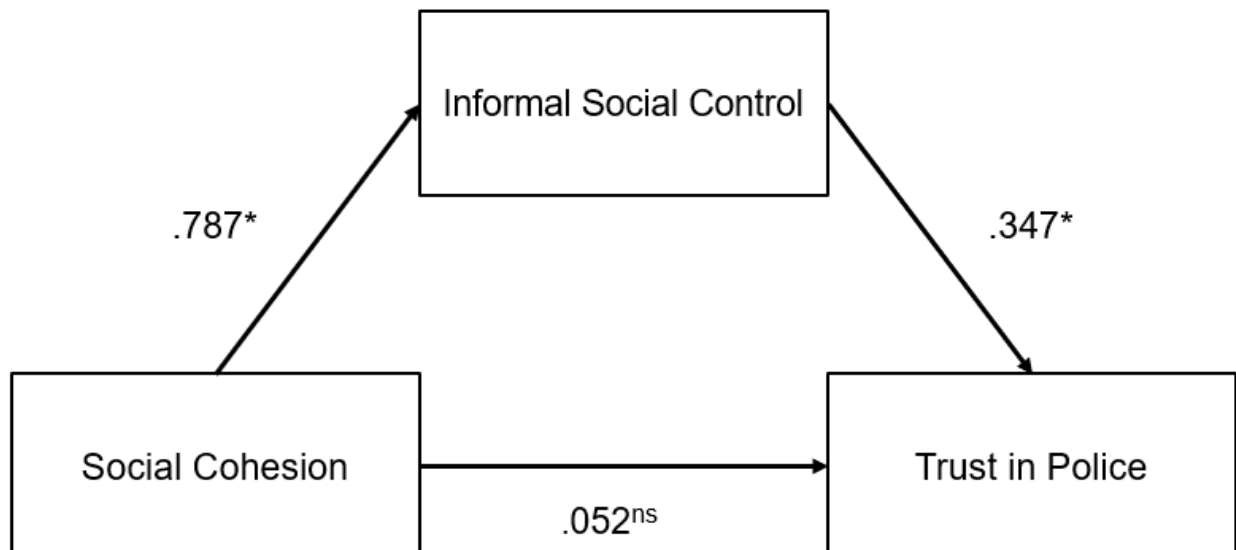
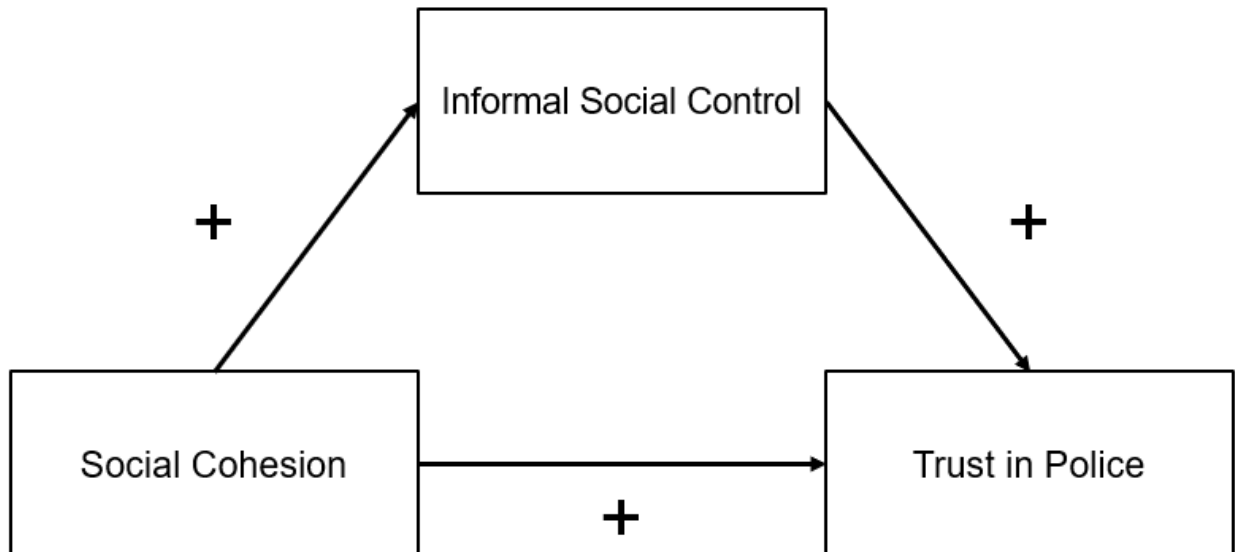
Figure 1. Mediation Model

Figure 2. Conceptual model of hypotheses. All positive relationships.



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