

Racial Socialization, Fear, and Expected Reactions to a Suspicious Person

ASHLEY KUHN, M.A. and JODI LANE, PH.D.
University of Florida

Abstract

Several studies have found a link between ethnocentric attitudes and fear of crime. Specifically, negative attitudes toward other races are associated with fear of crime. In the fear literature, the “subcultural diversity” perspective argues that people are more afraid of people who look and act different because they do not understand their mannerisms and behaviors. It may be that people fear others who are racially and ethnically different because they are socialized by their parents and others to fear them, which may affect how they respond in interactions with people who are racially or ethnically different. That is, some may be more likely to respond to perceived threat with violence in an effort to protect themselves. In this paper, we consider the idea that racial socialization and fear of crime might have played a part in the killing of Trayvon Martin. Specifically, using a sample of undergraduate students, we examine the presence of parental racial socialization (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust) and fear of crime and then examine how these factors affect responses in a situational scenario similar to what apparently occurred in the Trayvon Martin case.

Trayvon Martin Case: Real Fear or Racial Profiling?

On February 26, 2012, Trayvon Martin, a 17-year-old African-American teen, and George Zimmerman, a 28-year-old, Hispanic neighborhood watch member, had an interaction in a Sanford, Florida neighborhood that would change both lives forever. Martin would die after being pursued and shot. Zimmerman would find himself in the middle of a national media and political debate about his justification for shooting Martin and eventually be charged with second-degree murder (Stutzman, 2012). Zimmerman called police after seeing Martin, claiming he looked “suspicious.” While the police were en route, there was a scuffle, and Martin was shot. Zimmerman claimed self-defense. He was carrying a gun. Martin was unarmed and reportedly walking back to the home of a family friend from a local convenience store. Debates continue about what really happened, the validity of Zimmerman’s self-defense claim, the possibility of racial profiling and racism, and even more troubling the real state of race relations in America. People continue to argue about the use of Florida’s broad Stand Your Ground law as a defense for murder, since it specifies no duty to retreat in threat situations (Kuo, 2013; Thompson & Cohen, 2012).

Two embedded issues in this debate are 1) how much fear did George Zimmerman really have of Trayvon Martin during the situation, and 2) was he acting based on a real fear for his own life or rather on his own racial biases about the criminality of young, black men. While we cannot get into George Zimmerman’s mind, we can examine more broadly the implications of this case. This paper sets out to examine these two issues by reporting results of a survey designed specifically to ask undergraduates what they would do when faced with a situation very similar to that faced by George Zimmerman. First, we ask if racial socialization and fear of crime influence how the respondents think they would act in a scenario similar to the Trayvon Martin case. Second, we ask if the relationship between these variables changes depending on the race and gender of the “suspicious person” in the hypothetical scenario. That is, does it matter if the “suspicious” person is a male or female or is African-American, Hispanic, or White?

Racial Socialization Research

The psychological literature proposes three ways in which parents share messages about race and ethnicity. These are termed cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Messages regarding cultural socialization and preparation for bias are meant to increase cultural pride and teach children how to cope with discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). Yet, promotion of mistrust messages teach children to be wary of other races and more alert of other racial groups (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

Most research has found promotion of mistrust messages are associated with negative outcomes, including depression (also over time), deviant behavior, and lower social competence (Granberg et al., 2012; Hughes et al., 2006). Studies overwhelmingly focus on African-American families and show that youth given racial mistrust messages are more likely to engage in deviant behavior, violate the law, and react outwardly to others (Taylor, Biafora, & Warheit, 1994; Biafora et al., 1993). A few studies have examined effects on people of other races and cultures. For example, studies have found more promotion of mistrust messages are related to lower levels of

social competence among Asian Americans (Tran and Lee, 2010) and lower academic achievement among Chinese, Hispanics and Whites (Huynh and Fuligni, 2008).

Racial and Ethnic Diversity and Fear of Crime

The criminological literature has found an association between ethnocentric attitudes and fear of crime, where negative attitudes about people of other races in one's community are associated with more fear (Lane & Meeker, 2000; 2004). Specifically, one theoretical model is "subcultural diversity," which argues that a primary reason people fear crime is that they do not understand people who are culturally, ethnically, and racially different from themselves (see Merry, 1981). Both qualitative and quantitative research shows support for this theoretical argument. Anderson (1990) noted that in urban environments, whites and minorities assumed that criminals were young minority males and were suspicious of those they did not know. Madriz (1997) found that women, regardless of race, saw young minority males as "a dangerous class." She argued that women thought of criminals as "the dark-skinned man who haunts us from the shadows of alleys and public parks" (Madriz, 1997, p. 97). Statistical analyses have also shown support for the subcultural diversity argument (e.g., Covington & Taylor, 1991; St. John & Heald-Moore, 1996; Lane & Meeker, 2000, 2004, 2011).

The impact of diversity and prejudice on fear is concerning if people who are afraid are more likely to take actions to protect themselves, which some research indicates they are. These actions can include avoidance behaviors (e.g., staying in their home, not going to certain neighborhoods) and defensive behaviors (e.g., carrying weapons, including guns or mace, joining a gang, or adding bars to their windows) (Rader, May, & Goodrum, 2007; Warr & Ellison, 2000). Avoidance behaviors matter for quality of life if they keep people from doing things they would normally do. Defensive behaviors matter if they result in more problems, such as people being hurt by weapons (including both those carrying weapons and innocent, "suspicious," or offending others). Prior research has shown that avoidance behaviors, such as steering clear of some areas of town, are much more common than defensive behaviors, such as buying or carrying firearms (Lane & Meeker, 2004). Yet, we expect that people who are socialized to fear other racial and ethnic groups may be more likely to respond with violence to people who look different, including shooting if they have a gun (as George Zimmerman says he did).

Current Study

This study examines the impact of racial socialization and fear of crime on violent and non-violent reactions in a situation similar to the Trayvon Martin case. We also examine whether the impact of racial socialization and fear of crime differ by gender and race of the suspect in the scenario. Our research questions are 1) do racial socialization and fear of crime influence how the respondents think they would act in a scenario similar to the Trayvon Martin case? 2) Does the relationship among these variables change depending on the race and gender of the "suspicious person" in the hypothetical scenario? That is, does it matter if the suspicious person is White, African-American or Hispanic or a man or woman?

Method

Data Collection

Data were collected during the 2013 spring semester at the University of Florida, using a convenience sample recruited through the Department of Sociology and Criminology & Law's participant pool. In an anonymous online survey, participants answered questions about their personal characteristics, racial socialization, and fear of crime. Then, participants were randomly assigned a hypothetical situation (similar to the Trayvon Martin case but varying the race and gender of the "suspicious person") to read and then answer related questions.

Participants

The sample consists of 234 undergraduate students (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics). The majority of the sample is female and White. About 16% were Black, 20% were Hispanic, 3% were Biracial, and 6% were "others." Ages ranged from 18 to 39, but most were young (mean = 20.43 years old). Most said they were majoring in the social sciences.

Measures

Racial socialization. Participants were asked how often their parents engaged in the racial socialization behaviors when they were growing up¹. Response options included: never (1), sometimes (2), regularly (3), and all the time (4). A principal component factor analysis using Varimax rotation of the racial socialization items revealed three constructs (Eigenvalues greater than 1.0), and the included items were used to create three racial socialization scales: cultural socialization (7 items), preparation for bias (6 items), and promotion of mistrust (2 items).

Fear of crime. Participants were asked how personally afraid they were of multiple crimes. Response options included: not afraid (1), somewhat afraid (2), afraid (3), and very afraid (4). The fear items represented a variety of personal and property crimes² (Lane, 2006; Lane, 2009). A principal component factor analysis (using Varimax rotation) of the fear of crime items revealed two constructs (two Eigenvalues greater than 1.0), from which we created two fear of crime scales: fear of property crime (2 items) and fear of violent crime (5 items). *Conditions.* Participants were assigned to read one of six hypothetical scenario conditions. The conditions varied by two levels of the gender of the suspect (male and female) and three levels of the race of the suspect (White, Black, and Hispanic). Therefore, there were six conditions total (White male, White female, Black male, Black female, Hispanic male, and Hispanic female). The following is an example of the scenario (underlined words changed based on condition).

It is about 7:00 P.M., dark, and raining. You are returning home in your car from a personal errand and see a suspicious man walking around in your neighborhood. The man looks like he is up to no good and may be on drugs. You've had a string of break-ins in your neighborhood, so you are alerted to it because he is walking around the area staring at all the houses. The man is white, in his late teens, and wearing a sweatshirt, pants, and tennis shoes. You put a call into the police to get an officer over to the area. When you are on the phone with the police dispatcher, the man begins to run toward the back entrance of your neighborhood. The dispatcher tells you not to follow him and there is an officer on the way. However, you get out of your car and follow the man so he does not get away before the police get there. You confront the man and a struggle ensues.

After they read the scenario, students answered the following question, “In order to protect yourself during the fight described in the previous situation you read, what would you consider doing?” The answer options were: scream for help, run away, fight back, pull a gun, pull a weapon other than a gun, shoot at them with a gun, and use a weapon other than a gun. For each answer option, the respondents could indicate yes, no, or don’t know.

Results

Percentages

We first examined the percentage of respondents who said they would consider reacting in each of the different ways listed (see Table 1). Recall that each person got only one scenario presented to him/her, varying only gender and/or race. A majority of respondents said they would consider screaming for help (86.3%), running away (76.8%), and/or fighting back (79.5%). About 1/3 said they would be willing to pull a weapon other than a gun (35.5%) or use a weapon other than a gun (32.1%). Much fewer said they would consider pulling a gun (14.1%) or shooting a gun (7.9%).

Bivariate Correlations

Table 2 shows a bivariate correlation matrix with personal characteristics, fear of crime, racial socialization, and reactions to the hypothetical situation. Some factors were not significantly related to how people would consider reacting to the situation. However, results show that females were more likely to say they would react by screaming for help and running away. Males and older students were more likely to say they would react by pulling and shooting a gun. People who were afraid of both violent and property crime were more likely to say they would scream for help. Those who feared property crime were more likely to say they would run away or would pull a gun. Participants that were given more cultural socialization messages are less likely to say they would react by fighting. People who reported that their parents taught them to distrust other races (promotion of mistrust) were more likely to say they would consider shooting.

Table 3 shows a bivariate correlation matrix showing the chosen reactions based on the characteristics of the suspect. Interestingly, there were no significant differences in responses across conditions. That is, the race or gender of the “suspicious person” apparently did not matter in terms of how these students thought they would react if faced with a situation similar to the Trayvon Martin case.

Multivariate Logistic Regression

Table 4 shows the multivariate regression models predicting people’s choice to scream for help, run away, pull a gun, and shoot a gun. The models include only the independent variables that were significant at the bivariate level. For the first three models, these were sex, violent crime, and property crime (see Table 2 for details). Column 1 shows the model predicting “scream for help.” The overall model is significant ($\chi^2 = 48.86, p < .001$). However, after controlling for sex, fear of violent and property crime are no longer significant predictors of screaming. Females

are over 18 times more likely to say they would react by screaming for help than males ($b = 2.92$, $p < .001$; O.R. = 18.49).

Column 2 in Table 4 shows the model predicting the “run away” reaction. The overall model is again significant ($X^2 = 33.73$, $p < .001$). As in the scream model, after controlling for sex, fear of violent and property crime are not significant predictors of running away. Yet, women were 7 times more likely to run than males ($b = 1.95$, $p < .001$; O.R. = 7.02).

Column 3 shows the model predicting the “pull a gun” reaction. The overall model remains significant ($X^2 = 14.32$, $p < .01$). As in the scream and run models, once we controlled for sex, fear of violent and property crime drop out. Males were four times more likely to say they would pull a gun than females ($b = -1.35$, $p < .01$; O.R. = 0.26).

The final model in Table 4 shows a multivariate regression model predicting the willingness to shoot a gun in a situation similar to the Trayvon Martin case. The model again only includes variables that were significant at the bivariate level: sex, age, and promotion of mistrust (see Table 2 for details). The overall model is significant ($X^2 = 18.25$, $p < .001$), and all variables remain significant. Males were four times more likely to say they would react by shooting a gun than females were ($b = -1.41$, $p < .05$; O.R. = 0.24). Older students were significantly (1.19 times) more likely to say they would consider shooting a gun than younger ones ($b = 0.17$, $p < .05$; O.R. = 1.19). People who heard more promotion of mistrust messages as children were almost twice as likely (1.86 times) to say they might react by shooting compared to those who did not hear those messages ($b = 0.62$, $p < .01$; O.R. = 1.86).

Discussion and Directions for Future Research

We set out to determine if racial socialization and fear of crime predicted reactions to a hypothetical situation very similar to that George Zimmerman described in his experience with Trayvon Martin. We expected that they would matter, and that people faced with a minority male “suspicious” person would be more likely to react with more defensive reactions (e.g., pulling a gun or other weapon or shooting). The results were contrary to these expectations. We found that the race and gender of the suspect was not correlated with the chosen reaction to the situation. Of course, this was an educated, college student sample who may either be more open-minded than the general populace might be or may be reluctant to admit a they would have a negative reaction to someone of color. Or, it may be that the respondents had heard so much in the news about the Trayvon Martin shooting and the debate that they were afraid to indicate that they might do the same if put in the same position (92% had heard of the Trayvon Martin case). This study is just a first step in examining these issues, and more studies will shed more light on the issue.

Yet, we did find some interesting results. First, gender of the person reacting mattered. Females were more likely to say they would scream for help and run away, but males were more likely say they would consider pulling a gun and would be willing shoot. This finding supports findings in the fear of crime literature, which also finds that females are more likely to avoidance behaviors (e.g., stay in their home, not go to certain neighborhoods), while males are more likely to use defensive behaviors (e.g., carry weapons or mace, join a gang, add bars to their windows) (Rader, May, & Goodrum, 2007; Warr & Ellison, 2000).

Interestingly, we found that after controlling for gender of the rater, fear of violent and property crime no longer predicted type of reaction. Given the finding in the fear literature that women are much more afraid of crime, this finding makes sense. Gender socialization, which much fear of crime research has examined, may be more powerful than racial socialization. The gender socialization argument focuses on messages that women and men receive about their relative physical power to ward off attack and appropriateness of expressing emotions, such as feelings of weakness. From this perspective, women are socialized to be weak and submissive while men are socialized to be strong and powerful (see Lane, 2013 for a summary).

Racial socialization messages were not predictive, except for “promotion of mistrust,” which was a significant predictor of willingness to shoot a gun. This finding is interesting because this points to the possibility that when one mistrusts other races, (more often) he is more likely to choose to shoot a gun if it is available. This brings us back to the core issue that prompted this analysis—was it racial profiling (or mistrust) that led George Zimmerman to shoot Trayvon Martin? We cannot answer this question, but these findings do not point to a different conclusion.

As with any study, there are limitations to inherent in this project. Data were cross-sectional and from an online convenience sample of undergraduates at one university, but in Florida where the Trayvon Martin case occurred. Because this study was not designed to draw causal conclusions, these data cannot answer causal questions about the connection between racial socialization, fear of crime, and reactions to a hypothetical situation very similar to the Trayvon Martin case. Yet, the results are interesting and unexpected in some cases, meaning that a similar study in different locations with larger and more diverse samples would be useful to better understand these findings. Adding a qualitative component may also help to understand the thought process people might have in these situations and may allow researchers to gauge whether people are responding in a politically correct way or based on their true feelings. Unfortunately, our sample did not have enough participants in each condition to determine whether racial socialization, fear of crime, or participant characteristics impacted reactions to the hypothetical situation differently depending on the race and gender of the suspect. Consequently, a bigger sample might help ensure these connections can be tested.

Policy Implications

What do results like these mean for people out in the “real” world who are trying to figure out how to prevent situations like the Trayvon Martin shooting from happening again? The finding that the type of reaction to the situation was not correlated with the race and gender of the “suspicious” person was unexpected. That is, if race of suspect mattered, we would have expected more serious negative reactions to people of color. If gender mattered, we would have expected more negative reactions to males. Of course, the people responding to the survey were college students, and due to their educational experiences may be more careful about how they think about and respond to questions of race and gender. Based on these results, it is difficult to make policy recommendations focused on issues related to race and race relations. More exploration of these issues is needed. But, promotion of mistrust messages were significantly related to willingness to shoot. If parents are teaching their children to have bias against other races and ethnicities,

schools and community prevention programs aimed at increasing cultural competency may have the potential prevent violence in the long term.

As noted above, gender was the most consistent predictor of reactions to the hypothetical situation very similar to the Trayvon Martin case. Consequently, we expect that gender socialization is a more powerful predictor than racial socialization in predicting how one would respond to a potentially threatening situation. Specifically, women were more likely to say they would use avoidance behaviors (scream and run) and men were more likely to say they would use defensive ones (pull a gun and shoot a gun). If these results are confirmed by other studies, it seems that policy efforts to suggest responses other than violence to uncomfortable or potentially threatening situations might best be focused on men. That is, programs might be aimed at training men about options other than violence to seemingly threatening situations (e.g., avoidance behaviors or ways to deescalate negative situations). In times of lean budgets, knowing where to target these programs (e.g., to men) is useful.

These data were collected in Florida, where the Trayvon Martin debate continues to rage, but also where the debate about Florida's liberal "Stand Your Ground" law has renewed since shots took Trayvon's life (Hundley, Martin, & Humburg, 2012). Some are worried that Florida's "no duty to retreat" provision will lead more willingness to shoot and possibly more innocent lives being taken either accidentally or on purpose. In that regard, these findings are hopeful. Even though men are more likely to say they will shoot, only a few people indicated they would choose to pull a gun (14.1%) or shoot a gun (7.9%) if they were faced with a situation that George Zimmerman described. That is, most of these students would have chosen other options.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Ashley Kuhn, M.A. and Jodi Lane, Ph.D. are in the Department of Sociology and Criminology & Law at the University of Florida. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jodi Lane, University of Florida, Department of Sociology and Criminology & Law, 3219 Turlington Hall, P.O. Box 117330, Gainesville, FL 32611-7330; jlane@ufl.edu.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

		N = 234			
		N (yes)	%	mean	sd
Personal characteristics		Racial socialization (1 = never to 5 = all the time)			
Sex (1 = female, 0 = male)				Cultural socialization	2.87 0.88
Female	166	29.1	Preparation for bias	2.36	0.93
Male	68	70.9	Promotion of mistrust	1.83	1.03
Race		Fear of crime (1= not afraid to 4= very afraid)			
White	131	55.9	Fear of property crime	1.84	0.79
Black	37	15.8	Fear of violent crime	2.21	1.13
Hispanic	46	19.7	Reactions (1 = yes, 0 = no)		
Biracial	7	2.9	Scream	182	86.3
Other	13	5.5	Run	156	76.8
Age		Fight			
Age mean	20.43	Pull gun			
Age range	18-39	Pull weapon other than gun			
		Shoot gun			
		Use weapon other than gun			

Table 2. Correlations of reactions with personal characteristics, fear of crime, and racial socialization

	Scream	Run	Fight	Pull gun	Pull weapon other than gun	Shoot	Use weapon other than gun
Personal characteristics							
Sex	0.49***	0.41***	-0.01	-0.26***	-0.05	-0.22**	-0.07
Age	-0.11	-0.14	0.04	0.10	0.10	0.17*	0.15*
White	0.03	-0.03	0.12	0.03	-0.05	-0.06	-0.14*
Black	0.04	0.03	0.01	-0.02	0.05	0.07	0.14
Hispanic	-0.01	0.04	-0.08	-0.07	-0.05	-0.11	0.00
Biracial	0.07	-0.06	-0.13	0.10	0.11	0.14	0.10
Other	-0.17*	-0.01	-0.04	0.04	0.04	0.11	0.01
Fear of crime							
Violent crime	0.17**	0.12	-0.04	-0.13	-0.02	-0.14	-0.04
Property crime	0.21**	0.18*	-0.08	-0.15*	-0.06	-0.11	-0.06
Racial socialization							
Cultural socialization	-0.02	-0.06	-0.16*	-0.04	0.07	0.00	0.03
Preparation for bias	-0.02	0.07	-0.10	-0.06	0.09	0.07	0.09
Promotion of mistrust	0.02	0.12	-0.05	0.12	0.08	0.21**	-0.02

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table 3. Correlations of conditions and reactions

	White Male	Black Male	Hispanic Male	White Female	Black Female	Hispanic Female
Scream	-0.03	0.07	0.03	-0.03	-0.04	0.00
Run	-0.08	0.06	0.03	-0.02	0.06	-0.06
Fight	-0.04	0.09	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	0.10
Pull gun	0.00	0.01	0.10	0.03	-0.04	-0.08
Pull weapon other than gun	0.07	-0.01	0.09	0.01	-0.06	-0.08
Shoot	0.03	0.10	0.07	0.05	0.01	-0.04
Use weapon other than gun	0.13	-0.06	0.13	-0.01	-0.08	-0.09

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table 4. Logistic regression predicting reactions

	Scream			Run			Pull gun			Shoot		
	Coefficients	OR	SE	Coefficients	OR	SE	Coefficients	OR	SE	Coefficients	OR	SE
Sex	2.92***	18.49	0.55	1.95***	7.02	0.39	-1.35**	0.26	0.45	-1.41*	0.24	0.57
Age										0.17*	1.19	0.09
Fear of violent crime	-0.10	0.90	0.33	-0.18	0.84	0.24	-0.06	0.94	0.28			
Fear of property crime	0.54	1.71	0.50	0.38	1.47	0.36	-0.23	0.80	0.42			
Promotion of mistrust										0.62**	1.86	0.23
Chi-square	48.86***			33.73***			14.32**			18.25***		
Log-likelihood	-59.43			-92.19			-75.94			-46.79		

Note: **p < .01; ***p < .001; OR = Odds Ratio; SE = Standard Error

References

- Anderson, E. (1990). *Streetwise: Race, class and change in an urban community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Biafora, F. A., Warheit, G. J., Zimmerman, R. S., Gil, A. G., Apospori, E. A., Vega, W. A., & Taylor, D. L. (1993). Cultural mistrust and deviant behaviors among ethnically diverse black adolescent boys. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 23, 891–910.
- Covington, J., & Taylor, R.B. (1991). Fear of crime in urban residential neighborhoods: Implications of between- and within-neighborhood sources for current models. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 32, 231-249.
- Granberg, E. M., Edmond, M. B., Simons, R. L., Gibbons, F. X., & Lei, M. K. (2012). The Association between Racial Socialization and Depression: Testing Direct and Buffering Associations in a Longitudinal Cohort of African American Young Adults. *Society and Mental Health*, 2(3), 207-225
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1, 200–214.
- Hughes, D., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, 981-995.
- Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, 42(5), 747-770.
- Hundley, K., Martin, S.T., & Humburg, C. (2012). Florida 'stand your ground' law yields some shocking outcomes depending on how law is applied. *Tampa Bay Times* (June 1). Available at <http://www.tampabay.com/news/publicsafety/crime/florida-stand-your-ground-law-yields-some-shocking-outcomes-depending-on/1233133>. Accessed March 18, 2013.
- Huynh, V.W., & Fuligni, A.J. (2008). Ethnic socialization and the academic adjustment of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, and European backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, 44, 1202-1208.
- Kuo, V. (2013). Letters to Zimmerman show split opinions on Trayvon Martin shooting. Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2013/02/26/us/zimmerman-letters/index.html?iref=allsearch>. Accessed March 15, 2013.
- Lane, J. (2006). Exploring fear of general and gang crimes among juveniles on probation: The impacts of delinquent behaviors. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 4(1), 34-54.
- Lane, J. (2009). Perceptions of neighborhood problems, fear of crime, and resulting behavioral precautions: Comparing institutionalized girls and boys in Florida. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 25, 264-281.
- Lane, J. (2013). "Theoretical Explanations for Gender Differences in Fear of Crime: Research and Prospects." Pp. 57-67 In *Routledge International Handbook of Crime and Gender Studies* edited by Claire M. Renzetti, Susan L. Miller, and Angela R. Gover. New York: Routledge.

- Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2000). Subcultural diversity and fear of crime and gangs. *Crime and Delinquency*, 46, 497-521.
- Lane, J., & Meeker, J.W. (2004). Social disorganization perceptions, fear of gang crime, and behavioral precautions among Whites, Latinos, and Vietnamese. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 32, 49-62.
- Lane, J., & Meeker, J.W. (2011). Combining theoretical models of perceived risk and fear of gang crime among Whites and Latinos. *Victims and Offenders*, 6, 64-92.
- Madriz, E. (1997). *Nothing bad happens to good girls: Fear of crime in women's lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Merry, S. E. (1981). *Urban danger: Life in a neighborhood of strangers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Rader, N. E., May, D. C., & Goodrum, S. (2007). An empirical assessment of the "threat of victimization" considering fear of crime, perceived risk, avoidance, and defensive behaviors. *Sociological Spectrum*, 27, 475-505.
- St. John, C., & Heald-Moore, T. (1996). Racial prejudice and fear of criminal victimization by strangers in public settings. *Social Inquiry*, 66, 267-284.
- Stutzman, R. (2012). George Zimmerman's father: My son is not racist, did not confront Trayvon Martin. Orlando Sentinel (March 15). Online at <http://www.orlandosentinel.com/news/local/os-trayvon-martin-shooting-zimmerman-letter-20120315,0,1716605.story>. Accessed March 15, 2013.
- Taylor, D. L., Biafora, F. A., & Warheit, G. J. (1994). Racial mistrust and disposition to deviance among African American, Haitian, and other Caribbean island adolescent boys. *Law and Human Behavior*, 18, 291-303.
- Tran, A. G. T. T., & Lee, R. M. (2010). Perceived ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic identity, and social competence among Asian American late adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16(2), 169-178.
- Thompson, K., & Cohen, J. (2012). Trayvon Martin case: Poll finds stark racial divide. The Washington Post (April 10). Online at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trayvon-martin-case-poll-finds-stark-racial-divide/2012/04/10/gIQAEEtX8S_story.html. Access March 15, 2013.
- Warr, M., & Ellison, C. G. (2000). Rethinking Social Reactions to Crime: Personal and Altruistic Fear in Family Households¹. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(3), 551-578.

NOTES

¹ Cultural socialization items included: talked about important people or events in history of different groups other than your own, encouraged you to read books about other groups, talked about important people or events in your group's history, talked about discrimination against a group that is not your own, explained something on TV that showed discrimination, encouraged to read books about your own group, and did or said things to show that all are equal regardless of race or ethnicity. Preparation for bias items included: talked about discrimination, talked about others trying to limit you, told you that you must be better to get the same rewards, told you your race was an important part of self, and talked about unfair treatment due to race. Promotion of mistrust items included: did or said things to keep you from trusting kids of other races or ethnicities

and did or said things to encourage you to keep your distance from people of other races or ethnicities.

² Violent crime items included: shot at while walking down the street, shot at with a concealed weapon, victim of a drive-by shooting, physically assaulted, and victim of a carjacking. Property crimes included: property damage and property damage by graffiti. However, there were several fear of crime items that did not load at .5 or above on a factor. These included, for example, rape or sexually assault, murder, attacked by someone with a weapon, robbed or mugged, threatened by someone, and beaten up by someone, someone breaking into your home while you are away, having your car stolen.