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Modern Black Codes: Presidential Crime Control Rhetoric and Black Criminalization

Earnest Ujaama
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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Earnest J. Ujaama

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Walden University
2020

Abstract

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by

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M. Phil, Criminal Justice, Walden University, 2020

MA. Education, Antioch University, 2015

BA, Near Eastern Studies, University of Washington, 2013

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

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Abstract

The rate of Black imprisonment in the United States is nearly 6 times that of Whites. Wholesale criminalization of Black Americans denote institutional racism within America's criminal justice system. Limited research is available examining crime control rhetoric of U.S. presidents to determine if Blacks are constructed as criminals through carefully coded crime control discourse. The purpose of this qualitative, case study was to investigate whether presidents used language that construct Black criminality. A social construction theoretical framework and critical discourse analysis was applied. The data used for this study included scripted speeches. The collection of data began with 54 speeches gathered using an Internet search for nomination, inaugural, weekly addresses, and State of the Union speeches. Words and phrases were examined for theme relevancy according to Fairclough's 3-step process using Higginbotham's precepts of American slavery jurisprudence. The research question examined whether crime control language used by Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump construct the implication of Black criminality in the 21st century. Each president, except Bush, constructed implications of Black criminality by repeating prevailing assumptions of welfare, poverty, crime, and violence. The results of this study can be used as talking points for positive social change for how American presidents discuss crime control in the future with the goal of eliminating stereotypes and assumptions that construct Black criminality, institutional racism in criminal justice and genocide. Further research is needed to determine relationships between life chances and the effect or impact that crime control rhetoric has on Black families and their communities.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to all of the black and brown people imprisoned, murdered, or exiled – those who rejected a new system of Black Codes.

Acknowledgments

I must acknowledge the work of all those scholars before me who made this research possible. You are the real heroes.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	v
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study.....	1
Background.....	3
Problem Statement.....	6
Purpose of the Study	8
Research Question	8
Theoretical Framework.....	9
Nature of the Study	12
Definitions.....	14
Assumptions.....	16
Delimitations.....	17
Limitations	19
Significance of the Study	23
Summary	25
Chapter 2: Literature Review	27
Introduction.....	27
The Current Literature and the Problem’s Relevance.....	30
Literature Search Strategy.....	32
Theoretical Foundation	34
Social Construction Framework	35

Higginbotham’s 10 Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence	36
Hypercriminalization of African American Communities	39
Literature Review Related to Key Variables and/or Concepts	40
The Presumption of Genocide and Human Rights Urgency.....	61
Summary	63
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	66
Introduction.....	66
Research Design and Rationale	67
Role of the Researcher	73
Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis.....	74
Instrumentation	76
Data Collection and Analysis.....	76
Issue of Trustworthiness	81
Summary	82
Chapter 4: Results	84
Setting 84	
Demographics	86
Data Collection	86
Data Analysis	87
Emerging Data: Categories, Codes, and Themes.....	88
Evidence of Trustworthiness.....	91
Results92	

Discrepancy in Findings	105
Summary	107
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations	108
Introduction.....	108
Interpretation of the Findings.....	109
Limitations of the Study.....	111
Recommendations.....	113
Implications.....	114
Conclusions.....	117
References.....	121
Appendix A: Speeches Examined, Listed by President.....	159
Appendix B: List of 54 Speeches Used for Precoded Words	166
Appendix C: Precoded Words for Context and Theme Analysis	167
Appendix D: Precepts Coded.....	195

List of Tables

Table 1. Total Number of Speeches Analyzed by President and Type	86
Table 2. Top 30 Words	94
Table 3. Corresponding to Table 3.	96
Table 4. Precoded Text Query.	97

List of Figures

Figure 1. Norman Fairclough's CDA Model (1993).....	89
Figure 2. Triangulation Model based on Denzin's Method as described in Fusch et al., (2018).....	90
Figure 3. Context and Theme Results Triangulation Model.....	91

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Historically, presidents have influenced the outcomes of crime control policies (Marion & Hill, 2018; Oliver et al., 2016; Wasike, 2017). Researchers have investigated or evaluated presidential discourse for behavioral influences, types of rhetoric, and crime control theater but have not focused on a direct relationship between presidential discourse and Black criminalization (Cohen, 2015; Marion & Hill, 2018; Oliver et al., 2016; Wasike, 2017). This research was focused on how U.S. presidents framed their discourse on crime control in ways that may have promulgated policies causing Black criminalization.

Crime control is an attempt to protect rights and reduce threats by lawmakers and public officials who pontificate concern for public safety (Bennett & Walker, 2018). Criminalization is also an attempt to protect rights and reduce threats (Bennett & Walker, 2018). More specifically, criminalization is a process whereby people are designated as criminals, incarcerated and punished in myriad ways based on laws and policies meant to control the behavior of a society, usually to the benefit of the ruling majority (Adler, 2015; Enders et al., 2017; Eriksson, 2018; Marrus, 2015; Wasike, 2017). Black criminalization is the criminalization of African Americans in ways that are consistent with early postslavery jurisprudence, e.g., Black codes (Adler, 2015; Enders et al., 2017; Eriksson, 2018; Marrus, 2015; Wasike, 2017).

Since 1865, in the United States, African Americans have been the primary targets of crime control language, laws, and policies (Cardon, 2017; Enders et al., 2017; Wasike, 2017). In 2017, U.S. Department of Justice statistics showed that although

African American people were under 13% of the U.S. general population, they were 33% of the U.S. prison population (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 2019). In contrast, Caucasian people were 64% of the U.S. general population, yet they accounted for just 30% of the prison population (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2019). Additionally, African Americans were 41.3% of the total male prisoner population and 23.9% of the total female prisoner population (BJS, 2019). Black men were three times more likely to be incarcerated than any other male minority group, and Black women were more than twice as likely to be incarcerated than any other female minority group (BJS, 2019).

The need for this study is timely as criminal justice reform and community reentry programs are being discussed and embraced by all political parties. The potential social implications for this study could provide a better understanding of the impact of perceptions in rights and threats within public policy. Arguments that the criminalization process is not race based but simply a casualty of war is beyond the scope of this research. This study is focused on speeches by the four most recent U.S. presidents, Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump, related to crime and crime control.

Chapter 1 provides a background of the problem in terms of rationale and social implications. Included is a discussion on the purpose of the study, the research question, an overview of the theoretical foundation or framework applied, nature of the study, definitions for clarity of commonly used words, research assumptions, research limitations, study significance, and a summary. Each section in this chapter will show a need for this study.

Background

With growing literature on the topic of mass incarceration in the United States, the drug wars, and highly disproportionate numbers of African Americans in federal and state prisons compared to all other racial and ethnic groups, it is necessary to understand that this problem is no recent phenomenon (Adler, 2015; Boldt & Boyd, 2018).

According to Crutchfield et al. (2010), ever since the start of a relatively short history in U.S. criminal justice, racial disparities have been consistent (Fornili, 2018; Fosten, 2016; Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018).

African Americans were the primary victims of the often cruel and unusual *Black Codes*. These Black Codes— crime control laws and policies—were aimed at reassigning slavery status to African Americans (Anderson, 2019; Muhammad, 2010; Wood, 2018). Black Codes have been identified as policies that are oppressive and serve to affirm White superiority and Black inferiority (Bennet & Walker, 2018; Wilson, 2018; Wood, 2018).

After the civil war, African Americans became citizens, but not without often deadly challenges. Sometimes, these challenges were direct from the courts (Clair & Winter, 2016; Collings, 2019; Robinson, 2017; Ross, 2016). At other times, these challenges came from armed vigilante groups, many of whom were state legislators and policymakers (Higginbotham, 1996; Squires, 2015; Wood, 2018). Fleeing the South for freedom and a better life in the North, many African Americans faced an uncertainty in life expectancy due to a backlash of White prejudice and fear (Adams, 2018; Bachelier, 2017; Messer et al., 2018). This fear was constructed by former slave owners and their

supporters using discourse narratives to show that White neighborhoods would be corrupted, and White women would be raped by the newly freed African American people (Highsmith & Erickson, 2017; Squires, 2015). Meanwhile, southern states feared the possible shortage of free labor (Tiernan, 2015). All this prejudice and fear combined to create crime control laws and policies aimed at manipulating public sympathy and restoring White privilege in the South.

To obfuscate the concern over a labor shortage, southern states quickly constructed and passed Black Codes that restricted the movements and freedoms of African Americans (Cardon, 2017; Muller, 2018; Tiernan, 2015; Wilson, 2018). Black Codes were introduced as crime control measures often using fearmongering rhetoric (Wood, 2018). According to Raza (2011) these codes had two purposes: (a) to discourage African Americans from leaving the land of their former slave owners, and (b) to create a new kind of slave (see also Wilson, 2018). The South had already created a new kind of prison and reinstated a new kind of slavery under the Black Codes with African Americans as their targets (Wilson, 2018). The Black Codes created the image of the *Black criminal*, while public and political discourse provided it with support.

Eventually, Black Codes ended but in name only. What followed became known as *Jim Crow laws*. These crime control laws served to cloak the true nature, intent, and purpose behind the Black Codes (Highsmith & Erickson, 2015; Robinson, 2017; Staples, 2011). The spread of fear and hate among White southerners persisted (Squire, 2015; Staples, 2011; Wood, 2018). Laws of containment were created, which became known as the *legal segregation of races* (VanderVelde, 2015) better known as *separate, but equal*.

Under the newly designed Jim Crow laws, Whites and Blacks were not allowed to mix or share public spaces because of the differences in their skin color and unspoken legal status. A tacit apartheid established by law defined criminal enforcement dedicated to upholding a color line (Humphrey, 2017). This politically and socially constructed color line made policing and crime control more convenient. Eventually, crime was constructed specifically for African Americans and so was the Black criminal (Jung, 2015).

Racial orders were to be observed at all cost according to political actors representing the American order (Anderson, 2015; Dawson, 2016). This order included criminal justice policies, mass incarceration, and prison privatization, which factored into a network of social inequality (Fosten, 2016). Today, this inequality continues to support the apartheid by creating barriers to employment, income, wealth building, housing, education, and social programs (Douglas, 2017; Fosten, 2016; Tyler & Brockmann, 2017). These disparities influence stereotypes and attitudes linking African Americans with crime, creating an atmosphere where the Caucasian voting majority is more supportive of the crime control policies that target African American neighborhoods (Donnelly, 2017; Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018; Milner et al., 2019). Judges in the U.S. courts have a range of discretion and are more likely to deny bail for African American people, resulting in African Americans remaining in detention longer, leading to further criminalization (Clair and Winter, 2016; Donnelly & MacDonald, 2018; Richardson, 2017). Judges are obligated to execute the law as written but their discretion in applying the law is beyond the scope of this research.

This study is an attempt to fill a gap in the literature by investigating whether the construction of Black criminality is present in the crime control language of former presidents and the current U.S. President through discourse (Barklow & Osler, 2017). Although previous researchers have examined the crime control rhetoric of U.S. presidents (Boldt & Boyd, 2018; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2008; Lamb et al., 2019; Oliver et al., 2016), none have investigated whether this rhetoric contributes to constructing Black criminalization. According to Oliver et al. (2016) “future research should... revisit presidential speeches in general and State of the Union speeches more specifically... to assess [the] influencing impact on public opinion” (p. 343). This study follows up on this mandate by exploring whether presidential speeches contain language that promotes Black criminalization.

Problem Statement

At the turn of the 21st century, African Americans represented less than 13% of the U.S. population, yet they represented nearly half of all the prisoner population (Beckett et al., 2018). Not even in South Africa under an apartheid ruling regime were there as many Black people imprisoned (Kynoch, 2016). South Africa imprisoned 851 Blacks per 100,000 prisoners. The United States imprisoned 1,549 Blacks for every 100,000 African American adults. African American adults represent 33% of the U.S. prison population while being less than 13% of the total population (BJS, 2019). The total rate of Black imprisonment is nearly six times the rate for White Americans (BJS, 2019). The consequences of imprisonment go far beyond the individual with eventual destruction of an entire community.

The wholesale criminalization of African Americans is a testament to the survival of not only a racist history, but also a greater inhumanity with implications of Black Codes (Anderson, 2019; Eriksson, 2018; Wilson, 2018; Wood, 2018). African American men can be the heads of families, protectors of households, and traditional breadwinners. However, this group faces disadvantages greater than they had before incarceration, leading to a destruction of an entire ethnic group if Black criminalization is not reversed (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016; Washington, 2018; William & Battle, 2017).

There is an abundance of literature documenting the hyperincarceration of African Americans (Fornili, 2018; Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018; Hong, 2018; Tyler & Brockmann, 2017; Weaver & Battle, 2017). Alexander (2014), Miller (2014), and Hernandez et al. (2015) have discussed the necessity of understanding the racial politics of criminalization. Research has demonstrated a need for greater understanding of Black criminalization as a form of racialized population control through the lens of crime control lawmakers and advocates. While many researchers have focused on the causes and impacts of criminalization, there is a gap in the literature with respect to how U.S. presidents have discussed crime control laws, which could lead to a better understanding of how the nation's top leader contributes to the construction of Black criminality. This research is an attempt to fill the gap in research on presidential crime control discourse and better understand how Black criminalization is promulgated through crime control and crime-related speech by the U.S. president.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose for this qualitative study is to investigate whether U.S. presidents, through their discourse, have promulgated crime control laws and programs that primarily target African Americans. Little research exists examining U.S. presidential rhetoric on crime to determine if laws and policies are promulgated through coded language constructing African Americans as inherent deviants and criminals. Scholarly literature on criminalization has demonstrated that researchers have focused much attention on the drug wars and mass incarceration without examining the rhetoric of U.S. presidents for their role (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018; Onwauchi-Willig, 2017; The Sentencing Project, 2018; Weaver, 2007). Thus, researchers have neglected individual accountability for the problem of Black criminalization and instead focusing on institutional responsibility (Wilson, 2018).

In this research, I sought to focus directly on the words of the various presidents of the United States to negotiate individual accountability. Specifically, I investigated the discourse of the past four U.S. presidents, each having a different relationship to the African American community.

Research Question

The central research question in this study was based on a qualitative inquiry. It involves understanding what key words are used while comparing relationships to known themes from Black codes criminal justice era. During this period in America's past, African Americans were the primary targets of crime control, and the language and intent was overt (Raza, 2011; Surette, 2015). This study involved identifying coded language

that implicates African Americans as subjects of crime control discourse used by Presidents Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump. The central focus of this study was based on the primary statement above and attempts to answer the question below:

How has crime control language used by former U.S. Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama and the current president Donald J. Trump constructed the implication of Black criminality in the 21st century?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this research was social construction. For the purposes of this study, I used the social construction framework (SCF) to understand how the legitimacy of what is deemed good and bad is constructed and how that legitimacy feeds into Black criminalization. In the United States, crime and criminality—both constructions of what is good and bad behavior—are socially constructed (Beckett, 2018; Smiley & Fakunle, 2016; William & Battle, 2017).

Social construction is all about how knowledge is manufactured and interpreted to be reality. The way language is used to define what these categories or attributes of inferiority are was important to this study. Social construction is also about privilege and power (Capers, 2018; Gaynor, 2018; Omi & Winant, 2016). Privilege and power are crucial passes to access a much-needed platform for which language can be heard and understood. The language at the heart of this study constructed meanings such as “colorblindness” and “definitions of the other” (Omni & Winant, 2016, p. 1064). Language provides legitimacy.

Public policy makers indulge in this legitimacy when designing criminal policies created to punish and deter people from engaging in undesirable behavior defined by the ruling majority (Bennett & Walker, 2019; Eckhouse, 2019; Shjarback & Young, 2018). What is often considered to be unwanted behavior is subjective and largely based on social constructions (Black, 2018; Gross and Weiss, 2019; Lehman et al., 2018; Omni and Winant, 2016). Social constructions are often the result of the needs and wants or opinions and perspectives of the dominant group or the group in power (Surette, 2015; Wilson, 2018).

African Americans were considered an inferior group up until at least the mid-20th century before the end of the Jim Crow period (Adler, 2015; Highsmith and Erickson, 2015; Robinson, 2017; Ross, 2016). Some scholars have argued that African Americans continue to be treated as an inferior group under a system that is designed to be racist and maintain White power (Bennett & Walker, 2018; Hetey & Ebhardt, 2018; Wilson, 2018). African Americans could be considered as having even less power since the end of slavery (Dollar, 2019; Eyer, 2019; Hong, 2018).

In crime control, social construction is disproportionately attributed to behaviors of those often with marginalized racial identities (Armour, 2018; Gaynor, 2018). Social science scholars have noted under public safety, crime control policies in the 1990's excluded and marginalized people from communities of color, and poor people in general. More specifically, it has been found that African Americans are denied freedoms and excluded through programs such as *stop and frisk* and *gerrymandering* (Charles & Fuentes-Rowher, 2018; Huq, 2017; Kramer & Remster, 2018). Social constructions are

difficult to overcome once established, especially when part of a public policy reinforces the language that embodies stereotypical beliefs (Shjarback and Young, 2018; Smiley and Fakunle, 2016; Wilson, 2018). Social construction theory helps us to better understand how political leaders construct realities to maintain status quo and power.

Nonetheless, SCF is subjective, and when examining the social construction of realities, there are certain values that may prejudice the results. However, clear and unbiased symbols are easily identified. For example, collateral consequences are symbols for exclusion and inferiority (Gross & Wiess, 2019; Koch et al., 2016; Smiley & Fakunle, 2016). Because bad behavior is deemed a sign of inferiority, exclusion is seen as appropriate because there is no loss to society. The social construction of these collateral consequences is the result of an attempt to maintain privilege and power (Canella, 2018; Capers, 2018; Surette, 2015).

Maintaining privilege and power are the goals of White supremacy, which was the nexus of Jim Crow laws and their predecessor, Black Codes. As a result, modern-day crime control has evolved naturally to be defined by those with privilege and power. And those with marginalized racial identities, e.g., African Americans, are socially constructed to engage in bad behavior, which is criminalized through public policies (Armor, 2018; Frankowski, 2019; Fosten, 2016; Gramlich, 2019; Jefferson, 2016). While so many studies on Black criminalization place focus on the drug wars, the nature of this extends far beyond.

Nature of the Study

Black criminalization did not start with the war on drugs as is often portrayed in criminal justice reform circles (Muller, 2018). African Americans were routinely accused of crimes and criminalized simply for existing (Adler, 2015; Eriksson, 2019). This treatment began shortly after the Reconstruction period with the Black Codes. Members of the White community who sympathized with African Americans, understanding how they were being treated as inferior, argued that criminal behavior was not necessarily due to an inferiority of the mental and physical, but rather unequal social and economic conditions. This national discussion rallied throughout political, social, and academic circles (Alder, 2015; Capers, 2018; Eriksson, 2019). Discourse opened the doors further for Black criminalization by drawing attention to false narratives and appealing to race-based hostilities and fears (Alder, 2015; Capers, 2018; Eriksson, 2019).

In 1896, Frederick L. Hoffman published *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*. In his book, Hoffman used statistical data to argue that Black criminal behavior demonstrates an inherent proclivity for bad behavior. Hoffman (1896) was the most influential expert on the topic, and it remained that way for more than a half a century, shaping and defining White rights and Black threats based on crime statistics. Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress sanctioned and legalized lynching by doing nothing to stop it (Frankowski, 2019; Mortenen, 2018; Wood, 2018).

Because members of the U.S. Congress themselves deemed African Americans to be an inferior race with a proclivity for bad behavior, Congress acquiesced to the illegal behavior of nonstate actors, such as the Ku Klux Klan and angry mobs made up of White

men; thus, the government gave authority to police to punish African Americans. This authority was often used to carry out lynchings through vigilante justice (Frankowski, 2019; Mortenen, 2018; Wood, 2018). During this period, no U.S. president intervened to protect African Americans from vigilante mobs.

Although it is illegal to provide material support or belong to groups such as Hezbollah, Al-Qaida, (Maggs, 2010), and MS-13, which was recently designated as a terrorist organization (Blake, 2017), membership in and providing material support for the Ku Klux Klan—known for more than a century of hate, murder, and mayhem toward African Americans—remains lawful. Additionally, no apology has ever been issued to African Americans for the more than 125 years of Black Codes and Jim Crow laws, often inspired or influenced by senior members of the KKK, and which subsequently made possible the public hangings, destruction of communities, and reenslavement of African Americans.

Hoffman (1896) used government data to record how many African Americans were in prison. Muhammad (2010) cited how Hoffman used statistical data to demonstrate how the U.S. prison population was made up of an outstanding and disproportionate number of young African American men. Hoffman (1896) further used his research to bolster arguments of a Black threat to the existence of White rights. The RAND Corporation, U.S. Department of Justice, and the National Institute of Justice continue the trend of maintaining statistical data on race and crime in the same way that Hoffman did back in the early 19th century (Muhammad, 2010). The enduring discussion of Black criminality has lasted since 1867 or 1868, at the end of Reconstruction.

However, what is often omitted is the motivation behind the Black Codes and Jim Crow laws. These laws were specifically designed to target and incriminate African Americans for attempting to be free and in control of their own bodies and labor. In sum, these laws were designed to construct Black criminality and promote the myth that African Americans were criminal by nature. The nature of this research is to understand how U.S. presidents have continued this myth through coded messaging within crime control rhetoric.

Jim Crow laws were an extension of Black Codes and officially lasted all the way into the 1960s. Almost 20 years into the 21st century and the language and actions of the federal and state criminal justice systems appear similar to that of Hoffman and others (Anderson, 2015; Boldt & Boyd, 2018; Garry, 2018; Livingston & Gurung, 2019; Muhammad, 2010; Sanchez, 2018) The Jim Crow period lasted for more than 150 years. When a group of people have been criminalized for more than 150 years, it is difficult to believe they are no longer seen as criminal.

The nature of this study was grounded in this historical context. I studied the crime control language of recent U.S. presidents to understand Black criminalization through a public policy lens. According to Frankowski (2019) and the Sentencing Project (2019), genocide is a possibility if the Black criminalization trend continues uninterrupted as a direct consequence of hypercriminalizing African Americans.

Definitions

African American: An alternative description of a group of people who originated from the continent of Africa and were brought to America to be enslaved. This

description includes the generations of offspring from those enslaved in the United States and originally from Africa. At times, African American and Black are used interchangeably.

Black Codes: Those laws, often called vagrancy laws or acts, that were passed by former slavery states, mostly in the South, to return African Americans into positions of slavery. This idea was based on the slavery loophole in the 13th Amendment, which stated, “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction” (U.S. Constitution, Amendment XIII).

Black criminalization: The deliberate criminalization of African Americans through the enactment and execution of laws and policies that disproportionately target African Americans and their communities.

Black inferiority: The idea that African Americans are inferior to Caucasian people, especially those from Western Europe and the United States.

Criminalization: A process whereby a person or persons are charged with a crime and proclaimed criminal.

Discourse: Written or spoken formal discussion, communication, or debate. At times, the terms *discourse* and *rhetoric* are used interchangeably.

Genocide: Killing, or causing serious bodily or mental harm, or deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the physical destruction, or imposing measures intended to prevent births, or forcibly transferring the children of a national,

ethnic, racial, or religious group (to another group), with intent to destroy, in whole or in part (U.N. Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, n.d.).

Jim Crow laws: Laws that enforced White privilege and power over African Americans by establishing and enforcing a *separate but equal* national policy. This policy promoted a myth that African Americans were inherently depraved, incorrigible, and inferior, which led to further criminalization. These laws created barriers to employment, opportunities, and freedoms that social scientists and politicians have linked to perpetual criminal behavior.

Language: The method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way.

Rhetoric: The art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing, especially the use of figures of speech and other compositional techniques. At times, the terms *rhetoric* and *discourse* are used interchangeably.

Assumptions

Throughout this research, I assumed a postmodernist perspective. Postmodernism posits that there are no absolutes, and that reality or truth is subjective. From this perspective, language is most capable of only partial realities and these partial realities drive discourses of power. African Americans are victims of racist crime control laws and policies (Clair & Winter, 2016; Fosten, 2016; Gaynor, 2018; Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018; Washington, 2018). To this end, Black criminalization is a social construction. The social construction here is presented and assessed from a postmodernist perspective. I made the assumption that crime control laws and policies are the result of a social construction.

Delimitations

The U.S. presidents selected for this study represent a diverse group of both Republicans and Democrats. First is William “Bill” Jefferson Clinton, who the Black middle-class named the country’s “first Black president” (Ta-Nehisi Coates, 2015). President Clinton became the 42nd U.S. president; he was a Democrat who was considered conservative. Clinton’s policies led to the lengthy incarceration of many African Americans for crimes involving drugs and violence (DeRugy, 2002; Oliver, 2016; Pitney, Jr. 2016). Clinton signed into law some of the harshest crime control bills of any president, such as the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which critics say effectively ended the right to habeas corpus (Enders & Souto, 2019; Hong, 2018; Temin, 2018).

George W. Bush, the 43rd U.S. president, was a conservative Republican from the state of Texas. Bush spoke about crime control early in his presidency, vowing initially to return the country’s focus to domestic affairs (Eshbaugh-Soha & Miles, 2008). Bush was a tough talking president who often aligned with the religious right movement supporting extreme Christian views (Turek, 2014). Bush declared a war on terrorism after September 11, 2001. Bush presided over the signing of the USA PATRIOT Act, placing his original plans to focus on domestic affairs on hold. Toward the end of his presidency, Bush signed into law major criminal justice reform legislation entitled Second Chance Act. The Second Chance Act was the first major step at overturning punitive criminal justice policies within the federal criminal justice system; intended to be a major step in providing help and resources to state and federal government agencies, nonprofit

organizations, and Native American communities working toward reform and rehabilitation of low-level law breakers (Pogorzelski, et al., 2005).

Barack Hussein Obama became the 44th U.S. president. Like his predecessor Bush, Obama was a wartime president. Obama became the first U.S. president to approve the targeting of a U.S. citizen for extrajudicial killing and continued the targeting of enemy combatants through use of the highly controversial drone program (van Baren, 2011). According to *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and other news agencies, Obama also became the first president to ever visit a U.S. prison facility (Baker, 2015; Mansoor, 2015). Although Obama was the first African American president, his critics say that he did little to end Black criminalization (Hill & Lee, 2015). Obama did, however, commute the sentences of more than 1,700 individuals, mostly serving time on drug offenses (Barkow et al., 2017).

On January 20, 2017, Donald J. Trump was inaugurated as the 45th U.S. president. Trump took office with a promise and mission to end violent crime (Lynch, 2017). Trump has also been a wartime president, taking an aggressive position on the ISIS terrorist organization (Griffin, 2018). The primary target of his crime control campaign has appeared to be less against African Americans and more aimed at people of Latino and Hispanic origin, as well as of people of color born outside the United States (Ziv, Graham, & Cao, 2019). Like his Republican predecessor, Trump has supported criminal justice reform legislation signing into law The First Step Act, which has gone further than any previous legislation to reduce prison population and provide assistance to people formerly incarcerated (Baker, 2018).

These four presidents present a diverse set of characteristics to address the limitations. The boundaries of this study are focused on these four presidents. According to Dale and Vlope (2019, p. 207), “Unlike limitations, which flow from implicit characteristics of method and design, delimitations result from specific choices made by the researcher.” This study begins with these four presidents. When combined with the problem of understanding Black Criminalization from the perspective of how crime control is discussed by a U.S. president, limitations are inevitable.

Limitations

There are two limitations I discuss here. The first limitation is in the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a method for my research and the second is the potential limited data due to the war on terror and immigration. The CDA limitation has two parts: (a) nonverbal communication and (b) inconsistency of standards in interpretation and acceptance. Although I see the use of nonverbal communication as an important limitation, the authors I have reviewed did not discuss this as a limitation. Communication is not only text and speech; it is also mannerisms and movements, which are part of nonverbal communication.

CDA is well-established as a methodology to allow the investigation and study of power, privilege, domination, and group alienation under the pretext of political process (Evans-Agnew, Johnson, Liu, & Boutin, 2016). Social nuances and cultural exchanges using language is often what is being studied according to Fairclough (2013) and van Dijk (2009) and that is because in and out groups are produced by either rejection or

acceptance of their behavior or some other attribute. Sarfa and Krampa (2013) describe the pretext of political process as “text and talk” (p. 280).

In their study, Sarfa and Krampa (2013) used CDA to investigate the words and phrases used by former Presidents Bush and Obama in their speeches on terrorism. Sarfo and Krampa (2013) conducted their study with a CDA approach influenced by van Dijk. Sarfo and Krampa analyzed six speeches in which the former presidents spoke of violence in different ways. According to Sarfo and Krampa, the presidents denounced violence in the form of *terrorism*, yet praised the use of *antiterrorism* violence. However, the larger question leads us to evaluate the limitations of CDA in terms of saturation in quantity.

Mogashoa (2014), citing Morgan (2010, p. 4), listed the disadvantages of using CDA, but none mention nonverbal communication. For example, Mogashoa (2014, p. 111) mentioned that Morgan (2010, p. 4) stated that “everything is open to interpretation and negotiation” and certain applications are “too broad” while others are “too narrow.” Sipra and Rashid (2013) investigated the words and sentences of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to learn whether his discourse reflected the views of the African American community. Sipra and Rashid (2013) used only one speech and analyzed 648 words in 31 lines because doing so was acceptable using the Fairclough three-step model approach (1993). In other words, this was enough to make the study complete and an example of what Morgan states as a disadvantage.

The second projected limitation for this study was the potential limited data. The data may not exist as they did during the height of mass incarceration and during the

period that *broken windows theory* was popular as an explanation for high crime rates (Jefferson, 2016). High crime rates were often explained as the product of poverty and minimal wealth. Studies have shown that African Americans and communities of color have substantially less wealth than White communities (Insler et al., 2019). Although mostly poor Caucasian people are arrested and jailed, African American people and Latino people are targeted and jailed regardless of economic status. For example, Henry Louis Gates, a Harvard University professor and member of the Black upper class, was arrested for allegedly breaking into his own house (Goodnough, 2009; Hechinger & Simmi, 2009; White, 2009). Because African American communities have fewer resources and substantially less wealth, police are called upon to patrol these areas in greater numbers, compared to Caucasian neighborhoods (Insler et al., 2019; Tyler & Brockman, 2017). While the debate continues over the validity of the broken windows theory, the theory has since been debunked and it is no longer understood as a plausible explanation (Konkel et al., 2019).

A limitation or bias may be possible by the inclusion of an African American president based on the perception in messaging. Imam Jamil Abdullah Al'Alamin, formerly H. Rap Brown, was interviewed around 1965 stating that it was politically naïve to think a Black president in office would automatically address the needs of African American people (Cryptonomics, 2012). In fact, Al'Alamin stated that if a Black president were elected, African Americans should be prepared to fight that person. Al'Alamin explained that the United States operates from the position of supporting the military industrial complex, which means that it is profitable to wage war (Cryptonomics,

2012). Al'Alamin's argument addresses the assumption that by having an African American as president Black criminalization would disappear.

In around 1965, speaking to an audience at Cambridge University, James Baldwin cited Robert Kennedy as saying that America would have a Black president in around the year 2005 and cautioned the White world to open their eyes to see African Americans as like all other peoples (Grabman, 2014). Baldwin also told the U.S. Congress that he was convinced that if an African American were elected president, the labor movement would have been much more edifying (Grabman, 2014). Al'Alamin and Baldwin present two competing ideas predicting the behavior of a future African American president.

African American scholars world renowned for their work in advocating an antiprison movement, such as Angela Davis, a contemporary of Al'Amin, Michelle Alexander, and others, have expanded the *military industrial complex* term to include prisons. The *antimilitary prison industrial complex movement*, as it is now called, began to surface prominently in the 1980s at around the time African American youth were being hypercriminalized in the war on drugs (Beckett et al, 2018; Dollar, 2018). Combined statements from two of America's most prominent figures during the '60s, having witnessed criminalization of African Americans through Jim Crow laws, made the juxtaposition of the first African American president an important part of a credible answer to the research question studied here. The opportunity to have the crime control discourse of an African American president under examination provides more credibility than limitations by addressing potential critics who may suggest either that an African American president would be different, or the same, or that a selection of all Caucasian

presidents fit perfectly into a planned presumption, which on that basis, eliminates any research credibility.

Another projected limitation is that crime control discourse by the president of the United States has also been upstaged by the war on terror and immigration, which have switched the primary criminal justice target from African Americans to Middle Eastern and Asian Muslims (Kreis, 2017) and Latino and Hispanic people. Under the Trump administration, there has been an increase in criminal justice targeting Hispanics and Latinos. Now there is less news coverage of police contact with Muslims. Although there continues to be incidents of disproportionate criminal justice contact by African Americans, a shift in the language that promulgates Black criminality may have significantly changed under all the presidents. The overall limitation of this study was that I was looking only at language used to target African Americans, rather than all other people of color and ethnic minorities. As a result, the limitation of data is a possibility due to the war on terror and the shift in perception of threats and rights coming from the increased migration of Hispanic and Latinos from south of the U.S. border.

Significance of the Study

Scholarly literature on criminalization has demonstrated that researchers have largely ignored the significance of Black criminalization outside of the war on drugs paradigm (Beckett et al., 2016; Beckett et al., 2018; Fornili, 2018; Fosten, 2016; Kirk & Wakefield, 2018). Mass incarceration and racial disparities as both cause and outcome (Onwuachi-Willig, 2017; Weaver, 2007) are part of a history that Higginbotham (1996) refers to as a precept of inferiority. Higginbotham described the precept of inferiority as

directly related to the subjugation of African Americans in deliberate defense of Caucasian superiority. However, Higginbotham (1996) admitted that the “application [of] this precept has not remained fixed and unchanged” (Kindle, Introduction). In general, criminal justice policy and the U.S. legal process have been an incubator for actions supported systemically, which has origins in slavery (Higginbotham, 1996). Nonetheless, this study may help to understand how crime control discourse by presidents of the United States contributes to Black criminalization, which shares a link to systemic racism.

The president of the United States sets federal policy through speech. While what the president says is often symbolic, it is equally substantive in nature and practice. When the president speaks, policy makers listen for direction (Lamb et al., 2019; Vlatkovic, 2018; Wasike, 2017). The power of speech is used by the president as a primary tool to engage both the public and federal policy makers on the direction of crime control (Marion & Oliver, 2012).

Although symbolism is a large part of crime control rhetoric by U.S. presidents, it is significant in that policy decisions are often modeled accordingly. There is sufficient evidence that federal prosecutors will take their lead from what the president says (Arffa, 2019; Obama, 2017). This research assumes that states are uniform in their major crime control agendas based on their federal funding commitments (Alder, 2015; Beckett, 2018; Enders et al., 2018; Wozniak, 2018). In the aftermath of nationwide protests over yet another African American killed by police, the significance of a study examining the role

of U.S. presidents in Black criminalization may provide significant guidance in the implementation of successful criminal justice reform.

Summary

African Americans have long been the targets of excessive crime control punitive actions, which has led to Black criminalization. The role of the U.S. president in continuing Black criminalization is best understood through a qualitative study that executes a CDA of crime control rhetoric. By examining crime control rhetoric of the four past presidents, it may become clear how the words of the U.S. president construct meanings, exploit racialized stereotypes, and advance false assumptions about African American culture, leading to Black criminality.

Criminalization is a social construct. Crime is whatever people think it is, and often behavior the majority or dominant group has defined as unacceptable or deplorable is criminalized. African Americans have never been part of the dominant group. In fact, they are a majority minority. Ever since the end of slavery, African Americans have been criminalized through discriminatory laws and policies. From 1877 to 1940, there were thousands of African Americans hung as part of vigilante justice where the word of a single individual or perception of the majority was enough to assign a presumption of guilt. African Americans have historically comprised the majority of prison inmates in both federal and state prisons. Upon release, African Americans continue to face substantial hurdles in the pursuit of a normal and free life. Today, collateral consequences of incarceration combined with a designation of probation or a period of supervised release are enough to render community reentry near impossible while strengthening the

perception of habitual criminality. Collateral consequences are a form of tacit punishment beyond what is constitutionally allowed, yet they have existed for decades without any successful political or legal challenge.

In this study, I focused on how U.S. presidents present crime control to the general public in ways that resemble a historical pattern of Black criminalization, much like the Black Codes that existed shortly after Emancipation. In this study, I focused on U.S. Presidents Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump. I compared explicit racist rhetoric criminalizing African Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the rhetoric of modern U.S. presidents discussing crime control and considered Higginbotham's precept of inferiority (1996) as survey annexed within the SCF, such that new and useful information could assist in positive criminal justice reform by changing the way crime control is discussed on the political trail from the nation's highest office. The results of this study may contribute to the library of scholarly literature and efforts to end mass incarceration, which is a major concern of current public policy and criminal justice.

In the next chapter, I provide an overview of the primary research, studies, and writings that have guided this research. Chapter 2 provides the foundational literature and previous research along with an in-depth look at what other researchers have written and discussed with regards to the problem of Black criminalization.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of crime control discourse used by U.S. presidents in the criminalization of African Americans. After reading many books and articles appearing to link hypercriminalization of Black men to the war on Drugs, I found little research that explores the language used by policy makers, particularly the presidents of the United States in crime policy formation. Law and policy makers design the rules for proper behavior (Beckett et al., 2018; Bolt & Boyd, 2018; Dollar, 2018; Fornili, 2018). This study is important because it helps to identify stereotypes and myths about African Americans associated with improper behavior and further demonstrates the implicit bias based on social constructs that lead to Black criminalization.

Crime control in the United States has led to a U.S. mass incarceration problem. Hypercriminalization and harsh penalties have been cited for the United States' position as the world's number-one jailer (Adler, 2015; Becket et al., 2018; Hinton, 2015; Temin, 2018; Washington, 2018). In crime control, law and policy makers decide what is criminal, classify types of crimes, and set penalties accordingly (Adler, 2015; Anderson & Ichiho, 2017; Fornili, 2018; Fosten, 2016; Lassiter, 2015; Oliver et al., 2016; Smith, 2017; Visher, 2016;). Hypercriminalization is an outcome of this process (Jefferson, 2016; Kirk & Wakefield, 2018; Koch et al., 2016). Black men are overexposed as targets of crime control (Adler, 2015; Beck & Blumstein, 2017; Washington, 2018). Since slavery, Black men have been the victims of harsh penalties, which distinguishes Black

criminalization from the criminalization of any other racial group (Cobbina et al., 2016; Taylor et al., 2018; Washington, 2018; Williams & Battle, 2017). Black criminalization results from the crime control process that emphasizes harsh penalties for certain crime types and classifications. This is directly related to the definitions of proper behavior and social construction.

Social construction and criminalization are linked to the outcome of proper behavior. Criminalization is a process whereby people are pronounced criminals, incarcerated, and punished in myriad ways based on laws and policies meant to structure the behavior of a society usually to the benefit of the ruling majority (Heiner, 2016; Hernandez et al., 2015 Hetey & Ebhardt, 2018; Taylor et al., 2018). Black criminalization is the criminalization of African Americans in ways that are consistent with early postslavery jurisprudence.

The topic of my research is Black criminalization, which is an outcome of the U.S. crime control process. The classifications of the types of crimes are a major factor in the construction of Black criminality (Beck & Blumstein, 2017; Beckett, 2018; Becket et al., 2018). These classifications are an outcome of law and policy decisions based largely on the direction of the president of the United States as telegraphed throughout their discourse (Boldt & Boyd, 2018). This research began with the assumption that the crime control process is biased against African Americans. I examined discourse of U.S. presidents in relationship to crime control law and policy based on what the ruling majority desires in proper behavior. Historically, for African Americans, the assumption

in proper behavior is one of submission and obedience to White rule (Bennett & Walker, 2018).

Crime control discourse often includes messages that signal the types of crimes prioritized for prosecution and who will be targeted (Boldt & Boyd, 2018). There is evidence that U.S. presidents will use discourse to achieve policy agendas that often include crime control favorable to their base of support (Dollar, 2018; Donovan et al., 2019). However, few researchers have examined the role of crime control discourse by U.S. presidents in relationship to the construction of laws and policies that enable Black criminalization (William & Battle, 2017). Through law and policy, Black people have historically had higher contact with criminal justice than any other ethnic group, and as a result, African Americans have been hypercriminalized (Fosten, 2016). This dangerous problem has persisted for more than a century and has led to severe implications and human rights violations (Becket et al., 2018; Enders et al., 2018; Taylor et al., 2018; Tyler & Brockmann, 2017; William & Battle, 2017).

The problem associated with criminal justice contact, usually in the form of collateral consequences, can lead to a shortened life span, health issues, limited employment, poverty, homelessness, deprivation of humanity, loss of dignity, and fewer choices in marriage prospects (Beckett et al., 2018; Comfort et al., 2018; Fosten, 2016; Hagen & Foster, 2015). I argue that these outcomes are linked to the effect of genocide according to data and reporting by Frankowski (2019) and the Sentencing Project (2019).

Today, African Americans continue to have a higher contact with the criminal justice system than any other ethnic group in the United States (Etey & Ebehardt, 2018;

Heiner, 2016; Hernandez et al., 2015; Kirk & Wakefield, 2018). Understanding how and why this continues to be a problem more than a century after slavery ended is essential. This research examines the role of discourse on crime control by the U.S. president by asking the question of how, rather than does, implying a presumption that Black criminalization already exists, as is noted by the scholarly literature.

The Current Literature and the Problem's Relevance

Criminal justice contact is associated with hypercriminalization (Beckett et al., 2018; Kirk & Wakefield, 2018; Miller & Stuart, 2017). Current literature suggests that the hypercriminalization of African American communities is the single largest injustice of our time (Beckett et al., 2018; Kirk & Wakefield, 2018; Miller & Stuart, 2017). Recently, in the summer of 2020, there have been increased “Black Lives Matter” rallies related to criminal justice and treatment of African Americans in the United States and around in Europe. Williams and Battle (2017) suggest that future research is needed and there are significant gaps in the literature in the history of race and crime. Stone and Socia (2017) demonstrated the impact of Black criminalization on African American children and how mortality is almost certain through the construction of dangerousness. Taylor et al. (2018) provided research on the discrimination that African American men face daily using criminality as justification.

Genocide and hypercriminalization share a familiar and common outcome. Genocide is defined as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group: (a) killing members of the group, (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, (c)

deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (“UNCPPCG,” n.d.). Miller and Stuart (2017) have linked incarceration and citizenship to implicate a system that Alexander (2014) called the *New Jim Crow*. The *New Jim Crow*, also the name of Alexander’s (2014) book, sparked a national discussion and political urgency in how to prevent further hypercriminalization of African Americans. However, two recent reports by the Sentencing Project (2018, 2019) concluded that reform has been too little too late and will have little impact to prevent what I describe as genocide. Genocide is the real potential problem as familiar and real criminal justice outcomes destroy life chances for African Americans facing hypercriminalization.

Beck and Blumstein (2017) cites the effects of laws and policies with regards to the differences in types of crimes committed by different ethnic groups. Jefferson (2016) cites the broken windows theory and policing policy and demonstrates an example of the danger that the New York Police Department established through conversations on the construction of crime and neighborhoods where social contact is the norm. Hinton (2015) cites how crime was created in the Black community and aimed at African American youth through President Lyndon B. Johnson’s war on crime in 1965. Hinton (2015) also cites a systemic connection between juvenile justice and delinquency in the 1970s, further connecting Black criminalization and the U.S. president. Marion and Hill (2018) cites the Black criminalization literature, demonstrating the ways U.S. presidents use

rhetoric as a method for directing the country on crime control and directing prosecution priority.

I have provided a synopsis of current literature that provides insight into the relevance of the problem of Black criminalization. The major sections that follow in this chapter are as follows: literature search strategy, theoretical foundation, and literature review related to key variables and concepts. In the literature search strategy section, I list library databases accessed and search engines used, provide key search terms used, describe the iterative search process adopted, and what terms were used in what database to obtain germane literature. I also explain my steps to overcome the case of little research in this section. In the theoretical foundation section, I name the theory used for this study, provide its origin or source, and describe major theoretical propositions, including my delineation of certain assumptions in its application. I also provide a literature-based analysis of how the theory has been applied previously in ways similar to my proposed study, provide a rationale of the choice of theory, and describe how and why my choice for the theory is related to my study and how the research question relates to, challenges, or builds on the existing theory. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, literature review related to key variables and concepts, I give a synopsis of the literature reviewed in relationship to my key variables and concepts.

Literature Search Strategy

Applying the foundational works of Muhammad (2010), Blackmon (2008), and Higginbotham (1996), I proceed with my literature search strategy. Although I retrieved the bulk of my literature from Walden's online library, I also searched for news articles

and reports through the Google Scholar search engine. The databases I used the most were EBSCO, ProQuest, and Google Scholar from Walden's online library. I found and reviewed dissertations near to my subject matter to locate key words that I could be missing. In addition, I used help from Walden's Center for Research Quality and the university librarians. The following were keywords I used for my literature search: *Black criminality, racialized crime, critical discourse, presidential rhetoric, mass incarceration, race and crime, disproportional minority contact, Black codes, punitive justice, mandatory minimums, war on crime, crime control, and criminal justice reform.* Although, most of the literature for this research applied information from peer-reviewed articles dated between 2011 and 2019, I did not exclude articles dated earlier. These articles and books published before 2011 could be extremely important to this research for foundational, background, or authoritative value and were not been matched by any other recent material found. This literature review includes the use of articles published for law review journals. The research topic of criminality and jurisprudence will often overlap with writings from legal studies. I applied the same search strategy and keywords to purposively search through law journals. The database that I used exclusively for law articles was HeinOnline, a popular source for legal reviews and law-based articles.

Throughout development of this inquiry, I have come across many important news articles, special reports, and other documents, including video documentaries all of which have aided in my understanding of this phenomenon. However, although I may occasionally reference one for additional support, it will not be with the intention of providing a substitute for scholarly literature. Some reports, such as the *Report of the*

Sentencing Project to the United Nations Human Rights Committee: Regarding racial disparities in the United States Criminal Justice system (The Sentencing Project, 2013), are of authoritative value. These types of documents, which can include publications by government sources, professional organizations, and nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) while absent of peer-review process, still they are considered *accurate and reliable* by research institutions.

In the next sections of this chapter, I provide some literary review of the theoretical framework and theory that will be used for this research. I will end by reviewing the three themes that appeared after conducting a literature review: construction of Black criminality, presidential discourse, and massincarceration.

Theoretical Foundation

To make sense of this study, to guide it with some consistency, and avoid scattered subjectivity, I employed the use of a theoretical framework with the understanding that I am not limited by it. Theoretical framework is a term void of any true definition which makes it troublesome for most qualitative researchers of all levels (Collins & Stockton, 2018; Anfara, 2012). However, it is understood that all researchers who employ qualitative research will eventually have some sort of theoretical framework from which their study is grounded (Collins & Stockton, 2018; Stewart & Klein, 2016; Anfara 2008).

According to Collins and Stockton (2018), "a strong theoretical framework can allow the researcher to reveal existing predispositions about a study and assist in data coding and interpretation" (p. 1). The theoretical framework is a tool for alignment. A

good theoretical framework will ensure that the literature research, methodology, research data, and findings operate to answer the question succinctly (Anfara, 2008).

Social Construction Framework

SCF helps to examine policy design in relation to target groups and populations—for example, the good groups are entitled to rewards and the bad groups are deserving of burdens or punishment to shape behavior that is acceptable to the ruling class. Social construction will also define what is good and what is bad and ascribe those definitions to specific groups based on specific characteristics. The focus of this proposal is on agenda setting—framing, assigning values, using emotional characterizations of people and problems—this is the cumulative effect of distribution.

Policy makers make quick emotional judgments, back up their actions with selective facts, and distribute benefits. A key aim in SCF is to reconceptualize studies of interest group politics by considering the effect of past policy design on current debates. For example, a sequence of previous policies based on a particular framing of target populations may produce “hegemony” when the public, media, and/or policymakers take ethnic norms for granted (as natural) and rarely question the framing of those norms by prejudiced thinking. SCF does not conceptualize institutions as venues or regular sources of rules; rather, it sees “policy design” as describing a similar importance for the institutionalization of frames and rules. More explicitly, SCF examines group power influenced by the way target groups are framed under law and policy by their makers. Past policy represents the main context for policymaking in the United States.

Around the 1980s ethnically targeted communities were thought to be socially constructed (Clair and Winter, 2016; Pierce et al., 2014). The social construction framework used worked to postulate specific positive and negative ideas. These were ideas designed to produce the reward of “benefits and burdens” – to create and disperse preferred constructed images – of target groups. African Americans have historically been the target of socially constructed images ever since the end of reconstruction (Ingram et al, 2007). To be sure, simply look to the presidential campaign of George W. Bush and their use of the Willie Horton ad which helped to win over voters based on constructed images, target groups, and benefits and burdens.

Social constructions are difficult to overcome because policy and strategy may reinforce hegemony, based on a dominate interpretation of social groups and how to treat them (an argument that builds on second-and-third-dimensional conceptions of power [Pierce et al., 2014; Cairney. 2012b, 62]). Some groups can grow more or less powerful and become categorized differently over time, but this may take decades in the absence of a major external event, such as an economic crisis or game-changing election, perhaps by entrepreneurs, to change the way that policymakers and the public view particular groups (Pierce et al., 2014; Schneider and Ingram, 2005).

In the next section, I introduce Higginbotham’s (1996) discussion on precepts to introduce an example of how the SCF will be applied.

Higginbotham’s 10 Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence

Higginbotham’s 10 Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence is relevant and serves as an example of social construction. It is useful alongside social construction

framework, and an alternative to Critical Race Theory (CRA) which focuses more on the narrative outcomes rather than the substantive outcomes. The most important of Higginbotham's (1996) precepts are *inferiority*, *property*, and *powerlessness*, which this research utilizes. These three precepts are most important because they are themes that are frequently applied throughout conversations on race-based outcomes leading to Black criminalization, and they often appear as coded language in speech and text (Anderson, 2015; Bennet & Plaut, 2018; Black, 2018; Livingston & Gurung, 2019; Smiley & Fakunle, 2016; Smith, 2017). The description of all 10 precepts are as follows:

1. Inferiority: Presume, preserve, protect, and defend the ideal of the superiority of whites and the inferiority of blacks.
2. Property. Define the slave as the master's property, maximize the master's economic interest, disregard the humanity of the slave except when it serves the master's interest, and deny slaves the fruits of their labor.
3. Powerlessness. Keep blacks—whether slave or free—as powerless as possible so that they will be submissive and dependent in every respect, not only to the master but to whites in general. Limit blacks' accessibility to the courts and subject blacks to an inferior system of justice with lesser rights and protections but with greater punishments. Utilize violence and the powers of government to assure the submissiveness of blacks.
4. Racial "Purity:" Always preserve white male sexual dominance. Draw an arbitrary racial line and preserve white racial purity as thus defined. Tolerate sexual relations between white men and black women; punish severely relations

between white women and non-white men. As to children who are products of interracial sexual relations, the freedom or enslavement of the black child is determined by the status of their mother.

5. Manumission and Free Blacks. Limit and discourage manumission; minimize the number of free blacks to a status as close to slavery as possible.
6. Family. Recognize no rights of the black family, destroy the unity of the black family, deny slaves the right of marriage; demean and degrade black women, black men, and black children; and then condemn their conduct and state of mind.
7. Education and Culture. Deny blacks any education, deny them knowledge of their culture, and make it a crime to teach those who are slaves how to read or to write.
8. Religion. Recognize no rights of slaves to define and practice their own religion, to choose their own religious leaders, or to worship with other blacks. Encourage them to adopt the religion of the white master, teach them that God who is white will reward the slave who obeys the commands of his master here on earth. Use religion to justify the slave's status on earth.
9. Liberty—Resistance. Limit blacks' opportunity to resist, bear arms, rebel, or flee; curtail their freedom of movement, freedom of association, and freedom of expression. Deny blacks the right to vote and to participate in government.
10. By Any Means Possible. Support all measures, including the use of violence, that maximize the profitability of slavery and that legitimate racism. Oppose, by the use of violence if necessary, all measures that advocate the abolition of slavery or the diminution of white supremacy.

The first three of Higginbotham's (1996) Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence will be used to test themes and coded language. It is chosen as a quasi-theory because it provides a good explanation of the historical and contemporary phenomenon involved in Black criminalization. It is quasi because Higginbotham passed away before fully developing his theory.

According to Creswell (2014) a good theory is one that guides the research question and provides an overarching explanation for understanding "behavior and attitudes." Richards and Morse (2013) emphasize that theory evolves from the data which is often "messy." From this purview, theory can help us to make sense of the data which a good theory and precise research questions will produce. This purview is also a defense of Higginbotham's underdeveloped theory which was put to the test in this research.

Hypercriminalization of African American Communities

The hyper-criminalization of African American communities is the single largest injustice of our time. Research conducted by Bennett and Plaut (2018) suggest that social psychologists have always understood that African Americans are burdened with a natural presumption of dangerousness due to skin tone. It is this presumption of dangerousness that has led to the death of hundreds of innocent African American men. Data from the FBI's 2012 Supplementary Homicide Report shows that while African Americans are just 13% of the U.S. population, they represented 31% of all those killed by police and 39% of all those killed by police without any provocation (Bronson & Carson, 2019; Carson, 2018).

Crime, Incarceration, and African Americans have historically been linked through a discursive construction of what constitutes criminality. Race, poverty, education, behavior, religion, and inferiority are all subjects that have promulgated the construction of criminality or the potential for deviance (Higginbotham, 1996). Definitions of crime and criminality are almost always based in ideology which U.S. history has socially constructed for years around race (Boldt & Boyd, 2018; Gaynor, 2015).

Cobbina et al. (2016) concludes in their study that race *is* a common factor in the presumption of guilt of crime and that a propensity for criminal behavior is often exaggerated based on racist perceptions. Therefore, it is highly plausible that Black criminalization is a result of coded language that begins with the nation's top executive and is historically linked to efforts by law and policy makers to maintain control over the lives of African Americans and determine their station in society. I have argued that this has caused the effect of genocide.

Literature Review Related to Key Variables and/or Concepts

Muhammad (2010) wrote on how early social scientists explicitly used census data to support the idea that African Americans are inferior and disposed to criminality. The core of his research involves how scientific-data and quantitative study was used to construct the African American as a social contagion and cost liability if allowed to be free. This is important to understand because much of the literature on Black criminalization reference the inability of African Americans to be fully free—always under some form of control. Blackmon (2008) details how the criminal justice system

was revised and perfected for maintaining slavery-like features through convict-leasing supported by the southern states to profit from the reinstatement of slavery.

Blackmon's (2008) research has been foundational in that it represents the first time anyone has ever extensively documented the reconstitution and continuation of slavery of African Americans after the Civil War. Involving tacit agreements and stealth partnerships between corporations and Southern states, using the criminal justice system for cover, this new form of slavery was widely known as Convict-leasing or "*Slavery by another name*" (Blackmon, 2008). Convict leasing was a system of well-orchestrated "slave colonies" that had lasted for nearly seventy years after passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. The Thirteenth Amendment ostensibly prohibited slavery, while in fact, it merely promoted it using politically constructed language. It read, "[n]either slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime...". Blackmon's work is important because it demonstrates how the 13th Amendment was nothing more than a facade. Blackmon (2008) provides the motive for Black criminalization which is introduced by much of the scholarly literature reviewed on Black criminalization. Both Muhammad (2010) and Blackmon (2008) provide a worthy foundational background reference to support the use of Social Construction Framework in this study.

Higginbotham (1996) documents the early development of America's system of jurisprudence which delegates Africans as beastly, child-like, and inferior beings from almost the very first day they arrived in the new country among other Europeans. Higginbotham's work is highly unique and original. He not only documented America's genesis of racialized legal codes but demonstrated how they coincided with the

development of America's rationale for a law-based society (Anderson, 1996; Higginbotham, 1978). The seminal work by Higginbotham (1996) includes a highly focused accounting of the current legal system juxtaposing and contrasting it against a highly racialized judicial past. Higginbotham (1996) observes, "[b]y reason of shared economic interest and political views, the legislators and judges often had a common understanding of the issues of race and slavery" (Kindle, location nos. 307-311). It is then that Higginbotham (1996) explains, "[t]he precepts pertaining to inferiority and powerlessness continue to haunt America even today, although it is now more than one hundred and thirty years after the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery" (Kindle, location no. 314). Higginbotham (1996) provides an understanding of the legal construction of Black criminality through his examination of early American jurisprudence which is still with us today.

Black criminalization did not begin with the War on Drugs as is a common idea today. However, possibly because of the drug war, the hyper-criminalization of African Americans has become relevant as a topic of research, and we know more about *law and order* politics. The literature reviewed along with the theoretical framework for this study was chosen from this perspective. For this reason, I have excluded as seminal work arguably the most important research on mass incarceration of the twenty-first century: *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness* (2010, 2012) by Michelle Alexander. It was Alexander's work which helped to launch a massive awareness of the depth and seriousness of Black Criminalization and inspire a national movement calling for the end of collateral consequences and loss of civil rights;

outcomes of the criminal construction. I did include the review of a researcher who examined Alexander's work. Alexander (2010) focuses her research squarely on the war on drugs. She writes, "[t]he reason is simple: Convictions for drug offenses are the single most important cause of the explosion in incarceration rates in the United States" (Alexander, 2010, p. 59). Much of the literature reviewed makes some form of reference to Alexander's pioneering work. I believe there is much more to learn.

It is important to note, I rely on Blackmon (2008), Muhammad (2010), and Higginbotham (1996) for foundational reference, this research will not be an extension or exhaustive use of their work. By foundational reference, I mean strictly applying it as a guide in the collection and organization of categories of literature. For this research, I will only make extensive use of the peer-reviewed and authoritative literature collected for the purpose of understanding previous research. I do, however, occasionally, cite these authors. The most important seminal work in which I draw theory is from A. Leon Higginbotham which is discussed below.

Higginbotham wrote two books that were a part of a long series in research into the topic of American Jurisprudence: *In the matter of color: Race and the American legal process* (1978) and *Shades of freedom: Racial politics and presumptions of the American legal process* (1996). In *Shades of freedom*, Higginbotham (1996) formulates *Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence* and what Professor Ronald K. Noble termed a "groundbreaking jurisprudential framework" (Rose, 1999; Anderson, 1996). In formulating these precepts, Higginbotham (1996) wrote:

After reflecting on those thousands of statutes and cases and on innumerable related articles and books, I have concluded that, for those Americans in power, there were several premises, goals, and implicit agreements concerning the institutions of slavery and directed how it was to be administered with imprimatur of the legal process. Sometimes these premises and goals were articulated precisely in statutes, judicial opinions, and executive orders. At other times, they were implicit; since most in power understood and agreed with these pernicious propositions, it would have been superfluous to announce or codify the common understanding. But whether or not articulated as formal rules of law, there was a general consensus on principles or premises that led to the legitimization of slavery and of racism. (Kindle, Location nos. 284-290)

This study proposes to focus on the rhetoric of the four, most-recent presidents: William “Bill” Clinton, George W. Bush, Barak H. Obama, and Donald J. Trump. These four were chosen because they are the most recent, and each have been in office at a point when race and crime have been major talking points. In the Clinton era, the country experienced a flurry of legislation that helped ensure African Americans would be jailed for life (Lamb et al., 2019; Bennett & Walker, 2018). Surprisingly, Clinton’s efforts were with the support of many middle- to upper-class African Americans (Lamb et al., 2019).

The Bush presidency saw a second “get tough on crime” movement. However, it was tempered with landmark legislation in the form of a Second Chance Act which allowed for people to return home early with reentry services. Obama became the first sitting U.S. President to ever visit a U.S. prison and report the problem America faces in

the era of “race to incarcerate.” Trump, a Republican like Bush, signed into law The First Step Act which ushers into reform the criminal justice system. This landmark legislation was an attempt to greatly reduce the effects of hyper-criminalization.

Black criminalization did not begin with the war on drugs as Blackmon (2008), Higginbotham (1996), Muhammad (2010), and a few other researchers have demonstrated in their seminal works. The literature is vast and sporadic on the issue of Black criminalization. Therefore, many theoretical and conceptual approaches exist to possibly identify, examine, and understand the problem of how and why Blacks have been historically criminalized. Muhammad (2010) is primarily a historian, while Blackmon (2008) is a journalist, and Higginbotham (1996), a jurist. Each of these researchers began their seminal works from the early stages of the construction of Black criminality. I have relied on the writings of each of these authors for foundational reference, and as a means of approach to my literature review, as I will explain further in the four themes organized from the literature, which are: Black criminality, presidential rhetoric, prison industrial complex and mass incarceration, and human rights urgency.

Black criminality is behavior which aligns with unlawfulness in social actions, and in many cases, moral deviancy based on racial prejudice (Schuck & Hemp, 2019; Bennett, 2018; Bennett & Plaut, 2018; Wozniak, 2018; Fosten, 2016). Research has consistently shown that race is connected to perceptions of criminal behavior that White Americans often associate with race and bad social behavior (Cobbina et al., 2016). One can think of this bad social behavior in terms of how jazz was first received by the White community in the 1920’s or how Black youth began wearing their pants “sagging” of

their buttocks in the late 1990's causing immediate reaction among White politicians. Social constructions shape the images in which people identify common traits and perceptions, bias, and judgements (Gaynor, 2018).

Social construction is also linked to race, and how law and policy is shaped especially when intended as a form of race-based control (Heitzeg, 2015b; Hinton, 2015; Mancini, 2016). According to Mancini (2015), “[w]hat is considered a crime and who is considered a criminal is largely based on social constructions that have a longstanding presence in U.S. history” (p. 358). It is often that definitions of crime are associated with what Ward (2015) has identified as “state organized race crime.” Ward (2015) examines the ways in which politics abets racial violence through implicit and explicit constructions of criminality. Put another way, what is morally deviant, thus criminal, but not always, is constructed by the “politics of the state” (Ward, 2015). The politics of the state is controlled by a large majority of Whites (Ward, 2015). Criminalization is shaped by politically motivated social constructions.

In the United States debates over criminality began to surface not long after the Civil War ended (Gaynor, 2018; Raza, 2011; Ward, 2015). As African Americans began to assert their newly gained freedoms involving themselves in business, politics, education, and property ownership, Whites schemed to regain their self-constructed superiority status (Peterson and Ward, 2015; Raza, 2011). Race, “a powerful and political construct,” was used to define a hierarchal position among human species and to define who was civil (Cobbina et al, 2106; Heitzeg, 2015). African Americans held no position of equality among Whites, or any human species, according to the logic of many Whites

from the early seventeenth century up until the early twentieth century. White superiority and Black inferiority, upheld by the United States Supreme Court, shortly before the Civil War began, was confirmed as legal fact. The Court held this opinion as both fact and law in *Scott v. Sandford* (1857). Roger Taney, U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice, wrote the following:

[African Americans] had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. (Scott v. Anderson, 1857)

Heitzeg (2015), Raza (2011), Smiley and Fakunle (2016) and Williams and Battle (2017) all cite the historical context cementing the hierarchal status designation of Blacks. This status was used not only to designate African Americans as inferior, but it also served as justification for slavery and post-slavery acts of terrorism against African Americans perpetrated by White vigilante groups (Muhammad, 2010). Williams and Battle (2017) focus on the discourses of “mainstream” and “neoliberal” Whites emphasizing the reliance on rational choice theory by supporters of crime-control. Crime-control supporters were those who initiated, and funded, the doctrine that called for harsher penalties under a rational choice theory (Williams and Battle, 2017).

Smiley and Fakunle (2016) note that the image of African Americans is typified as “brutes” and depicted as “savages” who instinctively lust for White women, in which they will attack when White men are not overseeing them. “The Birth of a Nation, made in 1915, shows Black men as savages trying to attack White women,” explain Smiley and Fakunle (2016, pp. 344-355). Smiley and Fakunle (2016) also provide us four themes which are recurring throughout media depiction of African Americans, and they are: behavior, appearance, location, and lifestyle. These four themes correlate and affirm the brute stigma applied to African Americans. The four themes also coincide perfectly with Higginbotham’s Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence theory, particularly and especially with the first three precepts.

When it comes to behavior, a record of criminal wrongdoing is immediate proof of probable cause for retaliation by law enforcement; Appearance is always a factor in determining culpability; The public is reminded of the location of the community where African Americans originate to minimize their value; and finally, lifestyle always includes associates with bad culture (Smiley and Fakunle, 2016). Smiley and Fakunle (2016) demonstrate what Mancini et al. (2015) discover through their interracial contact experiment that media and the discourse throughout policy is linked to the spread of disinformation about African Americans.

However, Mancini et al. (2015) also discover that the more contact Whites have with African Americans, the less likely they are to hold negative or stereotypical views. The study by Mancini et al. (2015) serves as a clear reminder of the significance of, and often powerful engine driving, social constructions. Social constructions are an

embodiment of the beliefs that people hold, and it is the engine that drives the lowly opinions that Whites harbor, either consciously or subconsciously, for the status of African Americans. This appears to especially hold true when it relates to deviant behavior qualifying as criminal wrongdoing.

Nancy Heitzeg (2015b) claims there are double standards that relate to Black and White criminality. According to Heitzeg (2015b), the medicalization model and criminalization model are used for each race exclusively. Heitzeg (2015b) explains that when African Americans are discussed in the realm of social deviancy, the criminalization model is used. White criminality is always associated with the medical model (Heitzeg, 2015b). The criminalization model is described by Heitzeg (2015b) as behavior that is to be expected from African Americans or in other words what is normal.

Heitzeg (2015b) describes the medicalization model as deviancy that is something shocking, out of the normal pattern, and must be treated if possible. For example, Gary Ridgeway dubbed the “Green River Killer” for killing more than 40 women and dumping their bodies in a river by the same name. Ridgeway was a deranged mass murderer, an unrepentant serial killer, yet was he was not apprehended immediately. In fact, Ridgeway was not even suspected for almost two decades because of his average White person looks. Similar to serial killers Ted Bundy and Jeffrey Dahmer, Ridgeway was able to remain allusive for decades, getting away with murder because of his racial status, which placed him under the medicalization model. It would be nearly 20 years later, in 2001, until Ridgeway would finally get caught. The state refused to seek the death penalty.

The Media: Journalists immediately portrayed Ridgeway as a perfect husband, family man, and normal. The media also portrayed him as a mentally sick man who was regretful for what he had done. He, therefore, offered to help police in their efforts to find the remains of dozens of his victims – all women. Juxtapose this with Stanley “Tookie” Williams who was accused of killing four people in 1981 in a robbery that went bad. Williams was apprehended that same year, quickly convicted in a trial, and sentenced to the death penalty. It did not take long for law enforcement to immediately suspect Williams. This is due to what Smiley and Fakunle (2016) described as the recurring themes used by media; it is the portrayal of African Americans as being inherently criminal with no remorse. Williams was immediately arrested, most likely because he came from a neighborhood where most of the inhabitants, nearly all African American and poor, were surveilled even if they were not engaged in wrongdoing.

While on death row Williams wrote eight children’s books urging them not to get involved in gangs and crime. He vehemently denied any responsibility for the murders on that day. However, he did admit to doing bad things while growing up poor and under-segregation in Los Angeles’s Black community. Williams did bad things because of social consequences and having no education. Ridgeway, Dahmer, and Bundy, however had education and total opposite experiences. They had all the privileges assumed by White Americans, such as education, family, wealth, employment, environment, and access to opportunities historically denied to African Americans. However, none of this was considered by the White, movie actor governor who was known for his social conservatism.

It took twenty years to catch up with Ridgeway, and after he had murdered 48 women, according to his own testimony, possibly 20 more than that. Ridgeway confessed only after he was given a plea deal which spared him the death penalty. Williams was never offered any such deal but continued to maintain his innocence. His case describes a pattern that has been repeated all over the United States in cities such Los Angeles, Chicago, Seattle, Detroit, New York, Ferguson, New Orleans and almost every other large city. Federal investigators have uncovered evidence that has linked police to planted evidence, false criminal reports, and thousands of innocent African American men, like Tookie Williams, wrongly imprisoned.

Williams was nominated for a Noble Peace Prize for his work in turning youth away from gang violence. His books were successful all over the world, especially in Europe. Much research into the case of Williams had shed new light placing doubt on his guilt just before he was ordered killed by the State of California. President George W. Bush sent a letter acknowledging his work. However, it was not enough. On December 13, 2015, Williams was put to death by an injection of poison into his veins. Arnold Schwarzenegger, an ultraconservative, White governor, who like Ronald Reagan, a movie actor. He will always be known as the governor who ordered the murder of Tookie Williams. Despite thousands of letters appealing for commutation to a sentence of life, Schwarzenegger pursued his death. Williams is dead because he had to be guilty based on the criminalization model. Ridgeway, on the other hand, is alive and doing life in prison instead of death row because he is sick based on the medicalization model.

Stanley “Tookie” Williams was not supposed to be executed by the State, instead if he were White, he would have been viewed under the medicalization model that would have spared his life as it did for the human cannibal, Jeffrey Dahmer and the serial “Green River” killer, Gary Ridgeway. It is a fundamental doctrine of the criminal justice system to repatriate those who have shown remorse and rehabilitation. Although Williams maintained his innocence all the way to his death, he showed remorse for those things he admitted to doing and began a path of rehabilitation as was described.

Black criminalization began as early as 1619. However, Black criminalization can be said to have ended with slavery because of the explicit control over African bodies (Higginbotham, 1996; Muhammad, 2010). In other words, Black bodies were under a form of social, and some would say, punitive control. After the Civil War, Black “chattel” slavery was no longer legal, except as a means of correction, so long as the enslaved was lawfully convicted of a crime. Black codes were passed by Southern states more than 250 years after the beginning of slavery and between three to five years after the end of slavery. These codes had the effect of controlling the movements of former slaves and returning African Americans to a form of “slavery by a new name” (Blackmon, 2015; Raza, 2011).

Black codes resulted from the spread of ideas that constructed African Americans as “lazy,” “childlike,” “sex craved,” and “prone to social deviance.” As Cobbina et al. (2016) points out, “... ‘us vs. them’ discourse, common in crime stories, where ‘us’ — the good guys — need to be wary of ‘them’ — the predatory criminal, who is often portrayed as animalistic, vengeful, violent, and a member of a racial/ethnic minority

group” (citing Barak, 1994). Black criminalization is not possible without the messaging that establishes fear of a “brute” (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016). Black codes marked the beginning of a new form of criminalization which is explained in detail by Higginbotham (1996).

Slavery began as way to control Black bodies, while earning massive wealth. When slavery ended, Black codes, and later, Jim Crow laws, made possible a renewed system of control and a new form of wealth accumulation (Blackmon, 2008) with similar patterns that are best described within Higginbotham’s Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence (Higginbotham, 1996). In the end, it would be a new form of criminalization from what had begun prior to the beginning of slavery under Virginian laws (Higginbotham, 1996).

The new form of criminalization begins with the construction of the political and legal system (Blackmon, 2008; Higginbotham, 1996; Muhammad, 2010; Raza, 2011; Smiley and Fakunle, 2016; and others). Once the political and legal system is constructed, it must give birth to a criminal justice system that operates as an enabler (Higginbotham, 1996). As an enabler, the criminal justice system makes economics the central focus (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008). This is due to the end of slavery as a means of economic gain and the clause that lives inside the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution. This clause allows persons to be enslaved as punishment for crimes. Therefore, the political and legal system must work together—that is both the legislative and the judicial bodies—in order to make certain social actions or behavior criminal (Brewer & Heitzeg, 2008; Muhammad, 2010).

Working in unity toward the same goal, legislators and judges must give direction to prosecutors, law enforcement officials and jailers (Higginbotham, 1996). This system begins to work similar to the plantation systems because the founders were mostly southern plantation owners who lost their means of economic gain with the end of slavery. The new form of criminalization is race-based, focused on profits or economic gains, and greatly supported by the political and judicial branches of government (Blackmon, 2008; Higginbotham, 1996; Van Cleve and Mayes, 2015). The head of the political system is the president of the United States. Research supports the conclusion that American presidents have a wider and greater appeal to the public majority. What they say is powerful and drives what eventually becomes law and policy. So, now we move from Black criminality into how to conceptualize presidential rhetoric based on the literature.

The literature on presidential rhetoric covers crime control sparingly, appearing to concentrate on the dichotomy of substantive and symbolic change. Research of U.S. presidents' crime control discourse repeatedly finds that there is a reliance on symbolic rhetoric (Marion and Oliver, 2012). Although, qualitative analysis has been used primarily for understanding why presidents use symbolic rhetoric to parlay crime control policy, Marion and Oliver (2012) employ a quantitative method using logistic regression. In their study of crime speeches, Marion and Oliver (2012) review symbolic crime control rhetoric by U.S. presidents from 1948 to 2010. They found that the majority of crime related speeches occurred after the election and after the president's first year in office (Marion and Oliver, 2012). Also, the majority of speeches were found to be

substantive in nature meaning that they carried with it a mandate that enabled law and policy.

Marion and Oliver (2012) found symbolic speeches to have occurred as presidents were either in an election year or facing a difficult congress. The interesting fact was that Marion and Oliver never discussed the relationship of either symbolic or substantive speeches related to actual crime rates. However, the *crime rates* variable was used as an independent variable. It was mentioned as a correlate along with the *divided government* independent variable, “but...variables were not theoretically linked” (Marion and Oliver, 2012). What can be concluded from this study is that regardless of crime rates, crime control rhetoric is a political strategy.

In Oliver et al. (2016), the researchers found “that although the use of symbolic rhetoric is different for each crime policy issue, there are two key factors that matter overall: divided government and party affiliation” (p. 331). Boldt and Boyd (2018) research whether prosecutors make their pursuit of certain kinds of criminal behavior based on political cues from the president, Congress, and the public. “In the early days of his administration, President Trump’s message was clear: the government must move swiftly to stop violent crime” (Boldt and Boyd, 2018, p. 936).

Although, the researchers examined whether prosecutors engage in political pandering, the broader question is whether symbolic rhetoric by U.S. presidents make use of coded messages aimed at achieving political bipartisan support from the national public majority and congress by making the criminalization of African Americans a familiar theme. Symbolic rhetoric does not actually establish a mandate for renewed

crime control policy, but it could further the stereotype of inherent criminality among African Americans which leads to Black criminalization. Whether facing a divided government or appealing to party affiliation, presidential crime rhetoric is a powerful, and often persuasive, messaging tool.

The majority of recent research on presidential crime control rhetoric comes from only a handful of researchers: Marion, Oliver, Barlow, Hill, Boldt and Boyd. This presents an obvious potential gap in research which could open doors to a field of questions and broader discussion especially since so much of the previous research focused on “law and order” and war on drugs” criminal justice discourse. There has been no direct study on whether presidents send coded messages that enable and, or, promote black criminalization. Although there has been extensive research on the role of media in black criminalization, very little research examines what role presidential discourse has in this phenomenon and whether presidents share responsibility.

Boldt and Boyd (2018) examined political responsiveness; Marion and Oliver (2012) examined the likelihood that a president will use symbolic rhetoric; Oliver et al. (2014) examined when and how signing statements are used by presidents when they approve legislation related to criminal justice; Oliver et al. (2016) extends the research by Marion and Oliver (2012) on the likelihood that a president will engage symbolic rhetoric on crime control. Marion and Oliver have extensively researched presidential politics with regard to symbolism and substantive action. Together, Marion and Oliver have collaborated to write more than a half dozen articles. They have also conducted research,

both independently and collaboratively, on presidential rhetoric and policy from the mid-twentieth century to the present.

Oliver and Barlow (2005) explore the relationship between federal crime control law and policy, the U.S. president and federal legislators in the U.S. congress. They follow the idea that presidents lead the relevancy of crime control by making it an issue, thus Congress follows their lead which guarantees the passage of crime legislation (Oliver and Barlow, 2015). Admitting that it would seem likely government would follow a simple reaction logic in responding to social needs or problems of American citizens, Oliver and Barlow (2005) find that this is not always the case. Perceptions of crime can be misleading to the public and highly racialized, therefore it is important to understand the impact of the president's role.

An extensive body of literature exists that show presidents do have a substantial influence over public opinion, especially those who are popular (Oliver and Barlow, 2005). In a mixed-methods study, Oliver and Barlow (2005) find that presidents, in fact, do possess a strong influence over Congress in determining what federal crime control legislation is passed. Policy is likely to follow the course by those appointed to Administrative positions by the president or share coalition values. Although Oliver and Barlow's (2005) study was limited to "temporal time constraints of one year," it is highly important in understanding the messaging used by presidents to convince their audience, and in also understanding *who is* that audience. Of course, this might appear problematic if it were not for other types of research that examine similarities while having different sets of questions and methods.

Crime bills passed by U.S. Congress that have implications for targeting specific minority groups, such as those that increased punishments for crimes related to social inadequacies like drug addiction and poverty, must be constantly researched and understood under the context of criminal justice law and policy research. There needs to be a continual examination because political climates change and so do public opinions. By political climate, I mean those issues which resonate as popular with the national public majority; By public opinion, I mean how the public understands, comprehends, and distributes information within a political climate. Research has shown that the two are separate, at times overlapping, but highly volatile and based on a wide range of factors.

Although many scholars conduct research on mass incarceration as a result of political climate and positive public opinion, there is evidence that it is much more complex. However, when scholars discuss mass incarceration there is a single familiarity which centers around the issues of race, class and social control. The most recent literature describes a system based on politics, history, social inequality, and race. What is known is that the impact of mass incarceration has exacerbated the issue of social inequality specifically for African Americans, and more generally, for those who are either of color or poor. Mass incarceration also produces a circular effect which is often described as incarceration reentry or recidivism.

Recidivism often leads to a culture of criminality. This culture of criminality, it is argued, is designed under a culture of Black criminalization politics similar to the politics that produced Black codes and Jim Crow laws as a means of racialized social control.

Higginbotham's Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence theory, especially the first three precepts, capture the meaning and reasons best (Higginbotham, 1996). It is argued that the first precept, that of inferiority, continues to live as it is argued that elements of Jim Crow can be found thriving under a post-civil war criminal justice system. Mass incarceration is often described as the child of the Prison Industry Complex which makes the entire system appear normal and legitimate. Whether all of this is due to political climate or public opinion has not been proven beyond a reasonable doubt, therefore must continue to be examined.

At the end of 2016, according to the United States Department of Justice (USDOJ), there were 1,506,800 prisoners held in state and federal correctional facilities. It represented a 1% reduction from the end of 2015 (BJS, 2018). While there was celebration for the decline in prisoner population numbers, there was also a cause for alarm. The report came with news that female prisoner population numbers had increased by seven percent of the total national population (BJS, 2018). In addition, while the number of total male prisoner populations declined, African American men continue to represent a highly disproportionate amount of those incarcerated. For example, out of 1,459,533 total prisoners in the United States at the end of 2016, African Americans represented a total number of 487,300 or just under 34% (BJS, 2018).

White Americans represented 440,200 of that number or just under 31% (BJS, 2018). This is important because when compared to the national total population which, according to the U.S. Bureau of Census (2016) was 73.3% for Whites and 12.6% for Blacks. This means that while Whites are well below their numbers in total population,

Blacks are nearly 3 times over their total population. Brewer and Heitzeg (2008) link the explosion in incarceration to post-civil rights era politics which is tied to “political economic changes in advanced capitalism.”

Hunt (2016) and Kilgore (2014) link mass incarceration to a movement that is similar in scope to slavery and Jim Crow. Pointing to the huge disparities in Black and White populations, Hunt (2016) draws comparisons to the old and new systems of racialized justice. Hunt explains, “the primary drivers of mass incarceration in America are race and class” (p. 16). Miller and Stuart (2017) link the age mass incarceration to “the age of mass supervision.” Once a person has a criminal record all means of control and coercion are possible without question due to the reduction in sovereign status (Miller & Stuart, 2017).

A person born in the United States has citizenship endowed and unquestioned except while under the criminal status (Miller & Stuart, 2017). While Kilgore (2014) reviews Michelle Alexander’s (2010) critical study of mass incarceration and the system which has led to what she terms as *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*, finding that a racial caste has been created by the new system of criminal justice punishment. Kilgore (2014) finds credibility in Alexander’s critical examination of the post-civil rights criminal justice in which she found elements of the old Jim Crow system to be alive and thriving without question.

Hunt (2016) examines “the Jim Crow effect” where denial and racialized mass incarceration share two important features: politics and a notion of colorblind intentions (p. 18). According to Hunt (2016), “the primary drivers of mass incarceration in America

are race and class” (p. 16). Schlesinger (2011) examines the effects of mandatory minimums and enhancements in sentencing at the state level and finds that Black men were incarcerated at extraordinary high rates as a direct result of these policies. This makes racialized mass incarceration an issue of significance. Politics are behind the policies with frequent claims of being race neutral, or in other words, colorblind.

Schlesinger (2011) also found that racial disparities and other inequalities align with modern racism that is “produced and maintained by colorblind policies and practices.”

The Presumption of Genocide and Human Rights Urgency

A surprising theme found in the literature, yet ignored in most of the research, is a human rights urgency. I call it a human rights urgency because the literature describes, and in some cases, identifies a real genocide occurring to African Americans. Solomon (2019) explains the anti-genocide movement by Black freedom movement leaders between 1951 and 1967 as going beyond the lynchings and intentional murder of African Americans by vigilantes and police. One of the groups, Civil Rights Congress (CRC), issued a report entitled *We Charge Genocide* to the United Nations in 1951.

The CRC charged the United States with complicity, and at times, actual participation, with human rights crimes and the crime of genocide against African Americans (Solomon, 2019). In a follow up report to come two years afterward, the anti-genocide movement charged the U.S. government with using the criminal justice system, specifically the federal prison system, as the new means of “intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a...racial group [by] killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of

life calculated to bring about [the] destruction in whole or in part” African Americans (Solomon, 2019).

Brown and Schept (2017) open a new discussion with their study that centers around decarceration. In a report to the United Nations Human Rights Committee, the Sentencing Project (2013) provided a compelling and urgent appeal for condemnation of the U.S. for the racial disparities in the imprisonment of primarily African Americans. This author believes this report had provided grounds for an investigation into charges of genocide.

In 1953, the NAACP prepared a report that was entitled, *We Charge Genocide*, providing an argument that the United States was engaged in abetting and colluding in the crime of genocide. Genocide is defined by the Office of UN Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG) under Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) as:

[A]ny of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part¹; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

In their report to the U.N., the report by The Sentencing Project (2013) cited the creation of laws and policies designed to create and allow racial disparities within the criminal

justice. Furthermore, the report cited a clear violation of U.S. treaty obligations under Article 2 and Article 26 “to ensure that all its citizens—regardless of race—are treated equally under the law.”

The Sentencing Project, led by Marc Mauer, made specific mention of racial bias in police interactions with African Americans, how African Americans face racial bias hurdles at trial, and the effects of implicit racial bias on African Americans in legal representation (The Sentencing Project, 2013). The report also acknowledged racial bias that affect the outcome of a prosecutor’s decision to prosecute and sentence African Americans; and racial bias that impacts the judge’s ability to provide a presumption of innocence; and racial bias that impacts African Americans at sentencing. Included were a list of other issues involving Black criminalization, all which Higginbotham’s Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence had earlier cited what Creswell (2014) described as “provid[ing] an orienting lens for the study” of African Americans. It was specific in relationship to the criminal justice system under a Social Construction Framework. Higginbotham’s theory allows us to examine the use of crime control discourse by U.S. presidents.

Summary

In summary, I have compared and contrasted the latest scholarly literature on the topic of Black Criminalization. The literature describes the start of Black criminalization as a response to the end of slavery beginning at around the end of Reconstruction. Furthermore, Black criminalization is presented as a social construction based on perceptions of African American inferiority, racial resentment from Southern states,

economic and social inequality, the need to rebuild Southern economies, and the desire to perfect the image of “good citizenry” as White, middle class, and Christian.

The Black Codes paved the way for the Jim Crow legal period which treated African Americans as *unequal equals*. This de facto apartheid system became known as the “separate but equal” doctrine. Once the “separate but equal” was legalized by the United States Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)*, Jim Crow officially began. African Americans were treated as second class citizens with no protection from the government against lynching, race riots, racial rape, land grabs, segregation in schools and neighborhoods, and other physical manifestations of racial resentment from White *vigilantes* and businesses. All three branches of the government - executive, legislative, and judicial - on the local, state, and federal level advanced the disenfranchisement and criminalization of African Americans during the Jim Crow period which lasted for more than a half a century.

Institutional Black criminalization can be traced from the convict lease-system during the Reconstruction era to mass incarceration in the 21st century. Today “stop and frisk” policies, drug laws, gerrymandering, and racialized surveillance all contribute to the continuation of Jim Crow era policies which institutionalized and marginalized African Americans through the construction of Black criminalization. What is less understood is how presidential rhetoric promulgates or adds to the criminalization of African Americans. Very little research analyses how U.S. presidents construct criminality through crime control rhetoric. My proposed research seeks to add to the research.

In addition to literature on theories, frameworks, and methodological designs, the bulk of the literature reviewed herein explores the phenomena of Black criminalization: Its nature, outcomes, and urgency. The purpose of the literature review is to summarize, synthesize all the research to date on a particular topic; to summarize what is known. In this review, I have tried to exhaust the literature covering Presidential rhetoric and discourse on crime-control, criminalization in general, and Black criminalization. In this study, I intend to expand knowledge on Black criminalization by exploring the crime policy discourse of four U.S. Presidents.

I have attempted to frame the problem and provide a review of the issues surrounding the problem from the perspective of other scholarly researchers. In the introduction, I have provided a synthesis of the foundational literature used to form my research questions and guide my literature review. In Chapter 3, I will discuss role of the researcher, data collection strategy, and methods of the study.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine how U.S. presidents have rhetorically presented crime control, which has negatively impacted African Americans. I used the first three of Higginbotham's *Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence*, introduced in Chapter 2, to identify key words. Higginbotham's first three precepts provided the context through which I was able to analyze the speeches of former U.S. Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama and current President Trump. The precepts were used to identify words most likely implicating Black criminalization. This research was conducted using a case study that applied CDA using SCF.

A case study is defined by the research question, especially one in which the objective is to analyze an individual or individuals, a context, or a substance (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Citing Yin (2003), Baxter and Jack (2008) described the best time to use the case study as, "when (a) the focus... is to answer 'how' and 'why' questions; [...]; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions [that] you believe are relevant, or [where] the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and the context" (p. 545). My research question involved answering a how question that covers contextual conditions I believe are relevant and have no clear boundaries between the phenomenon and context. To aid in establishing these boundaries, I used Higginbotham's *Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence*.

SCF uses constructivist interpretation of a contextual phenomenon, such as Black criminality. SCF is best described as interpreting the context within a particular situation

and applying meaning to it. That is, “stereotypes about particular groups of people that have been created by politics, culture, socialization, history, the media, literature, religion, and the like” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 335). Black criminalization is based on certain constructions through which the context is often shown within historical events as explicitly anti-Black. At other times, as Alexander (2010) notes, Black criminalization is disguised as a new Jim Crow. By applying the case study approach, I was able to focus steadily on the phenomenon of Black criminalization, asking how crime control language constructs this phenomenon.

What follows in this chapter is an explanation of the research design and rationale, research methodology, and data collection plan. In the research design and rationale section are the central research question and a subquestion. In this section, I explain the rationale behind my research design and chosen methodology. In addition, I discuss how researcher biases and ethical issues were handled. In the methodology section, I disclose the data collection sources and a plan for data analysis. Because my study was non-obtrusive and involved only the examination, coding, and analysis of text, my methodology section is brief. I present a discussion on issues of trustworthiness with a short summary at the end.

Research Design and Rationale

The central research question in this study was based on a qualitative inquiry and involved understanding what key words are used while comparing relationships to known themes from slavery and the Jim Crow criminal justice era, where African Americans were the primary targets of crime control. My study involved identifying coded language

that implicates African Americans as subjects of crime control discourse used by former Presidents, Clinton, Bush, and Obama and current President Trump. I selected these four presidents because they are the most recent and due to their diversity in political ideology and cultural background. This diversity will allow me to control for research bias by including an African American President, especially since I am African American.

Clinton and Obama are both Democrats. Bush and Trump are both Republicans. Clinton, a White man, was dubbed “the first Black president” by the middle-class African American community (Coates, 2015; Young, 2016). Obama, however, was accepted by the world as the first African American president. While Clinton and Obama declared similar frustrations over Black criminalization, Obama was the first president to visit a U.S. prison and meet with inmates (Horsley, 2015). Clinton, however, is accused of creating the laws and policies that have been used to imprison many African American men for extended periods or life sentences (Alexander, 2016). Obama, on the other hand, has been accused of not doing enough to release African American inmates serving lengthy sentences for nonviolent crimes (Larkin, 2018).

Bush, a religious conservative president, signed into law the Second Chance Act, making prison reduction a substantive act (Rice, 2016). Trump, on the other hand, while not known to be religious, pardoned Alice Marie Johnson, an African American woman serving a life sentence on a nonviolent drug charge (Baker, 2018). Trump also signed into law the First Step Act that made possible the release of more than 3,000 inmates from federal prisons (Holliday, 2018). With previous Republican presidents, such as Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and George H. W. Bush, being blamed for the extraordinary rise

in prison populations and Democrats being accused of failing to reform the criminal justice system, this study may provide additional insight into how the rate of incarceration for African Americans continues to remain at a highly disproportionate level.

The central focus of this study was based on the following research question:

How has crime control language used by the U.S. Presidents Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump constructed Black criminalization in the 21st century?

To answer this question, it was first necessary to understand criminalization as a process where people are pronounced criminal, incarcerated, and punished in myriad ways based on laws and policies meant to structure the behavior of a society (Marrus, 2015; Staples, 2011). Black criminalization is the criminalization of African Americans to make them inferior as a group. This study was concerned with Black criminalization consistent with early American postslavery jurisprudence. Postslavery jurisprudence in the United States is similar to American slavery in that it recognizes African Americans as inferior to Caucasian people despite amendments to the constitution purportedly establishing equality among the races.

Understanding the historical nature of Black criminalization through the lens of American slavery jurisprudence and the Jim Crow laws that followed is important for this research. An application of SCF provided an understanding of how social constructs—especially those from American slavery and Jim Crow—have become more powerful over time. According to SCF theory, constructs grow impossible to mitigate as time goes by so that certain coded messages will remain consistent and believable no matter what

proof exists evidencing otherwise. A discussion of social constructs cannot possibly include the wide range of possibilities because it would broaden the scope of this study beyond the area of specific interest.

In this case study I used CDA to answer the central question. Miles and Huberman (1994) the case study as “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” and elaborates the case is “in effect [is] your unit of analysis” (p. 25). Yin (2014) suggested a single case study to focus on a central unit of study. For this study, the central unit was crime control discourse. Applying a case study with CDA is not without precedence.

Discourse is defined as a verbal exchange of ideas (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), while *rhetoric* is defined as the art of the application within that verbal exchange (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). However, as described under the definitions in Chapter 1, the terms discourse and rhetoric are used interchangeably without regard to semantic differences. CDA provides a method for addressing all three terms—discourse, rhetoric, and language—from a power dynamic (Mogashoa, 2014; van Dijk, 2006). “The object of critical discourse is to uncover ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words or... text or ...speech” (Mogashoa, 2014, p. 106).

In providing a rationale for the chosen design tradition, the case study was used because of the in-depth nature as defined by Yin (2014). Case study provided important boundaries and isolated the phenomenon for comprehensive understanding (Laureate Education, 2013). According to Molloy (2010), “[c]ase study research in public policy is a qualitative research method that is used to enhance our understanding of the policy-

making process” (p. 2). Case study need not demand from the researcher the selection of any particular method or theory, but instead it allows complete autonomy over the research design (Stewart, 2017). Stewart pointed out that “the range of methods” involved in a case study “are equally numerous” (2017, p. 5). For this reason, a case study was chosen. Case study has been used along with CDA in similar studies. I used case study along with CDA to address the research question in similar fashion.

I realized there might be some concern as to whether or not the scope of this research, using a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodology, could properly answer the research inquiry and demonstrate a high standard of scholarly acceptance. In a study by Akbar and Abass (2019), CDA was used to “investigate the way knowledge has been expressed in relation to negative representations” of outgroups or vulnerable minority populations in the political discourse of president Trump. This research was similarly matched to this context.

When it comes to the ideologies of in-groups or privileged populations constructing who is fit to be part of a society, which is exactly what criminalization presents, CDA has also been used. This research was also similarly matched to the goal of understanding the phenomena of criminalization. As a methodology tool, CDA was similarly matched to target and analyze words used and understood by groups that are most dominant and powerful within the context of subjugating vulnerable populations. CDA aims to reveal coded language which seeks to discriminate, dominate, subordinate or make inferior those who are often in the minority, having little power and no privilege.

CDA has been used throughout the majority of scholarly writing by researchers conducting studies involving presidential discourse precisely because it targets coded language often used in political speeches, especially symbolic ones (Carreon & Svetanant, 2017). In an investigative study on how Presidents Bush and Obama used “war on terror” rhetoric to further their political agendas, Sarfo and Krampa (2013) applied CDA as the sole method for answering a research question sharing similar context to this inquiry. In fact, the scope of my research in context was generally similar to several very important studies cited throughout this research involving presidential discourse.

Discourse has been described as a communicative event that is often used to persuade in a contest of ideas, beliefs, values and even, desires (Carreon & Svetanant, 2017). Not long after slavery was dismantled, Southern Democrats frequently used discourse to persuade fellow lawmakers and skeptics that African Americans were inherently criminal and were better off under bondage (Muller, 2018; Washington & Battle, 2017). As a communicative event, discourse can be measured, as it was in a study conducted by Sharififar and Rahimi (2015), when they comparatively analyzed the political speeches of Obama and Iran’s President, Rouhani. Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) wanted to investigate how social power is used and examine hidden messages in discourse of two powerful leaders on opposite sides of the world.

CDA is a legitimate tool for the scope of the research which seeks to answer a critical question: Does crime control language used by a U.S. President construct the implication of Black criminality in the 21st century. I strongly believe that CDA was well

suiting to answer this question as it has been used in similar scholarly research at the doctoral and post-doctoral level

Begin text here.

Role of the Researcher

My role in this research was observer and evaluator. In this role, I will observe the language used and evaluate key words that bore resemblance to themes constructing Black criminalization. I particularly looked for themes which appeared based on ideas scholarly literature suggest form a connection to Black criminalization. For example, Fosten (2016) connects the construction of Black criminality to political and economic inequality. Enders et al. (2019) suggests a correlation between race and punishment due to wealth and social status. "Prison tends to over deter the rich and under deter the poor from committing a crime. Thus, the poor commit more crime when prison is the punishment" (Enders et al., 2019, p. 7). When the president of the United States speaks about crime control it was important to have observed and evaluated the language connecting crime to lowly economic and social status. I believe that this goal was accomplished with overwhelming success.

The data that I gathered were from text documents found and downloaded off the internet in Presidential archives preserved by specialists at University of Virginia's Miller Center and University of California at Santa Barbara's American Presidency Project. I was able to match the documents I found to those stored on other online databases, including government databases. The data was unclassified and made accessible to the public. I do not work, nor have I ever worked for any government agency, and I have

never been employed at any of the places that provided access to the online databases. However, I do hold strong opinions, however, about the way each of the selected presidents have conducted national and international governance, especially towards the Middle East and Muslims. In particular, I am a strong opponent of the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen. However, at no time did my opinions ever impact the conduct of my research. I am strictly non-partisan, so there are no issues related to party favoritism.

Lastly, researcher biases are controlled through a strict adherence to the chosen theoretical framework. I believe that my research accomplished this task very well. Qualitative inquiry is used to expose meanings in real world phenomena, which makes bias a spoiler of research authenticity and credibility. In a qualitative inquiry, meanings must present themselves organically, therefore the best research outcome will come through an authentic process. CDA has no use for bias, it is critical enough.

Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis

It is well known that qualitative research has no boundaries related to sample sizes for the many approaches. In a case study, however, the data should be linear in such a way that is stratified and purposeful. Throughout this study, I made use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) followed by a social construction framework using Higginbotham's Ten Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence. More specifically, I used Higginbotham's first three precepts, that is the Precept of Inferiority Precept of Property, and Precept of Powerlessness. I do not use all ten because Higginbotham

describes the first three as being a summary of all ten precepts. CDA is a qualitative method which has been developed and used by constructionists.

CDA seeks to expose the power dynamics of society demonstrating through the use of discourse the relations between those with power and privilege, and those without it (Lieu, 2016). The goal of CDA is to look at social practice through the telescope of critical linguistics (Lieu, 2016 and Horvarth, 2011). In this study, I applied CDA to identify themes unveiling Blacks as objects of inferiority, property, and powerlessness from the speeches of U.S. Presidents Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump with regard to crime policy that criminalizes.

CDA, according to Ruth Wodak (2009), is a methodological proposition prepared to examine phenomenon related to discrimination, racism and prejudice in a society. Fairclough (1985) supports a similar definition of CDA as Wodak (2009), while Dijk (2006), on the other hand, places more emphasis on text and talk. The development of CDA rests within the area of critical linguistics study (Mogashoa, 2014). It is best used as an examination and explorative tool to understand the power dynamics involved in both ideology and privilege. Although, I could have used Historical-Discourse Analysis (HDA), which is another approach to examine discourse, especially discourse from the past, CDA is more focused on the exclusion of a population. Because Black criminalization works to exclude African Americans as a population, I found CDA a more appropriate tool.

Instrumentation

I used the software application program, NVivo version 12.60 as my instrumentation tool for coding speech transcripts. NVivo is a specialized qualitative and mixed-methods analysis tool for research. NVivo can be used for rich, visual and intuitive data analysis. It works by importing text, audio, video, images, photos, web content, social media or just about any kind of qualitative data for coding and analysis. All of the speeches collected were placed into the NVivo application for coding, word query, and analysis. More specifically, I used NVivo software to identify key words, themes, context, and coded messages that would indicate the promulgation of Black criminalization.

Data Collection and Analysis

My data collection began by searching UCSB's The American Presidency Project <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu> and Miller Center and UV's American Presidency Project at <http://www.millercenter.org> for crime control speeches made by the following four presidents: Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump. After sorting out all of the relevant speeches and classifying them by topic, I placed them into three category types: (1) Party Nomination and Inaugurals, (2) State of the Union, and (3) President Weekly or Radio Address.

Data included scripted speeches delivered by each named president. I especially sought out State of Union speeches preserved by the American Presidency Project and cross-referencing them using C-Span archives and Miller Center. I selected American Presidency Project and C-Span sites because previous studies had used them, and they are

credible sources that are readily available. Hawdon & Wood (2014) used these sources for data collection in their CDA study to test connections between the crime control rhetoric of the president and increases in levels of fear and crime. These sources are also used by Oliver et al., (2011) in their study investigating the influence of President Nixon had over public opinion in the War on Drugs.

After I organized all of the presidential speeches that included crime control rhetoric, I began using pre-coded themes to determine whether I have reached a level of saturation. I realized that I had reached a level of saturation when there was repetition and a preponderance of themes. The pre-coded themes followed the first three of Higginbotham's Ten Precepts: Inferiority, Property, and Powerlessness. I also assigned the pre-coded themes a value or reference number. P1 for Precept of Inferiority was assigned the reference number of 201, P2 for Precept of Property was assigned 202, and P3 for Precept of Powerlessness was assigned 203. This was done to give the coding process numerical identity.

For this study, I attempted to mirror as much as possible the data collection and analysis method used by Hawdon & Wood (2014). The reason for doing so was that Hawdon & Wood (2014) "investigate whether fear of crime and presidential rhetoric influence public attitudes." The only downside is that they omit any focus on Black criminalization. However, Hawdon & Wood (2014) do suggest a connection between fear of crime and beliefs about certain living conditions which stem from being Black. These beliefs follow themes similar to Higginbotham's precepts. For this study, I matched themes in U.S. presidents' crime control rhetoric to Higginbotham's precepts. By doing

so, I was seeking to investigate a connection between discourse describing crime definition, criminal behavior, being Black, and American citizenship.

Hawdon & Wood (2014) employed an inquiry based CDA on the best method for decoding carefully constructed messages. Oliver et al. (2016) note “previous research suggests that American Presidents resort to the use of symbolic rhetoric” so that they may appeal to their base and a wider audience with mixed beliefs on the subject of crime control. Oliver et al. (2016) further noted several categories that American presidents address that appear to fit neatly into crime control policy. These categories are law enforcement, courts, corrections, juveniles, guns, death penalty, and drugs (Oliver et al., 2016). I add violence to this group, not originally included in Oliver et al. (2016) because it is mentioned often within the discourse. I expected to answer *how* did/does crime control language used by Clinton, Bush, Obama, and Trump construct Black criminalization.

I followed a critical discourse analysis (CDA) based on the 11-step ‘How to’ suggested by Christopher Taylor (2019) employing the pre-coded themes from Higginbotham’s precepts, and the categories listed above will be used. Taylor (2019) suggests in order to conduct a critical discourse analysis to select specific text denoting “the term ‘text’ has many meanings because it applies to any type of communication...” (p. 1). Themes were identified using a 3-part, 11-step CDA process introduced by Taylor (2019) briefly described below:

Part 1. Working with text

1. Select a specific text that you’d like to analyze.

2. Look for words and phrases that reveal the text's attitude to its subject.
3. Consider how the text includes or excludes readers from a community.
4. Look for assumed interpretations that the text has already made.

Part 2. Analyzing the text's form and production

1. Think about the way your text has been produced.
2. Examine the form of the text and consider who has access to it.
3. Analyze quotations and borrowed language in your text.

Part 3. Tracing power in social practices

1. Examine ways in which texts reveal traditions within a culture.
2. Contrast similar texts to find differences between the social cultures.
3. Determine whether norms are held by a culture or a sub-culture.
4. Consider ways in which cultural norms may exist internationally.

This same CDA process has been used in a number of similar studies, such as Sarfo and Krampa (2013). Sarfo and Krampa (2013) examine six speeches on terrorism from former U.S. Presidents, Bush and Obama. Using CDA, Sarfo and Krampa (2013) identify themes and patterns through a process of coding very similar to that proposed by Taylor (2019) in order to examine meanings within certain text that are visible, yet seemingly ambiguous.

Akbar and Abbas (2019) examine hidden codes and meanings by searching for themes in the speeches of American Presidents, specifically President Trump. Although, there are some differences, Akbar and Abbas (2019) make use of a similar data collection and analysis strategy proposed in this study. Taylor (2019) uses a 3-part, 11-step process,

while Akbar and Abbas (2019) use a similar, but eight-part process. Taylor (2019) emphasizes a search for hidden power and denunciation of an out-group by stressing cultural norms. Akbar and Abbas (2019) also search for hidden power and denunciation of out-group by focusing on subjects (themes) and actor classes.

Using a systematic process of coding, identifying themes and key words from every speech made by each of the chosen presidents addressing crime control, I formed an analysis. Analysis of data involved the use of the software application NVivo. It was extremely beneficial in that I was able to store and organize speech content and coding was performed immediately by performing a text search and text query, connecting specific known words to developing themes. Coding helped to identify frequently used words and word or thematic patterns. It also aided in the preparation of a final summary.

With NVivo software by QSR International, I was able to store and organize all data, categorize and analyze the data, and cross tabulate to answer the research question. Coding is one of the most arduous and challenging methods of data analysis. Thankfully, NVivo was made specifically for the task of coding. With NVivo, I will be able to seamlessly separate data into categories and identify certain themes using Higginbotham's Ten Precepts. Categories were used as containers, while themes were used as independent variables that could change according to the 3-part, 11-step CDA process provided by Taylor (2019).

CDA and Content Analysis are both tools that use pattern matching for themes (Richards & Morse, 2013). CDA and content analysis both involve the process of coding (Richards & Morse, 2013). However, CDA, is a form of discourse analysis that focuses

on power, hidden agendas and social constructions through an analysis of language (Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Richards & Morse, 2013). However, according to Tonkiss (2004), Content Analysis, is more concerned with observable facts rather than hidden agendas which could have also been useful for this study.

Issue of Trustworthiness

Issues of trustworthiness can be addressed by triangulation. Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999) identify four types of triangulation. Lincoln and Guba (1985) direct attention toward the four main criteria for trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility involves integrity in research production and having findings confirmed from more than one source (Xerri, 2018). Transferability is much more than just external validity. It is the process of making available to other researchers, a description of the research process in order for it to be known whether it can be transferred (Xerri, 2018). It is observation and analysis, a reporting by the researcher that gives light to those without a voice along with a telling of the circumstances of the research (Dawson, 2010). Dependability is reliability and consistency (Xerri, 2018). Finally, confirmability is no more than, '*can this research be corroborated by credible sources.*' In the end, trustworthiness is all of the above.

I deal with the credibility prong by including four different presidents each different in their own personalities and ideological affiliations. For example, although Obama and Clinton were both Democrats, their personalities and ideological camp were placed along slightly different cultural lines. Clinton was identified as the first Black

president my many of the Black elite, but he was in reality a White American who grew up in the poor neighborhood of Little Rock, Arkansas where many Blacks lived.

When Obama was voted in as the 44th U.S. President, he instantly replaced Clinton as the *first* African American president. Obama was born from a “White” American mother and a non-American, African, Muslim father. He was disliked by a majority of White men who believed that his contested birthplace and non-American heritage disqualified him from inauguration into the nation’s highest office. In contrast, Bush and Trump are both White American men and Republican. However, Trump is considered to be no fan of the U.S. Justice Department (DOJ), while Bush, on the other hand, empowered DOJ beyond the intercontinental United States.

By choosing these four presidents, I am using more than one source in order to answer the research questions. The diversity among the presidents guarantees trustworthiness.

I used as much description with detail to explain my research production and findings. In the last prong, in order to build transparency, I also kept a reflection journal throughout the coding process. As far as ethical concerns and IRB approval, this research is non-obtrusive and involved no living things. My reflection journal recorded throughout the coding process should also help to allay any ethical concerns unrelated to the IRB process.

Summary

In summary, the methodology I used was a qualitative, critical discourse analysis. It was used to examine the crime control rhetoric of U.S. presidents Bush, Clinton,

Obama, and Trump, and the impact it has on the construction of Black criminality. Crime control rhetoric by past presidents Nixon, Reagan, and Bush (Senior), led to African Americans being arrested in greater numbers and serving longer sentences (Hetey and Eberhardt, 2018; Beckett et al., 2018; Beck & Blumstein, 2017; Koch et al., 2016; Alexander, 2010). Some academics refuse to believe that racial disproportionality in the criminal justice system is related to long held racist beliefs and an unwillingness to give up a horrible past. I used a 3-part, 11-step process defined by Taylor (2019) in order to conduct a CDA of the crime control discourse by the four most recent American presidents. Finally, in keeping with the boundaries of SCF, I also applied Higginbotham's first three precepts to look for word-theme matches within the categories described.

Chapter 4: Results

My purpose for this qualitative study was to investigate whether U.S. presidents have used language that constructs Black criminality through discourse that promulgates crime control laws primarily targeting African Americans. Specifically, as a case study, I wanted to answer a question concerning the role of presidential crime control discourse in the construction of Black criminalization. For this study, I used SCF with CDA to analyze selected speeches with crime control language used by the four most recent U.S. presidents: Clinton (1993–2000), Bush (2001–2008), Obama (2009–2016), and Trump (2017–2020). My study purpose was achieved using precoded words related to crime from the research literature, a text query for the top 30 words referenced, and coded words matching precepts of inferiority, powerlessness, and property. In this chapter, I describe how I conducted my research. I report the setting, explain demographics, explicate my data collection and data analysis process, and provide a description of evidence in research credibility, transferability, and consistency. In addition, I explain the answer to my research question and provide a description of the results along with a final summary.

Setting

The setting for this study became a backdrop to national and international protests in 2020 over racial injustice; hundreds of thousands of people marched and protested throughout the summer in cities all across the United States (Aratani, 2020). Marches took place in cities in Europe, too, including Paris and London (Cave, Albeck-Ripa, & Magra, 2020). Black Lives Matter, a social justice movement, led to legislative calls for

the disbandment of police and immediate criminal justice reforms (Lowe, 2020; Kessler, 2020). In addition, iterative and, sometimes violent, demands were made for the removal of proslavery markers and monuments all over the nation, including the renaming of U.S. military bases named after slavery supporters (Araujo, 2020; Karson, 2020). The state of Mississippi passed legislation calling for the removal and redesign of their state emblem and flag (Madani, 2020). The state of Kentucky officially ordered the removal of their Confederate statue from its capital (Szekely, 2020). At the time of this writing, city mayors were preparing legal action against the president and federal government officials, over protest interference violations of civil rights (Mann, 2020; Seigal, 2020). It all started because an African American was killed by a police officer (Aratani, 2020; Lowe, 2020).

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I conducted my study from a hotel room in Saudi Arabia while under a nonmandated quarantine restriction but state-enforced curfew. Although, I began the planning of this study before social media became a tool for exposing incidents of racial prejudice and police violence toward African Americans, my data collection began a few weeks before riots erupted over the killing of George Floyd by Minnesota police. This incident sparked historical national and global protest. As a result, interest and discussion on Black criminalization increased. Legislators, community leaders, city mayors, state governors, police, prosecutors, corporate business leaders, and college professors have all joined in the call for major reform in how the criminal justice system has treated African Americans, in particular, and all people of color and immigrants in general. There is much more awareness today than ever before.

Demographics

This study contained no interviews or observations; thus, there were no demographics to be reported. For this research, I used only text copies of speeches.

Data Collection

Table 1 shows the total number of speeches by category and by president that I examined. I coded, examined and cross-examined 54 speeches, as shown in Table 1. The types of speeches were divided into three categories. Each category was labeled by a two-digit number beginning with 0, for example, 01 = party nomination and inaugurals, 02 = State of the Union addresses, and 03 = president's weekly address.

Table 1

Speeches Analyzed, by President and Type

Speech type	Clinton	Bush	Obama	Trump	Total
01	3	3	3	2	11
02	7	7	7	3	24
03	8	5	5	1	19
Total	18	15	15	6	54

Clinton served as U.S. president 1993–2001, G. W. Bush served 2001–2009, Obama served 2009–2017, and Trump began his term in 2017 and is currently serving as United States president. I used the word *crime* to search for speeches from primarily two websites: American Presidency Project and Miller Center. Clinton had a total of 1,593 records, Bush had 177, Obama had 239, and Trump had 92.

Former Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama each served two terms for a total of approximately 8 years. The current president, Donald Trump, has only been in office for

a single term spanning a period of nearly 4 years. This meant that the total number of speeches collected and analyzed for Trump was less than the others. For Clinton, I was able to collect and examine 18 speeches due to his push for tough crime control. For Bush and Obama, I collected 15 speeches each. For Trump, the total of number of speeches was six. These speeches were available for use by the general public so that anyone with a digital device could freely access them. Data were gathered from online database sources—namely, University of California at Santa Barbara’s the American Presidency Project and University of Virginia’s Miller Center.

I retrieved the nomination speech for former President Bush from the AmericanRhetoric.com website. To retrieve the nomination speech of President Trump, I went to two websites. The first was President Trump’s campaign website and the second was, the ABC News archives website. A record of all the speeches collected and examined can be found in Appendix A. Complete source information along with website addresses are also available there.

Data Analysis

As shown in Figure 1, the collection and analysis of the data followed a three-step process. The first step involved a search for words or text that reveal attitude. I then considered how the words included or excluded African Americans. Finally, I searched for any suggestion, presumption, or assumption in Black criminality and matched it to a precept theme, further explained below and shown in Figure 3.

In the second step, I began to think about how the speech was produced, how it was created, the historical and cultural relevancy, and its authorship. Specifically, I

thought about the audience or the crowd being addressed. I attempted to ascertain whether there were borrowed language, quotes, and if so, where they came from or the context. In step three, I looked to determine all the ways the speech built on cultural traditions known from the literature. I contrasted differences between the social culture of the audience, cultural traditions known from the literature, and the target of crime control language, as well as the presumed precepts. And I looked for images or stereotypes that the discourse could potentially perpetuate and construct in alignment with the precepts. However, although the precepts of inferiority, property, and powerlessness were important, I did not rely solely on these constructions to determine the answer to my research question. I relied on a method of triangulation shown in Figure 2.

Emerging Data: Categories, Codes, and Themes

Initiating my research by identifying which speeches would be analyzed, I then organized them into the categories and type previously described. Each speech was selected because it contained references to crime control and social deviancy. I chose speeches with the most references to crime control language based on the primary word *crime*. Clinton had the most records and the most references to crime, whereas Bush had the least. Trump was in office the shortest amount of time and had fewer speeches on record.

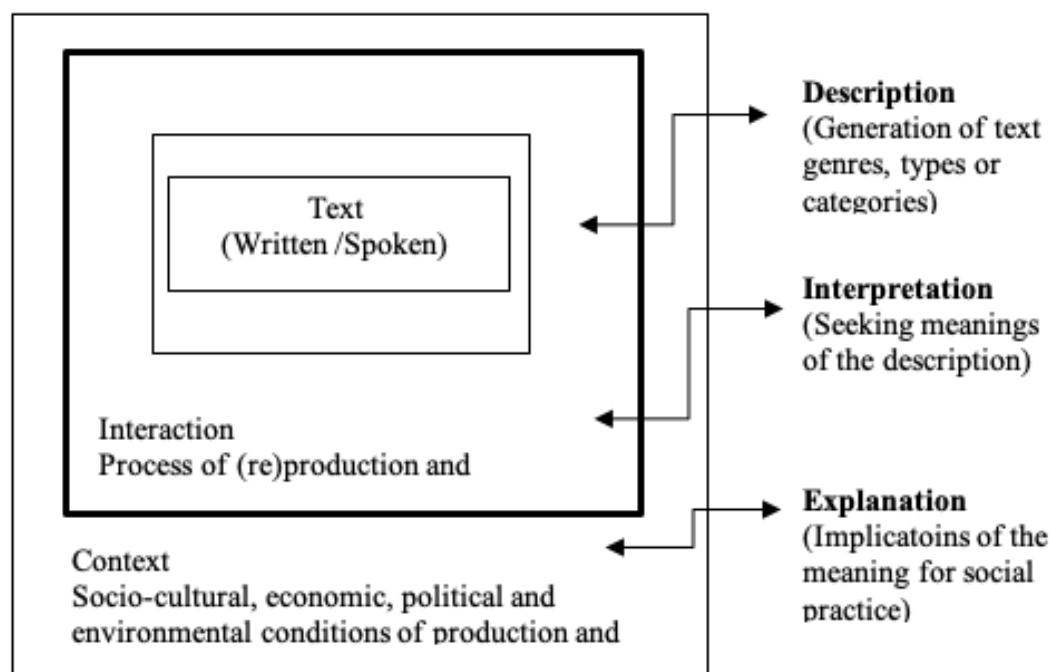


Figure 1. Norman Fairclough's CDA model (1993).

As shown in Figure 1, CDA involves a three-part coding process based on Norman Fairclough's CDA model (Fairclough, 1992, 1994, 2012, 2013; Janks, 2014; Mogashoa, 2014; Sajjad, 2015; Sudajit, 2017; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). As a methodology tool, CDA allows the social scientist to deconstruct language and discover "the hidden motivations in others and ourselves" (Mogashoa, 2014, p. 106). The objective of CDA is to reveal stereotypes and assumptions that people possess in relation to their buried ideologies (Amer, 2017; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Politicians are often subject to CDA research because they are involved in the business of constructing social identities and realities, interpreting reality, and articulating persuasive commentary through symbolic rhetoric (Marion & Hill, 2018; Mogashoa, 2014). Using emotional

intelligence, politicians exploit the ideologies and emotions of their audience to gain higher approval ratings (Marion & Hill, 2018; Mogashoa, 2014).

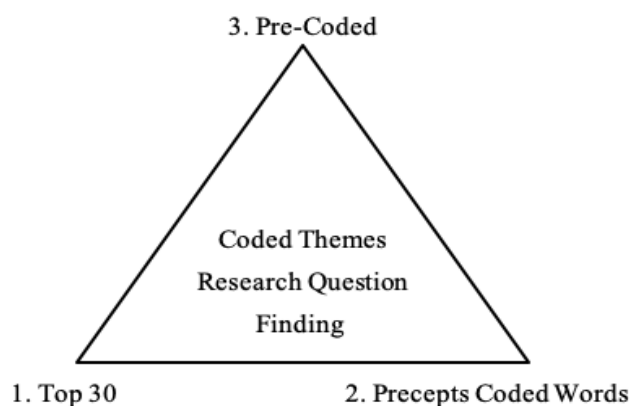


Figure 2. Triangulation model based on Denzin’s method, as described in Fusch et al., (2018).

Language is socially engineered. It is most effective and highly persuasive when story telling or constructing narrative. Discourse is authority in language. Those who have command of the language will use it; effective most as a tool for persuasion (Mogashoa, 2014). Presidents have the highest command as a commander-in-chief. Oliver (2003) found that presidents can influence Congress on crime control. The U.S. president frequently uses discourse as authority and their command of the language as a tool for persuasion (Marion & Hill, 2018; Oliver & Barlow, 2005).

Fairclough (2013) emphasizes ideology as interactive constructions in meanings and identities in myriad cultural spaces. Since ideology is often at the heart of Black criminalization, I specifically identified speeches aimed at audiences that may share similar worldviews. This allowed me to arrange speeches into three categories. The first category included Party Nomination and Inaugurals. The second category included State of the Union speeches, and the third included selected Weekly Addresses.

The process that I used has been applied in a number of similar researches involving the study of discourse. Sarfo and Krampa (2013) used it to investigate the speeches of Bush and Obama in their discourse on terrorism. In a study of political rhetoric, Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) used this process to examine speeches by Obama and Iranian President, Rouhani. Researchers, Akbar and Abbas (2019) also used this process in their study of President Trump's negative construction of immigrants and refugees. Each of these studies made use of CDA as a method to learn more about how people of power use rhetoric to construct identity and reality.

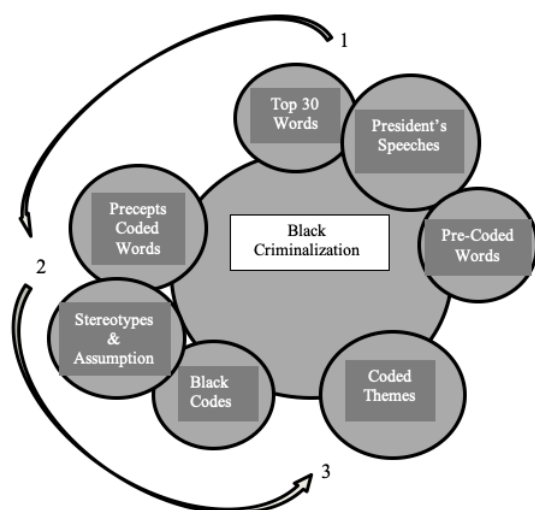


Figure 3. Context and theme results triangulation model.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

As discussed in Chapter 3, issues of trustworthiness are mitigated through triangulation. Credibility involves integrity in research production. Having more than one source producing the same results achieves credibility. As shown in *Figure 2: Triangulation*, and *Figure 3: Context and Theme Triangulation* models, triangulation was

included in the research design and used as the foundation of this CDA case study.

To ensure credibility, I followed Denzin (2018) to create a similar model for triangulation. I then used that model as part of the foundation of the methodology for my study. I also used a framework and methodology that are sound and well established.

Transferability was achieved by producing clear models and tables with details (Xerri, 2018). Because my research design was based on clear models that were designed from those used in other studies, future researchers may find their ability to extend, or challenge this study to be a simple task. I have also created an Appendices section with a very detailed list of every speech under examination including titles, key words, themes, and web addresses for easy location and confirmability. This study achieves reliability and consistency (Xerri, 2018) through the actions described under credibility and transferability.

As stated in Chapter 3, achieving confirmability is nothing more than corroboration through credible sources. This was achieved in several ways. One important way is through implementation of the actions described under credibility and transferability. Another way is by following research models that are used in similar studies (Xerri, 2018). As previously stated, I followed other models rather than invent something new and unproven. This way, another researcher can confirm my work through credible, and proven, models that have the advantage of being tried and tested.

Results

My analysis commenced with understanding what key words were used while making the connection, described in the research literature, to those themes already known from slavery and the period of Black Codes and Jim Crow criminal justice. These

themes presented African Americans as the primary subjects of a criminal justice system designed for social exclusion, often perpetuated through use of pejorative words, such as criminal, violent criminal, or felon. Negative stereotypes and assumptions lead to the characterization of these pejorative words.

I applied numerous NVivo text queries using pre-coded words and the top 30 most used words, while observing the rhetorical use and language patterns used to develop or construct negative stereotypes and assumptions related to crime control known from the literature. Using CDA for this study allowed me to address the following research question: how does crime control language used by former U.S. Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama and the current President Donald Trump construct the implication of Black criminality in the 21st century?

My study findings suggest that crime control language by presidents construct the implication of Black criminality by making iterative use of words and themes perpetuating prevailing and presumptive racial stereotypes and assumptions about the connections between welfare, poverty, crime, drugs, and violence. Reaching a finding of whether this was intentional or unintentional was not within the scope of this research, nor was my research question designed with that objective.

Once the data was collected, I then used text query within NVivo software to discover the 30 most used words shown in Table 2. I did this by entering 30 in a box that allowed me to query most used words by quantity. There were words which were included among the top, I considered as insignificant such as, “every,” or “make.” I added these words “Add to stop word list” within NVivo. I kept no record of these words.

However, NVivo automatically stores them. Table 2 represents a word query for the top 30 words for all 54 speeches analyzed.

Table 2

Top 30 words

	Word	# of References
1	American(s)	1161
2	America	1016
3	People	909
4	Work	567
5	World	515
6	Country	486
7	Congress	423
8	Children	386
9	Nation	385
10	Help	359
11	Jobs	345
12	Government	327
13	First	299
14	Together	292
15	Care	275
16	Security	274
17	Economy	268
18	Health	264
19	Families	246
20	Today	241
21	Tax	240
22	Give	227
23	Working	221
24	Great	217
25	Support	209
26	Citizens	198
27	Future	198
28	Home	198
29	Better	196
30	Freedom	190

In Table 3, shown on the next page, I applied a different, but planned approach. To cross-reference, and be certain of my results, I applied precoded themes. Table 3 represents the results from that query minus the speeches which contained less than 10 references. Throughout this study, I continued to conduct word queries and searches as you will see from Appendix B and C. Each of them produced precoded and random word frequency results. I used text query for the following words: *crime, crimes, criminals, police, prison, gang, gangs, drug dealers, drugs, violence, violent, poverty, welfare*. The results were summarized in the next chapter.

The speech ID uniquely identifies each speech shown in Appendix C through Appendix B. In other words, if you review Appendix B, you will see the category of Speech ID located in the far-left column. That ID will correspond to the speech ID listed in Table 3 and in Appendix C. In order to match the ID with Appendix C, look to the category of “Yr-m/d” which identifies the year, month and day of the speech. Appendix C is important because it provides a more detailed critical analysis of the speech. You will not find a reference to the year, month and day in Table 3. However, it can be found in Appendix B and Appendix C.

Table 3

Corresponding to Table 3

Speech ID	welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police	Total
1	20	3	20	4	12	11	2	6	78
2	11	2	13	5	7	9	6	6	59
3	0	0	15	4	9	3	11	6	48
4	4	11	7	3	3	9	0	3	40
5	18	1	12	1	1	1	0	5	39
6	1	0	15	9	6	1	1	2	35
7	0	0	18	1	6	2	1	6	34
8	0	4	7	2	11	1	1	5	31
9	1	1	2	4	1	10	5	5	29
10	1	3	1	10	2	10	0	2	29
11	15	0	3	1	2	6	1	1	29
12	4	2	8	0	5	7	0	3	29
13	0	0	9	2	6	0	2	9	28
14	11	0	5	2	2	4	1	3	28
15	0	0	4	0	0	21	0	1	26
16	0	0	8	1	5	8	0	3	25
17	0	1	3	4	3	10	3	0	24
18	0	0	2	1	3	15	0	1	22
19	5	0	5	5	1	1	0	2	19
20	0	4	1	2	7	2	0	3	16
21	0	0	1	0	1	14	0	0	16
22	0	0	3	5	2	3	0	2	15
23	2	1	4	0	2	4	0	0	13
24	0	0	3	7	0	2	0	0	12
25	0	0	0	1	1	10	0	0	12
26	3	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	11
27	0	1	3	0	3	4	0	0	11
28	0	0	3	0	5	0	0	2	10
29	1	1	0	0	5	1	0	2	10
30	0	3	0	1	4	2	0	0	10
Total	97	39	176	76	115	174	35	79	791

Table 4 represented the precept word search query for only the nomination and inaugural speeches. You will find that this word search query applied the following words, P1 = welfare, jobs, responsibility, work, police, American; P2 = prison, gangs,

criminal, family, freedom, housing, youth, children, taxpayer, America, values; P3 = guns, violence, crime, education, police, elderly, drugs, hope, rules, taxes. These categories represent the precoded precept themes. You will find a more detailed listing of these and their results in Appendix C.

Table 4

Precoded Text Query

Year	Speech Type	President	References
1992	Nomination	Clinton	139
2016	Nomination	Trump	90
2008	Nomination	Obama	78
1997	Second Inaugural	Clinton	47
1993	Inaugural	Clinton	36
2017	Inaugural	Trump	36
2005	Second Inaugural	Bush	28
2001	Inaugural	Bush	25
2009	Inaugural	Obama	25
2000	Nomination	Bush	24
2013	Second Inaugural	Obama	21
1992-2017	11 Speeches	4 Presidents	549 References

The total number of speeches for Bush and Obama that I examined were 15 each; the number of speeches for President Trump was six. The number of speeches for President Trump was much less because he has been in office for under four years, whereas the former Presidents have all completed eight years in office. Although, Trump had been in office less time, his crime control language was far more racialized than either Bush or Obama. Clinton had 222 references to precoded words while Trump had 126 references; Obama had 124 and Bush had 77 references.

In a study of Trump's contribution to the resurgence of racism after the 2016 presidential election, Bobo (2017) noted former U.S. President Ronald Reagan

“frequently” used racial stereotypes related to welfare and criminality. Marion & Farmer (2003) observed “[p]residential candidates regularly use crime discourse to help win electoral support” (p. 129). Citing research by Beckett and Sasson (2003) and Wacquant (2011), Hawdon & Wood (2014) reiterated the fact that “Black males disproportionately experienced the increased use of incarceration (p. 380),” indicating that African American men are involved in crime at higher rates.

I looked for words and sentences that could reveal an attitude. For example, when Clinton (1994) says: “You will be given a chance to give the children of this country, the law abiding working people of this country—and don’t forget, in the toughest neighborhoods in this country, in the highest crime neighborhoods in his country...” there is a crime control message related to criminalization. Clinton is appealing to the people who will vote for his crime bill. There is an attitude expressed in this sentence. If African Americans are law abiding, do not live in the toughest neighborhoods associated with the highest amount of crime, there is no need for crime control. And, therefore, there is no criminalization. However, since African Americans experience the highest rates of imprisonment and criminal justice contact, the message according to Clinton is that, they are not law abiding and they live in the toughest and highest crime neighborhoods. This analysis is in conformity with the research literature.

The sentence used by former president tells the listener that Clinton considers his crime bill to be a national urgency and those who support it will be providing the children of working class a reward. Clinton uses two phrases that are terms in qualifying the target and place: the target is those who are the “toughest” and the place is the neighborhood

with the “highest” crime. Clinton is not signaling an assault on White neighborhoods, but neighborhoods that are predominately African American. The greatest negative impact will be experienced by those who are not “law-abiding” or in other words, socially deviant. I coded the word “crime” and copied the sentence for further analysis.

Clinton’s crime control discourse made use of words and themes leading to Black criminalization as compared to Bush, Obama, and Trump. Trump was a far distance behind Clinton, but far ahead of Obama. Obama was third in place and Bush made very few references to words and themes implicating black criminality. Clinton spoke about crime as an urgency. For example, Clinton declares in 1994, on 1/25, the following: “First, we must recognize that most violent crimes are committed by a small percentage of criminals who too often break the laws even when they are on parole (Clinton, 94-1/25). Clinton also warns his audience of the following: “Violent crime and the fear it provokes, are crippling our society, limiting our freedom, and fraying the ties that bind us (Clinton, 94-1/25). In the same speech, he continues to tell his audience: “And those who commit repeated, violent crimes, should be told, ‘when you commit a third crime, you will be put away for good. Three strikes, and you are out (Clinton, 94-1/25).

Clinton’s declaration led to passage of “largest crime bill in the history of the United States” (GovTrack, 1994), H.R. 3355 (103rd): Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, known simply as the 1994 Crime Bill. In a study on stigmatization language and public perceptions, it was noted that most people truly believe anyone with a prior conviction of a violent crime will “most likely” commit more crimes in the future and should be barred from employment (Denver et al., 2017). When

Clinton talked about violent crimes, he did so while discussing welfare. From 1994 to 1999, in 10 speeches, Clinton referenced crime at least 121 times; he referenced welfare 63 times, and violence, 55 times. Clinton went even further to issue the following challenge, “I challenge states to match the federal policy to assure that serious violent criminals serve at least 85 percent of their sentence (Clinton, 94-1/25).

The prevailing theoretical presumption which permeates a belief within the U.S. Department of Justice is the construction and reproduction processes behind the stigmatization of a criminal record, part of a “semantic technique” used by the general public and promulgated as criminal justice policy (Denver et al., 2017 citing Cole, 2013). In other words, no matter how innocent a person is when accused of a crime, the criminal record is a sure sign of guilt. Prior criminal records often lead to arrest and conviction, and they take place in the same areas, mostly poor neighborhoods (Alexander, 2010).

To be sure that there is a preponderance, I looked to Clinton’s 1993 Nomination speech in which there were 139 references to Higginbotham’s precept themes categorized as P1, P2, P3 (see Table 4). When I applied a simple search using only the word crime, I found results showing 1,593 speeches compared to Bush with 177, Obama with 239, and Trump with 92 references.

Both Clinton and Trump identified African Americans in one or more of their speeches directly when discussing employment. For example, Trump stated in his 2016 Nomination speech, “[n]early four in 10 African American children are living in poverty, while 58% of African American youth are not employed” (Trump, 2016). Clinton linked African Americans to poverty indirectly, and unemployment directly in his 2000 State of

the Union speech reminding his audience that because of his policies, the nation has witnessed “the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates on record” (Clinton, 95-1/25). Social scientists have for decades linked unemployment to crime.

Unemployment and joblessness are also linked to welfare. Work is among the top 30 words referenced in all 54 speeches. In ranking order, it was number four with 536 references. Work is often connected to the words American or Americans in sentences. America, American, and people are among the top three most referenced words. It followed the theme that Americans are patriotic, responsible, innovative, hardworking, and law-abiding. While welfare is antithetical to work, and it shares a link to crime. To be involved in welfare, crime, gangs and drugs are choices, most of the time. Bush, Clinton and Trump statements on welfare are as follows:

Bush said, “Welfare cases have dropped by more than half over the past decade. ... Wise policies, such as welfare reform and education and support for abstinence and adoption have made a difference in the character of our country.”

Clinton said,

My fellow Americans, we can cut the deficit, create jobs, promote democracy around the world, pass welfare reform and health care, pass the toughest crime bill in history...

For too long our welfare system has undermined the values of family and work, instead of supporting them.

I challenge this Congress to send me a bipartisan welfare reform bill that will really move people from welfare to work and do the right thing by our children.

The crime rate, the welfare and food stamp rolls, the poverty rate, and the teen pregnancy rate are all down. And as they go down, prospects for America's future go up.

Nothing has done more to undermine our sense of common responsibility than our failed welfare system.

We have to make welfare what it was meant to be, a second chance, not a way of life.

[O]ur goal must be to liberate people and lift them up from dependence to independence, from welfare to work, from mere childbearing to responsible parenting...

Then last year, Congress enacted landmark welfare reform legislation, demanding that all able-bodied recipients assume the responsibility of moving from welfare to work.

...join our welfare-to-work partnership, increasing child support collections from deadbeat parents who have a duty to support their own children. Trump said,

We can lift our citizens from welfare to work, from dependence to independence, and from poverty to prosperity. ... Under my administration, 7 million Americans have come off food stamps, and 10 million people have been lifted off of welfare.

Bush references welfare four times, but only three of the references are linked to unemployment and two of the references were in 2006 State of the Union speech, and the other was in a 2002 State of the Union speech. Trump references welfare three times, once in three speeches: 2017 Inaugural, 2018 and 2020 State of the Union speeches. Obama mentions welfare only once which is in 2008 Nomination speech. In it he reminds the audience of a coming change, moving families from welfare to work. In contrast, Clinton referenced welfare 94 times in 11 speeches.

Since welfare, crime, drugs, gangs, and violence are often presented as synonymous or at least sharing links, the prevailing presumption is that government intervention is necessary. The most common presumption is that people choose to go on welfare, and then become involved in drugs, crime, and gangs. Stereotypes and assumptions of African Americans on welfare, involved in crime, gangs, and drugs are an enduring staple of American belief about Black culture which is grossly perpetuated by news, scholarship, and cinema. As a result, membership is assigned and confirmed. Eventually it leads to arguments in favor of racialized policies such as “stop and frisk.”

Clinton had the overwhelming number of references recorded. This was surely due to his efforts to get Congress to pass his 1994 Crime Bill and 1996 Welfare Reform Act (The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996) in which he was widely successful. In a stunning admission, Clinton apologized and stated his regret for his part in the 1994 Crime Bill (BBC, 2015). The very first person locked up under the bill was an African American man named Tommy Lee Farmer.

Clinton followed his predecessor, George Bush, in constructing the face of the most dangerous criminal as an African American. A review of members from the 103rd U.S. Congress who voted for Clinton's crime bill showed the overwhelming majority of African Americans did not vote in support of the 1994 Crime Bill (GovTrack, 1994). In my review of the precepts, what my study showed was how words activate symbolically racist themes that revert to old ideas which were explicit during the era of Black Codes.

As I had predicted, the political landscape evolved from a focus on domestic crime and punishment to that which transformed into debates about criminal acts involving military conflict overseas and keeping the country safe. Whether this international focus can be expressed as a criminal justice or military agenda is complicated. Bush was the first to speak of the international conflict as a war on terror. Obama inherited the war on terror, while Trump entered office with an opposing agenda.

Bush believed the country was in a war with foreign criminals and his ratings depended on convincing ordinary Americans that crime and state conflict were the same:

As we gather tonight, hundreds of thousands of American service men and women are deployed across the world in the war on terror. By bringing hope to the oppressed and delivering justice to the violent, they are making America more secure.

And I know that some people question if America is really in a war at all. They view terrorism more as a crime, a problem to be solved mainly with law enforcement and indictments.”

Obama sounded like Clinton at times, while Trump sounded like Obama and Clinton. Bush was mostly silent on domestic crime matters. After all, Bush was too busy trying to make sense out of the fact that fighting “enemy combatants” and going to war against Iraq without United Nations approval made America less safe and respected, and was not as, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, put it “not in conformity with UN charter” and “illegal.”

Hurwitz and Peffley (2005) investigated the impact of racialized code words in support of punitive crime control. The researchers found that implicit references to Black criminality using stereotypes and assumptions played a significant role in political and criminal justice outcomes. Hughey (2015) also investigated “white racial attitudes on race and crime” reporting a similar discovery.

Discrepancy in Findings

What I found in Clinton’s rhetoric on crime control, and can be said for the others as well, is that there were references to human compassion and human equality. Clinton apologized after admitting his actions were destructive to the African American community. Bush, Obama, and Trump provided equal attention to the need to reduce the prison population. Bush signed the first law to reduce the prison size— The Second Chance Act. Obama became the first U.S. president to actually visit a prison and talk with prison inmates. Trump signed into law the First Step Act and pardoned many African American prisoners.

Precepts 2 and 3, became extremely difficult, if not almost impossible to align after Clinton’s first term in office. This may be because Bush was focused on a war

against foreigners sometimes called “criminals,” and sometimes called “terrorists” or “enemy combatants.” It is highly possible that criminal justice became too engrossed in Bush’s “war on terror.” As a result, prosecutions of domestic crimes were strained. There were even much debate and confusion over what defined a “terrorist” or “enemy combatant,” where they would be prosecuted, and if convicted, jailed. It is possible that as a result, the U.S. Department of Justice, FBI, CIA, and Military and Secret Service were extremely busy which could explain why Bush’s discourse on domestic crime control appeared to be silent.

On the other hand, Obama inherited Bush’s “war on terror” after his election on a promise to clean up the mess, close Guantanamo Bay, bring terrorists to the U.S. to face trial, end torture and government secrecy. Although these promises were short lived, Obama officially ended the war on drugs, and pardoned more African Americans, including more than 500 with life sentences, mostly for drug related convictions under the 1994 Crime Bill.

Trump entered office on a mission to end most of the policies of Obama, bring the troops home and end the war on terror, build a border wall, and end previous immigration policies. His rhetoric on crime control shifted toward America’s neighbors to the south and Muslims. It was clearly less about Black criminalization, and more about brown skinned, Spanish speaking non-Natives and Muslim immigrants. These were the new the subjects of crime control discourse under the current President. The above described discrepancies in findings present an opportunity in future research.

Summary

My purpose for this study was to answer one research question: how does the crime control discourse of U.S. Presidents Clinton, Bush W., Obama, and Trump construct the implication of Black criminality in the 21st century. I believe my purpose was achieved. Using the top 30, most frequently used words in all 54 speeches examined, along with pre-coded words taken from the language of crime control, and Higginbotham's first three Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence, themes were developed and compared to historical and contemporary stereotypes and assumptions about race and crime. The findings resulted in data that after thoroughly analyzed using Fairclough's three- step coding process (1993), and cross referenced against current scholarly literature suggested the crime control discourse of all U.S. Presidents examined constructed implications of Black criminality. It did so by making broad, prevalent and iterative use of words and phrases that promulgate racially presumptive ideas, stereotypes in, and assumptions about welfare, poverty, crime, drugs, and violence.

It is important to note further research is needed and recommended. In the upcoming final chapter, I will discuss the findings in greater depth, describe how my results connected to the scholarly literature, and elaborate on recommendations for further study.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether U.S. presidents promulgate crime control laws and programs that primarily target African Americans through carefully constructed discourse contributing to the phenomenon of Black criminalization. The nature of this research involved understanding how Black criminalization is constructed through coded messages within crime control rhetoric used by U.S. presidents. While many researchers have examined the causes and effects of Black criminalization, it has become necessary to understand this phenomenon through language used by U.S. presidents to save lives. This is especially important considering recent U.S. protests and the global focus on systemic racism. The positive social change implications could initiate reform of the modes of criminal justice that negatively affect African Americans, thereby saving lives and preventing effects of genocide.

Researchers have suggested that future studies are needed due to the limited existence of literature related to describing a history of race and crime (Williams & Battle, 2017). I conducted this study to add further research to the literature on crime control discourse by U.S. presidents in relationship to Black criminalization. In following up on the suggestion of Williams and Battle (2017) and other researchers, I applied a theory and method that makes historical themes of race and crime relevant. More specifically, by applying the first three of Higginbotham's 10 precepts of American slavery jurisprudence, I addressed the relationships between history and crime in connection to the U.S. presidents' use of words and phrases.

The findings of this study suggest that U.S. presidents construct the implication of Black criminality by making iterative use of words and themes perpetuating prevailing and presumptive racial stereotypes and assumptions about the connections between *welfare, poverty, crime, drugs, and violence* in crime control discourse. The connection between welfare and crime was less subtle with the words: *poverty, responsibility, and work*. The descriptions of American identity and the culture of America, especially in Trump's Make America Great Again messaging made the in-out group definitions clear. When Higginbotham's three precepts were thematically compared, P1, the precept of inferiority, stood out clearly, while P2, property, and P3, powerlessness, were less clear. While Clinton and Trump explicitly linked African Americans to poverty, Bush and Obama made no explicit references to any group. Bush was fairly silent on crime control, whereas Obama used minimal crime control language. Clinton and Trump were more aggressive in their use of crime control rhetoric. Clinton's language clearly had more of an effect on the construction and promulgation of Black criminalization. Trump appeared to be more focused on immigrants coming to the United States from neighboring countries, Muslims, and political enemies.

Interpretation of the Findings

The crime control rhetoric of President Clinton appeared to be distinctively linked to an argument that "welfare programs were responsible for worsening crime and poverty by undermining the work ethic" and de-Americanizing America's most vulnerable (Hawdon & Wood, 2014, p. 379). Hawdon and Wood (2014) noted that poor people, mostly people of color and mostly African Americans, were reconstructed from

America's most vulnerable to "criminals and addicts" who are irresponsible and "undeserving" (p. 379). In my research, I focused on the use of *welfare* as a word and theme linked to both historical and contemporary Black criminalization because it is often subtle and inconspicuously applied in crime control rhetoric. For example, Clinton identified African Americans by referring to them as "low-income workers" and then applied the phrase "reward work over welfare" in his 1994 State of the Union speech. In this one speech, where Clinton is fiercely promoting his 1994 Crime Bill, which he later admitted he regretted because of the effect it had on African Americans, he applied the word *welfare* 20 times. Clinton used the phrase "reward work over welfare" twice. On the second occasion, he linked it to "reclaim(ing) our streets from violent crime and drugs and gangs, to renew our American community." This is what Khoo (2017) referred to as "dog-whistle" politics. Although Khoo (2017) argued that code words "do not semantically encode hidden or implicit meanings. ... they nonetheless manage to bring about the same surprising effects" (p. 1). In 1996, Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act, also known as the Welfare Reform Act of 1996; however, his crime control rhetoric continued. As the scholarly literature shows, certain words related to crime control amplify prevailing racial stereotypes and assumptions, particularly related to African Americans.

The findings in this research help to confirm the previous literature and further extend the knowledge on Black criminalization by demonstrating that U.S. presidents often speak about crime control in ways that advance the stereotypes and assumptions of Black criminality. The findings also demonstrate the relative effectiveness of SCF. Social

construction theory demonstrates the reality of constructing criminal identity through coded language or rhetorical discourse, which transforms human beings into monsters, creating an *other* society.

Specifically, it is important to understand how collateral consequences further the criminal identity, which SCF positions as being an objective of criminalization. Social construction theory posits that humans construct reality and interpret those outcomes in ways that order society according to their own prejudices. An example of this is African Americans and the criminal justice system from Black Codes to the War on Drugs, in which laws and policies created by Caucasian legislators, enforced by mostly Caucasian police, and prosecuted by mostly Caucasian men created a criminal identity for mostly African American men. Crime is behavior determined to be undesirable, defined from a social constructionist perspective by those with the power and privilege to make such behavior unlawful, rendering the perpetrator as a criminal subject to prescribed punishments (Adedoyin et al., 2019; Byfield, 2019; Miller, 2009). The dehumanization of African Americans through crime control is a pandemic of global concern. Social construction theory allows researchers to study this phenomenon and understand how it is promulgated. The results of this study demonstrate the importance and usefulness of SCF. However, SCF does have limitations, which will be discussed further in relationship to trustworthiness in the next section.

Limitations of the Study

Trustworthiness can be addressed by triangulation. Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999) identify four types of triangulation. In this research, I relied on a triangulation

model influenced by Denzin (2018), shown in Figures 2 and 3. In addition, I relied on the diversity of the presidents under research to allow the first wall of trustworthiness against bias. However, there are limitations in the relationship of the theoretical framework and findings due to the nature of the study. The study asks how crime control discourse of U.S. presidents is implicated in the construction of Black criminality, which implores an explanation.

An explanation using SCF does not automatically imply racial construction, nor does it provide a position to definitively postcultural bias. SCF is more general in this respect. It provides a lens that acts as a prism when combined with triangulation. Triangulation is the best method for ensuring multiple perspectives, much like examining several eyewitnesses to a crime, assuming there will be discrepancies. There is a level of interpretation that takes place that could be informed by unknowing bias. The fact that there are limitations does not imply the research lacks credibility but allows for more discussion.

In the course of this research, there was clear evidence of a change in how crime control was discussed post-Clinton presidency. The shift in discourse from a “law and order” heavy-handed punishment approach to second chances and a compassionate return to society was not properly examined under this research. SCF may not have been the appropriate theoretical framework for a study of a shift in Presidential rhetoric. Clinton apologized for his part in the 1994 Crime Bill which led to the hyper-incarceration of hundreds of thousands of African American males. Bush signed into law the Second Chance Act and spoke very little about crime control outside of his war on terror. Obama

became the first sitting U.S. President to ever visit a federal prison. He spoke with inmates, investigated the hyper-incarceration of African American, and even spoke of the need to reform the criminal justice system. Trump clearly renewed some of the racialized stereotypes and assumptions related to crime and crime control. However, Trump also passed the First Step Act which promised to significantly reduce prison populations and reform criminal justice.

The limitations were in that this research was not designed to account for these exceptions. My research question was “how,” and I was able to answer it. Another limitation was due to the types of speeches and quantity. However, this was not significant due to the nature of my research question. In the next section, I will describe recommendations for further research that I think will allow future research to build upon this study and address the limitations.

Recommendations

A review of the limitations demonstrates a highly recommended opportunity for future research. A similar study to examine the crime control rhetoric of every American President since Andrew Johnson would help provide an historical view of Black criminalization. It would also be a much broader test of Higginbotham’s 10 Precepts of American Slavery Jurisprudence theory. The positive social change implication would be rooted in understanding and avoiding patterns of racialized stereotypes and assumptions within crime control.

Another recommendation to further address the limitations described would be to conduct interviews to elicit the views of others and confirm meanings in language. A

research study such as the one conducted by University of Chicago Political Science Professor, Michael Dawson (2006) *After the deluge: Publics and publicity in Katrina's wake*. In this study, Dawson (2006) studied and measured the opinions of both African Americans and Whites, with regards to the “chaos that followed Hurricane Katrina” in light of remarks made by Kanye West who stated:

I hate the way they portray us in the media. You see a black family, it says “they’re looting.” You see a white family, it says, “they’re looking for food.” And, you know, it’s been five days [waiting for government help] because most of the people are black. ... We already realize a lot of people that help are at war right now, fighting another war—and they’ve given permission to go down and shoot us!... George Bush doesn’t care about Black people (p. 239).

The results from Dawson’s study revealed a clear divergence in the way African Americans and Whites thought about West’s comments. African Americans agreed, while White Americans criticized West for his observation. When other questions were posed about crime, equality, and culture, there was again extreme divergence. A study like this one could prove effective shed more light on how Black criminalization is constructed and promulgated. There should also be an attempt to learn more about the effect that criminalization has on the African American family.

Implications

This dissertation examined the implications of Black criminalization in the crime control discourse of American Presidents, William J. “Bill: Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack H. Obama, and Donald J. Trump. The findings of this research suggest U.S.

President help to construct and further the implications of Black criminalization through broad use of words and phrases that are linked to prevailing stereotypes and assumptions in Black criminality. However, there was no indication that this finding was linked to an intentional and deliberate attempt to harm African Americans.

Researchers Clair & Winter (2016) and Pierce et al. (2014) found that it in the 1980's, African American communities were thought to be targeted and socially constructed as deviant. Gaynor (2018) highlights how people used identities in ways that signal common traits and images that are often socially constructed. This study confirmed the use of identity in the President's rhetoric on crime. Mancini et al. (2015) describes the historical nature of the construction of criminality like this, "[w]hat is considered a crime and who is considered a criminal is largely based on social constructions that have a longstanding presence in U.S. history" (p. 358). Mancini et al., (2015), Heitzeg (2015), and Hinton (2015) discuss the discovery that social constructions in criminality are linked to race and laws and policies related to crime used as a form of social control that is primarily race-based. This study confirms this discovery.

Clinton used imagery to promote his crime bill. It was often the imagery of a criminal savage. Social scientists, Smiley and Fakunle (2016) made note of the savage "brute" and the link between a lust for White women and the image of an African American male who will attack when White men are not looking. This imagery was portrayed in the movie, *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and in the Presidential campaigns of Bush I and Clinton. Bush used the image of Willie Horton to promote his tough on crime rhetoric, while Clinton cited Tommy Lee Farmer. Both men were African Americans

who represented the savage in the film that resurrected the Klu Klux Klan to guarantee the public safety of the White community. This study confirms that imaging was present through the use of stereotypes and assumptions.

The positive social change implication is that an awareness of the power of crime control language has been demonstrated, particularly in light of the Black Lives Matter demonstrations and overwhelming public willingness to learn more about systemic racism. This researcher implied, based on the literature review, that a genocide is among the outcomes from the negative effect of crime control law and policy aimed at African American with historical and systemic roots of racism. It is often that people say and act without realizing the power of their sayings or actions. This, too, has been demonstrated by the literature. For example, when former U.S. Secretary of Education implied that abortion of African American babies would be a cruel way to reduce the high crime rates this is how Black criminalization is further promulgated. There are even comments such as, “African Americans were far more civilized under slavery and did not go to prison” (Gleissner, 2010).

If American presidents better understand and reconstruct their crime control discourse to avoid racialized stereotypes and assumptions, it is possible that the efforts to reform the criminal justice system and reduce the U.S. prison populations will have positive social change implications on African American communities, families and individuals. A genocide – as defined by the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in Article II can be avoided. This is the ultimate positive social change implication that has arisen from out of this research.

Conclusions

People are not objects. The lives of African Americans do matter. If this belief is genuinely shared by all of the American public, especially by the American President, it will be heard in the discourse. Discourse matters. How people interpret or potentially understand that discourse matters, as well as the implications of that discourse whether positive or negative. Although former President Clinton apologized for his part in the hyper-criminalization of African Americans, and Bush, Obama, and Trump attempted a reverse of the harmful crime control laws and policies experienced by African Americans the outcomes have been ignored for far too long to anticipate a quick fix. It is no longer unimportant to simply discount the history of racism and the language embedded as a result of associated stereotypes and assumptions in criminal justice targets when speaking about crime control. Crime is forged by what people design and society accepts as bad behavior whether discussing welfare, drugs, or gangs, and the associated violence.

Criminals are socially constructed. The scholarly literature and this study exposed the ways Black criminalization is constructed by asking *how*, rather than *did*, which the findings suggested was indicative of Presidential crime control rhetoric. The crime control rhetoric of American presidents is very dangerous. The fact that 13 percent of the U.S. population represent between as much as 37 and 43 percent of the entire prison population for more than a century is not only evidence enough of systemic racism, but a deliberate attempt at genocide. Genocide is defined as “intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group...” and it does not only imply “killing members of the group.” It can also be “causing serious bodily and mental harm” and, or

“deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.” While I do not believe that Clinton, Bush, Obama, or Trump deliberately engaged in speech that would cause genocide of African Americans, Black criminalization is an outcome when crime control speech is not monitored and checked.

This study was not intended for the purpose of proving the assumption of genocide, but it is important to mention in the conclusion. For failure to do so would be nothing short of irresponsible. The outcomes of crime control law and policy are clear. Collateral consequences – tacit prohibitions and rules that govern persons convicted of crimes – no matter how serious or nature of the crime, are enough to bear the consequence of genocide when experienced disproportionately by one ethnic or racial group for nearly over a century.

If the President of the United States is serious about preventing genocide, then as Clinton used his rhetoric to pass the 1994 Crime Bill which killed many African Americans, the current president, and the current U.S. Congress, must feel compelled to pass H.R. 40, an act introduced by former legendary Congressman, John Conyers, which reads in part;

Whereas after emancipation from 246 years of slavery, African-Americans soon saw the fleeting political, social, and economic gains they made during Reconstruction exacerbated by virulent racism, lynchings, disenfranchisement, Black Codes, and racial segregation laws that imposed a rigid system of officially sanctioned racial segregation in virtually all areas of life;

Whereas the system of de jure racial segregation known as “Jim Crow,” which arose in certain parts of the Nation following the Civil War to create separate and unequal societies for whites and African Americans, was a direct result of the racism against persons of African descent engendered by slavery;

Whereas a century after the official end of slavery in America, Federal action was required during the 1960s to eliminate the de jure and defacto system of Jim Crow throughout parts of the Nation, though its vestiges still linger to this day;

Whereas African-Americans continue to suffer from the complex interplay between slavery and Jim Crow—long after both systems were formally abolished—through enormous damage and loss, both tangible and intangible, including the loss of human dignity, the frustration of careers and professional lives, and the long-term loss of income and opportunity;

Whereas the story of the enslavement and de jure segregation of African Americans and the dehumanizing atrocities committed against them should not be purged from or minimized in the telling of American history;

Whereas on July 8, 2003, during a trip to Goree Island, Senegal, a former slave port, President George W. Bush acknowledged slavery’s continuing legacy in American life and the need to confront that legacy when he stated that slavery “was . . . one of the greatest crimes of history . . . The racial bigotry fed by slavery did not end with slavery or with segregation. And many of the issues that still trouble America have roots in the bitter experience of other times. But however long the journey, our destiny is set: liberty and justice for all.”;

Whereas President Bill Clinton also acknowledged the deep- seated problems caused by the continuing legacy of racism against African Americans that began with slavery when he initiated a national dialogue about race;

Let the findings of this research become a warning of the need to pass H.R. 40 and conduct further studies of the impact of racialized crime control and the effect of Black criminalization on the families, communities and individual lives of African Americans.

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Appendix A: Speeches Examined, Listed by President

Former U.S. President William J. Clinton (1992–2000)

Year	Speech Title	Type	Source	Web Link
1992	Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York	Nomination	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-democratic-national-convention-new-york
1993	Inaugural Address	Inaugural	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-51
1997	Inaugural Address	Second Inaugural	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-12
1994	January 25, 1994: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-12
1995	January 24, 1995: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-11
1996	January 23, 1996: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-10
1997	February 4, 1997: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-9
1998	January 27, 1998: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-8
1999	January 19, 1999: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-6

Year	Speech Title	Type	Source	Web Link
2000	January 27, 2000: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-7
1993	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-562
1994	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-573
1995	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-300
1995	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-325
1996	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-255
1997	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-221
1997	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-205
1998	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-163

Former U.S. President George W. Bush (2000–2008)

Year	Speech Title	Type	Source	Web Link
2000	Presidential Nomination Acceptance Address Presidential	Nomination	American Rhetoric	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/PDF/Files/George%20W.%20Bush%20-%202000%20Presidential%20Nomination%20Acceptance.pdf Copyright permission to use material located here: https://www.americanrhetoric.com/copyrightinformation.htm
2001	President George W. Bush's Inaugural Address	Inaugural	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-20-2001-first-inaugural-address
2005	January 20, 2005: Second Inaugural Address	Second Inaugural	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-20-2005-second-inaugural-address-0
2002	January 29, 2002: State of the Union Address	STOU	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-29-2002-state-union-address
2003	January 28, 2003: State of the Union Address	STOU	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-28-2003-state-union-address
2004	January 20, 2004: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-24
2005	February 2, 2005: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-14

Year	Speech Title	Type	Source	Web Link
2006	January 31, 2006: State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-13
2007	January 23, 2007: State of the Union Address	STOU	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-23-2007-state-union-address
2008	January 28, 2008: State of the Union Address	STOU	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-28-2008-state-union-address
2004	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-800
2005	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-435
2005	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-426
2007	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-61
2008	The President's Radio Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-radio-address-443

Former U.S. President Barack H. Obama (2008–2016)

Year	Speech Title	Type	Source	Web Link
2008	August 28, 2008: Acceptance Speech at the Democratic National Convention	Nomination	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/august-28-2008-acceptance-speech-democratic-national
2009	Inaugural Address	Inaugural	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-5
2013	Inaugural Address	Second Inaugural	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-15
2010	January 27, 2010: 2010 State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-17
2011	January 25, 2011: 2011 State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-16
2012	January 24, 2012: 2012 State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-15
2013	February 13, 2013: 2013 State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-congress-the-state-the-union-2
2014	January 28, 2014: 2014 State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-21
2015	January 20, 2015: 2015 State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-20

Year	Speech Title	Type	Source	Web Link
2016	January 12, 2016: 2016 State of the Union Address	STOU	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-19
2011	The President's Weekly Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-weekly-address-37
2013	The President's Weekly Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-weekly-address-361
2015	The President's Weekly Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-weekly-address-249
2015	The President's Weekly Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-weekly-address-227
2016	The President's Weekly Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-weekly-address-199

Current U.S. President Donald J. Trump (2016–2020)

Year	Speech Title	Type	Source	Web Link
2016	Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Acceptance Speech	Nomination	Donald J. Trump official website archives (PDF format)	http://assets.donaldjtrump.com/DJT_Acceptance_Speech.pdf Note: I matched this with others and there were some slight differences, however, these are from the Candidate Donald Trump's official website, so they are for authentication purposes and the purpose of this study, his words. Alternative version located here: https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/full-text-donald-trumps-2016-republican-national-convention/story?id=40786529
2017	Inaugural Address	Inaugural	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-14
2018	January 30, 2018: State of the Union Address	STOU	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-30-2018-state-union-address
2019	February 5, 2019: State of the Union Address	STOU	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/february-5-2019-state-union-address
2020	February 4, 2020: State of the Union Address	STOU	UV Miller Center	https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/february-4-2020-state-union-address
2017	The President's Weekly Address	Weekly Radio Address	UCSB American Presidency Project	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-weekly-address-416

Appendix B: List of 54 Speeches Used for Precoded Words

Speech ID.	Yr-m/d	President	Speech Type	Refs.
1	94-1/25	Clinton	State of the Union	78
2	96-1/23	Clinton	State of the Union	59
3	97-1/11	Clinton	President's Radio Address	48
4	00-1/27	Clinton	State of the Union	40
5	95-1/24	Clinton	State of the Union	39
6	95-8/19	Clinton	President's Radio Address	35
7	96-6/22	Clinton	President's Radio Address	34
8	2016	Trump	Nomination	31
9	18-1/18	Trump	State of the Union	29
10	20-2/04	Trump	State of the Union	29
11	97-2/04	Clinton	State of the Union	29
12	99-1/19	Clinton	State of the Union	29
13	97-7/19	Clinton	President's Radio Address	28
14	98-1/27	Clinton	State of the Union	28
15	98-2/14	Clinton	President's Radio Address	26
16	93-10/23	Clinton	President's Radio Address	25
17	19-2/05	Trump	State of the Union	24
18	04-1/20	Bush	State of the Union	22
19	94-1/29	Clinton	President's Radio Address	19
20	13-2/13	Obama	State of the Union	19
21	08-12/13	Bush	President's Radio Address	16
22	15-10/17	Obama	President's Weekly Address	15
23	06-1/31	Bush	State of the Union	13
24	16-4/23	Obama	President's Weekly Address	12
25	03-1/28	Bush	State of the Union	12
26	1992	Clinton	Nomination	11
27	04-7/17	Bush	President's Radio Address	11
28	95-12/23	Clinton	President's Radio Address	10
29	08-1/28	Bush	State of the Union	10
30	07-1/23	Bush	State of the Union	10
31	13-3/23	Obama	President's Weekly Address	9
32	05-2/02	Bush	State of the Union	9
33	02-1/29	Bush	State of the Union	9
34	15-5/16	Obama	President's Weekly Address	8
35	2008	Obama	Nomination	8
36	05-12/03	Bush	President's Radio Address	7
37	16-1/12	Obama	State of the Union	6
38	1997	Clinton	Second Inaugural	6
39	14-1/28	Obama	State of the Union	5
40	15-1/20	Obama	State of the Union	5
41	2017	Trump	Inaugural	5
42	05/12/10	Bush	President's Radio Address	5
43	17-4/28	Trump	President's Weekly Address	4
44	11-1/25	Obama	State of the Union	4
45	12-1/24	Obama	State of the Union	3
46	10-1/27	Obama	State of the Union	3
47-54.	All others have only less than 3 references. There are 54 speeches in total examined for this text search query. Each speech contained at least one of the coded words used for this query listed above. I've excluded a total of seven speeches from this list.			
54	27 years	4 Presidents	Total References + 4	887

Appendix C: Precoded Words for Context and Theme Analysis

94-1/25 Clinton: STOU

References: 78

Coverage: 0.80%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
20	3	20	4	12	11	2	6

Word	Sentence
welfare	This Congress produced tax relief for millions of low-income workers to reward work over welfare.
violence	There's still too much violence and not enough hope in too many places.
welfare, violent crime, drugs, gangs	And so tonight, let us resolve to continue the journey of renewal, to create more and better jobs, to guarantee health security for all, to reward work over welfare, to promote democracy abroad, and to begin to reclaim our streets from violent crime and drugs and gangs, to renew our own American community.
welfare	And just as we must transform our unemployment system, so must we also revolutionize our welfare system.
welfare	If we value work, we can't justify a system that makes welfare more attractive than work if people are worried about losing their health care.
welfare	I worked on it with people who were on welfare, lots of them.
welfare	They want to get off welfare.
welfare	I brought in people on welfare from all over America who had found their way to work.
welfare	What's the best thing about being off welfare and in a job?
poverty, poverty	Instead of taxing people with modest incomes into poverty, we helped them to work their way out of poverty by dramatically increasing the earned-income tax credit.
poverty, welfare	It will lift 15 million working families out of poverty, rewarding work over welfare, making it possible for people to be successful workers and successful parents.
welfare	Now that's real welfare reform.
welfare	This spring I will send you a comprehensive welfare reform bill that builds on the Family Support Act of 1988 and restores the basic values of work and responsibility.
welfare	But to all those who depend on welfare, we should offer ultimately a simple compact.
welfare	I know it will be difficult to tackle welfare reform in 1994 at the same time we tackle health care.
welfare	It is estimated that one million people are on welfare today because it's the only way they can get health care coverage for their children.
welfare, welfare	Those who choose to leave welfare for jobs without health benefits, and many entry-level jobs don't have health benefits, find themselves in the incredible position of paying taxes that help to pay for health care coverage for those who made the other choice to stay on welfare.
welfare	No wonder people leave work and go back to welfare to get health care coverage.
welfare	We've got to solve the health care problem to have real welfare reform.
drugs	Our goal is health insurance everybody can depend on: comprehensive benefits that cover preventive care and prescription drugs;
drugs	Medicare must be protected, and it should cover prescription drugs,...
violence	We must all work together to stop the violence that explodes our emergency rooms.
crime	Every day the national peace is shattered by crime.
violent crime	Violent crime and the fear it provokes are crippling our society, limiting personal freedom, and fraying the ties that bind us.
crime	The crime bill before Congress gives you a chance to do something about it, a chance to be tough and smart.

violent crimes, criminals	First, we must recognize that most violent crimes are committed by a small percentage of criminals who too often break the laws even when they are on parole.
crimes	Now those who commit crimes should be punished.
violent crime, violent crime	And those who commit repeated, violent crimes should be told, “When you commit a third violent crime, you will be put away, and put away for good.
violence, crime, police	Second, we must take serious steps to reduce violence and prevent crime, beginning with more police officers and more community policing.
police, crime, crime, criminals	We know right now that police who work the streets, know the folks, have the respect of the neighborhood kids, focus on high crime areas, we know that they are more likely to prevent crime as well as catch criminals.
crime	Look at the experience of Houston, where the crime rate dropped 17 percent in one year when that approach was taken.
crime	You will be given a chance to give the children of this country, the law-abiding working people of this country—and don’t forget, in the toughest neighborhoods in this country, in the highest crime neighborhoods in this country, the vast majority of people get up every day and obey the law, pay their taxes, do their best to raise their kids.
crime, police, police, police	You have before you crime legislation which also establishes a police corps to encourage young people to get an education and pay it off by serving as police officers; which encourages retiring military personnel to move into police forces,...
criminals	The third thing we have to do is to build on the Brady bill, the Brady law, to take further steps to keep guns out of the hands of criminals.
violence	But I want to ask the sportsmen and others who lawfully own guns to join us in this campaign to reduce gun violence.
police	There is no sporting purpose on Earth that should stop the United States Congress from banishing assault weapons that out-gun police and cut down children.
drugs, crimes	Fourth, we must remember that drugs are a factor in an enormous percentage of crimes.
drug	Recent studies indicate, sadly, that drug use is on the rise again among our young people.
crime, crime, drug, criminal, drugs, drugs	The crime bill contains—all the crime bills contain—more money for drug treatment for criminal addicts and boot camps for youthful offenders that include incentives to get off drugs and to stay off drugs.
drug, drug	Our administration’s budget, with all its cuts, contains a large increase in funding for drug treatment and drug education.
violence	My fellow Americans, the problem of violence is an American problem. It has no partisan or philosophical element.
crime	Therefore, I urge you to find ways as quickly as possible to set aside partisan differences and pass a strong, smart, tough crime bill.
violence	As you demand tougher penalties for those who choose violence, let us also remember how we came to this sad point.
violence, drugs, gangs	This has created a vast vacuum which has been filled by violence and drugs and gangs.
crime	So, I ask you to remember that even as we say “no” to crime, we must give people, especially our young people, something to say “yes” to.
welfare	Many of our initiatives, from job training to welfare reform to health care to national service, will help to rebuild distressed communities, to strengthen families, to provide work.
welfare, crime	My fellow Americans, we can cut the deficit, create jobs, promote democracy around the world, pass welfare reform and health care, pass the toughest crime bill in history,...

96-1/23 Clinton: STOU

References: 59

Coverage: 0.65%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
11	2	13	5	7	9	6	6

Word	Sentence
crime, welfare, poverty	The crime rate, the welfare and food stamp rolls, the poverty rate, and the teen pregnancy rate are all down. And as they go down, prospects for America's future go up.
welfare, welfare, welfare	I say to those who are on welfare, and especially to those who have been trapped on welfare for a long time: For too long our welfare system has undermined the values of family and work, instead of supporting them.
welfare	The Congress and I are near agreement on sweeping welfare reform.
welfare, welfare	I challenge this Congress to send me a bipartisan welfare reform bill that will really move people from welfare to work and do the right thing by our children.
welfare	I challenge people on welfare to make the most of this opportunity for independence.
welfare	challenge American businesses to give people on welfare the chance to move into the work force.
welfare	That is the only way we can make real welfare reform a reality in the lives of the American people.
violence	We must end the deadly scourge of domestic violence in our country.
poverty, welfare	Congress cut the taxes of 15 million hard-pressed working families to make sure that no parents who work full-time would have to raise their children in poverty and to encourage people to move from welfare to work.
crime, gangs, drugs	Our fourth great challenge is to take our streets back from crime and gangs and drugs.
crime, police, criminals, crime	At last we have begun to find a way to reduce crime, forming community partnerships with local police forces to catch criminals and prevent crime.
violent	Violent crime is coming down all across America.
crime	The crime bill of 1994 is critical to the success of community policing.
police	It provides funds for 100,000 new police in communities of all sizes.
crime	Let us stick with a strategy that's working and keep the crime rate coming down.
police	Community policing also requires bonds of trust between citizens and police.
police	And to our police, I say, our children need you as role models and heroes.
criminal	The Brady bill has already stopped 44,000 people with criminal records from buying guns.
violent gangs	The assault weapons ban is keeping 19 kinds of assault weapons out of the hands of violent gangs.
crime	Our next step in the fight against crime is to take on gangs the way we once took on the mob.
gangs, violent crime	I'm directing the FBI and other investigative agencies to target gangs that involve juveniles and violent crime, and to seek authority to prosecute as adults teenagers who maim and kill like adults.
criminal gang	And I challenge local housing authorities and tenant associations: Criminal gang members and drug dealers are destroying the lives of decent tenants.
crime, drugs	From now on, the rule for residents who commit crime and pedal drugs should be one strike and you're out.
violent criminals	I challenge every state to match federal policy to assure that serious violent criminals serve at least 85 percent of their sentence.
police	More police and punishment are important, but they're not enough.

crime	And I challenge Congress not to abandon the crime bill's support of these grassroots prevention efforts.
crime, violence, drug	Finally, to reduce crime and violence we have to reduce the drug problem.
drug	I challenge Congress not to cut our support for drug-free schools.
drugs	Meanwhile, we continue our efforts to cut the flow of drugs into America.
drug	I am nominating him, a hero of the Persian Gulf War and the Commander in Chief of the United States Military Southern Command, General Barry McCaffrey, as America's new drug czar.
drugs	I ask that he lead our nation's battle against drugs at home and abroad.
crime, drug	Think of them: terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, drug trafficking, ethnic and religious hatred, aggression by rogue states, environmental degradation.
violence	We stood with those taking risks for peace: in Northern Ireland, where Catholic and Protestant children now tell their parents, violence must never return;...
criminals	We can intensify the fight against terrorists and organized criminals at home and abroad if Congress passes the antiterrorism legislation I proposed after the Oklahoma City bombing, now.
gangs	A Vietnam veteran, he has created groups to help inner-city children turn away from gangs and build futures they can believe in.
police	Sergeant Jennifer Rodgers is a police officer in Oklahoma City.

97-1/11 Clinton: Weekly Address

References: 48

Coverage: 3.00%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	15	4	9	3	11	6

Word	Sentence
crime, violence, crime	I want to talk about how to build upon the progress we've made together in working against crime and violence, and especially how we can fight against youth crime.
crime, violence, crime	Four years ago it seemed to many Americans as if the forces of crime and violence had gained an intractable hold over our country, and law-abiding Americans were afraid that from now on they would just have to put up with the insecurity and loss that goes with rampant crime.
crime, police, criminals, crime, gangs, drugs	We had a comprehensive plan to fight crime, to put 100,000 new community police officers on the street and tough new penalties on the books, to keep guns away from criminals by passing the Brady bill and banning assault weapons, to steer young people away from crime, gangs, and drugs in the first place.
crime	This week the FBI reported that serious crime dropped another 3 percent last year, dropping for the 5th year in a row, the longest decline in more than 25 years.
crime	Now that we've finally turned the crime on the run, we have to redouble our efforts.
violence	We have to drive the forces of violence further and further into retreat.
crime, gangs	And as we move forward, we have to remember that we're not just fighting against crime; we're fighting for the kind of nation we want to build together for the 21st century, for an America where people feel safe when they walk around the block at night and untroubled when they kiss their children goodbye in the morning, an America where nobody's grandmother lives across the street from a crack house and nobody's child walks to school through a neighborhood overrun by gangs.
crime, gangs	As I begin my second term as President, the next stage in our fight must center on keeping our children safe and attacking the scourge of juvenile crime and gangs.
police, criminals	I want every police officer, prosecutor, and citizen in America working together to keep our young people safe and young criminals off the streets.

police	And we must finish the job of putting 100,000 police on our streets.
violent crimes	At the same time, young people must understand that if they break the law, they will be punished, and if they commit violent crimes, they will be punished severely.
criminal gangs	I am determined to break the backs of criminal gangs that have ruined too many lives and stolen too many futures by bringing the full force of the law against them.
gang, criminal	One of the most difficult problems facing law enforcement in this fight is the power of gang members to thwart the criminal justice system by threatening and intimidating the witnesses against them.
gang crimes, violent	Too many people in too many communities will not testify about gang crimes because they are afraid of violent reprisal.
violent, gangs	We must not allow the voice of justice to be frightened into silence by the violent threats of gangs.
gang, drug	Today the Justice Department is releasing a report called "Preventing Gang and Drug-Related Witness Intimidation."
gang	It details the problems they face and helps to provide a blueprint for them to follow that will significantly help State and local gang investigation and prosecution.
police	Starting today, the Justice Department will distribute this report to thousands of police departments, prosecutors, and judges across America.
violence, drug	In the coming weeks, I will submit to Congress comprehensive legislation to combat youth violence and drug abuse.
violence, crime	Together with all our other efforts against youth violence, this will be the top crime fighting priority of my second term.
gangs	I've asked the Attorney General to closely examine the growing threat of witness intimidation by gangs and to recommend strong measures to stop it that can be included in this legislation.
gangs	We must not allow the very gangs we're fighting to grind the wheels of justice to a halt.
crime, violence	Over the past 4 years we've shown that we can roll back crime and violence.
police, crime	But if we continue to work together, to stand up for what is right, to work with our community police officers, to take responsibility for ourselves and our families and the other children in our communities who need a guiding hand and an encouraging word, if we'll do all these things, we can keep the crime rate coming down and we can build the future our children deserve.

00-1/27 Clinton: STOU

References: 40

Coverage: 0.40%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
4	11	7	3	3	9	0	3

Word	Sentence
poverty	We begin the new century with over 20 million new jobs; the fastest economic growth in more than 30 years; the lowest unemployment rates in 30 years; the lowest poverty rates in 20 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rates on record;
crime, poverty	And our economic revolution has been matched by a revival of the American spirit: crime down by 20 percent, to its lowest level in 25 years; teen births down seven years in a row; adoptions up by 30 percent; welfare rolls cut in half,...
crime, police, criminals	We cut crime with 100,000 community police and the Brady law, which has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals.
welfare	We ended welfare as we knew it,...

poverty	Every family will be able to succeed at home and at work, and no child will be raised in poverty.
poverty	That means making sure every family has health care and the support to care for aging parents, the tools to bring their children up right, and that no child grows up in poverty.
drugs	And at long last, it also provides funds to give every senior a voluntary choice of affordable coverage for prescription drugs.
drugs	Lifesaving drugs are an indispensable part of modern medicine.
drugs	No one creating a Medicare program today would even think of excluding coverage for prescription drugs.
drug, drugs, drugs	Yet more than three in five of our seniors now lack dependable drug coverage which can lengthen and enrich their lives. Millions of older Americans, who need prescription drugs the most, pay the highest prices for them.
drugs	In good conscience, we cannot let another year pass without extending to all our seniors this lifeline of affordable prescription drugs.
poverty	In 1998 alone, the EITC helped more than 4.3 million Americans work their way out of poverty toward the middle class.
poverty	These are working families; their children should not be in poverty.
welfare	My child-care initiative before you now, along with funds already secured in welfare reform, would make child-care better, safer, and more affordable for another 400,000 children.
poverty	These children are five times more likely to live in poverty than children with both parents at home.
poverty	Clearly, demanding and supporting responsible fatherhood is critical to lifting all our children out of poverty.
poverty	If we take the steps just discussed, we can go a long, long way toward empowering parents to succeed at home and at work and ensuring that no child is raised in poverty.
crime, police	Crime in America has dropped for the past seven years—that's the longest decline on record— thanks to a national consensus we helped to forge on community police, sensible gun safety laws, and effective prevention.
police, crime	Last fall, Congress supported my plan to hire, in addition to the 100,000 community police we've already funded, 50,000 more, concentrated in high-crime neighborhoods.
crime	Federal gun crime prosecutions are up 16 percent since I took office.
crime	And we must give them the enforcement tools that they need, tools to trace every gun and every bullet used in every gun crime in the United States.
violence	You know, every parent I know worries about the impact of violence in the media on their children.
poverty	I also ask you to make special efforts to address the areas of our Nation with the highest rates of poverty, our Native American reservations and the Mississippi Delta.
poverty	But others must recognize that open markets and rule-based trade are the best engines we know of for raising living standards, reducing global poverty and environmental destruction, and assuring the free flow of ideas.
criminals	We must meet this threat by making effective agreements to restrain nuclear and missile programs in North Korea, curbing the flow of lethal technology to Iran, preventing Iraq from threatening its neighbors, increasing our preparedness against chemical and biological attack, protecting our vital computer systems from hackers and criminals,...
criminals	I predict to you, when most of us are long gone but some time in the next 10 to 20 years, the major security threat this country will face will come from the enemies of

	the nation-state, the narco-traffickers and the terrorists and the organized criminals who will be organized together, working together,...
drug	I also want you to know I'm going to send you new legislation to go after what these drug barons value the most, their money.
	our fellow citizens from welfare to work; partnerships to battle drug abuse, AIDS, teach young people to read, save America's treasures, strengthen the arts, fight teen pregnancy, prevent violence among young people, promote racial healing. The American people are working together.
poverty, drug	First, we should help faith-based organizations to do more to fight poverty and drug abuse and help people get back on the right track, with initiatives like Second Chance Homes that do so much to help unwed teen mothers.
crimes	I ask you to draw that line by passing without delay the "Hate Crimes Prevention Act" and the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act."
violence	And I ask you to reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act.

95-1/24 Clinton: Clinton

References: 39

Coverage: 0.39%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
18	1	12	1	1	1	0	5

Word	Sentence
police	And here we have worked to bring the deficit down, to expand trade, to put more police on our streets,...
welfare	Nothing has done more to undermine our sense of common responsibility than our failed welfare system.
welfare	It rewards welfare over work. It undermines family values.
welfare	It keeps a minority but a significant minority of the people on welfare trapped on it for a very long time.
welfare	As a Governor, I had the honor of working with the Reagan administration to write the last welfare reform bill back in 1988.
welfare	In the last two years, we made a good start at continuing the work of welfare reform.
welfare, welfare	Our administration gave two dozen states the right to slash through federal rules and regulations to reform their own welfare systems and to try to promote work and responsibility over welfare and dependency.
welfare	Last year I introduced the most sweeping welfare reform plan ever presented by an administration.
welfare	We have to make welfare what it was meant to be, a second chance, not a way of life.
welfare	We have to help those on welfare move to work as quickly as possible, to provide child-care and teach them skills, if that's what they need, for up to two years
welfare	I want to work with you, with all of you, to pass welfare reform.
welfare	But our goal must be to liberate people and lift them up from dependence to independence, from welfare to work, from mere childbearing to responsible parenting.
welfare	So, let this be the year we end welfare as we know it.
welfare, welfare, welfare	No one is more eager to end welfare—[applause]—I may be the only President who has actually had the opportunity to sit in a welfare office, who's actually spent hours and hours talking to people on welfare.
poverty	I just don't want to punish poverty and past mistakes.
welfare	America's best example of that may be Lynn Woolsey, who worked her way off welfare to become a Congresswoman from the State of California.

crime	I know the members of this Congress are concerned about crime, as are all the citizens of our country.
crime, police	And I remind you that last year we passed a very tough crime bill: longer sentences, “three strikes and you’re out,” almost 60 new capital punishment offenses, more prisons, more prevention, 100,000 more police.
crime	And we paid for it all by reducing the size of the federal bureaucracy and giving the money back to local communities to lower the crime rate.
crime, crime	There may be other things we can do to be tougher on crime, to be smarter with crime, to help to lower that rate first.
crime	because local community leaders who have worked for years and years to lower the crime rate tell us that they work.
crime	Let’s look at the experience of our cities and our rural areas where the crime rate has gone down and ask the people who did it how they did it.
crime	And if what we did last year supports the decline in the crime rate—and I am convinced that it does—let us not go back on it.
crime	The last Congress also passed the Brady bill and, in the crime bill, the ban on 19 assault weapons.
police	But a lot of people laid down their seats in Congress so that police officers and kids wouldn’t have to lay down their lives under a hail of assault weapon attack, and I will not let that be repealed.
criminal, welfare	That’s why our administration has moved aggressively to secure our borders more by hiring a record number of new border guards, by deporting twice as many criminal aliens as ever before, by cracking down on illegal hiring, by barring welfare benefits to illegal aliens.
crimes	In the budget I will present to you, we will try to do more to speed the deportation of illegal aliens who are arrested for crimes, to better identify illegal aliens in the workplace as recommended by the commission headed by former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan.
violence	But you do have a responsibility to assess the impact of your work and to understand the damage that comes from the incessant, repetitive, mindless violence and irresponsible conduct that permeates our media all the time.
police	Chief Stephen Bishop is the police chief of Kansas City.
police	He’s been a national leader in using more police in community policing, and he’s worked with AmeriCorps to do it.
police	And the crime rate in Kansas City has gone down as a result of what he did.
crime, drug	I learned they were building a new sanctuary closer to the Washington, DC, line in a higher crime, higher drug rate area because they thought it was part of their ministry to change the lives of the people who needed them.

95-8/19 Clinton: Weekly Address

References: 35

Coverage: 2.33%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
1	0	15	9	6	1	1	2

Word	Sentence
violent crime	I want to talk about our progress in reducing the violent crime that has shattered the lives of too many Americans for too long.
crime	Just a year ago this week, we ended 6 years of partisan stalemate in Washington by pushing a tough, sweeping crime bill through the Congress.
criminals	Narrow interest groups on the left and the right didn’t want the bill to pass, and you can be sure the criminals didn’t, either.

crime, criminals	But every major law enforcement organization in America fought hard for the crime bill, and so did I, because it puts Government firmly on the side of the people who abide by the law, not the criminals who break it.
crime	Already the crime bill is making a difference.
police	So far, we have awarded community policing grants to put 24,000 new police officers on the street.
criminals	The assault weapons ban and the Brady bill have stopped thousands of criminals from getting their hands on deadly weapons.
police, drugs, gangs	Although it's far too early to declare victory, aggressive efforts like these and aggressive efforts by local police departments to expand community policing and crack down on drugs and gangs have helped to reduce the murder rate this year in Chicago, New York, New Orleans, and several other major cities.
crime	In fact, the crime rate is down overall in almost every area in America.
crime, violent criminals	The crime bill has also given prosecutors tough new penalties to use against violent criminals.
crimes	The death penalty can now be imposed for nearly 60 Federal crimes, such as killing a law enforcement officer and using weapons of mass destruction resulting in death.
violent, criminal, crime, violent crime	And just this week, a violent career criminal in Iowa named Thomas Farmer was sentenced to life imprisonment because the crime bill says to repeat offenders, when you commit a third violent crime you'll be put away and put away for good, "three strikes and you're out."
criminal	Until this week, Thomas Farmer had been a textbook case of what's wrong with our criminal justice system.
violent crime	He committed one violent crime after another and each time was paroled long before his sentence was up.
crime	And last fall he went on a crime spree, robbing two supermarkets and threatening to kill an employee who was taking too long to open the store safe.
criminals	No wonder law-abiding Americans are fed up with a system that lets too many career criminals get out of jail free.
violent crime	Thomas Farmer has made a life of violent crime; now he will pay for the rest of his life behind bars where he belongs.
criminals	Thomas Farmer was the very first career criminal we put away under the "three strikes and you're out."
welfare	...put aside demands for ideological purity and give the American people the reforms they want, the reforms they need, the reforms they need in welfare,...
crime, criminal	Because of the crime bill passed a year ago, the people of Iowa are safer today, and a career criminal who haunted them for decades is off the streets for good.
crimes, crime	I'll keep doing everything in my power to ensure that those who commit crimes are caught, those who are caught are convicted, those who are convicted are punished, and those who have made a life of crime spend the rest of their lives behind bars.

96-6/22 Clinton: Weekly Address

References: 34

Coverage: 2.29%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	18	1	6	2	1	6

Word	Sentence
crime, violence	Since I took office we've worked hard to combat the crime and violence that has become all too familiar to too many Americans.
crime	We passed a sweeping crime bill in 1994, against steep opposition from partisan politicians and special interest group pressure.

police	We're now putting 100,000 new police officers on America's streets in community policing.
violence, violence	e banned 19 deadly assault weapons, passed the Violence Against Women Act to help our communities resist domestic violence.
crime, drugs, gangs	We're helping our communities give children something to say yes to, positive programs and good role models to help them stay away from crime and drugs and gangs.
crime, violence	In city after city and town after town, crime and violence are finally coming down.
crime	Crime is coming down this year overall in America for the 4th year in a row.
crime, drugs	And as we move forward, we have to remember we're not just fighting against crime, we're fighting for something: for peace of mind, for the freedom to walk around the block at night and feel safe, for the security of neighborhoods that aren't plagued by drugs, where you can leave your doors unlocked and not worry about your children playing in the yard.
crime	We have taken decisive steps to help families protect their children, especially from sex offenders, people who, according to study after study, are likely to commit their crimes again and again.
crime, violent	That's why, in the crime bill, we required every State in the country to compile a registry of sex offenders and gave States the power to notify communities about child sex offenders and violent sex offenders that move into their neighborhoods.
crimes	Megan's Law, named after a 7-year-old girl taken so wrongly at the beginning of her life, will help to prevent more of these terrible crimes.
police	Today I'm directing the Attorney General to report back in 60 days with a plan to guarantee our police officers this information right away.
police, crimes	We must make sure police officers in every State can get the information they need from any State to track sex offenders down and bring them to justice when they commit new crimes.
police, crimes	The police officer in Cleveland should be able to get information on all known sex offenders in Cleveland, whether they committed their crimes in New York or Los Angeles.
crimes	Every bit of information we have about the people who commit these crimes should be available to law enforcement wherever and whenever they need it.
crime	The crime bill laid the foundation for this national registry by requiring States to track sexual offenders within their borders.
police, crimes, criminals	Police officers will be able to prevent more crimes and catch more criminals if they can share and compare the latest information we have.
crime	We'll never be able to eliminate crime completely.
crime	But as long as crime is so commonplace that we don't even look up when horror after horror leads the evening news, we know we've got a long way to go.
crime	Yes, the crime rate is coming down for 4 years in a row.
police, violence	And, yes, our strategies of 100,000 police, the Brady law, the assault weapons ban, the domestic violence law, the youth prevention programs, these things are helping.
crime	But I won't be satisfied until America is once again a place where people who see a report of a serious crime are shocked, not numb to it.

2016 Trump: Nomination

References: 31

Coverage: 0.50%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	4	7	2	11	1	1	5

Word	Sentence
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police	The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life.
violence	Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities.
violence	Many have witnessed this violence personally, some have even been its victims.
crime, violence	I have a message for all of you: the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end.
crime, criminal	Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this Administration's rollback of criminal enforcement.
police	The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50% compared to this point last year.
criminal	Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens.
poverty	Nearly Four in 10 African-American children are living in poverty, while 58% of African American youth are not employed.
poverty	2 million more Latinos are in poverty today than when the President took his oath of office less than eight years ago.
violence	Iraq was seeing a reduction in violence.
poverty, violence	The problems we face now – poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad – will last only as long as we continue relying on the same politicians who created them.
crime	And when a Secretary of State illegally stores her emails on a private server, deletes 33,000 of them so the authorities can't see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in every different form and faces no consequence – I know that corruption has reached a level like never before.
crimes	They were just used to save her from facing justice for her terrible crimes.
crime	In fact, her single greatest accomplishment may be committing such an egregious crime and getting away with it – especially when others have paid so dearly.
crime	The first task for our new Administration will be to liberate our citizens from the crime and terrorism and lawlessness that threatens their communities.
police	America was shocked to its core when our police officers in Dallas were brutally executed.
violence	In the days after Dallas, we have seen continued threats and violence against our law enforcement officials.
police	On Sunday, more police were gunned down in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Three were killed, and four were badly injured.
police	I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: when I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order our country.
crime	It's failed them on education. It's failed them on jobs. It's failed them on crime.
violence	As your President, I will do everything in my power to protect our LGBT citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology.
violence	Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not welcome in our country and never will be.
violence	Of all my travels in this country, nothing has affected me more deeply than the time I have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children to violence spilling across our border.
gangs, violence, drugs	We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities.
violence	By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will stop the cycle of human smuggling and violence.

poverty	Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from poverty.
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18-1/18 Trump: Speech Type

References: 29

Coverage: 0.35%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
1	1	2	4	1	10	5	5

Word	Sentence
police, police	We are incredibly grateful for the heroic efforts of the Capitol Police Officers, the Alexandria Police, ...
police	And we celebrate our police, our military, and our amazing veterans as heroes who deserve our total and unwavering support.
drugs, drugs	To speed access to breakthrough cures and affordable generic drugs, last year the FDA approved more new and generic drugs and medical devices than ever before in our history.
drugs	One of my greatest priorities is to reduce the price of prescription drugs.
drugs	In many other countries, these drugs cost far less than what we pay in the United States.
drug	That is why I have directed my Administration to make fixing the injustice of high drug prices one of our top priorities.
welfare, poverty	We can lift our citizens from welfare to work, from dependence to independence, and from poverty to prosperity.
drugs, gangs	For decades, open borders have allowed drugs and gangs to pour into our most vulnerable communities.
gang, gang	Six members of the savage gang MS13 have been charged with Kayla and Nisa's murders.
criminals	Many of these gang members took advantage of glaring loopholes in our laws to enter the country as unaccompanied alien minors—and wound up in Kayla and Nisa's high school.
criminals	Tonight, I am calling on the Congress to finally close the deadly loopholes that have allowed MS-13, and other criminals, to break into our country.
gang violence, criminals	he goes by CJ. CJ served 15 years in the Air Force before becoming an ICE agent and spending the last 15 years fighting gang violence and getting dangerous criminals off our streets.
gang	Last May, he commanded an operation to track down gang members on Long Island.
criminals	Crucially, our plan closes the terrible loopholes exploited by criminals and terrorists to enter our country—and it finally ends the dangerous practice of “catch and release.”
drug	These reforms will also support our response to the terrible crisis of opioid and drug addiction.
drug	In 2016, we lost 64,000 Americans to drug overdoses: 174 deaths per day.
drug	We must get much tougher on drug dealers and pushers if we are going to succeed in stopping this scourge.
police	My Administration is committed to fighting the drug epidemic and helping get treatment for those in need.
criminals	Ryan Holets is 27 years old, and an officer with the Albuquerque Police Department.
crimes	Terrorists are not merely criminals.
crimes	When the people of Iran rose up against the crimes of their corrupt dictatorship, I did not stay silent.

police	At its conclusion, this wonderful young man was arrested and charged with crimes against the state.
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20-2/04 Trump: STOU

References: 29

Coverage: 0.32%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
1	3	1	10	2	10	0	2

Word	Sentence
poverty, crime	Jobs are booming, incomes are soaring, poverty is plummeting, crime is falling, confidence is surging, and our country is thriving and highly respected again.
poverty	African American poverty has declined to the lowest rate ever recorded. (Applause.)
welfare	Under my administration, 7 million Americans have come off food stamps, and 10 million people have been lifted off of welfare. (Applause.)
drug	After struggling with drug addiction, Tony lost his job, his house, and his family.
drug	He is now a top tradesman, drug-free, reunited with his family, and he is here tonight. Tony, keep up the great work.
criminal	This second chance at life is made possible because we passed landmark criminal justice reform into law.
criminal	Everybody said that criminal justice reform couldn't be done, but I got it done, and the people in this room got it done. (Applause.)
drug	For this reason, our magnificent First Lady has launched the BE BEST initiative to advance a safe, healthy, supportive, and drug-free life for the next generation—online, in school, and in our communities.
drugs	We have approved a record number of affordable generic drugs, and medicines are being approved by the FDA at a faster clip than ever before.
drugs	And I was pleased to announce last year that, for the first time in 51 years, the cost of prescription drugs actually went down.
drug	And working together, Congress can reduce drug prices substantially from current levels.
drug	I've been speaking to Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa and others in Congress in order to get something on drug pricing done, and done quickly and properly.
drug	I'm calling for bipartisan legislation that achieves the goal of dramatically lowering prescription drug prices.
drug	Drug overdose deaths declined for the first time in nearly 30 years.
criminal, violent	Last year, our brave ICE officers arrested more than 120,000 criminal aliens charged with nearly 10,000 burglaries, 5,000 sexual assaults, 45,000 violent assaults, and 2,000 murders.
criminal	Tragically, there are many cities in America where radical politicians have chosen to provide sanctuary for these criminal illegal aliens.
police, criminal	In sanctuary cities, local officials order police to release dangerous criminal aliens to prey upon the public, instead of handing them over to ICE to be safely removed.
criminal	Just 29 days ago, a criminal alien freed by the sanctuary city of New York was charged with the brutal rape and murder of a 92-year-old woman.
criminal	The state of California passed an outrageous law declaring their whole state to be a sanctuary for criminal illegal immigrants—a very terrible sanctuary—with catastrophic results.
police	In December 2018, California police detained an illegal alien with five prior arrests, including convictions for robbery and assault.
criminal, violence	Days later, the criminal alien went on a gruesome spree of deadly violence.

criminal	Rocky was at a gas station when this vile criminal fired eight bullets at him from close range, murdering him in cold blood.
criminal	The United States of America should be a sanctuary for lawabiding Americans, not criminal aliens.
drug	And as the wall rapidly goes up, drug seizures rise, and the border crossings are down, and going down very rapidly.
poverty	Our ancestors braved the unknown; tamed the wilderness; settled the Wild West; lifted millions from poverty, disease, and hunger; vanquished tyranny and fascism; ushered the world to new heights of science and medicine; laid down the railroads, dug out the canals, raised up the skyscrapers.

97-2/04 Clinton: STOU

References: 29

Coverage: 0.31%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
15	0	3	1	2	6	1	1

Word	Sentence
crime, welfare	With crime and welfare rolls declining, we are winning back our optimism, the enduring faith that we can master any difficulty.
welfare	First, we must move quickly to complete the unfinished business of our country, to balance the budget, renew our democracy, and finish the job of welfare reform.
welfare	Over the last four years, we moved a record two million people off the welfare rolls.
welfare, welfare	Then last year, Congress enacted landmark welfare reform legislation, demanding that all able-bodied recipients assume the responsibility of moving from welfare to work.
welfare	Now we must act to meet a new goal: two million more people off the welfare rolls by the year 2000.
welfare, welfare	Here is my plan: Tax credits and other incentives for businesses that hire people off welfare; incentives for job placement firms and states to create more jobs for welfare recipients; training, transportation, and child care to help people go to work.
welfare	Now I challenge every state: Turn those welfare checks into private sector paychecks.
welfare	I challenge every religious congregation, every community nonprofit, every business to hire someone off welfare.
welfare	And I'd like to say especially to every employer in our country who ever criticized the old welfare system, you can't blame that old system anymore.
welfare	Give someone on welfare the chance to go to work.
welfare	Tonight I am pleased to announce that five major corporations, Sprint, Monsanto, UPS, Burger King, and United Airlines, will be the first to join in a new national effort to marshal America's businesses, large and small, to create jobs so that people can move from welfare to work.
welfare	We passed welfare reform.
drugs	And we must continue to promote order and discipline, supporting communities that introduce school uniforms, impose curfews, enforce truancy laws, remove disruptive students from the classroom, and have zero tolerance for guns and drugs in school.
crime	Serious crime has dropped five years in a row.
police	We must finish the job of putting 100,000 community police on the streets of the United States.
crime, gangs, violent, criminals	And I ask you to mount a full-scale assault on juvenile crime, with legislation that declares war on gangs, with new prosecutors and tougher penalties; extends the Brady bill so violent teen criminals will not be able to buy handguns;

drugs, drugs, drugs, drugs	his balanced budget includes the largest antidrug effort ever, to stop drugs at their source, punish those who push them, and teach our young people that drugs are wrong, drugs are illegal, and drugs will kill them.
drug	We are working with other nations with renewed intensity to fight drug traffickers and to stop terrorists before they act and hold them fully accountable if they do.
welfare	This was his warning; he said, "If we falter, we may endanger the peace of the world, and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation."
violence	We still see evidence of abiding bigotry and intolerance in ugly words and awful violence, in burned churches and bombed buildings.

99-1/19 Clinton: STOU

References: 29

Coverage: 0.29%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
4	2	8	0	5	7	0	3

Word	Sentence
police	... Lyn Gibson and Wenling Chestnut are the widows of the two brave Capitol Hill police officers who gave their lives to defend freedom's house.
welfare	Tonight, I stand before you to report that America has created the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history with nearly 18 million new jobs, wages rising at more than twice the rate of inflation, the highest homeownership in history, the smallest welfare rolls in 30 years, and the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957.
violent crime	Thanks to the pioneering leadership of all of you, we have the lowest violent crime rate in a quarter century and the cleanest environment in a quarter century.
poverty	Even today, without Social Security, half our nation's elderly would be forced into poverty.
poverty	We should reduce poverty among elderly women, who are nearly twice as likely to be poor as our other seniors.
drugs	If we work together, we can secure Medicare for the next two decades and cover the greatest growing need of seniors, affordable prescription drugs.
welfare	In the past six years, we have cut the welfare rolls nearly in half.
welfare	Two years ago, from this podium, I asked five companies to lead a national effort to hire people off welfare.
welfare	Tonight, our Welfare to Work Partnership includes 10,000 companies who have hired hundreds of thousands of people.
violence	Last spring, with some of you, I traveled to Africa, where I saw democracy and reform rising but still held back by violence and disease.
drugs	We must continue to deepen our ties to the Americas and the Caribbean, our common work to educate children, fight drugs, strengthen democracy and increase trade.
police	This year, we will reach our goal of 100,000 community police officers ahead of schedule and under budget.
crime	And now, the murder rate is the lowest in 30 years and the crime rate has dropped for six straight years.
crime	Tonight, I propose a 21st century crime bill to deploy the latest technologies and tactics to make our communities even safer.
police, crime, crime	Our balanced budget will help put up to 50,000 more police on the street in the areas hardest hit by crime and then to equip them with new tools, from crime-mapping computers to digital mug shots.
crime	We must break the deadly cycle of drugs and crime.

drug, drugs, drugs	Our budget expands support for drug testing and treatment, saying to prisoners: If you stay on drugs, you have to stay behind bars; and to those on parole: If you want to keep your freedom, you must stay free of drugs.
violent crimes	I ask Congress to restore the five-day waiting period for buying a handgun and extend the Brady bill to prevent juveniles who commit violent crimes from buying a gun.
violence, drugs	In memory of all the children who lost their lives to school violence, I ask you to strengthen the Safe and Drug-Free School Act, ...
violence	Discrimination or violence because of race or religion, ancestry or gender, disability or sexual orientation, is wrong, and it ought to be illegal.
crimes	Therefore, I ask Congress to make the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act" and the "Hate Crimes Prevention Act" the law of the land.

97-7/19 Clinton: Weekly Address

References: 28

Coverage: 1.83%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	9	2	6	0	2	9

Word	Sentence
violent	Today I want to talk about the important progress we're making in our efforts to get guns out of the hands of violent juveniles.
police	Our administration has put in place a tough, smart anticrime strategy, relying on more community police, stricter punishment, and better afterschool prevention efforts.
crime	For 5 years in a row, we've seen serious crime drop nationwide.
violent crime	Last year, we saw the largest one-year decline in violent crime and murder in 35 years.
crime	Our most recent figures even show a slight decline in juvenile crime.
crime violence	But we all know that juvenile crime and violence are still significant problems in our country.
violence	We know that too many of our young people are drawn to guns and violence as a way of life.
police	In Boston, thanks to a comprehensive effort by prosecutors, police, probation officers, community leaders, and ordinary citizens, not a single juvenile murder has been committed with a gun in 2 full years.
police	Boston police commissioner Paul Evans should be commended for his leadership role in this outstanding effort, ...
criminals	I looked at Boston's approach, and it was clear that tracing guns seized from young criminals was a key to the city's success.
crimes	So I directed the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to launch a national initiative in 17 cities to replicate Boston's effort and trace all the guns used in crimes.
police and crimes	Police departments in these 17 cities submitted for tracing nearly twice as many guns used in crimes as they did the year before.
crimes	We found that almost half of all guns used in crimes came from young people.
police	In Milwaukee, thanks to our youth gun-tracing initiative, police officers were able to find a pattern.
police	Police investigators quickly discovered that Shikes was selling brand new semiautomatic weapons from the trunk of his car.
police	Police swept in and arrested him in April.
police	We will work with Congress to hire more ATF agents to work with local police officers and prosecutors to pursue traffickers based on the leads we're generating now every day.

gangs	We also have a chance to build on our progress by passing a smart, tough juvenile justice bill that cracks down on guns and gangs.
gang	We need to provide for more prosecutors, tougher penalties, and better afterschool gang prevention programs.
violent	And we should prohibit violent teenagers from buying guns once they become adults.
crime	I was disappointed that a Senate committee considering a juvenile crime bill voted against requiring Federal firearms dealers to provide child safety locks.
crime	A juvenile crime bill must be comprehensive.
violent	Of course, it must get tough on violent juvenile offenders, but it also must cut off their access to guns.
police	...the overwhelming majority of police departments are continuing to do the responsible thing, to perform these background checks voluntarily because they work.
criminals	Now that we're making every effort to keep criminals from getting guns through the front door of a gun shop, we're turning our attention to locking the back door, too.

98-1/27 Clinton: STOU

References: 28

Coverage: 0.29%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
12	0	5	2	2	4	1	3

Word	Sentence
crime, welfare	Crime has dropped for a record five years in a row, and the welfare rolls are at their lowest levels in 27 years.
welfare	A society rooted in responsibility must first promote the value of work, not welfare.
welfare	We can be proud that after decades of finger-pointing and failure, together we ended the old welfare system.
welfare	And we're now replacing welfare checks with paychecks.
welfare, welfare	Last year, after a record four-year decline in welfare rolls, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off welfare by the year 2000.
welfare	For 13 years, Elaine Kinslow of Indianapolis, Indiana, was on and off welfare.
welfare	She's saved enough money to move her family into a good neighborhood, and she's helping other welfare recipients go to work.
welfare	Elaine Kinslow and all those like her are the real heroes of the welfare revolution.
welfare, welfare	We still have a lot more to do, all of us, to make welfare reform a success—providing child-care, helping families move closer to available jobs, challenging more companies to join our welfare-to-work partnership, increasing child support collections from deadbeat parents who have a duty to support their own children.
police	We pursued a strategy of more police, tougher punishment, smarter prevention, with crimefighting partnerships with local law enforcement and citizen groups, where the rubber hits the road.
violent crime	Violent crime is down; robbery is down; assault is down; burglary is down—for five years in a row, all across America.
police	We need to finish the job of putting 100,000 more police on our streets.
crime, gangs, drugs, violent	Again, I ask Congress to pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers, to crack down on gangs and guns and drugs, and bar violent juveniles from buying guns for life.
crime	I think every American should know that most juvenile crime is committed between the hours of 3 in the afternoon and 8 at night.
drug	Drug use is on the decline.

drugs	Now I ask you to join me in a groundbreaking effort to hire 1,000 new Border Patrol agents and to deploy the most sophisticated available new technologies to help close the door on drugs at our borders.
police	Police, prosecutors, and prevention programs, as good as they are, they can't work if our court system doesn't work.
criminals, drug	We must combat an unholy axis of new threats from terrorists, international criminals, and drug traffickers.
criminals	Together, we must confront the new hazards of chemical and biological weapons and the outlaw states, terrorists, and organized criminals seeking to acquire them.
crime	When we open the doors of college to all Americans, when we rid all our streets of crime, when there are jobs available to people from all our neighborhoods, when we make sure all parents have the child care they need, we're helping to build one nation.

98-2/14 Clinton: Weekly Address

References: 26

Coverage: 2.18%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	4	0	0	21	0	1

Word	Sentence
drugs	Nothing weakens our families and the fabric of our Nation more than the use, abuse, and sale of drugs.
drugs	Today I want to talk about what we all must do to protect our children and keep our communities safe from drugs.
drugs	Let's begin by recognizing that the fight against drugs must be waged and won at kitchen tables all across America.
drugs, drugs, drugs	Even the world's most thorough antidrug strategy won't ever do the job unless all of us pass on the same clear and simple message to our children: Drugs are wrong; drugs are dangerous; and drugs can kill you.
drugs, drugs	We're finding that more and more of our young people are saying no to drugs, and we can all take great pride in the fact that the number of Americans who use drugs has fallen by one-half since 1979.
drug	We can and must cut drug use in America by another 50 percent.
drug	This plan builds on our strategy of tougher punishment, better prevention, and more partnerships to shut down the international drug trade.
drugs	It proves that we can balance the budget and win our fight against drugs.
drugs	First, we must keep our children from ever trying drugs in the first place.
drugs	Our national youth antidrug media campaign will ensure that every time our children turn on the TV, listen to the radio, or surf the Internet they'll get the powerful message that drugs destroy lives.
drugs	Because most young people get in trouble after school and before their parents get home, we'll expand afterschool programs dramatically to help keep our children off the streets, away from drugs, and out of trouble.
drugs	Second, we'll hire 1,000 more Border Patrol agents, work closely with neighboring countries, and use the latest technologies to keep more drugs from coming into America in the first place.
police	Third, we will strengthen law enforcement by finishing the job of putting 100,000 more community police on our streets, hiring 100 more DEA agents to crack down on methamphetamines, and launching a new effort against heroin.
drugs, crime	And finally, we will stop the revolving door between drugs and crime by expanding testing and treatment of prisoners and parolees.

crime	Our prisons simply must not be allowed to become finishing schools for a life of crime.
drug, drugs	Federal inmates who received drug treatment were 73 percent less likely to be re-arrested and 44 percent less likely to test positive for drugs in the first 6 months after their release than those who did not receive treatment.
drugs, crime	Not too long ago, there were some who said our fight against drugs and crime was hopelessly lost.
crime, drugs	Well, crime has fallen every year for the last 5 years, and now the tide is turning against drugs.
drug	I am confident that we can build a stronger drug-free America for the 21st century.

93-10/23 Clinton: Weekly Address

References: 25

Coverage: 1.14%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	8	1	5	8	0	3

Word	Sentence
crime, violence	This explosion of crime and violence is changing the way our people live, making too many of us hesitant, often paralyzed with fear at a time when we need to be bold.
violence, drugs	Nothing we aspire to in our Nation can finally be achieved unless first we do something about children who are no longer capable of distinguishing right from wrong, about people who are strangely unaffected by the violence they do to others, about the easy availability of handguns or assault weapons that are made solely for the purpose of killing or maiming others, about the mindless temptations of easy drugs.
police	We need more police, fewer guns, and different alternatives for people who get in trouble.
police	We want more police officers on the street, at least 50,000 more.
criminals, crime	And we want them working in community policing networks so that they'll know their neighbors and they'll work with people not simply to catch criminals but to prevent crime in the first place.
drugs, crime	We want to put more power in the hands of local communities and give them options so that first-time offenders can be sent to boot camps and to other programs that we know work to rehabilitate people who use drugs and to give our children a way out of a life of crime and jail.
drug	We also are re-charting the way we fight the drug problem.
drug, drug, crime, violence, violence, drug	Under the leadership of Dr. Lee Brown, our father of community policing in this country and now the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, we are increasing our focus on the hardcore user, those who make up the worst part of the drug problem, who fuel crime and violence, who are helping a whole new generation of children to grow up in chaos, who are driving up our health care costs because of the violence and the drug use.
crime	Our program will reach out to young people who can be saved from living a life of crime and being a burden on society, the ones who've taken a wrong turn but can still turn around.
drug, crime	In our administration, with the Attorney General Janet Reno, our outstanding FBI Director Louis Freeh, and the Drug Policy Coordinator Lee Brown, we have a dedicated team of people used to fighting crime, determined to restore security for our people, determined to give our young people another chance.
crime, police	We have a comprehensive crime bill that says we need more police, fewer guns, tougher laws, and new alternatives for first offenders.
drugs	We're asking for a new direction in the control of illegal drugs to make our streets safer.

crime, violence	They are prepared to reach beyond the slogans and the easy answers to support what works, to experiment with new ideas, and to finally, finally do something about this crime and violence.
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19-2/05 Trump: STOU

References: 24

Coverage: 0.28%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	1	3	4	3	10	3	0

Word	Sentence
drugs	... to reduce the price of healthcare and prescription drugs;
criminal	And just weeks ago, both parties united for groundbreaking criminal justice reform.
(non)-violent, drug	In 1997, Alice was sentenced to life in prison as a first-time non-violent drug offender.
criminal	Alice's story underscores the disparities and unfairness that can exist in criminal sentencing—and the need to remedy this injustice.
(non)-violent	The First Step Act gives non-violent offenders the chance to re-enter society as productive, law-abiding citizens.
drugs	In 1996, at age 30, Matthew was sentenced to 35 years for selling drugs and related offenses.
drug	America is committed to ending illegal immigration and putting the ruthless coyotes, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of business.
crime	Meanwhile, working class Americans are left to pay the price for mass illegal migration—reduced jobs, lower wages, overburdened schools and hospitals, increased crime, and a depleted social safety net.
drugs	Tens of thousands of innocent Americans are killed by lethal drugs that cross our border and flood into our cities—including meth, heroin, cocaine, and fentanyl.
gang	The savage gang, MS-13, now operates in 20 different American states, and they almost all come through our southern border.
gang	We are removing these gang members by the thousands, but until we secure our border they're going to keep streaming back in.
gang	Just yesterday, an MS-13 gang member was taken into custody for a fatal shooting on a subway platform in New York City.
criminal	Year after year, countless Americans are murdered by criminal illegal aliens.
criminal, crimes	In the last 2 years, our brave ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sex crimes, and 4,000 killings.
drug	It includes humanitarian assistance, more law enforcement, drug detection at our ports, ...
violent crime	he border city of El Paso, Texas, used to have extremely high rates of violent crime—one of the highest in the country, and considered one of our Nation's most dangerous cities.
drugs	The next major priority for me, and for all of us, should be to lower the cost of healthcare and prescription drugs...
drug	Already, as a result of my administration's efforts, in 2018 drug prices experienced their single largest decline in 46 years.

drugs	It is unacceptable that Americans pay vastly more than people in other countries for the exact same drugs, often made in the exact same place.
drug	We should also require drug companies, insurance companies, and hospitals to disclose real prices to foster competition and bring costs down.
poverty	...we condemn the brutality of the Maduro regime, whose socialist policies have turned that nation from being the wealthiest in South America into a state of abject poverty and despair.

04-1/20 Bush: STOU

References: 22

Coverage: 0.24%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	2	1	3	15	0	1

Word	Sentence
violent	By bringing hope to the oppressed and delivering justice to the violent, they are making America more secure.
drug	... you are giving our senior citizens prescription drug coverage under Medicare.
drug	For years, we have used similar provisions to catch embezzlers and drug traffickers.
criminals	If these methods are good for hunting criminals, they are even more important for hunting terrorists.
violent	Having broken the Ba'athist regime, we face a remnant of violent Saddam supporters.
violence	As democracy takes hold in Iraq, the enemies of freedom will do all in their power to spread violence and fear.
police	When I came to this rostrum on September 20, 2001, I brought the police shield of a fallen officer, my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end.
crime	They view terrorism more as a crime, a problem to be solved mainly with law enforcement and indictments.
drug	By strengthening Medicare and adding a prescription drug benefit, you kept a basic commitment to our seniors.
drug, drugs	Starting this year, under the law you passed, seniors can choose to receive a drug discount card, saving them 10 to 25 percent off the retail price of most prescription drugs, ...
drug	In January of 2006, seniors can get prescription drug coverage under Medicare.
drug	... most seniors who do not have that coverage today can expect to see their drug bills cut roughly in half.
drug	...any attempt to limit the choices of our seniors or to take away their prescription drug coverage under Medicare will meet my veto.
drugs	One of the worst decisions our children can make is to gamble their lives and futures on drugs.
drug	Drug use in high school has declined by 11 percent over the last two years.
drugs	Four hundred thousand fewer young people are using illegal drugs than in the year 2001.
drugs	In my budget, I propose new funding to continue our aggressive, community-based strategy to reduce demand for illegal drugs.
drug	Drug testing in our schools has proven to be an effective part of this effort.
drug	So tonight I propose an additional 23 million for schools that want to use drug testing as a tool to save children's lives.
drugs	The use of performance-enhancing drugs like steroids in baseball, football, and other sports is dangerous, and it sends the wrong message, ...

crime	We know from long experience that if they can't find work or a home or help, they are much more likely to commit crime and return to prison.
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94-1/29 Clinton: Weekly Address

References: 19

Coverage: 1.07%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
5	0	5	5	1	2	0	2

Word	Sentence
welfare, criminals	There's been an economic plan that cuts the deficit by half a trillion dollars, more than 1.6 million new jobs in the private sector, tax relief for 15 million low- and moderate-wage workers to reward work over welfare, a family and medical leave law to enable people to take a little time off when there's a child born or a parent sick without losing their jobs, the Brady bill to keep more guns out of the hands of criminals, more affordable loans for the middle class, and a national service program for young people who want to give something back to their communities and their country and earn credit toward a college education.
welfare	Because the welfare system discourages work and destroys families, I'm asking Congress to help to revolutionize it.
welfare	For those who depend on welfare, we should provide the support, the job training, and the child-care needed for up to 2 years.
crime	Change is never easy, and I especially need your help on two crucial challenges: fighting crime and reforming our health care system.
criminal, criminals	We need to make the criminal justice system work for the victims, not the criminals.
crime, criminal, criminals	I'm asking Congress to pass a strong, smart, tough anticrime bill. We must tell career criminals, "If you commit a third violent crime, you'll be put away for good; three strikes and you're out."
police	We should hire 100,000 more police officers to protect our communities.
crime	They help to reduce the crime rate.
criminals, police	We must ban assault weapons that make criminals better armed than police.
drug	And we need more drug training and alternative punishments for young people, like boot camps.
crime, welfare	Now is the time to debate and decide America's real agenda: health care, crime, jobs and skills, welfare reform, more hope for our young people.
crime, welfare	With your help, I'll keep speaking out for reforming health care, fighting crime, ending welfare as we know it, and improving our skills, our schools, and our future.

13-2/13 Obama: STOU

References: 19

Coverage: 0.21%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	4	1	2	7	2	0	3

Word	Sentence
drug	We'll reduce taxpayer subsidies to prescription drug companies and ask more from the wealthiest seniors.
drugs	They're developing drugs to regenerate damaged organs;
violent crime	Every dollar we invest in high-quality early childhood education can save more than seven dollars later on -- by boosting graduation rates, reducing teen pregnancy, even reducing violent crime.

violence	We know our economy is stronger when our wives, our mothers, our daughters can live their lives free from discrimination in the workplace, and free from the fear of domestic violence.
violence	Today, the Senate passed the Violence Against Women Act that Joe Biden originally wrote almost 20 years ago.
poverty	Even with the tax relief we put in place, a family with two kids that earns the minimum wage still lives below the poverty line.
poverty	Tonight, let's declare that in the wealthiest nation on Earth, no one who works full-time should have to live in poverty, and raise the federal minimum wage to \$9.00 an hour.
poverty	Inescapable pockets of poverty, urban and rural, where young adults are still fighting for their first job.
poverty	So the United States will join with our allies to eradicate such extreme poverty in the next two decades by connecting more people to the global economy;
violence	I know this is not the first time this country has debated how to reduce gun violence.
criminals	Overwhelming majorities of Americans -- Americans who believe in the Second Amendment -- have come together around common-sense reform, like background checks that will make it harder for criminals to get their hands on a gun.
criminals	Senators of both parties are working together on tough new laws to prevent anyone from buying guns for resale to criminals.
police, police	Police chiefs are asking our help to get weapons of war and massive ammunition magazines off our streets, because these police chiefs, they're tired of seeing their guys and gals being outgunned.
violence	... more than two dozen Americans whose lives have been torn apart by gun violence.
violence	... and the countless other communities ripped open by gun violence -- they deserve a simple vote.
violence	Our actions will not prevent every senseless act of violence in this country.
police	We should follow the example of a police officer named Brian Murphy.

08-12/13 Bush: Weekly Address

References: 16

Coverage: 0.96%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	1	0	1	14	0	0

Word	Sentence
drugs	This week, our country received good news in the fight against illegal drugs.
drug	New data show that illicit drug use amongst young people continues to decline and that we are making good progress in our efforts to help thousands of Americans renew their health and hope.
drug, crime, violence	The drug trade also enriches our enemies and brings crime and violence to our streets.
drug	So, in 2002, I committed our Nation to an ambitious effort to cut drug use by limiting demand, reducing supply, and helping addicts get treatment.
drug	Over the past 6 years, we've made great strides toward these goals. Parents, teachers, mentors, and counselors have done fantastic work to educate children about the dangers of drug abuse.
drugs	Law enforcement officers have risked their lives to cut the supply of drugs on city streets.
drug	And with help from our international partners, we're pursuing drug dealers around the world and interdicting supply before it reaches our shores.
drug	Overall, illegal drug use by Americans is down by 25 percent, meaning we have helped approximately 900,000 young people stay clean.

drugs	They also represent the courage and compassion of Americans who are determined to help their fellow citizens win their struggle against drugs.
drugs	At age 19, Josh had never touched drugs or alcohol.
drugs	Today, this young man is free of drugs.
drug	Josh Hamilton shows that the devastation of drug addiction can happen to anyone, but that with faith and determination, anyone can turn a life around.
drug	So today I ask every American with a drug or alcohol problem to seek treatment, because your life is precious to the people who love you.
drugs	I ask all Americans to reach out to your neighbors in need and do your part to help our Nation win the fight against illegal drugs.

15-10/07 Obama: Weekly Address References: 15 Coverage: 1.55%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	3	5	2	3	0	2

Word	Sentence
police, violent criminals	Our streets are safer thanks to the brave police officers and dedicated prosecutors who put violent criminals behind bars.
criminal	Ever since I was a Senator, I've talked about how, in too many cases, our criminal justice system is a pipeline from underfunded schools to overcrowded jails.
drug	I've commuted the sentences of dozens of people sentenced under old drug laws we now recognize were unfair.
crime	The Department of Justice has gotten "Smart on Crime," refocusing efforts on the worst offenders and pursuing mandatory minimum sentences less frequently.
criminal	Still, much of our criminal justice system remains unfair. In recent years, more of our eyes have been opened to this truth, and we can't close them anymore.
criminal	Over the next few weeks, I'll travel the country to highlight some of the Americans who are doing their part to fix our criminal justice system.
drug	I'll visit a community battling prescription drug and heroin abuse.
crime, police	I'll speak with leaders from law enforcement who are determined to lower the crime rate and the incarceration rate and with police chiefs who have dedicated their careers to keeping our streets and officers safe.
criminal	And I'll keep working with lawmakers from both parties who are determined to get criminal justice reform bills to my desk.
drug	... Democrats and Republicans came together in the Senate to introduce such a bill, one that would reduce mandatory minimums for nonviolent drug offenders and reward prisoners with shorter sentences if they complete programs that make them less likely to commit a repeat offense.
violence	And Justice means that every child deserves a chance to grow up safe and secure, without the threat of violence.
crime	Justice means that the punishment should fit the crime.

06-1/31 Bush: STOU References: 13 Coverage: 0.15%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
2	1	4	0	2	4	0	0

Word	Sentence
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violent	When they murder children at a school in Beslan or blow up commuters in London or behead a bound captive, the terrorists hope these horrors will break our will, allowing the violent to inherit the Earth.
poverty, crime, drug	We also show compassion abroad because regions overwhelmed by poverty, corruption, and despair are sources of terrorism and organized crime and human trafficking and the drug trade.
drug, crime	They also deserve the same tools they already use to fight drug trafficking and organized crime, so I ask you to reauthorize the PATRIOT Act.
crime	And we must have a rational, humane guest worker program that rejects amnesty, allows temporary jobs for people who seek them legally, and reduces smuggling and crime at the border.
violent crime	Violent crime rates have fallen to their lowest levels since the 1970s.
welfare	Welfare cases have dropped by more than half over the past decade.
drug	Drug use among youth is down 19 percent since 2001.
welfare, drug	Wise policies, such as welfare reform and drug education and support for abstinence and adoption have made a difference in the character of our country.

16-4/23 Obama: Weekly Address

References: 12

Coverage: 1.35%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	3	7	0	2	0	0

Word	Sentence
crimes	Many are serving unnecessarily long sentences for nonviolent crimes.
drug	Almost 70 percent were regular drug users.
criminals	But the reason we have so many more people in prison than any other developed country is not because we have more criminals.
criminal	It's because we have criminal justice policies, including unfair sentencing laws, that need to be reformed.
criminal	It doesn't deal with the conditions that lead people to criminal activity in the first place or to return to prison later.
crime	A 10-percent wage increase for men without a college degree lowers crime by as much as 20 percent.
crime	And a growing body of research suggests that the longer people stay in jail, the more likely they are to commit another crime once they get out.
criminal	That's why we've been working to make our criminal justice system smarter, fairer, less expensive, and more effective.
criminal	We'll release more details about how we are taking steps to ensure that applicants with a criminal history have a fair shot to compete for a Federal job.
Criminal, drug	But there's much more to do: disrupting the pipeline from underfunded schools to overcrowded jails; addressing the disparities in the application of criminal justice, from arrest rates to sentencing to incarceration; investing in alternatives to prison, like drug courts and mental health treatment;
criminal	Now we need a Congress that's willing to send a bipartisan criminal justice reform bill to my desk.

03-1/28 Bush: STOU

References: 12

Coverage: 0.12%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	0	1	1	10	0	0

Word	Sentence
criminals	To insist on integrity in American business, we passed tough reforms, and we are holding corporate criminals to account.
drugs	We must renew that commitment by giving seniors access to preventive medicine and new drugs...
drugs	... all seniors should have the choice of a health care plan that provides prescription drugs.
drugs	Another cause of hopelessness is addiction to drugs.
drugs	As a government, we are fighting illegal drugs by cutting off supplies and reducing demand through antidrug education programs.
drugs	Yet for those already addicted, the fight against drugs is a fight for their own lives.
drug	Tonight let us bring to all Americans who struggle with drug addiction this message of hope:
drug	More than four million require immediate drug treatment.
drugs	Antiretroviral drugs can extend life for many years.
drugs	And the cost of those drugs has dropped from \$12,000 a year to under \$300 a year, which places a tremendous possibility within our grasp.
drugs	This comprehensive plan will prevent seven million new AIDS infections, treat at least two million people with life-extending drugs, ...
violence	Whatever the duration of this struggle and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men;

1992 Clinton: Nomination

References: 11

Coverage: 0.17%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
3	1	1	1	0	3	1	1

Word	Sentence
poverty	Meanwhile, more and more of our best people are falling into poverty even though they work 40 hours a week.
police	He won't streamline the federal government and change the way it works, cut 100,000 bureaucrats and put 100,000 new police officers on the streets of American cities, but I will.
drugs, drugs, crime	He's talked a lot about drugs, but he hasn't helped people on the front line to wage that war on drugs and crime.
criminals	But I am old enough to remember what it was like before Roe v. Wade, and I do not want to return to the time when we made criminals of women and their doctors.
drugs, gangs	Or helping young people to stay off drugs and out of gangs, giving us all a sense of new hope and limitless possibilities.
welfare	An America where we end welfare as we know it.
welfare, welfare	But then, when you can, you must work, because welfare should be a second chance, not a way of life.

04-7/17 Bush: Weekly Address

References: 11

Coverage: 1.00%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	1	3	0	3	4	0	0

Word	Sentence
violent crime	Violent crime among our teenagers has decreased dramatically.

violent crimes, violent crimes	From 1993 to 2002, the rate of teens committing violent crimes dropped 78 percent, and the rate of teens becoming victims of violent crimes dropped 74 percent.
drug	Among our youth, smoking and illicit drug use have declined.
poverty	Studies tell us that children raised in a household with married parents are far less likely to live in poverty, fail at school, or have behavioral problems.
drug	Although teen drug use has decreased, we can and must do more.
drug	We know that random drug testing in schools is effective, and it allows us to identify kids who need help.
drug	In my most recent budget, I proposed spending an additional \$23 million for school drug testing.

95-12/23 Clinton: Weekly Address References: 10 Coverage: 0.63%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	0	3	0	5	0	0	2

Word	Sentence
violence	After 4 long years of horrible violence, America now has the opportunity to lead ...
violent crime	Violent crime overall is down 5 percent.
crime, violence	There is still too much crime and violence, and it's still rising among teenagers in many parts of the country.
police	Much of the success is due to efforts in communities throughout our country to get guns off our streets and put more police on the streets and to give our young people something to say yes to as well as something to say no to.
crime, violence	More importantly, it is due to the outpouring of grassroots community involvement in all these efforts, in the comprehensive fight against crime and violence.
police	And it's up to every citizen to rise up, reach out, and link arms with local police to keep their own neighborhoods safe and their schools safe.
violence	Let us bring peace to every child who deserves to be free from violence and full of hope.

08-1/28 Bush: STOU References: 10 Coverage: 0.12%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
1	1	0	0	5	1	0	2

Word	Sentence
welfare	We faced hard decisions about peace and war, rising competition in the world economy, and the health and welfare of our citizens.
violence, drug	The first agreement that will come before you is with Colombia, a friend of America that is confronting violence and terror and fighting drug traffickers.
violent	The advance of liberty is opposed by terrorists and extremists, evil men who despise freedom, despise America, and aim to subject millions to their violent rule.
police	they will fight the terrorists and train the Afghan Army and police.
police	The government in Baghdad has stepped forward as well, adding more than 100,000 new Iraqi soldiers and police during the past year.
violence	When we met last year, many said that containing the violence was impossible.

violence	General Petraeus has warned that too fast a drawdown could result in, quote, “the disintegration of the Iraqi security forces, Al Qaeda-Iraq regaining lost ground, and a marked increase in violence.”
violence	... but after decades of dictatorship and the pain of sectarian violence, reconciliation is taking place, and the Iraqi people are taking control of their future.
poverty	America is leading the fight against global poverty with strong education initiatives and humanitarian assistance.

07-1/23 Bush: STOU

References: 10

Coverage: 0.13%

welfare	poverty	crime(s)	criminal(s)	violent/ce	drug(s)	gang(s)	police
0	3	0	1	4	2	0	0

Word	Sentence
drug, criminals	they won't have to try to sneak in, and that will leave border agents free to chase down drug smugglers and criminals and terrorists.
violent	Free people are not drawn to violent and malignant ideologies, and most will choose a better way when they're given a chance.
violence	In order to make progress toward this goal, the Iraqi government must stop the sectarian violence in its capital.
violent	They pledged that they will confront violent radicals of any faction or political party,
violence	A contagion of violence could spill out across the country, and in time, the entire region could be drawn into the conflict.
poverty	We hear the call to take on the challenges of hunger and poverty and disease, and that is precisely what America is doing.
drugs	...the number of people receiving lifesaving drugs has grown from 50,000 to more than 800,000 in three short years.
poverty	And let us continue to support the expanded trade and debt relief that are the best hope for lifting lives and eliminating poverty.
poverty	Dikembe Mutombo grew up in Africa amid great poverty and disease.

Appendix D: Precepts Coded

301 President W.J. Clinton

201 Category

P1 – Inferiority: Welfare, jobs, responsibility, work, police, American

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	55
1993	Inaugural	14
1997	2 nd Inaugural	23
Total		92

A.1 - Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6001	American	...to make this the American century.
6002	welfare	...fellow citizens have moved from welfare to work.
6003	work	...have moved from welfare to work
6004	American	We—the American people—we are the solution.
6005	responsibility	...need a new sense of responsibility for a new century.
6006	welfare	...hiring people off welfare rolls, coming out from behind
6007	responsibility	...must assume personal responsibility
6008	responsibility	Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new...
6009	American	...every American in our land today must...
6010	work	Everyone who can work, will work...
6011	American	[Martin] Luther King's dream was the American dream.
6012	American	...strong enough for every American to cross over...
6013	American	...a new century with the American dream alive...

A. 2 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6014	American	...my faith in the American people, and my vision...
6015	jobs	...[an] economy of high-wage, high skilled jobs.
6016	work	...all those who do the work and pay the taxes...
6017	work	...fellow Americans are out of work...
6018	work	...tens of millions more work harder for lower pay.
6019	work	...me about family and hard work and sacrifice.
6020	jobs	[I will] fight to create high paying jobs
6021	American	[I am] committed to make sure every American gets the health care.
6022	responsibility	Take responsibility for your children or we...
6023	American	...was raised to believe the American Dream was built on rewarding
6024	work	...was built on hard work.
6025	police	...put 100,000 new police officers on the streets
6026	American	...the streets of American cities...
6027	jobs	...the environment and creating jobs in environmental technologies
6028	responsibility	We demand responsibility.

6029	American	We will build an American community again.
6030	American	...the values of the American people.
6031	American	...he derides and degrades the American tradition...
6032	responsibility	...so little responsibility...
6033	responsibility	Responsibility starts at the top.
6034	welfare	...we end welfare as we know it.
6035	welfare	...will say to those on welfare...
6036	work	...you must work...
6037	welfare	...because welfare should be a second chance..
6038	responsibility	Opportunity, responsibility, community.
6039	responsibility	...a personal moral responsibility to make it...

A.3 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6040	American	...we celebrate the mystery of American renewal
6041	American	[what] it means to be American.
6042	work	...when others cannot work at all;
6043	American	...a new season of American renewal has begun.
6044	jobs	...our own people, in their jobs, and in their future
6045	responsibility	...to whom we bear sacred responsibility
6046	responsibility	...demand more responsibility from all.
6047	responsibility	Let us all take more responsibility
6048	work	..friends and allies, we will work to shape change...
6049	American	The American people have summoned the change...
6050	work	Now we must do the work the season demands.
6051	work	And let us work until our work is done.

P2 – Property: Prison, gangs, criminal, family, freedom, housing, youth, children,

taxpayer, America, values

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	78
1993	Inaugural	26
1997	2 nd Inaugural	27
Total		131

A.4 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6052	family	The most important family policy...
6053	values	...communism has collapsed and our values – freedom, democracy...
6054	freedom	... freedom, democracy, individual rights, free enterprise world
6055	America	...it's time to change America.
6056	America	...time for change in America.
6057	America	...I want to lead America.
5608	family	She taught me about family and hard work and sacrifice

6059	family	...she held our family—my brother and I—together...
6060	children	...raise their children today.
6061	children	...worked hard to help our children, paying the price of time
6062	children	She taught me that all children can learn
6063	children	...care so much about our children, and our future...
6064	family	...about family values.
6065	values	Our families have values.
6066	America	I want an America where family values lives...
6067	family	...family values live in our actions
6068	America	An America that includes every family.
6069	family	Every traditional family and every extended family.
6070	family	Every two-parent family
6071	family	Every single-parent family
6072	family	And every foster family.
6073	children	...have chosen to abandon their children by neglecting their child support
6074	children	Take responsibility for your children or we will force you
6075	children	Because governments don't raise children; parents do.
6076	America	You matter to America.
6077	family	...not part of their family, come on and be part
6078	children	...spending less time with their children...
6079	America	...use our power to help America, step aside
6080	America	...together we will revitalize America.
6081	values	...in the vision and the values of the American people.
6082	children	...we have so many children in so much trouble...
6083	America	Where there is no vision, America will perish
6084	children	...the streets or teaching the children or caring for the sick...
6085	gangs	...off drugs and out of gangs...
6086	America	An America where we end welfare
6087	America	An America that will not coddle tyrants
6088	America	...the world needs a strong America
6089	America	It is time to heal America.
6090	America	When we pull together, America will pull ahead.
6091	America	...being born in America
6092	family	...a healthy family and a hopeful future.
6093	America	...a faith that in America, no one is left out
6094	children	...gives something back to her children, her community and her country
6095	America	God Bless America

A.5 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6096	America	...vision and courage to reinvent America.
6097	America	...preserve America's ideals...
6098	freedom	...warmed by the sunshine of freedom
6099	America	We can earn our livelihood in America today...
6100	freedom	...law-abiding citizens of their freedom...
6101	children	...when millions of poor children cannot even imagine...
6102	America	To renew America.
6103	family	...the way a family provides for its children.
6104	America	We must do what America does best...

6105	America	...the promise of America.
6106	America	Clearly, America must continue to lead...
6107	America	While America rebuilds at home...
6108	children	...by helping troubled children
6109	America	...the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution.

A.6 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6110	America	The promise of America was born in the 18 th [century]
6111	values	...our values of free enterprise...
6112	values	...stand up for our values and interests around the world...
6113	children	...teaching children to read...
6114	gangs	...our streets from drugs and gangs and crime...
6115	America	...race has been America's constant curse.
6116	America	...we will sustain America's journey.
6117	freedom	...stand mighty for peace and freedom...
6118	America	...redeem the promise of America in the 21 st century.
6119	America	...the journey of our America must go on...
6120	America	...with America's bright flame of freedom...
6121	America	...always bless our America.

P3 – Powerless: Guns, violence, crime, education, police, elderly, drugs, hope,
rules, taxes

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	28
1993	Inaugural	2
1997	2 nd Inaugural	7
Total		37

A.7 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6122	hope	...my hope for the future...
6123	taxes	...work and pay the taxes, raise the kids...
6124	rules	...play by the rules...
6125	education	...just had a high school education...
6126	rules	...those who play by the rules and keep the faith...
6127	police	...put 100,000 new police officers on the streets...
6128	drugs	...talked a lot about drugs, but hasn't helped people...
6129	drugs	...to wage war on drugs and crime.
6130	crime	...the war on drugs and crime.
6131	elderly	...more choices for the elderly...
6132	drugs	...young people to stay off drugs and out of gangs...
6133	hope	...a sense of new hope and limitless possibilities.
6134	education	...the opportunity, through training and education...

A.8 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6135	crime	...when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens
6136	hope	...begins anew with energy and hope, with faith and discipline.

A.9 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6137	drugs	...reclaim our streets from drugs...
6138	crime	...and gangs, and crime, taking time out...
6139	education	In this new land, education will be every citizen's...
6140	education	...the doors of higher education will be open to all...
6141	drugs	...shoot them or sell them drugs anymore.
6142	hope	Let us shape the hope of this day...

302 President G.H. Bush

201 Category

P1 – Inferiority: Welfare, jobs, responsibility, work, police, American

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	15
1993	Inaugural	11
1997	2 nd Inaugural	8
Total		34

B.1 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6143	work	...work together to make the promise...
6144	American	...can unite and inspire the American citizens.
6145	American	...they are American responsibilities.
6146	work	...willingness to work hard...
6147	American	...access to the American dream
6148	American	...our diversity and our shared American values...

B.2 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6149	American	It is the American story
6150	American	...an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs...
6151	work	...compassion is the work of a nation...
6152	responsibility	...where personal responsibility is valued and expected.
6153	responsibility	...to try to call for responsibility and try to live it.

B.3 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6154	American	To give every American a stake in the promise.

P2 – Property: Prison, gangs, criminal, family, freedom, housing, youth, children, taxpayer, America, values

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	20
1993	Inaugural	23
1997	2 nd Inaugural	48
Total		91

B.4 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6155	America	...the promise of America available
6156	America	...together we will create an America that is open...
6157	America	...and an America that is united...
6158	values	...our shared American values that are larger than race
6159	freedom	...good for the cause of freedom and harmony
6160	America	God bless America

B.5 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6161	America	Together, we will reclaim America's schools, before ignorance
6162	children	...sparing our children from struggles
6163	values	...we will speak for the values that gave our nation birth
6164	America	America, at its best, is compassionate
6165	children	...we can agree that children at risk are not
6166	children	And we find that children and community are the commitments

B.6 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6167	freedom	...America defended our own freedom by standing watch
6168	freedom	...the force of human freedom
6169	freedom	...the expansion of freedom in all the world
6170	freedom	...there is no justice without freedom
6171	prison	Democratic reformers facing repression, prison, or exile can know:
6172	freedom	"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not
6173	freedom	...the unfinished work of American freedom.
6174	freedom	In America's ideal of freedom, citizens find the dignity

6175	freedom	...give our fellow Americans greater freedom from want and fear
6176	freedom	In America's ideal of freedom, the public interest depends
6177	freedom	...cannot carry the message of freedom and the baggage of bigotry
6178	freedom	...in the cause of freedom

P3 – Powerless: Guns, violence, crime, education, police, elderly, drugs, hope,
rules, taxes

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	2
1993	Inaugural	3
1997	2 nd Inaugural	7
Total		12

B.7 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
0	0	null

B.8 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
0	0	null

B.9 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
0	0	null

303 President B.H. Obama

201 Category

P1 – Inferiority: Welfare, jobs, responsibility, work, police, American

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	47
1993	Inaugural	13
1997	2 nd Inaugural	12
Total		72

C.1 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6179	work	...through hard work and sacrifice
6180	American	...together as one American family
6181	American	...the American promise has been threatened once
6182	work	Americans are out of work and more are working harder
6183	American	...the American promise is alive
6184	work	They work hard and give back
6185	jobs	...the 23 million new jobs that were created
6186	work	...honors the dignity of work
6187	work	...but for every American who's willing to work
6188	jobs	...the high-wage, high-tech jobs of tomorrow.
6189	jobs	...five million new jobs that pay well
6190	responsibility	...that fathers must take more responsibility for providing
6191	responsibility	Individual responsibility and mutual responsibility
6192	welfare	...more families from welfare to work...
6193	American	...that American promise

C.2 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6194	American	...what makes us American
6195	work	...our insistence on hard work and personal responsibility
6196	work	...independence and pride in their work
6197	work	...skills they need to work harder, learn more
6198	jobs	...technology that will power new jobs and industries

C.3 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6199	work	...hard work and honesty
6170	responsibility	...a new era of responsibility

P2 – Property: Prison, gangs, criminal, family, freedom, housing, youth, children,
taxpayer, America, values

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	37
1993	Inaugural	17
1997	2 nd Inaugural	21
Total		72

C.4 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
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6171	America	...a belief that in America, their son could achieve whatever
6172	family	...come together as one American family
6173	values	...watching your home values plummet
6174	America	...time for us to change America.
6175	freedom	...each of us has the freedom to make of our own
6176	America	That's the promise of America
6177	America	...will not settle for an America where some kids don't have
6178	children	...the love and guidance their children need.
6179	values	...the abandonment of traditional values.
6180	America	Bless the United States of America

C.5 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6181	America	...a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable
6182	freedom	...rugged path towards prosperity and freedom
6183	America	...again the work of remaking America.
6184	freedom	...to generate wealth and expand freedom
6185	values	But those values upon which our success depends

C.6 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6186	children	...we'll need to equip our children for the future
6187	America	America's possibilities are limitless
6188	children	...not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit
6189	values	...these values of life and liberty
6190	America	...bless these United States of America

P3 – Powerless: Guns, violence, crime, education, police, elderly, drugs, hope,

rules, taxes

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	18
1993	Inaugural	4
1997	2 nd Inaugural	3
Total		25

C.7 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6191	rules	...play by the rules of the road
6192	education	...provide every child decent education
6193	education	...you can afford a college education
6194	crime	...who fall into lives of crime and despair
6195	violence	...for those plagued by gang-violence

C.8 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
0	0	null

C.9 Speech: Second Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
0	0	null

304 President D.J. Trump

201 Category

P1 – Inferiority: Welfare, jobs, responsibility, work, police, American

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	36
1993	Inaugural	17
Total		53

D.1 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6196	police	The attacks on our police, and the terrorism
6197	American	We will honor the American people with the truth
6198	police	The number of police officers killed
6199	American	...just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting
6200	American	poverty, while 58% of African American youth are not employed
6201	American	The American people will come first
6202	jobs	...add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth
6203	work	People who work hard...
6204	police	...when our police officers in Dallas were brutally
6205	police	On Sunday, more police were gunned down
6206	police	..and the safety of our police
6207	jobs	It's failed them on jobs.
6208	American	...especially for African American and Latino workers.
6209	American	...one that works for American people.
6210	jobs	...trade policy that protects our jobs
6211	work	...our country out of work—that will never happen
6212	jobs	...will create millions more jobs. We will rescue kids
6213	work	...to respect the dignity of work
6214	American	"I'm with you—the American people."

D.2 Speech: Inaugural

6215	American	This American carnage stops right here
6216	American	...to benefit American workers and American families
6217	welfare	...get our people off of welfare and back to work,
6218	American	...rebuilding our country with American hands...
6219	American	...your dreams will define our American destiny.

P2 – Property: Prison, gangs, criminal, family, freedom, housing, youth, children,
taxpayer, America, values

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	45
1993	Inaugural	23
Total		68

D.3 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6220	criminal	...this Administration's rollback of criminal enforcement. Homicides last year increased
6221	America	...increased by 17% in America's fifty largest cities.
6222	criminal	Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records...
6223	children	Nearly Four in 10 African American children are living in poverty
6224	youth	...while 58% of African American youth are not employed
6225	America	America is far less safe --
6226	America	...our plan will put America First. Americanism, not globalism..
6227	children	...mothers who have lost their children
6228	America	...lawlessness that threatens their communities
6229	America	...race and color, has made America a more dangerous environment
6230	America	This administration has failed America's inner cities.
6231	America	To make life safe in America...
6232	values	...support our values and lover our people.
6233	children	...fathers who have lost their children to violence
6234	gangs	...to stop the gangs and the violence
6235	America	We will make America safe again.
6236	America	We will make America Great again.

D.4 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6237	America	...the United States of America, is your country.
6238	children	Mothers and children trapped in poverty
6239	gangs	...and the crime and the gangs and the drugs
6240	America	...it's going to be only America first.
6241	America	America first.
6242	America	America will start winning again.

6243	America	Together, we will make America strong again.
6244	America	We will make America strong again
6245	America	We will make America wealthy again
6246	America	We will make America proud again
6244	America	We will make America safe again

P3 – Powerless: Guns, violence, crime, education, elderly, drugs, hope, rules,

taxes

Year	Speech	Ref.
1992	Nomination	30
1993	Inaugural	5
Total		35

D.5 Speech: Nomination

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6245	violence	...the recent images of violence in our streets
6246	violence	Many have witnessed this violence personally
6247	crime	...the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation
6248	crime	...brining down crime are now being reversed
6249	violence	...poverty and violence at home, war and destruction
6250	violence	...have seen continued threats and violence against our law enforcement officials
6251	education	It's failed them on education.
6252	crime	It's failed them on crime.
6253	violence	...stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs
6254	drugs	...stop the drugs from pouring into our communities

D.6 Speech: Inaugural

ID	Word	Sentence or Phrase
6255	crime	...and the crime and the gangs
6256	drugs	...and the drugs that have stolen too many