

IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, DO YOU SAY SOMETHING?: THE ROLE OF LEGITIMACY
AND TRUST IN POLICING MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN COUNTERTERRORISM

By

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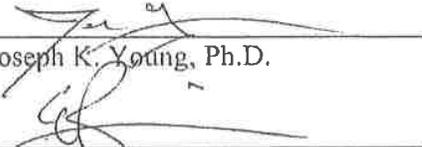
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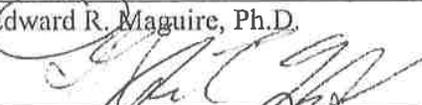
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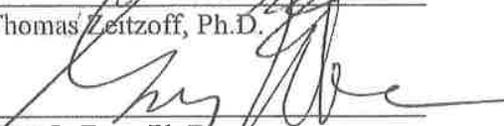
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my many teachers outside of the classroom: to my parents, Connie and Dave Kearns, for their unwavering support throughout my life; to my siblings, Elizabeth, Matthew, and Lindsay, for keeping me on my toes growing up and reminding me to relax as an adult; to my aunt and uncle, Nancy and Jonathan, who instilled a strong work ethic and desire for academic achievement from a young age (you finally have a doctor in the family, even if you'd always meant a physician); to my partner, Brian, for his support, advice, and encouragement throughout this process, and for always being able to make me laugh; and to our puppy, Maddux, for reminding me to take a break from writing to have fun and get outside as much as possible.

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ABSTRACT

In 2006, Omar Hammami travelled to Somalia and joined Al Shabaab. In the years since, dozens of Americans including Douglas McCain and Zakia Nasrin have traveled to Syria and joined the Islamic State. During the same time period, Dylan Roof, Robert Lewis Dear Jr., the Tsarnaev brothers, and others have carried out attacks—or attempted to do so—here at home. Sometimes friends or family members have alerted police to suspicions of terrorism like these, while other times they have not. The need to counter terrorism has raised questions about the appropriate methods that police should employ to this end. Yet, current concerns about policing terrorism coincide with national responses to police interactions more generally with members of minority groups.

I address two puzzles about interactions between communities and police. First, why do some people alert police to suspicions of crime—specifically potential extremist violence—while others do not? Contrary to conventional explanations of racial and sociodemographic differences, I find that views of law enforcement’s legitimacy, trust in individual police officers, and community norms about handling conflict are the strongest predictors of citizen cooperation. So, second, why do some police departments do a better

job than others developing positive relationships with minority communities to increase cooperation? I find that social distance and support for relationship building predict views about community policing both with minorities and in counterterrorism.

I combine an experimental design and quantitative survey research. Data come from two sources: community members and police officers. For the community sample, I conducted an online survey where participants were asked about their views of and experience with police. Propensity to report crimes was measured using choice-based conjoint experiments, which allow comparison of multiple covariates simultaneously. Participants evaluated a series of crime pairs with randomly assigned characteristics and indicated their likelihood of reporting each to police.

I then conducted roll call surveys in three Washington D.C. area police departments. Participants were asked about their experience with, and support for, community policing and views on community policing to address various crimes and with different minority groups. Combining data from both groups, I compare police expectations to reports from the community.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2006, Omar Hammami, an American citizen born in Alabama to a Southern Baptist mother and Syrian Muslim father, travelled to Somalia and joined Al Shabaab. Growing up, Hammami was popular, smart, and regarded as a leader among his peers. While in college, Hammami converted to his father's religion—Islam—and became increasingly radical in his beliefs. He eventually dropped out of college, married a Somali-Canadian woman, and travelled to Somalia to fight with Al Shabaab.¹ In the years since, dozens of Americans like Douglas McCain and Zakia Nasrin have traveled to Syria and joined the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). During the same time period, Dylan Roof, Robert Lewis Dear Jr., the Tsarnaev brothers, and others have carried out attacks—or attempted to do so—here at home. Sometimes friends or family members have alerted police to suspicions of terrorism like these, while others have not. For example, Mohammad Rahami, father of the suspected New York and New Jersey bomber Ahmad Rahami, alerted the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to concerns about his son's growing interest in Islamic extremism and admiration for leaders of Al Qaeda following a yearlong trip to Pakistan. Mr. Rahami asked the FBI to keep an eye on his son, though their investigation at the time cleared him.² Contrast this with Noor Zahi Salman who neglected to alert au-

¹http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/31/magazine/31.Jihadist-t.html?hp=&pagewanted=all&_r=0

²<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/23/nyregion/ahmad-khan-rahami-bombing.html>

thorities to her concerns about her husband, Omar Mateen—the Orlando shooter. While there are still questions about the extent of Ms. Salman’s knowledge of her husband’s plans, she told the FBI that she accompanied him to buy ammunition, had previously driven him to the Pulse nightclub, and tried to convince him not to carry out an attack.³ The need to counter terrorism has raised questions about the appropriate methods that law enforcement should employ to this end. Yet, current concerns about best practices in policing terrorism have coincided with national responses to police use of force more generally, particularly against members of minority groups.

My dissertation addresses two key puzzles about interactions between communities and the police, particularly with regard to counterterrorism efforts. First, why do some people alert police to crime—specifically potential extremist violence—while others do not? As the Rahami and Mateen cases nicely contrast, information from the public can play a vital role in crime control generally and counterterrorism specifically. Research on cooperation with law enforcement has long focused on the process-based model of regulation (e.g. Tyler, 2001). This model posits that the quality of treatment one receives from legal authorities leads to viewing them as more legitimate and thus being more likely to obey and cooperate. It is less clear, however, what is meant by *legitimacy* and how best we should measure this concept. Did Rahami’s father report his son because he viewed law enforcement as legitimate? Did Mateen’s wife neglect to call authorities because she thought law enforcement was illegitimate? The process-based model focuses on legitimacy and trust at the institutional level, but ignores how interpersonal trust can impact cooperation. Perhaps trust in police officers, or a lack of such trust, helps explain why Rahami’s father called law enforcement while Mateen’s wife did not. While some scholars (Hawdon, 2008; Jackson & Gau, 2015) have suggested that trust and legitimacy may be conceptually distinct, their relative impact on cooperation has yet to be tested. One

³<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/15/us/politics/noor-zahi-salman-omar-mateen.html>

contribution of my project is to examine how institutional-level views of law enforcement and interpersonal-level views of police officers each contribute to a person's decision to cooperate with police. By splitting apart views of law enforcement at the institutional and interpersonal levels, we can deepen our understanding of why some people alert police to crimes while others do not.

Citizens can trust a police officer individually, but not generalize this to law enforcement as a whole. Alternatively, a citizen can view law enforcement as legitimate, but not trust a particular officer or group of officers. How might Mr. Rahami's views of both law enforcement as a whole and individual officers have impacted his decision to alert the authorities to his concerns about his son? Conversely, might Mateen's wife have been more inclined to report her concerns about her husband if she viewed law enforcement or individual police officers differently? Research on cooperation with law enforcement focuses on institutional-level views of police, and ignores individual-level views. These factors may have differing impacts on a person's decision to cooperate with police for crime control generally and in counterterrorism. Additionally, we do not know whether the same mechanisms that lead people to cooperate with police generally apply to terrorism activities specifically. To examine this, I compare the likelihood to report crime between people as well as within individuals to tease out the impact of contextual factors—such as crime type—on cooperation. By examining interpersonal- and institutional-level views and different crime types, we can better understand why some people cooperate with police—and under what conditions—while others do not. Alternatively, people may be more likely to cooperate with police because they have the opportunity to do so in the course of their daily activities by virtue of witnessing criminal activity and crossing paths with police officers. Another alternative explanation is that the decision to cooperate with police is driven by one's feeling of his or her place in society relative to others. I compare my argument to these alternatives and find that neither explains cooperation with police

while my theory does.

To be successful, law enforcement needs support and information from the communities they police. If people cooperate with police because they view them as legitimate as a result of positive experiences, then it stands to follow that police officers would provide fair, high quality treatment to everyone to encourage cooperation. As recent events highlight, however, this is not reality. So, why do some police departments do a better job than others at developing positive relationships with minority communities to increase cooperation? At the agency level, many departments state that they engage in community policing efforts, which generally refers to the philosophy of promoting strategic partnerships to proactively address community concerns and promote public safety.⁴ Yet, few actually employ these practices on the ground (Ortiz, Hendricks, & Sugie, 2007). This suggests that—beyond department-level guidelines—individual officers make decisions about whether and how to implement policy. By studying agencies and their officers, we have a better picture of why some departments are better at relationship building in their communities than others.

Community policing may be particularly critical in addressing two issues receiving heightened attention nationally: counterterrorism and minority-police relations. In the context of counterterrorism, some have argued that community policing should be abandoned (e.g. Oliver & Meier, 2004) whereas others suggest that relationship building is critical (Clarke & Newman, 2006; Maguire & Wells, 2009). Among law enforcement leaders, though, the general consensus is that community policing is essential to counterterrorism (Chappell & Gibson 2009). Similarly, the consensus is that community policing is critical to relationship building with minority communities (Clarke & Newman, 2006; Thacher, 2005). If department-level policies were the driving force for action, we would see more community policing practiced nationally. We would also expect to see more

⁴I will address defining, conceptualizing, and measuring *community policing* in Chapter 4.

variation in both practice and support for the practice between departments, but little within a department. Yet, this is often not the case (Ortiz et al., 2007).

Given the inherently decentralized nature of community policing coupled with the principal-agent issues that can arise in hierarchical organizations, the disparity between policy and practice likely comes down to officers' experience with and support for the policy. I argue that support for community policing in both counterterrorism and with minority communities is a function of an officer's experience with community policing more broadly, support for the practice, and perceived social distance from groups in the public. To explore community policing practice—rather than merely policy—I study officer-level views. By focusing on officers' actions and support for community policing in a variety of contexts, we can better understand why some police departments do a better job of relationship building with communities than others. Since I collected data from both law enforcement and the public, I compare officers' views on relationship building to what members of the public say about cooperation with police. From this, I can identify areas in which relationship-building efforts between the groups should be prioritized.

I begin my dissertation by examining why some people report crimes generally, and terrorism specifically, to police. In Chapter 2, I discuss the ongoing debate within the literature on what is meant by law enforcement's *legitimacy* and the role that it plays in cooperation with police. Next, I propose that there is a difference between *legitimacy* at the institutional level and *trust* at the interpersonal level. In my conceptualizations of *legitimacy* and *trust*, a person can view law enforcement as an institution as legitimate, but not trust an individual police officer, and vice versa. Differences in an individual's views of *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* impact the propensity to cooperate with law enforcement, and thus should be treated as separate concepts and be empirically examined independently. I then outline how community norms about handling conflict, in addition to *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust*, impact propensity to report

crimes to police.

In Chapter 3, I empirically test the hypotheses derived from my theory in Chapter 2. I conducted an online survey to approximate nationally representative samples of Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics. Participants were asked about their views of and experience with law enforcement. I measure propensity to report crimes by using choice-based conjoint experiments, which are commonly used in marketing but are newer to social science research. Conjoint experiments allow comparison of multiple covariates simultaneously and remove underlying views of the topic, in this case cooperating with police. Participants evaluated a series of crime pairs that randomly differ on three factors: crime type, police performance, and community reaction to reporting crime to police. Participants chose which crime they would be more likely to report to the police, their likelihood of actually reporting each crime, and why they would or would not report each crime. This allows me to examine between- and within-group differences in reporting. Additionally, since each participant evaluated multiple crimes, I can explore how context impacts likelihood to report crimes within individuals. Contrary to conventional explanations—racial and sociodemographic differences—I find that views of law enforcement’s legitimacy, trust in individual police officers, and community norms about handling conflict are the strongest predictors of citizen cooperation.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the debate on whether community policing practices are appropriate in counterterrorism or should be abandoned. I address issues surrounding the conceptualization and measurement of community policing practices, and offer a model to do so. I then discuss why some police departments—and their officers—may be more receptive to community policing both in counterterrorism and with members of minority groups. I outline how experience with community policing, support for the practice, and an officer’s perceived social distance between himself and minority groups impact the decision to engage in relationship building with communities.

In Chapter 5, I empirically test the hypotheses derived from Chapter 4. For the law enforcement sample, I conducted roll call surveys in three police departments in the Washington D.C. metro area. Participants were asked about their: experience with community policing; support for community policing generally; and views on community policing to address various crimes and to build relationships with different minority groups. I find that experience with community policing and perceived social distance predict views about relationship-building efforts both with minorities and in counterterrorism. Additionally, participants were given a list of crimes and they indicated the likelihood that a member of their community would report it to police. This allows me to compare officers' expectations of cooperation to community views and identify areas where more relationship-building efforts would be beneficial.

Chapter 6 discusses the policy implications and conclusions of my findings. By combining data from both community members and law enforcement officers, I compare police expectations to reports from the community. The results of this project expand our understanding of how police and community interactions can lead to more effective crime control and counterterrorism. This is particularly important right now, as the federal government is emphasizing programs aimed at building relationships between law enforcement and minority communities. Information gleaned from this project can be used to provide best practices for how other law enforcement agencies can start to build similar relationships in their local communities. I relate this work back to the broader debates within the field and discuss how my findings help to resolve the motivating puzzles. I also address the limitations of this work. Finally, I outline future avenues for research to further understand how relationship building between communities and law enforcement can increase safety from crime generally and terrorism specifically. I expect this research to inform how legitimacy and trust impact propensity to alert police to crime in general and to terrorism specifically, and what role community policing can play in building positive

relationships with members of minority communities. Results will be disseminated for academic, practitioner, and policy audiences.

CHAPTER 2

WHY DO PEOPLE COOPERATE WITH POLICE?: THEORY AND ARGUMENT

2.1 Introduction

Why do some people alert police to crime—specifically potential terrorism—while others do not? In 2007 an employee at Circuit City, Brian Morgenstern, alerted police to a customer’s suspicious tape.¹ This tip allowed law enforcement to thwart a planned attack on Fort Dix. Why would Morgenstern call the police? Aside from being a Circuit City employee, Morgenstern was also getting a degree in criminal justice and aspired to work in federal law enforcement. It is reasonable to assume that he viewed law enforcement as legitimate and that his experiences with police were positive.² For these reasons, Morgenstern would likely expect more benefit than backlash for alerting police to this

¹See Carter and Carter (2012) for a full description of this case.

²Morgenstern alluded to these views of police in an interview after his actions came to light: “I basically started thinking about it from that point on, whether or not this is something that I should contact the authorities over. And it was a difficult decision at first. And I went home, and I talked with my family about it. And we all came to the general conclusion that it was the right thing to do. They treated it very professionally, and they took it as a very serious matter. And when they looked at the tape, they decided that it was something to obtain a copy for.” <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2007/05/30/exclusive-brian-morgenstern-breaks-his-silence-on-blowing-whistle-on-ft-dix-6.html>

suspicious activity. What if Morgenstern had a less favorable view of law enforcement, or expected that he may have faced repercussions for reporting? Why might he—or someone in his position—inform, or neglect to inform, police about suspected terrorism or other crimes?

As Tyler (2012, p. 77) notes, “crime and problems of community disorder are difficult to solve without the active involvement of community residents.” Post 9/11, there is increased awareness of the need to gather actionable intelligence about potential terrorist threats. To be effective in this regard, police need to secure cooperation from the public (e.g. Decker, 1981; Tyler, 2004). As Morgenstern demonstrated, information from the community is critical to counterterrorism (Clarke & Newman 2006; Kelling, 2011; Maguire & Wells, 2009; McGarrell, Freilich & Chermak, 2007). Counterterrorism efforts will be more effective when law enforcement has the cooperation of the public (Tyler, 2011). So, how do police garner cooperation?

The process-based model³ of regulation has long been assumed as the pathway through which individuals cooperate with legal authorities (e.g. Tyler, 2001). Dating back to Weber (1918), legitimate authorities are defined as those that inspire compliance and cooperation. There are, however, at least three critical gaps in our knowledge about cooperation with legal authorities. The first applies to cooperation in general, the second pertains specifically to cooperation in counterterrorism, and the third applies to differences in cooperation both within groups and within individuals. First, it is unclear what is meant when scholars refer to the term *legitimacy*. The process-based model focuses on *institutional* trust and legitimacy, not *interpersonal* trust. There is discussion of a trustworthy police force (e.g. Jackson & Bradford 2010), but there is little differentiation in the literature between trust in the institution and trust in individual officers. Yet,

³This model posits that quality of treatment and decision-making by legal authorities lead to viewing legal institutions like the police as more legitimate, which then increases likelihood to obey the law and to cooperate with, and to comply with the directives of, legal authorities like the police.

citizens may trust an individual officer but not view law enforcement overall as legitimate. Conversely, citizens may view law enforcement as legitimate but would not trust an individual officer. Disaggregating views of trust and legitimacy in law enforcement is important to understanding cooperation with legal authorities. Second, very little is known about how this model extends to potential terrorism as compared to more traditional crimes. Based on extant literature, however, it is likely that experience, identity, and community norms play critical roles in compliance with police for potential terrorism. Third, research on cooperation has typically focused on between-group differences. Little is known about within-group variance and how context impacts an individual's likelihood to report crimes. This study addresses these three critical concerns to better understand why some individuals cooperate with law enforcement in general and in counterterrorism.

This chapter examines why some people alert police to crime, including terrorism, while others do not. The next section explores theoretical issues with how legitimacy and trust in law enforcement have been conceptualized to date, and offers an argument for *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* as related but distinct concepts. The chapter then discusses research on factors that lead to cooperation with law enforcement, such as experience, identity, community, and crime type. Finally, I outline the current study, argument, and hypotheses.

2.2 Theoretical Development and Literature Review

2.2.1 Conceptualizing legitimacy

Research on cooperation with police has generally focused on the process-based procedural justice⁴-legitimacy⁵-compliance model (e.g. Tyler, 1990). There is little debate

⁴Procedural justice is generally thought to comprise two components: quality of treatment and quality of decision-making (e.g. Johnson, Maguire & Kuhns, 2014).

⁵Tyler (2006) defines legitimacy as “a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just.”

that citizen perceptions of the police are determined by the quality of interactions between the groups (e.g. Skogan, 2005; Tyler, 2005; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). The traditional process-based procedural model posits that the quality of treatment received from and decision making by the police will determine trust in that institution, which will confer legitimacy upon it, thereby enhancing the institution's authority.⁶ When law enforcement is viewed as legitimate, then people will be more likely to obey, comply, and cooperate with that legal institution (e.g. Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2001; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler, Jackson & Mentovich, 2015). In contrast, when police are viewed negatively, people are less compliant with them (McCluskey, Mastrofski & Parks, 1999).

How do we conceptualize *legitimacy* and—relatedly—*trust*? While there is substantial attention paid to measurement and scaling within social science, there has been less on constructing concepts—the building blocks of our theories (Goertz, 2006). Goertz (2006) emphasizes the multidimensional and multilevel nature of concepts. In his framework, concepts are comprised of three levels: the basic level, the secondary level, and the indicator level. The basic level is the major concept that the researcher is investigating. The secondary level is comprised of multiple dimensions of the basic level. The indicator level is at the level of operationalization where data is gathered to measure the concept. Building on the current debate within the field on how to conceptualize *legitimacy* and *trust*, I use Goertz's framework as a guide (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2). See Table 2.1 for Initial Model with four factors and 16 items for *Institutional Legitimacy* and Table 2.2 for Initial Model with three factors and 12 items for *Interpersonal Trust*.

While there is evidence that procedural fairness and justice are critical precursors to legitimacy (Jackson, Hough, Bradford & Kuha, 2015), there may be overlap between

⁶The term *authority* is rarely defined on its own, but rather is discussed as part of legitimacy. For example, Tyler (2006) states that, "Because of legitimacy, people feel that they ought to defer to decisions and rules, following them voluntarily out of obligation rather than out of fear of punishment or anticipation of reward. Being legitimate is important to the success of authorities, institutions, and institutional arrangements since it is difficult to exert influence over others based solely upon the possession and use of power."

these concepts (for full discussion, see Johnson et al., 2014). Tankebe (2013) argues that procedural fairness, distributive fairness, lawfulness, and effectiveness are the four dimensions of legitimacy, not predictors of it. However, the correlations between procedural fairness, distributive fairness, and lawfulness indicate that these may actually be measuring the same, single underlying factor. I adapt this single factor from similar measures in the literature (Hough, Jackson & Bradford, 2013; Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Jackson, Bradford, Hough, Myhill, Quinton & Tyler, 2012; Jackson et al., 2015; Tankebe, 2013). Specifically, I measure perceptions of police fairness and call it *general police fairness*.

Beetham (1991) argues that legitimacy is the consent to be governed, which is conceptualized in part as agents acting according to the law. Additionally, Jackson and Gau (2015) view institutional trust as a component of legitimacy and measure it as officer restraint, confidence that officers behave correctly, and that police respect their power. I adapt measures of authority and duty and call it *right to govern*.

Scholars have argued that moral alignment between the police and the community is a separate component of legitimacy (Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill & Quinton, 2010; Jackson et al., 2012; Jackson & Kuha, 2015; Tankebe, 2013), I adapt measures of representing community values and needs, and call it *identification with police*.

Police effectiveness is frequently conceptualized as a component of legitimacy (Hough et al., 2010; Jackson et al., 2012; Jackson & Kuha, 2015; Tankebe, 2013). While Hough et al. (2013) argue that trust is about competency of police force, they do not fully differentiate between trust and legitimacy. I modify measures from previous research and call it *police effectiveness*, which refers to perceptions of the police force as a whole.

Tankebe (2013) also argued that obligation to obey the law is a consequence—rather than a component—of legitimacy, which Johnson et al. (2014)’s findings support. This notion contradicts much previous research where obligation to obey the law was conceptualized as part of legitimacy (e.g. Hough et al., 2013; Jackson, 2015; Jackson &

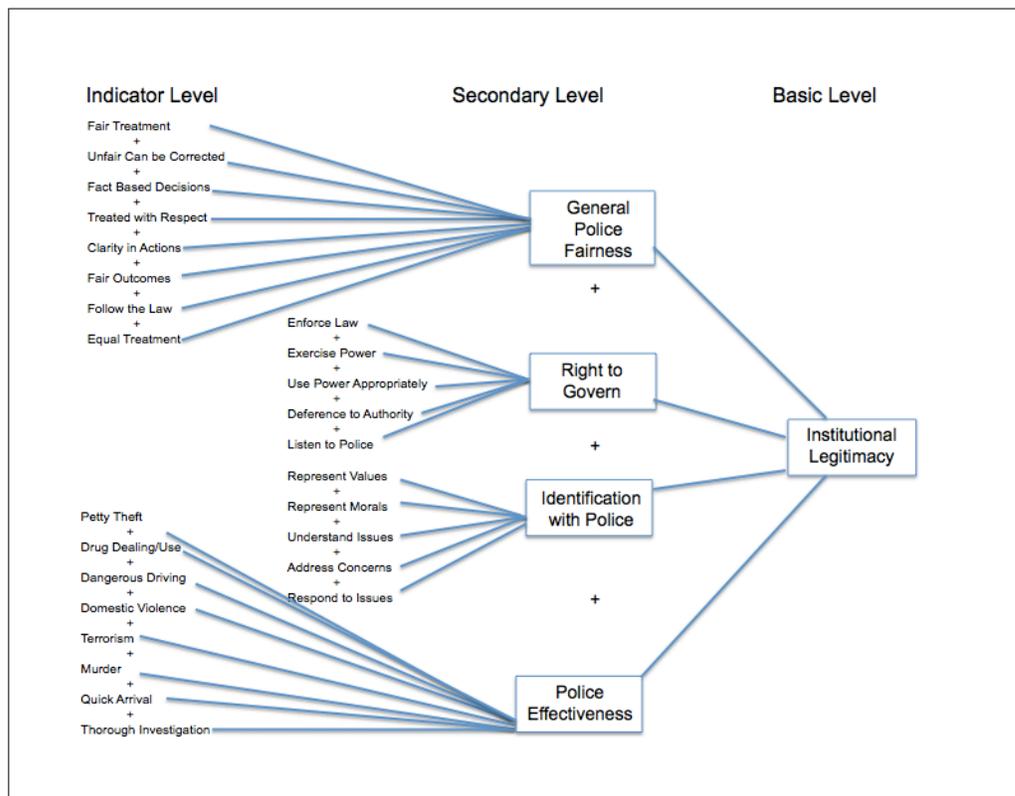


Figure 2.1. What is *Institutional Legitimacy*?

Bradford, 2010; Jackson & Gau, 2015; Jackson & Kuha, 2015; Jackson et al., 2015; Mazzerolle, Antrobus, Bennett & Tyler, 2013; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Yet, many such studies—Tankebe (2013) included—conflate the obligation to obey the law with the obligation to obey the police by asking questions about views of courts, the legal system, and police simultaneously rather than parsing concepts. My a priori argument is that *obligation to obey the police* is a consequence of both *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust*. I measure *obligation to obey the police* from modified questions that Tankebe (2013) and Tyler et al. (2015) asked.

2.2.2 Conceptualizing trust

Public trust, such as that in procedural fairness and justice, has most often been viewed as a precursor to institutional legitimacy (Hough et al., 2013).⁷ Throughout the literature, however, the conceptual relationship between *trust* and *legitimacy* is unclear. Recently, scholars have viewed trust and legitimacy as conceptually related, but distinct from one another (Hawdon, 2008; Kaina, 2008). Some use the terms interchangeably, while others view trust as a part of legitimacy, view legitimacy as a precondition for trust, or differentiate between institutional and interpersonal positions. Research largely has not differentiated between legitimacy and trust at the meso-level (in law enforcement as an institution) and legitimacy and trust at the micro-level (in an individual member of law enforcement). Bradford, Jackson and Hough (2013), for example, argue that legitimacy can come from individual interactions or views of institutions as a whole. Jackson and Bradford (2010) discuss factors that make a police force trustworthy, but neglect to discuss the trustworthy police officer. More recently, Jackson and Gau (2015) argue that trust is a subjective, micro-level assessment whereas legitimacy is held at the meso-level. This proposition, however, has yet to be empirically examined.

In recent scholarship, the distinction between trust and legitimacy has been made in one of three ways. First, trust can be viewed as one of three component parts of legitimacy along with obligation and shared goals and values (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Here trust is a facet of—and often considered a precursor to—legitimacy (Hough et al., 2010), but they are not interchangeable. Within this framework, trust can be either institutional or interpersonal. Institutional trust is more stable and linked with greater cooperation with police whereas interpersonal trust is more variable and susceptible to damage from negative experiences (Bradford & Jackson, 2010).

⁷More recently, research indicates that existing measures of procedural justice and institutional trust may actually be tapping into the same underlying concept, rather than having a causal relationship (Johnson et al., 2014).

Second, legitimacy can be viewed as a precondition for trust (Kaina, 2008). Referring to institutional trust and institutional legitimacy only, Kaina (2008, p. 514) argues that legitimacy “stands for a *reflection* of norms” whereas trust “is related to *performance* in light of certain norms.” She argues that institutional legitimacy can be a precursor to institutional trust, as one must first have preconceived expectations of behavior against which to judge the trustworthiness of the institution’s agents. Her argument implies a difference between an institution and its agents, but this is not fully articulated. Within her framework, trust and legitimacy are analytically distinct, yet are both related to institutions only.

Third, trust can be viewed as an individual-level property, whereas legitimacy is an institutional-level property (Hawdon, 2008; Hough et al., 2013; Jackson & Gau, 2015; Jackson & Kuha, 2015). In this framework, trust is “believing that the police have the right intentions and are competent to do what they are tasked to do” (Hough et al., 2013, p. 333). Trust speaks to the goals and capabilities of police officers. Trust requires three things: “a trustor, a trustee, and some behavior or outcome that the trustor wishes from trustee” (Jackson & Gau, 2015, p. 5). Legitimacy, on the other hand, is “recognizing and justifying police power and authority” (Hough et al., 2013, p. 333). Here legitimacy refers to the authority of law enforcement as an institution and is, again, a precursor to compliance.

It is clear that when people view police as legitimate, they are more likely to comply with them (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). While people may view the institution of the police as legitimate, there can be more variance in trust in individual officers with whom a person has interacted (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). Given the conceptual murkiness outlined above, it is less clear how views of legitimacy and trust in police impact cooperation with law enforcement as a whole versus specific members of law enforcement. For example, Tyler (1990) found that positive experience with law enforcement was linked to greater

satisfaction with the outcome and with the other actor, as well as greater likelihood to cooperate in the future. What is not clear, however, is whether this satisfaction and propensity to cooperate in the future refers to law enforcement in general, or is more officer-specific. Survey respondents are typically asked about how police generally behave, rather than their expectations of personal interactions with law enforcement (Jackson & Gau, 2015). Furthermore, Jackson and Gau (2015) argue that trust in police should be measured as expectation of an officer's future behavior in terms of both fairness and effectiveness.

I argue that trust is comprised of three factors: *specific officer fairness*, *views of officer*, and *officer expectation*. See Figure 2.2 for my conceptualization of *interpersonal trust*. In the literature, scholars have generally conceptualized *trust* in terms of the police force being effective, fair, and sharing the values of the community (Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Here, I focus on *trust* in individual officers and focus on fairness in past experiences, respect for the officer, and expectations of future interactions with that officer. As previously discussed, through factor analysis Tankebe (2013) actually found two dimensions of legitimacy, not four. Additionally, he did not differentiate between views of law enforcement as a whole versus views of individual law enforcement officers. I adapt questions about procedural fairness and distributive fairness, and call it *specific officer fairness*. I measure *respect for officer* as the level of respect, pride, and confidence one has in that specific police officer. As previously discussed, trust is largely about expectation of future interaction (Bradford & Jackson, 2010; Jackson & Gau, 2015). As such, I measure *officer expectation* using a series of questions about expectations of future interaction with that officer.

Subtle distinctions may impact an individual's likelihood to cooperate with police. To better understand cooperation with law enforcement, we need greater conceptual clarity about its hypothesized precursors. Additionally, we need better specification for how

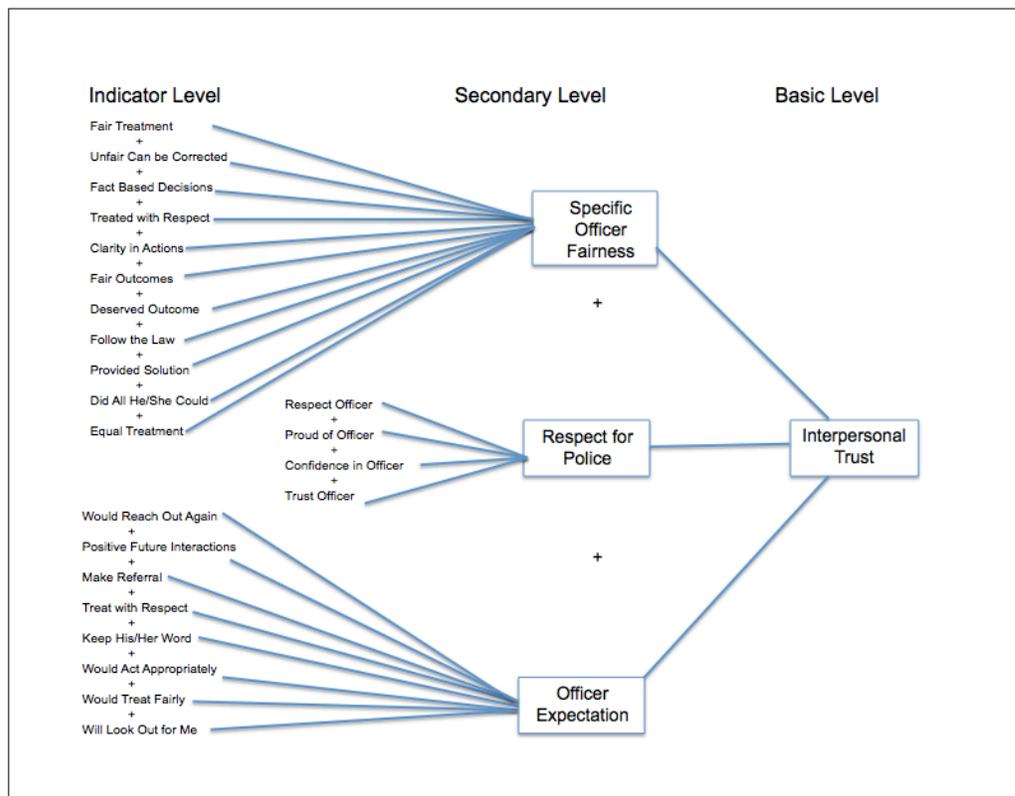


Figure 2.2. What is *Interpersonal Trust*?

these concepts operate at different levels of analysis: the institutional and the individual. Like Hawdon (2008) and Jackson and Gau (2015), I also contend that legitimacy and trust are distinct concepts. Legitimacy is conferred on an institution, such as law enforcement, whereas trust is specific to an individual member of law enforcement. While there is some discussion of *institutional trust* in the literature, trust is largely about expectations of future interactions. These interactions are with individuals, not institutions. While *interpersonal trust* in various members of an agency may aggregate to institutional trust, studying this is beyond the scope of the current project.⁸

Under this conceptualization of *trust* and *legitimacy*, an individual can view the

⁸To assess *institutional trust*, one would measure the level of trust that an individual has in each police officer with whom he or she has had contact. While important, this is beyond the scope of the current project.

Table 2.1. Initial Model for *Institutional Legitimacy*

<i>General Police Fairness</i>	
IL1	The police use rules and procedures that are unfair to some people
IL2	The police would treat me with respect if I had contact with them for any reason
IL3	The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions to people they deal with
IL4	People receive unfair outcomes from the police
IL5	People receive the outcomes they deserve from the police
IL6	The police provide a different quality of service to different kinds of people
<i>Right to Govern</i>	
IL7	The police have the right to enforce the law
IL8	The police have the right to exercise power to protect the public
IL9	The police have no duty to control crime
<i>Identification with Police</i>	
IL10	The police represent the values of people like me
IL11	The police understand the issues that affect people like me
IL12	The police ignore the issues that people like me have
<i>Police Effectiveness</i>	
IL13	Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it, would you call the police?
IL14	In this scenario, if you called the police, how long do you think it would take them to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon?
IL15	In this scenario, the police would conduct a thorough investigation
IL16	In this scenario, the police would find the burglar(s)

institution of the police as legitimate but not trust an individual officer, and vice versa. Variations in levels of *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* may impact propensity to cooperate with law enforcement, and thus should be treated as separate concepts and be empirically examined independently.

2.3 Cooperating with Law Enforcement

2.3.1 Experience with police

Compliance with the law by obeying it may be normative, meaning that it is dictated by morality, values, and social convention (Jackson et al., 2015). Cooperation with legal authorities by alerting police to crime and following their directives, on the other hand, comes from legitimacy (Tankebe, 2013), as opposed to felt obligation to obey the law (Pryce, Johnson & Maguire, 2015). The decision to cooperate with legal authorities has a rational-actor element as well. Individuals must make a rational calculation about whether or not it is in their best interest to inform police about suspicious, potentially criminal, activity. This perspective assumes that people are influenced most strongly by

Table 2.2. Initial Model for *Interpersonal Trust*

<i>Specific Officer Fairness</i>	
IT9	The police officer used the same rules and procedures with me that he/she would with anyone else
IT10	The police officer was disrespectful
IT11	The police officer clearly explained the reasons for his/her actions to me
IT12	I received an unfair outcome from the police officer
IT13	I received the outcome that I deserved from the police officer
IT14	The police officer would provide a different quality of service to different people
<i>Views of Officer</i>	
IT15	I respect this police officer
IT16	I am proud to have this officer on the police force
IT17	I lack confidence in this police officer
<i>Expectation of Future Interactions</i>	
IT18	I will reach out to this officer in the future if I have a problem
IT19	If stopped by this officer in the future, I will be treated unfairly
IT20	This officer will look out for me

their past experience with police when deciding to alert police in the future.

Experience with law enforcement conditions citizen perceptions of police (e.g. Dean, 1980; Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Smith & Hawkins, 1973). Positive perceptions of law enforcement are critical for cooperation, as prior experience with police is related to an individual's decision to report a crime (Conaway & Lohr, 1994). When people view police as more lawful and more likely to act with distributive fairness (Tankebe, 2013), and view interactions with police as more procedurally just (Pryce et al., 2015), they are more likely to cooperate with law. Interestingly, Tankebe (2013) found that people were less likely to cooperate with police when they viewed law enforcement as more effective, while Pryce et al. (2015) found the opposite. The role of perceived effectiveness on cooperation needs further exploration. Additionally, past research does not explore how experience with law enforcement differentially influences views of *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust*.

For a member of the public, contact with the police can be either voluntary or involuntary (Decker, 1981) and either positive or negative (Jackson & Kuha, 2015). Additionally, not all citizens have experience—either positive or negative—with law enforcement. For those without direct police contact, vicarious experience, community norms (Miller &

Davis, 2008), and legal socialization (Piquero, Fagan, Mulvey, Steinverg & Odgers, 2005) may impact the decision of whether or not to inform police about crime. The extent of interactions with police and the nature of how those interactions were initiated likely impact propensity to cooperate in the future (Murphy, 2009; Wells, 2007). By exploring how different types of interactions with police impact views of police, we can better understand why some people cooperate with legal authorities while others do not.

Perceptions of law enforcement are learned from personal and collective experience (e.g. Skogan, 2005; Tyler, 2005; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Personal experience with members of the police informs expectations of future interactions. More positive experience with law enforcement in general and individual officers specifically impact the likelihood that an individual will seek out police help in the future (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Norms that a person learns from his community on handling conflict impact propensity to engage the police for assistance or to alert them about potential criminal activity. People from communities with greater legal cynicism⁹ will be less likely to seek out police assistance, as the responsibility for social control is viewed to be more internal. This will be particularly the case for individuals who are more closely bonded to that community, as greater communication helps to solidify legal cynicism.

The process-based model is what has been traditionally used to explain cooperation with law enforcement. I am breaking the concept of *legitimacy* into *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust*, and looking at the roles that experience and community factors play to see how these together impact reporting crimes. I argue that the decision to alert law enforcement about crime and potential terrorism can best be modeled using rational choice, and that rationality is constrained by experience and cultural factors. An individual who has had more positive experiences with police will have more trust in officers and view law enforcement as legitimate. Either trusting a police officer or viewing

⁹Legal cynicism refers to the cultural “lens” through which individuals view situations with the law and law enforcement, and judge it as illegitimate or inadequate (Kirk & Papachristos, 2010).

law enforcement as more legitimate increases the likelihood that an individual will alert the police to suspicious activity.¹⁰ While views of police and expectations of backlash from police for calling them is important, expectations of backlash from one's community are also critical. In some communities, the norm is to not cooperate with law enforcement. If an individual is tightly bonded to such a community, then we would not expect that person to alert police to suspicious activity. I argue that an individual will be more likely to cooperate with law enforcement when he trusts an officer and views law enforcement as legitimate, and is either from a community where there is not a norm against helping the police or is from a community where such a norm exists but he is not tightly bonded to it. An individual will be unlikely to cooperate with law enforcement when she neither trusts an officer nor views law enforcement as legitimate. Even if a person does view law enforcement as legitimate and/or trusts a police officer, if she is tightly bonded to a community with a norm against helping the police, then she still will be less likely to cooperate.

Alternatively, some people may be more likely to report crimes than others due to either opportunity or strain. To report a crime, there must be a crime to report and an officer to whom one can report it. Perhaps people who are more likely to encounter both crime and police officers in their routine activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979) will be more likely to report crimes. Strain (Agnew, 1984) could offer another potential explanation for crime reporting, as those with more grievances and anger could be more likely to raise issues to the police. I will examine the impact of these alternative explanations on crime reporting.

I argue that there are two direct pathways¹¹ that can lead to cooperation with the

¹⁰Rather than assume that everyone has had contact with a member of law enforcement, participants were first asked if they have ever had such contact. Only those who have had contact with an officer were posed questions about interpersonal trust in an officer

¹¹There may also be an indirect pathway from *institutional legitimacy* to *interpersonal trust*, as Kaina (2008)—perhaps unintentionally—alluded to by saying that legitimacy could be a precondition to

police: viewing law enforcement as legitimate¹² and trusting an individual member of law enforcement.¹³ Legitimacy is the common pathway identified for compliance with the law (e.g. Decker, 1981; Tyler, 2004). Individuals, however, may trust an individual police officer but not generalize this to police as an institution. Regardless of whether an individual trusts the police as an institution or an individual officer, both can lead to cooperation with law enforcement and both are contingent upon fair treatment¹⁴ by the police. When a person trusts an individual officer but does not view the institution of law enforcement as legitimate, he may be more likely to alert that specific officer only to suspicious activity. When a person views law enforcement as an institution that is legitimate, then she may be more likely to cooperate with any police officer. Based on this discussion, I derive the following hypotheses:

H1: People who view law enforcement as more legitimate will be more likely to alert police to criminal behavior in general.

H2: People who have greater trust in an individual member of law enforcement

trust as mentioned above. Testing this would require temporal ordering and is beyond the scope of the present study.

¹²As previously discussed, the meaning of both *legitimacy* and *trust* is currently contested in the literature. Building from the literature on *legitimacy*, I measure *institutional legitimacy* with items that tap into: procedural fairness, distributive fairness, lawfulness, and effectiveness, which Tankebe (2013) argues are components of legitimacy. Additionally, I measure items that tap into obligation to obey the law, which Tyler (e.g. Tyler & Jackson, 2014) argues to be part of legitimacy but Tankebe (2013) argues to be a separate concept.

¹³Jackson and Gau (2015) suggest that trust is more subjective, and micro-level. Accordingly, I ask about personal interactions with and trust in individual members of law enforcement.

¹⁴As Tyler (2004, p. 94) states, “people think that decisions are being more fairly made when authorities are unbiased and make their decisions using objective indicators, not personal views. As a consequence, evidence of evenhandedness and objectivity enhances perceived fairness. Basically, people are seeking a level playing field in which no one is unfairly advantaged. Because people are seldom in a position to know what the correct or reasonable outcome is, they focus on evidence that the decision-making procedures by which outcomes are arrived at show evidence of fairness. Transparency provides an opportunity to make that judgment.”

will be more likely to alert police to criminal behavior in general.

People are generally more likely to report crimes that are viewed as more serious (McCarthy, Gehlbach, Frye & Buckley, 2015; Skogan, 1984). Regardless of one's views of law enforcement, I expect the following:

H3: People will be more likely to alert police to interpersonal crimes than property crimes.

2.3.2 Cooperation and identity

Research on cooperation with police has generally focused on racial differences for reporting common crimes (Murphy & Cherney, 2011; Tyler, 2005, 2010). Additionally, much of the work on perceptions of legitimacy and legal cynicism has focused on structural disadvantage, largely within urban, segregated communities. Racial discrimination—particularly against African-Americans—has contributed to growing distrust in political institutions, of which law enforcement is a part (LaFree, 1998). Many have found that race has the strongest impact on interactions with and perceptions of the police (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004, 2005). In the United States, Caucasian citizens have more positive views of law enforcement and will be more likely to cooperate with them than Black or Hispanic citizens (Tyler, 2005; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Much of extant research, however, neglects to examine within-race variation. Race-based explanations of differences in perceptions of police focus on between-group, not within-group, variation. Views of legitimacy vary by ethnic group (Tyler & Huo, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch 2004, 2005), and this may be the strongest predictor of perception of police (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Murphy & Cherney, 2011). Treating racial groups as homogeneous, however, ignores the impact that other factors—such as experience and

community—may have on cooperation with legal authorities. For all hypotheses, I expect the findings to hold across racial groups. Additionally, I expect variation to be more a function of the independent variables than of race.

2.3.3 Cooperation and community

Community cohesion can impact expectation of backlash through informal, social means. Community norms about handling conflict and the level of cohesion within a community impact the likelihood that a member of that community will inform the police about potential deviance (Anderson, 1999; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). Community-level differences in social capital can also explain variations in views of trust and legitimacy (Hawdon, 2008). In denser and close-knit communities, there may be norms to handle disputes internally rather than externally (Merry, 1979). Members of disadvantaged communities may favor informal methods of resolving conflict over relying on police assistance (Anderson, 1999), yet it is unclear how this applies across different communities. Legal socialization can occur through both personal and vicarious experiences with police (Piquero et al., 2005; Reisig & Parks, 2003; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). When members of these different groups do not have regular interactions with one another, views of one another are conditioned on past actions and experiences of other actors (Fearon & Laitin, 1996).

Community norms have long guided cooperation with legal authorities with regard to crime, though these norms can be mitigated to some extent when crimes take place in public, and thus are not as easy to ignore. Since recent Islamic radicalization has largely occurred in close-knit groups (START, 2015), this is particularly concerning in the context of counterterrorism. If there is a dispute between two such groups, the preference may be to let the other group police themselves internally (Fearon & Laitin, 1996). For example, this was the norm in Minneapolis until the mid-2000s when law enforcement strove to build relationships with members of the Somali-American community there. There may also be hesitancy to involve police for fear that this could lead to more negative views of

their community, as Jamal (2005) finds for Arab Muslim Americans in Detroit. Similarly, people may be hesitant to involve police for fear of backlash from within the community itself. To date, we do not have a strong understanding of how community norms and cohesion impact cooperation with law enforcement.

I argue that an individual's decision to alert police to crime also depends on community views about informing law enforcement. The decision to report crime is partially a function of fear of backlash and level of distrust in law enforcement (Kidd & Chayet, 1984), and partially a function of fear of backlash from within the community. Based on this discussion, I derive the following hypotheses:

H4: People who are members of communities with stronger norms in favor of cooperating with police will be more likely to alert police to criminal behavior.

2.3.4 Cooperation and terrorism

How authorities treat people gives those people cues about their value in society (Lind & Tyler, 1988). This can be particularly important for cooperation with law enforcement in counterterrorism. When people view law enforcement as legitimate, they are more likely to cooperate with police in general (Tyler & Huo, 2002, Tyler, 2011) and in counterterrorism (Schulhofer, Tyler & Huq, 2011; Tyler, Schulhofer & Huq, 2010). In a panel study pre- and post- the Boston Marathon Bombing, LaFree and Adamczyk (2016) found that people were more likely to report terrorism when the threat was more salient—in the months after the attack—though this effect dissipated after 16 months. They found similar patterns for reporting crime more generally.

Within minority ethnic communities, however, Bowling (1999) argued that there is less trust in police. This is because police involvement in their communities disproportionately focuses on them as suspects, not victims (Ben-Porat, 2008), which results in low

confidence. Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans may be more distrustful, angry, and fearful of law enforcement since 9/11 (Ben-Porat, 2008; Gaskew, 2009; Henderson, Ortiz, Sugie & Miller, 2006). Furthermore, some members of these communities reported that the Patriot Act decreased the likelihood that they would cooperate with the police for terrorism cases (Gaskew, 2009). This can be changed, however, with better relationships between these groups. There is particular need to protect and strengthen relationships between Arab-American and Muslim-American communities and law enforcement (Innes, 2006; Schanzer, Kurzman & Moosa, 2010; Thacher, 2005). For example, Pickering, McCulloch and Wright-Neville (2008) suggest that police legitimacy leads to more effective policing in diverse communities as it applies to counterterrorism.

It is important to understand conditions that increase the likelihood that citizens—including members of communities at greater risk for crime—will alert police to crime generally and potential terrorism, specifically. In general, people are more likely to report crimes that are viewed as more serious (McCarthy et al., 2015; Skogan, 1984). In studies on reporting crimes outside of the United States, this is particularly the case when anonymity is guaranteed (McCarthy, Gehlbach, Frye & Buckley, 2015). It is not clear, however, if these findings apply to the United States in general, to different communities within the United States, and to counterterrorism efforts. From this discussion, I derive the following hypotheses:

H5: People who view law enforcement as more legitimate will be more likely to alert police to potential terrorism.

H6: People who have greater trust in an individual member of law enforcement will be more likely to alert police to potential terrorism.

H7: People who are members of communities with stronger norms in favor of cooperating with police will be more likely to alert police to potential terrorism.

In sum, individuals want to be safe from potential harm. Harm can come from violence, from backlash against their community should a member engage in that violence, or from within their community should an individual alert law enforcement to the perpetrators of violence. This assumes both that the individual is either on the fence or not sympathetic to criminal action or the violent cause, and has the capacity to alert law enforcement about the possible threat. From a rationalist perspective, people weigh the costs and benefits of breaking the law (Hough et al., 2010). I argue that they also do so for cooperating with police. From a rational perspective, an individual will be motivated to alert police to both crime and potential terrorism when the perceived benefits of doing so outweigh the perceived costs. McCarthy et al. (2015) suggest that there is a rational economic decision-making process for reporting crime. They hypothesized that time to report a crime would be the largest cost to deter an individual from reporting crime, but this was not supported. This, however, does not adequately address how perceptions of benefits and costs are calculated, or how rationality is bounded (Simon, 1991).

From a rational choice perspective (Cornish & Clarke, 1986), people will alert police to crime when the benefits of doing so outweigh the costs. I argue that calculations about benefits and costs come from three primary sources: trust in police officers and views of law enforcement legitimacy; learning from one's own past experience and the experiences of others; and cultural norms about handling conflict and involving police. From a trust and legitimacy perspective, people will alert police to crime when they trust police and view law enforcement as legitimate, though these concepts need more theoretical attention. From a learning perspective, people will alert police to crime when they have learned from others that this is the proper response. From a cultural perspective (Merry, 1979),

people in communities where institutional means of justice are respected over informal mechanisms will be more likely to alert police to crime.

CHAPTER 3

WHY DO PEOPLE COOPERATE WITH POLICE?: METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

3.1 Experimental Design

3.1.1 Dependent variable

I use a choice-based conjoint design to examine factors that impact the propensity to alert the police to crime. Conjoint experimental designs are commonly used by market research companies, but are newer to social science research (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). While this design has been employed in political science (e.g. Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Hainmueller, Hopkins & Yamamoto, 2014; Wright, Levy & Citrin, 2014), to my knowledge, this is the first application within criminology.

Participants are put in a situation in which they are the witness to a host of crime scenarios, which are shown in pairs. They are asked to make decisions about reporting those crimes to the police. The dependent variable in each hypothesis is the propensity to alert police to crime—either crime in general or potential terrorism. Participants are provided with two incidents¹ that randomly differ on factors that would theoretically

¹All incidents are crimes, but the word "incident" is used to minimize framing effects.

Please read the descriptions of two incidents carefully. Imagine that you were a **witness** to each activity. Then, indicate whether **you personally** are more likely to report Incident A or Incident B to the police.

Incident A	Incident B

If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you more likely to report to the police?

Incident A Incident B

Would you report **INCIDENT A** to the police?

Absolutely would report Likely would report Possibly would report May report, may not report Possibly would not report Likely would not report Absolutely would not report

Would you report **INCIDENT B** to the police?

Absolutely would report Likely would report Possibly would report May report, may not report Possibly would not report Likely would not report Absolutely would not report

Figure 3.1. Experimental Design

impact likelihood of reporting: crime type, police performance, and community reaction to reporting crime to police. See Figure 3.1 for example of how conjoint choice appears on the screen to participants.

I measure the outcome variable in two ways: preference of reporting between two incidents and likelihood to report each incident separately. First, participants are asked, "If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you *more* likely to report to the police?"² This is coded as a binary where $1=incident\ reported$ and $0=incident\ not\ reported$.

²As Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) discuss, similarities between their results and those of Wright

The benefits of this question include: forcing participants to make a choice and minimizing general views on reporting crimes to police to focus on factors that make reporting more or less likely. Conversely, a limitation of this question is that one crime must be reported and the other must not be, which may not reflect some people’s true propensities. Second, participants are asked a pair of questions about their propensity to report each incident: “Would you report INCIDENT A to the police?” and “Would you report INCIDENT B to the police?” This is coded on a 7-point scale. For analyses, I examine this two ways: those who select *1=Absolutely would report* and a binary (Report) that is coded as 1 if the score is above the midpoint and 0 if the score is below the midpoint.³ In the manuscript, I report results for ordered logistic regression models where *1=Absolutely would report*. I am interested in actually reporting, rather than any positive—but less certain—view on reporting likelihood. Substantively, results do not differ except that the predicted probability of reporting increases when the dependent variable is relaxed to include any positive inclination toward reporting. Results using other measures of the dependent variable are discussed where appropriate. Lastly, to add a qualitative element to better understand why people make the decisions they do about crime reporting, participants are also asked why they would report one incident over the other in an open-ended format.

Within the conjoint design, participants are shown a series of six pairs⁴ with randomly assigned attributes that are displayed in succession on separate screens. In total, each participant evaluated a total of 12 crimes. I randomly vary the two incidents on three attributes⁵ which would theoretically impact likelihood of reporting to the police:

et al. (2014) suggest that results are not sensitive to framing as a forced choice versus an individual dichotomous decision.

³Participants who select 4=“May report, may not report” are removed from this analysis.

⁴Hainmueller, Hopkins and Yamamoto (2015, draft) find no evidence of satisficing with an increased number of tasks, meaning that response fatigue is not a threat.

⁵Hainmueller et al. (2015, draft) find that masking increases when the number of attributes goes above four. This means that when there are more than four attributes in the conjoint, it becomes more difficult to distinguish the impact of one attribute from another.

Table 3.1. Survey-Embedded Conjoint Experiment

Attribute	Level
<i>Crime Type</i>	Vandalism
	A Break-in
	Gang Activity
	Domestic Violence
	Terrorism Activity
	Homicide
<i>Police Reaction</i>	Effective
	Ineffective
	Respectful
	Disrespectful
<i>Community Reaction</i>	Support
	Backlash
	Anonymous

crime type, police performance, and community reaction to reporting crime to police. As shown in Table 3.1, each of these attributes takes on multiple values. There are six possible values for crime type, four possible values for police performance, and three possible values for community reaction to reporting. There are 72 unique incidents. As shown in Table 3.2, crime types were chosen to vary on both social impact and whether they tend to occur in private or in public.

Table 3.2: Crime Types for Conjoint Choices

Social Impact/Scale	Public	Private
Low	Vandalism	A Break-In
Medium	Gang Activity	Domestic Violence
High	Terrorism Activity	Homicide

Conjoint experimental designs allow comparison of multiple covariates simultaneously and remove underlying views of the topic—in this case cooperating with law enforcement—by forcing a choice between pairs. Such an experiment also reduces social desirability bias by forcing a choice of which crime to report between a series of pairs as compared to merely asking about likelihood to report a crime described in a vignette. Since each attribute level is randomized, I am able to compare the effect and relative importance of each attribute—and level of each attribute—on the outcome variables. Additionally, this design allows for comparison of interaction effects on crime reporting to explore when attributes have a greater or lesser impact. Moreover, I can explore the

impact that participant characteristics and views—such as those discussed below—have on likelihood to report across the attributes.

3.1.2 Independent variables

The independent variables in this study are: *institutional legitimacy*, *interpersonal trust*, *community norms about handling conflict*, and each level of the attributes for crime scenarios. Using past literature as a guide (Johnson et al., 2014; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler et al., 2015), I ask questions to develop measures of these concepts to test my hypotheses. Participants are shown four blocks of questions in a randomized order to assess: *institutional legitimacy*, *interpersonal trust*, *community norms about handling conflict*, and the meanings of legitimacy and trust.

For hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 5, I conceptualize *institutional legitimacy* as comprised of the following secondary levels: *general police fairness*, *right to govern*, *identification with police*, and *police effectiveness*⁶. The secondary level for *general police fairness* is measured with six indicators, the secondary level for *police effectiveness* is measured with four indicators, and the other two secondary levels are measured with three indicators each. Of these 16 indicators of *institutional legitimacy*, nine are reverse coded. Prior to analysis, reverse coded items are flipped so that higher scores indicate stronger views of *institutional legitimacy*. I use confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the fit of the model to the data and adjust accordingly before including these as variables in the model as an additive index.⁷

A person can view law enforcement as legitimate without direct contact with legal

⁶This is measuring views of the effectiveness of law enforcement as an institution. Recall in the conjoint two options for the police performance attribute measure efficacy, but are measuring scenario-specific effectiveness.

⁷As robustness checks, I estimated models a number of ways that are discussed below. In the interest of parsimony, I added items together to form parcels that measure the secondary levels of each concept. These parcels were then added together to create a score on each concept (the additive index referenced here). I used top and bottom quartile scores on the concept overall, and on each parcel individually, to test my hypotheses. None of the modeling decisions substantively change the results.

authorities. Trust, however, is interpersonal and thus requires contact. Since not everyone has interaction with police, questions about *interpersonal trust* are not appropriate for all participants. Prior to asking these questions, participants are first asked, "Have you ever had any contact with any police officer? (Some examples might be a traffic stop, reporting a crime, calling for help, being questioned or arrested, or speaking to an officer on the street.)" Only participants who answer affirmatively see the following questions. Participants are asked about the frequency of their interactions with law enforcement, the general tone of their personal experiences, the general tone of their friends' experiences and their family's experiences, and whether or not there is a specific officer that the participant trusts. Participants are then asked to think about their most recent interactions with a police officer and to provide brief context about that interaction.

To measure *interpersonal trust*, I ask participants a series of questions about the officer with whom they most recently had contact.⁸ For hypotheses 2 and 6, I conceptualize *interpersonal trust* as comprised of the following secondary levels: *specific officer fairness*, *respect for officer*, and *officer expectation*. *Specific officer fairness* is measured with six indicators and the other two secondary levels are measured with three indicators each. Of these twelve indicators of *interpersonal trust*, seven are reverse coded. Prior to analysis, reverse coded items are flipped so that higher scores indicate stronger views of *interpersonal trust*. I use CFA to test the fit of the model to the data and adjust accordingly before including these as variables in the models as an additive index.⁹

To measure *community norms about handling conflict* for hypotheses 4 and 7, participants answer questions about their community's norms for handling conflict. Participants

⁸Most recent contact minimizes the likelihood that participants will focus on most significant interactions that were either very positive or, more often, very negative. I asked participants to rate the general tone of their last interaction with a police officer: 59% said it was positive, 25.69% said it was neutral, and 15.31% said it was negative.

⁹Again, I estimated models a number of ways that are discussed below and do not substantively change the results.

answer three questions about *community legal socialization*, one of which is reverse coded. Prior to analysis, reverse coded items are flipped so that higher scores indicate stronger norms for engaging police to handle conflict. Participants then answer three questions about their *attachment to community*, and three questions about their level of *trust in community members*. Each is measured as an additive index.

Lastly, for hypothesis 3, crime type is measured by conjoint experiments that ask participants to choose which crime they would be more likely to report between two choices. As discussed above, the conjoint design allows for comparison between different attribute levels. Because participants evaluate a series of crimes, I can also compare likelihood to report within individuals.

The online survey is laid out as follows: The first block of questions are screeners to ensure that sample quotas by race are met for gender, age, education, income, and geographic region. Participants then answer a few warm-up questions about where they live and their satisfaction with the community and with their life. Participants are then randomly assigned to view either the conjoint choices first or the survey questions first. As a filler task, participants answer questions from Gosling, Rentfrow, and Swann (2003)'s Ten Item Personality Measure (TIPI). Participants then answer either the conjoint choices or the survey questions, whichever was not shown first. Finally, participants answer a series of potentially sensitive demographic questions. The survey and all procedures received IRB approval. See Appendix A for the IRB approval sheet and the full survey.

3.1.3 Alternative explanations

It is possible that there are other competing explanations for propensity to alert police to crimes. To adjudicate between these potential competing explanations using other criminological theories, I included three questions each to tap into routine activities theory and strain theory explanations. I created an additive index of routine activities questions and an additive index of strain theory questions that were included in analyses

to compare my argument to alternatives.

3.2 Sample

My theory for why some people inform police about crime is general, rather than only applicable to a specific community. For this reason, data come from members of three racial groups across the United States: Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics. My data come from a survey of U.S. residents administered through Qualtrics between February and April 2016.¹⁰ These data are comprised of 1,900 completed surveys with three samples: Caucasians (N=650), African-Americans (N=624), and Hispanics (N=626). Each sample roughly approximates the population as reflected in the 2014 United States Census on gender, age, education, income, and region of the country. See Appendix B for a full summary of sample demographics compared to the census data.

3.3 Descriptive Statistics

3.3.1 Reporting crime to police

Each participant was shown a series of six pairings with two incidents per pairing, and was asked to rate the likelihood that they would report each incident to the police on a 7-point scale. By adding the likelihood of reporting each incident, I created an *overall reporting likelihood score* for each participant. Scores ranged from 12 to 84 (N=1,888, $M=73.12$, $SD=10.91$) with higher scores indicating a greater overall reporting likelihood. ANOVA indicates that there is a significant difference in overall reporting likelihood by race, $F(2, 1885) = 13.71$, $p < 0.001$. As with previous studies, Caucasian participants were most likely to report incidents to the police ($M=74.75$, $SD=9.66$), followed by Hispanics ($M=72.98$, $SD=10.45$), then African-Americans ($M=71.57$, $SD=12.30$). While statis-

¹⁰Prior to launching the survey through Qualtrics, it was piloted on Amazon Mechanical Turk to solicit feedback on clarity and ensure that the survey flow (meaning the order in which each section is displayed) and randomization were properly utilized.

tically significant, these differences may not have a strong substantive meaning. The practical implication is that Caucasians have a likelihood to report score that is roughly 0.15 points higher than Hispanics and 0.25 points higher than African-Americans per incident.

3.3.2 Institutional legitimacy

First, I used CFA to test the fit of the model to the data. I adjusted the model slightly to combine two of the proposed factors into one. Then, I created an additive *institutional legitimacy* score for each participant using the 16 indicators for this concept. Scores ranged from 21 to 108 (N=1,896, $M=76.93$, $SD=16.20$) with higher scores indicating greater view of law enforcement's *institutional legitimacy*. I also examine the impact that each dimension of *institutional legitimacy* has on the outcome variables as discussed in Appendix B.

3.3.3 Interpersonal trust

Of the 1,900 participants, 1,605 (84.47%) indicated that they have had contact with a police officer at some point in their life.¹¹ Only participants who had contact with a police officer were asked the block of questions to measure *interpersonal trust* in the last officer with whom they had contact. Like above, I first used CFA to test the fit of the model to the data. I adjusted the model slightly to combine the three proposed factors into one. Then, I created an additive *interpersonal trust* score for each participant using the 12 indicators for this concept. Scores ranged from 12 to 86 (N=1,405, $M=63.01$, $SD=17.95$) with higher scores indicating greater view of *interpersonal trust* in the officer. When asked if "legitimacy" and "trust" mean the same thing when referring to the police, most participants (48.21%) said no, while 29.21% said yes, and 22.58% were unsure.

¹¹The following is a breakdown of participants ever having contact with a police officer by race: 606 of 650 (93.23%) Caucasians, 504 of 624 (80.77%) African-Americans, and 495 of 626 (79.07%) Hispanics.

3.3.4 Community norms

Community norms about handling conflict were measured in four ways: a conflict scenario, *community legal socialization*, *attachment to community*, and *trust in community members*. Participants were asked how they would handle a situation where someone in their community backed into their car and refused to pay. I created an overall score of *community norms about handling conflict* index by adding the remaining items together. Scores ranged from 12 to 63 (N=1,900, $M=44.83$, $SD=8.85$) with higher scores indicating more community norms that would favor contacting law enforcement to address crime. To examine if these dimensions have unique impacts on likelihood to report crime, I then broke *community norms about handling conflict* into three parts: *community legal socialization*, *attachment to community*, and *trust in community members*. Results are discussed in Appendix B.

3.3.5 Correlations among independent variables

There are three key independent variables in this study: *institutional legitimacy*, *interpersonal trust*, and *community norms about handling conflict*. See Appendix B for correlations among these independent variables

3.3.6 Alternative explanations

It is possible that some people are more likely to report crimes than others due to either opportunity or strain. To test these alternative explanations, I included items from both opportunity (routine activities) theory and strain theory that were adapted to crime reporting, rather than crime committing. An additive *routine activities* score was created for each participant using the 3 indicators for this concept. Scores ranged from 3 to 21 (N=1,898, $M=12.75$, $SD=3.07$) with higher scores equaling more opportunity to report crimes. An additive *strain* score was created for each participant using the 2 indicators for this concept. Scores ranged from 2 to 14 (N=1,900, $M=6.90$, $SD=2.08$) with higher

scores indicating more strain.

3.4 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

I first used CFA to test fit of the initial model asserting that *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* are conceptually distinct. As shown in Table 3.3, items to measure *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* load clearly onto two distinct factors. Goodness of fit measures indicated that the model fits with data reasonably¹² (CFI = 0.894; TLI = 0.885; RMSEA = 0.073; SRMR=0.048; $x^2 = 2,956.47$, $p < 0.001$).

Three items (IL9, IL13, and IT14) did not load strongly onto either factor. I ran CFA without them in the model as well, but the results were not substantively changed and the fit statistics indicate this model was a worse fit for the data. Thus, the initial model is used for analysis.

¹²While there are many potential indexes for fit in CFA, I follow Hu & Bentler's (1999) guidance on using two measures of absolute model fit: root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR). For both RMSEA and SRMR, lower scores are better and <0.08 is the recommended threshold. Hu & Bentler (1999) also recommend using two measures of relative fit: comparative fit index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis index (TLI). For both CFI and TLI, higher scores are better and >0.90 is the recommended threshold. After checking the residuals, it appears that the model chi-square fit is being overly sensitive and that the misfit is negligible.

Table 3.3. CFA Factor Loadings: *Institutional Legitimacy* and *Interpersonal Trust*

Factor/Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
<i>Institutional Legitimacy</i>		
IL1. The police use rules and procedures that are unfair to some people	0.238	0.6948
IL2. The police would treat me with respect if I had contact with them for any reason	0.4529	0.6110
IL3. The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions to people they deal with	0.3551	0.6792
IL4. People receive unfair outcomes from the police	0.2291	0.6885
IL5. People receive the outcomes they deserve from the police	0.2459	0.6870
IL6. The police provide a different quality of service to different kinds of people	0.2083	0.6155
IL7. The police have the right to enforce the law	0.2189	0.4274
IL8. The police have the right to exercise power to protect the public	0.2063	0.5457
IL9. The police have no duty to control crime	0.1108	0.2865
IL10. The police represent the values of people like me	0.3657	0.7238
IL11. The police understand the issues that affect people like me	0.3602	0.7029
IL12. The police ignore the issues that people like me have	0.3391	0.6915
IL13. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it, would you call the police?	0.2369	0.2495
IL14. In this scenario, if you called the police, how long do you think it would take them to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon?	0.2369	0.4089
IL15. In this scenario, the police would conduct a thorough investigation	0.3181	0.6185
IL16. In this scenario, the police would find the burglar(s)	0.2678	0.5446
<i>Interpersonal Trust</i>		
IT9. The police officer used the same rules and procedures with me that he/she would with anyone else	0.6908	0.4057
IT10. The police officer was disrespectful	0.7676	0.2603
IT11. The police officer clearly explained the reasons for his/her actions to me	0.7331	0.3084
IT12. I received an unfair outcome from the police officer	0.7229	0.2264
IT13. I received the outcome that I deserved from the police officer	0.7749	0.2800
IT14. The police officer would provide a different quality of service to different people	0.3717	0.3542
IT15. I respect this police officer	0.8073	0.3238
IT16. I am proud to have this officer on the police force	0.8066	0.3623
IT17. I lack confidence in this police officer	0.6941	0.2993
IT18. I will reach out to this officer in the future if I have a problem	0.6070	0.3570
IT19. If stopped by this officer in the future, I will be treated unfairly	0.5993	0.3030
IT20. This officer will look out for me	0.6264	0.3795

After empirically demonstrating that *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* are conceptually distinct, I then use CFA to test the fit of the initial model for *institutional legitimacy* that contains 4 factors and 16 items. The initial model indicates that *right to govern* and *police effectiveness* were distinct factors, but showed overlap between *general police fairness* and *identification with police*. Accordingly, I collapsed the items from these two overlapping dimensions into a single factor called *general view of police fairness* and estimated the CFA model again with three total factors (Brown, 2006). Table 3.4 shows the factor loadings in my final model for *institutional legitimacy*. Goodness of fit measures

indicated that the model fits with data acceptably (CFI = 0.925; TLI = 0.911; RMSEA = 0.075, CI: 0.071 to 0.079; SRMR = 0.042; $\chi^2 = 1089.92, p < 0.001$).

Table B.3 in Appendix B shows the final factor correlations among the final dimensions of *institutional legitimacy*. Like above, two items (IL9 and IL13) did not load strongly onto any factor. I estimated CFA without them in the model as well. The RMSEA score was above the recommended threshold, which indicates an inadequate fit. Thus, the model with all 16 items is used for analysis.

Table 3.4. CFA Factor Loadings: *Institutional Legitimacy*

Factor/Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
IL1. The police use rules and procedures that are unfair to some people	0.7394	0.1932	0.2047
IL2. The police would treat me with respect if I had contact with them for any reason	0.4025	0.4812	0.3888
IL3. The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions to people they deal with	0.5203	0.3861	0.3979
IL4. People receive unfair outcomes from the police	0.6943	0.2004	0.2409
IL5. People receive the outcomes they deserve from the police	0.632	0.2970	0.3233
IL6. The police provide a different quality of service to different kinds of people	0.813	0.1644	0.1036
IL7. The police have the right to enforce the law	0.1561	0.1599	0.6133
IL8. The police have the right to exercise power to protect the public	0.2240	0.2488	0.6070
IL9. The police have no duty to control crime	0.1619	0.1188	0.3232
IL10. The police represent the values of people like me	0.5310	0.4412	0.4143
IL11. The police understand the issues that affect people like me	0.5307	0.4281	0.3832
IL12. The police ignore the issues that people like me have	0.6146	0.3604	0.2635
IL13. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it, would you call the police?	0.0908	0.2569	0.2276
L14. In this scenario, if you called the police, how long do you think it would take them to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon?	0.1605	0.5067	0.1699
IL15. In this scenario, the police would conduct a thorough investigation	0.2607	0.6976	0.2777
IL16. In this scenario, the police would find the burglar(s)	0.2659	0.6557	0.1350

I then use CFA to test the fit of the initial model for *interpersonal trust* that contains 3 factors and 12 items. The initial model indicates a high degree of correlation among the three proposed dimensions. Accordingly, I collapsed these into a single dimension called *interpersonal trust* and estimated the CFA model again with only 1 factor (Brown, 2006). Table 3.5 shows the factor loadings in my final model for *interpersonal trust*. Goodness of fit measures indicated that the model fits with data acceptably¹³ (CFI = 0.943; TLI =

¹³Note that the RMSEA score is slightly above the recommended threshold, but the other fit

0.931; RMSEA = 0.095, CI: 0.089 – 0.101; SRMR: 0.035; $\chi^2 = 734.48, p < 0.001$).

Table 3.5: CFA Factor Loadings: *Interpersonal Trust*

Factor/Item	Factor 1
IT9. The police officer used the same rules and procedures with me that he/she would with anyone else	0.7950
IT10. The police officer was disrespectful	0.8064
IT11. The police officer clearly explained the reasons for his/her actions to me	0.7897
IT12. I received an unfair outcome from the police officer	0.7521
IT13. I received the outcome that I deserved from the police officer	0.8181
IT14. The police officer would provide a different quality of service to different people	0.4893
IT15. I respect this police officer	0.8684
IT16. I am proud to have this officer on the police force	0.8864
IT17. I lack confidence in this police officer	0.7575
IT18. I will reach out to this officer in the future if I have a problem	0.7009
IT19. If stopped by this officer in the future, I will be treated unfairly	0.6706
IT20. This officer will look out for me	0.7284

Results indicate that *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* are correlated yet conceptually distinct. As a robustness check to explore their unique contributions to the outcome variable of crime reporting, I estimated two regression models using the factors that loaded most strongly onto *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust*, respectively. The dependent variable in these models is an additive score of likelihood to report across the 12 incidents that each participant rated. When thinking about law enforcement as a whole, believing police are those who represent one's values ($b=1.09, p<0.001$) and who understand issues that affect people like you ($b=0.80, p<0.001$) increase likelihood to report crimes to the police, $R^2 = 0.07, F(2, 1888) = 73.16, p < 0.001$.

When thinking about a specific member of law enforcement, having more respect for the officer ($b=0.65, p=0.009$) and being proud to have that officer on the force ($b = 0.84, p < = 0.001$) increase likelihood to report crimes as well, $R^2 = 0.06, F(2, 1596) =$

statistics indicate that this model is an adequate fit for the data. Given both the high correlations among proposed dimensions and that the threshold is not an absolute cut-off, this model is deemed to be an acceptable fit for the data. After checking the residuals, it appears that the model chi-square fit is being overly sensitive and that the misfit is negligible.

48.37, $p < 0.001$.

We see from the coefficients that measures of *institutional legitimacy* have a slightly stronger impact on the outcome variable than measures of *interpersonal trust*. This suggests that, on average, each contribute to reporting crime, but that views of law enforcement as a whole are slightly stronger than views of an individual officer.

As demonstrated in the CFA shown in Table 3.4, *institutional legitimacy* has three dimensions: *general police fairness*, *right to govern*, and *police effectiveness*. Like above, I estimated a regression model using these dimensions to explore their unique contributions to likelihood to report crime. People with greater views of police fairness ($b=0.11$, $p=0.004$), support that the police have the right to govern ($b=0.62$, $p<0.001$), and belief that the police are effective ($b=0.50$, $p<0.001$) are more likely to report crimes, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(4, 1884) = 73.50$, $p < 0.001$.

This shows that each dimension of *institutional legitimacy* uniquely contributes to the likelihood that someone will report crime to the police. The coefficients indicate that *right to govern* has the strongest impact on crime reporting, followed by *police effectiveness* and *general police fairness*. *Right to govern* has largely been ignored in the conceptualization and measurement of legitimacy since Beetham (1991). These findings suggest that, instead, it is both a critical component of legitimacy and a direct pathway to cooperation with law enforcement.

Within the literature, the conceptual relationship between *trust* and *legitimacy* has been hotly debated in recent years. Most scholarship has focused on the broad concept of *legitimacy* where trust is just a subset, component part (Hough et al., 2010; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Here, both legitimacy and trust can come from institutional views and experiences (Bradford et. al., 2013). While institutional trust is discussed with respect to the police force as a whole (Jackson & Bradford, 2010), interpersonal views have largely been ignored. Alternatively, Kaina (2008) argued that institutional legitimacy is a precon-

dition for institutional trust. While she implies a difference between an institution and its agents, this is not fully articulated. This study and others have suggested that trust may be an individual-level property, whereas legitimacy may be an institutional-level property (Hawdon, 2008; Hough et al., 2013; Jackson & Gau, 2015; Jackson & Kuha, 2015). My starting premise was that *institutional legitimacy* in law enforcement and *interpersonal trust* in police officers are conceptually distinct. As the results show, indicators of these two concepts are empirically distinct, which lends support to the argument for disaggregating views of law enforcement into institutional and interpersonal views.

Recent scholarship has debated how to conceptualize *legitimacy* with respect to law enforcement. Using Goertz (2006)'s framework for concept building, I originally proposed that *institutional legitimacy* is comprised of four dimensions: *general police fairness*, *right to govern*, *identification with police*, and *police effectiveness*. Factor analysis indicated that *institutional legitimacy* comprises three dimensions. The first is *right to govern*, which harkens back to Beetham (1991)'s framework. The second, *police effectiveness*, is supported in the literature as well (Hough et al., 2010; Jackson et al., 2012; Jackson & Kuha, 2015; Tankebe, 2013). Tankebe (2013)'s model suggested that procedural fairness, distributive fairness, and lawfulness may actually be measuring the same, single underlying factor. Using indicators of procedural fairness and distributive fairness, which I combine in what I initially call *general police fairness*, I found that these are measuring the same factor. Furthermore, *identification with police* appears to be part of that same factor rather than distinct from fairness as some suggest (Beetham, 1991; Hough et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2012; Jackson, 2015; Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Jackson & Gau, 2015).

I originally proposed that *interpersonal trust* is comprised of four dimensions: *specific police fairness*, *views of officer*, and *expectations of future interactions with officer*. However, due to the high degree of correlation among these dimensions, the concept may be unidimensional. While the present findings demonstrate a difference between legiti-

macy in law enforcement as an institution and trust in individual officers, the present conceptualization of *interpersonal trust* was a first cut that warrants further refinement in future studies. As a note, preliminary quantitative analyses indicate differences in how legitimacy and trust are conceptualized across racial groups. Additionally, Caucasians were significantly more likely than either Hispanics or African-Americans to think that "legitimacy" and "trust" are the same. Exploring these differences—both quantitatively and qualitatively—is beyond the scope of the current project but will be explored in a follow-up study.

3.5 Why Do Some People Alert the Police to Crime?

Conjoint analysis allows for comparison of multiple covariates simultaneously. In the present study, there are 13 covariates (refer back to Table 3.1). Following Hainmueller et al. (2014)'s modeling technique, I use what they call "Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCEs)". This approach is useful when the goal is to assess how each level of each attribute impacts the dependent variable. The level of each attribute is randomly assigned in each conjoint. Thus, the difference in likelihood to report between incidents with one value of an attribute versus another provides an estimate of the AMCE for those levels.

In other academic applications of the conjoint design, the dependent variable has been binary (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Hainmueller et al., 2014) or categorical (Wright et al., 2014), so benchmarked OLS regression or multinomial logistic regression models were estimated to determine the AMCEs. As shown in Appendix B, I followed Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014)'s modeling procedure to obtain AMCE's using benchmarked OLS. This allows for comparison of the likelihood to report for each level to a baseline level of that same attribute.

In the present study, however, I am less interested in how each level of each attribute

impacts reporting as compared to a benchmark. Rather, I am interested in likelihood of *actually* reporting the crimes. Thus, I am interested in how the theoretically relevant independent variables impact the likelihood of reporting each crime. Using *likelihood to report* as the outcome variable, I estimate a series of ordered logistic regression models to predict the probability of selecting $1=$ *Absolutely would report* for each covariate.¹⁴ While these have not been the more traditional academic analyses in conjoint designs, there is no issue with generating predicted probabilities for any level of interest (D. Hopkins, personal communication, September 26, 2016).

Figure 3.2 shows the predicted probability of reporting crime for each level of each of the attributes in the conjoint design. What we see here is intuitive: people are more likely to report more serious crimes, crimes against people, and crimes that occur in private. People are also more likely to report when the police are effective or respectful, and when their community will be supportive or when reporting is anonymous. Figure 3.3 breaks these predicted probabilities down by race, which shows similar patterns as a function of the attributes, but slightly higher likelihood of reporting among Caucasian participants, though African-Americans and Hispanics show similar reporting patterns. On average, there is about two percentage points difference in reporting likelihood between Caucasians and either African-Americans or Hispanics. The largest difference is shown in homicide reporting, where reporting is about eight percentage points higher among Caucasians. Overall, these differences are fairly slight. This finding disconfirms the view that reporting crimes to police is determined largely by race.

One common objection to hypothetical reporting questions like those asked in this study is that they are just that—hypothetical. To address the validity of these responses,

¹⁴As robustness checks, I operationalized the outcome variable in two other ways. First, I created the binary variable *preferred incident* where $1=$ *preferred* and $0=$ *not preferred* for each incident in the pair. Second, I collapsed likelihood to report into a binary variable where *Absolutely would report*, *Likely would report*, and *Possibly would report* equal 1 and where *Absolutely would not report*, *Likely would not report*, and *Possibly would not report* equal 0. These models are estimated using logistic regression, and the inferences from these analyses are qualitatively the same as the models reported here.

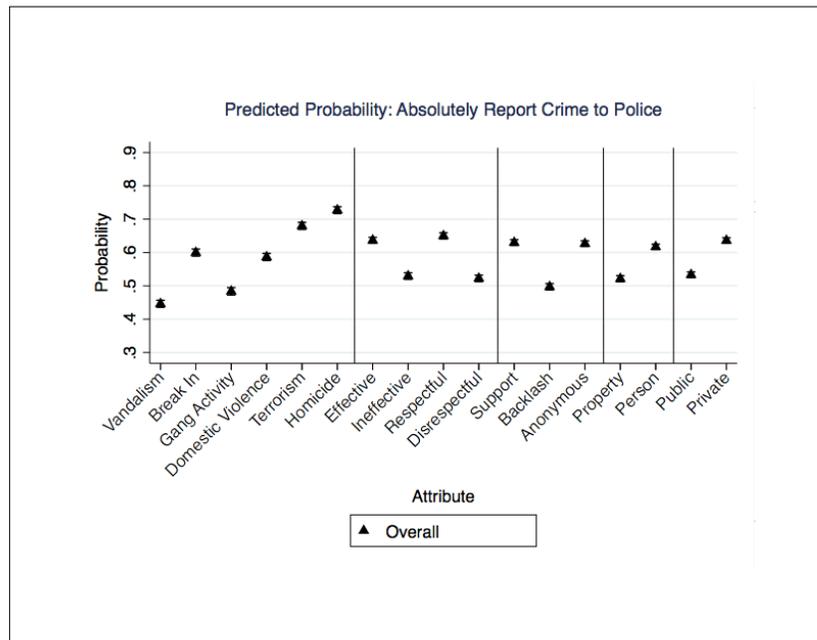


Figure 3.2. Impact of Each Covariate on Cooperation with Police

Figure 3.4 compares the stated likelihood to report various crimes in this study with the percentage of crimes that were actually reported to the police according to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). For the NCVS survey comparison, I used an average of the crimes reported over a five-year period from 2010 to 2014 to minimize the effect of variance in the data. Property victimization and home burglary were asked in both surveys. In both cases, actual reporting from NCVS was higher—albeit only slightly for home burglary—than stated likelihood to report in this study. While the other crimes are not an exact match across the two studies, the ranges of reporting are similar. These results give additional confidence to the accuracy of my outcome variables.

For each hypothesis, I compare scores on the outcome variable—*propensity to alert police to crime*—between participants in the top quartile and the bottom quartile for each of the independent variables. The unit of analysis for the dependent variable is the incident. Since the 1,900 participants rated 6 pairings with two incidents per pairing, some models have up to 22,800 observations. In these analyses, I cluster standard errors

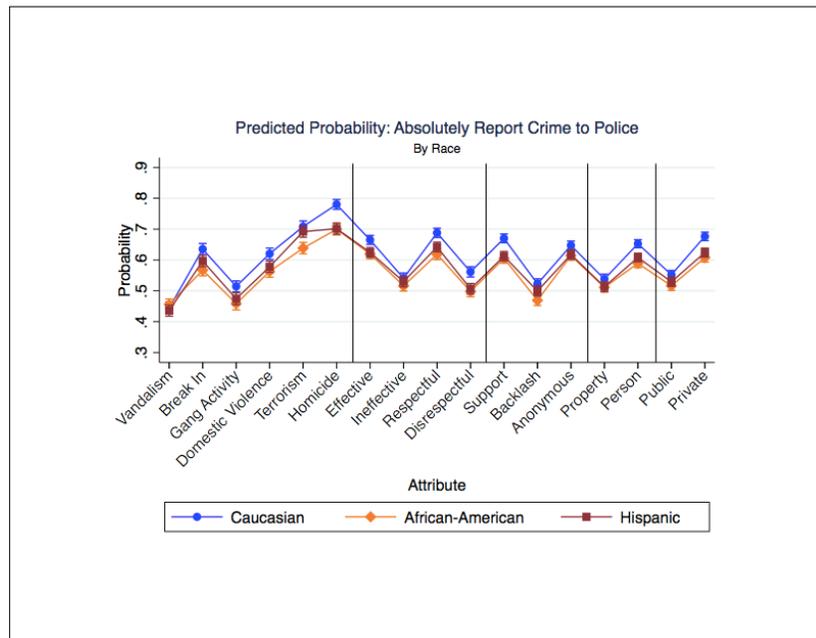


Figure 3.3. Impact of Each Covariate on Cooperation with Police by Race

by participant since observations are not independent across incident profiles that are rated by the same participant.

Recall that participants also chose which crime they would prefer to report between a series of six pairs. Each discrete choice is binary, but these binary choices aggregate to an overall preference score ranging from 0 (never preferred) to 1 (always preferred) for each of the 72 possible incident combinations. Additionally, using ordered logistic regression, I compare the likelihood of reporting each incident profile. Figure 3.5 demonstrates the substantive meaning of the results by showing the predicted probability of reporting at the 1st, 25th, 50th, 75th, and 99th percentiles. The incident that was reported least was vandalism where the police were disrespectful and there was backlash from the community. This incident was only reported 32.19% of the time. Conversely, the incident that was reported most was homicide where the police were respectful and reporting was anonymous. This incident was reported 82.53% of the time. These findings indicate that

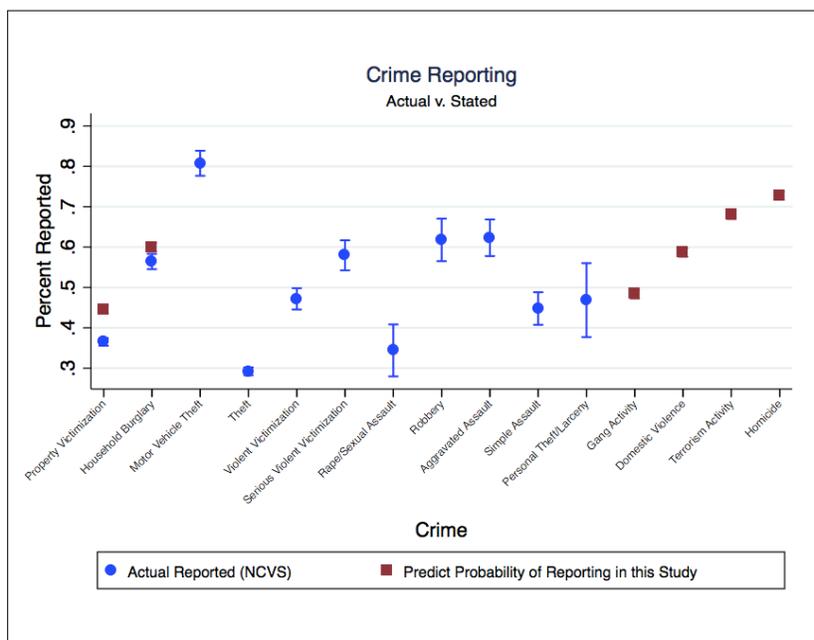


Figure 3.4. Likelihood to Report in this Study v. Reporting Rates From NCVS Data

likelihood to report crimes varies depending on context.¹⁵ See Appendix B for a full list of predicted probabilities of preferring an incident and the likelihood of actually reporting.

3.5.1 Institutional legitimacy

I compared the propensity to alert police to crime for participants in the top quartile to those in the bottom quartile on views of law enforcement's *institutional legitimacy*. As expected in hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 5, people who view law enforcement as more legitimate are more likely to alert police to both criminal behavior in general and to potential terrorism specifically (see Figure 3.6). More favorable views of law enforcement's *institutional legitimacy* increase likelihood to cooperate with police for all levels of the attributes in the conjoint individually and for all combinations of incidents. On average,

¹⁵In a recent study of 911 calls in Milwaukee before and after the beating of Frank Jude, an unarmed black man, Desmond, Papachristos and Kirk (2016) found that police violence decreases calls to police, particularly in black neighborhoods, for a number of months. While the unit of analysis and scope of that study and the present one are different, both studies suggest that context is more important in reporting crime than previous literature has addressed.

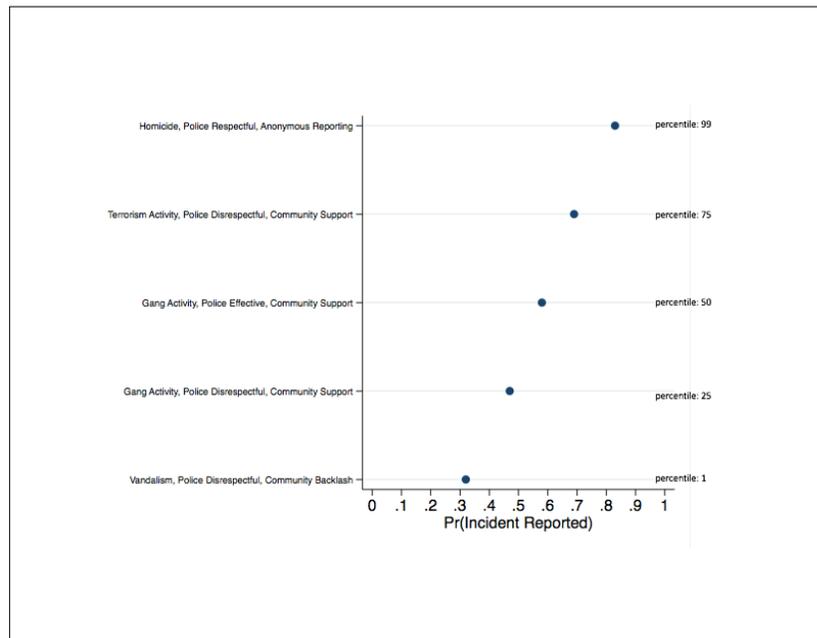


Figure 3.5. Probability of Being Reported for Selected Incidents

people in the top quartile on views of law enforcement's *institutional legitimacy* are 25 percentage points more likely to report crime than people in the bottom quartile on this measure. Importantly, this disparity in reporting is fairly consistent across all levels of all attributes, which demonstrates the robust importance of *institutional legitimacy* on reporting. This also shows that *institutional legitimacy* has the same impact on reporting potential terrorism as it does on reporting more common crimes. These findings hold within each racial group, as discussed in Appendix B. For each of the key independent variables of interest in this study, the impact is roughly the same across racial groups. I report the overall predicted probability of reporting for the top and bottom quartiles of each independent variable. Graphs for the breakdown by race and comparison across races are found in Appendix B.

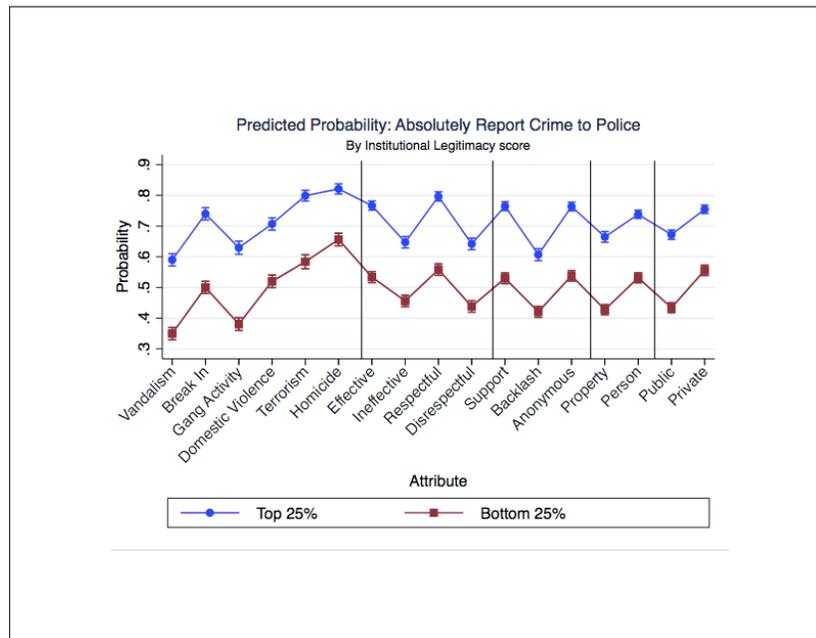


Figure 3.6. Impact of *Institutional Legitimacy* on Cooperation With Police

3.5.2 Interpersonal trust

I compared the propensity to alert police to crime for participants in the top quartile to those in the bottom quartile on level of *interpersonal trust* in a police officer. As expected in hypothesis 2 and hypothesis 6, people who have greater trust in an officer are more likely to alert police to criminal behavior in general and to potential terrorism (see Figure 3.7). Greater *interpersonal trust* increases the likelihood to cooperate with police for all levels of the attributes in the conjoint individually and for all combinations of incidents. On average, people in the top quartile on *interpersonal trust* in a police officer are 15 percentage points more likely to report crime than people in the bottom quartile on this measure. Importantly, this disparity in reporting is fairly consistent across all levels of all attributes, which demonstrates the robust importance of *interpersonal trust* on reporting. This also shows that *interpersonal trust* has the same directional impact on reporting potential terrorism as it does on reporting more common crimes. These findings

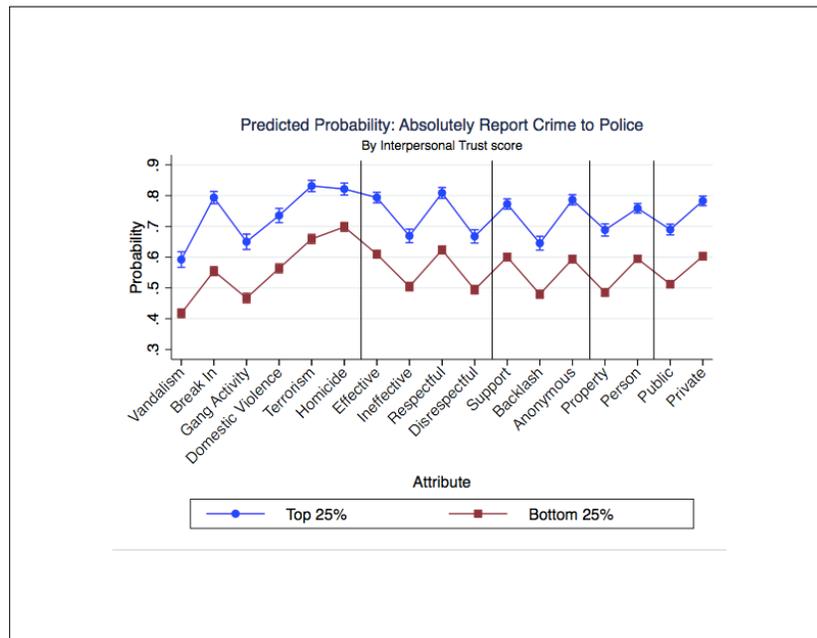


Figure 3.7. Impact of *Interpersonal Trust* on Cooperation With Police

hold within each racial group, as discussed in Appendix B.

It is well established that citizen perceptions of the police are largely determined by the quality of interactions between the groups (Skogan, 2005; Tyler, 2005; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Unsurprisingly, on a number of measures of these interactions—both personal and vicarious—Caucasians indicated more positive experiences than either African-Americans or Hispanics. Most research has identified these racial differences as the strongest predictor of cooperation with police (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Murphy & Cherney, 2011; Tyler, 2005, 2010; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004, 2005). This study, however, explores within-race variation in cooperation with law enforcement. Caucasians, on average, have higher *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust* scores, stronger community norms in favor of engaging the formal legal system, strong attachment to their communities, and more trust in community members than either African-Americans or Hispanics. Legitimacy and trust, however, are stronger predictors of cooperation with law enforcement than race.

3.5.3 Community norms

I compared the propensity to alert police to crime for participants in the top quartile to those in the bottom quartile on *community norms about handling conflict*. Again, as expected in hypothesis 4 and hypothesis 7, people who have *community norms about handling conflict* that favor involving law enforcement are more likely to alert police to criminal behavior in general and to potential terrorism (see Figure 3.8). More favorable *community norms about handling conflict* increases the likelihood to cooperate with police for all levels of the attributes in the conjoint individually and for all combinations of incidents. On average, people in the top quartile on *community norms about handling conflict* are 20 percentage points more likely to report crime than people in the bottom quartile on this measure. Importantly, this disparity in reporting is fairly consistent across all levels of all attributes, which demonstrates the robust importance of *community norms about handling conflict* on reporting. This also shows that *community norms about handling conflict* has the same directional impact on reporting potential terrorism as it does on reporting more common crimes. I then examined the impact that each of the following dimensions had on reporting: *community legal socialization*, *attachment to community*, and *trust in community members*. They contributed to the outcome variables in similar ways. This supports previous research on the role of community cohesion on cooperation with legal authorities (Anderson, 1999; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). See Appendix B for discussion.

Past research suggests that people are more likely to report crimes that are viewed as more serious (McCarthy et al., 2015; Skogan, 1984). Across all models above, people are more likely to alert police to interpersonal crimes than to property crimes, as expected in hypothesis 3. This finding holds within each racial group and across all covariates. Overall, participants in this study were most likely to report homicide and terrorism, followed by domestic violence and break-ins, and finally by gang activity and vandalism.

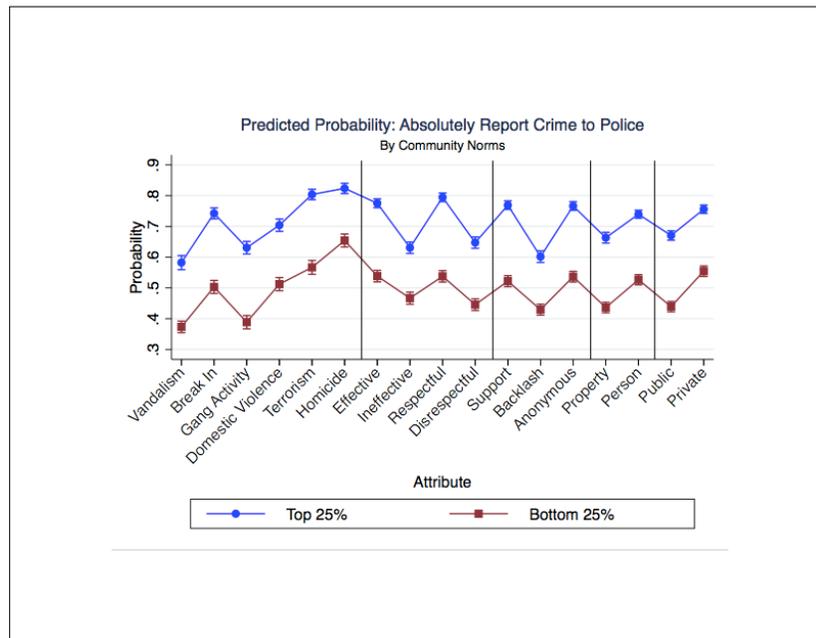


Figure 3.8. Impact of *Community Norms* on Cooperation With Police

Findings hold across races, as discussed in Appendix B.

Unsurprisingly, participants were more likely to report crimes when the police were either effective or respectful versus ineffective or disrespectful. While Tankebe (2013) found that people were less likely to cooperate with police when they viewed law enforcement as more effective, the present study and others (Pryce et al., 2015) show this is not the case.

When one's community is supportive or the crime can be reported anonymously, people are more likely to report than when there would be backlash within the community. McCarthy et al. (2015) found increased reporting with anonymity in Georgia and Russia; these findings suggest this generalizes across cultural contexts. Community support for reporting crimes had a greater impact on Caucasians' propensity to report crimes than either of the other two racial groups. Participants were more likely to report interpersonal crimes than property crimes, and private crimes than public crimes. Lastly, Tankebe (2013) found that legitimacy played a stronger role in cooperation among victims of

crimes as opposed to non-victims; the present study, however, found no difference.

3.5.4 Alternative explanations

There are a few potential alternative explanations for why someone would report crime. It is possible that crime is reported when a person has both the opportunity to witness a crime and the opportunity to easily report that crime in the course of their routine daily activities. It is also possible that people who feel more strain would have less inclination to report crimes to police. To explore these possible alternatives, I compared the propensity to alert police to crime for participants in the top quartile to those in the bottom quartile on level of *routine activities* to report crime and level of *strain*. As shown in Figure 3.9, opportunity to report crimes to police does not impact the stated likelihood of actually reporting crimes to police. On average, there is no difference in reporting likelihood between people in the top and bottom quartiles on *routine activities*. Figure 3.10 indicates that, for some levels of some attributes, those who experience more strain are less inclined to report crime to police. On average, people in the top quartile on strain are 8 percentage points more likely to report crime than people in the bottom quartile on this measure. The magnitude of this effect, however, is less than the impact of any of my key independent variables where the differences are between 15 and 25 percentage points. These findings demonstrate that the explanatory power of my argument outperforms potential alternative arguments.

3.6 Summary of Findings

The motivating puzzle for this part of the project was: Why do some people alert police to crime—specifically potential terrorism—while others do not? Across racial groups, people who viewed law enforcement as more legitimate were more likely to alert police to both criminal behavior in general and potential terrorism specifically. Similarly, people who had greater trust in an individual member of law enforcement were more likely to

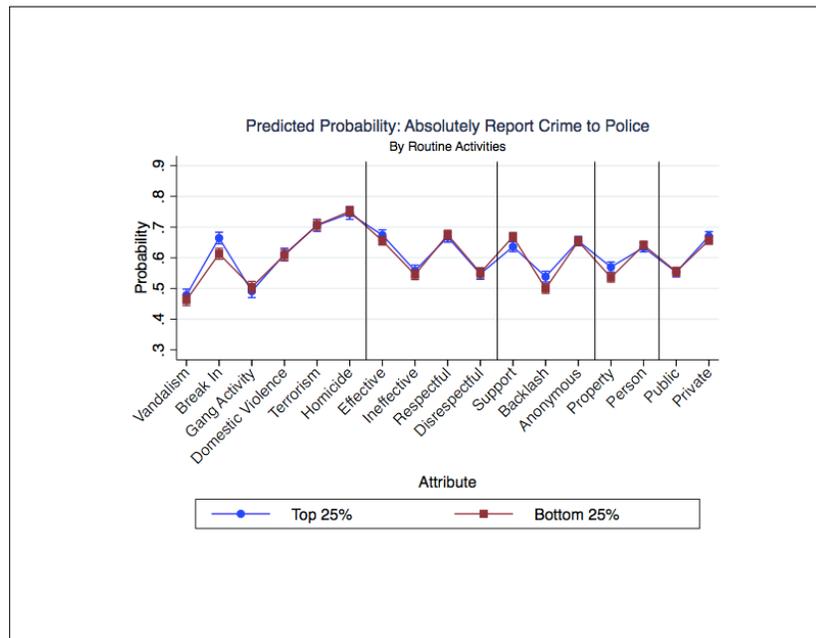


Figure 3.9. Impact of *Routine Activities* on Cooperation With Police

alert police to criminal behavior in general and potential terrorism specifically, regardless of race. Lastly, people who are members of communities with stronger norms in favor of engaging the police, those with stronger attachment to their communities, and those with greater trust in their community members were more likely to alert police to criminal behavior in general, and potential terrorism specifically. Each variable contributes uniquely and additively to crime reporting.

These results suggest that views of law enforcement's legitimacy as an institution and levels of trust in an individual officer can have distinct impacts on an individual's likelihood to report crimes to the police. While these factors often covary, a person can trust an individual police officer and not generalize this to law enforcement overall, and vice versa. Subtle differences in context also impact likelihood to report crime, regardless of one's views of police or community norms. Furthermore, little was previously known about how the decision to cooperate with police for crime control generally compares to the decision to cooperate in counterterrorism. These findings indicate that reporting

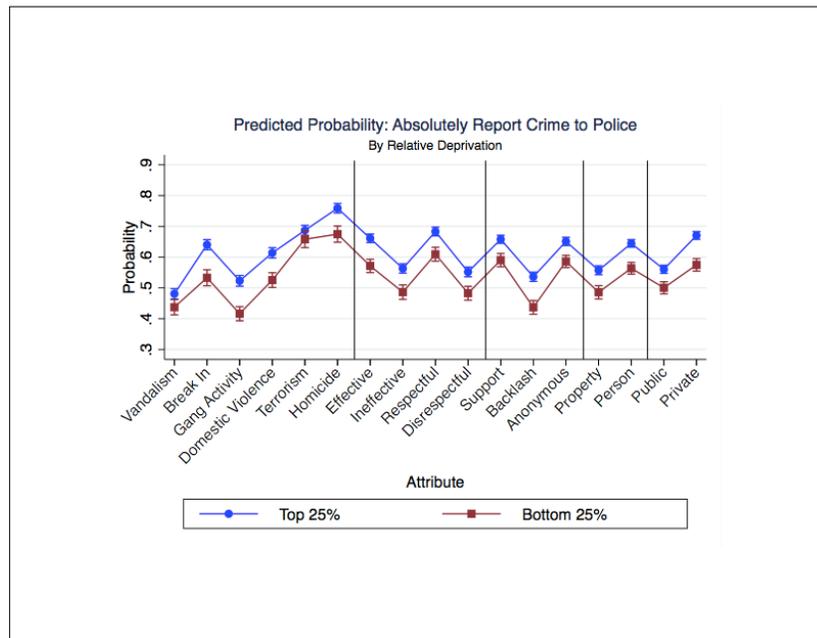


Figure 3.10. Impact of *Strain* on Cooperation With Police

potential terrorism is not different from reporting other crimes to police. In sum, the present study finds evidence to support my hypotheses. These findings also expand our understanding of why some people report crime while others do not and how this process extends to counterterrorism.

CHAPTER 4

WHY DO POLICE BUILD RELATIONSHIPS WITH MINORITY COMMUNITIES?: THEORY AND ARGUMENT

“Stopping terrorists requires detailed, accurate, and timely community-level intelligence. In many ways the community-oriented approach favored by successful police departments is the same kind of approach that is most likely to uncover terrorist operations. Such investigations are long term, culturally sensitive, and microlevel.” LaFree & Hendrickson (2007, p.783)

4.1 Introduction

Why do some police departments develop positive relationships with members of minority communities while many others do not? In recent years, an increasing number of Americans have either perpetrated terrorist violence domestically, or traveled to conflict zones to join terrorist organizations in Syria, Somalia, and elsewhere.¹ Sometimes friends or family members have alerted police to suspicions of terrorism like this, while other times they have not. Unlike more common crimes, which tend to be concentrated in urban areas,

¹<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/isis-suspects/>

many of the worst terrorist attacks in the United States were planned in suburban or rural areas (LaFree & Bersani, 2014). Generally, local law enforcement officers have been the first to uncover and unravel terror plots. Thus, with greater terrorism threats possibly coming from suburban and rural areas, local law enforcement in these non-urban areas may be poised to make an impact in counterterrorism.

In jurisdictions such as Minneapolis² and Montgomery County, Maryland,³ law enforcement has responded to this increased violent extremism by building community partnerships with groups at greater risk. In Minneapolis, the Building Community Resilience program includes mentorship programs, education initiatives, and community engagement between local law enforcement and members of the Somali-American community including religious leaders, elders, business owners, women, and youths. The Montgomery County Model similarly strives to foster relationships between minority communities and law enforcement to serve as an early warning system for potential terrorism. Likely as a result of such partnerships, some members from within these communities have alerted law enforcement to possible terrorism and violent extremism within the community, which has allowed law enforcement to intercept individuals before they can travel abroad to join terrorist organizations or perpetrate violence domestically.⁴

The need to counter terrorism and violent extremism domestically has raised questions about the appropriate practices law enforcement should employ to this end. Current concerns about best practices in policing terrorism, however, have coincided with the national response to police use of force more generally against members of minority groups. Some have argued that community policing should be abandoned in counterterrorism in

²<http://www.businessinsider.com/minneapolis-isis-problem-2015-9>

³<http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/12/in-maryland-a-new-way-of-policing-radical-ideology.html>

⁴http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/21/us/6-somali-americans-arrested-in-isis-recruiting-case.html?_r=0

favor of more intelligence and data-driven efforts (DeGuzman, 2002; Oliver, 2006; Oliver & Meier, 2004). Yet, as Innes (2006) maintains, it is “widely recognized that traditional intelligence methods have achieved only limited penetration of many Muslim communities, and yet these cases involved individuals and areas that one might not expect or predict to be involved in terrorist activities” (p. 230). Mockaitis (2010) argues that—similar to counter-insurgency—a ‘hearts and minds’ approach should be employed in counterterrorism. To do this successfully, law enforcement needs support and information from the population. For law enforcement to build the relationships and intelligence networks necessary for support and information, sensitivity to community norms and culture is crucial and failure here can have detrimental consequences (Duyvesteyn, 2011). This may not be different from other crime-control efforts.

What impacts minority community members in deciding to cooperate with law enforcement, especially on issues of terrorism? What role can local law enforcement play in more effective counterterrorism? As discussed in Chapter 2, the procedural justice-legitimacy-compliance model has long been assumed as the process through which individuals cooperate with legal authorities (e.g. Tyler, 2001). Recall that this model stipulates that an individual’s willingness to cooperate with police is determined by experience with law enforcement and perceptions of its legitimacy as an institution. Furthermore, most research in this area has been conducted in urban environments, which are more densely populated, more heavily policed, and have greater anonymity among residents and passers through. On one hand, urban areas tend to have higher crime rates⁵ and more police officers per capita,⁶ which can increase both the need to call the police and the opportunity to do so. Yet, this can also increase the diffusion of responsibility to alert police to potential crime. On the other hand, in suburban and rural areas, smaller police

⁵Bureau of Justice Statistics: <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=812> National Center for Victims of Crime: <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=812>

⁶2012 Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program

forces and more connections between residents can increase the likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement, though there may be less reason to do so. Since most research on cooperation with law enforcement focuses on urban areas, we do not know if the same mechanisms are at play in suburban and rural areas. Additionally, research to date has not identified whether the mechanisms that explain cooperation with police generally hold for informing police about terrorism, specifically within minority communities. If these mechanisms are the same, then community policing—which focuses more on building relationships—may be an effective tool in counterterrorism (IACP, 2002). Regardless of its theoretical promise, scholars have yet to examine whether community policing can build more effective counterterrorism, specifically within communities that are historically less likely to seek police assistance.

Research on community policing has generally found that building relationships between law enforcement and citizens decreases fear of crime—though perhaps not crime itself—and lessens the perceived physical, psychological, and social distance between police and community (Wycoff & Skogan, 1986). The general consensus from academics and practitioners alike is that community policing—which focuses more on relationships—is critical in this regard (Clarke & Newman, 2006; IACP, 2002; Innes, 2006; Maguire & Wells, 2009; Murray, 2005; Neumann, 2009; Thacher, 2005). A recent meta-analysis found that community policing practices increase police legitimacy and satisfaction among the public but have little effect on crime itself (Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter & Bennett, 2014). In these respects, is counterterrorism different from crime control more broadly?

When people perceive that the police treat them with respect and make decisions fairly, they view the police as more legitimate. When police have legitimacy,⁷ community

⁷Tyler (2006) defines *legitimacy* as “a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just. Because of legitimacy, people feel that they ought to defer to decisions and rules, following them voluntarily out of obligation rather than out of fear of punishment or anticipation of reward. Being legitimate is important to the success of authorities, institutions, and institutional arrangements since it is difficult to exert influence over others based solely upon the possession and use of power.” Furthermore, *institutional*

members are more likely to cooperate with them in general (Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2011) and with respect to counterterrorism efforts (Schulhofer et al., 2011; Tyler et al., 2010). Since local police can play a key role in counterterrorism, facilitating relationships between these groups may be critical to cooperation (Carter & Carter, 2012). While we know that community policing can build relationships and cooperation from the public, very little is known about how this extends both to minority communities and outside of urban areas. Community cooperation is essential for effective policing generally, and counterterrorism, specifically. Yet, there is a lack of evidence to show whether or not the mechanisms that impact a person's cooperation with the police for ordinary crimes operate similarly to impact a person's reporting potential terrorism and violent extremism. Theory generally suggests that these mechanisms should be the same. However, the push toward more data driven efforts (Davis et al., 2010; Oliver & Meier, 2004) suggest that relationships between the public and law enforcement would be less important in counterterrorism. Given the increase in online recruitment for terrorism, it is increasingly important to understand why some police departments build relationships with minority communities whose members may be at greater risk of violent extremism (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010; Lum, Haberfeld, Fachner & Lieberman, 2009). Furthermore, since many terrorism plots are hatched in non-urban areas (LaFree & Bersani, 2014), it is important to explore cooperation and relationship building in suburban and rural communities as well. So, why do some departments do a better job at developing these relationships than others?

There are at least two critical gaps in our knowledge about community policing:

trust is often used as part of the definition of legitimacy (Johnson et al., 2014). However, both focus on the institution and neglect the individual. We need clear theorization for how these concepts operate at different levels of analysis: the institution and the individual. Like Hawdon (2008), I also contend that legitimacy and trust are distinct concepts. Legitimacy is conferred on an institution, such as law enforcement, whereas trust is specific to an individual member of law enforcement. I argue that an individual can view the institution of the police as legitimate but not trust an individual officer, and vice versa. This is discussed in more depth in Chapter 2.

how it applies to minority populations and the role that community policing can play in counterterrorism. At a national level, there is increased emphasis on building relationships between law enforcement and members of minority communities. In some places like Austin, Boston, Dearborn, MI, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Minneapolis-St. Paul-Hennepin County, the State of Maryland, and the State of Ohio, local law enforcement agencies have developed community-oriented policing policies and practices aimed at building relationships with minority communities.⁸ Despite general acknowledgements of the strengths of community policing, many police departments around the United States have not tried to employ these strategies with members of minority groups in general, or for counterterrorism specifically (Henderson, 2006). Assuming that community policing works, if agencies were accurately balancing costs and benefits of their actions, then they would engage in more community policing, especially with communities at greater risk of crime and possible violent extremism. Given the widespread focus on community policing and the general consensus that it is effective, why do only some police departments—and individual officers within these departments—do a better job at developing positive relationships with minority communities in general, and with respect to counterterrorism? Based on extant literature, the decision to engage in community policing with minority groups in general and with respect to counterterrorism efforts is likely impacted by at least three factors: departmental history with community policing, officer support for community policing, and officer perceptions of the minority groups in their jurisdiction. This study addresses critical concerns to better understand why some police departments use community-oriented policing practices with members of minority groups in general, and with respect to counterterrorism.

This chapter examines why some police departments are better than others at build-

⁸Examples include: a number of White House memos calling for more community policing, Community Awareness Briefings (CAB), and the Department of Justice's pilot cities in Boston, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis-St. Paul-Hennepin County. See Carter and Carter (2012) for a discussion of cities identified by the Homeland Security Advisory Council.

ing positive relationships with members of their communities. The next section explores the literature on community policing in general, and identifies gaps in understanding how community policing may be applied to minority groups generally and to counterterrorism efforts specifically. Finally, I outline the current study, my argument, and hypotheses.

4.2 Theoretical Development and Literature Review

4.2.1 Community policing

Much of the work on compliance and cooperation with legal authorities takes place at the individual level. As discussed in Chapter 2, cooperation with police is a micro-level decision that is predicated on viewing the institution of law enforcement as legitimate or trusting individual police officers. Despite the current debate around how to conceptualize legitimacy, it is clear that positive interactions between the police and the community are critical in this regard (e.g. Johnson et al., 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tankebe, 2013). Police behavior toward citizens has an impact on how the public views law enforcement and behaves toward them. At the agency level, community policing practices can impact public perceptions of law enforcement. For this reason, meso-level agency decisions on how to interact with members of their jurisdiction can help build positive relationships between police and community members, which may increase compliance and cooperation with law enforcement. At the micro level, individual officers make decisions about how to implement policy—either by ignoring directives to engage in community policing or by engaging in community policing practices when that is not the official policy. Thus, it is necessary to measure community policing practices at the individual level, as well as at the department level.

Within the United States, law enforcement is highly fragmented with nearly 18,000 separate agencies, many of which have overlapping jurisdictions.⁹ Among these agencies,

⁹http://justice.uaa.alaska.edu/forum/28/2-3summerfall2011/f_lawenf_census.html

there are public police forces at the federal, state, and local levels, and private police forces such as special police and campus police (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010). Given this decentralization and jurisdictional overlap, there is understandably variance in practice. It is unclear, however, whether this fragmentation hinders innovation or helps it (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010).

From the late 19th to the late 20th century, policing was generally characterized by increasing bureaucratization (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010). At the same time, technological advances profoundly changed policing patrols and communication (Reiss, 1992). Previously, policing was highly decentralized where officers walked a beat proactively and had autonomy to make decisions (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010). With advances in technology, policing shifted to driving a patrol car and responding to calls for service. With increasingly centralized command and control, physical and social distance grew between the police and the communities in which they worked (Reiss, 1992).

Starting in the mid 20th century, police began to see the need to improve community relationships, cultural sensitivity, and partnerships (see Greene, 2011 for more detail). In 1979, Herman Goldstein highlighted the need for the most recent innovation: community involvement and cooperation in problem solving. Out of this notion, community policing was developed in the 1980s as a reaction to the standard model of policing as serious crime control (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). The standard policing model has a low level of focus (police activities are not very targeted) and low variety in approaches taken (police activities are mostly focused on law enforcement). Comparatively, community policing maintains the traditional low level of focus, but utilizes a wide array of activities to address issues in the community (Weisburd & Eck, 2004). While community policing has been widely popular in public discourse, police department mission statements, and academic study, it is not clear this has led to much change in actual policing practice (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010).

Community policing is widely discussed among members of law enforcement, policymakers, academics, and the public. Despite much research and policy focused on community policing, there is a dearth of work on conceptualizing and defining what exactly community policing entails (exceptions include Cordner, 1995; Maguire & Wells, 2009; Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Thus, we cannot meaningfully compare practices either within a department or across multiple departments. Additionally, we cannot determine the efficacy of community policing as a whole, or the impact of its constituent parts separately, to understand the mechanisms at play to improve relationships between law enforcement and the public. Before we can compare practices in general, and their applicability to different contexts such as counterterrorism and with different communities, we first need to operationalize community policing and measure both departments' and officers' engagement with the practice.

The Department of Justice (DOJ) defines *community policing* as “a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime.” Furthermore, the DOJ states that community policing is comprised of three parts: community partnerships, organizational transformation, and problem solving. While difficult to define given the variety of practices that can fall within this framework, community policing is generally focused on problem solving through mobilizing resources and adapting organizational function to foster community partnerships (e.g. Community Policing Consortium, 1994; Weisburd & Eck, 2004).

Cordner (1995) acknowledged the challenges to conceptualizing community policing, as some claim it is “a philosophy, not a program” (p. 1) while others argue that it is an empty term. He acknowledged that there are numerous common elements of community policing, and summarized them into three main dimensions: a philosophi-

cal dimension, a strategic dimension, and a programmatic dimension. The philosophical dimension includes breadth of police function, citizen input in problems and solutions, and consideration of neighborhood variation. The strategic dimension includes a smaller geographic focus, a more proactive prevention focus, and a more substantive focus on community problems. The programmatic dimension includes a reorientation of police operations to getting out into neighborhoods, greater focus on problems rather than incidents, and more community engagement.

Building on Cordner's (1995) conceptualization, Skogan and Frydl (2004) argue that community policing can be viewed as both a philosophy and an organizational strategy. Under this conceptualization, community policing is comprised of four main components: police functions, decentralization, community engagement, and problem orientation. Similarly, Maguire and Wells (2009) state that community policing is comprised of three main characteristics: problem solving, community engagement and partnerships, and organizational adaptation. There is considerable overlap in these two conceptualizations of community policing, though Maguire and Wells also focus on the organizational requirements to implement community policing. Additionally, attention to issues salient to the community is critical to community policing. Over time, these issues may change. Thus, community policing requires ongoing innovation to changing needs, not merely a one-time adjustment to implement new programs (Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Maguire & Wells, 2009). While each of these conceptualizations of community policing touch on many salient components of the practice, each also misses at least one critical element. As discussed in Chapter 2, Goertz (2006) states that concepts are comprised of three levels: the basic level (focal), the secondary level (dimensions of basic level), and the indicator level (measurement). Using Goertz's framework, I combine elements from Skogan and Frydl (2004) and Maguire and Wells (2009) to conceptualize community policing to ensure that all essential components of community policing practice are included and will be measured

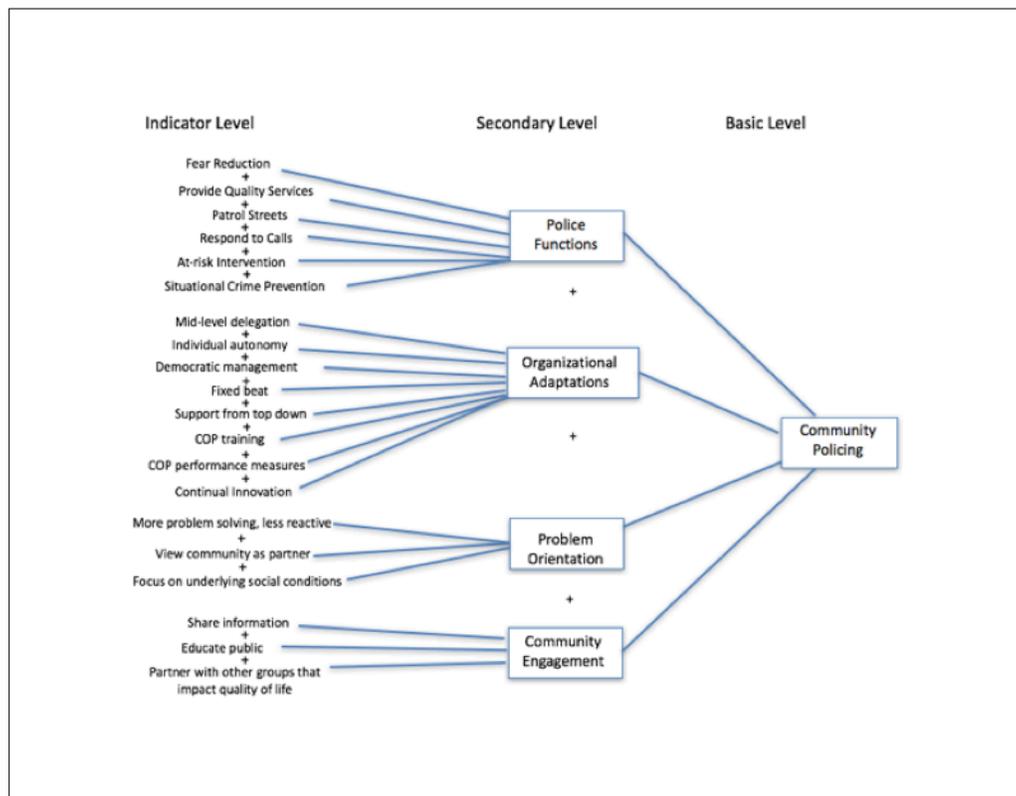


Figure 4.1. What is Community Policing?

(see Figure 4.1).

Given the conceptual issues surrounding community policing, it is challenging to operationalize, measure, and evaluate. Surprisingly, there is little research on why some departments embrace community policing, or why practices are employed in different ways (He, Zhao & Lovrich, 2005; Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Zhao, He & Lovrich, 2003). Mastrofski, Willis and Kochel (2007) identify culture, management, resources, and external pressure as key challenges to implementing community policing policies. Preliminary evidence shows that funding, council-manager forms of government (He et al., 2005), and greater emphasis on the core functions of policing (Zhao et al., 2003) predict community policing implementation. Evidence also suggests that community policing does not reduce crime, but may reduce fear of crime (Weisburd & Eck, 2004). More recent analysis, however,

suggests that the latter may not be the case (Gill et al., 2014). Community policing does have positive effects on public perception of disorder (Gill et al., 2014) and public perception of law enforcement (Gill et al., 2014; Weisburd & Eck, 2004), which in turn could increase cooperation and compliance with police. Additionally, due to heterogeneity in how these practices are employed, many departments state that they engage in community policing but what actually happens on the ground may vary dramatically. For example, Ortiz et al. (2007) surveyed 16 police departments, 12 of which stated that they engaged in community policing, yet only five demonstrated that in their actual programs. This demonstrates the disparity between what is a popular objective in public discourse on policing versus what is actually practiced. To better assess community policing initiatives, greater specificity about the type of community policing actions, the quantity of interactions, and the quality of the relationships developed is essential.

Community policing is necessarily more decentralized and gives greater autonomy to individual officers. Accordingly, there can be considerable variation in practices both within and between departments (Mastrofski, Worden & Snipes, 1995). Officers who are more supportive of community policing may also be more careful in their interactions with the community (Mastrofski et al., 1995). While decentralization allows officers to dynamically respond to issues that arise, it also allows principle-agent problems to hinder policy implementation more easily (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). For example, many officers may resist changes in policing practice (Cordner, 1995) and there are fewer mechanisms in place to mitigate non-compliance amongst officers. Thus, assuming that support is linked to implementation, it is necessary to measure officer support for such practices. Additionally, there may be a disparity between official policy, officer self-reported behavior, and community perceptions that is generally not addressed in research (Davis et al., 2010). Thus, it is important to verify how community policing actions are perceived by the public to assess whether or not policies and practices are having the desired effect.

In sum, community policing is often discussed, yet not clearly conceptualized, operationalized, or measured. Lack of clear criteria to operationalize the concept hinders our ability to meaningfully compare practices both between and within departments to assess its efficacy. By operationalizing community policing and measuring the degree to which officers—and their departments—engage in the practice, we can start to compare practices in general. From there, we can assess the degree to which community policing can be applied to counterterrorism and with different communities.

4.2.2 Community policing in counterterrorism

Post 9/11, there has been increased emphasis on collecting actionable intelligence, particularly in the context of counterterrorism. Many agencies felt pressure to jettison community-oriented policing practices in favor of more aggressive ones (Friedmann & Cannon, 2007). Community policing has generally focused on prevention of more visible crimes through relationship building with the community. Conversely, being pushed to violent extremism more commonly occurs behind closed doors. This highlights the need for informants within the communities where violent extremism occurs. There is some debate, however, on how to develop these informants. Some, such as DeGuzman (2002) and Oliver (2004, 2006), argue that community policing should be abandoned in counterterrorism in favor of more aggressive and invasive tactics. Others, however, have focused on the importance of community policing in counterterrorism (Clarke & Newman, 2006; Kelling, 2011; Maguire & Wells 2009; McGarrell et al., 2007).

The argument for a more aggressive counterterrorism policy is that individuals will comply vis-à-vis changing behaviors or supplying information when benefits of compliance increase or costs of compliance decrease. This assumes that more intrusive or invasive tactics are necessary, and will be more effective at gathering intelligence and deterring others because violent actors are sensitive to costs. Deterrence literature, however, shows that these tactics are often ineffective (Pratt, Cullen, Blevins, Daigle & Madensen, 2006).

When these practices are used against individuals who are not tightly bonded to society and when they are not viewed as just practices, they can lead to defiance (Sherman, 1993). Lack of information can lead to these practices being used indiscriminately. Similarly, in asymmetric conflicts, deterrence efforts often fail when actors are willing to absorb the costs. Furthermore, restricting freedom is likely ineffective¹⁰ in counterterrorism (Neumann, 2009). For example, in a study of interactions between the Israeli state and Palestinian actors, Dugan and Chenoweth (2012) found that repression and punishment did not impact terroristic violence, yet rewarding actors for abstaining from violence was linked to subsequent decreases in terrorism.

The general consensus is that community-oriented approaches are essential for gathering intelligence to fight terrorism. Here, two-way communication between law enforcement and the community is key (Clarke & Newman, 2006; Kelling, 2011; Maguire & Wells, 2009; McGarrell et al., 2007). The notion here is that individuals will comply vis-à-vis changing behaviors or supplying information when the benefits of doing so increase. This assumes that more relationship-building policies are necessary because actors will be less likely to choose violence when there are more benefits to abstaining from it.

Local law enforcement officers often play critical roles in identifying and dismantling terrorist plots and apprehending suspected terrorists after attacks, which suggests that counterterrorism may not be different from more traditional crime control. Timothy McVeigh, for example, was apprehended during a routine traffic stop for failing to have a tag on the vehicle he was driving just after perpetrating the Oklahoma City Bombing. Similarly, during a robbery investigation in 2004, local police in Torrance, California discovered jihadist propaganda and evidence of plans to attack targets in the United

¹⁰As Neumann (2009) points out, there are concerns with both the efficacy and morality of restricting freedoms in the name of counterterrorism. One focuses on whether or not this works, and the other focuses on whether it is the right thing to do. If restriction of freedoms is not effective—as research and practice suggests that it is not—then there needn't be a discussion of whether or not it is right since it does not work. If, however, it were an effective practice, this would more logically lead to debate on whether or not it is the right thing to do, and under what circumstances.

States. Four men were arrested, three were convicted and one was sent to psychiatric care in a federal prison.¹¹ These are just two examples of the critical role that local law enforcement plays in counterterrorism.

For effective counterterrorism, collaborations that build trust between community and law enforcement are critical to cultivate information networks (Aziz, 2014; Briggs, 2010; Murray, 2005; Tyler, 2011). While there has been increased emphasis on intelligence-led policing in counterterrorism (Carter & Carter, 2012), scholars like McGarrell et al. (2007) argue that community policing is still essential. Many in law enforcement agree. For example, a recent survey of police chiefs in Virginia found that over 85% thought that community policing and homeland security were compatible (Chappell & Gibson, 2009). Why, then, does community policing not occur more regularly in counterterrorism?

Some may argue that department-level policies explain differences in relationship building. In fact, police chiefs tend to do just this—expect that policy will dictate practice. Broadly speaking, decisions on what issues are a priority and how those priorities should be addressed are made at the department level by the chief and senior leadership. If the department leaders prioritize relationship building with the communities, then these directives will be sent down to the officers in a position to act upon this mission. While this assumes that officers will follow all—or at least most—directives, some departments' leaders state that community policing occurs even when evidence of such practices is lacking (Ortiz et al., 2007). If department-level policies explain differences in relationship building, then we would expect to see variance between officers in different departments, but little variance between officers in the same department. I examine this alternative explanation on relationship building in counterterrorism and with minority communities.

I suggest that policing terrorism does not have to be different from policing other crimes (Holden, 2009). In fact, the general consensus is that community oriented policing

¹¹http://www.policiechiefmagazine.org/magazine/index.cfm?fuseaction=display_arch&article_id=1729&issue_id=22009

efforts, which have been prominent since the 1990s, can and should be used in counterterrorism. The largest predictor of community policing in counterterrorism may be the extent to which community policing practices are generally employed. Constant innovation is a key component of community policing (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). While stretching roles of law enforcement is complex and potentially burdensome (Greene, 2011), counterterrorism policing does not require a different skill set or list of core competencies. Rather, the core mission of community policing involves responding to changes in the environment (Zhao, 1996), and policing counterterrorism should be no different than policing crime in this regard (Holden, 2009). Innovation of practice tends to occur through social learning within professional networks (Weiss & Domingo, 2010). Departments that already engage in community policing need only make minor adjustments to adapt this model to counterterrorism. Individual officers who have more experience with community policing and view it more positively will likely have more favorable views toward the role of community policing in counterterrorism as well. This discussion leads to the following hypotheses:

H1: Law enforcement agents who use community policing in general will have more positive views about relationship building in counterterrorism.

H2: Law enforcement agents who support community policing will have more positive views about relationship building in counterterrorism.

Once a department has decided on community policing in counterterrorism, there are two general ways that this policy has been implemented in the United States. As previously, discussed, there is variance in community policing practice across jurisdictions. The same is true for counterterrorism-focused community policing. In Los Angeles, for example, community policing efforts focused on countering violent extremism rely on a centralized unit of 25 officers who are responsible for the entire city (START, 2015).

This model differs greatly from the previously discussed counterterrorism community policing in Minneapolis, Montgomery County, Maryland and elsewhere in the country. Additionally, the Los Angeles model contradicts the decentralization and smaller beats characteristic of traditional community policing (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). As such, it is not clear that the Los Angeles model is community policing in its truest sense, as forming strong connections between these officers and community members would be difficult given the centralized, specialized unit of officers.

While there is some debate over the most appropriate strategies and tactics to use in counterterrorism at a local level, the general consensus is that community policing practices are important in this regard. Building relationships between law enforcement and communities can increase the likelihood that individuals will inform police about crime and potential violent extremism. The departments and officers most likely to engage in this approach to counterterrorism are those who employ community policing more generally. However, adaptations in community policing occur differently across jurisdictions. Thus, to assess community policing in counterterrorism, it is important to understand the law enforcement policies and practices, and how community members perceive these actions.

In sum, I argue that community policing in the context of counterterrorism will occur when the expected benefit of engaging in this policy outweighs the expected cost. Some argue that department-level policies explain these differences in community policing in counterterrorism. Yet, officers can ignore the directives of their supervisors, and may do so without supervisors being aware of it. As such, expectations about benefits and costs do not come just from within the department. Rather, expectations about the benefits and costs of relationship building are influenced by the agents' experience with community policing, how agents view community policing, and how the agents view counterterrorism. When the officers have experience with community policing in general and there is buy-in

to the policy from officers on the streets, they will expect more benefits than costs.

4.2.3 Community policing with minority groups

Given the general support for employing community policing practices in general and for counterterrorism, it is a wonder that this is not more broadly utilized. Some agencies respond to situations that highlight the need for better community relationships by striving to develop these bonds. As previously discussed, in places like Minneapolis and Montgomery County, Maryland, local law enforcement has responded to increased threat of violent extremism by developing relationships with minority communities in their jurisdiction. On the other hand, many other law enforcement agencies around the country face similar potential threats but do not respond by building such strong relationships with members of these communities. Why is this?

Historically, minority communities have been more skeptical of law enforcement due to being under-policed as victims and over-policed as suspects (Ben-Porat, 2008). There is a long history of tensions between law enforcement and members of African-American and Hispanic communities. Since 9/11, this has especially been the case for Muslim and Arab citizens, who report increased police harassment (Henderson, 2006). As a result, members of these communities may be more distrustful of law enforcement and feel more alienated by them (Gaskew, 2009), and have largely relied on self-policing to handle disputes. When police are viewed negatively, people are less compliant with them (McCluskey, Mastrofski & Parks, 1999).

Recent problems with violent extremism, however, have highlighted the need for law enforcement to partner with the public generally, including minority groups. In counterterrorism, it is especially important to understand conditions that increase the likelihood that members of minority communities will alert police to potential terrorism. For effective community policing with minority groups, research suggests law enforcement must take care to respect cultural values and priorities (Duyvesteyn, 2011; Kelling, 2011;

Mockaitis, 2003). Minority groups need reassurances about security and privacy concerns, and that they are not the subject of police investigation (Greene, 2011). Police officers who view minority groups as more of an “other” may be less likely to engage in community policing.

Community policing may be most effective when employed with members of minority communities. These communities have longstanding skepticism of the police, which hinders cooperation. At the same time, members of these communities may be at greater risk of turning to violent extremism in addition to facing higher crime rates in general. More insular communities have tended to handle disputes internally, yet this is inadequate in counterterrorism. Thus, police departments should pay special attention to community policing among minority groups.

In part, the decision to build relationships with minority communities is due to how an agency polices other populations within their jurisdiction. For community policing to be successful, police officers must change their attitudes toward it (Lurigio & Skogan, 1994). Drawing from the notion of path dependency,¹² an agency’s decision to engage in community policing with minority communities will be easier for agencies that already embrace more community policing practices. For agencies that do not engage in community policing more broadly, it is likely more difficult to implement these practices with members of minority communities. Based on this discussion, I derive the following hypothesis:

H3: Law enforcement agents who use community policing in general will have more positive views about relationship building with minority communities.

The decision to build relationships with minority communities is due in part to characteristics of the law enforcement agents themselves. Mastrofski et al. (1995) found

¹²Path dependency refers to the notion once a policy is set into motion, it is more difficult and sometimes impossible to change course (Schneider & Ingram, 2005).

that officers who were more supportive of community policing were more selective in their interactions with the community. When police officers buy into the benefits of community policing, they may be more likely to build relationships with community members, and be more restrained in their interactions. In contrast, Briggs (2010) argues that tensions stem from law enforcement agents' lack of understanding of local communities and lack of strong relationships with them. This is echoed by interviews with Muslim-Americans who are increasingly alienated, angry, and distrustful of law enforcement (Gaskew, 2009). When police officers do not have relationships with members of a community and do not understand cultural nuances, they are less likely to believe in the benefits of community policing and may be less restrained in their interactions. In sum, police officers who see the value in community policing with minority communities are more likely to have buy-in for this policy choice, which increases the likelihood that it is actually implemented in practice. This leads to the next hypothesis:

H4: Law enforcement agents who support community policing will have more positive views about relationship building with minority communities.

The decision to build relationships with minority communities is also due to characteristics of the community itself. Muslim citizens complain about police harassment post 9/11 in Canada (Ben-Porat, 2008) and the United States. Yet, many argue that the goals of American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh communities and law enforcement do not need to be different, rather these partnerships can be helpful in counterterrorism (Ramirez, O'Connell & Zafar, 2004). These partnerships, however, may be difficult to achieve if members of law enforcement view minority community members as distinct "others" (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961). In this situation, law enforcement agents may prefer to let minority communities police themselves, or what is termed in-group policing (Fearon & Laitin, 1996). When law enforcement agents view that there is more social distance

between themselves and a minority community, they may be less incentivized to develop relationships with members of that community (Black, 1976). This discussion suggests:

H5: Law enforcement agents who perceive the social distance between themselves and the minority community to be greater will have more negative views about relationship building with that group.

In sum, from a rational choice perspective (Cornish & Clark, 1986), police departments and their officers will develop positive relationships with members of the public—particularly minority communities—when the benefits of doing so outweigh the costs. This is not fundamentally different from the reasons why members of various communities cooperate with the police. Again, some argue that department-level policies explain these differences in community policing with minority groups. Yet, given the principal-agent issues that can arise, the mere existence of community policing policies does not explain why some departments are better at relationship building with minority groups than others. Rather, I argue that the decision to use community-oriented policing practices with members of minority communities depends on the agent’s previous experience with policing practices, the agent’s support for community policing, and characteristics of the minority community itself. Community policing with minority communities will occur when there is a stronger history of community policing in general, and when the majority of police officers in the department support community policing with minority communities. When the social distance between police departments and the minority community is shorter,¹³ community policing will be even more likely. If either a history of community policing in the department or officer buy-in at the street level is missing, then community policing will be less likely to occur with both minority groups and in the con-

¹³In his work on categorical terrorism, Goodwin (2006) describes social distance as “the weakness or absence of political alliances between revolutionaries and their presumed constituents and complicitous civilians.” In this paper, I refer to these alliances between law enforcement and community members.

text of counterterrorism. This will be the case regardless of the officers' perceived social distance between the force and the minority community. These officer-level factors will be stronger predictors of community policing in minority communities than the department-level policy. In the next chapter, I will outline my methodological approach to test these claims and the alternative explanation, discuss the results, and explain how they help to answer the puzzle of why some departments are better at building relationships with minority communities than others.

CHAPTER 5

WHY DO POLICE BUILD RELATIONSHIPS WITH MINORITY COMMUNITIES?: METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

5.1 Survey Design

5.1.1 Dependent variables

I use a survey design to examine factors that explain law enforcement officers' support for community policing both in the context of counterterrorism and with minority communities. Survey research is commonplace within policing scholarship (Paoline & Terrill, 2013). When studying law enforcement, it is important to consider both the individual officers and the departments. Departments are not monoliths, so only focusing on policies ignores potential principal-agent issues that arise. Yet, departmental policies do impact practice. Individual officers cannot fully act of their own volition. Officer views and practices aggregate up to the department. Similarly, changes in departmental policy can constrain officers' behavior. Officers are nested within departments, so I examine individual-level responses and compare these both within and across departments.

There are two outcome variables in this part of the study: support for community policing in counterterrorism (hypotheses 1 and 2) and support for community policing with minority groups (hypotheses 3, 4, and 5). To measure support for community policing in counterterrorism, participants were asked the degree to which they agreed with the statement "Policing practices that focus on building relationships with the public are appropriate to address _ ." Participants evaluated this question for six crimes: vandalism, break-ins, gang activity, domestic violence, homicide, and terrorism activity. To allow for comparison across samples, these are the same crimes used in the community sample where citizens rated their likelihood to report each crime to the police. Crimes vary on level of severity and whether their predominant impact is public or private (refer back to Table 3.2). Responses were measured on a 7-point scale where higher scores indicate more support for community policing to address each crime. The dependent variable is *support for community policing in counterterrorism*. Additionally, to allow for comparison across crimes, scores for the five non-terrorism crimes are averaged for an overall score on *support for community policing with common crimes*.

To measure support for community policing with minority groups, participants were asked the degree to which "Relationship building with _ residents in your jurisdiction is effective for crime control." Participants evaluated this question for average members of five racial groups in their jurisdiction: Caucasian/White, African-American/Black, Asian/Asian-American, Hispanic, and Middle Eastern/Arab.¹ Responses were measured on a 7-point scale where higher scores indicate more support for community policing with each group. Scores for the four minority groups were averaged for an overall score on support for community policing with minority groups. As a robustness check, I examine *support for community policing with each minority group* as the outcome variable and

¹Racial groups were chosen to reflect the population in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area. While census data does not report the proportion of the population that is of Middle Eastern or Arab decent, I asked about relationships with this community since they are often the focus of counterterrorism efforts.

compare these responses to *support for community policing with Caucasian communities*.

5.1.2 Independent variables

The independent variables in this study are: *experience with community policing in general*, *support for community policing in general*, and *social distance between self and minority group in jurisdiction*. For hypotheses 1 and 3, I use past literature as a guide to measure experience with community policing practices (Maguire & Wells, 2009; Skogan & Frydl, 2004). As discussed in Chapter 4, I conceptualize community policing as being comprised of the following secondary levels: *police functions*, *operational adaptations*, *problem orientation*, and *community engagement*. *Police functions* were measured with seven indicators, *operational adaptations* were measured with eight indicators, and *problem orientation* and *community engagement* are each measured with three indicators. Additionally, six indicators measure the *countervailing forces* that can undermine community policing efforts. In total, there were twenty-seven indicators of *community policing practices*. Prior to analysis, all items were flipped so that higher scores indicate stronger *community policing experience*. Each dimension was added together to create a composite score for *community policing experience* for each officer.²

For hypotheses 2 and 4, participants answered eight questions about their *general support for community policing*. Prior to analysis, all items were flipped so that higher scores indicate stronger *support for community policing*. Scores on each indicator were then added together to create a composite *support for community policing* for each officer.³

For hypothesis 5, participants were asked a series of questions to assess their *perception of social distance* from five racial groups in their jurisdiction: Caucasian/White,

²As a robustness check, I estimated models with each dimension of *community policing experience* included in the model separately to examine their unique impacts on the outcome variables. The results did not change.

³Again, as a robustness check, I estimated models with each indicator of *general support for community policing* included in the model separately to examine their unique impacts on the outcome variables. Results are discussed in the appendix.

African-American/Black, Asian/Asian-American, Hispanic, and Middle Eastern/Arab. Given current social and political tensions about police relationships with minority groups, asking this question directly would be unlikely to yield honest responses. Rather, participants were asked a series of questions to assess each group on: size within the community, receptivity toward policing practices, frequency of interaction, general tone of relationships with police, degree of caring about the community, and degree to which they help police. First, participants were asked if each group made up at least 33% of the population in their jurisdiction. People tend to overestimate the size of groups that are more dissimilar from them. Doing so here is a blunt measure of social distance. For each racial group, overestimation of the proportion is coded as 1, correct or underestimation of the proportion is coded as -1.⁴ Second, participants were asked which groups are most and least receptive to policing efforts. Indicating a group as most receptive is coded as a -1 while indicating that a group is least receptive is coded as a 1. Third, participants were asked how often they interact with members of each group (four response options: multiple times per shift, once per shift, less than once per shift, not applicable). Fourth, participants assessed the tone of relations between police and each group within their jurisdiction (four response options: positive, neutral, negative, not applicable). Fifth, participants indicated the degree to which members of each group care about the community (six response options: all, most, some, few, none, not applicable). Finally, participants indicated the degree to which members of each group help the police do their job (six response options: all, most, some, few, none, not applicable). Responses to these questions are then added together for each racial group.⁵ Lower scores indicate *less perception of social distance*. Scores for

⁴Since one way of measuring *perceived social distance* was to add these items together, I coded the first and second items as 1 if the response suggests more social distance and -1 if the response suggests less social distance so that each question would carry weight more equivalent to that of the other measures in the additive index.

⁵As a robustness check, I estimated models with each indicator of *perceived social distance* included in the model separately to examine their unique impacts on the outcome variables. The results did not change.

the four minority groups were averaged for an overall score on *perceived social distance from minority communities*. I also estimated models for *perceived social distance* from each racial group separately.

5.1.3 Alternative explanation

It is possible that department policies are the key driving force for relationship building both in the context of counterterrorism and with minority communities. Policies are set by the department leaders and can become part of departmental culture. In fact, each of the police chiefs that I spoke with as part of this project stated that their department engaged in robust community efforts and directed me to materials supporting this in their newsletters and websites. If policy is the main driving force for practice, then we should expect to see variation in the predictor and outcome variables between departments, but these should be fairly stable for officers within the same department. I compare my argument to this alternative.

5.2 Sample

Data come from roll call surveys with police officers in three departments around the Washington D.C. metropolitan area.⁶ Comparative research in selected field sites allows for the mapping of existing relationships between police and communities. This allows for a limited number of comparisons to control for as much as possible. I can compare responses for officers within departments as well as across departments.

While survey methods are common within policing research, many studies use an online platform that yields low response rates. This online method brings validity into question given non-random participation within the police force, since some officers and some departments are more likely to opt in than others. Recently, Paoline and Terrill

⁶Six departments were contacted and asked to participate: three agreed, two declined, and one did not respond.

(2013) conducted roll call surveys in multiple departments. By physically collecting surveys at each shift's roll call, response rates were higher and more representative of the police force overall. Another benefit of collecting data from the population rather than a sample is that it helps to allay suspicion of why people were selected. It is also important to assure the department and participants that they were not selected because of something that they did not do, or did poorly. Selection bias occurs frequently in policing research. This can call into question the entire study's results, thus rendering the findings severely limited if useful at all. To minimize these concerns, I collected data in person at the roll call for each shift in all three departments.

The three participating departments vary in size, but are all within the same geographic area and state to control for environmental factors as much as possible. As is necessary in policing research, I obtained permission from the chief in each department to survey their officers, which can be viewed as a sort of behavioral economics measure of openness. Once the chief consented to participate, I requested a contact person in the department to help facilitate data collection. Beyond granting permission, the chiefs were not involved in the study. A few days prior to each roll call, my contact sent out an email to shift supervisors to let officers know that I would be there to collect data on a particular day and that participation was voluntary. At each roll call, I briefly introduced myself and stated that the purpose of my study was to ask officers in three departments around the Washington D.C. area about their jobs, what they do, and how they feel about it.⁷ I then asked for officers' consent to participate in the study. I again emphasized that participation was anonymous and voluntary. If anyone did not want to participate, they

⁷My survey asked officers for an honest assessment of what they do at their jobs, how they feel about it, and how they perceive various minority communities in their jurisdiction. All of these are potentially sensitive topics that can increase the incentive to be dishonest. To build rapport with officers and show that questioning authority is okay, the first question in the survey asks participants' gender and gives the following response options: male, female, and other. As expected, this got a reaction out of officers in every roll call. I responded that the research ethics board made me phrase the responses this way and made a joke about bureaucracy. By starting with a critical statement of authority, I hoped this would help participants be less suspicious of my intentions and increase honesty in responses.

could either refuse a survey or take a survey and return it blank. I made it clear that only they would know whether or not they had participated. I also made it clear that only my research assistant and I would see the individual responses, while aggregate responses would be shared publically.

These data comprise 713 completed surveys from three departments⁸: 417 officers from Department 1, 135 officers from Department 2, and 161 officers from Department 3. In total, 741 officers from 66⁹ shifts across these three departments had the opportunity to participate in this study, and 28 either declined to participate or turned in incomplete surveys.¹⁰ Since I collected data from each shift in the three departments, all patrol officers in each department theoretically would have had the opportunity to participate in the study. While some officers were absent due to vacation, illness, or being out on a call, this should be random and was unavoidable.¹¹ See Appendix D for full description of sample demographics.

The survey is laid out as follows: The first block of warm-up questions asked participants about their gender, age, and levels of satisfaction in their life, where they live, and where they work. Participants then answered questions about their experience with community policing practices, followed by their support for community policing. Next, participants indicated the appropriateness of relationship building to combat a list of

⁸I entered all survey responses manually into a computer. To check data-entry accuracy, a research assistant entered 82 of the 741 surveys at an accuracy rate of 98.13% across all questions in the subsample of surveys. Errors in data entry were non-systematic.

⁹Forty-eight in Department 1, six in Department 2 (roll call is centralized), and twelve in Department 3.

¹⁰At the time of data collection, 439 of the 629 patrol officers (69.80%) in Department 1, 137 of the 160 patrol officers (84.38%) in Department 2, and 165 of the 230 patrol officers (71.74%) in Department 3 were given the opportunity to participate. The vast majority of officers who were asked to participate in this study consented. In Department 1, 94.87% participated. In Department 2, 98.54% participated. In Department 3, 97.58% participated.

¹¹Paoline and Terrill (2013) had a list of officers in each department and reached out to officers who were absent from roll call to increase participation. Unfortunately, the police chiefs in these three departments would not give me access to their personnel information to employ this same method.

crimes. Additionally, participants were given a list of crimes to evaluate how likely they think it is that a member of the community would report each to police. To allow for comparison between police perceptions and responses from the public, the crimes listed were the same that are included in the conjoint experiments with the community sample. Participants were then asked about their experience with and perceptions of various racial groups within the jurisdiction where they work. Lastly, participants answered a series of demographic questions. The survey and all procedures received IRB approval. See Appendix C for the IRB approval sheet and the full survey.

5.3 Descriptive Statistics

5.3.1 Support for community policing in counterterrorism

Officers were asked the degree to which relationship building is appropriate to address six crime types, including terrorism activity. The outcome variable is level of *support for community policing in terrorism*, where scores range from 1 to 7 ($N=712$, $M=5.69$, $SD=1.82$) with higher scores indicating more support for community policing in counterterrorism. These scores are fairly consistent across departments, yet there is a good deal of variation within each department. Contrary to the alternative explanation, this suggests that department policy is not the driving force for community policing practices.

To explore whether officers view counterterrorism as different than combatting other crimes, I compared these scores to support for community policing more generally. Support for community policing in counterterrorism is similar to support for community policing more broadly across officers in each department (see Appendix D for discussion). This suggests that officers do not view counterterrorism policing as fundamentally different than policing other crimes. From the community sample, we also see that the public does not view reporting terrorism as different than reporting other crimes.

Since I asked participants in the community sample about their likelihood to report

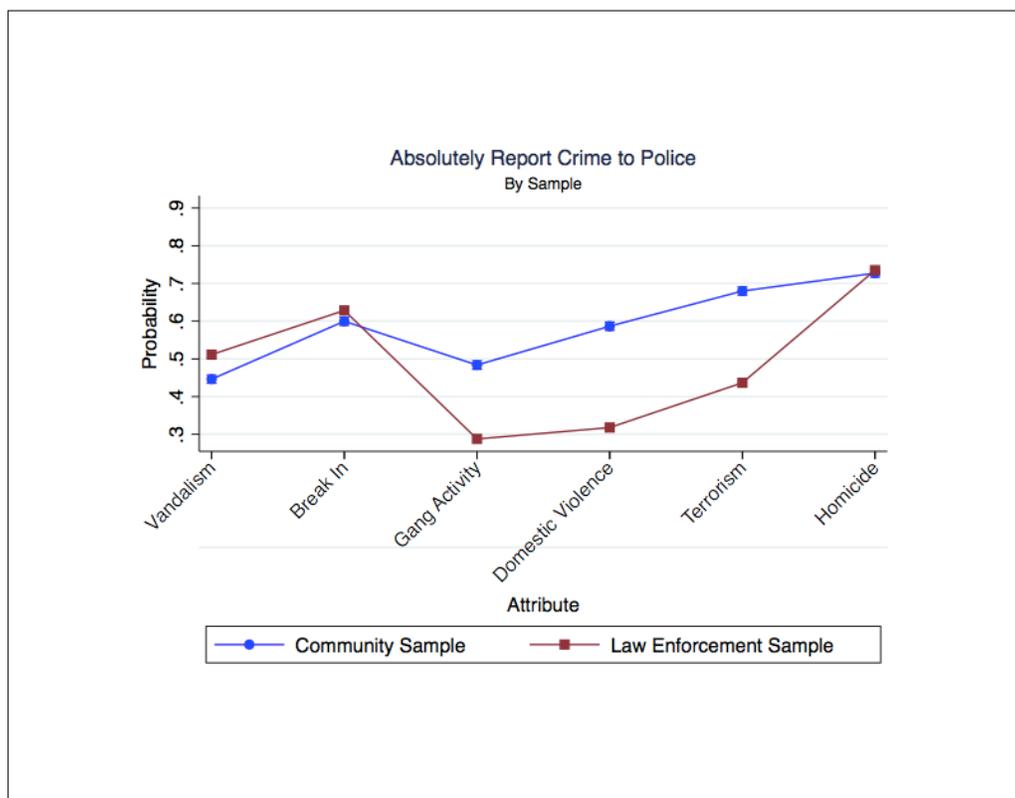


Figure 5.1. Community Likelihood to Report v. Police Officer Expectations

these same crimes to the police, I compared police officer expectations to public views on cooperation. As shown in Figure 5.1, officers' expectation that community members would absolutely report a crime matched citizens' stated likelihood for homicide, and was close for break-ins. While police officers slightly overestimated the likelihood of reporting vandalism, they underestimated the public's stated likelihood to report gang activity, domestic violence, and terrorism. Of course, these are rough estimates on both sides. As discussed in Chapter 3, community data is similar to NCVS data on crime reporting. Exploring the differences between expectation and reality in cooperation between the public and police is one important component of both relationship building and crime prevention.

5.3.2 Support for community policing with minority groups

Officers were asked the degree to which relationship building with members of various communities is effective for crime control. By adding scores for the four minority groups, I created a score for *support for community policing with minority communities*.¹² Scores ranged from 8 to 28 (N=707, $M=23.26$, $SD=4.62$) with higher scores indicating more support for community policing with minority groups. Scores for community policing with minorities overall, and with each minority group, vary between departments (see Appendix D for discussion). Additionally, there is a good deal of variation within each department. Again, this suggests that the alternative argument is incorrect. Departmental policies do not predict community policing in practice.

5.3.3 Independent variables.

An additive *community policing experience* score was created for each officer using 27 indicators. Scores ranged from 63 to 173 (N=668, $M=130.32$, $SD=16.53$) with higher scores indicating more experience with community policing. An additive *support for community policing* score was created for each officer using 8 indicators. Scores ranged from 25 to 56 (N=711, $M=42.50$, $SD=6.16$) with higher scores indicating more support for community policing. An additive score for *social distance* from each racial group was created from the six indicators for each racial group. By averaging scores for the four minority groups, I created a score for *social distance from minority communities*. Scores ranged from 4.25 to 17.5 (N=625, $M=10.78$, $SD=2.05$) with lower scores indicating *less perceived social distance from minority groups*.

Across departments, *support for community policing* and *perceived social distance from minority groups* do not differ, while *community policing experience* does. Yet, there

¹²While I considered averaging these scores, this generates a variable with decimal points that complicated analyses. Ordered logistic regression would no longer be an option. Since the variable is not normally distributed, OLS would possibly have produced biased estimates. To address these concerns, I added scores together.

is a good deal of variation on all independent variables within each department. This is further evidence to refute the alternative argument that departmental policies on community policing practices are the driving force for community policing practices. See Appendix D for a discussion of these differences across all independent variables.

Table 5.1 summarizes these descriptive statistics and includes additional information about the size and composition of each department and the jurisdictions they cover. While the participating departments are in the same metropolitan area, they do vary in number of officers, square miles covered, population in their jurisdiction, and population density. Department 1 is mostly suburban with some more rural areas. Department 2 is more urban and suburban. Department 3 is more suburban and rural. As discussed below, results do not appear to differ as a result of these department-level characteristics. See Appendix D for correlations among the key independent variables in this study.

Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics by Department

Location	Department 1	Department 2	Department 3
Size (sworn)	1200	361	500
Police per 100,000 people	<0.01	623.01	<0.01
Police per square mile	2.37	13.90	1.44
DV1 (COP in counter-terrorism)	5.70	5.52	5.81
DV2 (COP with minority groups)	22.89	23.59	23.91
IV1 (Experience with COP in general)	128.46	133.37	132.51
IV2 (Support for COP)	42.20	42.88	42.96
IV3 (Social Distance)	10.93	10.73	10.45

5.4 Analyses and Discussion

Data for this project were collected from officers in three police departments in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area. While survey responses were collected from individual officers, those officers are nested within departments. It is reasonable to assume that individual experiences and views are impacted by departmental culture. Due to the

small number of participating departments, however, hierarchical modeling is not ideal (see Gelman and Hill, 2006). Instead, to control for department-level effects, I include a dummy variable for two of the three departments in each model that is reported in this chapter. Additionally, as a robustness check, I estimate each model separately for each department; results are presented and discussed in Appendix D.

Of course, honesty in responding is a concern, particularly when asking officers about potentially sensitive topics in the workplace. On the one hand, it is possible that some participants provided the same responses across all crime types or across all racial groups due to social desirability bias or fear of retaliation if their true views were made public. On the other hand, some officers in each department told me that race was not the predominant factor that impacts relationships with community members. Rather, I was told that there are “good people and bad people” or “those who help us do our job and those who don’t.” This sentiment among law enforcement is largely supported by the community sample discussed in Chapter 3. However, as a robustness check to account for the former explanation, I also estimate the models removing officers who “straight-lined” responses in one of two ways. First, I excluded the 113 participants (15.85% of the sample) who straight-lined responses across the majority (five or more of the eight sets) of questions about minority communities. Second, I excluded participants who straight-lined the dependent variable. Across all models, these decisions did not change the statistical or substantive results. All models reported include all observations.

5.4.1 Relationship building in counterterrorism

Table 5.2 shows the results for hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 2 for the overall sample. As expected, we see that officers who have more experience using community policing practices and those who are more supportive of community policing in general are consistently more supportive of community policing in counterterrorism, and to address crimes overall, across departments. As mentioned above, support for community policing in coun-

terterrorism does not substantively differ across departments. As robustness checks, I first estimated these models with each dimension of *community policing experience* and each indicator of *support for community policing* added individually to examine their unique impacts on the outcome variables. I also estimated the models individually for each department to explore differences within each. These results are presented and discussed in Appendix D.

Table 5.2: Community Policing in Counterterrorism

	Counterterrorism	Other Crimes (Combined)
Community Policing Experience	0.011* (0.005)	0.021*** (0.005)
Support for Community Policing	0.076*** (0.014)	0.101*** (0.013)
Department 1 (dummy)	0.332† (0.192)	0.279 (0.181)
Department 3 (dummy)	0.361 (0.227)	0.457* (0.212)
Observations	665	664

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

One of the starting questions for this study as a whole was: is counterterrorism different from crime control more broadly? From an academic perspective, some have argued that community policing should be jettisoned in counterterrorism (e.g. Oliver & Meier, 2004) while others have insisted that it is a critical tool in this regard (Clarke & Newman, 2006). Among police chiefs, many whose departments already employ community policing practices think that it is compatible in counterterrorism as well (Chappell & Gibson, 2009). This was the sentiment among the chiefs in this study as well. Across departments in this study, officers who have more experience with community policing, and those who are more supportive of the practice in general, also have more favorable views of using community policing in counterterrorism. While the results are significant, we see that the magnitude of these effects is lower for community policing in counterter-

rorism versus more common crimes. As we see in Chapter 3, community members indicate that their reasons for reporting potential terrorism are not different from reporting crime generally. And, those reasons are largely a function of their experiences with and expectations of law enforcement and its agents. Thus, community policing as a counterterrorism measure seems to have support from both law enforcement and the public.

5.4.2 Relationship building with minority communities

Table 5.3 shows the results for hypothesis 3, hypothesis 4, and hypothesis 5 for the overall sample. As expected in hypothesis 4, we see that officers who are more supportive of community policing in general are consistently more supportive of community policing with various racial groups in their jurisdictions across departments. As expected in hypothesis 5, officers who perceive more social distance between themselves and members of each racial group are less supportive of community policing with them. This is the case for minority groups overall, and for each racial group individually. Interestingly, hypothesis 3 is not supported: community policing experience does not predict support for community policing with minority communities in any of the models. This may suggest a potential principal-agent issue whereby individual preferences and views are stronger motivators than department-level initiatives. Coupled with the level of variance in each predictor and outcome variable within departments, it is clear that departmental policy on community policing is not the key determinant of practice. As robustness checks, I first estimated these models with each dimension of *community policing experience* and each indicator of *support for community policing* added individually to examine their unique impacts on the outcome variables. I also estimated the models individually for each department to explore differences within each. These results are presented and discussed in Appendix D.

Table 5.3. Community Policing With Minority Communities

	Minorities (Combined)	African- Americans	Asian	Hispanic	Middle Eastern	Caucasian
Community Policing Experience	-.004 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	-.0001 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.003 (0.005)
Support for Community Policing	0.199*** (0.017)	0.203*** (0.017)	0.184*** (0.017)	0.194*** (0.016)	0.193*** (0.017)	0.179*** (0.017)
Perceived Social Distance from Group	-0.273*** (0.044)	-0.104** (0.033)	-0.205*** (0.033)	-0.172*** (0.033)	-0.210*** (0.032)	-0.289*** (0.043)
Department 1 (dummy)	-0.226 (0.207)	-0.251 (0.209)	-0.237 (0.210)	-0.223 (0.205)	-0.100 (0.208)	0.132 (0.209)
Department 3 (dummy)	-0.068 (0.240)	-0.005 (0.243)	-0.009 (0.244)	-0.058 (0.240)	0.081 (0.241)	0.224 (0.244)
Observations	663	603	599	606	602	614

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

There is little doubt that minority communities have been over-policed as suspects and under-policed as victims, which has led to longstanding tension between these communities and law enforcement (Ben-Porat, 2008). Yet, as the results in Chapter 3 suggest, the public's views of police are formed more as a function of experience, expectations, and community. These factors are stronger determinants of community perceptions of law enforcement than race. Community policing, then, which focuses on fair treatment (Tyler, 2011) and respect for cultural values and priorities (Duyvesteyn, 2011; Kelling, 2011; Mockaitis, 2010), is a promising avenue to increase citizen perceptions of law enforcement. As these results show, officers who are more supportive of community policing in general are also more supportive of using these practices with members of different racial communities in their jurisdictions. They are also likely more selective in their interactions with the public (Mastrofski et al., 1995), which can lead to a positive feedback loop. These findings hold across racial groups and departments. Since experience with community policing does not increase support for the practice, future work should explore

factors that do help build more collaborative relationships between the public and police.

How officers view members of these communities is also related to support for community policing with them. When officers view the minority groups as more different from themselves, support for community policing with them dwindles. These views, however, are not consistent across departments. In Department 1, greater perceived social distance was related to less support for community policing across racial groups. In Department 2 and Department 3, however, this finding only applied to some racial groups and not to others. These differences may be a function of department-level history or differences, and will be explored in future interviews with officers in these departments. Regardless of its origination, this lack (or perceived lack) of commonality and understanding between officers and various communities can lead to more tension (Briggs, 2010) and distrust between police and communities (Gaskew, 2009). Furthermore, if officers perceive greater social distance between themselves and minority communities, they may let these communities police themselves, which can be counterproductive to crime control generally, and counterterrorism specifically.

There is no difference in experience with or support for community policing across racial groups in law enforcement. Interestingly, minority police officers tended to indicate more perceived social distance between themselves and minority communities in their jurisdictions. It is possible that this is a result of a small number of minority officers in the sample, or it may indicate a level of overcompensation in social identification. Given the push toward recruiting police officers that are more demographically representative of the communities they serve, this is an avenue for further exploration.

5.5 Summary of Findings

The motivating puzzle for this part of the project was: Why do some police departments do a better job at building relationships with minority communities than others?

There are many potential benefits of community policing, including reducing public perception of disorder (Gill et al., 2014) and increasing positive public perception of law enforcement (Gill et al., 2014; Weisburd & Eck, 2004). Yet, there is sometimes a disparity between departmental policies on community policing engagement and actual action. Police chiefs, including those whose departments participated in this study, may state that their officers engage in community policing while actual programs are not consistently applied in practice (see Ortiz, et al., 2007 for another example of this). Given the decentralized nature of community policing, this can allow for more principal-agent issues to arise than are typical in such hierarchically structured organizations. Across departments, officers who were more supportive of community policing efforts were more likely to think these practices were appropriate both for minority communities and in the context of counterterrorism. As we see in this study, however, community policing experience is not related to support for community policing with minority communities. This suggests a few things. First, perhaps individual preferences and perspectives are a stronger motivator for action than the department-level policy. Second, some officers may engage in community policing practices because they are told to, but lack the belief that it is the best policy, which can undermine the actions (Lurigio & Skogan, 1994). When looking at counterterrorism, however, greater community policing experience is related to more support for community policing in counterterrorism and other crimes. The nuances of these preferences vary by departments and will be explored in follow-up interviews. In sum, the present study finds evidence to support my general argument that officer-level views are stronger predictors of community policing both in the context of counterterrorism, and with minority communities, than department-level policies. These findings expand our understanding of how community policing can be used in various contexts, and identify some challenges to this implementation.

CHAPTER 6

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This project addresses two key puzzles about relationships between local law enforcement and the communities that they serve. First, why do some people alert police to crime—specifically potential terrorism—while others don't? And, second, why do some police departments do a better job developing positive relationships with communities to increase cooperation? These are important problems to address because police need cooperation from the public to fight crime generally. Additionally, information from the community is critical in counterterrorism. As we see in academic, policy, and public discourse, there is much attention on police-community relations more generally as well.

6.1 Theoretical Contributions

There are three key findings from this project that challenge existing research on cooperation with police. First, cooperation is not static. In the present study, roughly 20% of participants indicated the same likelihood to report crime across the 12 incidents. While previous work has tended to focus on stated likelihood to report a particular crime type, this project demonstrates the importance of context beyond just the crime type itself. Police response and community reaction are two factors that have clear impacts

on cooperation. Second, despite much discussion of the differences in crime reporting by race, the present study does not find this. While Caucasians are more likely to report some crimes relative to African-Americans and Hispanics, this is not consistent across crimes. On average, the difference is about two percentage points. Third, this project provides empirical support for the theoretical claim that legitimacy at the institutional level and trust at the interpersonal level are distinct from one another. By breaking these concepts apart, I find that they uniquely contribute to cooperation. Additionally, higher scores on both—or either—help to minimize the impact of contextual factors (such as negative police reaction or community response) that may dissuade cooperation.

This project also challenges perspectives in the literature regarding community policing, particularly in counterterrorism. First, I clearly find that departmental policy on community policing does not drive practice on the streets. While this may come as little surprise to academics, the implications underscore the importance of measuring practice at the individual level as well as the department level. Second, I find that officers and communities alike generally view community policing as applicable to a host of crimes, which helps to settle the debate on the most appropriate practices to employ in counterterrorism.

6.2 Policy Recommendations

This project answers key unresolved questions about why some people cooperate with police while others do not and why some police departments do a better job at building relationships with communities than others. Comparing law enforcement views to community perspectives, the previously unresolved questions that this project answers fall into three categories: relationship building and cooperation generally; the applicability of this relationship building to counterterrorism efforts; and how cooperation varies both within members of each racial group and within individuals. New insights on these

questions have clear implications for policies to increase cooperation with the public.

6.2.1 Relationship building and cooperation

To be effective, we know that law enforcement needs support and cooperation from the communities that they police. From the present study, it is clear that relationship building is critical in this regard. How to enact this policy, however, is less straightforward. Views of law enforcement's *institutional legitimacy* and levels of *interpersonal trust* in police have unique impacts on an individual's likelihood to cooperate with police. This suggests that policies aimed at relationship building and cooperation should focus locally and nationally. People are impacted both by their own experience and their general view of law enforcement, and may not generalize from one to the other. At a local level, it is important for police departments to engage in more community outreach. This can take many forms, but common examples include basketball games with local teens, cookouts with families in different communities, and other fun activities designed to connect law enforcement and the public. Across the country, many of these efforts already exist. Humanizing police officers, particularly in communities where negative perceptions are more likely, can help to build trust. Similarly, humanizing members of communities, particularly those to whom officers may perceive greater social distance, can increase support for continued relationship-building efforts. In addition to face-to-face relationship building, my findings suggest that maintaining a strong and positive social media presence could provide a way for police departments to engage with the community overall, and to connect with younger generations who may be more skeptical of law enforcement.

The police chiefs in these departments stated that they already engage in community policing and think it is compatible with counterterrorism. Yet, changes in departmental policy do not always translate to changes in practice. As we see here, departmental policy on community policing is not the key determinant of practice. Given the robust national

debate on police reform, evidence from the current project suggests that policy change and additional training are not enough. Rather, to enact change, the perspectives of individual officers who are in a position to carry out policy—or ignore it—must change. How, then, do we change officers' attitudes?

A conundrum in community policing is that it is necessarily decentralized, which can exacerbate the risk of principal-agent issues that undermine the policy in practice. As the results of this study show, experience alone does not change perspective. Rather, police departments should focus on changing culture. Police departments can incentivize officers to engage in community policing by integrating measures of these efforts into performance reviews. When officers are rewarded for treating people respectfully and fairly, this should increase both compliance with the law and cooperation with law enforcement. By showing officers that relationship-building efforts are effective, this can help change attitudes about community policing within police departments. Similarly, events that bring officers and the public together in a positive way can help to counter narratives about tensions between police and communities by humanizing each group. While training alone will not change practice, increasing awareness of implicit bias and the impact that these views have on actions can help to mitigate negative outcomes. This could be particularly helpful in the hiring process if it could be used as a tool to weed out applicants with the strongest biases against members of other racial and ethnic groups.

There has been increased national attention to police brutality and officers shooting (often unarmed, minority) citizens in recent years. In response to these events, some people may be less likely to call the police.¹ The results of this project show that cooperation is determined both by trust in individual officers, which may not be impacted by national news, and views of law enforcement's legitimacy, which may be. When people have more trust in individual police officers, negative national news stories may be dismissed

¹http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/01/opinion/why-dont-you-just-call-the-cops.html?_r=0

as not indicative of how their local officers behave. When people have less trust in police officers or less experience with police, national news stories will likely have a stronger impact on views of law enforcement. It is sometimes necessary that police officers use force and, like all people, they sometimes make mistakes. When bad things do happen, police departments should be more transparent with information. If people perceive law enforcement as being more forthright rather than closing ranks, this can lead to more positive perceptions of both officers in that department and law enforcement overall.

6.2.2 Relationship building in counterterrorism

There has been academic, policy, and public debate on whether the same mechanisms that lead to cooperation with police in general also apply to potential terrorism. From police officers' perspectives, counterterrorism policing does not differ from policing crime more generally. Community members in my samples echo this sentiment by indicating that cooperating with police in counterterrorism is similar to cooperation more generally. Here, we again see that views of law enforcement's legitimacy and trust in officers are critical. These findings suggest that greater relationship-building efforts with communities overall, as well as with communities with members who may be at greater risk of engaging in this violence, is critical. It is important to note, however, that these findings may not universally apply across racial and ethnic groups. Arab-American and Muslim-American communities who have been disproportionately targeted in the name of counterterrorism may be more skeptical of community policing in this context.

The policy implication here is to focus on relationship building rather than more invasive—and likely counterproductive—practices. Some have suggested that community policing efforts should be jettisoned in counterterrorism (e.g. Oliver & Meier, 2004). However, since cooperation is largely determined by views of law enforcement and its officers, community policing plays an important role. These findings suggest that there is no need to reinvent the wheel or alter policing practices to address terrorism threats.

Rather than putting resources toward new technologies, invest in broadening and deepening relationships with the public. Past practices such as surveillance based on religion² or stop-and-frisk that raised questions about racial profiling³ will undermine counterterrorism efforts and crime control more generally by driving a wedge between communities and police. These are the practices that should be abandoned.

6.2.3 Cooperation across racial groups

While community-police relations are often discussed in racial terms, this study shows that race is not a strong driver of cooperation. Rather, cooperation is driven by the quality of interactions and general views of law enforcement's legitimacy. Of course, race can condition these experiences. This is particularly of concern when officers perceive greater social distance between themselves and different racial groups and are less supportive of community policing efforts with those groups. When officers are more supportive of community policing practices, they are also likely to be more selective in how they interact with various communities, which is critical to cooperation. To increase support for community policing among officers, minimizing perceived social distance between themselves and communities is important. How, though, do we minimize this perceived social distance?

While race may not impact cooperation, officers' views of different racial groups do impact their support for relationship building with them. This suggests that training and policy changes alone will not be effective at enacting change. One way to address this is to increase positive contact between officers and members of various racial groups in the community-building efforts mentioned above. Another way to address this is through hiring. Many police departments have increasingly focused on more racial diversity in recruiting to have a force that is a closer representative of the jurisdiction. Counter-

²<https://www.aclu.org/other/factsheet-nypd-muslim-surveillance-program>

³<http://www.nyclu.org/issues/racial-justice/stop-and-frisk-practices>

intuitively, however, minority officers in this study perceived greater distance between themselves and minority groups. This suggests that efforts to diversify law enforcement may not have the intended downstream implications, and certainly warrants further exploration before this practice is widely adopted.

By comparing each individual's likelihood to report a series of crimes, we also see that cooperation with police is not static. Even for people who are most inclined to cooperate with police, contextual factors such as crime type, police response, and community reaction can dissuade cooperation. Conversely, people who are least inclined to cooperate may also do so in certain contexts. As we see in this study, more positive views of police can serve as protective factors against negative contextual issues in terms of cooperation. For example, people who view law enforcement as more legitimate and trust officers are more likely to report crimes, even when they face backlash from their community, than are people who have negative views of law enforcement but could report the crime anonymously. This suggests the large impact that positive relationships can have on cooperation across contexts. In this study, police officers underestimate the likelihood that community members will report gang activity, domestic violence, and terrorism. These are areas where increased relationship building could be particularly effective.

6.3 Future Directions

My theory about cooperation with law enforcement was general and should apply across cultural and racial contexts. In the present study, I tested my hypotheses using data from Caucasians, African-Americans, and Hispanics. We see very similar patterns emerge across these racial groups, which does not give us reason to expect that there would be differences among other racial groups. One way to explore this going forward, however, would be to field this survey with members of other racial groups to see if the same patterns emerge. With counterterrorism specifically, Arab-American and Muslim communities

often feel unfairly targeted by law enforcement and fellow citizens. Thus, members of these communities may be less likely to cooperate with police. However, when members of these communities have relationships with police officers and view law enforcement as legitimate, they may report suspicious activity, as Rahami's father did. In this case, Arab-Americans or Muslims may be even more likely to report suspected terrorism to avoid backlash against their communities and show a more positive side. After recent attacks in Europe, police there have voiced concern about the lack of connections within communities where some of these attacks have been plotted.⁴ Conducting similar research with both communities and law enforcement across cultural contexts would provide insight on how relationship building between groups could aid counterterrorism efforts domestically and abroad. I expect that similar findings would emerge in community samples across context, but that community norms would have a stronger impact with more insular groups. In an international context where many countries have a national police force, we may see even greater principal-agent issues in law enforcement samples. This could be particularly problematic to relationship building with communities in places like Belgium and Turkey where we also see an increase in potential radicalization and violence, and should be explored in future research.

This work shows that an individual's decision to cooperate with police is more complex than the literature suggests. While *legitimacy* has generally been discussed as a universal concept, the quantitative data here suggest that racial groups may view these phenomena differently. *Legitimacy* and *trust* in law enforcement may not be stable concepts across racial groups. My next project will explore this further by examining differences in views of legitimacy and trust with both quantitative and qualitative data from this project. This can then inform better theorizing on how these concepts vary by groups, which can be tested in future studies. To probe causal mechanisms identified in

⁴<http://www.npr.org/2015/11/17/456395423/police-focus-on-brussels-neighborhood-connected-with-islamist-extremism>

this quantitative work and further explore how relationship building impacts cooperation, I plan to conduct qualitative interviews with members of law enforcement and members of the public.

While data from police officers come from departments that cover geographically and politically diverse areas, they are still in the same metropolitan area. To examine how community policing experience and support for these practices generally impact officers' views of relationship building across contexts, future research should focus on police departments in other regions of the country and around the world. Officers in departments with less racial diversity or in areas where certain crimes, such as gang activity or terrorism, are less of a concern would likely view relationship building across contexts in different ways than the officers in this study. In the Washington D.C. metropolitan area, terrorism is a salient concern given the experience with such attacks and the abundance of potential hard and symbolic targets. In jurisdictions where terrorism is less of a concern, officers may be less supportive of community policing to address it since it is less relevant to them. The Washington D.C. area population is also diverse, so community policing across racial groups is similarly salient to officers. Again, in areas that are either less diverse or where relationships between minority communities and police are more strained, officers may be likely to be less supportive of relationship building. Additionally, it is possible that the principal-agent issues shown in the departments in this study are more common in larger departments where the distance between officers and the chief is greater. Exploring differences based on department size is also a consideration for future research.

Since the present data from the law enforcement sample are cross-sectional, the conclusions reached in this study are not definitive. One of the participating departments has used aggregated findings on this survey for part of a bi-annual report. They have indicated potential interest in participating in this survey again in 2018. Conducting this research over time would allow me to compare how changes in departmental policies over

that time period impact officers' engagement in community policing and views toward those actions across contexts. Time-series data can also suggest the impact of current events on law enforcement policies and practices. Relationships between law enforcement and many minority communities have long been tense. Concerns about police brutality have long been a concern, and have dominated public discourse in recent years. In response, politicians, policy makers, and practitioners have explored avenues for reform, the most famous of which is President Obama's 21st Century Policing Task Force. Prior to these events, officers may have had less positive views of community policing, particularly with members of minority communities. Collecting data from officers in a few years when the most pertinent public issues may shift can provide insight into the impact of public discourse on policing practice.

In the context of counterterrorism specifically, the "see something, say something" campaign seeks to promote reporting suspicious activity to police. Despite the push across the country, LaFree and Adamczyk (2016) found that only 27% of participants were aware of the campaign prior to the Boston Bombing and 39% were aware after the attack. This highlights the need to expand awareness of this campaign more broadly. Beyond awareness, what is this "something" you may see, though? How do people decide what is suspicious? Field experiments provide logistical and ethical challenges to addressing these questions, while traditional laboratory experiments may lack the realism necessary to make inferences to the real world. New technologies, such as augmented reality, can span this gap by providing participants with seemingly unrelated tasks where someone in the virtual environment does something suspicious and we can then measure the likelihood of reporting that act. We can also vary attributes such as the type of action, location of the action, and demographics of the actor to explore how these factors impact what members of the public deem to be "suspicious."

We saw a dramatic rise in reports of suspicious activity immediately following the

New York and New Jersey bombings in September 2016. Similarly, current attention on police shootings of minorities may decrease the likelihood that some people call the police or that they call the police to report other types of crime. What impact does saliency have on action? While, of course, we do not wish for negative events like terrorist attacks or police shootings to occur, the reality is that they do happen. Using such events as natural experiments, future work could study the impact of saliency on public action by inviting participants from this study to take part in the choice-based conjoint portion of the survey again and compare those results to their previous responses, similar to LaFree and Adamczyk (2016)'s work.

6.4 Summary

The core focus of this project is on relationships between community members and law enforcement officers. By combing data from both groups, I compare perspectives to see where views are similar and where they diverge. In many respects, police and citizens have similar perspectives on cooperation. As demonstrated by these findings, the mechanisms that lead to cooperation are more complex than previously addressed in the literature. From both the public's and law enforcement's perspectives, the mechanisms that lead to cooperation in counterterrorism appear to be similar to cooperation in reporting common crime. This project also provides insight into how these mechanisms operate within racial groups and within individuals.

In sum, this project highlights the importance of relationship building to increase safety across contexts. When police treat people well, they are more likely to view law enforcement as legitimate and trust officers. When people have higher views of law enforcement's legitimacy and greater trust in officers, they are more likely to cooperate with the police across contexts. By focusing on relationship building between groups, we can expect more people to alert the police to suspicious activity, like the vendor who alerted

police to a smoking car in Times Square thwarting a 2012 bombing attempt or the numerous civilians who reported suspicious activity and packages in New York and New Jersey following the September 2016 bombing.

APPENDIX A

COMMUNITY SURVEY

IRB #: IRB-2016-142

Title: If You See Something, Do You Say Something?: The Role of Legitimacy and Trust in Policing Minority and Immigrant Communities in Counterterrorism

Creation Date: 11-13-2015

End Date:

Status: **Approved**

Principal Investigator: Joseph Young

Review Board: IRB

Sponsor:

Study History

Submission Type	Initial	Review Type	Exempt	Decision	Exempt
Submission Type	Modification	Review Type	Exempt	Decision	Approved
Submission Type	Modification	Review Type	Exempt	Decision	Approved

Key Study Contacts

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COMMUNITY SURVEY

{Survey Opens – everyone sees questions on this page first}

(Low Sensitivity Demographics)

[LSD1] What is your gender?

- <1> Male
- <2> Female
- <3> Other {text}

[LSD2] How old are you?

- <1> 18 - 24
- <2> 25 - 34
- <3> 35 - 44
- <4> 45 - 54
- <5> 55 - 64
- <6> 65 +

[LSD3] Please select the race/ethnicity with which you most strongly identify

- <1> Caucasian/White
- <2> African-American/Black
- <3> Hispanic
- <4> Asian/Asian American
- <5> Native American
- <6> Middle Eastern
- <7> Other {text}

[LSD5] What state do you live in?

- <STATE> {dropdown}

[PSD5] What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

- <1> Some high school or less
- <2> High school degree/GED
- <3> Some college
- <4> College degree
- <5> Graduate degree

[PSD10] What is your annual household income?

- <1> Less than \$24,999
- <2> \$25,000 - \$49,999
- <3> \$50,000 - \$74,999
- <4> \$75,000 - \$99,999
- <5> More than \$100,000

{Low Sensitivity Introduction Questions – after screeners, everyone sees questions on this page}

[LSD4] How do you describe the area where you live?

- <1> Large City
- <2> Mid-Sized City
- <3> Small City
- <4> Suburbs
- <5> Rural Area

[LSD6] In general, how satisfied are you with your life?

- <1> Very satisfied
- <2> Somewhat satisfied
- <3> Somewhat dissatisfied
- <4> Very dissatisfied

[LSD7] In general, how satisfied are you with how things are going where you live?

- <1> Very satisfied
- <2> Somewhat satisfied
- <3> Somewhat dissatisfied
- <4> Very dissatisfied

{Randomize to Order 1 or Order 2.

Order 1 sees modules on Institutional Legitimacy, Interpersonal Trust, Community Norms, and Open-Ended Questions first – these modules are presented in a randomized order. Then answer personality questions. Then sees conjoint experiments

Order 2 sees conjoint experiments first. Then answers personality questions. Then sees modules on Institutional Legitimacy, Interpersonal Trust, Community Norms, and Open-Ended Questions first – these modules are presented in a randomized order.}

[Honesty] For the questions that follow, we are interested in your honest attitudes about topics related to you and your community and government. ALL OF YOUR ANSWERS ARE ANONYMOUS. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers; there are only your opinions. We thank you in advance for your honesty.

- <1> Yes, I understand and agree
- <2> No, I am not comfortable providing honest answers

TERMINATE

(Institutional Legitimacy) {Question order randomized within this module}

Thinking about the **police in general**, please indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements.

(General Police Fairness)

(Procedural Fairness)

[IL1] The police use rules and procedures that are unfair to some people

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL2] The police would treat me with respect if I had contact with them for any reason

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL3] The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions to people they deal with

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

(Distributive Fairness)

[IL4] People receive unfair outcomes from the police

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL5] People receive the outcomes they deserve from the police

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL6] The police provide a different quality of service to different kinds of people.

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

(Right to Govern)

[IL7] The police have the right to enforce the law

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL8] The police have the right to exercise power to protect the public

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL9] The police have no duty to control crime

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

(Identification with Police)

[IL10] The police represent the values of people like me

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL11] The police understand the issues that affect people like me

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL12] The police ignore the issues that people like me have

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

(Police Effectiveness)

Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it.

[IL13] Would you call the police?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <3> Not sure

[IL14] In this scenario, if you called the police, how long do you think it would take them to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon?

- <1> Less than 10 minutes
- <2> Between 10 and 30 minutes
- <3> More than 30 minutes but less than an hour
- <4> An hour to three hours
- <5> More than three hours
- <6> There are no police/they would never arrive

[IL15] In this scenario, the police would conduct a thorough investigation.

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL16] In this scenario, the police would find the burglar(s).

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

(Obligation to Obey Police)

[IL17] I feel a moral obligation to obey the police

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL18] I support the decisions of police officers only when I agree with them

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IL19] I should do what the police tell me because that is the proper or right thing to do

(Reverse Coded)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree

<7> Completely Disagree

{End Institutional Legitimacy module}

(Interpersonal Trust)

[ITFilter] Have you ever had any contact with any police officer? (Some examples might be a traffic stop, reporting a crime, calling for help, being questioned or arrested, or speaking to an officer on the street.)

<1> Yes

<2> No

{If ITFilter=Yes, then continue to the instructions and questions. If “no” skip this module}

[IT1] About how many interactions with police officers have you had **in your lifetime**?

<1> 1

<2> 2

<3> 3

<4> 4

<5> 5 or more

[IT2] Overall, how would you characterize your own **direct personal interactions** with police officers?

<1> Always Positive

<2> Mostly Positive

<3> Somewhat Positive

<4> Neutral

<5> Somewhat Negative

<6> Mostly Negative

<7> Always Negative

[IT3] Now thinking about your **family members**, how would you characterize **their direct personal interactions** they have had with police officers?

<1> Always Positive

<2> Mostly Positive

<3> Somewhat Positive

<4> Neutral

<5> Somewhat Negative

<6> Mostly Negative

<7> Always Negative

<8> I don't know

<9> My family hasn't had direct personal interactions with police officers

[IT4] Now thinking about your **friends and acquaintances**, how would you characterize **their direct personal interactions** they have had with police officers?

- <1> Always Positive
- <2> Mostly Positive
- <3> Somewhat Positive
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Negative
- <6> Mostly Negative
- <7> Always Negative
- <8> I don't know
- <9> My friends and acquaintances haven't had direct personal interactions with police officers

[IT5] Is there one or more **specific police officer(s)** you trust?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No

Think about **your most recent interaction** with a police officer.

[IT6] Did you already know this officer prior to this interaction?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No

[IT7] Briefly, in your own words, what was the reason for this interaction? Some examples might be a traffic stop, reporting a crime, calling for help, being questioned or arrested, or speaking to an officer on the street.

{text}

[IT8] Overall, how would you describe this interaction?

- <1> Positive
- <2> Neutral
- <3> Negative

{Question order randomized within this module}

Now thinking about that experience, please indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements.

(Specific Officer Fairness)

(Procedural Fairness)

[IT9] The police officer used the same rules and procedures with me that he/she would with anyone else

- <1> Completely Agree

- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IT10] The police officer was disrespectful

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IT11] The police officer clearly explained the reasons for his/her actions to me

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree
- <8> Doesn't Apply

(Distributive Fairness)

[IT12] I received an unfair outcome from the police officer

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree
- <8> Doesn't Apply

[IT13] I received the outcome that I deserved from the police officer

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

<8> Doesn't Apply

[IT14] The police officer would provide a different quality of service to different people

<1> Completely Agree

<2> Mostly Agree

<3> Somewhat Agree

<4> Neutral

<5> Somewhat Disagree

<6> Mostly Disagree

<7> Completely Disagree

<8> Doesn't Apply

(Views of Officer)

[IT15] I respect this police officer

<1> Completely Agree

<2> Mostly Agree

<3> Somewhat Agree

<4> Neutral

<5> Somewhat Disagree

<6> Mostly Disagree

<7> Completely Disagree

[IT16] I am proud to have this officer on the police force

<1> Completely Agree

<2> Mostly Agree

<3> Somewhat Agree

<4> Neutral

<5> Somewhat Disagree

<6> Mostly Disagree

<7> Completely Disagree

[IT17] I lack confidence in this police officer

<1> Completely Agree

<2> Mostly Agree

<3> Somewhat Agree

<4> Neutral

<5> Somewhat Disagree

<6> Mostly Disagree

<7> Completely Disagree

(Expectation of Future Interactions with Officer)

[IT18] I will reach out to this officer in the future if I have a problem

<1> Completely Agree

<2> Mostly Agree

- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IT19] If stopped by this officer in the future, I will be treated unfairly

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[IT20] This officer will look out for me

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

{End Interpersonal Trust module}

Listed below are a series of questions about **you and your community**. *{Question order randomized within this module}*

(Legal socialization, community norms, and attachment to community)

[CN1] In general, people can be trusted (*general trust*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN2] If someone in your community backs into your car and refuses to pay, how will you handle this? (*community norm*)

- <1> Call the police
- <2> Go to a community leader
- <3> Handle it directly with that person

<4> Other {text}

[CN3] If I called the police for any reason, the police would retaliate against me (*fear of police retaliation*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN4] If I called the police for any reason, members of my community would support me (*fear of community retaliation*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN5] In a neighborhood like mine, an average person feels unsafe (*community safety*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN6] I feel a strong connection to members of my community (*community attachment*) (**Reverse Coded**)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN7] People in my community look out for one another (*community cohesion*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral

- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN8] People in my community have the same values (*community homogeneity*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN9] I trust my family with important issues (*trust in family*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[CN10] I trust members of my community with important issues (*trust in community*)

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

(Routine Activities)

[RA1] People in my community would commit crime if nobody were there to stop them

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[RA2] People in my community are an easy target for criminal victimization

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree

- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[RA3] Police are absent in my community

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

(Strain)

[S1] I expect to be better off next year than I am this year

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

[S2] Others in my community have more economic success than me

- <1> Completely Agree
- <2> Mostly Agree
- <3> Somewhat Agree
- <4> Neutral
- <5> Somewhat Disagree
- <6> Mostly Disagree
- <7> Completely Disagree

{End Community Norms module}

Open Ended Questions *{Question order randomized within this module}*

[LT1] When thinking about the police, what does “legitimacy” mean to you?
{text}

[LT2] When thinking about the police, what does “trust” mean to you?
{text}

[LT3] When thinking about the police, do “legitimacy” and “trust” mean the same thing?

<1> Yes

<2> No

<3> Unsure

{End module}

{Regardless of whether randomized to Order 1 or Order 2, all participants answer these questions as a break between the substantive survey questions and the conjoint experiments}

TIPI (Big 5 Gosling et al., 2003)

[TIPI] I see myself as someone who...

[TIPI_1] Is reserved (**Reverse Coded**)

<1> Agree Strongly

<2> Agree a little

<3> Neither agree nor disagree

<4> Disagree a little

<5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_2] Is generally trusting

<1> Agree Strongly

<2> Agree a little

<3> Neither agree nor disagree

<4> Disagree a little

<5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_3] Tends to be lazy (**Reverse Coded**)

<1> Agree Strongly

<2> Agree a little

<3> Neither agree nor disagree

<4> Disagree a little

<5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_4] Is relaxed, handles stress well

<1> Agree Strongly

<2> Agree a little

<3> Neither agree nor disagree

<4> Disagree a little

<5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_5] Has few artistic interests (**Reverse Coded**)

<1> Agree Strongly

<2> Agree a little

- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree a little
- <5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_6] Is outgoing, sociable

- <1> Agree Strongly
- <2> Agree a little
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree a little
- <5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_7] Tends to find fault with others (**Reverse Coded**)

- <1> Agree Strongly
- <2> Agree a little
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree a little
- <5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_8] Does a thorough job

- <1> Agree Strongly
- <2> Agree a little
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree a little
- <5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_9] Gets nervous easily (**Reverse Coded**)

- <1> Agree Strongly
- <2> Agree a little
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree a little
- <5> Disagree Strongly

[TIPI_10] Has an active imagination

- <1> Agree Strongly
- <2> Agree a little
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree a little
- <5> Disagree Strongly

(Likelihood to Inform) {Each participant sees 6 of these – the different factors are randomly assigned each time with 72 possible options}

Please read the descriptions of two incidents carefully. Imagine that you were a **witness** to each activity. Then, indicate whether **you personally** are more likely to report Incident A or Incident B to the police.

	Incident A	Incident B
Type of Crime		
Police Department Responsiveness		
Personal Safety for Reporting		

Crime Types:

Social Impact/Scale	Public	Private
Low	Vandalism	A Break-In
Medium	Gang Activity	Domestic Violence
High	Terrorism Activity	Homicide

Police Department Responsiveness: police in your neighborhood are effective, police in your neighborhood are ineffective, police in your neighborhood are respectful, police in your neighborhood are disrespectful

Personal Safety for Reporting: If you report, you're likely to receive backlash your community. If you report, you're likely to receive support from your community. If you report, you can do so anonymously

[C1]

[C1Choice] If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you more likely to report to the police?

- <1> Incident A
- <2> Incident B

[C1ReportA] Would you report INCIDENT A to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report

- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C1ReportB] Would you report INCIDENT B to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C1Why] Why would you be more likely to report the incident selected above to the police?
(Please answer in one sentence.)

<text>

[C2]

[C2Choice] If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you more likely to report to the police?

- <1> Incident A
- <2> Incident B

[C2ReportA] Would you report INCIDENT A to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C2 ReportB] Would you report INCIDENT B to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C2Why] Why would you be more likely to report the incident selected above to the police?
(Please answer in one sentence.)

<text>

[C3]

[C3Choice] If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you more likely to report to the police?

- <1> Incident A
- <2> Incident B

[C3ReportA] Would you report INCIDENT A to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C3ReportB] Would you report INCIDENT B to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C3Why] Why would you be more likely to report the incident selected above to the police? (Please answer in one sentence.)

<text>

[C4]

[C4Choice] If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you more likely to report to the police?

- <1> Incident A
- <2> Incident B

[C4ReportA] Would you report INCIDENT A to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C4ReportB] Would you report INCIDENT B to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report

- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C4Why] Why would you be more likely to report the incident selected above to the police?
(Please answer in one sentence.)

<text>

[C5]

[C5Choice] If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you more likely to report to the police?

- <1> Incident A
- <2> Incident B

[C5ReportA] Would you report INCIDENT A to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C5ReportB] Would you report INCIDENT B to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C5Why] Why would you be more likely to report the incident selected above to the police?
(Please answer in one sentence.)

<text>

[C6]

[C6Choice] If you had to choose, which of these two incidents are you more likely to report to the police?

- <1> Incident A
- <2> Incident B

[C6ReportA] Would you report INCIDENT A to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C6ReportB] Would you report INCIDENT B to the police?

- <1> Absolutely would report
- <2> Likely would report
- <3> Possibly would report
- <4> May report, may not report
- <5> Possibly would not report
- <6> Likely would not report
- <7> Absolutely would not report

[C6Why] Why would you be more likely to report the incident selected above to the police?

(Please answer in one sentence.)

<text>

{Everyone sees questions on this page last}

(Potentially Sensitive Demographics)

[PSD1] What is your primary cultural heritage, if any? (examples include Italian, Cuban, Indian, Nigerian)

{text}

[PSD2] What is your religious affiliation? {dropdown}

- <1> Catholic
- <2> Protestant, Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical
- <3> Evangelical and Pentecostal
- <4> LDS (Mormon)
- <5> Jehovah's Witness
- <6> Traditional Religions or Native Religions
- <7> Jewish (Orthodox; Conservative; Reform)
- <8> Muslim
- <9> Buddhist
- <10> Hinduism
- <11> Atheist (Does not believe in God)
- <12> Agnostic (Unsure about existence of God)
- <13> None (Believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion)

<14> Other

[PSD3] If you have a religious affiliation, how often do you practice/attend services?

- <1> More than once a week
- <2> Weekly
- <3> Monthly
- <4> Yearly
- <5> I don't attend
- <6> Not applicable, no affiliation

[PSD4] Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are...

- <1> Very Liberal
- <2> Liberal
- <3> Moderate
- <4> Conservative
- <5> Very Conservative

[PSD6] Were you born in the United States?

- <1> Yes
- <1> No

{If PSD6r=No, then continue to 6a and 6b. If not, skip to PSD7}

[PSD6a] If not, what country were you born in? {text}

[PSD6b] If not, which country do you identify with more strongly?

- <1> Country of Birth
- <2> United States
- <3> Both equally

[PSD7] What language(s) do you speak in an average day?

- <1> English
- <2> Spanish
- <3> Chinese
- <4> French
- <5> German
- <6> Tagalog
- <7> Vietnamese
- <8> Italian
- <9> Korean
- <10> Russian
- <11> Polish
- <12> Arabic
- <13> Portuguese
- <14> Albanian
- <15> Japanese

- <16> Greek
- <17> Hindi
- <18> Persian
- <19> Urdu
- <20> Other_____ {text}

[PSD8] Do you own or rent your primary residence? (*strain*)

- <1> Own with a mortgage
- <2> Own, mortgage paid off
- <3> Rent
- <4> Don't pay for housing

[PSD9] What is your employment status? (*strain*) (circle all that apply)

- <1> Full time employment
- <2> Part time employment
- <3> Full time student
- <4> Part time student
- <5> Take care of home
- <6> Unemployed, looking for work
- <7> Unemployed, not looking for work
- <8> Retired

[PSD11] Are you or any close family members or friends members of law enforcement (select all the apply)

- <1> I am currently a member of law enforcement
- <2> I was previously a member of law enforcement
- <3> A close family member or friend is currently a member of law enforcement
- <4> A close family member or friend was previously a member of law enforcement
- <5> None

[PSD12] What is your marital status?

- <1> Single
- <2> Married
- <3> Domestic partnership (living with an unmarried partner)
- <4> Divorced
- <5> Separated
- <6> Widowed

[PSD13] Including yourself, what is the total number of people in your household (# adults, # children)

- Adults (18 and older): {text}
- Children (under 18 years old): {text}

[PSD14] Even if you were not caught, have you broken a minor law in the past 12 months? (examples: speeding, taken something from a store without paying)

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <3> Don't know

[PSD15] Even if you were not caught, have you broken a major law in the past 12 months?
(examples: drug dealing, physically assaulted someone)

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <3> Don't know

[PSD16] Have you been a victim of a crime in the past 12 months? (examples: been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats, or any other type of crime)

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <3> Don't know

APPENDIX B

COMMUNITY SAMPLE RESULTS

B.1 Demographics

Figure B.1 shows the key demographic variables in this study. The first column for each race indicates the percentage in the population according to 2014 U.S. Census data estimates. The second column for each race shows the percentage in my sample. The Caucasian sample percentages match the Census numbers for each factor aside from region where the Northeast and South were very slightly overrepresented and the Midwest was very slightly underrepresented. Compared to the national population of African-Americans, my sample is slightly more female, younger, more educated, less affluent, and less from the West. The Hispanic sample is slightly more female, younger, more educated, and less from the West than Hispanics in the United States overall.

B.2 Correlations Among Independent Variables

Correlations among the three key independent variables are shown in Table B.1. While there is a high correlation between *institutional legitimacy* and *interpersonal trust*, confirmatory factor analysis discussed in Chapter 3 indicates that they are conceptually distinct. I had originally proposed that *institutional legitimacy* was comprised of four dimensions. Table B.2 shows the correlation among those dimensions. Given the high correlation between general view of police fairness and identification with police, I col-

Variable	Caucasian (pop.)	Caucasian (sample)	African-American (pop.)	African-American (sample)	Hispanic (pop.)	Hispanic (sample)
Gender: Male	49%	49%	48%	42%	51%	43%
Gender: Female	51%	51%	52%	58%	49%	57%
Age: 18-34	26%	26%	35%	36%	40%	44%
Age: 35-54	33%	33%	36%	38%	38%	40%
Age: 55+	41%	41%	29%	26%	22%	16%
Education: No college	37%	37%	48%	42%	62%	53%
Education: Some college	63%	63%	52%	58%	38%	47%
Income: <\$50,000	42%	42%	64%	61%	57%	57%
Income: \$50,000+	58%	58%	36%	39%	43%	43%
Region: Northeast	19%	20%	10%	12%	10%	13%
Region: Midwest	27%	26%	12%	14%	7%	9%
Region: South	35%	36%	36%	43%	27%	32%
Region: West	19%	19%	42%	31%	56%	46%

Figure B.1. Key Demographics in the Sample as Compared to the U.S. Population

lapsed these into one dimension, which was supported by confirmatory factor analysis. The final correlations among dimensions of *institutional legitimacy* are shown in Table B.3. The correlations among the three proposed dimensions of *interpersonal trust* are shown in Table B.4. Given the high correlations among them, I collapsed these into one dimension, which was supported by confirmatory factor analysis.

Table B.1: Correlations Among Independent Variables

	1	2	3
1. Institutional Legitimacy	1.00		
2. Interpersonal Trust	0.72	1.00	
3. Community Norms about Handling Conflict	0.55	0.42	1.00

Table B.2. Initial Correlations Among Proposed Dimensions of *Institutional Legitimacy*

	1	2	3	4
1. General View of Police Fairness	1.00			
2. Right to Govern	0.506	1.00		
3. Identification with Police	0.811	0.51	1.00	
4. Police Effectiveness	0.572	0.405	0.598	1.00

Table B.3. Final Correlations Among Final Dimensions of *Institutional Legitimacy*

	1	2	3
1. General View of Police Fairness	1.00		
2. Right to Govern	0.531	1.00	
3. Police Effectiveness	0.608	0.405	1.00

Table B.4. Correlations Among Proposed Dimensions of *Interpersonal Trust*

	1	2	3
1. Specific Officer Fairness	1.00		
2. Views of Officer	0.859	1.00	
3. Expectation of Future Interactions with Officer	0.768	0.801	1.00

B.3 Items Measuring *Institutional Legitimacy* and *Interpersonal Trust*

Table B.5 show the descriptive statistics for each item measuring *Institutional Legitimacy* and *Interpersonal Trust*. Variables have been coded so that higher scores indicate stronger views in favor; “RC” indicates those items. Scores range from 1 to 7 except IL13, which ranges from 1 to 3. In Figure B.2, I show the bivariate correlations between each of these items.

Table B.5: Descriptive Statistics by Item

Item	Mean	SD
<i>Institutional Legitimacy</i>		
IL1. The police use rules and procedures that are unfair to some people	3.93	1.85
IL2. The police would treat me with respect if I had contact with them for any reason (RC)	5.35	1.55
IL3. The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions to people they deal with (RC)	4.73	1.74
IL4. People receive unfair outcomes from the police	3.95	1.69
IL5. People receive the outcomes they deserve from the police (RC)	4.33	1.67
IL6. The police provide a different quality of service to different kinds of people	3.36	1.85
IL7. The police have the right to enforce the law (RC)	6.23	1.19
IL8. The police have the right to exercise power to protect the public (RC)	5.75	1.36
IL9. The police have no duty to control crime	5.93	1.48
IL10. The police represent the values of people like me (RC)	4.83	1.67
IL11. The police understand the issues that affect people like me (RC)	4.77	1.69
IL12. The police ignore the issues that people like me have	4.64	1.77
IL13. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it, would you call the police? (RC)	2.92	0.35
L14. In this scenario, if you called the police, how long do you think it would take them to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon? (RC)	6.22	0.94
IL15. In this scenario, the police would conduct a thorough investigation (RC)	5.55	1.42
IL16. In this scenario, the police would find the burglar(s) (RC)	4.43	1.60
<i>Interpersonal Trust</i>		
IT9. The police officer used the same rules and procedures with me that he/she would with anyone else (RC)	5.54	1.73
IT10. The police officer was disrespectful (RC)	5.82	1.82
IT11. The police officer clearly explained the reasons for his/her actions to me (RC)	5.72	1.78
IT12. I received an unfair outcome from the police officer	5.88	2.03
IT13. I received the outcome that I deserved from the police officer (RC)	5.34	2.01
IT14. The police officer would provide a different quality of service to different people	4.70	2.14
IT15. I respect this police officer (RC)	5.62	1.79
IT16. I am proud to have this officer on the police force (RC)	5.26	1.87
IT17. I lack confidence in this police officer	5.25	1.97
IT18. I will reach out to this officer in the future if I have a problem (RC)	4.47	2.17
IT19. If stopped by this officer in the future, I will be treated unfairly	5.38	1.87
IT20. This officer will look out for me (RC)	4.77	1.96

B.4 Preferred to Report and Reporting Likelihood by Incident Profile

In each conjoint, participants were asked to choose which of the two incidents they would prefer to report to police. This generates a binary response per incident per participant. These are then aggregated for the percentage of times that each of the 72 possible incidents was preferred. Table B.7 shows the percentage of the time that each incident was preferred. Figure B.3 shows the AMCE plot, which is the more traditional academic way of displaying conjoint experiment results when the dependent variable is binary.

Table B.6. Preference and Likelihood to Report by Incident

Crime	Police	Community	% Preferred	Probability Reported
Vandalism	Disrespectful	Backlash	16.25%	32.19%
Vandalism	Ineffective	Anonymous	16.40%	41.49%
Gang Activity	Ineffective	Backlash	18.96%	37.00%
Gang Activity	Disrespectful	Backlash	20.19%	33.12%
Vandalism	Ineffective	Backlash	22.93%	34.08%
Break In	Ineffective	Backlash	26.73%	45.05%
Vandalism	Disrespectful	Anonymous	27.27%	40.76%
Vandalism	Disrespectful	Support	29.45%	39.65%
Vandalism	Respectful	Backlash	29.45%	41.75%
Break In	Disrespectful	Backlash	29.85%	42.69%
Vandalism	Effective	Anonymous	30.87%	52.66%
Domestic Violence	Ineffective	Backlash	36.57%	45.63%
Gang Activity	Disrespectful	Support	36.82%	47.30%
Vandalism	Respectful	Anonymous	37.04%	55.89%
Vandalism	Effective	Backlash	37.11%	33.76%
Vandalism	Effective	Support	37.11%	56.92%
Domestic Violence	Disrespectful	Backlash	37.90%	47.13%
Gang Activity	Disrespectful	Anonymous	37.99%	50.00%
Gang Activity	Ineffective	Support	38.11%	47.20%
Break In	Disrespectful	Anonymous	38.49%	58.22%
Vandalism	Ineffective	Support	38.56%	42.99%
Gang Activity	Respectful	Backlash	38.59%	43.62%
Gang Activity	Effective	Backlash	39.32%	41.49%
Break In	Ineffective	Support	39.94%	61.01%
Break In	Ineffective	Anonymous	41.57%	50.00%
Domestic Violence	Ineffective	Support	42.11%	55.73%
Gang Activity	Ineffective	Anonymous	42.38%	49.09%
Break In	Disrespectful	Support	42.99%	61.15%
Vandalism	Respectful	Support	43.65%	55.37%
Break In	Respectful	Backlash	44.15%	57.86%
Break In	Effective	Backlash	44.63%	55.05%
Domestic Violence	Disrespectful	Anonymous	45.87%	52.48%
Domestic Violence	Ineffective	Anonymous	46.18%	58.92%
Domestic Violence	Respectful	Backlash	47.00%	56.15%
Domestic Violence	Disrespectful	Support	47.57%	53.40%
Terrorism Activity	Disrespectful	Backlash	47.91%	60.77%
Terrorism Activity	Ineffective	Backlash	48.29%	50.16%
Homicide	Ineffective	Backlash	49.53%	62.38%
Gang Activity	Respectful	Support	49.69%	54.69%
Domestic Violence	Effective	Backlash	50.84%	57.19%
Gang Activity	Effective	Support	52.68%	58.31%
Homicide	Disrespectful	Backlash	52.94%	62.42%
Gang Activity	Respectful	Anonymous	55.21%	58.59%
Break In	Respectful	Support	56.49%	73.70%
Terrorism Activity	Ineffective	Anonymous	57.33%	62.54%
Break In	Effective	Support	57.48%	65.69%
Domestic Violence	Effective	Support	58.10%	64.53%
Break In	Respectful	Anonymous	58.86%	73.10%
Break In	Effective	Anonymous	60.19%	70.85%
Terrorism Activity	Disrespectful	Support	60.23%	68.88%
Domestic Violence	Respectful	Support	60.81%	69.93%
Terrorism Activity	Respectful	Backlash	61.21%	66.06%
Terrorism Activity	Ineffective	Support	61.83%	71.61%
Gang Activity	Effective	Anonymous	62.07%	62.07%
Domestic Violence	Effective	Anonymous	62.54%	63.17%
Terrorism Activity	Effective	Backlash	64.78%	67.76%
Homicide	Disrespectful	Anonymous	65.64%	72.39%
Terrorism Activity	Disrespectful	Anonymous	65.87%	62.87%
Domestic Violence	Respectful	Anonymous	66.04%	67.29%
Homicide	Respectful	Backlash	66.88%	69.40%
Homicide	Disrespectful	Support	67.52%	68.15%
Terrorism Activity	Respectful	Support	69.88%	79.19%
Homicide	Ineffective	Anonymous	70.14%	71.94%
Terrorism Activity	Effective	Support	71.96%	74.14%
Homicide	Effective	Backlash	72.33%	69.74%
Homicide	Ineffective	Support	72.67%	73.31%
Terrorism Activity	Respectful	Anonymous	72.82%	75.84%
Homicide	Effective	Support	78.01%	80.76%
Homicide	Respectful	Support	78.10%	78.73%
Terrorism Activity	Effective	Anonymous	79.28%	76.97%
Homicide	Respectful	Anonymous	79.82%	82.53%
Homicide	Effective	Anonymous	85.94%	81.56%

B.5 Likelihood to Report by Independent Variables and Other Factors

Across each of the hypotheses, I also estimated models for each racial group separately. I display results by race and *institutional legitimacy* to demonstrate that the same patterns emerge within each racial group. To illustrate this, I present graphs for *institutional legitimacy* by race. Graphs for other independent variables by race are not displayed since similar patterns emerged. As we see, Caucasians (Figure B.4), African-Americans (Figure B.5), and Hispanics (Figure B.6) with stronger views of law enforcement's *institutional legitimacy* are more likely to report crime generally and potential terrorism specifically. I estimated these models for *interpersonal trust* and *community norms* about handling conflict by race as well and found that similar patterns hold across groups, which indicates that these independent variables operate similarly within each racial group.

	IL1	IL2	IL3	IL4	IL5	IL6	IL7	IL8	IL9	IL10	IL11	IL12	IL13	IL14	IL15	IL16	IT9	IT10	IT11	IT12	IT13	IT14	IT15	IT16	IT17	IT18	IT19	IT20	
IL1	1.00																												
IL2	0.48	1.00																											
IL3	0.54	0.60	1.00																										
IL4	0.66	0.47	0.53	1.00																									
IL5	0.54	0.53	0.61	0.57	1.00																								
IL6	0.62	0.42	0.46	0.58	0.50	1.00																							
IL7	0.29	0.38	0.38	0.30	0.34	0.20	1.00																						
IL8	0.37	0.44	0.45	0.38	0.42	0.28	0.52	1.00																					
IL9	0.23	0.20	0.20	0.24	0.18	0.20	0.28	0.25	1.00																				
IL10	0.55	0.64	0.65	0.56	0.61	0.47	0.39	0.49	0.19	1.00																			
IL11	0.54	0.63	0.64	0.52	0.58	0.46	0.36	0.45	0.20	0.71	1.00																		
IL12	0.61	0.59	0.55	0.58	0.53	0.54	0.32	0.40	0.26	0.62	0.66	1.00																	
IL13	0.18	0.28	0.24	0.20	0.20	0.17	0.16	0.23	0.18	0.26	0.24	0.23	1.00																
IL14	0.27	0.36	0.32	0.30	0.29	0.25	0.25	0.28	0.18	0.36	0.31	0.35	0.25	1.00															
IL15	0.41	0.55	0.54	0.41	0.44	0.35	0.36	0.42	0.22	0.56	0.54	0.52	0.28	0.48	1.00														
IL16	0.39	0.47	0.45	0.35	0.42	0.32	0.22	0.33	0.15	0.48	0.47	0.42	0.17	0.45	0.64	1.00													
IT9	0.44	0.58	0.54	0.42	0.47	0.41	0.30	0.33	0.16	0.54	0.54	0.51	0.24	0.33	0.48	0.39	1												
IT10	0.38	0.51	0.43	0.37	0.37	0.33	0.30	0.32	0.18	0.44	0.42	0.46	0.23	0.31	0.39	0.31	0.64	1											
IT11	0.38	0.52	0.52	0.37	0.41	0.31	0.33	0.33	0.17	0.47	0.49	0.45	0.25	0.30	0.43	0.35	0.66	0.67	1										
IT12	0.35	0.45	0.41	0.35	0.33	0.30	0.27	0.27	0.18	0.40	0.39	0.43	0.22	0.25	0.36	0.29	0.59	0.66	0.58	1									
IT13	0.36	0.51	0.46	0.38	0.39	0.31	0.31	0.33	0.20	0.48	0.47	0.46	0.25	0.31	0.44	0.37	0.65	0.64	0.69	0.68	1								
IT14	0.41	0.35	0.34	0.37	0.33	0.48	0.15	0.23	0.14	0.33	0.32	0.40	0.14	0.22	0.28	0.28	0.46	0.41	0.37	0.4	0.35	1							
IT15	0.42	0.57	0.51	0.41	0.42	0.36	0.32	0.36	0.17	0.56	0.52	0.48	0.25	0.30	0.46	0.38	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.62	0.71	0.39	1						
IT16	0.45	0.58	0.53	0.44	0.46	0.39	0.30	0.36	0.17	0.60	0.55	0.51	0.24	0.31	0.47	0.42	0.68	0.69	0.68	0.62	0.73	0.4	0.81	1					
IT17	0.42	0.47	0.44	0.39	0.36	0.37	0.29	0.28	0.18	0.47	0.45	0.46	0.22	0.28	0.37	0.33	0.58	0.62	0.59	0.6	0.61	0.4	0.67	0.68	1				
IT18	0.38	0.50	0.46	0.40	0.39	0.37	0.24	0.29	0.11	0.51	0.52	0.44	0.20	0.25	0.39	0.37	0.54	0.51	0.49	0.48	0.58	0.29	0.61	0.69	0.51	1			
IT19	0.36	0.47	0.40	0.36	0.35	0.32	0.27	0.29	0.18	0.41	0.42	0.41	0.19	0.29	0.36	0.34	0.55	0.6	0.56	0.52	0.51	0.38	0.58	0.55	0.5	0.42	1		
IT20	0.41	0.53	0.46	0.38	0.41	0.36	0.26	0.32	0.14	0.54	0.52	0.46	0.22	0.29	0.41	0.41	0.57	0.54	0.53	0.48	0.56	0.32	0.63	0.71	0.54	0.67	0.47	1	

Figure B.2. Bivariate Correlations Between Items

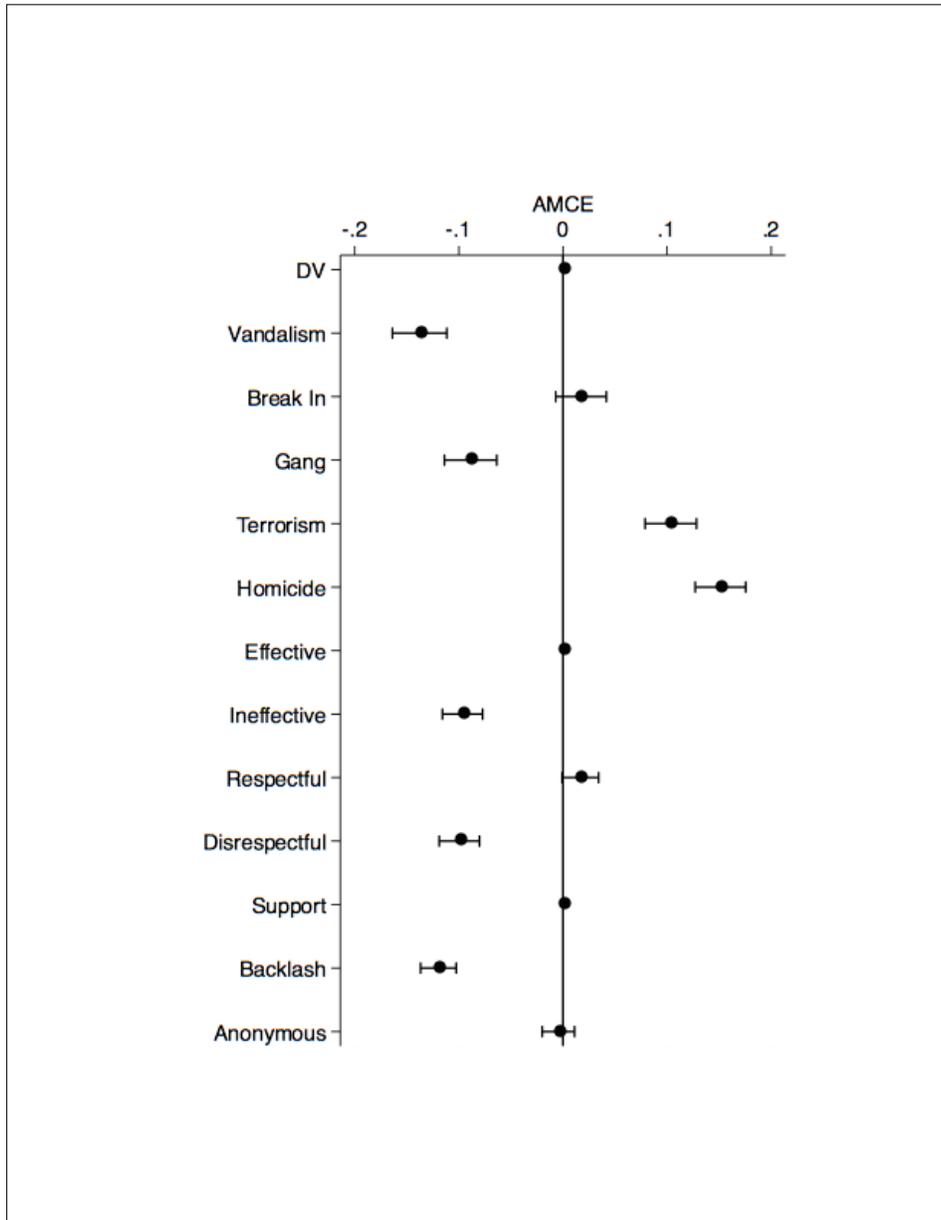


Figure B.3. AMCE Plot for Likelihood to Report

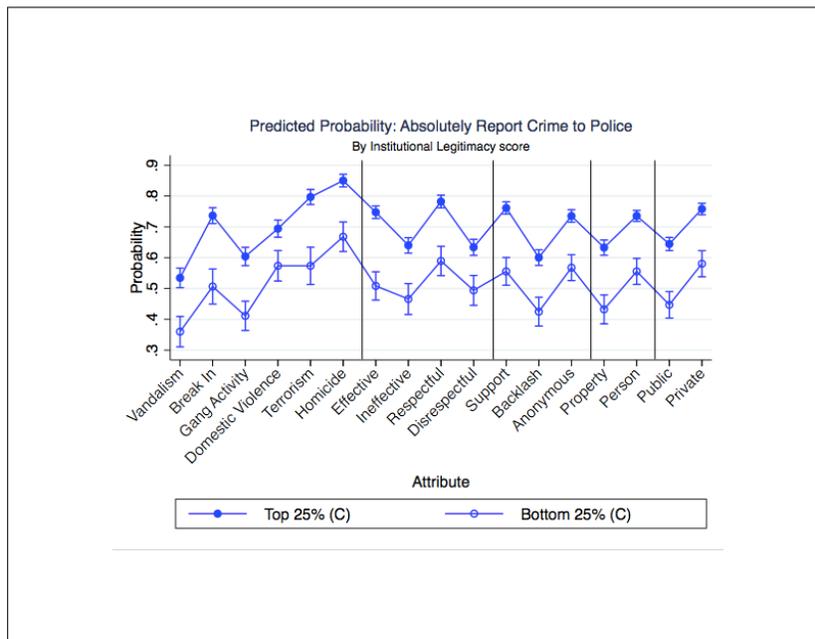


Figure B.4. Impact of *Institutional Legitimacy* on Cooperation for Caucasians

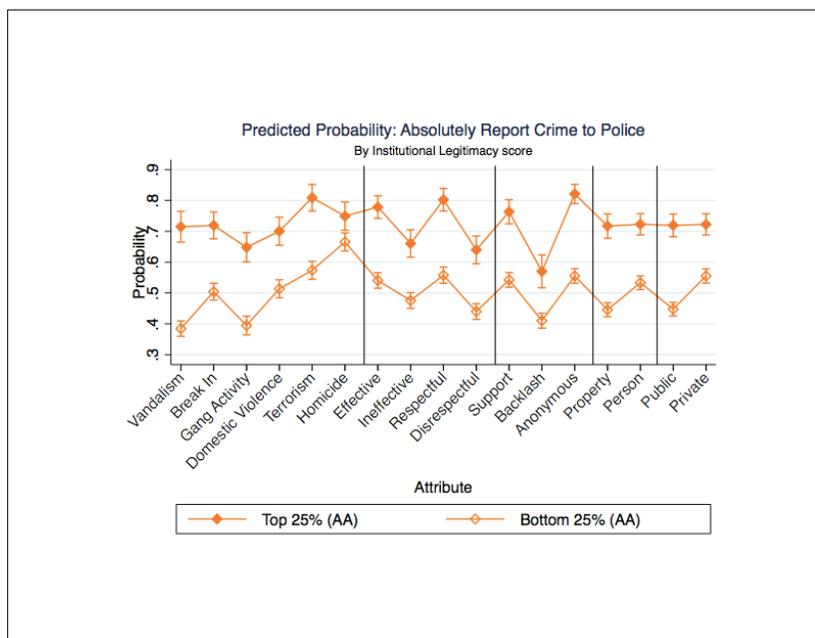


Figure B.5. Impact of *Institutional Legitimacy* on Cooperation for African-Americans

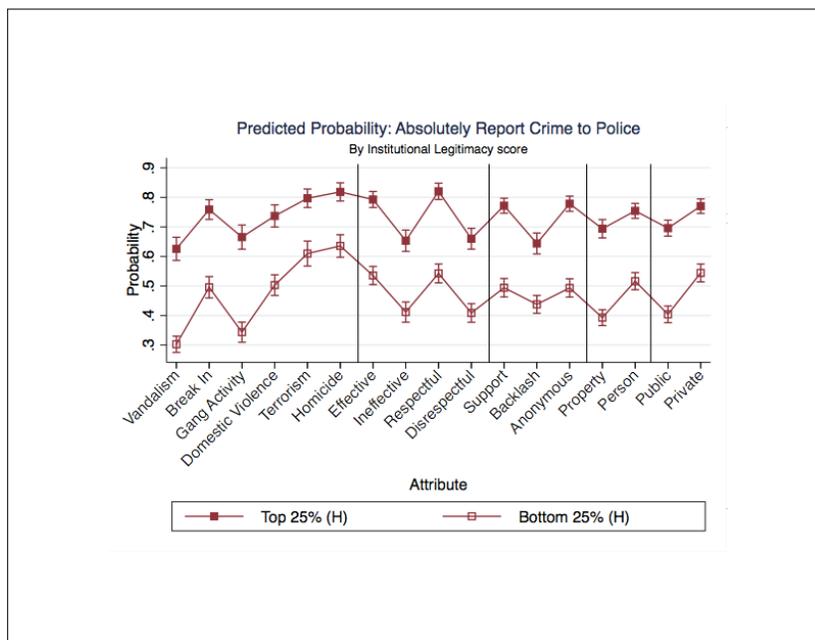


Figure B.6. Impact of *Institutional Legitimacy* on Cooperation for Hispanics

APPENDIX C

POLICE SURVEY

IRB #: IRB-2016-238

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Principal Investigator: Joseph Young

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Study History

Submission Type	Initial	Review Type	Expedited	Decision	Approved
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Key Study Contacts

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POLICE SURVEY

For the questions that follow, we are interested in your **honest** attitudes about topics related to you and your department and community. **ALL OF YOUR ANSWERS ARE ANONYMOUS.** There are no “right” or “wrong” answers; there are only your opinions. We thank you in advance for your honesty.

1. What is your gender?

Male Female Other _____

2. How old are you?

18 - 24 25 - 34 35 - 44 45 - 54 55 - 64 65+

3. In general, how satisfied are you with your life?

Very satisfied Somewhat satisfied Somewhat dissatisfied Very dissatisfied

4. In general, how satisfied are you with how are things going in the community where you live?

Very satisfied Somewhat satisfied Somewhat dissatisfied Very dissatisfied

5. In general, how satisfied are you with how are things going where you work?

Very satisfied Somewhat satisfied Somewhat dissatisfied Very dissatisfied

Thinking about **your department**, please answer the following questions.

1. Trying to reduce fear of crime amongst the public is beyond the scope of policing.

Completely Mostly Somewhat Neutral Somewhat Mostly Completely
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree Disagree

2. Police should provide the same quality of service to all members of the public.

Completely Mostly Somewhat Neutral Somewhat Mostly Completely
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree Disagree

3. In the last week, what percentage of your time on duty was spent engaging in patrol?

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

4. In the last week, what percentage of your time on duty was spent responding to calls for service?

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

5. In the last week, how often did you intervene with individuals who are at risk of being victims of crime?

Multiple times per shift Once per shift Less than once per shift

6. In the last week, how often did you intervene with individuals who are at risk of committing crime?

Multiple times per shift Once per shift Less than once per shift

7. In the last week, how often did you engage in activities that would reduce criminal opportunities (e.g. conducting surveillance in an area where crime is more likely to occur)?

Multiple times per shift Once per shift Less than once per shift

8. Who is primarily responsible for selecting problems in the community that deserve police attention?

Officers Supervisors Mid-managers Executives

9. You have autonomy to decide how to best respond to community issues.

Completely Mostly Somewhat Neutral Somewhat Mostly Completely
Agree Agree Agree Disagree Disagree Disagree

10. You can voice concerns about a policy or practice to a direct supervisor without fearing punishment.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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11. How often does your beat change?

Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Quarterly	Yearly	Less than yearly	Never
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12. Executives in your department support efforts to engage with all members of the community.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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13. Your department provides sufficient training on how to communicate with the public.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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14. Your relationships with community members are important for your performance reviews.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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15. Your department emphasizes reacting to individual incidents rather than solving community problems.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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16. Your department prioritizes building partnerships with members of the community.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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17. Your department focuses on underlying factors that can lead to crime.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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18. Your department shares information with the public by holding meetings.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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19. Your department educates members of the community about police practices.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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20. Your department partners with other groups that impact the quality of life in the area.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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21. Your department adjusts its practices in response to community needs.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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22. Racial profiling is an acceptable practice in your department.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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23. Officers in your department are demographically representative of the community.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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24. Treating people differently based on appearance is an acceptable practice in your department.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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25. Executives in your department make it difficult for officers to engage in a positive manner with members of the community.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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26. Your department puts obstacles in the way of officers who want to engage with members of the community.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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27. Your department's commitment to building relationships with members of the community is more symbolic than genuine.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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Recently, policing efforts have emphasized relationship building with the public over more aggressive policies. Yet, there is debate over which approach is more effective. Thinking about **policing practices in general**, please answer the following questions **based on your own personal beliefs**.

1. Relationship building with the public is ineffective for crime control.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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2. Relationship building with the public is a worthwhile approach for police agencies.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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3. Relationship building with the public is the future of policing.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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4. Police agencies that engage in relationship building with the public are less effective.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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5. Individual officers in your department sometimes disobey directives issues by department leaders.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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6. You support an emphasis on reacting to individual incidents rather than solving community problems

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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7. You support adjusting policing practices in response to community needs.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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8. You support efforts to engage in positive interactions with all members of the community.

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
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Please evaluate the following statements as they pertain to each type of crime show below.

1. Policing practices that focus on **building relationships with the public** are appropriate to address _____

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
Vandalism	<input type="radio"/>						
Break-ins	<input type="radio"/>						
Gang activity	<input type="radio"/>						
Domestic violence	<input type="radio"/>						
Homicide	<input type="radio"/>						
Terrorism activity	<input type="radio"/>						

2. Thinking about **your jurisdiction**, community members will **report** _____ to the police.

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
Vandalism	<input type="radio"/>						
Break-in	<input type="radio"/>						
Gang activity	<input type="radio"/>						
Domestic violence	<input type="radio"/>						
Homicide	<input type="radio"/>						
Terrorism activity	<input type="radio"/>						

Thinking about **racial/ethnic groups in the jurisdiction where you work**, please answer the following questions.

1. Do you think at least 33% of the population in your jurisdiction is:

	Yes	No
Caucasian/White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
African American/Black	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Asian/Asian American	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hispanic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle Eastern/Arab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2. What racial/ethnic group within your jurisdiction is most receptive to policing efforts?

Caucasian/White	African-American/Black	Asian/Asian American
Hispanic	Middle Eastern/Arab	

3. What racial/ethnic group within your jurisdiction is least receptive to policing efforts?

Caucasian/White	African-American/Black	Asian/Asian American
Hispanic	Middle Eastern/Arab	

4. How often do you interact with residents of your jurisdiction who are:

	Multiple times per shift	Once per shift	Less than once per shift	N/A
Caucasian/White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
African American/Black	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Asian/Asian American	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hispanic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle Eastern/Arab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. Relations between police and _____ residents in your jurisdiction are generally:

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	N/A
Caucasian/White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
African American/Black	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Asian/Asian American	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hispanic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle Eastern/Arab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. _____ residents in your jurisdiction care about the community.

	All	Most	Some	Few	None	N/A
Caucasian/White	<input type="radio"/>					
African American/Black	<input type="radio"/>					
Asian/Asian American	<input type="radio"/>					
Hispanic	<input type="radio"/>					
Middle Eastern/Arab	<input type="radio"/>					

7. _____ residents in your jurisdiction help the police do their job.

	All	Most	Some	Few	None	N/A
Caucasian/White	<input type="radio"/>					
African American/Black	<input type="radio"/>					
Asian/Asian American	<input type="radio"/>					
Hispanic	<input type="radio"/>					
Middle Eastern/Arab	<input type="radio"/>					

8. Relationship building with _____ residents in your jurisdiction is effective for crime control.

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
Caucasian/White	<input type="radio"/>						
African American/Black	<input type="radio"/>						
Asian/Asian American	<input type="radio"/>						
Hispanic	<input type="radio"/>						
Middle Eastern/Arab	<input type="radio"/>						

1. What is your race/ethnicity? (circle all that apply)

Caucasian/White African-American/Black Asian/Asian American
Hispanic Native American Middle Eastern Other _____

2. What is your primary cultural heritage, if any? (examples include Italian, Cuban, Indian, Nigerian)

3. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are...

Very Liberal Liberal Moderate Conservative Very Conservative

4. What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?

Some high High school Some College Graduate
school or less degree/GED college degree degree

5. Were you born in the United States?

Yes No

5a. If not, which country do you identify with more strongly?

Country of Birth United States Both equally

6. In an average day, do you speak a language other than English?

Yes No

7. What is your rank within the department?

APPENDIX D

POLICE SAMPLE RESULTS

D.1 Demographics

Figure D.1 shows the key demographic variables in this study by department. Across departments, the vast majority of officers are male, Caucasian, and under 44 years old. Education varies by department, with about two thirds of officers in Department 1 holding a college degree, followed by about 80% in Department 3, and over 90% in Department 2. Differences in hiring requirements across these departments explain this. Unsurprisingly, most police officers identify as politically conservative while relatively few identify as politically liberal. The proportion of officers who are foreign born and those who are bilingual are relatively stable across departments. Lastly, while not explicitly targeted, a higher proportion of supervisors from Departments 2 and 3 participated in the study. This is likely a result of more centralized roll calls, which allowed for more supervisors to be in the roll call rooms and have the opportunity to participate.

D.2 Correlations Among Independent Variables

Correlations among the three key independent variables are shown in Table D.1. While there is a strong correlation between *community policing experience* and *support for community policing*, it is not high enough to assume that policy is equal to support. Table D.2 shows the correlations among dimensions of *community policing experience*. This

Variable	Department 1	Department 2	Department 3
Gender: Male	88.19%	82.96%	88.68%
Gender: Female	11.81%	17.04%	11.32%
Age: 18-24	10.92%	6.82%	10.69%
Age: 35-44	41.44%	56.82%	45.28%
Age: 45+	30.27%	20.45%	28.30%
Age: 45+	17.37%	15.91%	15.72%
Education: No college	32.45%	8.89%	20.63%
Education: Some college	67.55%	91.11%	79.38%
Race: Caucasian	81.14%	81.34%	84.28%
Race: African-American	6.95%	11.19%	6.92%
Race: Asian	5.96%	2.99%	3.77%
Race: Hispanic	7.69%	11.94%	10.05%
Race: Middle Eastern	0.50%	1.52%	1.89%
Politics: Liberal	3.76%	9.30%	10.90%
Politics: Moderate	37.84%	30.23%	32.69%
Politics: Conservative	58.40%	60.47%	56.41%
Foreign Born	11.41%	8.96%	11.18%
Bilingual	22.87%	22.39%	24.84%
Supervisor	9.23%	16.67%	14.19%

Figure D.1. Key Demographics for Participants in Each Department

shows that, while there are strong correlations among some of the dimensions, they do appear to be distinct from one another. Table D.3 shows the correlations among *perceived social distance* from each of the five racial groups. These are moderately correlated with one another and suggest that officers perceive different levels of social distance between themselves and various racial groups in their jurisdiction.

Table D.1: Correlations Among Independent Variables

	1	2	3
1. Community Policing Experience	1.00		
2. Support for Community Policing	0.476	1.00	
3. Perceived Social Distance from Minority Groups	-0.362	-0.331	1.00

Table D.2. Correlations Among Dimensions of *Community Policing Experience*

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Police Functions	1.00				
2. Operational Adaptation	0.118	1.00			
3. Problem Orientation	0.215	0.631	1.00		
4. Community Engagement	0.165	0.560	0.589	1.00	
5. Countervailing Forces	0.166	0.556	0.500	0.425	1.00

D.3 Relationship Building in Counterterrorism by Department

As a robustness check, I first estimated this model with each dimension of *community policing experience* added separately. Across departments, only *community engagement* had a significant, positive effect on *support for community policing in counterterrorism*. I then estimated this model with each measure of *support for community policing* added separately. Across departments, strong support for both relationship building being a worthwhile approach for police and those who support efforts to engage positively with the communities are the only indicators that individually have a strong, positive impact on *support for community policing in counterterrorism*. This demonstrates that some dimensions of each independent variable contribute more strongly to these outcomes than others.

As another robustness check, I then estimated the same models for each department separately. In Department 2, we see that *community policing experience* and *support for community policing* both predict more favorable views of community policing in counterterrorism and to address crimes generally (see Table D.4). In Department 1, *support for community policing* predicts views of community policing in counterterrorism and crimes overall, but *community policing experience* only predicts support for community policing to address non-terrorism crimes (see Table D.5). This suggests that some officers view counterterrorism as different from crime control broadly. Conversely, in Department 3, neither *community policing experience* nor *support for community policing* are related to views of community policing in counterterrorism, though *support for community policing* is positively related to views of community policing to address other crimes (see Table D.6).

Table D.4. Community Policing in Counterterrorism in Department 2

	Counterterrorism	Other Crimes (Combined)
Community Policing Experience	0.030* (0.014)	0.033* (0.013)
Support for Community Policing	0.107*** (0.033)	0.125*** (0.031)
Observations	126	126

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

Table D.5. Community Policing in Counterterrorism in Department 1

	Counterterrorism	Other Crimes (Combined)
Community Policing Experience	0.011† (0.006)	0.021*** (0.006)
Support for Community Policing	0.079*** (0.186)	0.101*** (0.018)
Observations	385	384

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

Table D.6. Community Policing in Counterterrorism in Department 3

	Counterterrorism	Other Crimes (Combined)
Community Policing Experience	0.002 (0.011)	0.013 (0.010)
Support for Community Policing	0.045 (0.029)	0.081** (0.026)
Observations	154	154

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

D.4 Relationship Building with Minority Communities

As a robustness check, I first estimated this model with each dimension of *community policing experience* added separately. Across departments, *problem orientation* has a significant, positive effect on *support for community policing with minority communities*. As expected, *countervailing forces* had a significant, negative effect on *support for community policing with minority communities*. I then estimated this model with each measure of *support for community policing* added separately. Across departments, six items had a significant, positive impact on *support for community policing with minority communities*. These questions asked about relationship building as: effective for crime control, a worthwhile approach, the future of policing, more effective overall, adjusting practices to community needs, and support positive interactions with all. Finally, I estimated this model with each measure of *perceived social distance from group* added separately. Across departments, two items had a significant, negative impact on the outcome: caring about the community and helping the police do their job. Contrary to expectation, viewing a group as being less receptive to policing efforts had a significant, positive impact on the outcome variable. Again, this demonstrates that some dimensions of each independent variable contribute more strongly to the outcome than others. Yet, the dimensions that are stronger predictors of *community policing in counterterrorism* are not the same dimensions that are stronger predictors of *community policing with minority communities*.

As another robustness check, I then estimated the same models for each department separately. Again, we see that *support for community policing* broadly predicts *support for community policing across racial groups* in each department. In Department 1, we see that *perceived social distance* is consistently predicting *support for community policing with minority groups across all of the racial groups* in this study (see Table D.7). Since they were the largest department in the sample, these responses may have been driving the results in the overall model. Conversely, in both Department 2 (see Table D.8)

and Department 3 (see Table D.9), *perceived social distance* only predicts support for community policing with Asian and Middle Eastern residents. In Department 3, *perceived social distance from minority communities* in general also predicted *support for community policing* with those groups as a whole. We also see that *community policing experience* does not have a relationship with *support for community policing with minorities*. It is possible that some officers who engage in community policing only do so because that is the department's policy or they engage in these actions but do not think they are useful. Alternatively, some of the participating officers may not engage in *community policing practices*, even though these are departmental policies.

Table D.7. Community Policing With Minority Communities in Department 2

	Minorities (Combined)	African- Americans	Asian	Hispanic	Middle Eastern	Caucasian
Community Policing Experience	0.008 (0.015)	0.009 (0.015)	0.007 (0.015)	0.006 (0.015)	0.008 (0.015)	-0.002 (0.014)
Support for Community Policing	0.187*** (0.038)	0.200*** (0.039)	0.170*** (0.028)	0.195*** (0.038)	0.185*** (0.028)	0.199*** (0.038)
Perceived Social Distance from Group	-0.146 (0.110)	0.005 (0.082)	-0.177* (0.083)	-0.040 (0.082)	-0.215* (0.086)	-0.192† (0.108)
Observations	119	120	119	119	119	121

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

Table D.8. Community Policing With Minority Communities in Department 1

	Minorities (Combined)	African- Americans	Asian	Hispanic	Middle Eastern	Caucasian
Community Policing Experience	-0.001 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)
Support for Community Policing	0.190*** (0.022)	0.200*** (0.022)	0.174*** (0.022)	0.188*** (0.022)	0.182*** (0.022)	0.170*** (0.022)
Perceived Social Distance from Group	-0.357*** (0.061)	-0.189*** (0.044)	-0.216*** (0.048)	-0.227*** (0.045)	-0.249*** (0.045)	-0.389*** (0.058)
Observations	333	340	339	344	342	349

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

Table D.9. Community Policing With Minority Communities in Department 3

	Minorities (Combined)	African- Americans	Asian	Hispanic	Middle Eastern	Caucasian
Community Policing Experience	-0.017 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.011)	-0.017 (0.012)	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.020 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.011)
Support for Community Policing	0.235*** (0.036)	0.225*** (0.036)	0.222*** (0.037)	0.211*** (0.035)	0.228*** (0.036)	0.191*** (0.035)
Perceived Social Distance from Group	-0.214* (0.083)	-0.015 (0.066)	-0.230*** (0.059)	-0.136* (0.063)	-0.176*** (0.055)	-0.148† (0.088)
Observations	140	143	141	143	141	144

Ordered logistic regression models. Constants not reported.
 Note: Coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses.
 †p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

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