

**HOW COMFORTABLE ARE AMERICANS CONTACTING THE
POLICE? A COMPARISON ACROSS FOUR RACIAL AND ETHNIC
COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES***

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[Abstract]

Objective: This research examines the negative effect that poor police perceptions have on communities of color, particularly in regards to their level of comfort in contacting law enforcement.

Methods: Relying on survey data from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey, a series of OLS regression models are run to examine how perceptions of police, race and ethnicity, and interactions with law enforcement influence comfort in contacting the police.

Results: The findings of this study demonstrate that nonwhites are significantly less comfortable contacting the police than Whites. In addition to police perceptions and race, negative interactions with law enforcement are significant.

Conclusion: The fact that some communities are less comfortable contacting law enforcement has strong implications for community safety. This study also highlights the power imbalances between different racial and ethnic communities and the role that law enforcement continues to play in reinforcing these incongruences.

Introduction

How comfortable are Americans contacting the police? How does this vary across different racial and ethnic communities in the United States? With increased attention to police misconduct, law enforcement has become an increasingly controversial and polarizing institution in the American political landscape. Previous research has found that Black Americans are more likely than White Americans to have negative perceptions of the police, regardless of their socioeconomic status (Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Carr, Napolitano and Keating, 2007; Decker, 1981; Huebner, Schafer, and Bynum, 2004; Parker, Onyekwuluje, and Murty, 1995; Pew Research Center, 2016; Smith, Graham, and Adams, 1991; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004; Wu, 2014). Many scholars attribute these differences to the fact that people of color are more likely to be targeted by the police, despite committing many crimes at the same rate as White Americans (Foreman, 2018). Although there is a strong consensus among scholars about the importance that these negative perceptions can have on communities of color, there is less attention given to the effect that these negative perceptions have on the likelihood that they will contact the police.

Relying on data from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS), I examine how perceptions of the police influence the likelihood that individuals will contact law enforcement. By comparing perceptions of the police among Black, White, Latino, and Asian adults, I observe how these groups vary in how comfortable they are in reaching out to law enforcement. I also observe the effect that negative experiences with the police can have on the likelihood that individuals will contact the police. I hypothesize that individuals who perceive the police to be performing poorly will be less comfortable contacting them than those who perceive them more positively. I expect Black respondents to feel the least comfortable contacting police,

and I expect individuals who have had negative interactions with law enforcement to be less willing to contact them.

This study aims to highlight some of the implications that negative police perceptions can have on our communities. If Black individuals, who are less likely to hold negative views of the police, are less likely than their White counterparts to reach out to the police for help, this has implications for the safety of those communities. Police misconduct can reduce trust in the police and reduce the likelihood that Americans will contact the police for matters of safety (Desmond, Papachristos, and Kirk, 2016). Additionally, if some groups cannot trust the institution that was established to enforce the law and protect its citizens (i.e. the police), this distrust can translate to distrust in the political system and to overall lower levels of institutional trust, which can have profound effects on the quality of democracy (Lipset, 1959; Manza and Uggem, 2006; Miller, 1974). Furthermore, negative perceptions of police are a function of a historically adversarial relationship between marginalized communities and the police, which is a result of how police departments were formed early in American history (Hadden, 2001; Walker and Katz, 2012)¹. This study highlights the power imbalances between different racial and ethnic communities and the role that law enforcement continues to play in reinforcing these incongruences.

Previous Work

THE RACIAL DIVIDE IN POLICE PERCEPTIONS

Foundational research finds that there are significant racial differences in perceptions of the police (Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Decker, 1981; Parker, Onyekwuluje, and Murty, 1995; Smith, Graham, and Adams, 1991; Webb and Marshall, 1995; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004; Wu, 2014). Even once a multitude of variables are controlled for, Americans' confidence in police is directly linked to race and ethnicity. The literature demonstrates that Black Americans are more

likely than White Americans to hold negative views of the police (Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Carr, Napolitano and Keating, 2007; Decker, 1981; Howell, Perry, and Vile, 2004; Huebner, Schafer, and Bynum, 2004; Parker, Onyekwuluje, and Murty, 1995; Smith, Graham, and Adams, 1991; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004; Wu, 2014). Not only are there stark racial differences in how Americans perceive overall police performance, there are also significant differences in how individuals perceive verbal abuse, use of excessive force, unwarranted stops, and other forms of police misconduct (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004).

Scholars highlight a multitude of factors that explain the racial divide in police perceptions. First, Black adults and Latinos are more likely to report having negative interactions with the police than White adults, despite the fact that they commit many crimes at the same rates as Whites (Foreman, 2018; Terrill and Reisig, 2003; Walker, 2014; Weaver and Lerman, 2010; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). Additionally, people of color are more likely to be subjected to police violence (Sigelman et al., 1997). The data demonstrates that non-whites make up the majority of police violence victims, despite the fact that they account for less than half of the U.S. population (Mapping Police Violence, 2018). Early studies emphasize the role that high-profile police violence has in shaping police perceptions, finding that highly publicized police beatings influence public perceptions of racial discrimination (Sigelman et al., 1997). Although these incidents appear to have less of an influence in shaping views of overall discrimination, police brutality does have a significant impact on the way Black Americans perceive their local police (Sigelman et al., 1997).

In addition to affecting individuals that are directly involved in negative encounters with the police, police misconduct affects members of the community who belong to groups that are disproportionately targeted (Walker, 2014). Exposure to media coverage of police misconduct

undermines police legitimacy even for those that do not experience the unfair treatment themselves (Desmond Papachristos, and Kirk, 2016; Sigelman et al., 1997; Tyler, 2004; Walker, 2014; Weitzer and Tuch, 2014). Black Americans have a unique relationship to their racial group and feel strongly that what happens to their group will also affect them individually (Dawson, 1995; Gay and Tate, 1998; Simien, 2005; Shaw, 2019). Black group consciousness, therefore, also explains why Black Americans tend to hold negative perceptions of the police, and can also lead them to feeling less comfortable contacting them.

Some scholars attribute racial differences in police perceptions to the fact that communities of color are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods where crime is high and where officers tend to be more proactive (Bjornstrom, 2015; Carr, Napolitano, and Keating, 2007; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). Neighborhood context influences the type of interactions an individual has with the police and can influence how comfortable they feel contacting them for future matters. Neighborhood context is also linked to socioeconomic status, as citizens' income and education levels are directly linked to the neighborhoods they reside in. Moreover, individuals that have more concern for crime and who have been victims of a crime might feel more comfortable contacting law enforcement. In addition to the aforementioned factors, comfort in contacting the police is likely influenced by a wide-range of demographic factors including gender, age, and party identification. As the police becomes more polarized, confidence in the police is decreasing among Democrats and the youth while it increases among Republicans and older citizens (Norman, 2017).

THE CONSEQUENCES OF NEGATIVE POLICE PERCEPTIONS

In addition to highlighting the racial divide in police perceptions, there is a growing body of literature that highlights the political consequences of these disparities (see Burch, 2013;

Gottschalk, 2008; Lanionu, 2019; Lerman, 2013; Lerman and Weaver; Silva et al., 2020; Soss and Weaver, 2017; Walker, 2014; Weaver and Lerman, 2010). Negative contact with law enforcement has a negative impact on political behavior and on citizens' orientations toward the government (Burch, 2013; Weaver and Lerman, 2010). If some groups do not trust the institution that is sworn to protect its citizens (i.e. the police), this distrust can translate to distrust in government. Recent research finds that individuals' views about the police is directly related to confidence in local government (Silva et al., 2020). When individuals have positive views about local law enforcement, they are also more likely to have positive views about their local government. This suggests that the effects of negative police perceptions hinders not only police legitimacy, but also confidence in other political institutions. Furthermore, low levels of confidence in police and political institutions, can have profound effects on the health of a democracy (Lerman and Weaver, 2014; Lipset, 1959; Manza and Uggen, 2006; Miller, 1974).

Negative police perceptions also directly compromises public safety, more so for communities of color. Highly publicized cases of police brutality have shown to have a significant effect on crime reporting, especially among black residents (Desmond, Papachristos, and Kirk, 2016). Desmond, Papachristos, and Kirk (2016) find that high-profile cases of police misconduct significantly suppress crime reporting. Following the beating of Frank Jude—an unarmed black man—by Milwaukee police, there was a significant reduction in the number of 911 calls. Desmond and associates find that these effects lasted for over a year and led to a loss of approximately 22,000 calls. This has strong implications for the safety of citizens, particularly for communities of color. If people of color feel less comfortable contacting the police for matters of safety, this indicates that both police misconduct and negative police perceptions can have a direct effect on public safety, a basic right that citizenship guarantees.

Furthermore, negative perceptions of police are a function of a historically adversarial relationship between Black Americans and the police (Hadden, 2001; Walker, 1999). The police continues to uphold civic and political inequalities by disproportionately targeting communities of color (Soss and Weaver, 2017). Intentional or not, the police reinforces power imbalances between different racial and ethnic communities, by maintaining control over “race-class subjugated communities”² through coercion, violence, and an unequal application of law enforcement. If some communities, particularly those that have been historically marginalized, are less comfortable with contacting the police, this indicates that some Americans continue to be treated as second-class citizens (Cohen, 2010).

Theory and Hypothesis

How comfortable are Americans contacting the police? What factors influence this? First and foremost, comfort in contacting the police depends on how individuals perceive their local law enforcement. This relationship is mediated by a multitude of factors. Individual level factors, such as race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, age, party identification, and country of origin all shape individuals’ perceptions of the police. Furthermore, contextual factors—such as neighborhood poverty—and experiential factors—such as negative interactions with the police—also determine how comfortable individuals are in contacting police. Even with all of these factors controlled, individuals that have positive views of the police are more likely to feel comfortable contacting them when they need to. My first hypothesis is as follows:

H1: Respondents that perceive the police to be performing well are more comfortable with contacting the police

Also important is how these relationships vary across Black, White, Latino, and Asian communities? An abundance of literature finds that Black respondents are more likely to hold

negative views of the police compared to their White counterparts (Webb and Marshall, 1995; Wu, 2014). Not only are Black Americans more likely to report negative interactions with the police, but they are also more likely to reside in neighborhoods where the police are more likely to crack down on criminal activity (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). Black Americans are also more likely to be subjects of police violence and this often receives widespread media attention (Mapping Police Violence, 2018). As Sigelman et al. (1997) point out, highly publicized police beatings can influence the public's perception of racial discrimination, further contributing to feelings of racial alienation. With the growing prevalence of social media, individuals have more access to incidents of police brutality and are more likely to be exposed to incidents that go viral.

Additionally, because Black Americans have a strong sense of group consciousness—the belief that what happens to their group will also affect them individually—they are more likely to develop negative feelings toward the police when they are exposed to incidents of black police brutality. When Black Americans feel collectively oppressed, they are more likely to perceive the police as a threat and are less trusting of them. For these reasons, Black Americans are less likely to feel comfortable contacting the police. This is likely similar for Latinos and other groups that perceive the police to be doing a poor job within their communities. This is my second hypothesis:

H2: Black respondents feel less comfortable contacting the police compared to their White counterparts

In addition to observing the effect that race and ethnicity has on an individual's comfort in contacting the police, I also observe the relationship between negative experiences with law enforcement and their likelihood of contacting the police. As research demonstrates, increased contact with law enforcement, and/or belonging to a group that experiences negative interactions

with the criminal justice system, has political implications (Walker, 2014). I expect that negative experiences with the police will have a significant impact on the likelihood of individuals feeling comfortable with contacting them. Respondents that have had negative experiences with the police, including being treated unfairly by police, involuntary dealings, and unwarranted stops, are less likely to have confidence in law enforcement and may not feel that they can depend on them. Respondents that have been fined, arrested, convicted of a crime, and put on probation or parole, may also be more likely to hold negative perceptions of the police. My third hypothesis is as follows:

H3: Respondents with negative experiences with law enforcement are less comfortable contacting the police

As the research demonstrates, these relationships are largely driven by individual, contextual, and experiential factors. Individuals that have higher levels of income and education and who live in low-crime neighborhoods may be more inclined to contact the police if they need to since they are less likely to have had negative encounters with the police. Individuals with less education, lower income, and that live in high-crime neighborhoods, are more likely to run into police. In these neighborhoods, where Black and Latino individuals are more likely to reside, individuals are more likely to have negative encounters with the police, leading them to have less trust in law enforcement. Although I expect socioeconomic status to be significant, I do not expect it to be more important than race in shaping police perceptions. Due to linked fate, I expect Black respondents to express more distrust in the police than White respondents, regardless of their socioeconomic status.

Data and Methods

This study utilizes data from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS). The Survey includes 10,145 respondents, all of whom are asked a variety of questions related to the police. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of two blocks (Block A and Block B) and about half (5,079) were asked how comfortable they were contacting the police or other law enforcement officials for help. Block B participants were then assigned to one of two conditions. The first condition consists of respondents that were primed to focus their attention on neighborhood crime and the second group was primed with attention to immigration issues. Although the survey focuses on differences between neighborhood crime and immigration issues, the prime has no effect on the results; therefore, I include both samples in this study. I am interested in the likelihood of respondents contacting the police, regardless of priming to these issues. The sample for my analyses include a total of 4,557 respondents. I provide descriptive statistics on respondents' comfort in contacting police and compare across race and ethnicity. Additionally, I run a series of OLS regression models to examine how perceptions of the police, interactions with law enforcement, and race and ethnicity influence comfort in contacting the police³. In addition to a pooled model, I run separate models for Black, Latino, Asian, and White respondents so that I can compare these relationships across racial and ethnic communities.

Dependent Variable: Comfort in Contacting Police

The dependent variable in this study is comfort in contacting the police. Respondents were asked the following question: “*Thinking ahead to next year, suppose that one day you need the help of a police officer, how comfortable would you be going to a police or other law enforcement officials for help?*” Respondents were asked to rate their comfort from 1 to 9 with 1 being not at all comfortable and 9 being very comfortable (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

Independent Variables: Police Perceptions, Interactions with Police, Race/Ethnicity

This study primarily focuses on how respondents' perceptions of police performance, previous interactions with the police, and an individual's race and ethnicity shapes how comfortable they are in contacting the police. Perceptions of police performance is measured using the following question from the CMPS: "*How good a job are the police doing in dealing with the problems that really concern people in your city?*" Respondents were asked to rate on a 4 point scale ("Poor"=1, "Fair"=2, "Good"=3, and "Very Good"=4). Interactions with police is an index of 8 different types of encounters with law enforcement. These include getting arrested, experiencing unfair treatment by the police, involuntary dealings with police, being stopped by police while in the car, being stopped by police while on foot, serving time on probation or parole, getting fined, and being convicted of a crime⁴. Finally, I compare these relationships across four racial and ethnic groups: Black, Latino, Asian, and White adults. The pooled model includes dichotomous variables indicating if a respondent is Black, Latino, or Asian, with Whites serving as the baseline category.

Individual and Contextual Variables

As previous research demonstrates, numerous factors can influence perceptions of the police, therefore I include these in my models. In addition to observing race and ethnicity, I observe differences between individuals of different socioeconomic backgrounds. I include a variable for *education*, which is on a 1 to 6 scale (grades 1-8, some high school, high school or GED, some college, 4-year graduate, and post-graduate). *Income* is on a 12 point scale ranging between less than \$20,000 and \$200,000 or more. I also include a couple of control variables—*age* and *gender*—to control for potential demographic effects. Women may be more comfortable contacting the police than men and older respondents may be more trusting of the police than younger respondents. Party identification is also included in the model and I take into account

whether a respondent is foreign born. Immigrants may be less comfortable in contacting the police if they come from a country where the police is corrupt, if they have little experience with American law enforcement, or if they are concerned about their legal status.

Previous research has shown that neighborhood context is also a strong determinant for police coercion (see Sun, Payne and Wu, 2008); therefore, a variable is also included for contextual *poverty*, measured using the percentage of the population in poverty within the respondent's zip code. Finally, I control for a respondent's concern for crime, which is on a 3-point scale ("Not at all concerned"=0, "A little concerned"=1, and "Very concerned"=2) and whether a respondent has ever been a victim of a crime.

Results

First, I observe how comfortable respondents are in contacting the police and report my findings in Table 1. Table 1 illustrates the differences in comfort in contacting the police across all four major racial and ethnic groups. Consistent with the literature, Table 1 demonstrates that nonwhites are significantly less comfortable contacting the police than White respondents. Among Black respondents, only 24% are very comfortable contacting the police, compared to 52% of White respondents. Black respondents are also nearly four times more likely than White respondents to say they are not at all comfortable with reaching out to law enforcement. Although Latino and Asian respondents are more trusting than Black respondents, they are still significantly less comfortable with contacting the police than White respondents.

[Table 1]

Additionally, I find that perceptions of the police, race and ethnicity, and interactions with law enforcement are significant predictors for comfort in contacting the police. Table 2 lends support to hypothesis 1, demonstrating that respondents that perceive the police to be

performing well are more likely to feel comfortable contacting the police. Table 2 also demonstrates that communities of color (Black, Latino, and Asian) are significantly less likely to feel comfortable contacting the police than White respondents. This finding lends further support to my second hypothesis that Black adults are less comfortable contacting the police than White respondents. Furthermore, negative interactions with law enforcement are related to less comfort in contacting police, providing support for hypothesis 3. Respondents that report more interactions with law enforcement—having been arrested, unfair treatment by the police, involuntary dealings with police, getting stopped by police while in the car or on foot, serving time on probation or parole, getting fined, and having been convicted of a crime—are less comfortable contacting the police.

[Table 2]

When examining all racial groups together, education, income, age, nativity, and a respondent's concern for crime are significant predictors for comfort in contacting the police. Higher levels of education and income are related to higher levels of comfort in contacting the police. The older the respondent, the more likely they are to feel comfortable contacting the police, and respondents born outside of the United States are less comfortable. Finally, the more concern a respondent has for crime, the more likely they are to say they are comfortable contacting the police.

Table 2 also shows that women are more likely than men to report being comfortable with contacting police, however, the coefficient is not statistically significant. Similarly, and consistent with my expectations, respondents that identify with the Democratic Party and who have never been victims of crime are less comfortable with contacting the police, albeit neither of these are statistically significant.

Table 3 confirms that perceptions of police performance is a significant predictor for comfort in contacting the police, lending further support to hypothesis 1. Across all racial and ethnic communities, respondents that perceive the police to be performing well are more likely to feel comfortable reaching out to law enforcement. The results in Table 3 also lend some support to my third hypothesis. Negative interactions with law enforcement are related to less comfort in contacting police among Black, Latino, and White respondents; however, it is only statistically significant for Black respondents.

[Table 3]

Age is statistically significant across all models, with older respondents reporting higher levels of comfort in contacting the police. Interestingly, socioeconomic status does not consistently predict how comfortable respondents are in contacting the police. The results of Table 3 suggest that education is only significant among Latinos and income is only significant among Black and Asian respondents. Additionally, gender is significant among White respondents, with women feeling more comfortable contacting the police than men. Party ID seems to have a weak relationship to comfort in contacting police in this model, and being foreign born is only significant for Latinos. Latinos born outside the United States are significantly less comfortable contacting police than those that are born within. Concern for crime is also significant among Latinos, with more concern leading to higher levels of comfort in contacting police. Finally, being a victim of a crime is related to being more comfortable reaching out to police, but is only statistically significant among Asians. The percent of the population in poverty in a respondent's zip code, does not seem to have a significant effect.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, I examine how comfortable individuals are in contacting the police. I also observe the role that police perceptions, race and ethnicity, and negative interactions with law enforcement have in influencing individuals' comfort in contacting the police. First, I find that the plurality of respondents are very comfortable with contacting the police. However, this is largely conditional on race and ethnicity. I find that nonwhites are significantly less comfortable with contacting the police than White respondents. The data demonstrates that Black respondents are nearly four times more likely than White respondents to have no comfort in contacting law enforcement.

Additionally, I find that poor police perceptions and negative interactions with law enforcement are related to less comfort in contacting police. Respondents that believe that the police are doing poorly are less comfortable reaching out to them than those that perceive the police to be performing well. Also consistent with the literature, I find that respondents that report being treated unfairly by the police or who have had negative interactions with them are less comfortable contacting them.

When observing all racial and ethnic groups together, socioeconomic status tends to be a strong predictor for comfort in contacting the police. Highly educated individuals and those with higher household incomes are more comfortable than those of lower socioeconomic status. Furthermore, age is a significant factor in determining how comfortable individuals are in contacting the police. Younger respondents seem to feel less comfortable than older respondents and this is significant across all models.

Although this study highlights some important findings, this work has several limitations. While this study looks at comfort in contacting the police, I am unable to determine how likely individuals are to actually contact the police when they need to. The data utilized in this study

relies on reports from individual respondents and does not test whether or not and under which circumstances individuals will contact the police. Additionally, this study does not delve into all of the factors that contribute to negative police perceptions or discomfort in contacting police. Why, for example, are younger respondents less trusting of the police than older respondents? In addition, I argue that perceptions of police lead to distrust in government; however, this study does not go as far as testing this hypothesis.

Despite the limitations of this study, my findings point to several avenues for future research. While I argue that perceptions of police and negative experiences with law enforcement are related to less comfort in contacting police, these factors are not exhaustive. Surely other factors contribute to discomfort in contacting police and should be explored further. For example, future research can look at the effect of police violence and other specific forms of police misconduct and how they influence police perceptions. Finally, while this study focuses on the implications that police perceptions have on contacting police, I do not explore any potential solutions to this issue. Future work in political science could explore things such as community-oriented policing or other policing strategies that criminologists have long argued could improve community-police relations.

Notwithstanding, the findings of this study have strong implications for the safety of our communities and for the wellbeing of communities of color in the United States. Overall, this study illustrates the importance of perceptions of police performance. More specifically, this study builds on previous research that highlights the consequences of poor police perceptions. With law enforcement being sworn to serve and protect the American public, it is one of the most interactive government institutions in the public sphere. Nonwhite adults, who are more likely to hold negative views of the police, are less likely than White adults to feel comfortable

reaching out to law enforcement officials for help. This implies that some racial communities not only *feel* less protected than others, but that they *are* less protected. This has implications for both community safety and for trust in American government and institutions. If some communities cannot trust the police to serve and protect its people, this distrust can translate to distrust in the political system. Negative perceptions of the police is a result of a historically antagonistic relationship between marginalized communities and the police, but also the power incongruencies between different racial and ethnic communities in the United States. If law enforcement continues to reinforce these incongruencies, the effects can be detrimental to the quality of American democracy (Lipset, 1959; Miller, 1974).

¹Early police forces were developed alongside slave patrol forces, but following the abolishment of slavery, slave patrols were outlawed and many of its personnel recruited to local police forces. For a review of this history, also see Fogelson (1977); Gaines, Kappeler, and Vaughn (1999), Haring (1983), Lundman (1980), and Lynch (1984),

² Soss and Weaver (2017) refer to race-class subjugated (RCS) communities to highlight the interplay between race and class and to discourage scholars from treating race and class as distinct variables. The term “subjugated” is used to describe the power relations between these communities and the state.

³ The dependent variable is an ordinal variable and is considered a violation of the OLS model; however, it is on a 9-point scale, approximating a continuous distribution. As a robustness check, ordered logit is also run and reported in the Appendix.

⁴ The Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .81, suggesting that the internal consistency of these variables are reliable (Cronbach, 1951; Nunnally, 1978)

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Table 1: Comfort Contacting Police by Race/Ethnicity

How Comfortable are you contacting the police?	Black	Latino	Asian	White	Total
1 Not at all	165 (11%)	127 (8%)	54 (4%)	17 (3%)	363 (7%)
2	52 (4%)	34 (2%)	26 (5%)	2 (0%)	114 (2%)
3	92 (6%)	49 (3%)	40 (3%)	7 (1%)	188 (4%)
4	96 (6%)	83 (6%)	63 (4%)	19 (4%)	261 (5%)
5	226 (15%)	202 (13%)	227 (15%)	35 (7%)	690 (14%)
6	162 (11%)	157 (10%)	207 (14%)	35 (7%)	561 (11%)
7	221 (15%)	206 (14%)	292 (19%)	78 (15%)	797 (16%)
8	121 (8%)	160 (11%)	207 (14%)	59 (11%)	547 (11%)
9 Very	359 (24%)	506 (33%)	421 (27%)	274 (52%)	1,560 (31%)
Total	1,494	1,524	1,537	526	5,081

Table 2: OLS Estimates for Contacting Police (Pooled)

	Comfort Contacting Police	
Police Performance	1.033***	(0.072)
Interactions with Law Enforcement	-0.074*	(0.034)
Black Respondent	-0.610***	(0.138)
Latinx Respondent	-0.436**	(0.141)
Asian Respondent	-0.498**	(0.160)
Education	0.127*	(0.058)
Income	0.074***	(0.018)
Female	0.130	(0.108)
Age	0.025***	(0.003)
Democrat	-0.114	(0.106)
Foreign Born	-0.294*	(0.139)
Poverty	-0.001	(0.006)
Concern for Crime	0.123+	(0.074)
Victim of Crime	0.104	(0.114)
Constant	3.513***	(0.368)
Observations		4,557
Adjusted R ²		0.2653

Robust SE in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Table 3: OLS Estimates for Comfort Contacting Police by Race/Ethnicity

Comfortable Contacting Police	(2) Black	(3) Latinx	(4) Asian	(5) White
Police Performance	0.930*** (0.128)	1.321*** (0.127)	0.816*** (0.130)	1.036*** (0.139)
Interactions with Law Enforcement	-0.110+ (0.059)	-0.081 (0.054)	0.031 (0.074)	-0.081 (0.064)
Education	0.062 (0.091)	0.333*** (0.094)	-0.002 (0.116)	0.086 (0.112)
Income	0.101*** (0.029)	0.040 (0.029)	0.088* (0.036)	0.029 (0.025)
Female	-0.130 (0.202)	0.164 (0.188)	0.209 (0.204)	0.428* (0.197)
Age	0.032*** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.005)	0.017** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.006)
Democrat	-0.239 (0.198)	0.005 (0.187)	-0.191 (0.188)	-0.180 (0.179)
Foreign Born	-0.217 (0.415)	-0.587* (0.187)	0.028 (0.172)	-0.405 (0.429)
Poverty	0.008 (0.008)	-0.031 (0.011)	0.000 (0.010)	-0.009 (0.012)
Concern for Crime	-0.019 (0.133)	0.327* (0.137)	0.108 (0.125)	0.095 (0.132)
Victim of a Crime	0.139 (0.182)	-0.266 (0.234)	0.442+ (0.227)	0.017 (0.197)
Constant	3.089*** (0.587)	2.175*** (0.539)	3.771*** (0.631)	4.104*** (0.911)
Observations	1,371	1,399	1,317	470
Adjusted R ²	0.2153	0.3343	0.1626	0.3410

Robust SE in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Appendix

Table 1: Logit Probabilities (Pooled)

	Comfort Contacting Police									
Police Performance	0.927***	(0.064)								
Interactions with Law Enforcement	-0.078**	(0.028)								
Black Respondent	-0.673***	(0.133)								
Latinx Respondent	-0.507***	(0.137)								
Asian Respondent	-0.683***	(0.149)								
Education	0.067	(0.047)								
Income	0.062***	(0.014)								
Female	0.074	(0.087)								
Age	0.023***	(0.003)								
Democrat	-0.161+	(0.083)								
Foreign Born	-0.262	(0.107)								
Poverty	-0.002	(0.004)								
Concern for Crime	0.148*	(0.063)								
Victim of Crime	0.121	(0.092)								
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 60%;">Observations</td> <td style="text-align: right;">4,557</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Chi²</td> <td style="text-align: right;">538.7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Log Likelihood</td> <td style="text-align: right;">-7968</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Pseudo R²</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0.0829</td> </tr> </table>			Observations	4,557	Chi ²	538.7	Log Likelihood	-7968	Pseudo R ²	0.0829
Observations	4,557									
Chi ²	538.7									
Log Likelihood	-7968									
Pseudo R ²	0.0829									
Robust SE in parentheses *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1										

Table 2: Logit Probabilities by Race/Ethnicity

Comfortable Contacting Police	(2) Black	(3) Latinx	(4) Asian	(5) White
Police Performance	0.752*** (0.109)	1.211*** (0.121)	0.779*** (0.111)	1.175*** (0.170)
Interactions with Law Enforcement	-0.092* (0.047)	-0.070 (0.045)	-0.001 (0.073)	-0.124+ (0.069)
Education	0.050 (0.074)	0.245*** (0.075)	-0.069 (0.105)	0.011 (0.135)
Income	0.070** (0.022)	0.031 (0.025)	0.075** (0.029)	0.068* (0.034)
Female	-0.112 (0.160)	0.098 (0.151)	0.105 (0.185)	0.355 (0.228)
Age	0.026*** (0.005)	0.024*** (0.005)	0.018** (0.006)	0.026*** (0.008)
Democrat	-0.220 (0.147)	-0.039 (0.155)	-0.198 (0.157)	-0.413+ (0.216)
Foreign Born	-0.097 (0.315)	-0.495*** (0.153)	-0.026 (0.157)	-0.493 (0.529)
Poverty	0.005 (0.007)	-0.013 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.013)
Concern for Crime	0.062 (0.102)	0.310** (0.120)	0.139 (0.126)	0.060 (0.165)
Victim of a Crime	0.052 (0.145)	-0.159 (0.180)	0.451* (0.211)	0.167 (0.256)
Observations	1,371	1,399	1,317	470
Adjusted R ²	0.2153	0.3343	0.1626	0.3410

Robust SE in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1