COOK COUNTY COMMUNITY SURVEY: A STUDY ON POLICING AND NEIGHBORHOOD PERCEPTIONS

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Residents with negative perceptions of their neighborhood and local law enforcement agency may be less willing to cooperate or trust police when it comes to issues of neighborhood safety, with implications for overall public safety. We examine factors associated with Cook County residents' perceptions of police with regard to two key facets of Public Act 101-0652: police using the right amount of force for each situation and treating people fairly regardless of race or ethnicity. Results show that respondents' perceptions of police are associated with their perceptions of their neighborhood and their ethnoracial identity, with disproportionately negative perceptions of police across ethnoracial minoritized groups.

INTRODUCTION

Police reform is a popular topic of discussion in public discourse in the United States. The murder of George Floyd by a police officer and various social movements have sparked debates about police reform legislation in numerous states, ranging from requiring the use of body-worn cameras to the removal of qualified immunity for police officers (Sidner & Simon, 2015; Kirby, 2020; Subramanian & Arzy, 2021; Herd, 2021). In Illinois, the latest police reform bill, House Bill 3653, now Public Act 101-0652, also know as the SAFE-T Act, brings changes such as police training policies, accountability, use of force, decertification of officers, and bans from buying military equipment (Institute for Illinois' Fiscal Sustainability at the Civic Federation, 2021).

Public opinion polling allows us to gauge support or opposition for certain policies and some key differences in perceptions of police and policy across sociodemographic characteristics such as education or ethnoracial identity (Pew Research Center, 2020). However, there is a dearth of information on the factors associated with these perceptions, particularly accounting for other related factors. The current study seeks to identify the sociodemographic characteristics and contextual factors (area-level characteristics and perceptions of neighborhoods) that are associated with Cook County residents' perceptions

of police. In particular, we focus on perceptions of police regarding two key facets of the Act: using the right amount of force for each situation and treating people fairly regardless of ethnoracial identity.

BACKGROUND

In recent years, the public's opinion of police performance has declined in more than one area compared with previous years (Pew Research Center, 2020; Ortiz, 2020; Stafford & Fingerhut, 2020; Stewart et al., 2012). The proportion of the public responding positively toward questions of use of appropriate force, treating ethnoracial groups equally, and holding officers accountable has decreased. Pew saw a double-digit percentage-point decrease in those who say that the police forces do an "excellent" or "good" job of using the right amount of force for each situation, treating ethnoracial groups equally, and holding officers accountable when misconduct occurs (Pew Research Center, 2020).

Perceptions of police have been examined through the concept of legal cynicism — a type of attitude that influences how citizens interpret the rules of the law and how they perceive and potentially interact with authority (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Gifford & Reisig, 2019; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011; McCarthy et al., 2020; Nivette et al., 2020; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Trinkner & Cohn, 2014). Scholars have argued that legal cynicism is conceptualized in a few different ways, such as procedural justice, legal antipathy, low legal legitimacy, and legal corruption (Gifford & Reisig, 2019; Nivette et al., 2014, 2020). In this study, we examine the predictors of one dimension of legal cynicism: satisfaction.

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Previous work examining the relationship between sociodemographic characteristics and satisfaction with police have found that Black and Latine[1] respondents report significantly lower levels of satisfaction with policing in their neighborhoods than white respondents (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Schuck et al., 2008; Berg et al., 2016; Pew Research Center, 2020; McLean et al., 2018; Redner-Vera & Wallace, 2022). In addition, previous research indicates that people with lower socioeconomic status express less satisfaction with the police (Schafer et al., 2003; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Berg et al., 2016; Redner-Vera & Galeste, 2015). Research has shown that middle-class Black Americans view the police more positively than lower- and working-class Black Americans (Schuck et al., 2008; Berg et al., 2016). Additionally, middle-

class Black Americans who live in advantaged neighborhoods view the police more positively than middle-class Black Americans who live in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Schuck et al., 2008).

Other sociodemographic characteristics associated with perceptions of police are gender, age, time of residency, and political identification. In some cases, women show less satisfaction with the police than men (Elo et al., 2009; Bell, 2016; Cavanagh & Cauffman, 2019). Younger people are often less satisfied with the police than older people (Nivette et al., 2014, 2020; McLean et al., 2018). In addition, political ideology has been linked to perceptions of police (Silver & Pickett, 2015). Democrats in 2020 had fewer positive perceptions of the police than they did in 2016 while there was little change over time among Republicans (Pew Research Center, 2020).

NEIGHBORHOOD CORRELATES OF PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Previous research has examined the influence that area-level neighborhood factors — crime rate, percentage of residents who are immigrants, and percentage of people below the federal poverty level — have on perceptions of police. Researchers have found that residents of areas with higher crime rates express the least satisfaction with the police (Maxson et al., 2003; Terrill & Reisig, 2003; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998), even after accounting for ethnoracial identity (Maxson et al., 2003). Interestingly, areas with high levels of immigration and poverty show low levels of police satisfaction regardless of the violent crime rate (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998).

Sampson and Bartusch (1998) used the concept of concentrated disadvantage, reflecting "the neighborhood concentration of resource disadvantage, to which African Americans and single-parent families with children are disproportionately exposed to," to explain their assertion that neighborhood characteristics are associated with police satisfaction (p. 789). Indeed, they find neighborhood context to confound the association between ethnoracial identity and police satisfaction, indicating that "Blacks appear more cynical because they are disproportionately likely to live in residential environments of concentrated disadvantage" (p. 797). This finding has been supported by more recent research (Reisig & Parks, 2000), and satisfaction is predicted by racially segregated economic disadvantage and crime (Reisig & Parks, 2000; Berg et al., 2016; Wu et al., 2009; Redner-Vera & Galeste, 2015; Cao & Wu, 2017; Chenane et al., 2020) as well as neighborhood disorganization (Schafer et al., 2003; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Elo et al., 2009; Berg et al., 2016).

Related to these more objective area-level characteristics, respondents' perceptions of their neighborhood may be associated with their perceptions of the police. One feature of neighborhoods that respondents experience is contact with police. Experiences with local police officers not only influence respondents' perceptions of their local law enforcement agency but also perceptions more globally. Schuck et al. (2008) test perceptions of police at a global and neighborhood level and find that negative communications with police are associated with negative global and neighborhood perceptions of police. More recently, research suggests that negative contact with police officers is associated with more negative perceptions of the police (Redner-Vera & Galeste, 2015; Nivette et al., 2014; Chenane et al., 2020).

Overall, there is little research on how local Cook County residents' perceptions of their immediate neighborhood are associated with their perceptions of their police force. We expect these two concepts to be related because perceptions of concentrated disadvantage in neighborhoods may have a greater impact on perceptions of the police than more objective area-level characteristics. Indeed, respondents may be able to summarize and report more nuanced facets of their immediate environment than are represented in area-level summary measures, such as the percentage of the population in poverty. This study aims to examine the sociodemographic characteristics, area-level characteristics, and perceptions of the neighborhood associated with perceptions of the police in Chicago and the suburbs in terms of perceived use of force and treating people fairly regardless of ethnoracial identity.

METHODS

DATA

The data come from the Cook County Community Survey, a nonprobability online panel survey of Cook County residents that aims to be descriptively representative of adults in Cook County, which contains Chicago and its immediate suburbs. The online survey gathers public opinion on a variety of matters such as gentrification and perceptions of the neighborhood, COVID-19, political efficacy, policing, and more. The survey was administered between February 26 and March 30, 2020, by Dynata, a data platform with a large and diverse panel of respondents. The survey was available on the Dynata platform to any resident in Cook County who was at least 18 years of age. The final sample consisted of 1,195 adults in Cook County. Respondents used Qualtrics

(an online survey software) to take the survey, which consisted of about 40 questions. The average response time for the survey was about 18 minutes.

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of the analytic sample. Respondents' ages range from 18 to 91. The ethnoracial composition of the respondents is about 59% white, 12% Latine, 20% Black, 5% Asian, 1% some other race, and about 3% more than one race. Fifty-two percent of the sample identify as women, 47% as men, and 0.75% as another gender. We intended for a descriptively representative sample of residents of Cook County. We largely succeeded when we compared our descriptive statistics to census estimates, with the exception of underrepresentation of the Latine population and overrepresentation of the white population.

MEASURES

The dependent variable captures respondents' perceptions of police. It is comprised of perceptions of how well the police are doing in two key areas — using the right amount of force for each situation and treating people fairly regardless of ethnoracial identity — in both the City of Chicago and the suburbs. Each question has four response options: very good, good, poor, and very poor. Each of these variables is continuous, and scores range from 1-4, with 1 indicating very poor and 4 indicating very good. A factor analysis showed that these four variables comprised a single factor (results available upon request). In addition, these four variables have a high degree of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha= 0.90). Thus, we summarized across the four variables to create a single dependent variable with scores ranging from 4 to 16, with higher scores indicating a more positive perception of the police.[2]

There were four neighborhood perception independent variables: (1) perceived safeness, (2) neighborhood prospects, (3) sense of belonging, and (4) perceived similarity to neighbors regarding ethnoracial identity. We asked respondents if there were any areas around where they lived (that is, within one half-mile) where they would be afraid to walk alone at night: yes or no. Neighborhood prospect was assessed by asking respondents, "In general, what is your sense of where things are headed in your neighborhood?" The three response options were: getting worse, staying the same, or getting better. Respondents were also asked, "How strong is your sense of belonging in the community where you live?" There were four response options for the variable ranging from not at all to very. For analysis, we treated this variable as a continuous variable with a higher score indicating that respondents feel a strong sense of belonging.

Further, respondents were asked, "How similar are your neighbors to you in terms of race or ethnicity?" Response options ranged from not at all to very. We treated this variable as a continuous variable; a higher score indicates an ethnoracial identity that is very similar to theirs.

Gender was measured using the question "What is your gender?" There were six possible response options: woman, man, trans woman/trans female, trans man/trans male, genderqueer/gender nonbinary, or something not listed (please specify). Only those indicating woman or man were included in the analysis due to the small number of respondents indicating any of the remaining categories.

Education is conceptualized as a categorical variable: high school or less, some college or associate's degree, and bachelor's degree or more. Political identity is assessed by the question, "Do you usually think of yourself as Republican, Democrat, Independent, or something else?" Respondents who reported the first two were then asked if they identify as a "strong" or "not very strong" Republican or Democrat; respondents who answered the last two were then asked whether they were closer to Republicans, Democrats, or in between. Respondents who remained "in between" were coded as "pure independents" while the others were coded as Republicans or Democrats.

We are interested in comparing how responses on public opinions about police varied between the City of Chicago and its surrounding suburbs. We geocoded zip codes to assess whether respondents live in Chicago. We also assess area-level variables: percentage of respondents living in a neighborhood that is at or below the poverty line, percentage of Black residents, and percentage of Latine residents. These three variables are continuous.

STATISTICAL ANALYSES

Analyses for this study were conducted using Stata 17. Because the perception of police index is natural log-transformed, the coefficients are interpreted in terms of percent change, such that the perception of police index changes by $100 * [\exp(\beta) - 1]$ percent for a one-unit increase in the independent variable, holding all other variables in the model constant (Wooldridge, 2020). We conducted bivariate regressions, regressing perception of police on each independent variable individually to test the overall relationship between perceptions of police and each variable. We then conducted a multivariable regression that regressed perceptions of police on all the independent variables

TABLE 1

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF ANALYTIC SAMPLE COOK COUNTY COMMUNITY SURVEY (2020-2022), n=1,195

	MEAN/ PERCENT	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
Police job rating	9.21	3.14	4	16
Police job rating (log)	2.16	0.37	1.39	2.77
ETHNORACIAL IDENTITY				
White	58.58%			
Latine	12.05%			
Black	19.83%			
Asian	4.60%			
Other	1.51%			
More than one	3.43%			
Women (compared to men)	52.45%			
Age (in years)	47.36	18.05	17	91
EDUCATION				
High school or less	17.99%			
Some college or associate's	31.30%			
Bachelor's or more	50.71%			
POLITICAL IDENTITY				
Republican	22.19%			
Independent	13.32%			
Democrat	64.49%			
Live in Chicago (compared to living in suburbs)	51.13%			
NEIGHBORHOOD PERCENTAGE				
Percentage living in poverty	13.13	8.57	1.50	42.30
Percentage of Black people	20.95	28.72	0.00	95.70
Percentage of Latine people	20.63	20.05	1.30	89.90
Afraid to walk at night (compared to not being afraid)	45.61%			

	MEAN/ PERCENT	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
NEIGHBORHOOD PROSPECTS				
Getting worse	15.31%			
Staying the same	57.57%			
Getting better	27.11%			
Sense of belonging in community	2.89	0.97	1	4
Similar ethnoracial identity to neighbors	2.99	0.92	1	4

simultaneously. This allowed us to see how each independent variable was associated with perceptions of police while accounting for the other independent variables. We computed robust standard errors to account for the clustering of respondents within zip codes. The asterisks in Table 2 indicate levels of statistical significance; no asterisk indicates that the variable is not associated with perceptions of police.

RESULTS

Table 2 depicts both the bivariate and multivariable regression of perceptions of police (in which a higher score indicates a better perception of police) on sociodemographic characteristics, area-level characteristics, and respondents' perceptions of their neighborhood. The bivariate regressions reveal that perceptions of the police are significantly associated with most of the independent variables. All of the respondents' descriptions of neighborhood characteristics (afraid to walk at night, neighborhood prospects, sense of belonging in one's community, and how similar the respondents perceive themselves to be to their neighbors regarding ethnoracial identity) were significantly associated with perceptions of police. Compared with not being afraid to walk at night, being afraid to walk at night is associated with a 9% decrease ($100 * [\exp(-0.190) - 1] = 9\%$) in positive perceptions of the police. This indicates that participants who are not afraid to walk alone at night were more likely to have positive perceptions of the police compared with those who are afraid. Compared with viewing one's neighborhood as getting better, perceiving one's neighborhood as getting worse and perceiving it as staying the same were associated with 19% and 14% decreases in positive perceptions of the police,

respectively. Respondents who have a sense of belonging in their community and identify as having similar ethnoracial identities as their neighbors had more positive perceptions of the police than respondents who do not have a sense of belonging in their community or do not have similar ethnoracial identities as their neighbors. In the multivariable regression that controls for the effects of all variables simultaneously, being afraid to walk alone at night and a perception of similarity to neighbors regarding ethnoracial identity were each no longer statistically significantly associated with perceptions of police. The associations of perceptions of police with neighborhood prospects and sense of belonging were still significant when controlling for the effects of other variables.

Two of the area-level characteristics (percentage of respondents living in a neighborhood that is at or below the poverty line and percentage of Black residents) were significantly associated with perceptions of police in bivariate analyses. Living in a neighborhood that is at or below the poverty line was associated with a 0.9% decrease in positive perceptions of the police compared with respondents who live in a neighborhood that is above the poverty line. Similarly, living in a neighborhood that is predominately filled with Black residents compared with not living in a neighborhood that is predominately filled with Black residents was associated with a 0.3% decrease in positive perceptions of the police. The percentage of Latine residents was not significantly associated with perceptions of police. In the multivariable regression, these associations were no longer statistically significantly associated with perceptions of police.

Compared with identifying as white, identifying as Latine, Black, Asian, or more than one race was associated with 20%, 35%, 16%, and 24% decreases in positive perceptions of the police, respectively. This indicates that white respondents are more likely to have positive perceptions of the police than other ethnoracial groups. Additional analysis shows that compared with identifying as Black, identifying as Latine, Asian, and another race was associated with 22%, 29%, and 38% increases in positive perceptions of the police, respectively (results not shown). In other words, white respondents had the most positive perceptions of the police, and Black respondents had the most negative. Identifying as a woman compared with identifying as a man was associated with an 18% decrease in positive perceptions of the police. Younger participants had more negative perceptions of police than their older counterparts. Having a bachelor's degree or more was associated with a 9% increase in positive perceptions of police compared with having a high school

TABLE 2

BIVARIATE AND MULTIVARIABLE REGRESSION OF POLICE JOB RATING ON SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND COVARIATES 2020

	BIVARIATE MODELS		MULTIVARIATE MODEL	
	COEFFICIENT	**STANDARD ERROR**	**COEFFICIENT**	**STANDARD ERROR**
NEIGHBORHOOD PERCEPTIONS				
Afraid to walk at night (compared to not being afraid)	-0.093**	0.032	-0.022	0.032
NEIGHBORHOOD PROSPECTS				
Getting worse	-0.214***	0.051	-0.146**	0.049
Staying the same	-0.153***	0.036	-0.115***	0.035
Getting better (reference)	--	--	--	--
Sense of belonging in community	0.111***	0.016	0.083***	0.016
Similar ethnoracial identity to neighbors	0.048**	0.017	0.025	0.016
AREA-LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS				
Percentage living in poverty	-0.009***	0.002	0.004	0.003
Percentage of Black people	-0.003***	0.001	-0.000	0.001
Percentage of Latine people	-0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001

Notes: The bivariate regressions are individual regressions regressing police job rating and each independent variable. The multivariable regressions regresses police job rating on all independent variables accounting for clustering of respondents within zip codes. Analyses for this study were conducted using Stata 17. Because the perception of police index is natural log-transformed, the coefficients are interpreted in terms of percent change, such that the perception of police index changes by $100 * [exp(\beta) -- 1]$ percent for a one-unit increase in the independent variable, holding all other variables in the model constant (Wooldridge, 2020). We conducted bivariate regressions, regressing perception of police on each independent variable individually to see the overall relationship between perceptions of police and each variable. We then conducted a multivariable regression which regressed perceptions of police on all of the independent variables simultaneously. This allowed us to see how each independent variable was associated with perceptions of police while accounting for the other independent variables. We computed robust standard errors to account for the clustering of respondents within zip codes. The asterisks in the table indicate levels of statistical significance; no asterisk indicates that the variable is not associated with perceptions of police. $*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

	BIVARIATE MODELS		MULTIVARIATE MODEL	
	COEFFICIENT	STANDARD ERROR	COEFFICIENT	STANDARD ERROR
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS				
ETHNORACIAL IDENTITY				
White (reference)	--	--	--	--
Latine	-0.228***	0.048	-0.192***	0.053
Black	-0.424***	0.040	-0.372***	0.050
Asian	-0.172*	0.072	-0.090	0.070
Other	-0.103	0.122	0.052	0.121
More than one	-0.272***	0.085	-0.230**	0.084
GENDER				
Women (men reference)	-0.200***	0.031	-0.125***	0.030
AGE				
30 and under (reference group)	--	--	--	--
31-44	0.150***	0.046	0.034	0.043
45-64	0.096*	0.045	0.010	0.044
65 and older	0.154***	0.047	-0.012	0.047
EDUCATION				
High school or less (reference group)	--	--	--	--
Some college or associate's	0.045	0.047	-0.015	0.044
Bachelor's or more	0.088*	0.044	-0.040	0.043
POLITICAL IDENTITY				
Republican	0.369***	0.037	0.284***	0.037
Independent	0.107*	0.457	0.107*	0.043
Democrat (reference)	--	--	--	--
Response option order (1=very poor first, 0=very good first)	0.004	0.032	-0.028	0.029
Live in Chicago (compared to living in suburbs)	-0.104***	0.032	-0.049	0.036
Constant	--	--	1.708***	0.095
N	--	--	1,139	
R2	--	--	0.216	

diploma or less. Compared with being a Democrat, being a Republican or a pure Independent was associated with 44% and 11% increases in positive perceptions of the police, respectively. Additional analysis shows that compared with identifying as Republican, identifying as pure Independent was associated with a 23% decrease in positive perceptions of the police (results not shown). Respondents who live in Chicago had more negative perceptions of the police compared with those who live in the suburbs of Chicago. In the multivariable regression, most of the sociodemographic characteristics remained statistically significant. Identifying as Asian compared with white, age, education level, and living in Chicago were no longer significantly associated with perceptions of police.

FIGURE 1

POLICE RATINGS ACROSS ETHNORACIAL AND GENDER GROUPS
SEE NOTES BELOW FOR LETTER REFERENCES
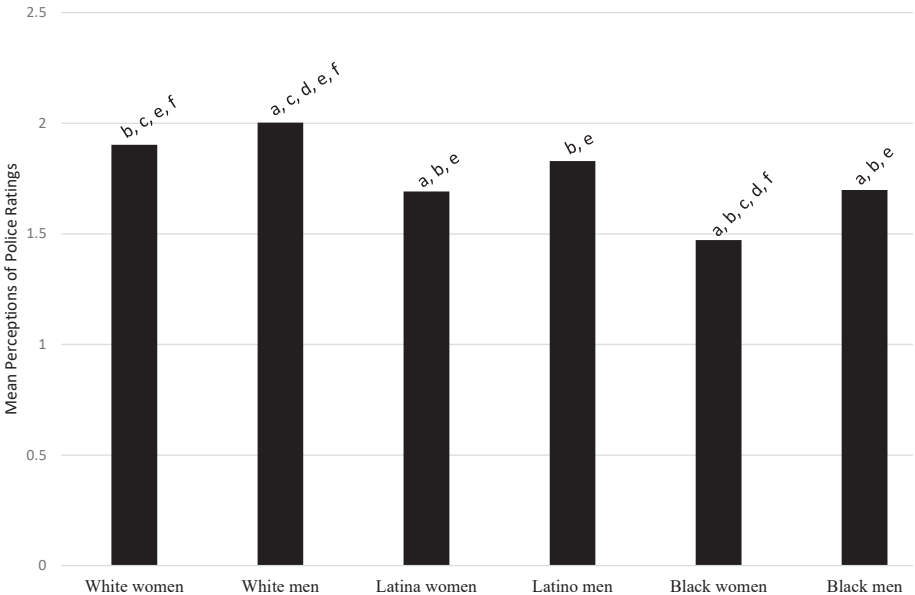
Notes: a= significantly different from White women, b= significantly different from White men, c= significantly different from Latina women, d= significantly different from Latino men, e= significantly different from Black women, f= significantly different from Black men.

An intersectional perspective highlights that social statuses such as ethnoracial identity, class, and gender (among others) constitute intersecting systems of privilege and oppression that are inextricably linked with respect to individuals' lives (see, e.g., Crenshaw, 2018). We created six groups to analyze gender-ethnoracial group differences in police rating, controlling for all other covariates. We conducted a pairwise comparison of six groups: the three largest ethnoracial groups crossed with gender. Figure 1 shows the results of this analysis. Overall, we found that white men had the most positive perceptions of police, and Black women had the least positive perceptions of police, both significantly different from all other groups.

DISCUSSION

This study examines how respondents perceive local law enforcement with the purpose of obtaining a better sense of how respondents' perception of their neighborhood is associated with their perceptions of the police. We expected these two measures to be related because perceptions of concentrated disadvantage in neighborhoods may have a greater impact on perceptions of the police than more objective area-level measures. Respondents may be able to report more nuanced facets of their immediate environment than are evident in area-level summary measures. This study investigates the relationship between respondents' perceptions of police officers and perceptions of their neighborhoods.

Like previous studies, our results revealed that ethnoracial characteristics are significant factors in shaping respondents' opinions of police (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Schuck et al., 2008; Bell 2016; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Berg et al., 2016; Pew Research Center, 2020; McLean et al., 2018; Redner-Vera & Wallace, 2022). As shown in Table 2, white respondents were more likely to have positive perceptions of the police compared with other ethnoracial groups, consistent with previous studies. In addition, respondents who identify as more than one race show similar patterns of perceptions of police as respondents who identify as Black or Latine. Our supplemental results are consistent with previous studies showing that, on average, Latine respondents have fewer positive perceptions than whites but more than Black respondents (Schuck et al., 2008; Berg et al., 2016; Pew Research Center, 2020; McLean et al., 2018; Redner-Vera & Wallace, 2022).

Our results show that identifying as a woman compared with identifying as a man was associated with a decrease in positive perceptions of the police even when holding other variables constant. There is less research studying how gender is related to perceptions of police. Our finding represents an important area for future research with respect to gender differences in perceptions of the police. In Latin America, distrust of law enforcement is a common phenomenon that many women express (Obinna, 2020). Future research should examine how the handling of gender-based violence may affect perceptions of local law enforcement in the United States. In her 2016 study, Bell suggests that Black American mothers tend to be cynical toward their law enforcement agency while carefully calculating when to use their services (Bell, 2016). We saw a similar effect in our pairwise comparison of six groups, that is, that Black women showed the least positive perceptions of police.

Younger participants had more negative perceptions of the police than older participants (Nivette et al., 2014, 2020; McLean et al., 2018). These results are inconsistent with previous studies showing that as age increases, perceived bias toward local law enforcement decreases (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Nivette et al., 2014, 2020; McLean et al., 2018). With one exception, education was not associated with perceptions of police; thus, education does not play a significant role in the models at all. This is consistent with results that Weitzer and Tuch (2004) show in their analyses.

Neighborhood characteristics have been associated with perceptions of the police in previous literature (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Berg et al., 2016; Redner-Vera & Galeste, 2015). We found that area-level characteristics were only associated with perceptions of police in the bivariate regression. The addition of other independent variables, multivariate regression, explained away the effects that area-level characteristics have on perceptions of police. We ran additional analyses on crime rates in Chicago's 77 community areas. We found crime rates were not associated with perceptions of police among Chicago residents. The lack of association between crime rates and perceptions of police could also be a methodological artifact because crime data is difficult to measure and agencies compile data in different ways. Overall, we speculate that measures of area-level characteristics may be too broad and can miss the nuance of respondents' understanding of their immediate environments.

Respondents' perceptions of their neighborhood characteristics played a significant role in perceptions of police. We found that each neighborhood perception was associated with perceptions of police, although the addition of other independent variables in the multivariable regression explained away the effects that being afraid to walk at night alone and a perception of similarity to neighbors in regard to ethnoracial identities had on perceptions of police. Still, neighborhood prospects and sense of belonging were associated with perceptions of police.

Respondents who perceived their neighborhood as staying the same or getting worse had more negative perceptions of police than those who viewed their neighborhood as getting better. Neighborhood disorder was a measure found in Sampson and colleagues' work wherein they examined the association between collective efficacy and disorder in neighborhoods (Sampson et al., 1997; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Collective efficacy in the neighborhood context was defined as social cohesion among neighbors, the linkage of mutual trust, and willingness to intervene for the greater good (Sampson et al., 1997). Sampson and colleagues found that neighborhood levels of collective efficacy were associated with a variety of outcomes such as reduced levels of neighborhood disorder (Sampson et al., 1997). Our results tell a similar story in that a sense of belonging (often a measure of collective efficacy) and residential instability were related to how respondents perceived their local law enforcement. Future research may look at how perceptions of neighborhood levels of collective efficacy and neighborhood instability affect perceptions of local law enforcement.

CONCLUSION

Residents' perceptions of their neighborhood and local law enforcement agency have compelling ramifications for public safety. These findings provide valuable insight into the perceived relationship the public has with local law enforcement. Poor perceptions of police performance and negative perceptions of neighborhoods can lead communities to withdraw from relations with public entities like local law enforcement agencies and add to the growing tensions of police cynicism. The disproportionately negative perceptions of law enforcement agencies across ethnoracial groups is a point of concern for policy and public safety. Policymakers looking toward community-oriented approaches to policing must consider the fractured relationship between community members and their local law enforcement agencies. More work

needs to be done before organizing policies that attempt to connect the public and their local law enforcement agencies in communities where negative perceptions of neighborhood and police performance are more prevalent.

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students, and undergraduate students to shed new light on the attitudes and behaviors of residents of Cook County, Illinois.

ENDNOTES

[1] We use the term "Latine" to denote respondents who identified as Hispanic, Latino, or Latina in our study. Latine is being used increasingly as an alternative form of identification that removes the gender binary in Latino or Latina but aligns more with spoken Spanish than the alternative Latinx, with the latter having limited use among the Latine community.

[2] We also randomized the order in which the response options for the dependent variable were displayed (very good or very poor first for the four questions about policing). Because response option order was not significantly associated with the distribution of responses to these questions, we combined all cases for analysis. We included a control for experimental treatment in our regression models.

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