

Global and Neighborhood Attitudes Toward the Police: Differentiation by Race, Ethnicity and Type of Contact

Amie M. Schuck^{1,2} and Dennis P. Rosenbaum¹

This study focused on a series of hypotheses regarding residents' attitudes toward the police: (1) residents' attitudes toward the police are better represented by a two-dimensional model that differentiates global perceptions of the police from assessments of the police in the respondents' neighborhood; (2) the structure of residents' attitudes toward the police is different for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos; (3) direct experiences with the police in the respondents' neighborhood will be more strongly associated with the respondents' assessment of police in their neighborhood than global perceptions of the police; and (4) the influence of direct experiences with the police will be stronger for African Americans and Latinos than for Whites. Results based on structural equation modeling offer strong support for the need to differentiate between global and neighborhood perceptions of the police. The underlying measurement structure of attitudes toward the police was similar for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos. However, the relationship between global and neighborhood attitudes was stronger for African Americans and Latinos. Negative contact with the police was associated with both negative global and neighborhood assessments of the police. Non-negative contact was associated with positive neighborhood perceptions of the police; however, only when it occurred within the neighborhood. The influence of direct experiences with the police (both inside and outside the neighborhood) was similar for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos.

KEY WORDS: citizens attitudes; community policing; demeanor; racial differences; satisfaction.

1. INTRODUCTION

Understanding and measuring residents' attitudes toward the police has become increasingly important as police departments face growing public and governmental pressure to address accusations of police misconduct and

¹Department of Criminal Justice (MC 141), University of Illinois at Chicago, 1007 West Harrison Street, Chicago, IL 60607.

²To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: amms@uic.edu

discriminatory treatment of minorities. The emergence of community policing and problem oriented policing as the new paradigm within policing has increased the demand for accountability and equity when responding to neighborhood problems (see Goldstein, 1990; Greene, 2000; Mastrofski, 1989; Moore, 1992). The community policing model calls upon the police to encourage resident participation in the “co-production” of public safety (Cordner, 1998; Rosenbaum, 1994; Skogan, 2003), but the public’s willingness to cooperate with law enforcement (as crime reporters, informants, problem solvers, law abiders, taxpayers, etc) seems to depend, in large part, upon their trust and confidence in the institution of policing and their attitudes about local police responses (Tyler, 1990; 1998; 2001). Hence, understanding the nature of public attitudes about the police may be one of the keys to strengthening police–community relations, joint problem solving, and community engagement in crime prevention initiatives. Studies of residents’ attitudes toward police are not new, with a large body of research dating back to the 1960s. Public opinion surveys consistently find that most residents have positive assessments of the police. A 1998 Bureau of Justice Statistics survey of twelve cities found that 85% of respondents were either *very satisfied* or *satisfied* with the police (Smith, *et al.*, 1999). A 2001 national Gallup poll found that 90% of all Americans had a *great deal* or *some confidence* in the police while only 1% indicated they had *no confidence* in the police (Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 2002).

Scholarly studies have described resident perceptions of the police in more detail (Brandl *et al.*, 1994; Dunham and Alpert, 1988; Langan *et al.*, 2001; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Skogan *et al.*, 2002; Tuch and Weitzer, 1997), yet gaps in the literature remain. One noteworthy gap is the lack of differentiation between global and neighborhood perceptions of the police. As a reaction to the detached professional model of policing, which scholars have blamed for alienating residents from the police (Reiss, 1992), community policing has emphasized neighborhood-focus, decentralized, and personalized policing that involves increased contact between beat officers and local residents in the form of foot patrols, mini-stations, door-to-door contacts, and police–community meetings (Pate *et al.*, 1986; Rosenbaum, 1988; Skogan and Hartnett, 1997; Trojanowicz, 1986). Most recently, problem oriented policing has also emphasized geo-based policing, often involving intensive, focused responses to neighborhood “hot spots” of criminal activity (e.g., Braga *et al.*, 1999; Clarke and Goldstein, 2002). These forms of policing suggest the need to distinguish between the abstract concept of “the police” and “the police in my neighborhood” when it comes to measuring public attitudes and perceptions of police performance.

Much of the literature on residents’ attitudes toward the police focuses on residents’ global assessments of the police. Many of these studies are

undertaken by the federal government or national polling firms for multiple purposes, utilize a national sampling design, and contain a few broad questions about perceptions of satisfaction or confidence in the police. The underlying assumption of this conception of residents' attitudes is that the public holds an undifferentiated view of the police. In other words, residents' attitudes about "the police" are the same as their attitudes about "the police in my neighborhood." Theoretically, residents' attitudes towards the police can be considered at multiple levels. For example, attitudes can be measured in the abstract without context (e.g., "the police"), in reference to a particular organization (e.g., the Chicago Police Department), in reference to officers in specialized units (e.g., community policing, gang, or traffic officers), or in reference to officers working in a specific geography (e.g., beat officers or police officers in the respondent's neighborhood). This multi-level conception of attitudes assumes that the public has developed a more complex, differentiated conception of the police. The later conception assumes more cognitive complexity in judgment about the police and allows individuals to hold, at a minimum, views about the police in general that are different (in both direction and quality) from their views about the police in their neighborhood. The main purpose of this paper is to assess whether researchers should distinguish between *global assessments* of the police, as reflected in national opinion polls, and *neighborhood assessments of the police*, such as evaluations of the police who work in the respondents' neighborhood.

2. STUDY GOALS AND RELEVANT LITERATURE

The first goal of the current study was to statistically examine whether residents' attitudes toward the police are better defined as a two-dimensional model that distinguished between global and neighborhood attitudes rather than a unidimensional construct. One qualitative study suggests that residents do make distinctions about the police. In his book about the nature of street life in Philadelphia, Anderson (1990, p. 199) describes how the youth of Village-Northton distinguish between the "downtown" police and the "regular" local police. The youth view the downtown police as "distant, impersonal, and often actively looking for trouble" while the local police are seen as spending time in the area, knowing the names of many residents, and trying to create a working peace with the youth. There was ambivalence about the police among the Village-Northton residents, particularly the old time White liberal residents, who on one hand wanted their streets, homes and loved ones safe, but on the other hand, believed that police often manhandle the youth and meted out arbitrary forms of colored justice.

In theory, the police as an institution of social control require a certain amount of public support to exist and to prosper. Yet the public police force would not survive if its support was contingent upon total public satisfaction with all officers, programs, or procedures. In other words, the police must maintain a "reservoir" of good will (Easton, 1965). Virtually every resident will, at some time, disagree with a specific policy, dislike or distrust a certain police official, or criticize some particular procedure; however, discontent with officials, policies or procedures does not usually translate into withdrawal of support for the institution of policing. Within this context, neighborhood attitudes consist of feelings toward the police based upon fulfillment of demands for particular policies or actions in the neighborhood, while global attitudes refer to the "reservoir" of abstract sentiment that can be called upon to help maintain the legitimacy of the institution in the face of unfavorable policies or deeds.

Although global and neighborhoods attitudes are hypothesized to be related, they are also thought to differ in terms of sources, durability, and consequences. Among Anderson's (1990) Village-Northton residents, their conflicting feelings about the police often created reluctance to call the police when they needed help, and compelled them to be less cooperative with the police after a crime was committed. When the general community felt under attack by the police, however, the residents were willing to forgo these concerns for the safety and public order provided by the police. The distinction between global and neighborhood attitudes may be particularly important when dealing with issues of equity in policing including the distribution of police services and fair treatment.

One reason for the lack of empirical work surrounding distinctions between global and neighborhood attitudes is the methodological complexity implicit in researching this phenomenon. This is particularly true when issues are not necessarily simple for respondents to articulate and where there are likely to be large differences between segments of the target population. Some of these difficulties were overcome by employing a multiple indicator approach to measuring attitudes toward the police, implementing a sampling design that maximized statistical power in segments of the population, and utilizing structural equation modeling to assess the variance/covariance structure of the data.

The second goal of the study was to evaluate whether the two-dimensional model would replicate across different racial and ethnic groups. Even though public opinion surveys find that the majority of residents have positive perceptions of the police, there are significant racial and ethnic differences. African Americans have consistently reported more negative perceptions of the police than Whites. In the 2001 national Gallup survey, 30% of African Americans reported very little or no confidence in the police

compared with only 7% of Whites (Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 2002). In the 1989 Bureau of Justice Statistics survey, 24% of African Americans reported dissatisfaction with the police compared with 10% of Whites (Smith *et al.*, 1999)³.

Unfortunately, little is known about Latino's perceptions of the police since most public opinion polls fail to survey Latinos as a separate group. In general, it is believed that the attitudes of Latinos fall somewhere between those of Whites and African Americans (Walker and Katz, 2001). Evaluations of community policing in Chicago tend to support this assertion (Skogan *et al.*, 2002, p. 301). Nonetheless, documented knowledge of Latinos' attitudes toward the police and the structure of their attitudes remains limited.

There is important evidence suggesting that the measurement structure of residents' attitudes toward the police may be different for racial and ethnic minorities. In a study of opinions toward the Pittsburgh police, Scaglione and Condon (1980, p. 281) found that the structure of African Americans' attitudes when compared with Whites' attitudes was more complex and consisted of a larger number of "less clearly defined factors." They speculated that Whites, particular upper-middle-class Whites, had oversimplified perceptions of the police because their opinions were more likely to be informed by the media and not direct experiences with the police. In contrast, they argued that African Americans had more complex perceptions of the police because of their more frequent and more personal contact with them. Scaglione and Condon's (1980) findings highlight the necessity to consider racial and ethnic differences in residents' attitudes toward the police not only in terms of magnitude but also in terms of measurement structure.

The third goal was to understand what accounts for any observed differences between global and neighborhood perceptions of the police. Many scholars propose that a key factor in understanding attitudes toward the police is one's personal experience with the police. The empirical evidence, in general, supports the proposition that negative experiences with the police are associated with negative attitudes toward the police (Bordua and Tift, 1971; Furstenberg and Wellford, 1973; Reisig and Parks, 2000). In addition, researchers have argued that involuntary contact with the police such as traffic stops or criminal victimizations are particularly likely to be associated with negative resident attitudes (Dean, 1980; Decker, 1981). The

³ There was, however, significant racial variation between cities in police satisfaction. For example, there was no difference between African Americans and Whites in Madison, WI, with both groups reporting high levels of satisfaction (97%, respectively). Conversely, there were large differences in Knoxville, KY (37% of African Americans reported dissatisfaction compared with 9% of Whites), and Chicago, IL (31% of African Americans reported dissatisfaction compared with 11% of Whites) (Smith *et al.*, 1999).

question remains: Can distinctions between contacts inside and outside the neighborhood help discriminate between residents' global and neighborhood perceptions of the police?

The fourth and final goal of the study was to assess whether the effects of direct contact with the police replicate across different racial and ethnic groups. In other words, are the effects of negative and non-negative contacts with the police both inside and outside the neighborhood similar for White, African American, and Latino residents? Many researchers suggest that racial minorities experience disproportional interaction with the police⁴. In addition, to disproportional interaction with the police, African Americans and Latinos may be more likely than Whites to experience differential expectations in policing. The recent emphasis on racial profiling and community policing, for example, may produce very different pictures of the police for racial and ethnic community members. Racial profiling situations as described by Meeks (2000) often occur when a person of color is out of place, such as an African American driving in a predominately White community. In this context, racial and ethnic individuals interact with the police, often in a negative context, outside of their community. At the same time that people of color are being stopped due to racial profiling, many police departments are attempting to reach out to minority community members through community-orientated initiatives, such as problem-solving meetings (e.g., Skogan and Hartnett, 1997). Consequently, African Americans and Latino may disproportionately experience differential policing. In other words, not only do African Americans and Latinos have disproportional interaction with the police, but the nature and context of these interactions are possibly more diverse.

3. SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

In summary, the development of attitudes toward the police is believed to be an important indicator of the quality of police–community relations and an integral part of the etiology of resident participation in the “co-production” of problem solving and community safety. Attitudes toward the police appear to be influenced by a host of factors, but personal interaction with the police seems to be an important element in the equation.

⁴One notable exception was the 1999 national survey of contacts between the police and the public (Langan *et al.*, 2001). While the study did not reveal large racial differences in interaction with the police (either resident-initiated or police-initiated), it did reveal that African Americans were more likely than Whites to report a negative outcome after being stopped (e.g., physically searched, searched without consent, no legitimate reason for being searched, and threat or use of force) (Langan *et al.*, 2001; also see Skogan, 2003).

Given the importance of public attitudes within theories of community policing and problem oriented policing, this research seeks to advance the conception and measurement of these constructs. Several hypotheses were tested in this study: (1) residents' attitudes toward the police are better represented by a two-dimensional model that differentiates global perceptions of the police from assessments of the police in the respondents' neighborhood; (2) the structure of residents' attitudes toward the police is different for White, African American, and Latino residents; (3) direct negative experiences with the police in the respondents' neighborhood will be more strongly associated with the respondents' assessment of police in their neighborhood than global perceptions of the police; and (4) the negative influence of direct experiences with the police will be stronger for African Americans and Latinos than for Whites.

4. METHODS

4.1. Participants

The data for this study were collected as part of the Minority Trust and Confidence in the Police Project in Chicago (MTC) (Rosenbaum *et al.*, in press). The MTC was a multi-method study designed to explore minority confidence in the police. In 2002, a telephone survey was administered to 479 individuals in the city of Chicago. The respondents were selectively sampled from the citywide survey sample used to evaluate Chicago's community policing initiative, CAPS (see Skogan and Hartnett, 1997) based on variations in prior police contacts, perceptions of the police, race, gender, and age. The sampling design allowed for adequate representation of different target populations. Information was collected on a variety of constructs, including attitudes and experiences with the police. For Spanish-speaking individuals, the interview protocol was conducted in Spanish. Of the original 479 interviewed, 344 (72%) of the respondents had no missing values for any of the variables of interest in the current study.

4.2. Data Analysis

All analyses were conducted using AMOS 5.0 (Arbuckle, 2003). Parameters were estimated using the maximum likelihood algorithm. A variety of absolute and relative (or incremental) fit indices were consulted to assess model fit. Absolute fit index included the χ^2 statistic. Relative fit indices included the normed fit index (NFI) (Bentler and Bonett, 1980) and the comparative fit index (CFI) (Bentler, 1990). Finally, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) (Browne and Cudeck, 1993),

Akaike's information criterion (AIC) (Akaike, 1987) and Browne-Cudeck (BCC) (Browne and Cudeck, 1989) were also consulted. Models were more likely to be rejected when the NFI or CFI was less than 0.90 (Hu *et al.*, 1992) or the RMSEA was greater than 0.06 (Hu and Bentler, 1999).

To evaluate sources of error in the model and inform model respecification, parameter estimates, standardized residuals, and modification indices (MI) were examined. Items were considered for removal when they either were not significantly related to the latent factor ($P > 0.05$), or produced an excessively large standardized residual (> 2.58 ; Joreskog and Sorbom, 1988). Items were considered for inclusion if the MI indicated a statistically significant improvement in model fit.

5. MEASURES

5.1. General Measures of Residents' Attitudes Toward the Police

Respondents were asked in general whether they strongly agree, somewhat agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: (1) police officers are often rude to the public (GRude) ($M = 2.58$, $SD = 0.94$); (2) police officers are verbally abusive to people (GVerbal) ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 0.98$); (3) police officers are physically abuse to people (GPhysical) ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.96$); and (4) police officers stop people for no good reason (GStop) ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 1.03$). Each of the indicators was coded 1 = *strongly agree*, 2 = *somewhat agree*, 3 = *disagree*, and 4 = *strongly disagree*. Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes.

5.2. Neighborhood-Specific Measures of Residents' Attitudes Toward the Police

For neighborhood-specific attitudes, respondents were asked a series of questions about police specifically in their neighborhoods. Respondents were asked how much of a problem (big problem, some problem, or no problem) were the following: (1) police being rude to people they stop in your neighborhood (NRude) ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.68$); (2) police being verbally abusive to people in your neighborhood (NVerbal) ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 0.65$); (3) police physically abusing people in your neighborhood (NPhysical) ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 0.63$); and (4) police stopping too many people on the streets without a good reason in your neighborhood (NStop) ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 0.65$). Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes (indicators were coded 1 = *a big problem*, 2 = *some problem*, and 3 = *no problem*).

5.3. Race and Ethnicity

The original study was designed to provide an adequate representation of three racial and ethnic groups—White, African American, and Latino. Forty percent of the sample was White ($n=136$), 27% African American ($n=91$), and 34% Latino ($n=117$)⁵.

5.4. Type and Quality of Contact

Neighborhood contact was a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the contact occurred in the neighborhood and coded 0 if the contact occurred outside the neighborhood (39.5% of the contacts with the police occurred in the respondent's neighborhood). *Negative contact* was a dichotomous variable coded 1 if the contact was classified as negative and coded 0 if the contact was not classified as negative (21.8% of the respondent's contacts were classified as negative). Contacts were classified as negative if the respondent answered yes to any of the following questions: (a) the people involved in the incident were not treated with respect by the police; (b) the police did not handle the situation well; (c) the police were somewhat or very impolite; (d) the police were not helpful; (e) the individual was stopped for no good reason; (f) the police were rude; and (g) the police were insulting or degrading. An interaction term between neighborhood contact and negative contact was included in the model. To control for the effects of involuntary contacts, a dichotomous variable for *police-initiated contact* was included (coded 1 = *police-initiated* and 0 = *otherwise*; 20.1% of the contacts were initiated by the police).

6. RESULTS

6.1. Descriptive Statistics

Table I presents the descriptive statistics for the sample by race and ethnicity. As shown in the table, residents' attitudes toward the police were

⁵ Because estimators and test statistics used in structural equation modeling are based on 'asymptotic' theory, questions have been raised regarding the robustness of estimates based on small to moderately sized samples (e.g., less than 200; see Boomsma, 1983). Although some research has been conducted on this issue using Monte Carlo studies, the simulations have involved only a few combinations of varying parameters (i.e., combinations of estimators, sample sizes, and models); and thus "definitive recommendations are not available" regarding necessary sample size (Benter and Chou, 1987, p. 90). None of the models estimated for this study manifested problems traditionally associated with insufficient sample size such as non-convergence, Heywood solutions, inability to impose constraints, or inappropriately large or very small standard errors.

moderately positive. Consistent with the literature, Whites had more positive attitudes toward the police than either African Americans or Latinos. This was true for indicators of both global and neighborhood-specific attitudes. Latinos appeared to have less positive attitudes than Whites but more positive attitudes than African Americans. There were, however, a few notable exceptions. Latinos and African Americans had similar perceptions of the global problem of police being rude, and about the magnitude of neighborhood-specific problems of police use of physical force and unfairly stopping of residents.

Approximately 47% of Whites had a police contact in their neighborhood, compared with 37.4% of African Americans and 32.5% of Latinos. About 25% of Latinos reported a negative contact with the police, compared with about 20% for both Whites and African Americans. More African Americans reported police-initiated contacts than either Whites or Latinos. Racial and ethnic differences in negative contacts ($\chi^2=0.960$,

Table I. Descriptive Statistics for the Sample ($N=344$)

	White		African American		Latino	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>General attitudes</i>						
GRude	2.82 ^{a,b}	0.97	2.32	0.93	2.51	0.86
GVerbal	2.89 ^a	0.94	2.25 ^c	0.91	2.76	0.97
GPhysical	3.16 ^{a,b}	0.90	2.43 ^c	0.94	2.77	0.90
GStop	2.99 ^{a,b}	0.96	2.20 ^c	0.97	2.69	1.03
<i>Neighborhood-specific attitudes</i>						
NRude	2.69 ^{a,b}	0.49	2.23 ^c	0.76	2.43	0.72
NVerbal	2.71 ^{a,b}	0.49	2.26 ^c	0.74	2.50	0.68
NPhysical	2.90 ^{a,b}	0.37	2.53	0.69	2.50	0.73
NStop	2.82 ^{a,b}	0.38	2.30	0.75	2.46	0.69
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Type and quality of contact</i>						
Neighborhood contact	64	47.1	34	37.4	38	32.5
Negative contact	27	19.9	19	20.9	29	24.8
Police initiated contact	22	16.2	24	26.4	23	19.7

Note: Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes toward the police. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to assess the statistical significance of mean differences for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos.

^aThe mean difference between Whites and African Americans is statistically significant ($P < 0.05$).

^bThe mean difference between Whites and Latinos is statistically significant ($P < 0.05$).

^cThe mean difference between African Americans and Latinos is statistically significant ($P < 0.05$).

$df=2$, $P=.619$) and police-initiated contacts ($\chi^2=3.55$, $df=2$, $P=.169$) were not statistically significant. Differences in neighborhood contact ($\chi^2=5.84$, $df=2$, $P=.054$) approached conventional levels of statistical significance, with the biggest difference between Whites and Latinos.

6.2. Factorial Validity

The first series of analyses were designed to test the multidimensionality of residents' attitudes toward the police. Specifically, first-order confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using maximum likelihood estimation was used to test the hypothesis that residents' perceptions of police demeanor and treatment is a multi-dimensional construct consisting of two-factors: general attitudes and neighborhood-specific attitudes.

Figure 1 presents the two models tested. Model A displays residents' attitudes as a two-factor structure, while Model B displays residents' attitudes as a one-factor structure. The primary interest was to assess whether Model A fits the data better than Model B. If Model A fits the data better, it can be concluded that the eight items measuring perceptions of police demeanor and treatment are better represented as a two-dimensional construct that differentiates general attitudes from neighborhood-specific attitudes. To determine which model (A or B) better fits the sample data, CFAs were conducted and goodness-of-fit statistics compared. The difference in χ^2 ($\Delta\chi^2$) was used to determine the degree to which Model A exhibited improvement in fit over Model B. Model A and Model B are considered hierarchically (nested) related to one another because the parameter sets estimated are subsets of one another (Bentler and Chou, 1987).

The goodness-of-fit statistics presented in Table II clearly show that a two-factor structure (Model A) fits the data better than a one-factor structure (Model B). The difference in χ^2 values between Model A and Model B ($\Delta\chi^2=200.745$, $df=1$, $P<0.001$) indicate that Model A exhibits a statistically significant improvement in fit over Model B. In addition, the CFI value of 0.951 (compared with 0.802), the RMSEA value of 0.084 (compared with 0.189), the AIC value of 99.191 (compared with 297.936) and the BCC value of 100.107 (compared with 298.798) all suggest that Model A (a two-factor structure) fits the data better than Model B (a one-factor structure)⁶.

⁶In order to assure that the two-dimensional model fit the data better than the one-dimensional model for African Americans and Latinos, the analyses were replicated separately for both groups. The difference between goodness-of-fit statistics indicated that the two-dimensional model was a better fit for all three groups including African Americans ($\Delta\chi^2=30.169$, $df=1$, $P<0.001$) and Latinos ($\Delta\chi^2=53.090$, $df=1$, $P<0.001$).

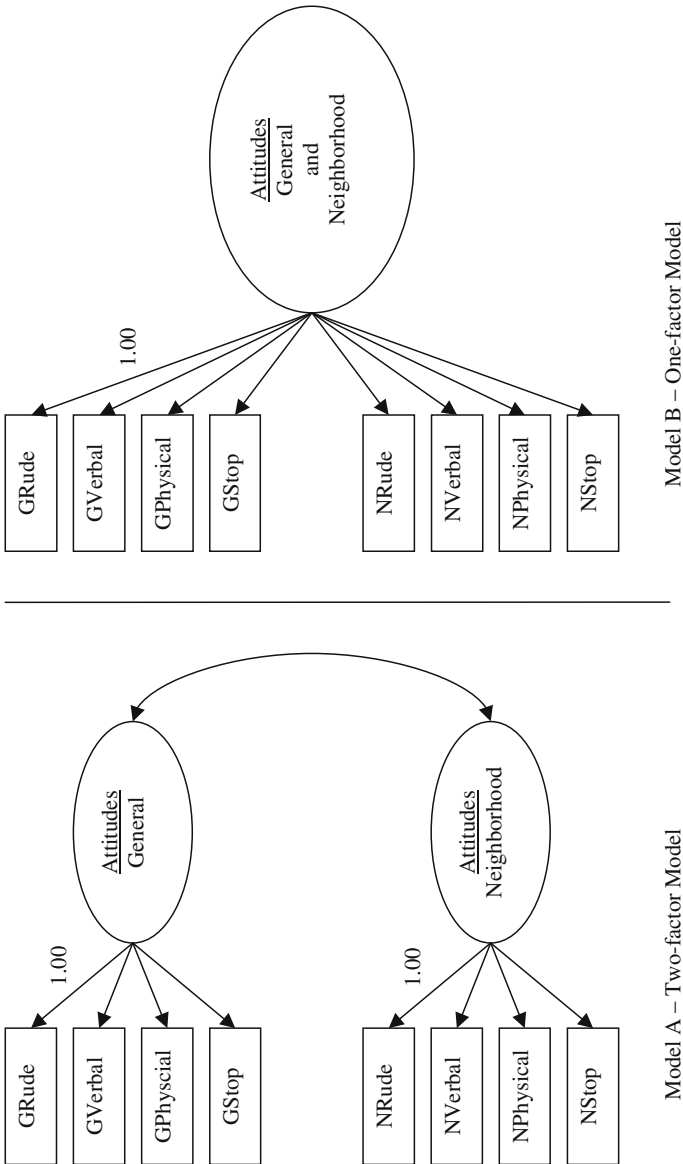


Fig. 1. Hypothesized CFA models for residents' perceptions of police demeanor and treatment.

6.3. Model Modification

As seen in Table II, the fit of the a priori 8-item, two-factor model was suboptimal. In particular, the RMSEA value of 0.084 was indicative of inferior goodness-of-fit between the hypothesized model and the data. In order to specify a model that fits the data better, post hoc exploratory analyses were conducted using residual and MI as guidelines for model modification.

The final model is presented in Fig. 2 with estimates reported in Table III. Goodness-of-fit statistics show a good fit of the data to the model ($\chi^2 = 19.846$, $df = 16$, $P = 0.229$; NFI = 0.985; CFI = 0.997; RMSEA = 0.026). The final model produced no excessively large residuals (>2.58 Joreskog and Sorbom, 1988) or MIs. The factor loadings were all statistically significant and substantively reasonable. GRude was fixed at 1.000 to establish a metric for general perceptions of police demeanor and treatment, while NRude was fixed at 1.000 to establish a metric for neighborhood-specific attitudes. GVerbal, GPhysical, and GStop were all statistically significant and loaded positively on general attitudes. NVerbal, NPhysical, and NStop were all statistically significant and loaded positively on neighborhood-specific attitudes.

There was no evidence of cross-loadings for the indicators. That is, none of the general attitude indicators (GRude, GVerbal, GPhysical, or GStop) loaded significantly on the neighborhood dimension and none of the neighborhood-specific indicators (NRude, NVerbal, NPhysical, or NStop) loaded significantly on the general attitude dimension. Model fit indices indicated a specification of correlated error terms. As seen in Fig. 2, the error term for GRude was correlated with the error term for GStop, and the error term for GPhysical was correlated with the error term for NPhysical and NStop.

Not surprising, general attitudes toward police demeanor and treatment were significantly linked to neighborhood-specific attitudes. That is, positive attitudes toward the police in general were associated with positive

Table II. Goodness-of-Fit Summary for Model Assessment of Factorial Validity of Residents' Perceptions of Police Demeanor and Treatment ($N = 344$)

	Model A two-factor model	Model B one-factor model
χ^2	65.191, $df = 19$, $P < 0.001$	265.936, $df = 20$, $P < 0.001$
NFI	0.951	0.802
CFI	0.965	0.813
RMSEA	0.084	0.189
AIC	99.191	297.936
BCC	100.107	298.798

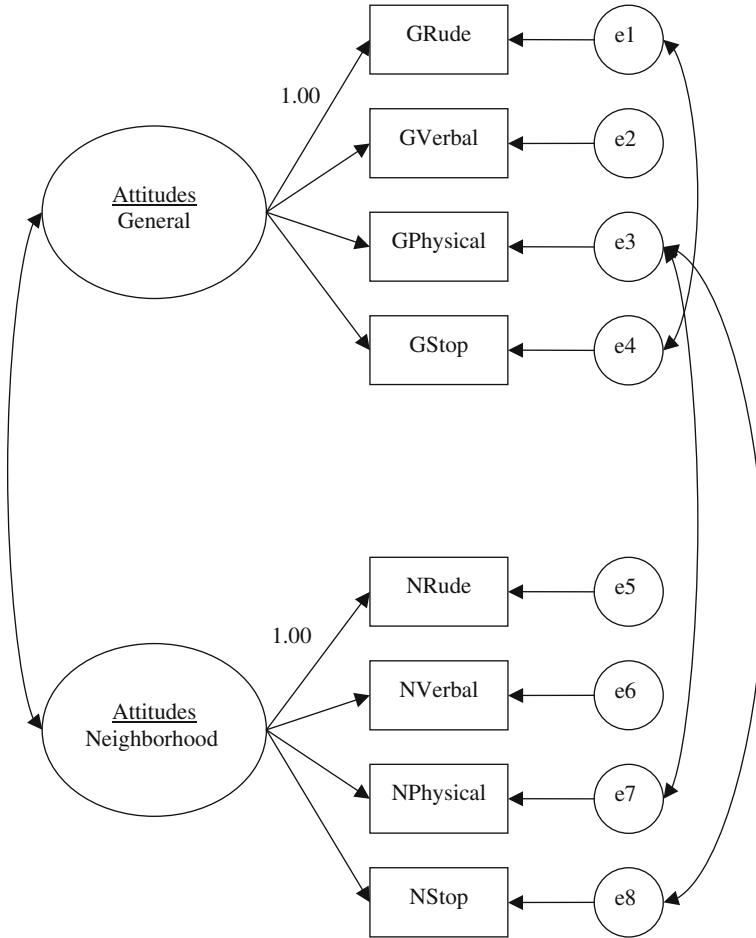


Fig. 2. Final model for residents’ perceptions of police demeanor and treatment (estimates reported in Table II).

neighborhood-specific attitudes (*covariance* = 0.196, *SE* = 0.028, *CR* = 7.024, *P* < 0.001). Having determined this final model, the focus now shifts to testing the invariance of the factorial structure across race and ethnicity.

6.4. Invariance of Factorial Structure

The next series of analyses tested the hypothesis that the two-factor structure of residents’ attitudes toward police demeanor and treatment is invariant across race and ethnicity. The specific aim was to determine if the

Table III. SEM Estimates for Two-Factor Model of Residents' Perceptions of Police Demeanor and Treatment ($N = 344$)

		Estimate	SE	Critical ratio	<i>P</i>
<i>Regression weights</i>					
GRude	General	1.000			
GVerbal	General	1.456	0.146	9.957	<0.001
GPhysical	General	1.490	0.146	10.183	<0.001
GStop	General	1.201	0.119	10.123	<0.001
NRude	Neighborhood	1.000			
NVerbal	Neighborhood	1.028	0.055	18.718	<0.001
NPhysical	Neighborhood	0.841	0.056	15.102	<0.001
NStop	Neighborhood	0.887	0.057	15.581	<0.001
<i>Covariances</i>					
General	Neighborhood	0.196	0.028	7.024	<0.001
e1	e7	0.160	0.040	4.019	<0.001
e3	e6	-0.079	0.017	-4.543	<0.001
e3	e8	-0.057	0.017	-3.330	<0.001
<i>Variances</i>					
General		0.283	0.054	5.278	<0.001
Neighborhood		0.309	0.034	8.965	<0.001
e1		0.600	0.050	11.939	<0.001
e2		0.283	0.038	7.538	<0.001
e3		0.349	0.041	8.444	<0.001
e4		0.150	0.015	10.021	<0.001
e5		0.097	0.012	8.043	<0.001
e6		0.176	0.016	11.122	<0.001
e7		0.658	0.057	11.603	<0.001
e8		0.173	0.016	10.855	<0.001

multi-dimensional nature of attitudes toward the police is equivalent for White, African American, and Latino residents. All analyses employed a latent mean structural framework⁷ that tested for equivalences across groups in logical order of nested comparisons of increasing restrictiveness: (1) factor loadings, (2) measurement intercepts, and (3) factor covariances/variances (see Byrne, 2001 for more information).

The results shown in Table IV indicate the goodness-of-fit statistic for the unconstrained model was $\chi^2 = 46.502$ with $df = 48$. This model assumes the groups are not equivalent. In this case: Whites, African Americans, and

⁷There are two different methods for testing factorial invariance—multi-group comparisons based on observed means and multi-group comparisons based on latent means (Byrne, 2001). The intent of this paper was to test factorial invariance across unobserved latent constructs (i.e., general versus neighborhood-specific attitudes toward the police), and as such, a multi-group comparison based on latent means (latent mean structure) was more appropriate because it tested for equivalence of parameters related to each underlying construct instead of simply testing the equivalence of the observed indicator variables.

Table IV. Summary of Goodness-of-Fit Statistics For Test of Invariance of Residents' Attitudes Toward Police Demeanor and Treatment Across Race and Ethnicity ($N = 344$)

Model	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	P
Unconstrained ^a	46.502	48			
Factor loadings ^b	65.496	60	18.994	12	0.089
Measurement intercepts ^c	155.005	76	108.503	28	< 0.001
Factor covariances/variances ^d	205.739	82	159.236	34	< 0.001

^aUnconstrained baseline model.

^bMeasurement weights constrained to be equal for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos.

^cMeasurement weights and intercepts constrained to be equal for all three groups.

^dMeasurement weights, intercepts, and covariances/variances constrained to be equal for all three groups.

Latinos have different measurement models for attitudes toward the police. The goodness-of-fit statistics for the factor loading model (assuming that the factor loadings are equivalent across the three groups) was $\chi^2 = 65.496$ with $df = 60$. The non-significant difference between the two models ($\Delta\chi^2 = 18.994$, $df = 12$, $P = 0.089$) suggested that the factor loadings for the measurement model of general and neighborhood-specific attitudes were equal across the three groups. These findings strongly suggest that the indicators for general attitudes and neighborhood-specific attitudes are operating in the same way for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos. However, the statistically significant differences for the measurement intercepts and structural covariances/variances models suggest that there are important racial and ethnic differences in the mean values of the indicators as well as the relationship between general and neighborhood-specific attitudes. A systematic series of tests were conducted to determine which specific measurement intercepts, variances and covariances were not equivalent and are presented in Appendix A and B.

Table V. SEM Estimates For Covariance and Variances Structure of the Two-Factor Model of Residents' Attitudes of Police Demeanor and Treatment For Whites, African Americans, and Latinos ($N = 344$)

	Estimate		
	White	African American	Latino
<i>Covariances</i>			
General	0.122 (0.025)	0.295 (0.068)	0.223 (0.048)
Neighborhood			
<i>Variances</i>			
General	0.296 (0.068)	0.223 (0.048)	0.223 (0.048)
Neighborhood	0.116 (0.020)	0.383 (0.052)	0.383 (0.052)

Note: The variances for African Americans and Latinos are constrained to be equal.

Using the ANOVA information in Table I, the researchers estimated a model with GRude, NPhysical, and NStop being constrained equal for African Americans and Latinos. As can be seen in the Table V, the covariance between general attitudes and neighborhood-specific attitudes was different for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos. The relation between the two latent constructs was strongest for African Americans and weakest for Whites. The variance for general attitudes was larger for Whites than African Americans or Latinos. The variance for neighborhood-specific attitudes was smaller for Whites.

6.5. Type and Quality of Contact

The next series of analyses was designed to investigate the relations among type and quality of police contact and residents' attitudes toward the police. The hypothesis is that contact with the police in the neighborhood will have a greater influence on neighborhood-specific attitudes than on general attitudes toward the police. Neighborhood contact, negative contact, the interaction between neighborhood and negative contact, and police-initiated contact were all included in the model as predictors of general and neighborhood-specific attitudes. The estimate for police-initiated contact was not significantly associated with general attitudes toward the police ($b = 0.049$, $SE = 0.089$, $CR = 0.548$, $P = 0.584$) or neighborhood-specific attitudes ($b = -0.031$, $SE = 0.075$, $CR = -0.407$, $P = 0.684$). The estimates for type and quality of contact in the neighborhood were not associated with respondents' general attitudes (neighborhood contact— $b = 0.013$, $SE = 0.078$, $CR = 0.164$, $P = 0.870$; negative contact— $b = -0.179$, $SE = 0.164$, $CR = -1.088$, $P = 0.277$; neighborhood *negative contact— $b = -0.126$, $SE = 0.184$, $CR = -0.683$, $P = 0.495$). All non-significant parameters were removed for the final model estimation. A large MI ($MI = 8.031$) value between negative contacts and general attitudes suggested an important relationship between the two variables.

The final model is shown in Fig. 3, with estimates reported in Table VI. The model fits the data adequately ($\chi^2 = 49.709$, $df = 36$, $P = 0.064$; $NFI = 0.975$; $CFI = 0.993$; $RMSEA = 0.033$). As can be seen in Table VI, the interaction between neighborhood and negative contact was negative and statistically significant, indicating that residents who had negative contact with the police in their neighborhood were more likely to report negative neighborhood attitudes about the police. In contrast, residents who had non-negative contacts with the police in their neighborhood reported more positive neighborhood-specific attitudes. Having a negative contact, either inside or outside the neighborhood, was associated with more negative

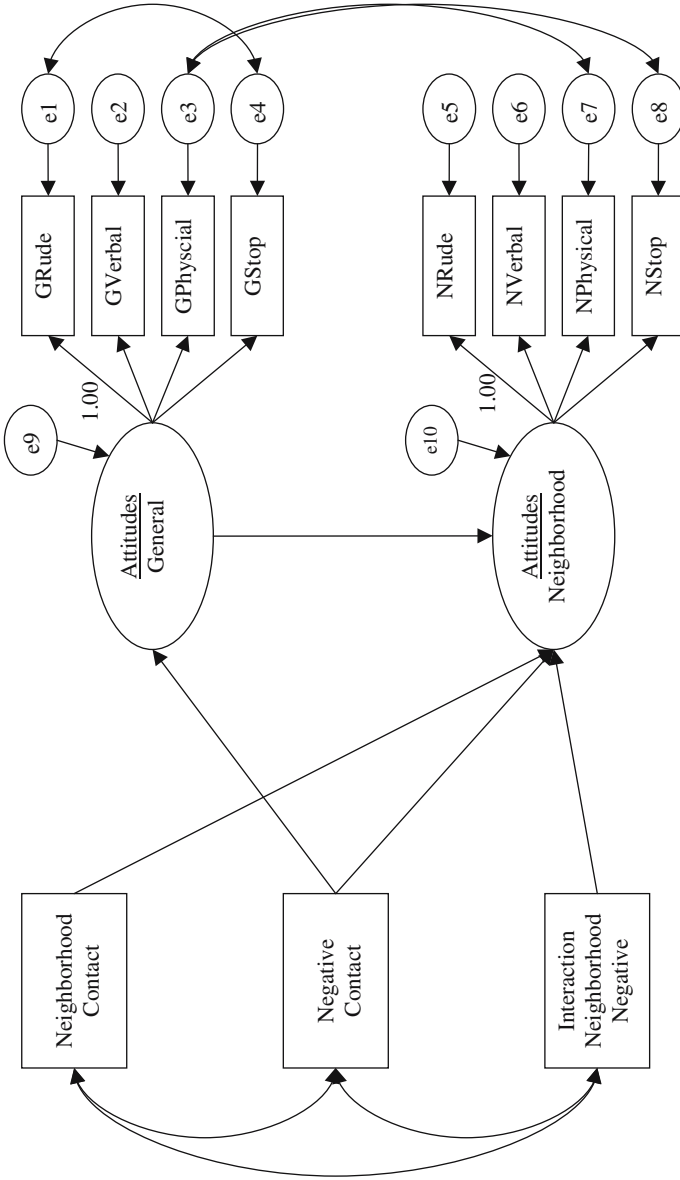


Fig. 3. Final model for type and quality of police contact predicting residents' perceptions of police demeanor and treatment (estimates reported in Table VI).

global attitudes toward police. There was a strong positive association between global and neighborhood-specific attitudes about police demeanor and treatment.

6.6. Invariance of Type and Quality of Contact for Race and Ethnicity

The last series of analyses was designed to test the structural invariance of type and quality of contacts for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos, with a specific focus on determining whether type and quality of police contacts had the same influence on their neighborhood and global attitudes toward the police. Analyses were conducted using the same latent mean structural framework discussed earlier. The goodness-of-fit statistics show that the measurement model developed earlier is still adequate (unconditional vs. factor loadings: $\Delta\chi^2 = 19.098$, $df = 12$, $P = 0.086$; factor loadings versus measurement intercepts as specified in earlier analysis: $\Delta\chi^2 = 6.798$, $df = 3$, $P = 0.079$).

Most important, the results indicate that the estimates for neighborhood contacts, negative contacts, and the interaction between neighborhood and negative contacts were analogous across the three groups (measurement intercepts vs. structural weights: $\Delta\chi^2 = 6.532$, $df = 6$, $P = 0.366$). In other words, the effects for type and quality of contacts on attitudes toward the police were similar for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos. Analyses did reveal, however, that the relationship of general attitudes to neighborhood-specific attitudes was not analogous across the three groups. The relationship between general attitudes and neighborhood-specific attitudes was strongest for African Americans ($b = 0.995$, $SE = 0.196$), then Latinos ($b = 0.759$, $SE = 0.145$), and weakest for Whites ($b = 0.404$, $SE = 0.069$).

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study tested several hypotheses regarding residents' attitudes toward the police. Results based on structural equation modeling offer strong initial support for the need to differentiate between global and neighborhood attitudes. In other words, it appears that residents do make distinctions between "the police" and "the police in my neighborhood."

In recent years, scholars, police officials, and policymakers have struggled with how to evaluate policing. Some have argued that policing should be evaluated in terms of "bottom line" outcomes of reducing crime and neighborhood problems, while others have argued that equal attention should be given to outcomes that fall within the "good services" model, such as attentiveness, reliability, responsiveness, competence, manners, and fairness (Mastrofski, 1999; Rosenbaum, 2004; Skogan and Hartnett, 1997).

Table VI. SEM Estimates For Type and Quality of Police Contact on Residents' Attitudes Toward the Police ($N=344$)

		Estimate	SE	Critical ratio	<i>P</i>
<i>Regression weights</i>					
Neighborhood contact	Neighborhood	0.171	0.065	2.623	0.009
Negative contact	Neighborhood	0.157	0.126	1.240	0.215
Neighborhood*	Neighborhood	-0.445	0.151	-2.946	0.003
Negative contact					
Negative contact	General	-0.250	0.078	-3.194	0.001
General	Neighborhood	0.667	0.082	8.164	<0.001
<i>Means</i>					
Neighborhood contact		0.395	0.026	9.779	<0.001
Negative contact		0.218	0.022	14.976	<0.001
Neighborhood*		0.172	0.020	8.427	<0.001
Negative contact					
<i>Covariances</i>					
Neighborhood contact	Negative contact	0.085	0.012	7.210	<0.001
Neighborhood contact	Neighborhood*	0.104	0.011	9.082	<0.001
	Negative contact				
Negative contact	Neighborhood*	0.134	0.011	12.090	<0.001
	Negative contact				
<i>Variances</i>					
e9		0.276	0.052	5.309	<0.001
e10		0.165	0.022	7.626	<0.001

Regardless of one's viewpoint on this debate, both perspectives give attention to the process of conceptualizing and measuring outcomes more precisely and often call for a distinction between localized and generalized outcomes. Neighborhood-based assessments of police performance are important to both community policing and problem oriented policing theories, but the legitimacy of the police as an institution is also linked, at least in theory, to global assessments of the police. Hence, both levels of evaluation would appear to be important to the future of policing in the United States. Results from this study highlight the fact that residents are relatively sophisticated in their evaluation of the police and are capable of making distinctions between "the police" and "the police in my neighborhood."

The findings regarding the second hypothesis—the structure of residents' attitudes toward the police is different for White, African American, and Latino residents—are somewhat mixed. In support of the hypothesis, the results suggested that the congruence between the two dimensions—global and neighborhood—differed by race and ethnicity. The relationship between global and neighborhood perceptions of the police was significantly stronger for African Americans and Latinos than for Whites. In

addition, there was greater variation in global attitudes for Whites and greater variation in neighborhood attitudes for African Americans and Latinos, despite the fact that more Whites had contact with the police in their neighborhood (47.1%) than either African Americans or Latinos (37.4% and 32.5%, respectively)⁸

Racial and ethnic differences in variation for global and neighborhood assessments of the police could be explained using the disproportional influence hypothesis proposed by Scaglion and Condon (1980). For Whites, the global perceptions of “the police” may be influenced more by the media, while their perceptions of “the police in my neighborhood” may be influenced more by their experiences with the police, which are thought to be more homogeneous and positive (e.g., police fund raising meetings, police youth programs, minor traffic issues, etc.). In contrast, African American and Latino residents’ may have more diverse experiences with the police in the neighborhood, which may give rise to larger variations in their assessments of policing in their neighborhood. For minority communities “the police in my neighborhood” may encompass a variety of different police and policing styles (e.g., community police officers, gang officers, specialized tactical units, etc). Recall, in Anderson’s (1990) fieldwork, that the residents of Village-Northton held more negative views about the “downtown” police than the “regular” police. Future research should focus not only on the racial and ethnic differences in the amount of resident-police interaction, but also the homogeneity and diversity of type and style of police-resident encounters.

These finding also go beyond the work of Scaglion and Condon (1980) by showing that there is more congruence between African American and Latino residents’ global perceptions of the police and their perceptions of the police within their neighborhood than for Whites. One possible explanation for this finding may be related to the sources and consistency of information about the police. For example, the media frequently reports on inappropriate behavior by the police (Lawrence, 2000), and often these incidents involve a racial or ethnic minority as the target of police misconduct (e.g., Rodney King, Abner Louima, Amadou Diallo). For Whites, particularly those who live in lower-crime neighborhoods, the few personal experiences they have with the police are apt to be less serious and more positive than police encounters in minority

⁸ Because of racial and ethnic differences in contact with the police in the neighborhood, we assessed whether or not the influence of neighborhood contact was different for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos. The $\Delta\chi^2$ statistic suggested that the influence of neighborhood contact on attitudes toward the police was similar for all three groups ($\Delta\chi^2 = 0.250$, $df = 2$, $P = 0.883$).

neighborhoods. Thus, for Whites, their global perceptions of the police may be less consistent with their assessments of the police in their neighborhood due to more inconsistencies in information about the police. In contrast, for African American and Latino residents', who are more likely to live in higher-crime neighborhoods where aggressive policing is more common, their personal experiences with the police may be more consistent with what they see in the media. Thus, African American and Latino residents' perceptions of the police in their neighborhood may be more similar to their global perceptions of the police because of more consistent information about the police between different sources of knowledge.

Counter to the hypothesis regarding differential structure by race and ethnicity, there was no evidence for differences in the measurement structure of residents' attitudes toward the police. That is, the two-dimensional model that distinguished between global and neighborhood attitudes fit the data better than the one-dimensional model for all three groups. In addition, the factor loadings for the police being rude, verbally abusive, physically abusive, and stopping people without good reason were also similar for Whites, African Americans, and Latinos.

Consistent with prior research, these findings support the proposition that *negative experiences* with the police are associated with *negative attitudes* toward the police. Counter to the differential impact hypothesis, this relationship was true for experiences both inside and outside of the neighborhood ($b = -0.445$, $SE = 0.151$ vs. $b = -0.250$, $SE = 0.078$ —difference between coefficients not statistically significant). However, contacts in the neighborhood that were not negative were associated with positive neighborhood perceptions of the police (differences statistically significant). Some researchers have suggested that the impact of direct experiences with the police may not be symmetrical—that is, negative contacts with the police influence negative perceptions of the police, however, positive contacts have little influence on residents' attitudes (Skogan, in press). Our findings suggest that the influence of direct experiences may not be symmetrical for global assessments of the police; however, the influence of direct experiences with the police in the neighborhood may be symmetrical for neighborhood assessments of the police. These results further highlight the need to consider the context and quality of police–resident encounters in order to understanding the development of attitudes toward the police. Future research should explore how other important predictors of resident satisfaction with the police (e.g., quality of life or neighborhood context) may help explain differences in residents' evaluation of police on different dimensions.

These findings should be evaluated in light of the study's methodological limitations. First, whether the present results can be generalized to other cities, time periods or persons is unknown. Chicago is, in many ways, an ideal place to investigate residents' attitudes toward the police due to its racial, ethnic, and socio-economic diversity, as well as its recognized history of community policing innovation. However, Chicago's resilient ethnic communities, persistent gang violence, and highly publicized efforts to bring innovation and reform to the police department may also exaggerate residents' distinctions between different levels of policing. More research is needed to determine if these findings can be replicated in cities with different historical and contemporary characteristics. Second, whether the present results can be generalized to other operationalizations of attitudes toward the police, such as confidence or satisfaction with the police, is unknown. Finally, although the relationships among the variables may imply causality, due to the cross-sectional nature of the data, only the existence of associations can be documented. There is the potential for mutual causation between global and specific attitudes toward the police. A study by Brand *et al.* (1994) suggested that residents' general attitudes toward the police may shape the evaluations of their contacts with the police, as much as, if not even more than, their contacts with the police influence their attitudes. The influence of residents' existing stereotypes and biases about the police on their evaluations of police encounters should be further explored (see Rosenbaum *et al.*, in press). In any event, the present results suggest that additional research is needed on neighborhood and global attitudes toward the police.

Residents' attitudes toward the police can have significant implications for public safety. Community members who hold negative attitudes toward the police may be less likely to work cooperatively with law enforcement to solve local crime incidents or neighborhood problems, to engage in cooperative ventures to improve neighborhood safety, to support law enforcement budget requests, or to obey the law. The disproportionate presence of negative attitudes among racial and ethnic minorities is particularly troubling for public policy. Results from the current study have implications for both researchers and policymakers. Researchers should note that these findings emphasize the importance of giving credence to the multi-dimensional nature of residents' attitudes toward the police. For cities that are interested in a community-oriented approach to policing, policymakers should carefully consider the expectation structure created for the public and whether the police can implement programs, policies, and practices that are capable of meeting those expectations.

APPENDIX A. Summary of goodness-of-fit statistics for tests of invariance of measurement intercepts across Whites, African Americans, and Latinos for two-factor measurement model of residents' attitudes toward police demeanor and treatment ($N = 344$)

Model	Description	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	Significance
1	Unconstrained baseline model	46.502	48	—	—	—
2	All measurement weights constrained equal	65.496	60	18.994	12	0.089
3	All measurement weights and intercepts constrained equal	155.005	76	89.508	16	<0.001
4	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for Whites and African Americans constrained equal	122.827	68	57.331	8	<0.001
4	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for White and Latinos constrained equal	108.715	68	43.218	8	<0.001
5	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for African Americans and Latinos constrained equal	91.673	68	26.177	8	<0.001
6	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for general attitudes factor constrained equal	119.298	68	53.802	8	<0.001
7	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for neighborhood attitudes factor constrained equal	134.170	68	68.674	8	<0.001
8	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for general attitudes for African Americans and Latinos constrained equal	85.565	64	20.068	4	<0.001
9	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for general attitudes for Whites and African Americans	110.945	64	45.448	4	<0.001
10	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for general attitudes for Whites and Latinos	82.443	64	16.947	4	<0.001
11	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for neighborhood attitudes for Whites and African Americans	102.853	64	37.356	4	<0.001
12	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for neighborhood attitudes for Whites and Latinos	104.752	64	39.256	4	<0.001
13	Model 2 and measurement intercepts for neighborhood attitudes for African Americans and Latinos constrained equal	78.028	64	12.531	4	0.014

APPENDIX B. Summary of goodness-of-fit statistics for tests of invariance of structural covariance across Whites, African Americans, and Latinos for two-factor measurement model of residents' attitudes toward police demeanor and treatment ($N=344$)

Model	Description	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	Significance
1	Baseline model (measurement weights constrained equal across all groups, intercepts for GRude, NPhysical and NStop constrained for African Americans and Latinos constrained equal)	72.214	63	-	-	-
2	Baseline model, covariances for Whites and African Americans constrained equal, and variances constrained equal for all groups	123.171	68	50.958	5	<0.001
3	Baseline model, covariances for Whites and Latinos constrained equal and variances constrained equal for all groups	123.697	68	51.483	5	<0.001
4	Baseline model, covariances for African Americans and Latinos constrained equal and variances constrained equal for all groups	123.334	68	51.120	5	<0.001
5	Baseline model and variances constrained equal for all groups	123.120	67	50.907	4	<0.001
6	Baseline model and variances constrained equal for African American and Latinos	73.174	65	0.960	2	0.619

REFERENCES

- Akaike, H. (1987). Factor analysis and AIC. *Psychometrika* 52: 317–332.
- Anderson, E. (1990). *Streetwise*, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Arbuckle, J. L. (2003). *AMOS 5 (Version 5.0)*, [Computer software] SmallWaters Corp, Chicago.
- Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychol. Bull.* 107: 238–246.
- Bentler, P. M., and Bonett, D. G. (1980). Significance tests and goodness of fit in the analysis of covariance structures. *Psychol. Bull.* 88: 588–606.
- Bentler, P. M., and Chou, C. -P. (1987). Practical issues in structural modeling. *Sociol. Methods Res.* 16: 78–117.
- Boomsma, A. (1983). *On the Robustness of LISREL (Maximum Likelihood Estimation) Against Small Sample Size and Nonnormality*, Sociometric Research Foundation, Amsterdam.
- Bordua, D. J., and Tift, L. L. (1971). Citizen interview, organizational feedback, and police–community relations decisions. *Law Soc. Rev.* 6: 155–182.
- Brandl, S. G., Frank, J., Worden, R. E., and Bynum, T. S. (1994). Global and specific attitudes toward the police: Disentangling the relationship. *Justice Q.* 11: 119–134.
- Braga, A. A., Weisburd, D. L., Waring, E. J., Mazerolle, L. G., Spelman, W., and Gajewski, F. (1999). Problem-oriented policing in violent crime places: A randomized controlled experiment. *Criminology* 37: 541–580.
- Browne, M. W., and Cudeck, R. (1989). Single sample cross-validation indices for covariance structure. *Multivar. Behav. Res.* 24: 445–455.
- Browne, M. W., and Cudeck, R. (1993). Alternative ways of assessing model fit. In Bollen, K. A., and Long, J. S. (eds.), *Testing Structural Equation Models*, Sage, Newbury Park, CA, pp. 445–455.
- Byrne, B. M. (2001). *Structural Equation Modeling with AMOS*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, New Jersey.
- Clarke, R. V., and Goldstein, H. (2002). Reducing theft at constructions sites: Lessons from a problem-oriented project. In Tilley, N. (ed.), *Analysis for Crime Prevention (Crime Prevention Studies) Vol. 13*, Criminal Justice Press, New York, pp. 89–130.
- Cordner, G. W. (1998). Community policing: Elements and effects. In Gainers, L. K., and Cordner, G. W. (eds.), *Policing Perspectives: An Anthology*, Roxbury, Los Angeles, CA, pp. 137–149.
- Dean, D. (1980). Citizen ratings of the police: The differences contact makes. *Law Policy Quart.* 2: 445–471.
- Decker, S. H. (1981). Citizen attitudes toward the police: A review of past findings and suggestions for future policy. *J. Police Sci. Admin.* 9: 80–87.
- Dunham, R. G., and Alpert, G. P. (1988). Neighborhood differences in attitudes toward policing: Evidence for a mixed-strategy model of policing in a multi-ethnic setting. *J. Crim. Law Crim.* 79: 504–523.
- Easton, D. (1965). *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, Wiley, New York.
- Furstenberg, F. F., and Wellford, C. F. (1973). Calling the police: The evaluation of police services. *Law Soc. Rev.* 7: 393–406.
- Goldstein, H. (1990). *Problem-Oriented Policing*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Green, J. R. (2000). Community policing in America: Changing the nature, structure, and function of the police. In Horney, J., Martin, J., MacKenzie, D. L., Peterson, R., and Rosenbaum, D. P. (eds.), *Policies, Processes, and Decisions of the Criminal Justice System. (Vol. 3, Criminal Justice 2000 series)*, U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, Washington, pp. 299–370.
- Hu, L.-T., and Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Struct. Equ. Model.* 6: 1–55.

- Hu, L.-T., Bentler, P. M., and Kano, Y. (1992). Can test statistics in covariance structure analysis be trusted?. *Psychol. Bull.* 112: 351–362.
- Joreskog, K. G., and Sorbom, D. (1988). *LISREL 7: A Guide to the Program and Applications*, SPSS, Chicago.
- Langan, P. A., Greenfeld, L. A., Smith, S. K., Durose, M. R., and Levin, D. J. (2001). *Contacts Between Police and the Public: Findings From the 1999 National Survey. Research Report*, U.S. Department of Justice, NCJ 184957, Washington, DC.
- Lawrence, R. (2000). *The Politics of Force: Media and the Construction of Police Brutality*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Mastrofski, S. D. (1999). *Ideas in American Policing*, The Police Foundation, Washington, DC.
- Mastrofski, S. D. (1989). Community policing and police organization structure. In Brodeur, J. (ed.), *Community Policing and the Evaluation of Police Service Delivery*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 161–189.
- Meeks, K. (2000). *Driving While Black*, Broadway Books, New York.
- Moore, M. H. (1992). Problem-solving and community policing. In Tonry, M., and Morris, N. (eds.), *Modern Policing: Crime and Justice, A Review of Research*, 15 University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 99–158.
- Pate, A. M., Skogan, W. G., Wycoff, M. A., and Sherman, L. W. (1986). *Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark: A Summary Report*, Police Foundation, Washington, DC.
- Reisig, M. D., and Parks, R. B. (2000). Experience, quality of life, and neighborhood context: A hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with police. *Justice Q.* 17: 607–630.
- Reiss, A. J. (1992). Police organizations in the twentieth century. In Tonry, M., and Morris, N. (eds.), *Modern Policing: Crime and Justice, A Review of Research*, 15 University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 51–98.
- Rosenbaum, D. P. (1988). Community crime prevention: A review and synthesis of the literature. *Justice Q.* 5: 323–395.
- Rosenbaum, D. P. (1994). *The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Promises*, Sage, Newbury Park, CA.
- Rosenbaum, D. P. (2004). Community policing and web-based communication: Addressing the new information imperative. In Fridell, L. A., and Wycoff, M. A. (eds.), *Future of Community Policing*, Police Executive Research Forum, Washington, DC.
- Rosenbaum, D. P., Hawkins, D. F., Costello, S. K., Skogan, W. G., Schuck, A. M., Rivera, L. R., Vera Sanchez, C., Rokita, R., Ring, M. K., Larson, T., and Munansangu, M. (in press). *Race and Police: A Matter of Public Trust Final Report to the National Institute of Justice*, Center for Research in Law and Justice University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL.
- Rosenbaum, D. P., Schuck, A. M., Costello, S. K., Hawkins D. F., and Ring M. K. (in press). Attitudes toward the police: The effects of direct and vicarious experiences. *Police Quart.*
- Scaglion, R., and Condon, R. G. (1980). The structure of Black and White attitudes toward police. *Hum. Organ.* 39: 280–283.
- Skogan, W. G. (in press). Citizen satisfaction with police encounters. *Police Quart.*
- Skogan, W. G. (2003). *Community Policing: Can It Work?*, Wadsworth, Belmont, CA.
- Skogan, W. G., and Hartnett, S. M. (1997). *Community Policing, Chicago Style*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Skogan, W. G., Steiner, L., Hartnett, S. M., DuBois, J., Bennis, J., Rottinghaus, B., Kim, S. Y., Van, K., and Rosenbaum, D. P. (2002). *Community Policing in Chicago: Years Eight and Nine. Research Report*, Institute for Police Research, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.
- Smith, S. K., Steadman, G. W., Minton, T. D., Townsend, M. (1999). Criminal Victimization and Perceptions of Community Safety in 12 Cities, 1998. Research Report. U.S. Department of Justice. NCJ 173940, Washington, DC.

- Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics. (2002). Section 2. Public attitudes toward crime and criminal justice-related topics. Accessed February, 5, 2003, <http://www.albany.edu/sourcebook/1995/pdf/section2.pdf>.
- Trojanowicz, R. C. (1986). Evaluating a neighborhood foot patrol program: The Flint, Michigan project. In Rosenbaum, D. P. (ed.), *Community Crime Prevention: Does it Work?*, Sage, Beverly Hills, CA, pp. 157–178.
- Tuch, S. A., and Weitzer, R. (1997). Trends: Racial difference in attitudes toward the police. *Public Opin. Quart.* 61: 642–663.
- Tyler, T. R. (1990). *Why People Obey the Law*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Tyler, T. R. (1998). Public mistrust of the law: A political perspective. *U. Cinci. Law Rev.* 66: 847–876.
- Tyler, T. R. (2001). Public trust and confidence in legal authorities: What do majority and minority group members want from the law and legal authorities?. *Behav. Sci. Law* 19: 215–235.
- Walker, S., and Katz, C. M. (2001). *The Police in America* (4th ed.). McGraw-Hill, New York.