Community-Oriented Policing, Perceptions of Police Performance and Trust in Local Government

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Abstract:

Given the recent social unrest surrounding the use of aggressive policing tactics by law enforcement officers, there has been considerable attention given to police reform, particularly to less abusive, humane methods for ensuring public safety. Community-Oriented Policing Services (COPS) have been considered as a potential alternative to traditional policing methods, emphasizing collaboration with the communities that police officers protect. Using the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey and 2013 Law Enforcement Management Administration Statistics (LEMAS) data, we examine the relationship between community-oriented policing and African Americans' perceptions of police performance as well as trust in their local government. Our findings reveal that Black citizens living in areas that have established COPS report more favorable views of police performance and more trust in their local government than those in neighborhoods without community policing. Ultimately, our results suggest the implementation of COPS may bridge the gap between police officers, local governments and the communities that they serve.

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Growing distrust between police and citizens affects all of society. Mistrust not only creates dangerous tension between law enforcement and civilians, it also undermines police effectiveness. Distrust of police forces is felt strongest in the Black community, where residents often feel that they are disproportionately targeted by police officers (Weitzer and Tuch 2004). Moreover, the data corroborates Black residents' perceptions. Conventional policing methods have been shown to lead to disproportionate stops, frisks, and arrests of Black citizens, despite evidence that Black and White residents commit many crimes at the same rate (Lerman and Weaver 2014; Foreman 2018). In addition, Black citizens are three times more likely to have excessive force used against them than White citizens (Geller 2016). These disparities appear to be a consequence of police policy and methods rather than isolated incidents of bias.

Consequently, reformers advocate for alternative approaches to ensuring public safety that prioritize eliminating discriminatory policies and abusive police tactics. One approach proposed by reformers is community-oriented policing. Community-oriented policing services (COPS) aim to improve the effectiveness of policing by using community-assisted, problem-solving techniques to address criminal activity. In order to improve police effectiveness, COP programs are designed to develop and nurture trust and respect between law enforcement and the citizens they are sworn to protect.

This study assesses the effectiveness of community-oriented policing in fostering positive assessments of police performance and trust in local government among Black Americans. Previous studies suggest that perceptions of police forces and who they intend to serve influences Black citizens' trust in government and political engagement. However, most of these studies have focused on how interactions with police officers demoralize and demobilize citizens (Burch

2013; Weaver and Lerman 2010; Lerman and Weaver 2014). This study aims to uncover the potential positive consequences of community-oriented policing, which we would presume facilitates more positive, cooperative interactions between police forces and Black communities.

Utilizing the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) and the 2013 Law Enforcement Measurement and Administrative Statistics data, we determine whether COPS improve perceptions of police performance within the Black community as well as whether it helps to foster greater trust in local government. Our findings suggest that community-oriented policing may be an effective strategy for building community trust, particularly within Black communities. Black respondents living in areas with community-oriented policing report more positive evaluations of police performance than other African Americans. Community-oriented policing instilled stronger trust in local government among African Americans as well. This effect is only present among African Americans; living in areas with community-oriented policing did not have a similar influence on White Americans' perceptions of police performance or governmental trust. However, given the current focus on racial inequities in police surveillance and use of force, the implications of our results are significant. We hope that our findings will serve as a starting point for future research regarding COP's efficacy and its potential political consequences.

What is Community-Oriented Policing?

Recently, law enforcement agencies have initiated programs aimed at increasing police effectiveness and improving officers' perceived approachability. This action has largely taken the form of community-oriented policing—a philosophy aimed at promoting strong relations between police and their communities in order to promote police legitimacy and reduce crime (Goldstein 2014; U.S. Department of Justice, 2012). Community-oriented policing services involve a

sustained effort to improve long-term police-citizen trust and allow police officers to more efficiently address public safety concerns. Community policing comprises four central components: (1) police having a presence in the community, (2) police solving community problems, (3) departments allowing community input on police services, and (4) officers being permanently assigned to neighborhoods to foster interpersonal relationships with both regular community members and bad actors in their neighborhoods (Gill et al., 2014).

Central to COPS is community engagement and outreach. COPS encourage police officers to work directly with citizens to make decisions that are in the best interest of the community. This component of COPS often involves a shift away from vehicular patrols towards beat walking. While vehicular police patrolling has been the norm for years, it greatly limits the potential for positive police-citizen contact. In addition to beat walking, COPS encourages engagement with at-risk youth and door-to-door policing visits (Culbertson 2000; Peyton, Sierra-Arevalo, and Rand 2019). These approaches aim to discourage and prevent crime by building personal and cooperative relationships with citizens. Prior research suggests that civilian engagement and outreach are effective at improving public perceptions of the police, particularly among communities of color (Culbertson 2000; Gilbert 2014; Goldstein 1983; Hawdon, Ryan, and Griffin 2003; Rhodes and Reese 2015). For example, door-to-door community policing visits significantly improve trust in the police among non-White citizens (Peyton, Sierra-Arevalo, and Rand 2019).

Community policing also requires police officers to identify problems within their communities. By utilizing scanning, analysis, response, and assessment (SARA) problem solving strategies, officers focus on solutions to the problems specific to their communities. Also referred

to as problem-oriented policing, this style of policing requires departments to seek out a wide-range of potential solutions that go beyond the criminal justice system. (Eck and Maguire 2000; Goldstein 1990; MacDonald 2002). Problem-oriented policing encourages police to determine the underlying causes of crime and to consider alternative methods that can prevent them (Green 2000; MacDonald 2002). For example, holistic forms of policing allow officers to offer mental health referrals before a situation escalates and an individual is incarcerated. Other solutions include counseling, mediation, changes in government services, specialized training for officers, and utilizing the use of other community resources (Eck and Spelman 1987; Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention 2010).

Third, a community policing approach means that the police will accept community input on how citizens are policed. Community policing encourages collaboration with government agencies, community members, non-profits, private businesses, and the media to develop effective solutions to community problems (DOJ 2012). Some versions of COPS focus heavily on community involvement in policymaking by asking for citizen feedback to create more effective strategies (Rhodes and Reese, 2015). This can take the form of community surveys, town halls, and other methods that allow citizens to voice their opinions. In order to foster an open and honest relationship with their communities, police also solicit citizen participation when developing programs that affect their neighborhoods (Eck and Spelman 1987). Encouraging neighborhood watch programs, for example, gives communities direct control over crime prevention. Furthermore, relying on and being responsive to citizen complaints and information can help prevent crime before it starts. This helps further empower the community and improves perceptions of police legitimacy.

Lastly, a central element of community policing involves officers fostering interpersonal relationships with both regular community members and bad actors. Police departments do this by assigning officers to neighborhoods for extended periods of time. This enables officers to build rapport with residents within a community and equips them with the ability to recognize suspicious activity as it develops. This approach allows officers to interact with community members on a daily basis and has the potential to foster long-term cooperative relationships with citizens.

The Limitations of Community-Oriented Policing

Although research suggests that community policing has the potential to improve police effectiveness and foster positive police-community relations, its implementation poses several challenges. While COPS are gaining worldwide popularity, applications of COPS vary significantly, making systematic implementation difficult. For instance, for COPS to be successful, it requires comprehensive changes in philosophy and tactics throughout a police department. COPS require police departments to make fundamental changes to the overall organization of their departments; however, some cities create isolated COPS units within the infrastructure of an existing traditional police department (Reisig 2010). Such measures marginalize community policing units within police departments and may also undermine efforts at building trust within communities (Goldstein 1983).

Additionally, some departments claim that they are engaged in community policing, when, in fact, they do not employ most of the components of community policing. For instance, many programs are loosely identified with COPS, but not all offer the community more control over police methods and objectives (Green and Mastrofski 1988). In similar fashion, while most

citizens seem to support the adoption of body-worn-cameras (BWCs)-which can be an important component of COPS-many police officers object to their usage. Officers' concerns with BWCs include worries about personal privacy, losing the ability to provide helpful discretion, and even the possibility of accidentally violating wire-tap laws (Goetschel and Peha, 2017). This study uses a measure of departments' compliance with the SARA problem-solving protocol to determine which departments are implementing COPS with fidelity.

COPS, Perceived Police Performance, and Trust in Local Government

Most of the research examining the effect of contact with the carceral state tends to emphasize its negative consequences. The evidence suggests the literature's focus on negative experiences with police officers is justified, particularly for African Americans. Racial and ethnic minority groups tend to have more negative perceptions and less trust in police forces than White Americans, and Black Americans more so than any other group (Smith and Hawkins 1973; Thomas and Hyman 1977; Decker 1981; Webb and Marshall 1995). Moreover, Black Americans' disapproval of police performance does not appear to simply be a function of economic disparities; high and low-income African Americans are equally likely to express unfavorable views of police treatment (Rice and Piquero 2005; Weitzer and Tuch 1999). The evidence suggests that their negative views of police are, in part, influenced by what they perceive as disrespectful treatment and excessive force from police officers (Miles-Johnson 2013; Son et al. 1997). Moreover, negative encounters with police wield a stronger influence on people's perceptions than positive experiences (Maguire, Lowrey, and Johnson, 2016). Overall, studies demonstrate the racial background of citizens is the most significant and consistent indicator of perceptions of law enforcement (Mbuba, 2010).

Although most of the literature has focused on the negative consequences of police contact, we explore whether positive treatment by police officers fosters more favorable views of police performance. Evidence reveals positive civilian-initiated encounters generally result in citizens' viewing the police more favorably, (Miles-Johnson 2013). In particular, procedural justice has been shown to foster the public's perception of police legitimacy and improve satisfaction with police performance (Hind & Murphy 2007). Procedural justice refers to citizens' perception that police officers follow due process and are fair when resolving public disputes. Violations of procedural justice would include stopping, questioning, searching or arresting citizens without reasonable suspicion or probable cause and applying excessive force in the performance of their official duties. COPS focus on following procedural justice and due process in order to foster trust and maintain legitimacy within the communities in which police officers serve. Therefore, we would expect that Black citizens living in neighborhoods with community-oriented policing would express more positive assessments of police performance. As such, the hypothesis is as follows:

H_1: Living in neighborhoods with community-oriented policing will drive more positive evaluations of police performance among Black citizens than areas without community policing.

Beyond driving negative perceptions of police performance, emerging evidence suggests that current policing methods may reduce Black Americans' trust in government and political engagement. Recent studies indicate citizens' interaction with police and the carceral state more broadly can have deleterious effects on their civic engagement (Lawless and Fox 2001; Burch 2013; Lerman and Weaver 2014; Davis 2020). Many of these studies are informed by the theory of political learning, which proposes that encounters with street-level state agents shape citizens'

views of the state and whether their government works on their behalf (Lawless and Fox 2001; Lipsky 1980; Soss 1999). For some citizens, particularly those in low-income, predominantly Black communities, interactions with these street-level agents may serve as their only meaningful exchanges with government (Soss and Weaver 2017; Weaver and Lerman 2010). As such, negative experiences convey the message that the state is not committed to serving their interests (Lawless and Fox 2001; Lipsky 1980).

While much of the literature focuses on the effect of negative interactions with police and their deleterious effects on citizens' political attitudes and behavior, the theory also implies that positive interactions should facilitate more favorable views of police performance and trust in local government generally. The focus of community-oriented policing in fostering positive community relations should ensure citizens that their government is invested in working in their best interest, thus, fostering trust.

The link between police forces and local government has been established in previous literature. For instance, generalized trust in local government and law enforcement increases the perceived legitimacy of police forces among citizens and facilitates coordinated action in neighborhoods to combat neighborhood crime (Sampson 2002; Sun et al. 2012). In addition, previous work shows citizens, particularly in urban settings, believe police forces carry out the will of political elites (Lawless and Fox 2001). Lastly, it is clear that perceptions of police are shaped by how well local authorities hold them accountable for their actions (De Angelis and Wolf 2016). As such, our second hypothesis is as follows:

H$_2$: Living in areas with community-oriented policing instills stronger trust in local government among Black Americans than living in neighborhoods without community policing.

Lastly, the expectation is that community-oriented policing will have a more consequential effect on police perceptions and trust in local government among Black citizens than White citizens. White citizens express consistently more positive views of police performance, higher levels of support for aggressive policing tactics and greater opposition towards efforts at police reform than Black Americans (Weitzer and Tuch 2004a, 2004b). Several researchers have proposed such disparities are due to underlying group competition for material resources, power, and privilege in society (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Weitzer and Tuch 2004b). Consequently, group members' evaluations and general orientation towards police are shaped by their social position within the existing racial hierarchy (Martinez-Ebers et al. 2021). Recent work proposes that the criminal justice system serves as a method of social control of predominantly non-white, marginalized communities in the United States (Alexander 2010; Kohler-Hausmann 2018). This effort at social control maintains the existing racial hierarchy in the United States, where Black citizens have historically been at the bottom while White citizens are placed at the top. As a consequence, Black citizens tend to experience disproportionate police contact and greater incidents of police force (Kahn et al. 2016; Streeter 2019; Swaine and McCarthy 2015).

In addition, evidence suggests that the largest differences between Black and White citizens center around their perceptions of community policing services such as whether they believe police work well with their community and whether community members are willing to work closely with police officers (Heubner et al. 2004). With these considerations in mind, it stands to reason that efforts to improve community relations could work towards improving Black residents' perceptions of police and, by extension, trust in their local government.

H3: Living in areas with community-oriented policing will have a stronger positive effect on Black citizens than White citizens.

Data and Methods

To evaluate the impact of community-oriented policing services on public attitudes, we use data from the 2016 "Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey"—henceforth the CMPS (Barret et al., 2017).[1] The CMPS includes interviews collected online using a respondent self-administered format from December 3, 2016 to February 15, 2017. The CMPS utilized a random-recruit-to-web approach (RRW), which resulted in a survey sample comparable to other benchmark datasets (Barreto et. al. 2018). See Barreto (2017) for a detailed discussion of RRW. We merged the CMPS with county-level COPS data, U.S. census data, and FBI county-level crime data. Together, these data allow us to identify both individual-level and aggregate-level factors that influence evaluations of police performance and trust in local government.

Herein, we examine two dependent variables: police performance and trust in local government. To evaluate the impact of COPS on assessment of police performance, we examine a measure, which asked respondents: "How good a job are the police doing in dealing with the problems that really concern people in your city?" (Responses: 1-"Very Good Job," 2-"Good Job," 3-"Fair Job." and 4-"Poor Job."). We recoded the response set such that "1" reflects a "poor job", "2" reflects a "fair job," "3" reflects a "good job," and 4 reflects a "very good job."

To examine the impact of COPS on trust in local government, we use a measure, which asked respondents: "How much of the time do you think you can trust the local government to do what is right?" (Responses: 1-"Just about always," 2-"Most of the time," 3-"Only sometimes" and

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[1] This study focuses on the impact of COPS on African American (n=3102) and White American (n=1034) respondents.

4-"Never at all."). We recoded the response set such that "1" reflects a "never at all", "2" reflects a "only sometimes," "3" reflects a "most of the time," and 4 reflects a "just about always."

The key independent variable is community-oriented policing services (COPS). To create the COPS measure, we utilize the data from the 2013 Law Enforcement Measurement and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS). The LEMAS surveys over 3000 state and local law enforcement agencies typically every 3-4 years. The 2013 survey includes the following item: "...[D]id your agency actively encourage PATROL OFFICERS to engage in SARA-type problem-solving projects?" The response options were "yes" or "no." The COPS measure is a dichotomous measure coded "1" if a respondent resides in a county that has a COPS program in place and "0" if not.

The models also include several individual-level control variables: age, female, education, income, partisanship, political interest, concern about crime, contact with the police and a subjective assessment of the local context. These variables are included to control for other factors that may influence one's assessment of the local police and trust in local government. To account for the influence of age on police evaluations, the models include a continuous measure of respondent age ranging from 18 to 98. Female is coded 1 if the respondent identifies as female and 0 otherwise. Education is measured using a categorical variable that ranges from 1 (eighth grade or less) to 6 (post-graduate education). Income is measured using a categorical variable ranging from 1 (less than $20,000) to 12 ($200,000 or more). Partisan affiliation is measured by two binary variables: Democrat and Independent (coded 1 in each case). Republican identification serves as the baseline (omitted) category. Political interest is measured by: "Some people are very interested in politics while other people can't stand politics, how about you? Are you: Very interested in

politics, Somewhat interested, Not that interested in politics, Not at all interested in politics." Higher values reflect heightened interest in politics.

To account for one's concern about local crime, we use responses to the question: "How concerned are you about crime in your city?" (0-"Not at all concerned," 1- "A little concerned," and 2- "Very concerned.") An individual's assessment of the quality of her community is measured using the following item: "Overall, how would you rate your community as a place to live?" ("Poor," "Fair," "Good," "Very Good," and "Excellent"). Higher values on the measure reflect more positive evaluations of one's community. To account for the influence of contact with the police, we use responses to five questions capturing interaction with the police: "Ever been stopped and questioned by the police while in a car?", "Ever been stopped and questioned by the police while you were on foot?", "Ever been arrested by the police?", "Been treated unfairly or with excessive force by a police officer?", and "Been charged a fine or fee based on violation of a non-criminal city ordinance, such as driving without insurance, not mowing your lawn, disorderly conduct, loitering, and failure to appear in court?" Each item was scored 1 if the respondent answered "Yes, within the last 5 years" or "Yes, over 5 years ago" (0 if the response was "No"). The police contact measure is an additive scale of responses to the five questions, which ranges from 0—no contact with the police—to 5 indicating contact with police across each of the items.

The models also include several aggregate-level variables. We include a county-level measure of the percentage of the population that is African American, which was culled from the 2015 American Community Survey. The model also includes a measure of county-level per capita

violent crime rate[2] provided by the FBI's 2015 Unified Crime Report and a binary variable indicating if the respondent lives in a southern state to account for potential regional differences.[3]

Results

Initially, we estimated both models using ordered logit (a proportional odds model); however, a test of proportionality (Brant 1990) indicated some of the covariates (discussed below) violated the proportional odds assumption. As such, we utilized a restricted partial proportional odds model (generalized ordered logit), which relaxes the assumption of proportional odds (Peterson and Harrell 1990; Williams 2006). The generalized model, which is similar to a proportional odds model, is stated as:

$$\text{Log}\left[\frac{\text{Pr}(Y \leq y_j \mid x)}{\text{Pr}(Y > y_j \mid x)}\right] = \alpha_j + x'\beta + z'\zeta_j$$

$$j = 1, 2, \ldots j - 1,$$

This model has two sets of parameter estimates: β and ζ_j. β represents the estimates for the variables (x) that conform to the proportional odds assumption (i.e. ordered logit coefficients), while ζ_j represent the parameter estimates for the variables (z) that violate the proportional odds assumption (i.e. the effect varies across the categories of the dependent variables.) In this case, both of the dependent variables have a 4-category response. As such, three estimates for each ζ are reported and only a single β is estimated for each scale point. The generalized ordered logit results for the primary variable of interest, COPS, are presented in Table 1[4], while the full set of

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[2] Violent crime is classified as murder/manslaughter, rape, robbery and aggravated assault. The measure is based on the number of violent crimes per 10,000 residents.
[3] Southern states include Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia.
[4] There are multiple approaches available to deal with clustered data (such as those used here). Multilevel models are often employed in these cases. But a multilevel model is not methodologically appropriate in our study, as there are too few cases at the aggregate level to reliably estimate the model of police evaluations (Maas & Hox, 2005).

results are presented in Table A of the appendix.[5]

The first column presents the police performance results and the second column presents the results for trust in local government. The table presents several sets of results for COPS, which report the covariates that conform to the proportional odds assumption and those that violate the assumption. For instance, the impact of COPS on the assessment of police performance conforms to the proportional odds assumption; thus, there is only one parameter estimate ($COPS_\beta$). However, for the African American respondent model of trust in local government, COPS violate the proportional odds assumption; thus, there are three parameter estimates corresponding to cut-points 1, 2, and 3 on the dependent variable. The coefficients for the non-proportional odds, ζ_j, are subscripted in reference to these scale points (i.e. $COPS_{\zeta 1}$, $COPS_{\zeta 2}$, and $COPS_{\zeta 3}$).

[Table 1 Here]

Our argument is exposure to COPS influences the assessment of police performance and trust in local government. Substantively, the results indicate African Americans that reside in a community with COPS are more likely to evaluate the local police more positively. Further, African Americans that reside in a community with a COPS program are less likely to indicate they never trust the local government. Generalized ordered logit coefficients are in log-odds units; thus, cannot be interpreted in the same manner as a regression coefficient. A more intuitive way to present the findings is in terms of predicted probabilities.

Therefore, we employ Huber-White sandwich estimated standard errors, which is an appropriate alternative to a multilevel model (Steenbergen & Jones, 2002).

[5] As a robustness check, we estimated both each model using the coarsened exact matching (CEM) technique (Iacus 2012). Matching is a strategy used to control for the influence of confounding control variables by decreasing the difference between the treatment and control group. In this case, those that reside in a community with COPS compared to those who reside in a community without COPS. The matching results are presented in Table B in the Appendix. The results are consistent with the models presented in the main text of this article.

To illustrate the impact of the COPS on the assessment of the local police and trust in local government, we present predicted probabilities in Figure 1. Both panels graphically present the change in predicted probability across each response option as the COPS measure increases from 0 to 1 (holding all other variables at their means). The left panel presents the change in probability in assessment of police performance, while the right panel presents change in predicted probability in trust in local government.

[Figure 1 here]

The left panel illustrates the difference in probability among African Americans that reside in an area with COPS when compared to African Americans that reside in an area without COPS is statistically significant across each category of the dependent variable. Among African Americans exposed to COPS, the probability of indicating the local police are doing a poor job is .16, while the probability among African Americans lacking COPS exposure is .21 (Δ = -.05). Further, the probability of indicating the local police are doing a good job among African Americans exposed to COPS is .29, while the probability among African Americans lacking COPS exposure is .25 (Δ = .04). These findings lend support for H_1; meaning, exposure to COPS is associated with positive evaluations of local police. The right panel illustrates the difference in probability an African American that reside in an area with COPS when compared to an African Americans that reside in an area without COPS is statistically significant only for the never trust the local government category. The probability of an African American exposed to COPS indicating they never trust the local government is .13, while the probability of an African American lacking COPS exposure is .20 (Δ = -.07). These findings lend support for H_2; meaning, exposure to COPS is associated with lower levels of distrust in local government.

Comparing Black and White Americans

While the primary focus of this study is on the influence of COPS on African Americans' perceptions of police performance and trust in local government, we seek to highlight the differential impact of exposure to COPS among African Americans when compared to White Americans. Thus, we offer analysis of the impact of COPS on evaluations of police and trust in local government across these two groups as a way of drawing comparisons. To do so, we estimate a conditional model including an interaction between White respondents and COPS, where African American respondents were as the baseline racial category. The generalized ordered logit results for the primary variables of interest—COPS, White respondent, and the interaction between COPS and White respondent—are presented in Table 2, while the full set of results are presented in Table C of the appendix. The first two columns present the police performance results and the second two columns present the results for trust in local government.

[Table 2 Here]

To illustrate the differential impact of the COPS on the assessment of the local police and trust in local government between African Americans and Whites, we present predicted probabilities in Figure 2. This figure includes four panels that graphically present the difference in predicted probability between African American and White respondents across each response option for both dependent variables (holding all other variables at their means). The top two panels present the predicted probabilities across the categories of the police performance evaluations. The left panel presents the probabilities for respondents lacking exposure to COPS, while the right panel presents the probabilities for respondents that reside in an area with COPS. The bottom two panels present the probabilities across the categories of trust in local government. The left panel

presents the probabilities for respondents lacking exposure to COPS, while the right panel presents the probabilities for respondents that reside in an area with COPS.

[Figure 2 here]

First, we examine the difference in the impact of COPS with regard to assessments of the local police (top two panels). Notably, there are significant differences among African American and White respondents that live in non-COPS and COPS communities across each category of the police assessment variable. That said the differences are smaller among respondents that reside in communities with COPS. For instance, the probability of indicating the police are doing a poor job for an African American *lacking* exposure to COPS is .15, while the probability for a White *lacking* COPS exposure is .05 (Δ = -.10). Alternatively, the probability of indicating the police are doing a poor job for an African American *with* exposure to COPS is .13, while the probability for a White *with* COPS exposure is .08 (Δ = -.05). Further, the probability of indicating the police are doing a very good job for an African American *lacking* exposure to COPS is .05, while the probability for a White *lacking* COPS exposure is .16 (Δ = .11). The probability of indicating the police are doing a very good job for an African American *with* exposure to COPS is .07, while the probability for a White *with* COPS exposure is .12 (Δ = .05).

Finally, we discuss the racial differences in the impact of COPS with regard to trust in local government (bottom two panels). The findings indicate the racial difference in terms of their trust in local government is less consistent, but significant differences are nonetheless present. Further, there is a similar trend regarding trust in local government when compared to the racial differences in terms of assessment of the local police: the differences are smaller among respondents that reside in communities with COPS. For example, the probability of an African American *lacking*

exposure to COPS indicating they never trust the local government is .19, while the probability for a White *lacking* COPS exposure is .08 (Δ = -.11). Conversely, the probability of an African American *with* exposure to COPS indicating they never trust the local government is .13, while the probability for a White *with* COPS exposure is .08 (Δ = -.05). Further, the probability of an African American *lacking* exposure to COPS indicating they trust the local government most of the time is .28, while the probability for a White *lacking* COPS exposure is .42 (Δ = .14). The probability of an African American *with* exposure to COPS indicating they trust the local government most of the time is .30, while the probability for a white *with* COPS exposure is .36 (Δ = .06). Overall, the findings corroborate H_3; namely, COPS appears to have a more positive effect on Black Americans' police perceptions and trust in government than White Americans.

Conclusion

This study examines the impact of community oriented policing services on assessments of local police and trust in local government. First, the findings indicate African Americans residing in communities with COPS offer a more positive evaluation of police and lower levels of distrust of local government. In other words, COPS serves to have a positive impact on African Americans' assessment of local police agencies and government. Second, the findings suggest exposure to COPS decreases the difference in assessment of the local police between African American and White respondents when compared to the difference among African American and White respondents residing in a community with COPS. Further, exposure to COPS decreases the difference in trust in local government between African American and White respondents when compared to the difference among African American and White respondents residing in a community with COPS. Taken together, the findings offer further support for theories of political learning, which suggest that citizens' civic engagement is, in part, a function of how responsive

they believe their government is to their needs. As street-level state agents, police forces play a critical role in communicating citizens' relationship to the state and, particularly, whether government is willing to serve their interests.

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Table 1. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government

	Police Performance				Trust Local Government			
Key Variable								
$COPS_{\beta}$	0.222*	(0.102)			-0.440*	(0.214)		
$COPS_{\zeta_1}$					0.492**	(0.179)		
$COPS_{\zeta_2}$					0.089	(0.157)		
$COPS_{\zeta_3}$					-0.132	(0.268)		
Cutpoint-1	-0.057	(0.452)	0.493	(0.700)	-1.086*	(0.546)	-0.513	(0.646)
Cutpoint-2	-2.321***	(0.376)	-1.025*	(0.521)	-1.957***	(0.486)	-2.050**	(0.637)
Cutpoint-3	-4.670***	(0.590)	-4.944***	(0.728)	-3.142***	(0.854)	-7.544***	(1.099)
Wald χ^2	534.309***		258.28***		315.63***		103.73***	
N Cases	2689		897		2689		897	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Coefficients are ordered logit with standard errors clustered on zipcode.

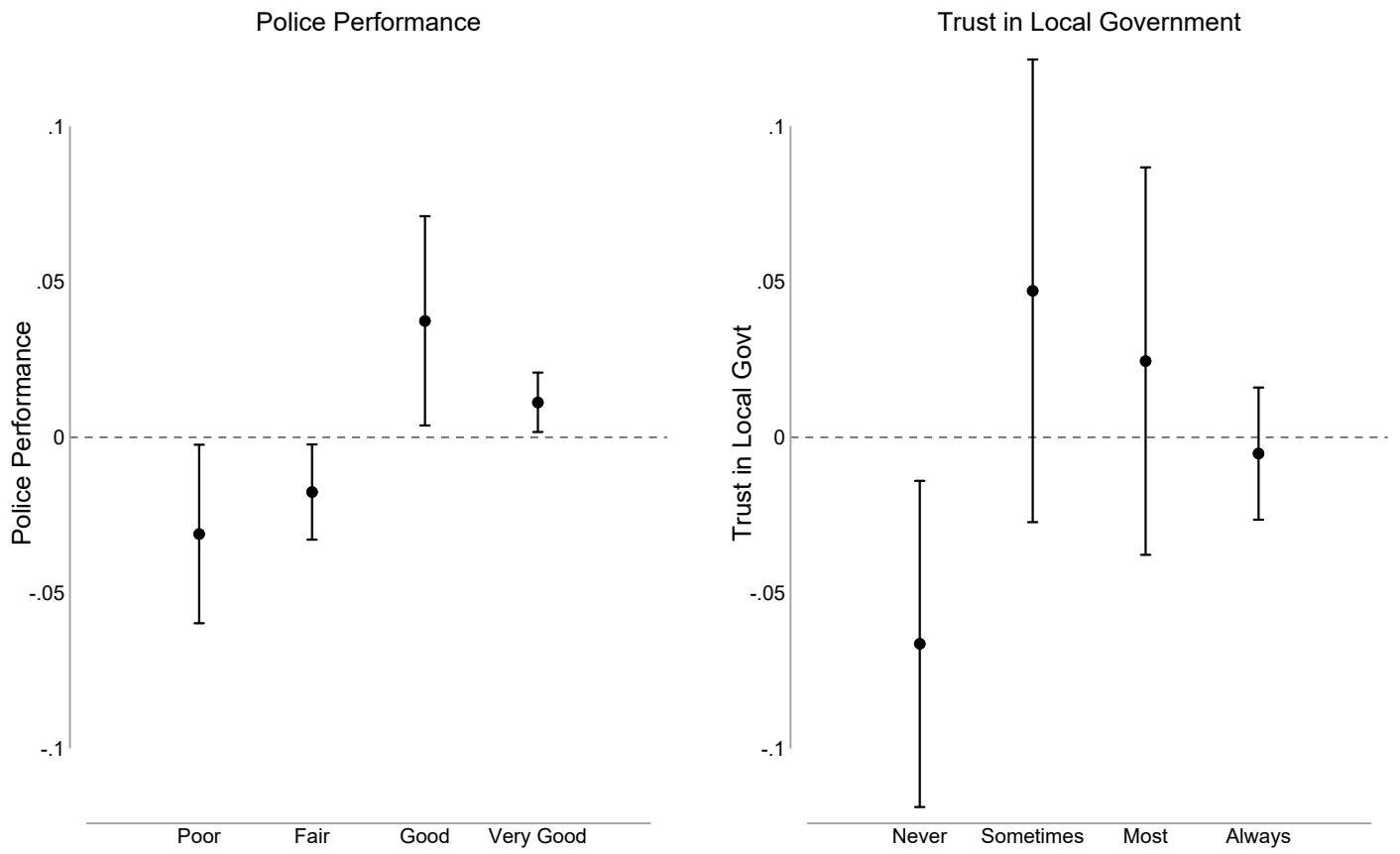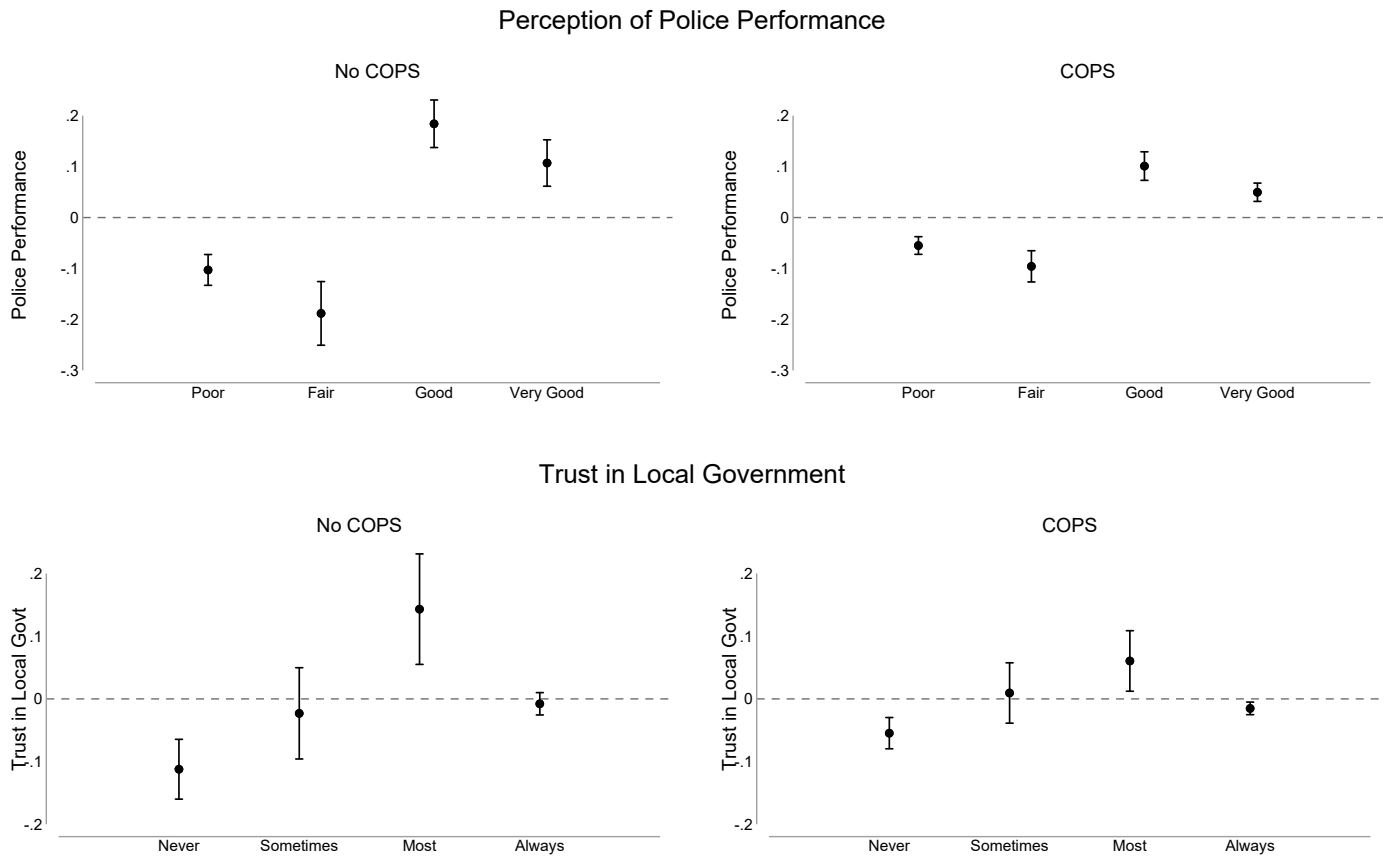Figure 1. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government

Figure 2. Difference Between Black and White Respondents

Perception of Police Performance

Trust in Local Government

On-line Appendix

Table A. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government

	Police Performance		Trust in Local Government	
Key Variables				
COPS_β	0.222*	(0.102)		
COPS_{ζ_1}			0.492**	(0.179)
COPS_{ζ_2}			0.089	(0.157)
COPS_{ζ_3}			-0.132	(0.268)
Individual-Level Controls				
Age_{ζ_1}	0.026***	(0.005)	0.013*	(0.005)
Age_{ζ_2}	0.021***	(0.003)	-0.002	(0.004)
Age_{ζ_3}	-0.001	(0.005)	-0.012	(0.007)
Female_β			-0.264*	(0.111)
Female_{ζ_1}	-0.033	(0.122)		
Female_{ζ_2}	-0.417***	(0.100)		
Female_{ζ_3}	-0.324*	(0.144)		
Education_β	0.063	(0.041)		
$\text{Education}_{\zeta_1}$			0.106	(0.078)
$\text{Education}_{\zeta_2}$			-0.076	(0.067)
$\text{Education}_{\zeta_3}$			-0.307	(0.158)
Income_{ζ_1}	-0.027	(0.021)	-0.058*	(0.027)
Income_{ζ_2}	-0.063***	(0.018)	-0.070***	(0.021)
Income_{ζ_3}	-0.110***	(0.029)	-0.101	(0.052)
$\text{Income Refuse}_\beta$			-0.328	(0.170)
$\text{Income Refuse}_{\zeta_1}$	0.243	(0.236)		
$\text{Income Refuse}_{\zeta_2}$	-0.579**	(0.195)		
$\text{Income Refuse}_{\zeta_3}$	-0.624	(0.339)		
Democrat_β	-0.797***	(0.219)		
$\text{Democrat}_{\zeta_1}$			0.161	(0.327)
$\text{Democrat}_{\zeta_2}$			-0.328	(0.300)
$\text{Democrat}_{\zeta_3}$			-0.536	(0.325)
Independent_β	-0.748***	(0.213)	-0.659*	(0.309)
$\text{Political Interest}_\beta$	0.142**	(0.050)		
$\text{Political Interest}_{\zeta_1}$			0.317***	(0.084)
$\text{Political Interest}_{\zeta_2}$			0.461***	(0.072)
$\text{Political Interest}_{\zeta_3}$			0.655**	(0.210)

*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$. Coefficients are generalized ordered logit with standard errors clustered on zipcode.

Table A. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government (Continued)

	Police Performance		Trust in Local Government	
Concern Crime$_\beta$			-0.171*	(0.074)
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_1}$	-0.441***	(0.074)		
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_2}$	-0.370***	(0.072)		
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_3}$	-0.075	(0.121)		
Police Contact$_\beta$			-0.070*	(0.035)
Police Contact$_{\zeta_1}$	-0.295***	(0.036)		
Police Contact$_{\zeta_2}$	-0.225***	(0.032)		
Police Contact$_{\zeta_3}$	-0.094	(0.054)		
Rate Community$_\beta$			0.405***	(0.055)
Rate Community$_{\zeta_1}$	0.497***	(0.062)		
Rate Community$_{\zeta_2}$	0.621***	(0.045)		
Rate Community$_{\zeta_3}$	0.815***	(0.090)		
Aggregate-Level Controls				
Violent Crime$_\beta$	-0.002	(0.002)	0.003	(0.002)
% Black$_\beta$	0.003	(0.003)	0.002	(0.005)
South$_\beta$	0.008	(0.107)	-0.190	(0.117)
Cutpoint-1	-0.057	(0.452)	-1.086*	(0.546)
Cutpoint-2	-2.321***	(0.376)	-1.957***	(0.486)
Cutpoint-3	-4.670***	(0.590)	-3.142***	(0.854)
Wald χ^2	534.31***		315.63***	
N Cases	2689		2689	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Coefficients are generalized ordered logit with standard errors clustered on zipcode.

Table B. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government–Matched Models

	Police Performance		Trust in Local Government	
Anglo				
Key Variables				
$COPS_{\beta}$	0.244*	(0.105)		
$COPS_{\zeta_1}$			0.487***	(0.144)
$COPS_{\zeta_2}$			0.030	(0.143)
$COPS_{\zeta_3}$			-0.205	(0.205)
Individual-Level Controls				
Age_{ζ_1}	0.026***	(0.005)	0.007	(0.004)
Age_{ζ_2}	0.021***	(0.003)	-0.001	(0.004)
Age_{ζ_3}	0.000	(0.005)	-0.014*	(0.006)
$Female_{\beta}$			-0.330**	(0.103)
$Female_{\zeta_1}$	-0.029	(0.125)		
$Female_{\zeta_2}$	-0.438***	(0.102)		
$Female_{\zeta_3}$	-0.290	(0.148)		
$Education_{\beta}$	0.067	(0.045)		
$Education_{\zeta_1}$			0.107*	(0.053)
$Education_{\zeta_2}$			0.010	(0.050)
$Education_{\zeta_3}$			-0.152	(0.094)
$Income_{\zeta_1}$	-0.039	(0.022)	-0.027	(0.022)
$Income_{\zeta_2}$	-0.070***	(0.018)	-0.066***	(0.016)
$Income_{\zeta_3}$	-0.112***	(0.028)	-0.127***	(0.032)
$Income\ Refuse_{\beta}$			-0.482**	(0.149)
$Income\ Refuse_{\zeta_1}$	0.238	(0.250)		
$Income\ Refuse_{\zeta_2}$	-0.646**	(0.199)		
$Income\ Refuse_{\zeta_3}$	-0.596	(0.342)		
$Democrat_{\beta}$	-0.907***	(0.218)		
$Democrat_{\zeta_1}$			-0.126	(0.202)
$Democrat_{\zeta_2}$			-0.495**	(0.188)
$Democrat_{\zeta_3}$			-0.588**	(0.227)
$Independent_{\beta}$	-0.859***	(0.211)	-0.916***	(0.191)
$Political\ Interest_{\beta}$	0.135**	(0.051)		
$Political\ Interest_{\zeta_1}$			0.340***	(0.062)
$Political\ Interest_{\zeta_2}$			0.398***	(0.061)
$Political\ Interest_{\zeta_3}$			0.735***	(0.143)

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Coefficients are ordered logit with standard errors clustered on zipcode.

Table B. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government–Matched Models (Continued)

	Police Performance		Trust in Local Government	
Concern Crime$_\beta$			-0.162**	(0.061)
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_1}$	-0.444***	(0.077)		
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_2}$	-0.382***	(0.072)		
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_3}$	-0.080	(0.125)		
Police Contact$_\beta$			-0.084**	(0.030)
Police Contact$_{\zeta_1}$	-0.299***	(0.036)		
Police Contact$_{\zeta_2}$	-0.218***	(0.032)		
Police Contact$_{\zeta_3}$	-0.086	(0.056)		
Rate Community$_\beta$			0.425***	(0.044)
Rate Community$_{\zeta_1}$	0.513***	(0.064)		
Rate Community$_{\zeta_2}$	0.624***	(0.047)		
Rate Community$_{\zeta_3}$	0.827***	(0.090)		
Aggregate-Level Controls				
Violent Crime$_\beta$	-0.002	(0.002)	0.001	(0.002)
% Black$_\beta$	0.004	(0.003)	0.002	(0.005)
South$_\beta$	-0.002	(0.107)	-0.257*	(0.108)
Cutpoint-1	-2.190***	(0.388)	-1.859***	(0.382)
Cutpoint-2	0.036	(0.465)	-0.666	(0.383)
Cutpoint-3	-4.715***	(0.592)	-3.588***	(0.593)
Wald χ^2	513.74***		447.97***	
N Cases	2668		2668	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Coefficients are ordered logit with standard errors clustered on zipcode.

Table C. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government (Conditional Model)

	Police Performance		Trust in Local Government	
Key Variables				
$COPS_{\beta}$	0.207*	(0.104)		
$COPS_{\zeta_1}$			0.481***	(0.132)
$COPS_{\zeta_2}$			0.060	(0.131)
$COPS_{\zeta_3}$			-0.203	(0.185)
White R_{β}	1.199***	(0.190)		
White R_{ζ_1}			0.974***	(0.243)
White R_{ζ_2}			0.575**	(0.210)
White R_{ζ_3}			-0.211	(0.257)
White $R \times COPS_{\beta}$	-0.590**	(0.197)	-0.377	(0.215)
Individual-Level Controls				
Age_{ζ_1}	0.025***	(0.004)	0.007	(0.004)
Age_{ζ_2}	0.020***	(0.003)	-0.001	(0.003)
Age_{ζ_3}	0.005	(0.003)	-0.014**	(0.005)
$Female_{\beta}$			-0.233**	(0.076)
$Female_{\zeta_1}$	-0.052	(0.113)		
$Female_{\zeta_2}$	-0.369***	(0.084)		
$Female_{\zeta_3}$	-0.367**	(0.115)		
$Education_{\beta}$	0.061	(0.034)	0.032	(0.036)
$Income_{\beta}$	-0.051***	(0.012)		
$Income_{\zeta_1}$			-0.003	(0.018)
$Income_{\zeta_2}$			-0.051***	(0.013)
$Income_{\zeta_3}$			-0.114***	(0.023)
Income $Refuse_{\beta}$	-0.089	(0.129)	-0.324**	(0.123)
$Democrat_{\zeta_1}$	-0.705***	(0.166)	0.274	(0.146)
$Democrat_{\zeta_2}$	-0.859***	(0.137)	-0.136	(0.137)
$Democrat_{\zeta_3}$	-1.084***	(0.160)	-0.328	(0.196)
$Independent_{\beta}$	-0.756***	(0.125)	-0.521***	(0.130)
Political $Interest_{\beta}$	0.173***	(0.044)		
Political $Interest_{\zeta_1}$			0.383***	(0.055)
Political $Interest_{\zeta_2}$			0.340***	(0.046)
Political $Interest_{\zeta_3}$			0.712***	(0.123)

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Coefficients are generalized ordered logit with standard errors clustered on zipcode.

Table C. Perception of Police Performance & Trust in Local Government (Conditional Model) Continued

	Police Performance		Trust in Local Government	
Concern Crime$_\beta$			-0.177**	(0.055)
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_1}$	-0.449***	(0.071)		
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_2}$	-0.347***	(0.065)		
Concern Crime$_{\zeta_3}$	0.012	(0.090)		
Police Contact$_\beta$			-0.044	(0.026)
Police Contact$_{\zeta_1}$	-0.301***	(0.034)		
Police Contact$_{\zeta_2}$	-0.240***	(0.028)		
Police Contact$_{\zeta_3}$	-0.075	(0.044)		
Rate Community$_{\zeta_1}$	0.528***	(0.057)	0.392***	(0.053)
Rate Community$_{\zeta_2}$	0.595***	(0.041)	0.438***	(0.040)
Rate Community$_{\zeta_3}$	0.834***	(0.072)	0.681***	(0.100)
Aggregate-Level Controls				
Violent Crime$_\beta$	-0.002	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.002)
% Black$_\beta$	0.003	(0.003)	0.003	(0.004)
South$_\beta$	0.007	(0.097)	-0.255**	(0.089)
Cutpoint-1	-0.072	(0.365)	-0.944**	(0.310)
Cutpoint-2	-2.316***	(0.300)	-2.362***	(0.298)
Cutpoint-3	-5.250***	(0.447)	-5.698***	(0.620)
Wald χ^2	997.97***		620.71***	
N Cases	3586		3586	

*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$. Coefficients are generalized ordered logit with standard errors clustered on zipcode.