MEASURING TRUST IN THE POLICE:
THE IMPACT OF INSTRUMENTAL AND EXPRESSIVE
CONCERNS ON AFRICAN-AMERICANS

by
Darryl L. Chambers

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology

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THE IMPACT OF INSTRUMENTAL AND EXPRESSIVE
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This project is dedicated to my dear son Dominique Helm who departed this life at an early age. Your mother and I miss you. Thank you for your continuous encouragement.
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ABSTRACT

The disturbing history between inner city minorities and local police departments has a lingering impact on police-community relations in many jurisdictions. To combat social ills including crime problems in these disadvantaged neighborhoods, it is imperative for police departments to employ policing strategies conducive to and oriented toward building public trust in the police, which is arguably the foundation of legitimate and effective policing. This thesis examines the effects of an instrumental model versus an expressive model on procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust in the police. Data used in this analysis was taken from a 2010 survey of 520 African-American residents residing in Wilmington, Delaware. The findings suggested that African-American residents were able to differentiate between procedural-based and outcome-based trust. The instrumental model was better in predicting procedural-based trust in the police, while the expressive model accounted better for outcome-based trust in the police. These findings provide politicians, law enforcement agencies, civic leaders, and residents specific directions to develop policies and policing strategies to reduce crime, to build strong communities, and to bridge the gap between law enforcement and residents in minority communities.

Keywords: expressive model; instrumental model; trust in police; legitimacy; African Americans
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the nature of public attitudes toward the police is one of the keys to strengthen police-community relations, joint problem solving, and community engagement in crime prevention initiatives. The public’s willingness to become involved in community affairs and to support the police promotes institutional legitimacy. Without the support of the community, police departments would be viewed as an illegitimate occupying force (Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005), which is particularly true in the eye of minority residents in socially disadvantaged, inner-city neighborhoods.

A vast amount of studies have been undertaken in the U.S. since the 1960s to understand public attitudes toward and perceptions of the police. Among a number of explanatory variables that have been considered, race has been one of the most consistent predictors of the public’s attitudes toward the police. With a few exceptions (e.g., see Frank, Brandl, Cullen, & Stichman, 1996), past studies have found that racial minorities displayed less favorable evaluations of the police than their majority counterparts (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Previous research on race focused mainly on the comparison between minority and majority groups’ perceptions of the police. Few studies have actually examined attitudinal variations exclusively among African Americans.

In addition, two areas in recent literature have been under-investigated. First, public perceptions of the police are complex phenomena that entail multiple dimensions.
For example, trust in the police can be divided into four dimensions: shared priorities, respectfulness, dependability and competency (Stoutland, 2001). Similarly, scholars have distinguished between procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust in legal authorities (Hawdon, 2008; Sun, Wu, & Hu, 2013c; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Despite recent conceptual elaboration and empirical evidence, it is unclear whether such distinctions can be applied to inner-city minority residents, who traditionally have lower levels of trust in the police (Tyler, 2005).

Second, recent studies also differentiate between two types of concerns that tend to influence public evaluations of the police. The instrumental model asserts that people have greater confidence in the police when they feel safe and free from victimization, whereas the expressive model contends that trust in the police is best measured by a neighborhood’s social cohesion, collective efficacy, and community order (Jackson & Bradford, 2009). Studies conducted in the U.K. found that both models have varying effects on public assessments of the police (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Sindall, Sturgis, & Jennings, 2012). However, such conceptual distinctions have rarely been examined in studies of U.S. public evaluations of law enforcement.

To address these inadequacies in previous research, this thesis targets an African-American population from two neighborhoods located in the City of Wilmington, Delaware. A better understanding of impact of African-Americans’ attitudes toward the police in a small urban city is paramount because the United States has witnessed a decrease in violent crimes (Uniform Crime Report, 2013) while violence persists in some smaller urban cities such as Wilmington (Payne, 2013a). Therefore, how the crime
problem has shaped the relationships between African-Americans residing in smaller urban settings and law enforcement becomes an important issue to investigate.

This thesis has both practical and theoretical significance. Practically, it is important for policy makers, government officials and community advocates to recognize the context and factors influencing minority residents’ trust in the police. Knowledge of this kind could assist public officials and community members in developing practical strategies to address the accelerating crime rate plaguing small urban cities and at the same time promote and ensure public safety.

Theoretically, this thesis contributes to the development of a better model of African Americans’ trust in the police. It allows researchers to critically and empirically examine whether the popular argument that procedural justice is more important than distributive justice can be applied to residents in predominately African-American neighborhoods where police-community relations have generally been poor. It could also assist researchers to identify the underlying sources, whether expressive concerns, instrumental concerns, or both, that leads to variations in trust in the police.

Using survey data from 520 African-American residents in Wilmington, Delaware, this thesis seeks to explore whether instrumental and expressive models can be linked to African-Americans’ trust in the police. Two general research questions guide this study: (1) can African Americans in inner-city neighborhoods distinguish procedural-based trust from outcome-based trust; and (2) are variables representing expressive concerns and instrumental concerns differentially predictive of African-American residents’ trust in the police?
From a governmental-policy and community-advocacy perspective, it is important to know whether minority-community residents’ attitudes toward the police are shaped by instrumental or expressive concerns. It is the intention of this thesis that these findings could assist public officials and community members in obtaining valuable insight into how to develop practical strategies to build socially conscious communities, address the accelerated crime rate in Wilmington (Payne, 2013a) and ensure public safety.

The rest of the thesis is divided into five sections. I first review past literature related to the impact of instrumental and expressive models on trust in the police. The review also examines the classification of the concept of trust and delineates specific hypotheses that are tested in this thesis. I then describe the methods used in this thesis, including the sources of the data, the construction of both the dependent and the independent variables, descriptive statistics of targeted population and all the variables and methods of analysis. The next section presents the results of the statistical analysis. Results from bivariate analysis are first reported to show variations in trust in the police across major demographic characteristics. Results from hierarchical regressions are then displayed to measure the relative importance of an instrument and expressive model in measuring residents’ procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust in the police. In the last section, I summarize the key findings of this thesis. The limitations of the thesis, directions of future research, and policy and social implications are mentioned as well.
Chapter 2
LITERATURE REVIEW
Distinguishing Trust in the Police

While trust in the police has been conceptualized and operationalized in a number of different ways, this project focuses on two types of trust following the work of Stoutland (2001) and Tyler (2003, 2006). The first is procedural-based trust, which involves treating people with respect and dignity (Stoutland, 2001). When people are treated fairly and respectfully, they view law and legal authorities as legitimate institutions entitled to be obeyed. As a result, people become self-regulating, taking on the personal responsibility of following social rules. This approach has been labeled as a process-based model of regulation (Tyler, 2003; 2006). Indeed, one way to encourage people to view law as legitimate is for legal authorities to act in procedurally just ways. Procedural justice during personal experiences with authorities is important because it builds the social value of legitimacy (Tyler, 2004). Beyond particular experiences, people are generally more likely to regard the police as legitimate if they believe that the police exercise their authority through fair procedures (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001).

The second type is outcome-based trust, which involves people’s judgments about fair distribution of police services across people and communities (Sunshine & Tyler,
Outcome factors are mainly governed by “competency and dependability” (Hawdon, Ryan, & Griffin, 2003). When people view the police as competent and knowledgeable about their job and they can rely on them to perform their duties in an efficient manner, these people are likely to view the police as legitimate institutions (Hawdon et al., 2003; Stoutland, 2011). When people perceive the authorities as engaging in practices that are ethically appropriate and the distribution of resources are equitable, it heightens their sense that legal authorities behave morally and competently (Tyler & Blader, 2005).

Minorities in general and African Americans specifically, particularly young Blacks, are much more likely than their White counterparts to have contacts with the police. Racial minorities are also more inclined to be the subject of police aggressive enforcement and misconduct, such as use of excessive force and racial profiling. It is thus not a surprise to find that African Americans perceive a stronger sense of criminal injustice than White Americans (Hagan, Shedd, and Payne, 2005). Due to African Americans’ greater chance of being targeted for law enforcement and high vulnerability to be potentially mistreated, one may expect them to pay greater attention to all procedural and outcome aspects of their encounters with the police. They could be highly sensitive to whether they are treated fairly and justly by police officers and whether the police’s decisions are justified. Such sensitivity and awareness of police actions may translate into key areas when they evaluate the local police
Instrumental and Expressive Models

A key component to any policing program requires collaboration between the police department and local residents (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). Residents’ active participation legitimizes the police and signifies their willingness to abide by the law and accept the police as a form of formal social control (Jackson, Bradford, Hough, Myhill, Quinton, & Tyler, 2012). If the community’s willingness to accept the police as maintainers of safety is partially predicated by how the police interact with them, it is important to understand what factors contribute to this relationship. Previous research suggests that it is critical for the citizens to be respected and their values incorporated into all community policing strategies (Dunham & Alpert, 1998).

This thesis seeks to examine if expressive models and instrumental models are predictive of procedural-based and outcome-based trust in police. The instrumental model is primarily concerned with perceived crime problems, fear of crime, and victimization (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; 2010). It asserts that people have greater confidence in the police when they feel safe and free from victimization (Jackson & Bradford, 2009). Such concerns are argued to directly influence public opinions on the police because the police should be instrumental in preventing crime and reducing fear. In areas where serious crime problems exist, residents tend to express less favorable views of the police (Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008; also see Huebner, Schafer, & Bynum 2004; Jesillow, Meyer, & Namazzi 1995; RAND 2005). The instrumental model specifically suggests that the “source of public confidence” (Jackson, Bradford, Hohl, & Farrall, 2009, p 100) is best measured in terms of the police’s ability to make residents
feel safe from being victimized in addition to the reduction in crime rates (Jackson & Bradford, 2009).

Previous research has found that fear of crime and perceived crime problems are predictive of public trust in the police, with higher levels of fear of crime and perceived crime problem associated with lower public trust in the police (Jackson et al., 2009; Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Sun et al., 2013c; Wu, Poteyera, & Sun, 2012; Wu & Sun, 2009). The results related to victimization are less consistent. For example, some studies have found a negative relationship between victimization and public attitudes toward the police (Block, 1971; Carter, 1985; Homant, Kennedy, & Fleming, 1984; Payne & Gainey, 2007; Priest & Carter, 1999; Sun, Hu, Wong, He, & Li, 2013b), whereas others have reported a weak or null link between victimization and attitudes toward the police (Zevitz & Rettammel, 1990).

The second model measuring trust in the police deals with expressive concerns. The expressive model includes quality of life, social disorder, physical neighborhood conditions, social cohesion, and collective efficacy. Scholars have identified neighborhood conditions, quality of life, and interaction with the police as strong predictors of people’s perceptions of the police (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008), with the former two variables being commonly used to measure expressive concerns. In this model the police assume the role as moral “guardians of the community” (Jackson et al., 2009, p. 104) and are expected to uphold neighborhood values and beliefs. Myhill and Bradford (2012) contend that police activities geared toward expressive concerns lead to substantial reconstructing of opinions on the police and produce meaningful
changes, allowing law enforcement agencies to establish legitimacy and improve their ability to enforce rules and maintain control in these communities.

With respect to neighborhood conditions, the impact of social cohesion, collective efficacy, and neighborhood stability on public evaluations of the police have been assessed. They are critical factors because the average person is more concerned about police’s role in preserving community norms and maintaining a certain level of moral conduct in their communities than official crime rates (Jackson et al., 2009). Therefore, the police become moral defenders for residents of local communities who began to view the police as working for them as opposed to against them (Jackson & Bradford, 2009). Evidence from the existing literature shows strong support for the expressive model. For instance, research conducted in the U.S., U.K., and China concluded that quality of life has a significant positive relationship with trust in the police (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Schuck et al., 2008; Sun, Jou, Hou, Chang, 2013a; Wu & Sun, 2009).

Can instrumental and expressive concerns be linked to procedural-based and outcome-based trust in a predominately Black community? If so, which model is better predictive of trust in the police? Black residents in neighborhoods plagued with high rates of crime and victimization may particularly have instrumental concerns in mind when judging their local police. Such neighborhoods may also suffer from weak social networks and collective efficacy and divergent views of local priorities and needs between residents and the police, making expressive concerns relevant in public evaluations of the police.
Although previous research has yet to provide consistent evidence on the comparative strength of instrumental and expressive concerns in predicting public trust in the police, based on strong support for the latter from studies conducted in different social contexts, I thus hypothesize that 1) *African Americans are able to separate procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust in their evaluations of local police, and 2) an expressive model is better than an instrumental model in predicting both outcome-based trust and procedural-based trust in the police.*
Chapter 3

METHOD

Research Site

Data used in this thesis were gathered from the city of Wilmington, Delaware. Wilmington, located in the New Castle County, is the largest municipality in Delaware and represents 8% of the state’s total population. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the population of Wilmington was 70,851, a 2% decrease since 2000. In Delaware, African-Americans represent 21% of the state’s population, compared to Whites who comprise 71% of the state’s population (see Table 1). This is in stark contrast to the city of Wilmington where Whites and Blacks constitute 33% and 60% of the population, respectively, and Hispanics and Asians combined represent the rest 13%.

Wilmington accounted for approximately 25% of all the crime within the state of Delaware. In 2010, Wilmington witnessed a record-breaking twenty-seven homicides. Parenting Magazine (2012) ranked Wilmington among the most dangerous cities in America with more violent acts per 100,000 residents than any other city of a comparable size and number one in sex-offenders per 100,000 residents. Almost 5,500 crime incidents were reported in 2010, including 4,147 property crimes and 1,399 violent crimes with burglary and larceny/theft being the most common incidents (City-data, 2011).
Table 1. Demographics of the State of Delaware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Delaware</th>
<th>New Castle</th>
<th>Kent</th>
<th>Sussex</th>
<th>Wilmington</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>890,856</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-Americans</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic/Latino</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wilmington is safer only than 2% of the cities in the United States. The city witnessed a total number of 125 shooting in 2010 with a record number of 142 victims and 40 known suspects. Approximately, 20% of the victims died from their injuries (23), and 18-35 years olds—the targeted age range for this studies sample—accounted for 83% of the shooting suspects in 2010 (Macleish & Herb, 2011). In Wilmington, there is a 1 in 60 chance of becoming a victim of violent crime, compared to only a 1 in 179 chance in the entire state. The chances of becoming a victim of a property crime in the city is nearly twice of the state average (Neighborhood Scout, 2013).

Data collection focused primarily on the 19801 zip code of Wilmington, known more specifically as the Eastside and Southbridge section of the city. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, census tract 19.02 covers the South of Wilmington, and for the
purpose of this paper census tract 19.02 is referred to as Southbridge. This tract encompasses all the area from the Christina River to the east and south of the city’s boundaries. Census tracts 9 and 29, which are commonly referred to as the Eastside, include all the area between the Christina River and the Brandywine Creek and from Walnut Street to the Brandywine Creek (City-facts, 2011).

Eastside and Southbridge are the two oldest, traditionally, African-American neighborhoods in Wilmington. African-Americans represent the largest percentage of residents in both the Eastside (91%) and Southbridge (72%) (City-facts, 2011). The communities sit adjacent to each other and are separated by the Christina River. The median age of residents in the 19801 zip code is 35.8 with the Delaware median age being 38.6. The estimated household income for people living in the zip code area is almost $25,000, which is noticeably lower than the state median household income of $52,762 (City-data, 2011). In addition, Eastside and Southbridge suffer from low high school graduation rates, high percentages of female-headed households, and a lack of job opportunities, all of which indicating structural inequality (Payne, 2013a). Despite having relatively low violent crime rates, the Eastside and Southbridge combined reported 30% of the drug offenses, weapon possessions, assaults, and aggravated assaults in the city of Wilmington. Eastside and Southbridge were selected as research sites because they are predominantly African-American neighborhoods, with high crime rates, stable civic leaderships, high dropout rates, low employment, and high single parent’s households (Payne, 2013a).
The Wilmington Police Department has employed numerous strategies over the past several decades to address the city’s crime problems. One such approach was the so-called “jump out” tactic, which involved officers quickly exiting (i.e., jumping out) their patrol cars and conducting aggressive enforcement actions (e.g., stop, search and interrogation) against suspicious citizens. This tactic was highly controversial and often criticized by the ACLU for violating the constitutional right of citizens who were stopped and frisked but never formally charged with an offense. In addition, law enforcement stored mug shots of these civilians in databases. The local newspaper deemed this approach, based on opinions of nationwide experts on the subject, to be ineffective in that jump out-squads were geared toward low-level drug dealers not drug kingpins, which did little to slow down the influx of drugs into inner cities.

**Data Collection and Sample**

Data used in this thesis was collected by the Safe Community Training and Employment Project often referred to as the Street Participatory Action Research (PAR) PROJECT.¹ In the Fall of 2010, the Wilmington HOPE Commission (the lead partner,

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¹ PAR is a research methodology that consists of three main parts. The first is the inclusion of members of the targeted population on the research team. Secondly, members are sought, identified, and offered an opportunity to participate in all phases of the research project. This opportunity allows PAR members to help create and develop community surveys, interview protocol, theoretical framework, and research questions. They also collect, analyze, and present the data. Finally, PAR requires an action component. All members are encouraged to use the findings from the research project to create a platform for social justice. (For more details on the methodology of PAR see Dr. Yasser Payne’s The People’s Report: The Link between Structural Violence and Crime in Wilmington, Delaware. May 2013).
focused on recruitment and facilitation of the project), the University of Delaware (led the research training, data collection, and data analysis teams), Delaware State University, Wilmington University and several nonprofits organizations were awarded $200,000 from the First State Community Action Agency through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. Geared with the task of examining the direct and indirect causes of violence in Wilmington, the principal investigators employed a PAR methodology to examine structural violence and its relationship with physical violence. Structural violence is “How social structural systems, policy, legislation, and blocked opportunities—generally in the forms of poor employment and educational opportunities, creates inequality and injustice, in local community environments (Payne, 2013b: p2) that eventually manifest into physical violence (Payne, 2013a).

The targeted population for the study is African-Americans, both males and females, between the ages of 18 to 35. An estimated 5,200 African-Americans live in Eastside and of that roughly 1,100 are within the targeted age range. Southbridge has approximately 2,000 African-American residents with roughly 500 within the targeted population (Porter, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The project sample was stratified by race, gender, and age. Quota sampling was employed to ensure the representativeness of the sample to the population of these communities. The surveys were conducted in person, and the instrument consisted of 214 items that tapped into 10 different areas: psychological well-being, neighborhood conditions, crime, employment, re-entry, educational experience, interaction with the police, criminal justice system, background characteristics, and exposure to violence (Payne, 2013a). PAR team members went into
the communities of Southbridge and Eastside, Sunday through Saturday, from 11am to 1am, collecting surveys in barbershops, beauty salons, baby-showers, parks, recreational centers, homes, public housing “the projects”, schools, and funerals. Participants who completed the surveys received $5 and a resource package that offered additional information about potential employment and services available.

The targeted population (i.e., African-American residents between 18 and 35) was divided into three age cohorts: 18-21, 22-29, and 30-35. Since the quota sampling was based on census tracts provided by the U.S. Census Bureau, and the bureau divided the age in the manner mentioned above, it was beneficial for the researchers to remain consistent with the bureau’s structuring of the age cohort to ensure the sample represented the actual population. Over 600 community surveys were administered. Since only a small portion of respondents were non-Blacks, this thesis focused on African-Americans between the ages of 18-35. Within the 18-21-age cohort, there are 73 male and 96 female respondents, within the 22-29-age cohort, there are 88 male and 119 female respondents, and within the 30-35-age cohort, there are 54 male and 90 female respondents in the thesis. The final sample for the PAR Project consists of 520 total respondents.

**Dependent Variables**

The dependent variables used in this thesis are measures of trust in the police. The survey contained six items that potentially tapped into procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust in the police. These items include: (1) Police are more willing to
threaten me than most other people; (2) I worry that the police I see on the street might bother me and my friends; (3) I worry about being arrested; (4) Police are here to protect me; (5) Police do their job well; and (6) I feel comfortable when I see the police on the streets. Response categories for these items ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). The 2nd and 3rd items were reversed coded. Principal component analysis (PCA) was performed to assess whether these six items are distinguishable along the two trust dimensions. As shown in Table 2, two factors were extracted, with an eigenvalue of 1.86 and 1.71, respectively. The first three items measuring procedural-based trust loaded onto one factor with a factor loading value between .71 and .80, while the last three indicating outcome-based trust loaded onto the second factor with a factor loading ranging from .75 to .80. The analysis indicated that procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust are indeed two distinct concepts among sample African Americans, which addresses the first research question of the study. Two additive scales, with a Cronbach’s alpha of .62 and .69, respectively, were thus constructed to indicate procedural-based and outcome-based trust. For both scales, higher scores indicate higher trust in the police.

**Independent Variables**

Two groups of independent variables were included in this analysis to represent the instrumental and expressive model. For the instrumental model, two variables were constructed. The first variable is *perceived crime problem*. Respondents were asked: (1) do violent crimes happen here; (2) are there gangs here; and (3) and if drug use and drug dealing occur in their neighborhood. Response’s categories include strongly disagree (1),
disagree (2), agree (3) and strongly agree (4). Factor analysis shows that all three items loaded into one factor with an eigenvalue of 1.7 accounting for 58% of the variance, and factors loaded between the ranges of 0.63 to 0.83. Perceived Crime Problem (PCP) index was constructed by summing the value of all three items. PCP has a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.62, suggesting acceptable internal reliability.

Table 2. Construction of Trust in the Police

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Factor1</th>
<th>Factor2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police are more willing to threaten me than most other people.</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I worry that the police I see on the streets might bother me and my friends.</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I worry about being arrested.</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police are here to protect me.</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police do their job well.</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel comfortable when I see the police on the streets.</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eigenvalue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variance

| 31%      |
| 29%      |

The second variable in the instrumental model was actual victimization. The variable was an additive scale of seven items where respondents were asked, (1) how many times someone has broken into their home; (2) had been threatened with serious physical harm; (3) actually been slapped; (4) punched or hit by someone; (5) actually been beaten up or mugged; (6) actually been attacked or stabbed with a knife; or (7) been
shot with a gun. Responses categories include: never (0); 1 to 4 times (1); 5 to 8 times (2); 9 to 12 times (3); and >12 (4). The scale has a high internal consistency with a Cronbach’s alpha of .83. Higher scores on the victimization index equate to higher levels of victimization.

Two variables, concerned with neighborhood physical condition and quality of life, were constructed to represent expressive concerns. Neighborhood physical condition was constructed based on a single item: “Is the neighborhood clean?” Response categories ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). A higher score indicates a greater level of neighborhood physical order.

The quality of life variable was constructed by summing five items asking the respondents: (1) if the community is a safe place to live; (2) does the community have good recreational areas; (3) does the community have quality recreational centers; (4) do the children expect to attend college; and (5) can the children play outside without the fear of harm. Respondents had the options of choosing from one of the response categories: strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), agree (3), or strongly agree (4). Higher scores entail better quality of life in the neighborhood. The reliability test suggested the factor has an acceptable level of internal consistency with a Cronbach’s alpha of .64.

**Control Variables**

Control variables include gender, age, education, and marriage/domestic partnership. Gender was coded as a dichotomous variable with 1 representing female. Respondents’ age was measure in years ranging from 18 to 35. Education was coded as a
dichotomus variable with 1 representing respondents with at least a high school diploma. Finally, a dichotomus variable was created to measure relationship status with 0 representing respondents living without a partner and 1 representing respondents living with a partner. The following categories were coded ‘0’ indicating no partner: single without a partner, married but separated, and widowed. The remaining response categories were coded ‘1’ indicating with a partner: single with partner, legally married, cohabitation, and common law marriage.

**Analytical Strategy**

Since the two dependent variables are continuous variables that do approximate a normal distribution, an OLS regression model was used to analyze the data (Hoffman, 2004, p.65). A series of diagnostic tests were performed to ensure that the assumptions of the OLS regression model were met. Table 3 reports the descriptive statistics of all variables. The highest correlation between two independent variables (quality of life and physical condition) is .37, which is acceptable. The small magnitude of the correlation is confirmed by assessing variance inflation factors (VIFs), all of which are well below the generally accepted limit of 10. In the model, the highest VIF value is 1.2, and the lowest tolerance score is .85. All these statistics indicate that multicollinearity among independent is not a concern.

Hierarchical regression was conducted to measure the influence of three groups of predictors (i.e., instrumental, expressive and control variables) on both procedural-based and outcome-based trust in the police. A stepwise method allows us to assess changes in
the coefficient of determination (R-square) to determine the relative importance of groups of independent and control variables, as they are included in subsequent models. The F statistics and p-values affiliated with the R-square change helps determine if the variables represent a significant improvement when different groups of variables are added into the model.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for the variables in the models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedural-based trust</td>
<td>7.35</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome-based trust</td>
<td>6.65</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived crime problem</td>
<td>8.29</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual victimization</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>28.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive Model</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical condition</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>11.95</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>25.00</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Control Variables</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>5.41</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Living with a partner</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

RESULTS

Regression Models for Procedural-based Trust

The second research question asked if expressive and instrumental models are predictive of African-American’s procedural-based and outcome-based trust in police. Six regression models were estimated to address this question. Table 4 displays the first three regression models for procedural-based trust in the police. The first model (Model 1) contains only variables demonstrating expressive concerns. The second model (Model 2) includes variables addressing both expressive and instrumental concerns, while the third model (Model 3) encompasses expressive concerns, instrumental concerns, and control variables.

In model 1, the two variables representing the expressive model are not significant predictors of African-American’s procedural-based trust in the police. The two variables together explain only .1% of the variation in procedural-based trust in the police.

In Model 2, after the two variables representing instrumental concerns were added into analysis, the variables representing the expressive model remain insignificant. Between the two instrumental concerns, perceived crime problems are not predictive of procedural-based trust in the police, while actual victimization is a significant predictor.
of procedural-based trust. Citizens with higher levels of victimization tend to have lower procedural-based trust in the police. By adding the instrumental model variables into the analysis, the predictive power of the model increased significantly from .001 to .025, though the $R^2$ remains very low.

The third model (Model 3) represents the full model. This model includes expressive concerns, instrumental concerns, and background variables. Similar to Model 1 and Model 2, expressive concerns, including physical conditions of neighborhoods and quality of life, continue to be weakly related to procedural-based trust in the police. Unlike in the second model, where only victimization was predictive of procedural-based trust, both victimization and perceived crime problems are significant predictors of procedural-based trust in the police in the full model. This is what Kline (2011) refers to as a “classical suppression” (p27). The relationship between perceived crime problem (PCP) and procedural-based trust is being suppressed by the variable gender (female). When gender is included in the model, the relationship between PCP and procedural-based trust increases.¹

Among the four background characteristics, age and gender are significant predictors, with females and younger people expressing greater trust in the police than males and older people. Educational attainment and relationship status are not significantly connected to procedural-based trust in the police. Adding control variables

² Not included in the final analysis, an interaction term was created between PCP and gender. The results revealed the interaction term was not statistically significant.
into the model increases the $R^2$ from .025 to .063, improving the predictive power substantially.

**Regression Models for Outcome-based Trust**

As shown in Table 5, the fourth model (Model 4), fifth model (Model 5), and sixth model (Model 6) represent the three regression models for outcome-based trust in the police. Similar to Model 1, Model 4 contains only the expressive concern variables, physical condition of neighborhoods and quality of life. Parallel to Model 3, Model 5 consists of two expressive concern variables in addition two instrumental concern variables: perceived crime problems and actual victimization. Model 6, like Model 3, is the full model, which contains expressive concerns, instrumental concerns and four background variables.

In Model 4, the two variables from the expressive model are both significant predictors of African-American’s outcome-based trust in the police. Higher levels of perceived neighborhood physical conditions and quality of life are associated with higher levels of outcome-based trust in the police. The two variables representing the expressive model explain 6% of the variation in outcome-based trust.

The variables in the expressive model remain significant in the fifth model despite the instrumental model variables being added to the regression analysis. Both instrumental concern variables, perceived crime problems and actual victimization, are not predictive of outcome-based trust in the police. It is apparent that expressive concerns, rather than instrumental concerns, are stronger predictors of outcome-based
trust in the police. As a result, adding the instrumental variables into the analysis does not significantly improve the predictive power of the model. The $R^2$ rose marginally from .060 to .061.

Model 6 includes the two expressive concern variables, the two instrumental concern variables, and the four control variables. Similar to Model 4 and 5, the expressive model continues to be statistically significant. Consistent with Model 5, the instrumental model is not predictive of outcome-based trust in the police. Gender is the only variable from the background characteristic variables that is a statistically significant predictor of outcome-based trust in police with females expressing more outcome-based trust in the police than their male counterparts. Age, educational attainment, and relationship status are not significantly associated with outcome-based trust in the police. Adding control variables into the model does not increase the predictive power much, with the $R^2$ increasing from .061 to .080.
Table 4. Multiple regression models for procedural-based trust in the police

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive concerns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood physical conditions</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental concerns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived crime problem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual victimization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.13**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Female)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (at least a high school diploma)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship (living with a partner)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incremental R²</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
<td>.024**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
Table 5. Multiple regression models for outcome-based trust in the police

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th></th>
<th>Model 5</th>
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<td>SE</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Expressive concerns</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Neighborhood physical conditions</td>
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<td>.13</td>
<td>.14**</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.13**</td>
<td>.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quality of life</td>
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<td>.16**</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.16**</td>
<td>.04</td>
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<td>-.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Perceived crime problem</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.02</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual victimization</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Background characteristics</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Female)</td>
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<td>.11*</td>
<td>.20</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.02</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.060</td>
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<td>.061</td>
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<td>.080</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incremental R²</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
<td>.019</td>
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</table>

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

Why should we care about how African-Americans perceive the police? This understanding of the nature of the public’s attitudes toward the police represents one of the keys to strengthening police-community relations, joint problem solving, and community engagement in crime prevention as well as community building initiatives. Community involvement and public willingness to support the police help fashion and promote the institution as legitimate, and without the additive support police are often viewed in a negative light (Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005).

This thesis sought to contribute to the extant literature by testing an instrumental and expressive model on residents from a small African-American city with documented high crime problems and measurable environmental issues (Payne, 2013a). Upon this pursuit, this thesis had two research questions. The first question was to examine if African-Americans in a small urban city made the distinction between different forms of trust. The second question was to evaluate the relative effects of instrumental and expressive concerns on procedural-based and outcome-based trust in police. In relation to these two main questions, the results reveal four major findings worth mentioning.

First, African Americans are able to differentiate between procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust in their evaluations of local police. This analysis was conducted by distinguishing between various dimensions of trust using factor analysis on six items.
My results compliment findings from previous studies (e.g., Hind & Murphy, 2007; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002), which suggested that individuals living in Western societies do distinguish between the different dimensions of trust.

Unlike Non-Western societies (Sun, et al., 2013a; Sun et al., 2013b), people in Western societies make a distinction between procedural-based and outcome-based trust. One possible explanation rests in the fact that Western Societies are more democratic. In a democratic society where evaluations of police are measured by both procedural and outcome factors (Engel, 2005), it is not surprising that in an established democracy like the United States, where the police are asked to perform dual roles as crime fighters and moral guardians, African-Americans are able to separate the two forms of trust. Even though an all- African-American sample was used, it is consistent with findings from Western literature that people can tell the difference between the two types of trust.

The second and third major findings addressed my second hypothesis, which was that expressive concerns would play a more impactful role on both procedural-based and outcome-based trust than instrumental concerns. The results indicated only partial support for this in that instrumental concerns were better predictors of procedural-based trust in the police than expressive concerns. However, this finding was reversed when predicting outcome-based trust in the police. For the latter model of trust, expressive concerns were the best indictors. I offer several possible reasons for these results.

One is that instrumental concerns argue that when the police are able to reduce crimes, make people feel safe, and decrease victimization rates, people will have greater trust in the police (Jackson & Bradford, 2009). Procedural-based trust is predicated on
respect and priority (Stoutland, 2003). Thus, this finding suggests that African
Americans within this study believe that when there are crime-related issues, it is
important for the police to exercise respect and to treat their concerns as a priority. In
other words, African American residents’ feelings about how they should be treated are
highly intertwined with their concerns about local crime problems. It is unclear,
however, whether such connection is mediated by other relevant events, such as previous
personal and vicarious contact experience with the police. Future research, perhaps using
in-depth interviews, could better disentangle the association between instrumental
concerns and procedural-based trust.

Why do only instrumental concerns matter in deciding procedural-based trust
among African American residents? Concerns about or personal involvement in crime-
related issues render African American ample opportunities to observe how the legal
authorities have administered justice. Indeed, considering that African Americans are
over-represented in the criminal justice system as both offenders and victims (Gaynes,
1992; Miller, 1996; Cole, 2000; Tonry & Melewski, 2008; Andrews & Bonta, 2010), it is
thus not a complete surprise to find that crime-related concerns dominate Blacks’ feelings
about fair and just treatment by the police. It appears that effective crime control has the
trust-enhancing effect on generating a fair and just police force in the eyes of Black
residents. This carries a clear message to policy makers and police administrators:
policies and programs aimed at effectively improving the police’s ability to address crime
problems are essential to build positive police images and community relations.
The third major finding is that outcome-based trust is influenced mainly by expressive concerns. According to Jackson and Bradford (2009), trust requires police officers not only to perform their duties but to create a sense of understanding for the local communities’ needs and allow for a collective voice to express dissatisfaction and concerns. This research indicates that African-Americans have greater outcome-based trust in the police when the communities moral standards are upheld and when the police are able to address environmental concerns such as quality of life and the physical conditions of the neighborhood (Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996). This particular finding is consistent with results from previous studies showing that the police’s ability to address expressive concerns affects residents’ level of trust in the police (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Sun et al.; 2013a; 2013b).

For African Americans, trust in the police hinges upon both instrumental and expressive concerns. The police are expected to perform both their traditional role of crime fighters and a broader role of community guardians. Most urban police departments and officers are quite used to carrying out law enforcement and order maintenance activities, but being an integral part of the community who is responsible for tasks related to quality of life, collective efficacy and social capital could be a challenging but inevitable mission. A policing strategy that integrates crime prevention activities into local government services has the potential of capturing the core values of both role orientations (see my discussion below). Police supervisors must ensure that street-level enforcement and activities do not focus overwhelmingly on the instrumental roles with little care to the expressive roles.
The fourth major finding involves two background variables, gender and age. In the full models, Model 3 and Model 6, gender is significantly associated with both procedural-based and outcome-based trust in the police, whereas, age appears to be a significant predictor of only procedural-based trust. Females were found to express higher levels of trust in police than their male counterparts. There are several possible explanations as to why gender affects both forms of trust. Before this discussion however, it is imperative to note that the effect of gender is mixed in past research on public evaluations of the police. For example, Garcia & Cao (2005) found that gender is a strong predictor of trust in the police by itself, whereas others suggested that gender is an inconsistent predictor of trust in the police and often needs to be used as an interactive term to gain statistical significance (Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008).

Sociologically, women’s higher levels of trust make sense because women are unlikely to have as many encounters with the police than males (Payne, 2013a), thus reducing the likelihood of having negative experience with the police. Research also found that women are less likely to get arrested ((Finn & Stalans, 1997; Finn, Blackwell, Stalans, Studdard, & Dugan 2004) and are given preferential treatment during their arrests (Visher, 1983). When women do encounter officers, they are generally treated with more fairly (Gabbidon, Higgins, & Potter, 2011).

I also found that younger African Americans were likely to have higher levels of procedural-based trust than their older counterparts. It should be noted that the age of my sample respondents ranged from 18 to 35 years old with a mean age of 25. The following discussion thus should be interpreted within those parameters. This finding is actually
inconsistent with the results from most of the previous studies (Ellison, Pino, & Shirlow, 2013; Myhill & Bradford, 2012; Payne & Gainey, 2007; Van Craen, 2013; Wu & Sun, 2009). One possible explanation for this finding is that older young men have experienced in their youth more negative contacts with the police, leading to greater resentment toward police officers. Similarly, they may also be more aware of procedural requirements of police intervention and more likely to expect the police to be fair, polite and courteous.

**Limitations**

The majority of limitations associated with this thesis revolve around the absence of some critical variables. The relative low R-square is an indication that some theoretically relevant variables were not included in the models. As previously mentioned, evaluating a pure African-American sample contributes to the literature by uncovering within-group variations among respondents of a single race, but it also prevented comparative analysis of public opinions on the police across races. Given that race has been found to be one of the strongest and consistent predictors of attitudes toward the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002), future research should include a comparative sample of Whites, Hispanics, and Asians.

The project data doesn’t contain items that can be used to measure the variable legitimacy, which is critical in the developmental process of the relationship between agents of social control and the people they serve. This is because any successful crime fighting initiative or any attempt to build social capital relies on the relationship between
community residents and their local law-enforcement agencies. The amount of communication between the two parties lies in how legitimate the residents view the police and, once legitimacy is established, it translates to a fruitful communication between the two parties (Bradford & Jackson, 2009). Prior studies suggested that people tend to adhere to the rule-of-law when the body enforcing the rules implements it in a manner that the people perceive as fair (Kupchik, 2010). If trust in the police increases, these communities should be less critical of the police and more willing to cooperate and assist the police in control their neighborhoods (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). Legitimacy in law enforcement thus should be measured and included in future research of African Americans’ assessments of the police.

I was unable to construct any variables measuring respondents’ personal and vicarious contact experiences with the police. As prior research would suggest, the perception of law enforcement is likely to be influenced by how the police interact with the general public. Positive direct encounters can enhance law-enforcement legitimacy (Norman, 2009; Skogan, 2006; Tyler & Fagan, 2006) by substantially reconstructing opinions on the police and producing meaningful changes (Myhill & Bradford, 2011). Contact experiences need to be incorporated into future studies on public evaluations of the police.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

There are several policy implications for elected officials, community activists and local residents related to this thesis. The findings expressed that African-Americans differentiated between procedural-based trust and outcome-based trust, and that these different forms of trust are impacted by either instrumental concerns or expressive concerns. As a result, it is imperative that future policing strategies, crime fighting initiatives, or community policing address both types of concerns. For example, police have to fight crime and uphold the moral character of the community. There are several ways to approach this task. First, policy makers and public officials must make it a point within the framework of their strategies and policy making to reestablish connections within individual communities in order to build relationships based on mutual trust and be able to disseminate such strategies throughout informational neighborhood hubs (i.e. community centers, recreational halls, and traditional places of gatherings). These sites serve as places where both parties can iron out differences and agree on resolutions that have a lasting impact. Second, any new policy or policing strategies to be implemented should involve community residents in the assessment, implementation, and evaluation phase of policy development. This not only captures what concerns are important to residents, but also places them in a position to assume ownership. This bottom-up
approach is vital to strengthening the strained relationship between community members and the police.

For whatever reason, the disconnect between law enforcement and minorities, African-Americans in particular, needs to be deconstructed and then reconstructed so a stronger bond can exist between the parties. As a collective group they stand a better chance in addressing both safety issues and environmental concerns when trust is established.

This process starts with developing models and conducting studies evaluating African-Americans’ trust in police, which must first begin with paying close attention to African-American males. The priority of the African American male should be the number one initiative for politicians, law enforcement, and civic leaders. It is this segment of the population that expressed the least favorable opinion of police. Therefore, through positive interaction this fragile relationship can be mended. For example, law enforcement should receive job sensitive training for the areas they are responsible for. This will foster empathy for victims and assist them with resolving issues without passing judgment on those they are sworn to protect. Even in the cases where a person is being apprehended due to criminal activity, the police still should treat the suspect with some sort of dignity by not using excessive force and publicly degrading them in front of their loved ones. These are a few things that most African-American males could agree upon in their attempts at seeking help from the police or even when being apprehended by the police. This is because people are more concerned with how they are treated during the initial process.
It would only be through this joint effort that the police department and residents of the city of Wilmington could adequately address the crime problems of the city (Cherry, 2012) and create stronger community through building social capital and helping to create opportunities for community residents. This is the recipe to mend this fragile relationship and establish trust.
REFERENCES


