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Public Vulnerability to the Police: A Quantitative Inquiry

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Abstract: The recent protests regarding the state of policing in the US clearly demonstrate that how the police do their job creates a salient potential for harm to the public. This study applies a multidimensional paradigm of risk perception to quantify evaluations of police-caused harm. Using data from a national (US) convenience sample ($n = 1890$) that oversampled individuals who self-identified as Black or Muslim, we tested whether these evaluations vary systematically (using confidence intervals), whether they covary with police legitimacy (using Structural Equation Modeling), and the extent to which that covariance differs by demographic status (using Multiple Groups Structural Equation Modeling). Our results suggest that Black and Muslim individuals evaluate police-caused harm differently than do majority group members (White and Christian) on most, but not all, of the measured dimensions. We also find that those evaluations are predictive of trust and provide evidence of some level of consistency across communities.

Keywords: policing, risk, legitimacy, race, religion

The fundamental purpose of law enforcement is to facilitate social cohesion through deliberate actions that have the potential to cause harm (see Bottoms & Tankebe, 2017). Ideally, this police-caused harm is limited to the situations that we—as a society—deem acceptable, especially by restricting its application to those who can reasonably be argued to be deserving (i.e., “criminals”). Problematically however, the history of policing has been punctuated by high-profile incidents in which the deliberate actions of the police have caused legally, socially, and even morally inappropriate harm. These harms have important consequences for the police-community relationship as has been poignantly demonstrated by the social response to the deaths of Jakob Blake, Elijah McClain, George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Michael Brown, and countless others. The current study builds upon the largely qualitative body of scholarly knowledge that has sought to understand how communities think about their vulnerability to the police. Specifically, we borrow a paradigm from research on risk perception to quantify these evaluations and facilitate tests of (1) whether they differ for two especially relevant minoritized communities (Black and Muslim) as compared to majority communities, (2) whether variability in these evaluations explains attitudes toward the police, and (3) whether the relations between these evaluations and police legitimacy vary across communities.

Harm and Policing

Managing modern social systems is a question of managing harm (Giddens, 1991). Every interaction between agentic actors (that is, individuals or groups that have the ability to act deliberately) carries with it the possibility that either party could choose to act in a way that would cause harm to the other. Some have gone so far as to refer to this as part of a “fundamental human dilemma (Lind, 2001, p. 61)” such that in order for a society to function

effectively, people must generally be willing to accept some level of potential for harm to each other (Newton et al., 2018).

To facilitate this willingness, virtually every society has instituted some kind of system of formal social control and policing typically features prominently (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2017). In most of these systems, law enforcement agents are granted considerable authority and discretion to deploy in preventing and addressing what we refer to here as external harms. These harms are external to the focal relationship between the trustor and the police in that they arise from the deliberate actions of others. Thus, these harms include most criminal and deviant behavior, and range from specific interpersonal victimization to more general problems like social disorder. In many ways, it is precisely these harms that the police are designed to address (Mastrofski, 2004) and a considerable body of research suggests that the public cares deeply about them (e.g., Jackson, 2006).

It is important, however, to recognize that empowering the police to address these external harms creates its own potential for internal harms that arise from the deliberate actions of the police. These harms not only arise from individual, officer-level decisions like who to detain and the level of force to apply, but also from agency-level decisions like patrol strategies, resource deployment, and personnel management. An equally considerable body of evidence suggests that at least some communities also recognize and care deeply about their potential for experiencing these harms (e.g., Cobbina, 2019). Much of this work has focused on concrete, physical injury (e.g., Armaline et al., 2014; Thompson & Lee, 2004), but there is also evidence to suggest that these harms can include more amorphous injuries like violations of what the public believes law enforcement should be. Embrick goes so far as to argue that empowering the

police at all “represents a rearticulation of slavery and Jim Crow era practices specifically designed to socially control people of color (2015, p. 837)”.

We argue that internal and external harms are, therefore, distinct but that they are importantly connected such that decreasing the potential for one type of harm can increase the potential for the other. For example, a community may seek to reduce its perceived potential for interpersonal victimization (external harm) by championing proactive policies which, even if successful, will create a greater potential for harm from police actions (internal harm), especially for the disenfranchised. The history of stop-and-frisk policies in New York City and elsewhere provides an excellent example of such a tradeoff (White & Fradella, 2019). In these communities, heightened fear of crime led to an expansion of police activity that, although intended to reduce external harmⁱ, exacerbated internal harm to marginalized communities. We, therefore, argue that these harms are transferable across types (i.e., from external to internal) and can be displaced across individuals or groups (i.e., from the more affluent to the disenfranchised).

Previous Research

The majority of the research that has examined harm in the policing context has focused on external harms, investigating concerns like fear of victimization (e.g., Warr, 1984), fear of crime (e.g., Jackson, 2006), and neighborhood disorder (e.g., Ross & Mirowsky, 1999). This work consistently finds that these perceptions matter, especially as bases of attitudes toward the police (e.g., Dowler, 2003). Less attention, however, has been paid to internal harms. Nonetheless there are small but significant bodies of relevant scholarship. The first is typically comprised of large, often nationally representative, quantitative evaluations of the extent to which the public reports concern about a particular kind of internal harm: police violence. In

general, this work suggests that Black (e.g., Trahan & Russell, 2017) and Hispanic communities (e.g., Graham et al., 2020) experience greater concern. The second body of work typically relies on qualitative examinations of how minoritized communities' think about their relationships with the police. Much of this work focuses on Black youth who also tend to report especially negative evaluations of harm from the police, but it also suggests that their concern extends beyond police violence (e.g., Brunson & Miller, 2006; Carr et al., 2007). A qualitative meta-synthesis by Nordberg and colleagues (2015) identified several key themes, only one of which addressed concrete personal injury ("police are dangerous"). The other three focused on more amorphous harms to ideas like feelings of security ("police are ineffective"), autonomy ("police are controlling"), and dignity ("police are prejudiced"). This mix of concrete, personal harm and more amorphous, conceptual harm echoes in studies examining adult experiences. Regarding concrete injuries, some participants have gone so far as to espouse the view that the police are a dangerous "gang" with a legal mandate to harass, assault, and kill (Armaline et al., 2014), a perspective that is often reinforced by awareness of disproportionately applied policing practices (e.g., Gelman et al., 2007) and high-profile incidents (e.g., Cobbina, 2019; Kochel, 2017). Regarding more amorphous harms, research suggests that some communities of color recognize a salient potential for harm from simply being disparately policed (e.g., Jones-Brown, 2007). Although some of this research has connected these concerns to a concrete risk of physical injury, it is clear that a belief that the police are agents of a system designed to keep people of color "in their place" represents its own harm even when it does not result in physical violence. Applying Atuahene's theory of dignity taking and dignity restoration (e.g., 2016), Acevedo argues that "the outrage caused by 'Ferguson encounters' is about more than the loss of time or

money to individuals or families; it is, at heart, about a loss of dignity suffered by wide swaths of the American public (2015, p. 622; see also Baer, 2017).

Synthesis of this work clearly suggests that at least some communities experience a salient potential for experiencing a variety of internal harms, but it remains less clear how these evaluations might vary. Of particular note is the relatively more limited attention paid to other communities that may have importantly different relationships with law enforcement. Thus, although discussions of police-caused harm have tended to focus on Black communities, there is a growing recognition that counter-terrorism policing has—or at least could have—comparable negative consequences for individuals who identify as Muslim (see Aziz, 2014). Research from the UK and Australia highlights these concerns, suggesting that individuals in Muslim communities themselves to have more negative experiences with legal authorities specifically because of efforts to control terrorism (Cherney & Murphy, 2013). Indeed, the dynamics that underpinned the harm caused by stop-and-frisk in New York City were echoed in London’s Muslim communities following the 7-7 terror attacks (Parmar, 2011).

Current Study

The previous literature clearly suggests that at least some communities perceive some level of vulnerability to a variety of internal harms rooted in the actions of the police. Nonetheless, the conclusions of this work are constrained by its focus on quantitative work that has specifically investigated attitudes toward police violence or broader qualitative efforts in targeted communities. The current study builds upon this literature by applying a theoretical paradigm from risk research, a subfield of social psychology that seeks, in part, to understand individual-level variability in evaluations of potential harm. One of the oldest approaches to understanding this variability is the Psychometric Paradigm (e.g., Slovic et al., 1985), which argues that

understanding how people think about different hazards (that is, things that have the potential to cause harm) requires assessment of differences in evaluations of the resultant harm itself. The paradigm further argues that these evaluations are multidimensional and include the focal person's thoughts about their capacity to control whether exposure to the hazard leads to harm, the immediacy of experiencing harm following exposure, their knowledge about the harm and the knowledge they attribute to those with a responsibility for managing it, their capacity to control whether or not they are exposed to the harm in the first place, the breadth of the harm's impact, fear of the harm itself, and its severity. Research suggests that no single dimension fully characterizes these evaluations and that they vary, not only as a function of the specific hazard, but also as a function of individual differences, even when addressing the same hazard (e.g., Bronfman et al., 2008; Finucane et al., 2000).

Hypothesis 1. To date, this paradigm has not been applied to policing, but at least some of these dimensions may be useful for explaining variability in evaluations of police-caused harm. Take for example, the capacity to control exposure to the police and whether the individual is then able to make choices that impact whether that exposure leads to experiencing harm. Both previous research and anecdotal media reports strongly suggest variability in the extent to which people believe that following the law and "doing everything right" actually reduces the likelihood of exposure to the police (e.g., being pulled over) or the likelihood that those interactions would result in harm. Discussions about driving-while-Black address this poignantly, suggesting that some experience a salient lack of control over exposure to and harm from law enforcement during traffic stops because of the color of their skin (Lundman & Kaufman, 2003), and this concern also extends to Muslim communities (Chon & Artz, 2004; Sharma, 2003; Young, 2004). Similarly, there is some evidence of increased levels of fear and

severity in at least some Black (see Lebron, 2017) and Muslim communities (e.g., Henderson et al., 2006). We, therefore, pose our first hypothesis: Endorsement of the dimensions of internal harm will vary such that Black and Muslim participant responses will be significantly different from majority participant responses (H1).

Hypothesis 2. Scholars often assume that the more a community perceives itself to be vulnerable to internal harm, the more negatively it will evaluate the police. Importantly, however, the previous literature is typically poorly positioned to test this. To be sure, a considerable body of work suggests that many minoritized communities have both salient concerns about internal harm and poorer evaluations of the police but very little of this work has empirically connected them. Of the work that has considered both, most is qualitative (thus challenging the ability to speak to covariance) and focuses heavily on communities where minoritized resident perceptions are likely to be especially negative (e.g., Oakland; Armaline et al., 2014; Ferguson; Kochel, 2017; Milwaukee; Desmond et al., 2016). This may mean that the concurrence of poorer perceptions of law enforcement and of harm arise simply as a product of sampling biases. In line with this largely untested postulation, we hypothesize a significant negative relation between evaluations of internal harm and police legitimacy, but we increase our contribution by testing this relation in light of the Integrated Framework of Legitimacy (IFL; Hamm et al., 2017). The IFL joins with considerable other work highlighting legitimacy as a critical element of the police-community relationship (see Tyler, 2006) but diverges from this work by arguing that legitimacy can be best understood as a framework of component constructs organized into four stages: evaluations of personal and vicarious interactions with the police (e.g., procedural fairness), evaluations of the police (e.g., normative alignment), internalized psychological states (e.g., trust), and behavioral reactions (e.g., cooperation). Although the

internal harm dimensions may impact a number of constructs within these stages, we focused on trust, operationalized here as an internalized psychological state characterized by a willingness to accept vulnerability to harm from the deliberate actions of the police (see Mayer et al., 1995).

Thus, although evaluations of internal harm may impact the way the public thinks about interactions with the police and the police themselves, we argue that its primary effect should be on the extent to which the individual feels willing to accept their vulnerability to that harm. We therefore pose our second hypothesis: The evaluations of internal harm will account for predictive variance in trust in the police independent of the variance accounted for by its other predictors within the IFL (H2).

Research Question 1. Extant literature provides solid ground for posing hypotheses regarding differences in the evaluations of internal harm and their relation with police legitimacy. What is less clear, however, is whether the covariance among these concepts varies across communities. Thus, although differences in demographic statuses may result in differential relations between the evaluations of internal harm and trust in the police, it may be that these links are more invariant. To date no research has considered this directly, but work investigating what has become known as the Invariance Thesis suggests that statistical relations among legitimacy constructs are reasonably consistent (e.g., Wolfe et al., 2016). On the other hand, however, research comparing attitudes toward the police in developed and developing countries have begun to show some evidence of inconsistency and there is reason to believe that this could be rooted in differences in evaluations of potential harm (see Tankebe 2009). We, therefore, pose an additional exploratory research question. Does the utility of the evaluations of internal harm in explaining variance in trust in the police vary across communities (RQ1)?

Method

Data were collected from a national (US) convenience sample via Qualtrics Panels in 2017. Participants were invited from a variety of sources by Qualtrics to complete an online survey in return for compensation which varied as a function of how the individual was recruited (e.g., individuals recruited via rewards programs were typically compensated with rewards points). Participation was open to any adult US resident but because we were particularly interested in two minoritized communities, quotas were used to oversample individuals such that the final sample was roughly divided in thirds across participants who self-reported as Black but not Muslim (non-Muslim Black; NMB), Muslim, and White but not Muslim (non-Muslim White; NMW). All procedures were approved by the Michigan State University Human Research Protection Program.

Materials

After providing informed consent, participants completed three sections addressing vulnerability, attitudes and reactions regarding the police, and a demographic questionnaire. To address the potential for order effects, the vulnerability and attitude sections were presented in counterbalanced order. The vulnerability section began with a brief statement about internal harm, referred to here as the “negative impacts of police actions (NIPA)”. In this statement, participants were reminded of the important role that the police play in protecting communities from external harm, and of the considerable discretion afforded them in working to accomplish this responsibility. To reduce the potential for biasing responses by focusing on the negatives, the statement then explained that the bulk of the impact of police actions is typically positive. Nonetheless, it noted that “there is always some level of risk of negative impacts at both the individual and societal level” and concluded by noting that the current survey sought to understand how people think about the potential for negative impacts of police action, “no matter

how large or small”. To concretize the task, participants were then asked to report as many as five, but no fewer than two, negative impacts of police actions. These responses were not treated as data in themselves. Instead, participants were instructed to keep these specific impacts in mind but to consider a variety of possible negative impacts as they completed the rest of this section. Participants were next asked to report their evaluations of the NIPA using measures drawn from research on the Psychometric Paradigm (see Benthin et al., 1993; Slovic et al., 1985). Eight dimensions were identified, and single item measures for each were modified to address the policing context (scored on bipolar, 11-point scales; see Table 1).

Insert Table 1

The constructs included in the attitudes and reactions section were guided by the Integrated Framework of Legitimacy (IFL; Hamm et al., 2017). Thus, measures were included that represented all four framework stages: evaluations of interactions (here procedural fairness and procedural unfairness), evaluations of the target itself (ability, benevolence, integrity, and normative alignment), internalizations (trust), and reactions (specific and general cooperation). In order to standardize referents across questions, participants were asked to focus on the police agency responsible for patrolling their neighborhood. In addition to the IFL constructs, three other control variables were included. The first was a measure of fear of crime (e.g., Circo et al., 2018) which assessed external harm as the extent to which the participant felt likely to be criminally victimized in their neighborhood. Two personality-level controls were also included to account for individual differences in attitudes towards others generally (propensity to trust; Pew Research Center, 2007) and toward the law (legal cynicism; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). All questions were scored on 1-7 “*strongly disagree*” to “*strongly agree*” scales with a neutral mid-point (4 “*neither agree nor disagree*”) with two exceptions. The response options for

specific cooperation were labeled such that 1 indicated “*very unlikely*” while 7 indicated “*very likely*” (4 “*undecided*”). Fear of crime was scored on a similarly labeled 6-point scale without a neutral midpoint.

Participants

The final sampleⁱⁱ included 1,890 participants, the plurality of whom were female (67%), married (42%), had completed at least a bachelor’s degree (57%), and lived in households that earned less than \$50,000/year (56%; 29% made less than \$25,000/year). Participants’ median age was 39 (SD = 16.28) and 78% of the sample reported living in the United States all their life (less than 5% had lived in the US for less than 5 years). Twenty-eight percent of the complete sample reported having contact with a police officer in the last 6 months and of those, 71% reported being satisfied with their treatment.

To address the non-orthogonal nature of race and religion, we focused our demographic analyses on two separate variables. The first collapsed across race to compare Black (35.4%) and White participants (36.6%; other races/ethnicities = 28%) while the second collapsed across religions to distinguish Muslim participants (32.5%) from two “majority” religious classifications, Christians (30.0%) and non-religious individuals (17.8%; other religious affiliations = 19.7%). Note that because they combine several races, ethnicities, and religious affiliations, the interpretation of the “other” categories is complicated. We, therefore, do not offer specific explanations regarding how or why they might differ from the focal demographic categories, but we do report their mean values in the tables.

Results

Hypothesis 1

To test our first hypothesis—that Black and Muslim evaluations of internal harm will be significantly different from majority responses—we computed 95% confidence intervals around the means of the internal harm dimensions for each of the demographic groups (this test approximates an independent samples *t*-test). We then evaluated the means by participant race (see Table 2). As hypothesized, the analyses revealed significant differences for seven of the eight internal harm dimensions. Compared to Black participants, White participants reported feeling that they have more control over the consequences of police contact (Consequence of Choices), that the negative impacts of police actions were more delayed (Immediacy of Effects), that people like them know less about the negative impacts (Knowledge [Like Me]), that they have more control over whether they have contact with the police (Control of Exposure), that the breadth of the impact of these harms is confined to individuals rather than affecting larger groups (Breadth of Impact), and that people like them experience less fear (Fear) and see the negative impacts as less severe (Severity). White and Black participants, however, did not significantly differ in the extent to which they believed that people in power know about the potential for harm (Knowledge [In Power]) for which both groups reported means significantly above the midpoint (4).

Insert Table 2 here

The results comparing participant responses by religion also partially supported the first hypothesis (see Table 3). Compared to Muslim participants, Christian participants felt that they have more control over the consequences, that the effects are more delayed, that they have more control over exposure, and that the NIPA are less feared and less severe. Non-religious participants were less consistently different from Muslim participants and only reported feeling more control over the consequences and lower severity. None of the religious affiliations differed

in their assessment of either knowledge variable or the breadth of the impact of the NIPA. Values for all three of these dimensions were consistently high.

Insert Table 3 here

Hypothesis 2

Multivariate, latent models were used to test the second hypothesis. As is typical with these analytic approaches, we started with the measurement portion of the model which we evaluated via a confirmatory factor analysis. In this model, each of the attitudinal scale items were entered as indicators of their hypothesized latent factors which were identified by setting their means and variances to 0 and 1 respectively, thus allowing all loadings to be estimated. The single-item, internal harm dimension measures were included in the analysis as observed variables. Correlations were estimated among all internal harm dimensions and latent factors. The model was estimated using the maximum likelihood-robust (MLR) estimator, fit well to the data ($\chi^2(1143) = 2579.42, p < .001$; CFI = .97; TLI = .96; RMSEA = .03, $p > .99$; SRMR = .03), and revealed large ($\lambda > .65$) loadings for all but three of the indicators on their hypothesized latent factor (see Table 4). Each of the multi-item scales yielded good evidence of internal reliability via latent model-based estimates (ω).

Insert Table 4

Table 5 reports the item- and factor-level correlations tested in the measurement model. As noted in the top left quadrant, the eight internal harm dimensions were variously related. Although most were significant, the correlations were generally low, suggesting that they captured relatively distinct evaluations. The top right quadrant of the table reports the relations of the internal harm dimensions with the latent factors. These were also variously related with the strongest correlations generally including Control of Exposure and Fear. The bottom right

quadrant reports the correlations among the latent variables. These relations were typically much stronger but of particular note are the especially high correlations within the second stage of the IFL. Given that this multicollinearity would significantly challenge the benefit of modeling Ability, Benevolence, Integrity, and Normative Alignment as separate constructs, we tested a model with a higher-order Trustworthiness factor that was then used for the subsequent analysesⁱⁱⁱ. The new model fit well overall ($\chi^2(1193) = 2780.30, p < .001$; CFI = .97; TLI = .96; RMSEA = .03, $p > .99$; SRMR = .03) and revealed significant loadings for all four latent factors (see Table 5).

Insert Table 5

Having evaluated the measurement model, we next tested Hypothesis 2—that the evaluations of internal harm will account for variance in trust in the police beyond that accounted for by its other predictors—in a structural model (see Figure 1). Following the IFL, reactions (Specific and General Cooperation) were regressed on internalizations (Trust), which were predicted by evaluations of the target (Trustworthiness, modeled here as a higher-order factor indicated by Ability, Benevolence, Integrity, and Normative Alignment), which were themselves predicted by evaluations of interactions (Procedural Fairness and Unfairness). The internal harm dimensions were situated within this model as competing predictors of Trust along with Fear of Crime, Propensity to Trust, and Legal Cynicism as controls. The model fit well to the data ($\chi^2(1234) = 3109.91, p < .001$; CFI = .96; TLI = .96; RMSEA = .03, $p > .99$; SRMR = .04) and supported some of the hypothesized relations (see Table 6). Specifically, Immediacy of Effects and Control of Exposure accounted for significant variance in Trust independent of that accounted for by Trustworthiness and the controls. For the remaining constructs, both measures of cooperation were significantly predicted by Trust, which was itself significantly predicted by

Trustworthiness, Propensity to Trust, and Legal Cynicism. Trustworthiness was then significantly predicted by both Procedural Fairness and Procedural Unfairness, but Procedural Fairness had the stronger effect. Indirect effects via intervening variables in Figure 1 were tested and are reported in Table 6. The variance accounted for in each criterion was moderate to high.

Insert Figure 1 here

Insert Table 6 here

Research Question 1

We next addressed our research question—whether the predictive utility of the evaluations of internal harm varies as a function of demographic status—via a Multiple Groups (MG) SEM. Although we did not pose hypotheses regarding these analyses, they were conducted to provide an exploratory assessment of whether the model relations may vary by demographic status. Because race and religion were non-orthogonal, we used a grouping variable which allowed each participant to be assigned to a single group in the simultaneous model (non-Muslim Black, Muslim, and non-Muslim White). We first tested metric (loading) invariance but, violating the requirements of this weakest level of measurement invariance, the comparison model yielded a significant decrease in model fit ($-2\Delta LL(72) = 152.68, p > .99$) and only fit moderately to the data overall ($\chi^2(3786) = 7012.62, p < .001$; CFI = .92; TLI = .92; RMSEA = .04, $p > .99$; SRMR = .05). Evaluation of the local fit metrics suggested a distributed pattern of misfit where the non-invariance was not attributable to a single item or a discrete group, but instead suggested smaller mismatches on most of them. The composition of the latent factors was, therefore, not invariant across demographic groups, even at the weakest level.

Although this measurement invariance challenges the ability to interpret structural invariance, it is important to remember that the focal constructs—the evaluations of internal

harm—were modeled as observed variables. As a result, the non-invariance in the measurement of the latent factors was not relevant to them. Nonetheless, it is important to note that because the measurement model was non-invariant across groups, it is unclear whether differences in the relations between the internal harm dimensions and the latent factors are the result of differences in the relations themselves or in how the latent constructs were measured. Given this—and the fact that we did not pose hypotheses for these comparisons—we did not conduct nested model comparisons but instead simply estimated a configural model that allowed separate parameters to be freely estimated for each group. Our results, therefore, do not represent a test of differences in parameters across the models, but do provide insight into whether and how these parameters might vary. As reported in Table 7, most of the structural relations were numerically similar across groups suggesting that the relations among the internal harm dimensions and latent factors did not vary by demographic group.

Insert Table 7

Discussion

The current study sought to understand public evaluations of the harm that arises from the deliberate actions of law enforcement for individuals from two communities that are likely to have particular relationships with the police: Black and Muslim. Our results provide mixed support for two hypotheses and some evidence that the predictive utility of the evaluations does not vary.

H1: Comparing across Communities

Our analyses revealed clear differences between communities. Regarding race, Black participants reported means that were significantly different from White respondents for seven of the eight internal harm dimensions (Consequence of Choices, Immediacy of Effects, Knowledge

[Like Me], Control of Exposure, Breadth of Impact, Fear, and Severity). Muslim participant responses were more similar to other religious affiliations but were still significantly different from Christian responses for five dimensions (Consequence of Choices, Immediacy of Effects, Control of Exposure, Fear, and Severity), and from non-religious participant responses for Consequence of Choices and Severity. Together these results suggest that these internal harm dimensions do vary along demographic lines. Consistent with previous work in the risk literature (e.g., Kahan et al., 2007), Black participant responses were generally suggestive of more concern than White participants (e.g., more fear and greater severity). Indeed, Black and White participant means were statistically equivalent only for knowledge about the negative impacts of police actions attributed to people in power, for which both groups reported relatively high means. Similarly, Muslim participant evaluations were generally different from Christian participants, but interestingly they were more similar to those of non-religious individuals.

Direct comparison across racial and religious affiliations is complicated given their non-orthogonal nature, but we did conduct two additional *post hoc* analyses to explore the potential for intersectionality. Comparison of non-Muslim Black (NMB) and Muslim participants suggests that NMB participant evaluations of internal harm were different on six of the eight dimensions (no differences were identified for Consequence of Choices or Control of Exposure). Similarly, a comparison within Muslim participants suggested differences on six dimensions when comparing those who also identified as Black versus those who identified as White (no differences were identified for Consequence of Choices and Knowledge [In Power]). Together these supplementary analyses suggest individuals who identify as both Black and Muslim may have importantly different evaluations than do Black individuals who do not identify as Muslim

or Muslim individuals who identify as White. Nonetheless, given their *post hoc* nature, they should be interpreted with some caution.

H2: Predicting Trust in the Police

Despite significant associations at the bivariate level, only two of the internal harm dimensions significantly predicted trust in the police. Instead, and consistent with considerable literature, our latent Trust factor was primarily (and overwhelmingly) predicted by the Trustworthiness higher-order factor. Although this especially strong relation does challenge the distinctiveness of the constructs (see PytlikZillig et al., 2016), the most salient problem for the current inquiry is that any new predictors of Trust are unlikely to account for independent variance when Trustworthiness is also part of the model. Thus, our data provide an especially stringent test of the utility of adding new predictors. It is therefore especially noteworthy that in our structural model, Trust was significantly predicted by two of the eight internal harm dimensions (Immediacy of Effects and Control of Exposure) both of which also had significant indirect effects on both measures of cooperation as mediated by Trust. It is also worthy of note that four other dimensions—Fear, Consequence of Choices, Severity, and Breadth of Impact—were significantly related to Trust at the bivariate level and so may have mattered more in the structural model if not for the inclusion of Trustworthiness. The two knowledge variables were consistently less important.

RQ1: Testing Model Invariance by Demographic Status

Regarding the invariance of the model across groups, our results provide weak, exploratory evidence of the consistency of the relations between the evaluations of internal harm and Trust. Because latent models rely on non-observed variables, we first tested whether these latent variables were constituted equivalently across groups. As noted above, this invariance failed at

even the weakest level suggesting that the item loadings for the indicators, and thus the latent factors themselves, were statistically different (non-invariant) across groups. It is important, however, to remember that these limitations do not apply to observed variables which are, by definition, uniformly constituted across sub-group models. We, therefore, evaluated the structural portion of the model. Given this limitation, and the absence of specific hypotheses, nested model comparisons were inappropriate: We instead present a configural model that allowed separate parameters to be estimated for each group. This provides exploratory insight into how the proposed model might differ across groups and, in general, they don't. In fact, only twelve of the forty-six parameters even changed significance across groups (approximately one in four; see highlighted rows in Table 7). In general, these differences suggested that fewer variables (and especially fewer dimensions of internal harm) were predictive of Trust for NMW participants than for either minoritized group. Instead, Propensity to Trust was more predictive for NMW participants, suggesting that their trust in the police was more connected to their personality-level propensity to trust across contexts where minoritized participants relied more on their evaluations of harm from the police.

Limitations

Despite its contribution, there are several important limitations to this work and chief among these are the use of an online survey. Although our design and sampling facilitated access to a large number of people in a variety of communities across the country, our respondents were necessarily confined to those with the capacity to complete an online survey and therefore may not include the most disenfranchised members of Black, Muslim, and White communities.

Future research should focus on these individuals specifically as they are often most likely to be

aggressively policed and least able to avail themselves to legal protections when they experience harm.

Implications

Policing and harm are deeply entwined. How the police address the potential for external harm impacts the public's potential for experiencing internal harm which, in turn, impacts the extent to which the public is willing to empower the police to address external harm. The contemporary crisis of trust in the criminal justice system has brought this dialogue of legitimacy into sharp focus (see Bottoms & Tankebe, 2017). From agency-level decisions like the Ferguson Police Department's use of revenue generating policies (see Chaney, 2015), to individual uses of force, the deliberate actions of law enforcement represent real potential for harm about which some communities care deeply. Even a cursory evaluation of the discussion surrounding de-funding the police suggests a strong focus on these negative impacts of police actions (Akbar, 2020).

Understanding how the public evaluates their vulnerability to internal harm is, therefore, an important part of efforts to understand, improve, and protect police-community relationships: The current study provides guidance for these efforts. Most centrally, our results provide quantitative evidence regarding the elements of police caused harm that are most concerning and those that are less problematic. Across dimensions, Black and Muslim participants tend to have more negative evaluations of their potential for police-caused harm than their majority counterparts. This underscores a need to engage more effectively with these communities, but this is nothing new. Although we do provide some of the first quantitative data regarding these differences and provide future research with a roadmap for assessing them in other contexts, recognition of a greater need to engage with minoritized communities pervades the policing literature. What our results add to this conversation, however, is the specific areas that are more

and less connected to trust. For example, our results suggest that efforts to explain that those in power know about (and thus are, hopefully, working to address) the potential for police-caused harm to communities are likely to be less effective, both because it seems that the public believes that “politicians and police administrators” already know, but also because these evaluations seem to have little to do with levels of trust in the police. The remaining dimensions were generally more related to trust but the extent to which people feel able to control whether they encounter the police (Control of Exposure) appeared particularly important. Thus, an especially profitable focus of police reform efforts may be ensuring that law enforcement contact is reserved for individuals who have made decisions that bring their actions within the purview of the police. Thus, although individuals who have, in fact, done nothing wrong are likely to continue to experience enforcement-focused contact with the police, effort should be expended to eliminate these errors. This, again, is nothing new. Where there is more potential for policy level change, however, is in the areas in which preemptive (undeserved) enforcement contact is explicitly permitted. Reducing or eliminating stop-and-frisk and so-called “pretext stops” while driving are, therefore, particularly strong candidates for reforming police-community relations.

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Table 1 – Internal Harm Dimensions, Wording, Anchors, and Complete Sample Mean and 95% Confidence Intervals

Internal Harm Dimension	Item Wording	<u>Anchors</u>		<u>Complete Sample Univariates</u>		
		1	11	Mean	LLCI	ULCI
Consequence of Choices	Do people like you face the potential for the negative impacts of police actions as a result of the choices they make?	Negative impacts are consequences of personal choices	Negative impacts are NOT consequences of personal choices	6.15	[6.02	6.27]
Immediacy of Effects	Are the negative impacts of police actions on people like you immediate, or are they likely to happen at some point in the future?	Some point in the future	Immediate	6.61	[6.49	6.74]
Knowledge (like me)	Do people like you generally know about the potential for negative impacts from police actions?	They generally do not know	They generally know	7.78	[7.66	7.90]
Knowledge (in power)	Do people in power (politicians, police administrators) know about the potential for negative impacts from police actions?	The generally do not know	They generally know	7.96	[7.83	8.08]
Control of Exposure	To what extent can people like you control the potential for experiencing negative impacts from police actions?	They cannot control it	They can control it	6.32	[6.19	6.45]
Breadth of Impact	Are the negative impacts from police actions limited to only one person at a time, or do they have ripple effects that impact a lot of people?	One person at a time	A lot of people	8.19	[8.08	8.30]
Fear	Do most people like you feel calm about their risk of experiencing negative impacts from police actions, or do most live in great fear of it?	Calm	Great fear	6.55	[6.41	6.69]
Severity	When people like you experience negative impacts from police actions, how severe are the consequences?	NOT very severe	Very severe	7.25	[7.13	7.38]

Note. LLCI = lower limit of the (95%) confidence interval around the mean; ULCI = upper limit of the (95%) confidence interval around the mean

Table 2 – Dimension and Item-Average Scale Means and 95% Confidence Intervals by Race

Construct	Black			White			Other			
	Mean	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>	Mean	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>	Mean	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>	
Internal Harm Dim.	Conseq. of Choices	6.77	[6.57	6.98]	5.29	[5.08	5.50]	6.47	[6.23	6.71]
	Immed. of Effects	7.48	[7.27	7.68]	5.85	[5.66	6.05]	6.51	[6.28	6.73]
	Knowl. (like me)	8.55	[8.36	8.74]	7.32	[7.12	7.51]	7.40	[7.18	7.63]
	Knowl. (in power)	8.27	[8.06	8.48]	7.99	[7.80	8.19]	7.51	[7.27	7.74]
	Control of Exp	5.94	[5.71	6.16]	6.79	[6.58	7.01]	6.19	[5.95	6.42]
	Breadth of Impact	8.64	[8.46	8.83]	7.96	[7.78	8.14]	7.91	[7.70	8.13]
	Fear	7.99	[7.78	8.19]	4.95	[4.74	5.17]	6.81	[6.57	7.05]
	Severity	8.07	[7.85	8.28]	6.49	[6.29	6.70]	7.22	[6.99	7.45]
Latent Factors	Fear of Crime	3.21	[3.11	3.31]	2.97	[2.88	3.06]	3.10	[2.99	3.21]
	Prop. to Trust	4.27	[4.16	4.37]	4.79	[4.70	4.88]	4.64	[4.53	4.75]
	Legal Cynicism	3.58	[3.48	3.68]	2.96	[2.86	3.05]	3.48	[3.37	3.59]
	Proc. Fairness	4.00	[3.90	4.10]	4.76	[4.67	4.86]	4.45	[4.34	4.56]
	Proc. Unfairness	4.36	[4.24	4.48]	3.44	[3.33	3.56]	4.01	[3.87	4.14]
	Ability	4.43	[4.31	4.54]	5.21	[5.11	5.30]	4.87	[4.75	4.99]
	Benevolence	4.16	[4.04	4.28]	5.05	[4.95	5.15]	4.68	[4.55	4.81]
	Integrity	4.30	[4.19	4.41]	5.13	[5.02	5.23]	4.71	[4.58	4.83]
	Norm. Alignment	4.11	[3.99	4.23]	4.96	[4.85	5.07]	4.54	[4.42	4.66]
	Trust	4.18	[4.06	4.31]	5.05	[4.94	5.16]	4.65	[4.52	4.78]
	Specific Coop.	5.36	[5.25	5.47]	6.09	[6.01	6.18]	5.59	[5.47	5.70]
	General Coop.	4.95	[4.84	5.06]	5.58	[5.50	5.66]	5.29	[5.19	5.40]

Note. See Table 1 for Internal Harm Dimension anchors. Latent Factors scored such that higher numbers indicate more of the construct.

Table 3 – Dimension and Item-Average Scale Means and 95% Confidence Intervals by Religious Affiliation

Construct	Muslim			Christian			Non-Religious			Other			
	Mean	LLCI	ULCI	Mean	LLCI	ULCI	Mean	LLCI	ULCI	Mean	LLCI	ULCI	
Internal Harm Dim.	Conseq. of Choices	6.64	[6.42	6.85]	5.68	[5.44	5.93]	5.92	[5.63	6.22]	6.24	[5.95	6.54]
	Immed. of Effects	6.84	[6.63	7.05]	6.24	[6.01	6.47]	6.46	[6.18	6.75]	6.94	[6.65	7.22]
	Knowl. (like me)	7.74	[7.54	7.95]	7.65	[7.43	7.87]	7.62	[7.34	7.90]	8.16	[7.90	8.43]
	Knowl. (in power)	7.79	[7.57	8.01]	8.07	[7.86	8.29]	7.66	[7.37	7.95]	8.33	[8.06	8.60]
	Control of Exp	5.99	[5.76	6.21]	6.76	[6.52	7.00]	6.10	[5.79	6.40]	6.39	[6.10	6.69]
	Breadth of Impact	8.28	[8.09	8.47]	7.90	[7.69	8.11]	8.30	[8.05	8.55]	8.37	[8.11	8.63]
	Fear	7.03	[6.81	7.26]	5.71	[5.45	5.97]	6.57	[6.24	6.89]	7.00	[6.68	7.31]
	Severity	7.63	[7.41	7.84]	6.91	[6.67	7.15]	6.99	[6.68	7.29]	7.40	[7.11	7.70]
Latent Factors	Fear of Crime	3.01	[2.91	3.11]	3.08	[2.98	3.19]	3.08	[2.95	3.22]	3.24	[3.10	3.38]
	Prop. to Trust	4.54	[4.44	4.64]	4.79	[4.69	4.89]	4.40	[4.25	4.54]	4.40	[4.25	4.54]
	Legal Cynicism	3.40	[3.30	3.51]	3.15	[3.03	3.26]	3.49	[3.35	3.63]	3.31	[3.18	3.45]
	Proc. Fairness	4.27	[4.17	4.37]	4.71	[4.60	4.82]	4.24	[4.10	4.38]	4.32	[4.18	4.46]
	Proc. Unfairness	4.08	[3.96	4.20]	3.59	[3.45	3.73]	4.06	[3.90	4.23]	4.06	[3.89	4.23]
	Ability	4.75	[4.64	4.87]	5.15	[5.04	5.26]	4.58	[4.42	4.74]	4.73	[4.57	4.88]
	Benevolence	4.53	[4.41	4.65]	4.98	[4.86	5.10]	4.37	[4.20	4.54]	4.50	[4.33	4.66]
	Integrity	4.59	[4.48	4.71]	5.06	[4.95	5.18]	4.47	[4.31	4.62]	4.61	[4.46	4.77]
	Norm. Alignment	4.37	[4.25	4.49]	4.93	[4.81	5.05]	4.31	[4.15	4.48]	4.43	[4.28	4.59]
	Trust	4.43	[4.31	4.56]	5.02	[4.90	5.14]	4.50	[4.33	4.67]	4.49	[4.33	4.65]
	Specific Coop.	5.59	[5.49	5.70]	5.98	[5.88	6.08]	5.55	[5.41	5.70]	5.54	[5.39	5.69]
	General Coop.	5.23	[5.13	5.33]	5.54	[5.44	5.63]	5.00	[4.86	5.15]	5.20	[5.06	5.34]

Note. See Table 1 for Internal Harm Dimension anchors. Latent Factors scored such that higher numbers indicate more of the construct.

Table 4 – Latent Factor Reliability, Item Loadings, and Error Variances

Construct (Reliability)	Item	Standardized Loading	Var _e
Fear of Crime (\mathcal{G} = .92)	Home intruder while at home	.84	.30
	Home intruder while not home	.82	.32
	Robbed with a weapon	.85	.28
	Assaulted	.84	.29
	Property vandalized	.79	.38
Prop. to Trust (\mathcal{G} = .86)	Most people can be trusted	.79	.38
	Most people try to be fair	.89	.21
	Most people try to be helpful	.79	.38
Legal Cynicism (\mathcal{G} = .78)	Laws made to be broken	.73	.47
	Do anything if not hurt anyone	.68	.53
	No right way to make money	.72	.48
	Fighting is no one's business	.51	.74
	Live for today	.58	.67
Proc Fairness (\mathcal{G} = .89)	Treat citizens with respect	.86	.27
	Treat everyone the same	.78	.39
	Honest when interacting with citizens	.86	.26
	Explain their decisions	.78	.40
	Give citizen's voice	.81	.34
	Behave impartially	.42	.83
Proc Unfairness (\mathcal{G} = .85)	Overstep boundaries of their authority	.82	.32
	Act as if above the law	.81	.34
	Bother citizens with no good reason	.80	.36
Ability (\mathcal{G} = .88)	Have necessary skills for job	.87	.24
	Have necessary skills to fight crime	.84	.30
	Competently trained	.83	.31
Benevolence (\mathcal{G} = .90)	Care about neighborhood	.88	.23
	Act to show care for people like you	.87	.24
	Consider effects of their decisions	.85	.28
Integrity (\mathcal{G} = .90)	Strong moral code	.85	.28
	Act with integrity	.89	.20
	Honest	.86	.26
Norm Alignment (\mathcal{G} = .92)	Stand up for values important to you	.91	.17
	Consistent with your views of right	.86	.26
	Have similar values to your own	.89	.21
Trust (\mathcal{G} = .88)	Comfortable being vulnerable	.79	.48
	Comfortable handling situation	.88	.23
	Comfort with decisions	.90	.19
Specific Coop (\mathcal{G} = .85)	Call the police	.78	.40
	Identify the person	.81	.35
	Give evidence in court	.83	.31
General Coop (\mathcal{G} = .87)	Cooperate with police	.81	.34
	Offer opinions to the police	.70	.51
	Do what the police ask	.71	.49
	Support the police	.75	.43
	Use services offered by the police	.78	.40

Note. All loadings significant at $p < .05$.

Table 5 – Measurement Model Construct Relations Heat Map

	1. Conseq. of Choices	2. Immed. of Effects	3. Knowl. (like me)	4. Knowl. (in power)	5. Control of Exp.	6. Breadth of Impact	7. Fear	8. Severity	9. Fear of Crime	10. Prop. to Trust	11. Legal Cynicism	12. Proc. Unfairness	13. Proc. Fairness	14. Ability	15. Benevolence	16. Integrity	17. Norm. Alignment	18. Trustw. (HOF)	19. Trust	20. Specific Coop.	21. General Coop.
1	-	.29	.13	.07	-.12	.20	.42	.27	.17	-.06	.22	.32	-.17	-.15	-.17	-.16	-.18	-.17	-.21	-.10	-.10
2		-	.24	.15	-.03	.22	.39	.33	.17	ns	.20	.30	-.15	-.13	-.17	-.17	-.15	-.17	-.20	-.09	-.10
3			-	.35	.06	.34	.29	.28	.10	ns	ns	.15	-.07	ns	-.09	-.05	-.07	-.07	-.09	ns	ns
4				-	.09	.24	.13	.19	ns	.08	ns	ns	ns	.06	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	.15	.11
5					-	-.12	-.21	-.10	ns	.13	.07	-.14	.34	.33	.36	.33	.36	.35	.36	.14	.26
6						-	.29	.32	.07	ns	ns	.21	-.18	-.15	-.17	-.15	-.17	-.16	-.16	ns	ns
7							-	.45	.25	-.15	.26	.44	-.30	-.29	-.32	-.30	-.31	-.33	-.33	-.16	-.19
8								-	.15	ns	.12	.22	-.15	-.11	-.14	-.13	-.15	-.14	-.17	ns	ns
9									-	ns	.39	.34	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
10										-	ns	-.10	.42	.40	.42	.43	.41	.44	.42	.36	.45
11											-	.40	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	-.26	-.20
12												-	-.50	-.43	-.50	-.50	-.44	-.50	-.47	-.19	-.30
13													-	.83	.91	.92	.86	.93	.83	.41	.61
14														-	.91	.93	.81	.92†	.79	.47	.63
15															-	.99	.87	.99†	.85	.44	.64
16																-	.87	.99†	.84	.46	.66
17																	-	.89†	.83	.46	.64
18																		-	.87	.47	.67
19																			-	.49	.64
20																				-	.77
21																					-

Note. Darker shading indicates stronger correlations. All values significant at $p < .05$ unless noted. “ns” indicates a non-significant correlation. †values are latent factor loadings. HOF = Higher-order factor.

Table 6 – Structural Model

Predictor	Criterion: Specific Coop.		Criterion: General Coop.		Criterion: Trust		Criterion: Trustw. (HOF)
	Direct Effects	Indirect Effects via Trust	Direct Effects	Indirect Effects via Trust	Direct Effects	Indirect Effects via Trustw. (HOF)	Direct Effects
Internal Harm Dimensions	Conseq. of Choices	- ns	- ns	ns	-	-	-
	Immediacy of Effects	- -.02*	- -.02*	-.03*	-	-	-
	Knowl. (like me)	- ns	- ns	ns	-	-	-
	Knowl. (in power)	- ns	- ns	ns	-	-	-
	Control of Exposure	- .04***	- .05***	.07***	-	-	-
	Breadth of Impact	- ns	- ns	ns	-	-	-
	Fear	- ns	- ns	ns	-	-	-
	Severity	- ns	- ns	ns	-	-	-
Latent Factors	Fear of Crime	- ns	- ns	ns	-	-	-
	Propensity to Trust	- .04***	- .06***	.08***	-	-	-
	Legal Cynicism	- -.02*	- -.03*	-.04*	-	-	-
	Procedural Fairness	- .37***	- .51***	-	.73***	.91***	-
	Procedural Unf.	- -.02*	- -.03*	-	-.04*	-.05*	-
	Trustw. (HOF)	- .41***	- .57***	.81***	-	-	-
	Trust	.50***	-	.70***	-	-	-
	$R^2 = .25***$		$R^2 = .49***$		$R^2 = .79***$		$R^2 = .87***$

Note. HOF = Higher-order factor; - indicates a relation that was not included in the model. All regression coefficients are standardized.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ns $p > .05$

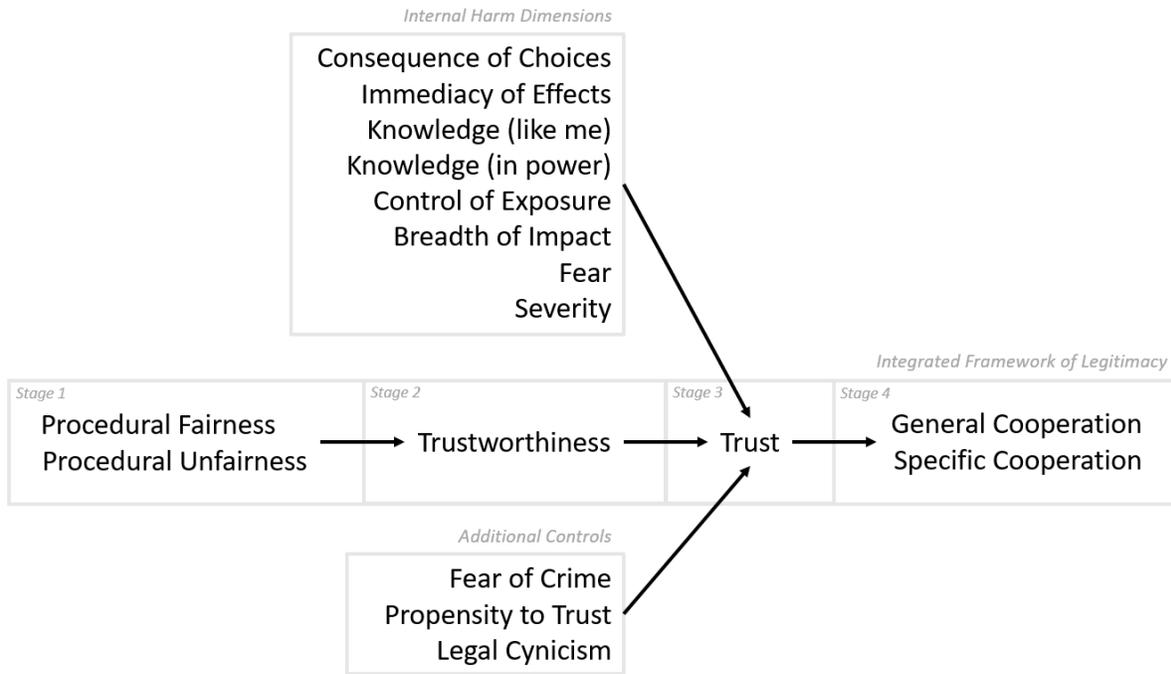
Table 7 – Multiple Groups Structural Model Relations by Focal Demographic Groups

Model Relationship	Std. Parameter Estimates		
	NMW	NMB	Muslim
Specific Cooperation on Trust	.50***	.47***	.42***
General Cooperation on Trust	.77***	.68***	.62***
Trust on Consequence of Choices	-.02	-.07*	-.01
Trust on Immediacy of Effects	-.03	.01	-.09*
Trust on Knowledge (like me)	.03	.01	-.04
Trust on Knowledge (in power)	.02	.02	-.04
Trust on Control of Exposure	.05	.08*	.07*
Trust on Breadth of Impact	.04	-.01	.05
Trust on Fear	-.07 [†]	.05	-.03
Trust on Severity	-.04	-.03	-.02
Trust on Fear of Crime	.01	.01	.02
Trust on Propensity to Trust	.10**	.07 [†]	.08
Trust on Legal Cynicism	-.01	-.03	-.05
Trust on Trustworthiness	.77***	.82***	.81***
Trustworthiness on Procedural Fairness	.92***	.94***	.89***
Trustworthiness on Procedural Unfairness	-.04	.01	-.07
Specific Cooperation on Consequence of Choices via Trust	-.01	-.03 [†]	-.002
Specific Cooperation on Immediacy of Impact via Trust	-.01	.002	-.04*
Specific Cooperation on Knowledge (like me) via Trust	.02	.003	-.02
Specific Cooperation on Knowledge (in power) via Trust	.01	.01	-.02
Specific Cooperation on Control of Exposure via Trust	.03	.04*	.03*
Specific Cooperation on Breadth of Impact via Trust	.02	-.003	.02
Specific Cooperation on Fear via Trust	-.03 [†]	.03	-.01
Specific Cooperation on Severity via Trust	-.02	-.02	-.01
Specific Cooperation on Fear of Crime via Trust	.01	.01	.01
Specific Cooperation on Propensity to Trust via Trust	.05*	.03 [†]	.03 [†]
Specific Cooperation on Legal Cynicism via Trust	-.01	-.01	-.02
Specific Cooperation on Trustworthiness via Trust	.39***	.38***	.34***
General Cooperation on Conseq. of Choices via Trust	-.01	-.05*	-.004
General Cooperation on Immediacy of Impact via Trust	-.02	.003	-.05*
General Cooperation on Knowledge (like me) via Trust	.03	.004	-.02
General Cooperation on Knowledge (in power) via Trust	.01	.01	-.03
General Cooperation on Control of Exposure via Trust	.04	.05*	.05*
General Cooperation on Breadth of Impact via Trust	.03	-.01	.03
General Cooperation on Fear via Trust	-.05 [†]	.04	-.02
General Cooperation on Severity via Trust	-.03	-.02	-.01
General Cooperation on Fear of Crime via Trust	.01	.01	.01
General Cooperation on Propensity to Trust via Trust	.08**	.05 [†]	.05*
General Cooperation on Legal Cynicism via Trust	-.01	-.02	-.03
General Cooperation on Trustworthiness via Trust	.60***	.56***	.50***
Trust on Procedural Fairness via Trustworthiness	.71***	.77***	.72***
Trust on Procedural Unfairness via Trustworthiness	-.03	.01	-.05*
Trustworthiness R^2	.89***	.87***	.84***
Trust R^2	.78***	.76***	.78***
Specific Cooperation R^2	.25***	.21***	.17***
General Cooperation R^2	.59***	.47***	.39***

Note. Shaded rows correspond to differences in parameter significance across groups. NMW = Non-Muslim White; NMB = Non-Muslim Black

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 1 - Hypothesis 2 Structural Model



Note. Arrows represent regression paths within the model. Independent paths were estimated for each construct.

ⁱ We speak here in terms of the intention of the policy. The question of whether stop-and-frisk is actually effective at reducing the potential for external harm remains an open one (see Meares, 2014).

ⁱⁱ Two thousand, six hundred and twenty-eight individuals started the survey but 738 were removed by Qualtrics for failing to meet its quality standards (see Vannette 2017).

ⁱⁱⁱ It is worthy of note that despite the good fit of the higher-order factor model to the data, the analyses still revealed a relatively large correlation between the Trustworthiness factor and Trust. We did not, however, include Trust in the higher-order factor, primarily because modeling it as an indicator of Trustworthiness is theoretically and empirically inconsistent with the considerable body of work investigating the constructs (Levi & Stoker, 2000; Schoorman et al., 2007; Searle et al., 2011). The primary statistical issue with this approach is that it makes it difficult for other predictors to account for independent variance in Trust given that most of it is already accounted for by Trustworthiness. Our analyses, therefore, represent an especially stringent test of the potential influence of the internal harm dimensions, a point we will return to in the discussion.