

**Determining Authority:**

**Perceptions of Police Legitimacy in Chicago**

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## **Abstract**

The Chicago Police Department (CPD) suffers from a strained relationship with the city it serves as a result of broken trust from numerous scandals. In this study, I utilized Police Sentiment Scores from the Chicago Data Portal to determine key predictors of police legitimacy in Chicago. I investigate three categories of independent variables: safety (perceived safety and crime rates), police intrusion (use of force incidents, investigatory stops, and complaints), and race (percent black, Hispanic, and Asian). I found that while perceived safety and race are significantly correlated with police legitimacy and should be focused on for future reform, actual safety and police intrusion are not significant predictors of legitimacy. An increased sense of perceived safety was associated with better perceptions of legitimacy, while higher proportions of all three major racial minorities were negatively correlated with perceptions of legitimacy. These results held for perception of respect and receptiveness regarding the CPD.

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# **Determining Authority: Perceptions of Police Legitimacy in Chicago**

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## **1 Introduction**

On October 20, 2014, Laquan McDonald, a 17 year-old African American boy, was shot 16 times by Chicago Police Department officer Jason Van Dyke in an incident that resulted in McDonald's death. Despite the fact that McDonald's back was turned when the first shot was fired, police supervisors initially ruled the case as justifiable use of force and did not issue any meaningful disciplinary action, letting Van Dyke remain an officer until he was eventually charged with first-degree murder in late 2015 (Franklin, 2018). Initial incident reports that claimed Van Dyke had reason to believe McDonald was attacking him with a knife were eventually disproven by footage of McDonald clearly walking away from the officers with his hands by his side: a video only released following a judge's order ("The Laquan McDonald, Jason Van Dyke Shooting: Police Reports," 2018). When released, the footage led to public outrage; the lack of transparency and honesty from the CPD appalled Chicagoans of all demographics. This led to citywide protests that fueled accountability reforms within the department and the 2017 U.S. Department of Justice civil rights investigation of the CPD. In its investigation, the DOJ found that CPD engaged in a pattern of excessive and discriminatory use of force by officers, had an ineffective accountability system with low rates of sustained complaints, and lacked support for officers in regards to training, supervision, and wellness (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017).

The murder of McDonald and its aftermath is one example of how the CPD's relationship

with the city it serves has been strained over the years. Repeated incidents of unnecessary force that disproportionately targets people of color have made the public skeptical of the police's judgment. For instance, a study from University of Chicago Illinois found that young black and Latino men lacked trust, a key determinant of police legitimacy, in the CPD and perceived interactions with the CPD as negative even in neutral situations (Chicago Tribune, 2022). Police legitimacy is one of the key factors that determine the success of the police in serving its community as it influences metrics such as public willingness to cooperate with and defer to the police. A lack of support from the public makes the job of the police significantly more difficult because it can lead to decreased calls for help and lack of information regarding different cases (Desmond et al., 2016). Thus, it is crucial to investigate the key predictors of police legitimacy in Chicago to produce targeted, specific reform that goes beyond vaguely improving all aspects of policing.

This thesis investigated how differences between the 22 police districts of Chicago affect civilian perception of police legitimacy using Police Sentiment Scores, henceforth referred to as trust scores, from Chicago Data Portal as dependent variables. Specifically, I examined three categories of independent variables that have been shown to influence perceptions of police legitimacy in previous studies: safety (homicide and battery, crime excluding murder, and perceived safety), intrusive policing practices (use-of-force incidents, investigatory stops, civilian complaints), and race (percentage of black, Hispanic, and Asian people in the population). I hypothesized that frequency of intrusive policing practices and higher percentages of minority populations be negatively correlated with perception of police legitimacy while safety, both actual and perceived, will be positively correlated.

First, to contextualize my research question, I conducted a review of the present literature. Literature shows that the consequences of racist roots of policing remain today through racial

disparities in police legitimacy. This is harmful because police legitimacy, accomplished through procedural justice, facilitates public deference to the police. However, the Chicago Police Department has undergone endless cycles of scandal, resignations, and reform with no long-lasting changes, leading to erosion of public trust.

Defining police legitimacy as the belief that the police will listen to civilians and treat them with respect, I then utilized the Elucd Trust Score from the Chicago Data Portal that measured these two values (respect score and listen score) every month in each district. To measure both perceived and actual safety, I gathered Elucd Safety Scores, homicide/battery rates, and crime rates (excluding homicides). To represent the extent of police intrusion, I used three variables: rates of Tactical Response Reports, investigatory stops, and COPA complaints. All were adjusted for different sizes of the district populations as incidents per 10,000 people. Finally, I calculated the percentage of the district population that is black, Hispanic, and Asian in 2021 to measure how a large minority population might correlate to trust scores.

To test my hypothesis, I ran a multiple regression with my nine independent variables, using trust scores as the dependent variable. I also ran two additional multiple regressions using respect and listen score, the two components that make up trust score, as dependent variables. Through these, I found that while perceived safety and proportion of minorities is significantly correlated with trust scores, measures of police intrusion or actual safety are insignificant predictors. As perceived safety increases, perceptions of police legitimacy improve; as the minority population increases, perceptions of police legitimacy worsen. These results held for both respect and listen scores. Finally, I recommended that through community empowerment and police visibility, the CPD should focus on repairing relations with minority communities and improving perceptions of safety. Conclusion and grounds for further research follow.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 *History of Policing*

To understand the heavy racial implications in police practices today, one must look at the birth of the police in the United States. American policing has its roots in slave patrols, or "paddy-rollers," of the colonial era and was born out of a need to control the growing slave population and protect the white minority (Durr, 2015). During the early 18th century, the black population began to outnumber the white population in South Carolina, and white citizens began to form a community police force, where patrollers, though unpaid, would be granted an exemption from militia service (Hadden, 2001). This did not stop the slave from revolting, leading to the Stono Rebellion of 1739, where more than 50 people died (Stanley, 2020). Following this incident, the force became more systematic with South Carolina districts being split into patrol beats (Hadden, 2001). Similar developments took place in Virginia around the same period, where hysteria about a possible slave insurrection led to the establishment of formal slave patrols and proactive policing of black people (Hadden, 2001). In addition, patrol systems emphasized not only racial divides but also socioeconomic ones as they became solidified in American culture. Wealthy, land-owning white men made up the majority of the patrollers and actively targeted poor white men by destroying their crops and mutilating their slaves (Hadden, 2001). Even after the Civil War and the emancipation of slaves, police forces were still used to harass the black population in the South (Hadden, 2001). The police enforced racist curfew and vagrancy laws to keep black people off the streets in addition to upholding Jim Crow laws that imposed segregation (Hadden, 2001). Very few black men became police officers, with white men being viewed as the enforcers and black men being viewed as the criminals (Hadden, 2001).

The attitudes and practices that originate from the days of the slave patrols continue to today, straining relationships between the police and communities of color. Much of the language and techniques utilized by the police today originated from the era of slave patrols. For example, “beat” originally indicated slave patrol groups and have evolved to mean areas that the police regulate, and policing methods from the slave patrol era such as stakeouts, discretion, and lack of supervision survive to today (Hadden, 2001). Remnants of racism persist in the modern police force and have led to a de facto racial disparity in civilian perception of the police. Black civilians are 30% less likely to believe that the police are policing all races equally (Kohut et al., 2007). Even among juveniles, Black and Hispanic youth have a significantly more negative perception of the police than White and Asian youth (Zhang et al., 2020). It is clear from previous studies that the police, as authority figures that originated to serve only the most privileged, are less likely to gain the favor of those historically marginalized in American society. As such, the history of policing has led to race becoming a key variable in discussions of police legitimacy.

## ***2.2 Police Legitimacy***

Police legitimacy, or the citizen perception that police officers are trustworthy authority figures, is a vital component of successful policing. In literature, legitimacy has commonly been defined as an obligation to obey the law and defer to legal authorities (Tyler and Huo, 2002). For the purposes of this paper, I defined police legitimacy the belief that the police will treat civilians with respect and listen to their concerns; the prevalence of this belief leads to the public’s cooperation. Legitimacy is beneficial for authority figures such as the police because it provides an “automatic justification” (Kelman and Hamilton, 1995) for their orders and eliminates the need for moral imperatives for the public’s cooperation. Loss of police legitimacy thus has two principle costs:



(i) the community lacks a legitimate law enforcement agency and (ii) police effectiveness suffers from a lack of public cooperation. As a result, the police experience a decrease in their ability to control crime (Brown and Benedict, 2002). For young people, their first exposure to the police and their consequent view on police legitimacy also plays a great role in their legal socialization, where they form lasting opinions on the legal system and its actors (Fagan and Tyler, 2005); thus, the current cynicism regarding the police can have long-term negative consequences for society. In the U.S., where as high as 40-to-50 percent of the population has expressed skepticism about the police (National Research Council, 2004), the lack of police legitimacy has put a significant strain on the police-civilian relationship.

This mistrust of the police arises from disparate values of the police and the public in policing practices. The establishment of legitimacy involves conducting oneself “free of passion, prejudice, and arbitrariness, loyal to the law alone” (Tamahana, 2004, p.123), but this holds different implications for police officers and civilians. Police officers, whose performance within the department is evaluated based on their adherence to constitutional standards, prioritize the legality of their actions when making decisions on the field (Meares et al., 2015). However, the public, who are less knowledgeable about the bureaucratic standards of the police department, focus more on procedural justice, or how fairly they believe the police are treating them; the legality of police actions have minimal impacts on the public’s judgment of what “good policing” looks like (Meares et al., 2015). This evaluation depends on numerous factors during the police-civilian interactions, such as transparency, consistency, and respect (Meares et al., 2015). Only when these values are reflected in the officer’s conformity to the law does legality hold influence on establishing legitimacy; in other words, lawful actions that are perceived as unfair or in violation of a civilian’s rights are really not “lawful” in the eyes of the public (Beetham, 1991). Civilians who believe they are

being treated in a procedurally just manner are not only directly influenced by police behavior into cooperation but also indirectly influenced to feel a sense of obligation to the police, who they view as legitimate authority figures (Tankebe, 2013). These effects were not limited to the U.S. and were replicated in similar studies in Australia and the U.K. (Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Tankebe, 2013). The influence of procedural justice on an individuals' acceptance of police presence was five to six times stronger than the actual favorability of the outcome for the individual (Tyler and Huo, 2002), with "fairness [acting] as a cushion of support when authorities are delivering unfavorable outcomes" (Tyler 1990). Thus, even when receiving a negative outcome from the police, such as an arrest, people are likely to embrace the interaction if they believe they are being treated fairly.

Police have attempted multiple tactics to establish legitimacy in face of a nationwide hesitancy regarding law enforcement. A leading reform that has been suggested to establish police legitimacy is community policing, which emphasizes strengthening the bond between officers and the community they serve. A study conducted in Connecticut found that positive non-enforcement<sup>1</sup> conversations between uniformed officers and the public drastically improved public opinion on police performance and legitimacy even if the conversations were only 10 minutes long (Peyton et al., 2019). These effects were the most pronounced among individuals that reported the greatest initial skepticism of the police, such as black individuals (Peyton et al., 2019). Another study conducted in South Carolina suggests that police visibility<sup>2</sup> had a stronger positive relationship with police legitimacy than a civilian's theoretical knowledge of community policing tactics (Hawdon

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<sup>1</sup>Non-enforcement interactions, such as community meetings or neighborhood watch programs, refer to friendly, consensual interactions between the public and the police in non-crime related settings (Oliver, 1992).

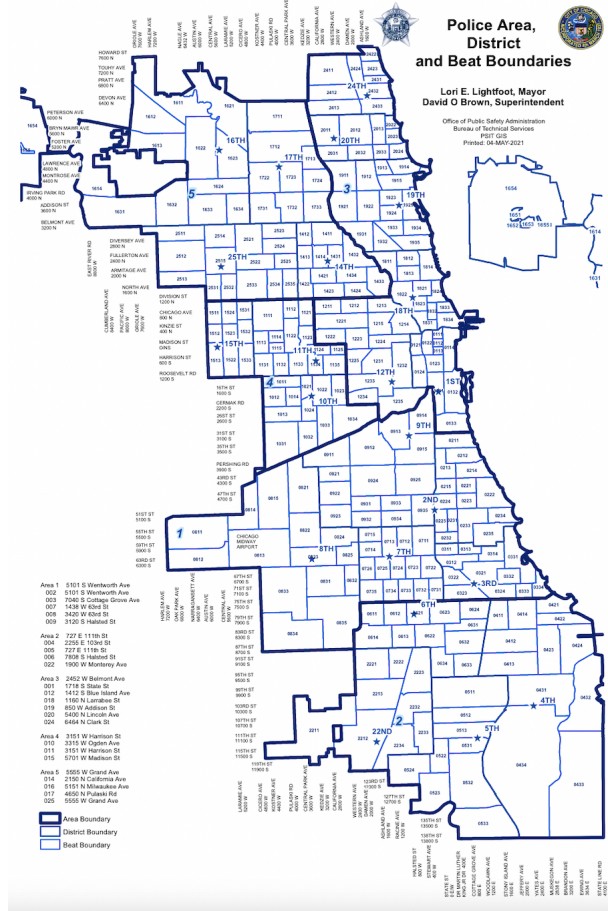
<sup>2</sup>Police visibility is defined by Hawdon as the prominence of police in the neighborhood and measure by the frequency with which civilians saw the police patrol their neighborhoods

et al., 2003). The more residents saw police patrol their neighborhood, the more likely they were to judge the police as effective and trustworthy (Hawdon et al., 2003).

On the other hand, incidents of police violence, even if not personally experienced, have been shown to detrimentally affect citizen trust in police. In Milwaukee, the publicization of the 2004 beating of Frank Jude by the Milwaukee Police Department led to a loss of approximately 22,200 calls for service in Milwaukee, especially from black neighborhoods. These trends were seen not only following local incidents of police violence, but also nationwide incidents (Desmond et al., 2016). The police in the U.S. are viewed as a whole rather than separate departments in the eyes of the public such that one department's mishap can hurt police-civilian relationships nationwide. This was evident following the murder of George Floyd in 2020, which led to a bipartisan support for police reform and substantial increase in emotional distress regarding police violence during the 11-week period following Floyd's death (Boudreau et al., 2022, Howard et al., 2022). Another variable that has been associated with diminished sense of police legitimacy is an increased number of investigatory stops by the police, a key example of a proactive policing tactic that trains police to view the public as the enemy. In New York City, the number of stops witnessed by young men and the extent of intrusion these stops posed negatively influenced their assessment of procedural justice, which in turn led to viewing the police as illegitimate authority figures (Tyler et al., 2014). Furthermore, the practice of investigatory stops have been heavily influenced by racial biases in the past; for example, a study of investigatory stops in New York City from 2007 to 2014 found that accounting for these disparities, 61,000 stops of black civilians involved an unnecessary use of force, 1,000 of which involved potentially legal force (Kramer and Ramster, 2018). These instances where the police are fueled by their own prejudices undermine their legitimacy by failing to provide equal protection of all citizens.

## 2.3 Chicago Police Department

Figure 1: Map of Chicago’s Police Areas, District, and Beat Boundaries



As the second largest municipal police department in the United States overseeing 2.74 million people in 22 districts (Districts 1 to 25, excluding 13, 21, and 23), Chicago’s police department has an especially unique environment to police. Chicago, like many large cities, is extremely diverse. In 2020, the city was majority-minority, with 45% of its residents identifying themselves as White; approximately 29% were Black, 29% were Hispanic or Latino, and 7% were Asian (“Quick Facts: Chicago city, Illinois”). However, decades of discriminatory housing policies and zoning practices have led to Chicago becoming one of the most diverse yet most segregated cities in the country. Black and Latino residents are more likely to be low-income or poor and live in

areas with higher violent crime rates than white residents; an average Black resident's income in 2017 was \$30,400 compared to an average of \$61,500 for white residents (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017).

As a result of such vastly different demographics and experiences in each neighborhood, the CPD has a particularly long history of racial discrimination and use of excessive force against people of color. For example, 72% of the use-of-force incident victims in Chicago were African American, showing a clear disparity considering that they are an ethnic minority in the city. This discrepancy is a remnant of the CPD's efforts to curb gang presence in Chicago during the late 20th century (Serhan, 2017). The emphasis of the CPD placed on its "war on gangs" led them to over-police areas they viewed as central to gang activity— areas that mainly consisted of communities of color (Serhan, 2017). The United States Department of Justice investigation of the CPD following the murder of Laquan McDonald by CPD officer Jason Van Dyke found a police culture that viewed unconstitutional violence as a necessary part of effective policing (2017). The CPD was also violating the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures, by searching Black and Hispanic men without proper justification (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). Furthermore, CPD officers have a pattern of shooting at suspects who do not pose a threat and/or are minors, like McDonald, and firing at vehicles without justification (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). CPD also provides officers with little to no support in practicing lawful policing in terms of training, supervision, and internal rewards structure (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). Because the decision-making process of the police that determines the level of their legitimacy rely heavily on the culture they work in and their training (Gladwell, 2005), these internal deficiencies hold serious implications for the CPD in terms of their relationship with the public (Bleakley, 2019).

As aforementioned, the CPD's dishonest and discriminatory behavior is not a new phenomenon; it has led to a cycle of resignations, ineffective, slap-on-the-wrist reform, and new scandals. As early as 1960, the CPD was criticized by the public for betraying the public trust. In what came to be known as the Summerdale Scandal, a well-known burglar named Richard Morrison confessed that multiple CPD officers aided his burglaries by picking locations, serving as watchmen, and partaking in robbing the stores (Andonova, 2016). This led to the resignation of then-Police Commissioner Timothy O'Connor and the founding of the Internal Investigations Division in the Bureau of Inspectional Services, which lives on today as the Bureau of Internal Affairs (Andonova, 2016). However, these actions did little to remedy the issue. In 1968, CPD officers at Democratic National Convention (which was held in Chicago) violently beat protesters, leading to national coverage but no prosecution of involved officers (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). This incident led to the CPD developing a more militant approach in its enforcement methods (Andonova, 2016). In 1969, CPD officers raided and murdered Fred Hampton, the deputy chair of the Black Panther Party, and attempted to put the blame on Black Panther Party members by claiming they instigated the incident (Andonova, 2016). However, when evidence against the CPD account emerged, then-State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan resigned (Andonova, 2016). A 1972 Chicago Tribune investigation of Internal Investigations found that the division often did not thoroughly investigate or downright ignored citizen complaints (Andonova, 2016, p. 7).

In 1973, James Rochford became the new Police Superintendent following public backlash over aggressive policing and resulting resignation of his predecessor, John Conlisk (Andonova, 2016). Rochford established the Office of Professional Standards (OPS) in hopes of having an independently-run office that would investigate police misconduct free of influence from officers and the department (Andonova, 2016). Rochford aimed to dismantle the "blue wall of silence," a

strong sense of brotherhood fueled by officer perception that they are working against rather than for the public (Brown, 2007). However, when actually implemented, OPS still operated as part of the police department and reported to the superintendent, defeating its purpose of freeing investigations from the bureaucracy of the CPD (Clarke, 2009). For example, when the OPS investigated Police Commander Jon Burge in 1990, it found that Burge had been systematically abusing civilians, majority of whom were black men from Chicago's South and West Sides, during interrogation and coercing false confessions for 13 years (Andonova, 2016). However, this report was ignored by the superintendent and city officials, with Burge not being suspended until a year following the report (Andonova, 2016, p. 9). Burge, though eventually convicted, only served four and a half years in prison and kept his pension (Andonova, 2016). Also in the 1990s, the CPD ran the Special Operations Section (SOS), a special enforcement unit that seized the property of black and Hispanic residents without justification; the SOS was only disbanded following numerous complaints and backlash from the public (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017).

This unending cycle of reform and resignations to appease the angered public continues to today. Following the murder of McDonald, then-Chicago mayor Rahm Emanuel asked Police Superintendent Garry McCarthy to resign and terminated him when he did not oblige. Emanuel then established the Police Accountability Task Force (PATF) and tasked PATF with making recommendations for increased transparency and accountability (Cook, 2016). The epitome of these measures to address McDonald's murder was the consent decree overseen by Federal Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr. that required the CPD and city of Chicago to enact reform in areas of policing such as community policing, crisis intervention, training, and accountability ("Consent Decree"). Though the full impacts of these recent reforms are yet to be determined as they are recent, it is clear from the constant scandals that CPD has historically been unable to enact meaningful reform that pre-

vents future misuses of police power, further eroding police legitimacy. Less than 2% of civilian complaints from the early 2010s were sustained, exposing a flaw in the department's accountability measures (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). The 98% of complaints that ended in no disciplinary measures might have been investigated by a protocol widely accepted in the department and evaluated by a set of firmly established bureaucratic principles. However, the legality of police action as it pertains to the law or internal set of rules does not matter when it comes to repairing police legitimacy. The fact that almost all of civilian complaints went unaddressed signifies a notable disparity between the CPD and the public in their expectations for the police.

Despite the abundance of research on police legitimacy due to its importance in repairing police-civilian relationships, there are only a few Chicago-specific studies on how practices of the police department affect citizen perception on police legitimacy. However, Chicago has one of the highest rates of civilian complaints about police misconduct in the nation (CampaignZero, 2022). Furthermore, almost all of these existing studies fail to take advantage of the district-level data available in Chicago. The district-level data allows me to narrowly compare specific policing-related variables in 22 settings that are very similar in geography and politics. In a city like Chicago where racial segregation within the city has led to a wide range of experiences with crime and the law enforcement based on one's location in the city, it is important to tease out the differences between majority-white North Chicago districts where property crimes are more prevalent than violent crimes and majority-black, violent crime-prone South Chicago districts. My thesis thus captures the wide range of Chicagoans' experiences and opinions regarding the CPD by exploring how interdistrict differences in perceived and actual safety, intrusive policing practices, and racial demographics are correlated with the level of police legitimacy the CPD has in the different policing districts of Chicago.



### 3 Methodology

In my analysis, I defined police legitimacy as a) the belief that the police will treat civilians with respect and b) the belief that the police will listen to and address civilian concerns. This is because based on the literature present on legitimacy, the civilian idea of procedural justice is heavily reliant on being treated with respect and fairness, or a chance to have one's side heard out. In my analysis, I took Chicago Data Portal and Chicago Police Department district-level data regarding legitimacy, safety, police intrusion, and race from January 1st, 2018 to December 31st, 2021. This time period is significant in terms of police legitimacy because it was a period of tumultuous change in police-civilian relationships due to the implementation of the consent decree and nationwide Black Lives Matter protests following Floyd's murder.

To measure district-level perceptions of police legitimacy, I utilized data on Police Sentiment Scores from the Chicago Data Portal, which was available from November 2017 to present. The data was collected through monthly surveys distributed to residents in each of Chicago's 22 police districts by Elucd, which yields approximately 1,500 to 2,000 responses per month. The survey was distributed through website and social media advertisements and tagged to corresponding neighborhoods through ZIP codes or geotags. Figure 2 summarizes how each of the scores were collected. In the survey, each respondent answered two questions related to police legitimacy with a score from 0 to 10: "How much do you agree with this statement? The police in my neighborhood treat local residents with respect." (henceforth referred to as respect score) and "How much do you agree with this statement? The police in my neighborhood listen to and take into account the concerns of local residents." (henceforth referred to as the listen score). A monthly overall score out of 10 was produced for each district by weighing the scores based on the demographics

of the area (including age, sex, race, education, and income level) and multiplied by 10 for a final weighted score out of 100. The two scores were combined to produce an overall trust score, which served as the main dependent variable in my thesis. One limitation of my study is that Elucd lacks transparency in the methodology they utilize to combine the respect and listen score. This motivated me to use respect and listen scores, the two components, as dependent variables for two additional regressions.

Figure 2: Elucd Survey Design

Measure	Question
Respect Score	How much do you agree with this statement? The police in my neighborhood treat local residents with respect.
Listen Score	How much do you agree with this statement? The police in my neighborhood listen to and take into account the concerns of local residents.
Trust Score	Combination of Respect and Listen Score*
Safety Score	When it comes to the threat of crime, how safe do you feel in your neighborhood?

\*Note: The methodology utilized to combine the two scores is not transparent, limiting my study.

One caveat with this data was that though trust scores are mostly well reported, there were randomly missing observations for certain months and districts. Though there should be 1,056 trust score observations in the time period I chose (22 districts \* 12 months \* 4 years), there are only 738 reported scores. This issue was even more prominent in respect and listening scores, which only report 415 of 1,056 observations. Furthermore, the responses could have suffered from a response bias because the trust scores and safety scores were measured through the same survey. Being asked to think about safety and trust in police before being asked about the other could prime

one's mind to think about their perception of the police or safety in a certain way. These scores, being from a survey that people chose to answer, also suffered from a sampling bias. Elucd worked to eliminate these biases to an extent through weighing the responses.

The selected independent variables reflected important aspects of civilian experiences with the CPD: safety, police intrusion, and race. Three independent variables, safety scores, crime cases (excluding homicides), and homicides and battery cases, measured both the perceived and actual prevalence of crime in the district that can influence one's sense of safety. Three independent variables, use of force incidents (measured by Tactical Response Reports), investigatory stops, and Civilian Office of Police Accountability (COPA) complaint cases, measured the extent to which police exercise their authority in ways that can be perceived as being unjust or excessive. The safety scores were derived from the same Elucd survey that the dependent variables originate from. Respondents rate from 0 to 10 their response to the question "When it comes to the threat of crime, how safe do you feel in your neighborhood?" The responses were weighed depending on the demographics of the district and multiplied by 10 for a reportable score ranging from 0 to 100.

As for the other variables, I compiled the data from three sources: the Office of Inspector General (OIG) Information Portal, Chicago Police Department and Chicago Data Portal. From the OIG Information Portal, I gathered data regarding the number of Tactical Response Reports (TRRs) completed by the Chicago Police Department for each district in a given month. TRRs are required documents that must be filled out by every member of the CPD involved in a use of force incident.<sup>3</sup> The investigatory stop data originated from the Investigatory Stop Report (ISR) data

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<sup>3</sup>The number of Tactical Response Reports may be higher than than the number of use of force incidents because multiple officers can be involved in one incident, and each officer must fill out their own TRR. However, use of force data was only available on an annual level. Furthermore, using TRRs over actual incident data has the benefit of

released by the CPD every year. The data included information on every investigatory stop made from 2016 to 2021. From the Chicago Data Portal, I utilized data regarding complaints, homicide and battery cases, and all crime cases except murder. This data was available from 2007, 1991, and 2001 respectively and remain updated to present day (Table 1).

Table 1: Data Sources

Data	Source	Time Frame	Unit of Data
Trust Score	Chicago Data Portal	11/2017 - Present	Monthly
Safety Score	Chicago Data Portal	11/2017 - Present	Monthly
Homicide and Battery	Chicago Data Portal	01/1991 - Present	Every incident is recorded
Crime Excluding Murder	Chicago Data Portal	01/2001 - Present	Every incident is recorded
TRRs	OIG Information Portal	01/2015 - Present	Monthly
Investigatory Stops	Chicago Data Portal	01/2016 - Present	Every incident is recorded
COPA Complaints	Chicago Data Portal	09/2007 - Present	Every case is recorded
District Demographics	Chicago Police Department	2021	Annual

All data was available on district-level except the data for complaints, which only contained beat-level data. Using the boundaries for each police district, I matched the beats with their corresponding districts. For variables available on an incident or case level, I computed the total individual incidents/cases in each district in each month. To adjust for different population sizes of the districts, Tactical Response Reports, investigatory stops, complaints, homicide and battery cases, and all crime cases except homicides were represented as incidents or cases per 10,000 people, allowing me to distinguish between large scale incidents involving multiple incidents and smaller ones.

ple. Due to the limited availability of district-level population data until 2021,<sup>4</sup> the 2021 population statistics were used for all analyses assuming relative stability of population size for each district over the four-year period.

Previous literature showed that race is a significant factor in determining levels of police legitimacy, with ethnic minorities displaying greater skepticism towards the police due to a history of racist policing practices. Utilizing the racial demographics data for each district from 2021, I incorporated race in my regression analyses by using the percentages of the district population who identify as black, Hispanic, or Asian as three additional variables. The sources, time frame, and unit of my raw data before population adjustments are summarized in Table 1.

Table 2 displays summary statistics for each of the variables utilized in my thesis. Trust, respect, listen, and safety scores, which range from 0 to 100, averaged 60.987, 62.507, 58.467, and 58.332 respectively. This means that the average response to any of the survey questions is around a 6 out of 10. Given the aforementioned diversity of experiences in Chicago, incidents such as homicides and battery, crime, TRRs, investigatory stops, and COPA complaints tended to have large standard deviations and span wide ranges. They all skewed right,<sup>5</sup> with averages of 1.516, 86.773, 0.954, 41.921, and 0.343 incidents per 10,000 people respectively. As expected, crime excluding murder and investigatory stops, two of the more routine policing practices of variables studied, had higher rates than rare, high-stakes incidents like homicide and battery, use of force incidents, or COPA complaints. In terms of race, a given district is 38.952% black, 24.595% Hispanic, and 6.325% Asian on average.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>District-level population data was first released through the CPD's inaugural Use of Force Report in 2021.

<sup>5</sup>There are a few observations that are extremely large, but the majority of the observations are concentrated in the lower range of the observations.

<sup>6</sup>These numbers are not consistent with the demographic of Chicago as a whole. This is because in calculating

Table 2: Summary Statistics of Variables

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
TrustScore	738	60.987	9.107	36.970	83.950
RespectScore	415	62.507	9.219	39.700	85.150
ListenScore	415	58.467	9.141	35.910	82.750
SafetyScore	739	58.332	7.645	36.670	75.640
HomicideBattery	1,056	1.516	1.935	0.000	12.714
CrimeExcludingMurder	1,056	86.773	50.206	19.732	263.857
TacticalResponseReports	1,038	0.954	0.997	0.046	6.299
InvestigatoryStops	1,056	41.921	40.423	3.299	265.389
COPAComplaints	1,056	0.343	0.513	0.000	3.575
PercentBlack	1,056	38.952	34.145	1.672	94.585
PercentHispanic	1,056	24.595	21.482	2.527	68.649
PercentAsian	1,056	6.325	6.942	0.110	21.832

Utilizing the data described above, I matched each district’s monthly trust score to the corresponding independent variable for that month and district. I then ran a multiple regression analysis involving my dependent variable, trust score, and all nine independent variables. My regression is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 TrustScore = & \beta_1(SafetyScore) \\
 & + \beta_2(HomicideBattery) + \beta_3(CrimeExcludingMurder) \\
 & + \beta_4(TacticalResponseReports) + \beta_5(InvestigatoryStops) \\
 & + \beta_6(COPAComplaints) \\
 & + \beta_7(PercentBlack) + \beta_8(PercentHispanic) + \beta_9(PercentAsian) \quad (1)
 \end{aligned}$$

In addition, I ran the same regressions using the respect and listening score as independent variables instead of trust score in order to determine if there was a difference in how the two

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these averages, all districts were weighted equally when in fact, some districts are bigger than others.

components that make up trust score correlated with the independent variables.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \textit{RespectScore} &= \beta_1(\textit{SafetyScore}) \\
 &+ \beta_2(\textit{Homicide Battery}) + \beta_3(\textit{CrimeExcludingMurder}) \\
 &+ \beta_4(\textit{TacticalResponseReports}) + \beta_5(\textit{InvestigatoryStops}) \\
 &+ \beta_6(\textit{COPAComplaints}) \\
 &+ \beta_7(\textit{PercentBlack}) + \beta_8(\textit{PercentHispanic}) + \beta_9(\textit{PercentAsian}) \quad (2)
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 \textit{ListenScore} &= \beta_1(\textit{PerceivedSafety}) \\
 &+ \beta_2(\textit{HomicideBattery}) + \beta_3(\textit{CrimeExcludingMurder}) \\
 &+ \beta_4(\textit{TacticalResponseReports}) + \beta_5(\textit{InvestigatoryStops}) \\
 &+ \beta_6(\textit{COPAComplaints}) \\
 &+ \beta_7(\textit{PercentBlack}) + \beta_8(\textit{PercentHispanic}) + \beta_9(\textit{PercentAsian}) \quad (3)
 \end{aligned}$$

I predicted a negative correlation coefficient between trust score and variables measuring police intrusion (use of force incidents, investigatory stops, and complaints), as increased police intrusion makes people feel violated without a just cause. On the other hand, I hypothesized that an increase in personal safety will make people more receptive to the police, leading to a positive correlation coefficient between trust score and safety score. This also implied that rates of crime and homicide/battery will be negatively correlated with trust score, as increased crime rates lead to a diminishing sense of safety. However, the correlation between trust score and homicide/battery would be of greater magnitude as such violent crime is rare and gains more attention from the community than non-violent crimes like property crimes. Homicide and battery cases also impact one's well-being, leading to a greater need for a protective force. Furthermore, because perceived safety

is what people form opinions around rather than actual safety, I anticipated the correlation between trust score and safety score to be the most significant. Lastly, I predicted a negative correlation between the percentages of minority population and trust score due to strained relationships between the police and people of color. However, previous studies showed that Asians have a more positive perception of police that resembles the white population more than other minorities (Zhang et al., 2020). Thus, I hypothesized that the magnitude of the correlation between percentage Asian and trust score will be less than that of trust score and percentage black or Hispanic.

#### **4 Findings**

From my regressions, I drew several key findings. I found that perceived safety and race are the key variables significantly correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy in Chicago. While perceived safety was positively correlated with perceptions of legitimacy, percentages of three major minority groups in Chicago (Black, Hispanic, and Asian) were negatively correlated with the trust scores. Notably, the relationship between percent of population who are Asian and trust scores was similar to that between the percent of population who are Hispanic and trust scores, contradicting previous literature. Measures of actual safety (homicide/battery, crime rates) or police intrusion (TRRs, investigatory stops, and complaints) were insignificantly correlated to trust scores. These results held with similar magnitudes and significance of correlation when the trust score was broken down into its two components (respect score and listen score). The sole deviation was that investigatory stops were significantly and negatively correlated with only respect score, suggesting that the widespread nature of these stops may contribute to perceptions of police legitimacy to an extent. The results of my regressions are displayed in Table 3.



Table 3: Predictors of Trust, Listen, and Respect Score

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	TrustScore	RespectScore	ListenScore
	(1)	(2)	(3)
SafetyScore	0.334*** (0.039)	0.186*** (0.056)	0.202*** (0.058)
HomicideBattery	-0.169 (0.168)	-0.107 (0.240)	-0.024 (0.248)
CrimeExcludingMurder	0.006 (0.012)	0.025 (0.017)	0.012 (0.018)
TacticalResponseReports	-0.570 (0.415)	-0.874 (0.660)	-0.720 (0.683)
InvestigatoryStops	-0.012 (0.009)	-0.025* (0.013)	-0.021 (0.014)
COPAComplaints	-0.210 (0.494)	0.298 (0.749)	0.510 (0.775)
PercentBlack	-0.171*** (0.015)	-0.206*** (0.022)	-0.196*** (0.023)
PercentHispanic	-0.091*** (0.014)	-0.081*** (0.021)	-0.082*** (0.022)
PercentAsian	-0.089** (0.044)	-0.128* (0.067)	-0.175** (0.069)
Constant	51.945*** (2.990)	62.549*** (4.185)	58.134*** (4.329)
Observations	723	405	405
R <sup>2</sup>	0.653	0.572	0.534
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.649	0.562	0.523
Residual Std. Error	5.423 (df = 713)	6.149 (df = 395)	6.361 (df = 395)
F Statistic	149.403*** (df = 9; 713)	58.656*** (df = 9; 395)	50.269*** (df = 9; 395)

Note:

\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01

#### 4.1 *Trust Score*

In my trust score regression (Equation 1), I find that trust scores are significantly correlated to measures of perceived safety and minority population. The regression measuring correlation between overall trust score and my independent variables measuring safety, police intrusion, and race yielded four significant correlations. First, safety score, representing perceived safety, is significantly correlated with trust score at the 99% confidence level. For every 1 unit increase in safety score, the regression predicts that the trust score will increase by 0.334 units. This is consistent with my hypothesis that as one perceives greater safety in one's neighborhood, they will also perceive the police to be more trustworthy and legitimate. Previous literature also suggests that police visibility and non-enforcement interactions, which contribute to an increased sense of safety, improved opinions of police legitimacy (Peyton et al., 2019; Hawdon et al., 2003).

Second, the other variables significantly correlated with trust score all concern minority population in the districts: percent of the district population that identify as black, Hispanic, or Asian. All correlations are significant on the 99% level, except for percentage Asian which is significant on the 95% level. As predicted due to the strained relationship between the police and minority communities, all three variables displayed a negative correlation with trust score. Of these, percentage of the black population has the greatest magnitude of correlation; for every 1% increase in percentage of the black population, the regression predicts a 0.171 unit decrease in trust score. As aforementioned, the roots of American policing in slave patrols especially negatively impact black people's relationship with the police. On the other hand, Hispanics and Asians have similar magnitude of correlation as each other, with a 1% increase in population of each leading to a 0.091 unit decrease and 0.089 unit decrease in trust score. This is approximately half the

decrease predicted by the increase in the proportion of the black population. I predicted in my hypothesis that the percentage of Hispanic population will have a greater negative correlation than the percentage of the Asian population because Asian Americans are often considered the model minority in American society and perceived as benefiting from the pre-existing social systems. As such, majority of the previous studies regarding race and policing focus on black and Hispanic people. However, this finding shows that Asians too have a strained relationship with the police and offer grounds for further research.

Interestingly, rates of homicide and battery, crime excluding homicides, Tactical Response Reports, investigatory stops, and COPA complaints were all insignificantly correlated with overall trust score. This may contradict some pre-existing literature; however, an average citizen is likely to not be paying close attention to the changing crime rates or police incident rates in the area unless it is publicized through other means like the media. When broadly publicized as such, these incidents likely affect one's perceived safety, which is already accounted for in the regression through the safety score variable. Otherwise, it is easy for citizens to ignore these incidents, especially since they are still rare given Chicago's large population and average less than 100 incidents per 10,000 people (Table 2). Because they themselves are not likely to fall victim to crime or intrusive policing, people likely do not shift their perceptions of safety based on these incidents. Thus, they would not yield significant correlation to the trust scores as I see in my results.

The regression demonstrates that the greatest predictors of police legitimacy are not the frequency with which dangerous or intrusive incidents occur but whether these incidents affect one's sense of safety. Rather than one's level of knowledge regarding district policing practices and statistics, it is one's broad experiences with public safety that predicts how one would perceive the police. As evident in the correlation, an individual's experiences distill to two factors: (i) their

general sense of safety and (ii) minority status. The former impacts one's assessment of police efficiency and necessity, while the latter likely instills skepticism towards law enforcement from a historically strained police-minority relationship.

#### **4.2 *Respect and Listen Score***

In breaking down the trust score into its two components, I find that the results of the trust score regression mostly hold for the respect score (Equation 2) or listen score (Equation 3) regressions. The regression measuring correlation between respect score and my independent variables measuring safety, police intrusion, and race yielded five significant correlations. Four of five are consistent with the significant correlation from the trust score regression: safety score, percent black, percent Hispanic, and percent Asian. Each are significant on the 99% level, except for percent Asian, which is significantly correlated at the 90% level. The regression predicts that an increase in 1 unit in the safety score will lead to a 0.186 unit increase in the respect score.

It is important to note here that the magnitude of the correlation between race and respect score differ from that of race and trust score. For every 1% increase in black, Hispanic, and Asian population, the respect score decreases by 0.206, 0.081, and 0.128 units respectively. The decrease in respect score predicted by a 1 unit increase in safety score is greater for black and Asian population (compared to earlier 0.171 and 0.089), while it is slightly less for the Hispanic population (0.081 compared to 0.091).

In addition to these four, the respect score is also significantly and negatively correlated with investigatory stops at the 90% level. This is consistent with pre-existing literature that investigatory stops negatively influence young men's assessment of procedural justice (Tyler et al., 2014). It is notable for two reasons that of the measures of police intrusion I chose, investigatory

stops was the only variable that yielded significant correlation with any of the dependent variables. First, variables measuring police intrusion, such as Tactical Response Reports, investigatory stops, and COPA complaints, are the only variables that the police have direct control over in this study. Variables that yielded significant correlation, such as racial demographics or perceived safety, can at most be influenced by police but is not determined by the police. This suggests that future policy may have to cater to broader factors in public safety than specific policing practices, as I will discuss in my policy recommendations. Second, it is consistent that investigatory stops would be correlated with respect score more than listen score as the mere act of getting stopped without justification can impact one's perception of whether they are being respected by the police. There is some presumption of guilt in these stops, making people feel like the police view them as criminals. In addition, stops also occur more frequently than other measures of police intrusion (average of 41.921 compared to TRRs' 0.954 or complaints' 0.343 incidents per 10,000 people), meaning they likely affect a greater proportion of the population. All these potentially explain why investigatory stops yielded a significant correlation with respect scores.

The regression measuring correlation between listen score and my independent variables measuring safety, police intrusion, and race yielded four significant correlations, all of which were also significantly correlated with trust score: safety score, percent black, percent Hispanic, and percent Asian. All were significant on the 99% level, except for percent Asian, which is significant correlated with trust score at the 95% level. The regression predicts that an increase in 1 unit in the safety score will lead to a 0.186 unit increase in the respect score.

In terms of race, the regression predicts that the listen score will decrease by 0.196 units, 0.082 units, and 0.175 units with a 1% increase in the black, Hispanic, and Asian population respectively. Again, I observe a similar deviance from the trust score regression as the respect

score regression; the magnitude of the correlation coefficient slightly for the black population (from 0.171 to 0.196), decreased slightly but stayed relatively constant for the Hispanic population (0.091 to 0.082), and in this case, nearly doubled for the Asian population (0.089 to 0.175). One possible explanation for why there is a greater magnitude of correlation between listen score and percent Hispanic or percent Asian than respect score and these variables is that these are two minority communities more likely to face a language barrier than the black community. Thus, they are more likely to respond negatively to the question of whether the police adequately listen to their voices.

From my results, I drew three key findings. First, the two key predictors of police legitimacy in Chicago are race and perceived safety. This is consistent with the existing literature that race is important in shaping one's experiences with the legal system (Kohut et al., 2007). Second, as the percentage of the population who are black, Hispanic, and Asian population increase, the sense of police legitimacy in that district decreases. Contrary to previous literature that showed Asians, like white people, are more likely to have positive perception of police than other minorities (Zhang et al., 2020), percentage of Asian population was also shown to be negatively correlated with police legitimacy, offering room for further research.

In addition, a larger Hispanic population is associated with less decrease in respect and listen score compared to the Asian population. A potential explanation for this is the Hispanic population's shift towards conservatism in recent years, including the 2020 election (Cadava, 2016). Conservatives are typically associated with pro-law enforcement policies, which may explain why the proportion of Hispanic population is less negatively correlated with police legitimacy than initially predicted. However, further research is needed to explain this finding, especially because previous research often grouped black and Hispanic populations into one and made it difficult to

tease out the nuances between the two groups.

Lastly, focus on specific policing practices, many of which were shown to have insignificant correlations with citizen trust in this study, is only valuable as a predictor as it influences broader perceptions about public safety, such as perceived safety. For example, it is impossible to separate crime rates from one's perception of safety; however, crime rates themselves are insignificantly correlated with trust scores as minor changes in crime rates are unlikely to cause a shift in perception of safety.

## **5 Policy Recommendations**

Based on my findings from the previous section, my policy recommendations fall into one of two categories: repairing police relations with minority communities and increasing perception of safety in the neighborhoods. Each section focuses on initiatives involving both the CPD and the community to shift these broad perceptions.

### **5.1 *Repairing Relations with Minority Communities***

The issue of race in American policing has been ongoing for centuries and will not be easily resolved. Community policing initiatives may now be widespread in the U.S. as a popular solution to repair police-civilian relationships, but these programs most strongly and positively influence the white population's perception of the police (Thomas & Burns, 2005). Discouraging officers' racist or prejudiced practices through a realignment of incentives within the department is a necessary first step to rebuilding trust. There must also be long-term empowerment of minority communities that will reduce the impact race has on policing practices.

In the short run, the CPD must set incentives and punishment to discourage prejudiced

policing. The CPD currently tolerates racist conduct by failing to address complaints of discriminatory language that describes majority-minority neighborhoods as subhuman (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017).<sup>7</sup> They also allow officers' to post racist content on their personal social platforms without punishment (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). Though these incidents do not involve violence, tolerating racist rhetoric fosters departmental culture that views discriminatory ideology as acceptable. Working in collaboration with non-profit organizations and activists, the CPD must produce comprehensive set of policies that penalizes employees in pay or rank for discriminatory policing. The policies should also encourage other officers to report discrimination through career incentives in order to mitigate the negative effects of blue brotherhood.<sup>8</sup> All current CPD employees, regardless of experience or rank, should regularly receive training on these policies, as well as on how to approach different cultures present in Chicago. It is crucial to work with members of each culture to develop this training. The training should also teach supervisors to recognize and punish discriminatory policing among their officers. If the supervisor fails to punish racist practices, they must also be held accountable for their subordinates' actions. The training should be persistent throughout the entirety of one's career, from when they start at the Academy to the end of their careers, as race issues are constantly evolving. Lastly, the CPD should regularly monitor its arrest, investigatory stops, complaints, and use-of-force incident data to detect patterns that might be indicative of racially-motivated policing.

In the long run, the city of Chicago must work to create equitable outcomes for the black

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<sup>7</sup>From 2011 to 2016, only 1.3% of complaints regarding discriminatory verbal abuse based on race was sustained (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017).

<sup>8</sup>"Blue brotherhood" refers to police culture where officers view each other as one family fighting against the public and consequently cover up each other's wrongdoings.



and white populations of Chicago through integration of neighborhoods and equal access to future investments. As aforementioned, Chicago is one of the most segregated cities in the U.S., split into majority-black South and West Sides and majority-white North Side. Black people in Chicago own homes with less value, have less family wealth, attain lower education levels, and are more likely to reside in high-crime areas (U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). In high-crime areas, they are more prone to over-policing and aggressive policing tactics; the CPD are ten times more likely to use force on black people than white people (U.S. Department of Justice 2017). This erodes police legitimacy by making policing appear race-targeted.

The clear racial divisions in Chicago facilitate discriminatory policing by allowing the CPD to cite high crime rates as justification for unconstitutional policing. Thus, integration is a key reform in addressing this issue. The city of Chicago should recognize the clear disparity in resources between North and South/West Sides as an issue rather than continuing to frame it as a strength through their "City of Neighborhoods" slogan.<sup>9</sup> To address housing inequity, Chicago should utilize the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program to its full potential. The HCV program, administered by the U.S. Department of Housing Authority and Urban Development, grants rent subsidy vouchers to low-income families, majority of whom are people of color (Varady et al., 2021). In the past, the HCV program failed to accomplish its goal of integrating disadvantaged families into well-resourced neighborhoods due to a lack of proper oversight from the government (Teater, 2011). Instead, these families remain in impoverished, crime-ridden areas (Graves, 2016). With a focus on equipping the Public Housing Agencies (PHAs) with the tools they need to help

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<sup>9</sup>Chicago prides itself on the distinct experiences in each of their neighborhoods, making "City of Neighborhoods" one of its nicknames. However, this marketing fails to see that these distinct experiences stem from rampant disparities in housing, education, infrastructure, and other resources.

voucher holders find quality housing, Chicago can begin to repair its housing problems. This will involve assessing PHAs on their performance based on consumer satisfaction rather than quantitative measures of placement, as well as landlord outreach initiatives to discourage discriminatory behavior towards voucher holders. Integration will then give the children of the voucher families, most of whom are a minority, better access to education and job opportunities. Efforts towards equitable access to opportunities should be bolstered by increasing funding for South and West Side public schools and federal or local grants for low-income families. These initiatives accomplish two things: (i) prevents aggressive policing that historically targeted minority neighborhoods by blending communities and (ii) economically empowers people of color to challenge prejudices that fuel racist ideologies.

Many of these policy recommendations focus on repairing the black population's relationship with the CPD. This is partly because previous literature and this paper have all shown that the black population still has the worst perception of police legitimacy of all minorities and offer the most grounds for improvement, especially in a city like Chicago with a large black population compared to rest of the country (Kohut et al., 2007). There is also a lack of rich literature on the experiences of Hispanics and Asians with the CPD. However, I offer some preliminary policy recommendations. First, both communities are more likely to face a language barrier in police interactions than the black or white community. My findings support this, as the proportion of Asians in a district were shown to be more significantly and negatively correlated with the perception that the police listen to the community than any other dependent variables (Table 3). Previous literature has also demonstrated that the sense that one's side has been heard is a key factor in assessments of procedural justice and consequently police legitimacy (Meares et al., 2015). To remedy this issue, the CPD should require that translation services be available in all interactions when requested,

even in interactions as minor as a traffic stop.

Furthermore, the CPD should encourage diversity in officer demographics. Though the CPD is majority-minority like Chicago as of 2021, black and Asian populations, despite forming 29% and 7% of Chicago's population, are still underrepresented in the CPD, making up 20% and 3% of the force respectively (Chicago Police Department, 2021). Presence of officers from different backgrounds can potentially ease both the language barrier and immigrant apprehension to law enforcement prevalent in Hispanic or Asian communities (Provine & Sanchez, 2011). This recommendation also applies in regards to the black community, as CPD faces issues in retaining black applicants; though black candidates made up 37% of the initial applicant pool, they only make up 18% of candidates invited to the Academy (Office of Inspector General, 2021). Studies have shown that under comparable conditions, black and Hispanic officers are less likely to make investigatory stops and arrests than white officers especially in majority-black neighborhoods, showing promise of diversification as reform (Ba et al., 2021). By conducting regular analysis of diversity efforts at the Academy level, the CPD can engage in targeted recruiting to build a force representative of the population it serves. Through these measures, the CPD can begin to repair its strained relationship with minority communities.

## ***5.2 Increasing Perception of Safety***

The core of police legitimacy ultimately distills to “focusing on keeping [citizens] safe and responding to their needs” (Blanks, 2016). However, the Chicago Police Department has failed to instill a sense of safety among its citizens; 73% of Chicago residents believe public safety in Chicago is worse than in other U.S. cities, and 59% believe that the CPD's budget would be better spent in other public safety initiatives (Harris Poll, 2022).

Several measures can be implemented to help improve assessments of safety in Chicago. First, the CPD can establish high police visibility through frequent patrols. Reminders that the police are present and active in the neighborhood are necessary to foster a sense of safety in the community. Studies have shown that the frequency with which civilians actually saw the police in their neighborhoods had a stronger positive relationship with police legitimacy than theoretical knowledge of police reforms like community policing (Hawdon et al., 2003). In these patrols, CPD officers should be on foot instead of in their cars. An officer on foot is more approachable and suggests that the police are willing to listen to civilian concerns at any moment, unlike an officer separated from the community in their car. Furthermore, increasing police visibility does decrease actual crime rates when done in small, crime-prone areas (Weisburd & Eck, 2004). I showed in my paper that shifts in actual crime rates are insignificantly correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy; however, the data utilized in this study only spanned a few years, and the shifts in crime rates were not heavily publicized. In the long run, consistent decreases in crime rates, combined with an extensive marketing campaign that highlights the city's efforts to reduce crime, will likely shift public perception regarding public safety in Chicago.

The CPD should also increase both the quantity and quality of non-enforcement interactions with the public. As aforementioned, non-enforcement interactions are friendly interactions between the police and the public unrelated to crime. These interactions also improve police visibility and make the police appear trustworthy and community-oriented. CPD does host "Conversations with a Commander," where civilians have the opportunity to engage with the commander of their districts, but the availability of these sessions are low in most districts. Previous studies have confirmed that even short, one-off non-enforcement interactions and general partnerships with the public improve public opinion on police performance and legitimacy (Peyton et al., 2019; Weis-

burd & Eck, 2004). These effects are especially pronounced among communities most skeptical of the police, which can also help repair police-minority relations (Peyton et al., 2019). On the other hand, intensive enforcement activities and an increase in the number of police officers yielded no meaningful improvements in easing citizen fear of crime (Weisburd & Eck, 2004).

These policy recommendations focus improving perceptions of safety in the neighborhoods, not improving actual safety. This distinction is rooted in my findings, which suggest that people form opinions about the police based on how safe they believe they are, not how safe they actually are. However, it is important to note that this does not mean that the CPD should manipulate the public into thinking they are safe when they are not and fail to address real public safety concerns. Though perceived safety is the key predictor of police legitimacy, actual safety, particularly long run trends, are what informs these perceptions. Thus, the police must not neglect measures of effectiveness and remember its mission to "serve and protect."

To evaluate the effectiveness of these policies, the CPD should consistently gather both quantitative and qualitative feedback from the community. For quantitative feedback, the CPD should collect monthly data on the frequency of patrols and appearances in non-enforcement settings. Each district should also collect their own survey results measuring perceptions of public safety, the results of which should be made publicly available in a comprehensive monthly report. For qualitative feedback, initiatives like "Conversations with a Commander" will likely be effective when implemented correctly. Unlike the current sporadic schedule, the CPD should regularly and frequently hold town hall-style community meetings in easily accessible settings. After gathering feedback, the commander should report a transcript of the meetings to the corresponding area's deputy chief and the superintendent. The commander should also host a mandatory meeting for the districts' officers of the such that feedback can be taken into consideration immediately.

## 6 Conclusion

Beginning my research, I set out to explore how variables concerning safety, police intrusion, and race related to perceptions of police legitimacy in Chicago. I found that while perceived safety measured through safety scores and proportion of the population who are minorities were significant predictors of police legitimacy, measures relating to actual crime rates or police intrusion were insignificantly correlated. Investigatory stops were significantly correlated with people's perception of respect from the police on the 90% level but was insignificantly correlated with trust score or listen score. Perceived safety is positively correlated with trust, respect, and listen score on the 99% level, with an increase in safety score being associated with an increase in all three scores (albeit an increase of lesser magnitude). The proportion of all three minority populations studied (black, Hispanic and Asian population) have a negative correlation with trust, respect, and listen score. This means that an increase in proportion of any one of the three major minority groups in Chicago leads to worse perceptions of police legitimacy in the area. As such, I made policy recommendations focusing on repairing race relations and lost sense of safety over targeting specific unpopular policing practices.

One major limitation of my study was the lack of availability of data. I did not have district-level population data for each year I studied or individual responses of the Elucd survey before they were weighted and combined through an unknown formula. Furthermore, the survey itself is relatively recent as it was made possible by developments in personal technology. One looking to replicate this study should seek transparency in measures of police legitimacy by conducting own survey as resources permit and aim to analyze data spanning a longer period.

My research adds to the present literature by taking advantage of Chicago's police district

structure to draw out key predictors of police legitimacy. As discussed in this paper, Chicago's consistently strained relationship with its police department and reputation as an unsafe city makes it a crucible for police legitimacy research. Furthermore, Chicago-specific research is especially valuable for CPD reform, as Chicago's segregated neighborhoods make the city's experiences with the police unique compared to the rest of the country. Lastly, it demonstrates the importance of shifting broad pre-existing perceptions using reform; quantitative improvements in policing practices are only useful in establishing police legitimacy when people respond to them.

This study also offers a couple of new areas for further research. First, as aforementioned, findings from this paper suggest that Asians may also have a significantly adverse relationship with CPD, contrary to the previous focus on black people and Hispanics in policing literature. Specifically studying Asians and Asian Americans' opinions on police can offer valuable insights into police relations with minority communities as East Asians, Southeast Asians, South Asians, and Middle Eastern Americans all have such different experiences with the police based on different appearances and stereotypes. Finding the root of Asian apprehension towards the police is also vital as the Asian population continues to grow in the United States. Second, a similar study can be replicated in rural or suburban settings. Chicago is the third-largest city in the United States. As in most urban settings, Chicagoans are used to and expect higher levels of unsafety. Furthermore, with more people, it is less likely that a civilian in Chicago will form a close relationship with the CPD. It will be valuable to study if in suburban settings, with greater expectations of safety and more interactions with the police, actual crime rates or intrusive policing are significantly correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy.

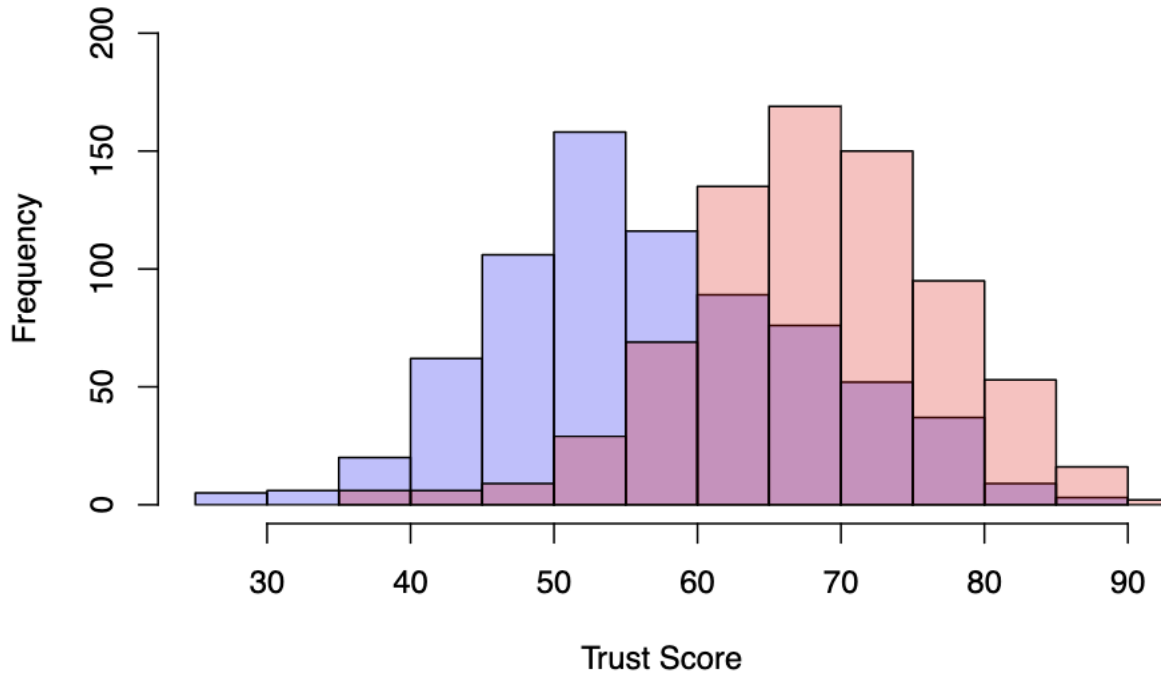
## 7 Appendix

### I. Racial Demographics of Chicago Police Districts, 2021

District	White	Hispanic <sup>1</sup>	African American	Asian or Pacific Islander	Other Race <sup>2</sup>	Total	% of Total
1	41,683	6,390	15,026	18,839	4,351	<b>86,289</b>	<b>3.1%</b>
2	18,069	5,331	69,370	7,983	4,602	<b>105,355</b>	<b>3.8%</b>
3	2,045	2,129	70,974	463	2,480	<b>78,091</b>	<b>2.8%</b>
4	7,111	35,420	70,554	263	2,741	<b>116,089</b>	<b>4.2%</b>
5	846	2,956	60,765	73	1,630	<b>66,270</b>	<b>2.4%</b>
6	424	2,203	82,442	104	1,989	<b>87,162</b>	<b>3.2%</b>
7	395	7,511	49,376	90	1,372	<b>58,744</b>	<b>2.1%</b>
8	35,033	166,347	42,840	3,151	3,182	<b>250,553</b>	<b>9.1%</b>
9	21,069	95,604	13,580	34,076	2,474	<b>166,803</b>	<b>6.1%</b>
10	4,035	70,596	31,418	403	1,389	<b>107,841</b>	<b>3.9%</b>
11	2,756	14,228	50,935	558	1,523	<b>70,000</b>	<b>2.5%</b>
12	63,437	36,233	21,593	13,456	5,787	<b>140,506</b>	<b>5.1%</b>
14	62,041	39,164	6,345	5,831	4,955	<b>118,336</b>	<b>4.3%</b>
15	997	7,087	49,086	103	1,076	<b>58,349</b>	<b>2.1%</b>
16	121,762	57,176	3,389	13,949	6,436	<b>202,712</b>	<b>7.4%</b>
17	54,955	55,535	5,363	18,014	5,587	<b>139,454</b>	<b>5.1%</b>
18	104,326	9,106	10,548	14,948	5,700	<b>144,628</b>	<b>5.3%</b>
19	154,655	22,776	13,526	16,410	10,554	<b>217,921</b>	<b>7.9%</b>
20	50,211	15,020	9,136	13,114	4,319	<b>91,800</b>	<b>3.3%</b>
22	32,287	5,019	56,774	397	2,734	<b>97,211</b>	<b>3.5%</b>
24	58,507	29,431	26,445	24,623	7,102	<b>146,108</b>	<b>5.3%</b>
25	26,663	134,189	27,819	3,496	3,305	<b>195,472</b>	<b>7.1%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>863,307</b>	<b>819,451</b>	<b>787,304</b>	<b>190,344</b>	<b>85,288</b>	<b>2,745,694</b>	
<b>% of Total</b>	<b>31.4%</b>	<b>29.8%</b>	<b>28.7%</b>	<b>6.9%</b>	<b>3.1%</b>		



## II. Distribution of White (Red) versus Black (Blue) CPD Trust Scores, 2018-2021



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