# Crime and Participation

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#### **Abstract**

Does exposure to crime mobilize or demobilize political participation? Existing research has yielded mixed conclusions. We report findings from a pre-registered design that leverages data from an original survey of 21 major U.S. cities, as well as data from five waves of the Cooperative Election Study (CES). We assess the relationships between both personal victimization and hyper-local (ZCTA-level) crime rates and two outcomes: turnout—including validated turnout—and non-electoral participation. We find that personal victimization is associated with higher levels of non-electoral engagement but significantly lower levels of turnout. The estimated effects on turnout exceed those associated with common get-out-the-vote efforts. We find only limited evidence that crime rates shape patterns of participation. Our findings offer new insights into the nature of the relationship between exposure to crime and political participation, underscoring the importance of distinguishing between types of exposure, as well as types of participation.

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## Introduction

Why do some people participate in politics, while others abstain? A rich body of research has demonstrated how factors such as individual-level characteristics and resources (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995; Burden et al., 2017), socialization dynamics (Jennings, Stoker and Bowers, 2009; Holbein, 2017; Carlos, 2021), and direct political communications (Green and Gerber, 2019) shape patterns of political engagement. Scholars have also shown that institutional and environmental conditions—including sudden demographic shifts (Enos, 2016), direct contact with the criminal justice system (Lerman and Weaver, 2020; Walker, 2014), and broader patterns of state capacity and policy feedback (Mettler, 2005)—shape citizens' opportunities, motivations, and modes of participation.

In this vein, researchers have begun to explore how exposure to crime and violence influence political participation. The motivation is straightforward: crime as a salient feature of the social landscape that people expect the government to address. For example, large swaths of the Amer can public consistently say they "personally worry about" crime and violence, view it as a serious problem, and express dissatisfaction with the government efforts to quell crime (Gallup, 2024). Thus, there is reason to expect that exposure to crime affects decisions about whether to engage with or influence the government.

What is less clear is whether exposure crime mobilizes or demobilizes individuals. Some argue that grievances, emotional arousal, and heightened policy salience can prompt those who are victimized or reside in neighborhoods where victimization is common to participate in politics. These individuals may not only view participation as a way to advocate for, say, improved policing, but also as a way to "mitigate the emotional consequences of victimization" (Bateson, 2012, 571). On the other hand, exposure to crime may demobilize individuals by instilling distrust in political processes or confirming their suspicions that the government is unable or unwilling to address social disorder.

Empirically, the literature offers mixed results. Some studies find that crime and violence mobilize participation (e.g., Bateson, 2012; Sønderskov et al., 2022; Morris and Shoub, 2024); others find demobilizing effects, particularly in contexts of persistent or concentrated violence

(e.g., Trelles and Carreras, 2012; McCarthy, Hagan and Herda, 2025; Jones, 2023). Here we speak to these conflicting findings by leveraging a broad empirical and conceptual lens. We consider multiple forms of exposure to crime, as well as turnout (both self-reported and validated) and non-electoral participation, all within a pre-registered research design.

One explanation for the competing findings in existing work pertains to how crime exposure is conceptualized and measured. Many studies use contextual indicators—such as homicide rates at the municipal level or proximity to violent events—and tend to find demobilizing effects (Trelles and Carreras, 2012; McCarthy, Hagan and Herda, 2025; Ley, 2018). In contrast, studies that focus on direct experiences—typically self-reported victimization—often find mobilizing effects (Berens and Dallendörfer, 2019; Bateson, 2012; Laterzo, 2021; Sønderskov et al., 2022). Still, others focus on subjective perceptions of crime, such as fear, perceived insecurity, or beliefs that crime is worsening—typically finding that these perceptions depress participation, trust in government, and democratic satisfaction (Rahn and Transue, 1995; Trelles and Carreras, 2012; Fernandez and Kuenzi, 2010; Blanco and Ruiz, 2013). Here we consider these three forms of exposure side by side.

Another possibility is that crime shapes different forms of political engagement in different ways. Elections are administered by the state, individual voters have little agenda setting power, and the choices participants face are sharply limited by elite choices. This is not the case for non-electoral activities such as protesting or attending community meetings. Scholars have argued that crime and insecurity may reduce trust in government without necessarily dampening political efficacy (Blanco and Ruiz, 2013; Singer et al., 2019; Fernandez and Kuenzi, 2010). If so, crime may prompt individuals to "turn away from electoral politics to express their grievances in the more active forms of political participation" (Trelles and Carreras, 2012, 98). Existing work offers suggestive, but mixed, support for this possibility. Studies focusing on contextual exposure to crime tend to find it decreases turnout (Trelles and Carreras, 2012; McCarthy, Hagan and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>However, related studies on state-sanctioned violence often find that proximity to police killings mobilizes voter turnout and protest (e.g. (Morris and Shoub, 2024; Ang and Tebes, 2024; Williamson, Trump and Einstein, 2018); for an exception, see Markarian (2022)).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Similar tensions appear in the literature on policing and political participation that find direct contact with law enforcement demobilizes (Lerman and Weaver, 2020) but proximal contact (through social networks) mobilizes Walker (2014).

Herda, 2025; Moffett-Bateau, 2024; Ley, 2018), though some studies find that direct victimization increases turnout (Sønderskov et al., 2022; Berens and Dallendörfer, 2019). Studies that examine non-electoral participation—including protest activity, party meeting attendance, or expressive political behavior—tend to find mobilizing effects though they generally focus on personal victimization (e.g., Bateson 2012; Laterzo 2021, for an exception, *see* Córdova 2019). Here we consider both types of participation.

Moreover, many existing studies emphasize effects among particular subpopulations or report conditionality tied to specific forms of crime. For example, Sønderskov et al. (2022) find positive effects of violent—but not property—victimization on turnout, while Berens and Dallendörfer (2019) find positive effects of non-violent victimization but not violent victimization. Laterzo (2021) finds heterogeneous effects by race, gender, and neighborhood safety and effects only on attendance in party meetings. And some studies, like the Moffett-Bateau (2024) ethnography of poor Black women in Chicago, focus on theoretically important but demographically narrow populations. These designs offer important insights may risk overfitting to specific contexts. Some findings may also stem from exploratory analyses that may or may not tidily replicate. We mitigate these risks through pre-registration and flag any exploratory analyses such.

Existing work also varies in terms of measurement strategies. Some measure crime using non-granular administrative homicide rates (Trelles and Carreras, 2012). Others rely on subjective *perceptions* of gang dominance or insecurity (Córdova, 2019; Trelles and Carreras, 2012). Still others focus more narrowly on strategic cartel violence against political actors (Ley, 2018). Additionally, some work measures electoral participation using self-reported turnout or turnout intentions (e.g., Berens and Dallendörfer, 2019; Trelles and Carreras, 2012) which may be prone to measurement bias. Other studies use aggregate precinct-level turnout (e.g., McCarthy, Hagan and Herda 2025), an approach that addresses potential biases in self-reported turnout, but may face threats associated with ecological inferences. In this study we leverage data from an original national survey of 21 of the 30 most populous cities in the United States, as well as Cooperative Election Study (CES; 2016-2024) respondents from those cities. For both datasets, we matched individuals to hyper-local crime rates, constructed using latitude-longitude crime records obtained

from public-facing municipal data portals. We also take advantage of individual-level validated turnout measures in our analysis of the Cooperative Election Study (CES).

In summary, this study contributes to ongoing debates in four ways. First, we simultaneously consider three measures of crime exposure—contextual crime rates, personal victimization, and perceived neighborhood safety. Second, we consider both turnout and non-electoral forms of participation. Third, our core analysis is preregistered. Fourth, we use high-resolution administrative crime data and leverage validated individual-level turnout measures.

We find that personal victimization is associated with higher levels of non-electoral participation but lower levels of voter turnout. These effects emerge in our original survey and the CES, which includes validated self-reported turnout. In contrast, the relationship between contextual crime rates and participation is inconsistent, only emerging in a handful of model specifications. We also find that *perceived* neighborhood safety predicts non-electoral participation after controlling for victimization and local crime rates, but no relationship in our turnout models. Moreover, adding the safety perception measure to our models does not meaningfully affect the estimated relationships between our primary measures of crime exposure and participation, casting preliminary doubt on the notion that these perceptions mediate the relationships between actual crime exposure and participation. Importantly, our results are robust across modeling specifications, consistent across datasets, and insensitive to reasonable alternative measurement strategies for our key variables that we consider in exploratory analysis.

Our study expands our understanding of the connection between exposure to crime and political participation, illustrating how lived experiences tied to a salient political issue can shape political behavior in complex and seemingly contradictory ways. Normatively, these findings also point to a tension regarding the consequences of crime for political representation. If victimization leads individuals to disengage from voting, crime may exacerbate gaps in political voice. On the other hand, these inequalities may be offset by a tendency for exposure to crime to encourage other forms of more targeted political engagement.

#### **Data and Measures**

The analysis we report here focuses on individuals living in ZIP codes that are entirely within 21 of the 30 largest cities in the United States. Cities were selected based on our preliminary assessment of availability of public facing data listing latitudes and longitudes of reported crimes within the city.<sup>3</sup> We leverage data from two survey sources. First, we contracted with Dynata to recruit approximately 90 respondents from each targeted city to complete an original survey (Major Cities Survey; MCS). Participants were directed to our survey and provided their ZIP code to validate their eligibility.<sup>4</sup> Second, we use Cooperative Election Study (CES) respondents residing in those targeted ZIP codes from federal election years 2016-2024 (see Tables SM.A2 and SM.A3 for the descriptive characteristics of our samples and the distributions of respondents across cities, respectively). In each case, we use a Census crosswalk file to match respondents to their ZCTA based on their ZIP code.<sup>5</sup>

### Measures of Exposure to Crime

We attempted to gather crimedata for the years 2016 through 2024 from public-facing city data portals and were mostly successful (see SM A.1 for details about this process). We used the latitude and longitude of each reported crime to spatially map the location inside of a ZCTA's polygon area using R (R Core Team, 2024) with the sf (Pebesma, 2018; Pebesma and Bivand, 2023) and tidycensus (Walker and Herman, 2025) packages. Each ZCTA's area was found yearly based on the ACS 5-year estimate and matched to the proper year when the crime was committed to adapt for any potential changes in ZCTA polygon areas. Once crimes were matched to a ZCTA a tally for the number of crimes reported within each ZCTA in each year was calculated. Per our preregistered analysis plan, within each city we divided the total number of reported crimes by the sum of the total number of residents residing in the ZCTA (5-year ACS estimate for that year) and the total number of people employed by businesses in the ZCTA (ZIP code level estimates from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>We originally targeted 22 cities, but crime data from Indianapolis proved to be unusable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Respondents who failed an attention check or were flagged as speeders were disqualified early in the survey—prior to providing any responses used in our analysis—and, thus, do not appear in our analysis.

 $<sup>^5</sup>$ ZIP codes define mail routes, rather than geographic areas, though in many cases ZCTAs and ZIP codes are identical.

Census County Business Pattern Data, 2022).<sup>6</sup> Then, to account for variation in cities' reporting systems and norms, we standardize our calculated ZCTA-level rates to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one across ZCTAs and years *within* each city.<sup>7</sup>

In the Major Cities Survey (MCS) we measure victimization using responses to questions that asked respondents if they had been the victim of each of four attempted or successful crimes in the last 12 months: a home break-in, vehicle or vehicle part theft, theft of a personal belonging, physical threat or attack with a weapon.<sup>8</sup> Per our pre-analysis plan we create a count of victimization instances that ranges from 0 to 4. The CES surveys each asked respondents a single yes/no question: "Over the past year have you [b]een a victim of a crime?" We report averages for each crime exposure variable broken down by respondent demographics in Table SM.A4.

# **Analysis and Findings**

We registered our pre-analysis plan (PAP) prior to fielding the Major Cities Survey and before having access to data from the 2024 Cooperative Election Study (CES). Here we pool CES data from federal election years 2016-2024 and report pre-registered analysis restricting the analysis to the 2024 data in Tables SM.A12-SM.A13 [NOTE: VALIDATED TURNOUT MEASURES ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE FOR THE 2024 SURVEY]. All estimates are from mixed effects models with ZCTA-level random intercepts and city fixed effects, clustering standard errors at the city level. Pooled CES analyses also include year fixed effects.

For each dataset and outcome, we focus on estimates from two model specifications. The first (Model 1) includes the victimization and crime rate measures, along with respondent demographics (race, gender, age, educational attainment, income, and an indicator for income refusals). We

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>This accounts for business-rich downtown areas in many large cities where dividing solely by number of residents is likely to grossly inflate the rate at which people are victimized within the area. We use 2023 ACS population estimates for our 2024 crime data because 2024 estimates have not been released.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Because survey respondents cannot reside in entirely non-residential ZCTAs, we exclude these ZCTAs from our standardization process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Full question wording for all items is provided in SM A.2.

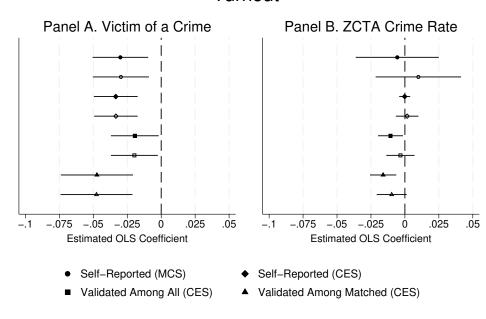
<sup>9</sup>https://osf.io/9dzc6/?view\_only=4c1b3968bd124ddeaddf421e7a9e6871

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The turnout findings are similar to what we report in the text when we restrict out analysis to the smaller 2024 dataset. The estimates of interest tied to non-voting participation show the same signs as those reported in the text, but are attenuated and fall short of conventional thresholds of statistical significance.

controls for three ZCTA characteristics: area in square miles, residential population, and number of people employed in the ZCTA. Model 2 adds ZCTA-level controls for an array of ZCTA-level demographics that are likely to be related to crime rates, but difficult to situate in the causal chain between crime exposure and participation: percent in ZCTA 1) identifying as white (only, non-Hispanic), 2) Black (only, non-Hispanic), 3) Asian (only, non-Hispanic), 4) Hispanic (any race), 5) with a HS diploma or more, 6) with a BA or more, 7) living in poverty, 8) 65+ years old. Estimates from these models are reported in columns [2]-[3] of Tables SM.A5-SM.A11. We report a preregistered "demographics only" specification for interested readers in column [1] of those tables.

In Panels A and B of Figure 1 we consider the relationships between victimization and crime rate and turnout. We consider self-reported turnout in the MCS and CES surveys, as well as two measures of validated turnout from the CES. In each case we report coefficients from Model 1 (solid markers) and Model 2 (hollow markers).

# **Turnout**



# Non-Voting Participation (0-4)

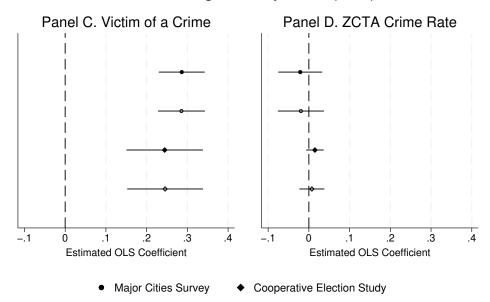


Figure 1: Estimated Effects of Victimization and Crime Rates on Participation. Solid markers are estimates from models controlling for respondent demographics and basic ZCTA-level variables (area, number of residents, number employed). Hollow markers are from models also controlling for percentage of ZCTA residents: 1) identifying as white (only, non-Hispanic), 2) Black (only, non-Hispanic), 3) Asian (only, non-Hispanic), 4) Hispanic (any race), 5) with a HS diploma or more, 6) with a BA or more, 7) living in poverty, 8) 65+ years old. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals.

The estimated effect of victimization is negative and statistically significant across turnout measures, surveys, and model specifications. In the MCS survey a one unit increase in victimization on the 0-4 measure is associated with a 3 percentage point decrease in the likelihood of turning out. The coefficient on the victimization indicator in the CES is approximately -.03 in each model. Estimates from the validated turnout models are similar. When we treat respondents who were matched to the voter file and validated as having turned out as voters and all other respondents as not voting, victimization is associated with a 2 percentage point decrease in the probability of turning out. When we only count those who were matched to the voter file, but did not vote as non-voters (dropping unmatched respondents from the analysis), those who report having been victims are almost 5 percentage points less likely to turn out.

Panel B of Figure 1 reports coefficients on the crime rate measure from the same set of models. The relationships between crime rate and self-reported turnout are small and short of conventional thresholds for statistical significance. Estimates from the validated turnout models suggest that a one standard deviation increase in the ZCTA-level crime rate is associated with an approximately 1 percentage point decrease in turnout. However, the coefficients are attenuated when more robust ZCTA-level controls are included in the models.

In Panels C and D, we repeat the same exercise, specifying tallies of the number of non-voting political acts respondents reported participating in over the past year as our outcome. The MCS activities included: 1) participating in a protest, 2) discussing a political issue with someone, 3) contacting a public official, and 4) attending a meeting about a political issue; CES items included: 1) attending a local political meeting, 2) putting up a political sign, 3) working for a candidate or campaign, and 4) donating to a candidate or political organization.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to the estimates from the voting model, victimization is associated with *increased* non-voting political participation. The coefficients in the MCS and CES data are approximately

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$ Most respondents reported either 0 (70 percent) or 1 (17 percent) instances of victimization. Estimates from models treating victimization as an dichotomous indicator yield coefficients of approximately -.054 in each specification (p < .05).

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$ Our PAP indicated that we would use a 6 item battery for the CES analysis, however upon closer inspection we realized two items—attending a protest and contacting a public official—were not included in the 2016 survey. Results using the 6-item measure for the 2018-2024 surveys are reported in Table SM.A11 and are substantively similar, though the coefficient on crime rate is positive and statistically significance in the model that only includes basic ZCTA-level controls (b = .036, p < .05).

.29 and .23, respectively.<sup>13</sup> For context, these estimates are comparable to those associated with a respondent having a four year college degree as their highest level of educational attainment, rather than high school diploma. The estimates in Panel D show little evidence of a relationship between ZCTA-level crime rates and non-voting participation.

Next, per our PAP, using the MCS data, we assess whether *subjective* safety perceptions are associated with political participation, as well as the plausibility of these subjective perceptions as a mechanism for the relationships we find between victimization and participation. Our perceived neighborhood safety measure averages two five-point items that asked respondents to rate how safe they feel walking in their neighborhood during the day and at night. When we add this measure to the Model 1 and 2 turnout specifications discussed above, the coefficient is positive, but not statistically significant in the voting models (p = .378 and .418, respectively; see columns [4] and [5] in Table SM.A5) and the coefficient on the victimization measure is essentially unchanged.

When we repeat this exercise in the non-voting participation models we find that perceived neighborhood safety is positively associated with participation. A two standard deviation (approximately 2 units on the 1-5 measure) increase in perceived safety is associated with reported participation in approximately .15 more of the 4 acts (see Table SM.A9). Again, the coefficient on victimization measure is essentially unchanged, casting some doubt on the notion that perceived safety mediates that relationship.

### **Robustness Checks and Exploratory Analysis**

Next, we report findings from several robustness checks and exploratory analyses. We begin with three pre-registered robustness tests that reinforce the credibility of the findings reported above.

First, in Tables SM.A14 and SM.A15 we show that our main results hold when we calculate ZCTA-level crime rates using only the residential population, rather than the pre-registered denominator that includes both residents and workers. Under this alternative specification, our findings are broadly similar, but the negative coefficient on the crime rate variable reaches con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Estimates from MCS models dichotomizing the victimization measure are approximately .48.

ventional levels of statistical significance in three of the four CES validated turnout models.

Second, we address the possibility that our victimization findings are confounded by variation in respondents' routine exposure to public spaces, adding measures of reported average weekday and weekend time spent away from home to our MCS models. The coefficients on victimization remain stable (see column [6] in Tables SM.A5 and SM.A9).

Third, we replicate our analysis using Chicago residents who completed the Cook County Community Surveys (CCCS) fielded in early-2024 and early-2025 (see SM A.2.3 for details). Our non-electoral participation findings (both surveys; N = 1,932) are virtually identical in this dataset. The estimated relationship between victimization and turnout in the 2024 presidential election (2025 CCCS survey only; N = 662) is similar in direction and magnitude, but not statistically significant, possibly due to the smaller sample size (see Tables SM.A16 and SM.A17).

We next turn to (unregistered) exploratory analyses that suggest potential pathways for future research. In Figure 2, we examine whether the effect of victimization varies by type of incident, using indicators for each of the four victimization items included on the MCS. All four types of victimization are positively—and similarly—associated with non-voting forms of political participation, but only physical assault is significantly and negatively associated with turnout. These patterns support an "experience intensity" perspective in which more traumatic encounters with crime are particularly likely to trigger withdrawal from electoral participation, even as a broader set of experiences may motivate non-electoral engagement.

One possible explanation for this pattern is that property crimes—particularly those that occur when the victim is not present, such as break-ins or vehicle theft—may generate frustration, anger, or a desire for redress without inducing the same sense of personal threat. These emotions may motivate individuals to engage in non-electoral forms of participation, such as contacting officials or attending public meetings. In contrast, violent crimes like physical assault may be more likely to provoke fear, vulnerability, and alienation, which may lead individuals to specifically disengage from formal political processes like voting. The relative distance of property crimes from direct physical harm may also make political engagement feel like a more accessible or productive response.

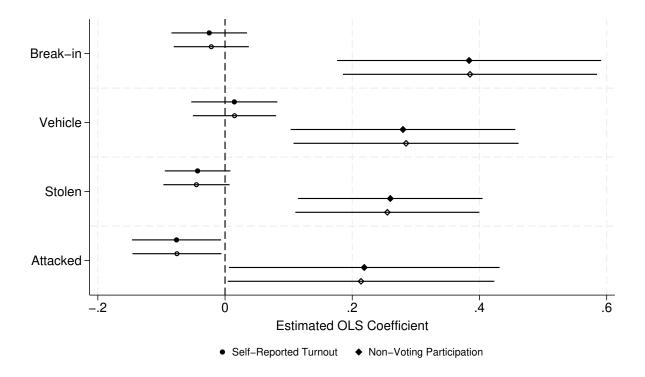


Figure 2: Estimated Effects of Type of Victimization on Participation. Solid markers are estimates from models controlling for respondent demographics and basic ZCTA-level variables (area, number of residents, number employed). Hollow markers are from models also controlling for percentage of ZCTA residents: 1) identifying as white (only, non-Hispanic), 2) Black (only, non-Hispanic), 3) Asian (only, non-Hispanic), 4) Hispanic (any race), 5) with a HS diploma or more, 6) with a BA or more, 7) living in poverty, 8) 65+ years old. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals. See Table SM.A18 for regression models.

Next, in Tables SM.A19-SM.A20, we disaggregate non-electoral participation into its constituent acts and examine whether the positive association with victimization is driven by particular activities. This analysis reveals that victimization predicts increased engagement across all non-voting behaviors except for discussing politics. These patterns indicate that victimization broadly motivates active, outward-facing engagement.

Finally, although our data do not position us to identify the mechanisms driving our findings, trust in the government may play a role—particularly given that crime exposure appears to reduce participation in government-run elections but increase other forms of participation. Exposure to crime may affect trust, which, in turn, affects participation. Alternatively, trust in government authorities may be better thought of as a generally stable disposition that, like other

markers of social connection, insulates individuals from any demobilizing effects of exposure to crime (Moffett-Bateau, 2024). If so, trust may *condition* the relationship between exposure and participation.

In Section SM A.3 we explore these possibilities in several ways, emphasizing that these analyses are not pre-registered, nor are the findings definitive. First, in column (4) of Tables SM.A12-SM.A13 we add basic measures of trust in federal and state governments (available only on the 2024 CES) to our models and find that the the coefficient on our victimization measure is slightly attenuated in the turnout model and slightly amplified in our non-electoral participation model when we include trust in our models. In columns (5) and (6), we estimate models including interactions between each trust measure and our victimization and crime rate measures and find that the estimated demobilizing effects of victimization on turnout are particularly strong among those low on trust in the *state* government and attenuated among those higher on trust. The other interactions in the turnout model, as well as interactions in the non-electoral participation models fall short of conventional thresholds of statistical significance.

In the MCS data we also disaggregate our victimization measure based on follow-up questions that asked victims whether they reported the crime to the police. We posit that low trust individuals will be less inclined to report victimization to the police. We find a negative association between unreported victimization and turnout, but not between reported victimization and turnout. Both victimization measures are associated with higher rates of non-electoral participation, though the relationship is somewhat stronger for reported victimization.

Although far from definitive, taken together these patterns are consistent with the notion that trust moderates the effects of victimization. It appears to insulate individuals from the demobilizing effects of victimization in the domain of turnout and, perhaps, enhance the mobilizing effects of victimization when it comes to non-electoral participation. In contrast, we find quite limited support for the expectation that trust mediates these relationships.

### Discussion

This study offers new insight into a longstanding question in political behavior: how does exposure to negative events the government is expected to prevent affect political participation? Our preregistered findings draws on multiple surveys to build on existing research. We simultaneously consider direct victimization, crime rates (measured using high-resolution administrative data), and perceptions of neighborhood safety as well as both turnout (including validated turnout) and non-electoral forms of participation. To the best of our knowledge, our findings offer the most comprehensive test of the relationship between exposure to crime and political participation in the U.S. context to date.

We find that personal victimization is associated with higher levels of non-electoral participation but lower levels of turnout. The relationships between contextual crime rates and participation, by contrast, are far less inconsistent. Additionally, perceptions of neighborhood safety are positively associated with non-electoral engagement but unrelated to turnout. The findings suggest that personal, direct exposure to crime plays a particularly central role in shaping participation. They also suggest that exposure can "redirect" the inclination to participate from state-run avenues to other forms of political engagement.

At the same time, the study is not without limitations. We lack validated measures of non-voting political behavior, raising concerns about self-report bias, though this concern is mitigated by the strong correspondence between our findings using self-reported and validated turnout as outcomes, as well as by the expectation that social desirability bias is more acute for voting than for contacting officials or attending a protest. Our reliance on observational data also necessarily limits our ability to make strong causal inferences. While our pre-registered design and rich controls reduce concerns about omitted variable bias and researchers' "degress of freedom" (Simmons, Nelson and Simonsohn, 2011), it is possible that factors we have not considered affect both patterns of victimization and participation. Finally, although our crime rate measures are carefully constructed and standardized, they rely on public reporting systems that may vary in coverage and classification practices. Noisiness in our measure may unduly attenuate our estimates of the relationship between crime rates and participation.

Future research can build on these findings in several directions. First, although we report exploratory analyses that suggest political trust may moderate the relationship between crime exposure and participation, we underscore that this evidence is limited and preliminary. Scholars should pursue more suitable data sources and research designed to more convincingly examine the psychological and attitudinal pathways linking victimization to distinct participatory outcomes and conditioning those relationships. Second, future studies should explore heterogeneity in responses to crime across racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups, especially given persistent inequalities in both crime exposure and political voice. Finally, attention to institutional context—such as policing regimes, party outreach, or electoral competitiveness—may help explain when victimization triggers engagement rather than withdrawal.

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# SM A Supplementary Materials

#### SM A.1 Crime Data Notes

We attempted to gather incident-level crime data for calendar years 2016-2024 from public facing databases in 22 of the 30 largest cities in the United States. We were able to gather data from all targeted cities except for Indianapolis, where changes in reporting systems made it impossible to find consistent data after 2022. Table SM.A1 summarizes the data we were able to gather from the remaining cities. There are some cities where we were not able to gather data back to 2016. Additionally, because Los Angeles changed reporting practices in March 2024, we use data from March 2023 through February 2024 when calculating 2024 crime rates for that city.

Table SM.A1: Crime Data Sources and Notes by City

	1			;
City	Start Year	Total Rows	Notes	Link
Austin	2022	108 775	Only reports census blocks not long/lats now.	801108
Dairingle	7707	0///0/1	11 crime categories but drugs/weapons are low throughout.	204155
Boston	2016	747,673	No sex crimes reported in data.	Source
Charlotte	2017	753,413	The year of 2016 was removed due to size and inconsistency of re-	Source
			ported crime	
Chicago	2016	2,337,600		Source
Dallas	2016	1,196,227	No sex crimes reported	Source
DC	2016	289,759	Only reports the 8 index crimes, no other, drugs, weapon category	Source
Denver	2020	363,540		Source
Detroit	2017	709,156	2016 was inconsistent and removed	Source
Fort Worth	2016	552,146		Source
Houston	2019	1,579,359		Source
Jacksonville	2021	322,879	Only collected after 2020	Source
Los Angeles	2016**	2,100,387	Issues with only reporting some crimes post 2024, **repeated march	Source
			2023-end of Feb 2024 for march 24 – end of Feb 2025. (Also drug	
			crimes is too small)	
Memphis	2019	1,241,608	No sex crimes reported	Source
New York	2016	4,516,794	Using historical data from data portal (current not up to date)	Source
Philadelphia	2016	1,398,353		Source
Phoenix	2016	573,120	Missing other crimes "Homicides, rapes, robberies, aggravated as-	Source
			saults, burglaries, larcenies/thefts, motor vehicle thefts, arsons, and	
			drug crimes are included. All other crime types are excluded from the data."	
Portland	2016	492,027	No sex crimes due to missing location data "Cases deemed sensi-	Source
			tive due to the nature of the crime, victim, victim/offender relation-	
			ship, or investigation status may contain data that cannot be shared	
			openly at this time."	
San Antonio	2023	335,316		Source
San Diego	2020	432,674		Source
San Francisco	2016	1,404,421		Source
Seattle	2016	1,453,839	Redacted or missing longitude and latitudes (659K usable), homi-	Source
			cides are very small	

In each case, we used the reported latitudes and longitudes of reported crimes to situate the crime within a ZCTA. We then tally the total number of crimes in each ZCTA in each year. We divide these tallies by the number of residents and people employed in the ZCTA. As discussed in the main text, reporting practices appear to vary substantially across jurisdictions. Thus, we standardize our calculated rate within each city. Specifically, we subtract the calculated rate in each ZCTA-year from the average rate across all available ZCTA-years in that city, and divide the result by the standard deviation across ZCTA-years (excluding entirely non-residential ZCTAs).

# SM A.2 Question Wording

### SM A.2.1 Major Cities Survey

#### Victimization (0-4).

- In the last 12 months, has someone broken in or attempted to break into your home by forcing a door or window, pushing past someone, jimmying a lock, cutting a screen, or entering through an open door or window?
- In the last 12 months, did someone steal or attempt to steal your vehicle (car, truck, motorcycle, etc.), parts of your vehicle (tires, stereo, battery, etc.), or break in or attempt to break into your vehicle?
- In the last 12 months, was something else belonging to you stolen, such as your wallet or purse, a bicycle, jewelry, or cellphone?
- In the last 12 months, has anyone attacked or threatened you with a gun, knife, baseball bat or other weapon?

**Self-Reported Turnout**. Next we would like to ask you some questions about voting and politics. Which of the following statements best describes you?

- I did not vote in the November 2024 presidential election. (0)
- I thought about voting this time but didn't. (0)
- I usually vote, but didn't this time. (0)
- I attempted to vote but did not or could not. (0)
- I definitely voted in the November 2024 presidential election. (1)

Non-Voting Participation. During the past 12 months, have you...

- joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration.
- discussed a political issue with someone (either in person on online).
- contacted or tried to contact a political official.
- attended a public meeting about a political issue.

**Gender**. What is your gender?

- Woman
- Man
- Something not listed (please specify)

**Race**. What is your race and/or ethnicity? Please select all that apply.

- White
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Asian
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Middle Eastern or North African
- Something not listed (please specify)

**Age**. In what year were you born? (pull-down menu of 1906-2007; subtract from 2025 to get age in years)

**Education** What is the highest level of school you have completed?

- Less than a high school diploma
- High school diploma or equivalent (GED)
- Some college with no degree
- Associate degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate or professional degree

Family Income Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- Less than \$10,000 (1)
- \$10,000 \$19,999 (2)
- \$20,000 \$29,999 (3)
- \$30,000 \$39,999 (4)
- \$40,000 \$49,999 (5)
- \$50,000 \$59,999 (6)

- \$60,000 \$69,999 (7)
- \$70,000 \$79,999 (8)
- \$80,000 \$99,999 (9)
- \$100,000 \$119,999 (10)
- \$120,000 \$149,999 (11)
- \$150,000 \$199,999 (12)
- \$200,000 \$249,999 (13)
- \$250,000 \$349,999 (14)
- \$350,000 \$499,999 (15)
- \$500,000 or more (16)
- Prefer not to say (set to mean among non-refusals)

### SM A.2.2 Cooperative Election Study

**Victimization** (0-1). Over the past year have you... been a victim of a crime?

**Self-Reported Turnout**. Next we would like to ask you some questions about voting and politics. Which of the following statements best describes you?

- I did not vote in the election this November. (0)
- I thought about voting this time but didn't. (0)
- I usually vote, but didn't this time. (0)
- I attempted to vote but did not or could not. (0)
- I definitely voted in the November 20XX General Election. (1)

Non-Voting Participation. During the past year did you...

- Attend local political meetings
- Put up a political sign
- Work for a candidate or campaign
- Attend a political protest, march or demonstration
- Contact a public official
- Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization

**Gender**; 2016-2020. Are you...?

- Male
- Female

Gender; 2022-2024. What is your gender?

- Man
- Woman
- Non-binary
- Other

Race. What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

- White
- Black or African-American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Asian or Asian-American
- Native American
- Middle Eastern
- Two or more races
- Other

**Age.** In what year were you born? (numeric entry; subtract from survey year to get age in years)

**Education** What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Did not graduate from high school
- High school graduate
- Some college, but no degree (yet)
- 2-year college degree
- 4-year college degree
- Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)

Family Income Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- Less than \$10,000 (1)
- \$10,000 \$19,999 (2)
- \$20,000 \$29,999 (3)

- \$30,000 \$39,999 (4)
- \$40,000 \$49,999 (5)
- \$50,000 \$59,999 (6)
- \$60,000 \$69,999 (7)
- \$70,000 \$79,999 (8)
- \$80,000 \$99,999 (9)
- \$100,000 \$119,999 (10)
- \$120,000 \$149,999 (11)
- \$150,000 \$199,999 (12)
- \$200,000 \$249,999 (13)
- \$250,000 \$349,999 (14)
- \$350,000 \$499,999 (15)
- \$500,000 or more (16)
- Prefer not to say (set to mean among non-refusals)

### SM A.2.3 Cook County Community Survey

The 2024 Cook County Community Survey (CCCS). The survey was fielded from January 18-February 14, 2024. Respondents were provided by three companies. Each was asked to provide survey respondents residing in Cook County, IL, targeting Cook County demographic benchmarks. The three companies were: Qualtrics (target N=1,000), Lucid (target N=500), and Dynata (target N=1,000). Respondents to the 2025 survey (January 14-February 4, 2025) were provided exclusively by Dynata. In each case, participants completed the researcher-designed survey via Qualtrics.

**Victimization (0-4).** Which of the following have you personally experienced in the last 12 months?

- Someone I did not know threatened me in public.
- I was physically attacked by someone in public.
- Something that belonged to me was stolen.
- Someone I did not know spoke to me in a sexually inappropriate way in public.

**Self-Reported Turnout**; 2025 survey only. Next we would like to ask you some questions about voting and politics. Which of the following statements best describes you?

• I did not vote in the November 2024 presidential election. (0)

- I thought about voting this time but didn't. (0)
- I usually vote, but didn't this time. (0)
- I attempted to vote but did not or could not. (0)
- I definitely voted in the November 2024 presidential election. (1)

### Non-Voting Participation. During the past 12 months, have you...

- joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration about a local political issue.
- discussed a local political issue with someone in your neighborhood (either in person on online).
- contacted or tried to contact a local political official.
- attended a public meeting about a local political issue.

## Gender. What is your gender?

- Woman
- Man
- Something not listed (please specify)

**Race**. What is your race and/or ethnicity? Please select all that apply.

- White
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Asian
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Middle Eastern or North African
- Something not listed (please specify)

**Age**. In what year were you born? (pull-down menu of 1906-2007; subtract from 2025 to get age in years)

#### **Education** What is the highest level of school you have completed?

- Less than a high school diploma
- High school diploma or equivalent (GED)
- Some college with no degree

- Associate degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate or professional degree

Family Income Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- Less than \$10,000 (1)
- \$10,000 \$19,999 (2)
- \$20,000 \$29,999 (3)
- \$30,000 \$39,999 (4)
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- \$250,000 \$349,999 (14)
- \$350,000 \$499,999 (15)
- \$500,000 or more (16)
- Prefer not to say (set to mean among non-refusals)

### SM A.3 Exploring the Role of Trust in Government

As discussed in the text, we explore the possibility that trust either mediates or moderates the relationships between crime exposure and participation in several ways.

First, the 2024 CES includes simple measures of trust in state and federal government. In column (4) of Tables SM.A12-SM.A13 we add these trust measures as covariates. The coefficients on our victimization measure are slightly attenuated when we include trust in our models—a pattern that is consistent with the notion that trust mediates the relationship between crime exposure and participation. Including our trust measures in our non-voting participation models slightly *increases* the coefficient on victimization in the non-voting participation model (Table SM.A13).

Second, in columns (5) and (6) of Tables SM.A12-SM.A13, we add interactions between each trust measure and our victimization and crime rate measures. The interaction between victimization and trust in state government is positive and statistically significant in the voting model [NOTE: VALIDATED TURNOUT MODELS WILL BE ADDED WHEN 2024 MEASURES ARE AVAILABLE]. The estimated demobilizing effects of victimization are particularly strong among those low on trust and attenuate among those higher on trust. The same pattern does not emerge with either of the crime rate interactions or the interaction between trust in the *federal* government and victimization. None of the interactions reach conventional thresholds of statistical significance in the non-voting participation models.

We further consider the possibility that existing levels of trust condition the relationship between crime exposure and participation using data from the MCS. Specifically, in Table SM.A23 and Figure SM.A2 we leverage the fact that the MCS asked respondents who reported having been victimized whether they reported the incident to the police. We disaggregate our victimization measure, creating separate tallies of the number of instances of victimization reported to the police and number of unreported incident. We posit that individuals who report their victimization are more likely to possess higher baseline trust in authorities (though we acknowledge other factors may shape decisions to report crimes to the police).

Consistent with this logic, we find that the negative association between victimization and turnout is concentrated among respondents who did not report any of their victimization incidents to the police. In contrast, reporting victimization is positively associated with non-voting participation and unrelated to turnout. These results are suggestive of a mechanism in which trust moderates the behavioral consequences of victimization: individuals with low trust may respond by withdrawing from electoral politics, whereas those with higher trust may remain electorally engaged and turn to other forms of political expression.

## SM A.4 Additional Analysis

- Table SM.A2 reports descriptive statistics for respondents in our sample.
- Table SM.A3 reports the distribution of respondents across cities in each survey.
- Table SM.A4 reports mean victimization and ZCTA-level crime rates by key demographics for each survey.
- Columns (2) and (3) of Tables SM.A5-SM.A8 report the models used to generate the estimates reported in Panels A and B of Figure 1. The column (1) specifications are "demographics only" models reported for readers who are interested. The column (4) and (5)

specifications in Table SM.A5 are discussed in the text and include a measure of perceived neighborhood safety as a covariate to assess whether safety *perceptions* are associated with reported turnout, as well as the plausibility of these perceptions mediating the relationship between victimization and/or crime rates and turnout. The column (6) specification tests the robustness of our findings by adding measures of how much time respondents reported spending outside of their home on a typical weekday and weekend.

- Tables SM.A9-SM.A11 are analogous to the specifications reported in Tables SM.A5-SM.A8, but specify summary measures of non-voting participation as our outcome measure. Table SM.A10 uses our four item (0-4) CES measure and data from the full 2016-2024. Results are reported in Panels C and D of Figure 1. Table SM.A11 uses our pre-registered six item (0-6) CES measure, but excludes data form 2016 because two items were not included in that year's survey.
- Tables SM.A12-SM.A13 replicate our core CES analysis, restricting our sample to participants in the 2024 survey (i.e., data we did not have access to prior to registering our design).
- Table SM.A14 re-estimates the column (2) and (3) models from Tables SM.A5 and SM.A9 using a crime rate measure calculated by dividing only by ZCTA residential population—rather than the sum of the residential population and number of people employed in the ZCTA. Table SM.A15 repeats the same exercise using our three turnout measures and our non-voting participation measure from the CES. The results are substantively similar to those reported in our primary analysis.
- Tables SM.A16 and SM.A17 we replicate our analysis using data from the 2024 and 2025 Cook County Community Surveys (see SM A.2.3 for details).
- Table SM.A18 reports regression models from the Major Cities Survey predicting our outcomes with indicators for various types of crime victimization. Estimates of interest are reported in Figure 2.
- Tables SM.A19 and SM.A20 re-estimate our primary models (with and without expanded ZCTA-level controls, respectively) for each specific type of non-voting participation measured in the Major Cities Survey. Tables SM.A21 and SM.A22 do the same for the CES data. We report estimates of interest in Figure SM.A1
- Table SM.A23 reports models that include separate measures for tallies of the number of instances of victimization the respondent A) reported to the police and B) did not report to the police. Figure SM.A2 reports estimates of interest.

Table SM.A2: Summary Statistics

	Major Cities Survey	Cooperative 1	Election Study
	2025	2016-2024	2024 only
Victim of Crime in Last Year	0.53	0.054	0.048
Self-Reported Turnout (1=yes)	0.79	0.89	0.92
Validated Turnout among All (CES; 2016-2024)		0.51	•
Validated Turnout among Matched (CES; 2016-2024)		0.77	
Protest	0.13	0.13	0.084
part_discuss	0.80		
Contact	0.21	0.25	0.22
Meeting	0.20	0.11	0.086
Sign		0.15	0.13
Work For		0.073	0.053
Donate		0.28	0.26
Non-Voting Participation (0-4; CES; 2016-2024)		0.61	0.52
Non-Voting Participation (0-6; CES; 2018-2024)		0.99	0.82
Man	0.48	0.49	0.49
Woman	0.52	0.50	0.50
Other Gender	0.0049	0.0041	0.011
White	0.40	0.51	0.47
Black	0.28	0.23	0.26
Hispanic	0.22	0.15	0.15
Asian	0.079	0.064	0.063
All Other Race/Ethnicity	0.016	0.057	0.066
Education (1-6)	4.04	3.92	3.81
Family Income (1-16)	7.29	6.73	6.72
Income Refusal (1=yes)	0.030	0.088	0.084
Age in Years	46.7	45.0	48.3
Observations	1819	29025	6302

Table SM.A3: Distribution of Respondents Across Cities

	Major Cities Survey		Coo	perative E	lection	ection Study	
		2025	2016	5-2024	202	4 only	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	
AUSTIN	87	4.8	1096	3.8	195	3.1	
BALTIMORE	87	4.8	286	1.0	157	2.5	
BOSTON	90	4.9	636	2.2	118	1.9	
CHARLOTTE	87	4.8	546	1.9	131	2.1	
CHICAGO	85	4.7	2810	9.7	559	8.9	
DALLAS	84	4.6	1079	3.7	200	3.2	
DENVER	91	5.0	519	1.8	163	2.6	
DETROIT	87	4.8	437	1.5	130	2.1	
FORT WORTH	85	4.7	701	2.4	159	2.5	
HOUSTON	85	4.7	1945	6.7	673	10.7	
JACKSONVILLE	89	4.9	458	1.6	212	3.4	
LOS ANGELES	85	4.7	2888	10.0	521	8.3	
MEMPHIS	88	4.8	335	1.2	115	1.8	
NEW YORK	83	4.6	7541	26.0	1354	21.5	
PHILADELPHIA	87	4.8	1732	6.0	379	6.0	
PHOENIX	90	4.9	1445	5.0	267	4.2	
PORTLAND	86	4.7	1360	4.7	298	4.7	
SAN DIEGO	84	4.6	583	2.0	178	2.8	
SAN FRANCISCO	86	4.7	807	2.8	129	2.0	
SEATTLE	87	4.8	893	3.1	177	2.8	
WASHINGTON	86	4.7	928	3.2	187	3.0	
Total	1819	100.0	29025	100.0	6302	100.0	

Table SM.A4: Victimization and Crime Rate Averages by Respondent Demographics

		Major Cities Survey	urvey	Cooperative	Cooperative Election Study	
		Victimization (0-4)	Crime Rate	Victimization (0/1)	Crime Rate	
Race	White		-0.068	0.053	-0.130	
	Hispanic		0.109	0.048	0.150	
	Black		0.412	0.057	0.484	
	Asian	0.333	-0.213	0.033	-0.179	
	All Other	0.724	-0.030	0.087	0.079	
Gender	Woman	0.447	0.098	0.047	0.083	
	Man	0.610	0.092	0.060	0.034	
Age	18-35	0.738	0.160	0.062	0.067	
	36-45	0.661	0.108	0.066	0.109	
	46-60	0.460	0.078	0.055	0.100	
	<del>+</del> 29	0.200	0.020	0.028	-0.042	
Education	< High school	0.469	0.322	0.056	0.348	
	High school	0.562	0.276	0.052	0.176	
	Some college	0.545	0.246	0.070	0.106	
	Associate degree	0.505	0.196	0.053	0.126	
	Bachelor's degree	0.445	-0.058	0.048	-0.032	
	Graduate/prof. degree	0.598	-0.092	0.045	-0.077	
Family Income	less than 40k	0.535	0.346	0.070	0.281	
	40-70k	0.492	0.146	0.049	0.023	
	70k-120k	0.453	-0.045	0.047	-0.064	
	120k+	0.619	-0.111	0.042	-0.117	
C.11 2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.						

Cell entries are means.

# SM A.5 Turnout Models

Table SM.A5: Self-Reported Turnout (MCS)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Victimization Instances (0-4)		-0.030**	-0.030**	-0.029**	-0.029**	-0.032**
		(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		-0.006	0.010	-0.005	0.010	0.011
		(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Perceived Neighborhood Safety (1-5)				0.010	0.009	0.008
				(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Time Out Weekdays (1-5)						0.018*
						(0.008)
Time Out Weekends (1-5)						-0.002
***	0.010	0.04 =	0.016	0.011	0.010	(0.009)
Woman	-0.010	-0.015	-0.016	-0.011	-0.013	-0.012
Other Complete	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Other Gender	-0.166	-0.169	-0.171	-0.168	-0.170	-0.161
Black	(0.100) $0.005$	(0.101) $0.005$	(0.101) $0.018$	(0.103) $0.006$	(0.103) $0.018$	(0.108) $0.014$
DIACK	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.014)
Hispanic	$-0.053^*$	-0.060*	-0.063**	-0.059*	-0.061**	-0.064**
Thispanic	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Asian	$-0.064^*$	-0.074**	-0.074**	-0.071**	-0.071**	-0.068**
7101411	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.025)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.100	-0.098	-0.092	-0.100	-0.093	-0.097
,	(0.090)	(0.087)	(0.085)	(0.088)	(0.085)	(0.083)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	0.047**	0.047**	0.048**	0.046**	0.047**	0.047**
,	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Family Income (1-16)	0.021**	0.022**	0.022**	0.021**	0.021**	0.021**
,	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Income Refusal	-0.060	-0.057	-0.051	-0.057	-0.051	-0.039
	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.061)
Age in Years	0.003**	0.003**	0.002**	0.003**	0.002**	0.003**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819	1819	1819

Cell entries are unstandardized coefficients from multilevel mixed-effects linear models with random ZCTA intercepts and city fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered by city, in parentheses. \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < .01. Basic ZCTA Controls: total population, number employed in ZCTA, area in square miles. Additional ZCTA Controls: percent in ZCTA 1) identifying as white (only, non-Hispanic), 2) Black (only, non-Hispanic), 3) Asian (only, non-Hispanic), 4) Hispanic (any race), 5) with a HS diploma or more, 6) with a BA or more, 7) living in poverty, 8) 65+ years old.

Table SM.A6: Self-Reported Turnout (CES)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Victim of Crime in Last Year		-0.033**	-0.033**
		(0.008)	(0.008)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		-0.000	0.002
		(0.002)	(0.004)
Woman	0.011**	0.011**	0.011**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Other Gender	0.062*	$0.065^{*}$	$0.063^*$
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Black	-0.026**	-0.026**	-0.027*
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)
Hispanic	-0.032**	-0.032**	-0.030**
_	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Asian	-0.071**	-0.072**	-0.072**
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.038**	-0.037**	-0.038**
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Education (1-6)	0.028**	0.028**	0.027**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Family Income (1-16)	0.009**	0.009**	0.009**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.008	-0.009	-0.009
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age in Years	0.003**	0.003**	0.003**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes
Observations	21461	21461	21461

Cell entries are unstandardized coefficients from multilevel mixed-effects linear models with random ZCTA intercepts and fixed effects for city and year. Robust standard errors clustered by city, in parentheses. \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < .01. Basic ZCTA Controls: total population, number employed in ZCTA, area in square miles. Additional ZCTA Controls: percent in ZCTA 1) identifying as white (only, non-Hispanic), 2) Black (only, non-Hispanic), 3) Asian (only, non-Hispanic), 4) Hispanic (any race), 5) with a HS diploma or more, 6) with a BA or more, 7) living in poverty, 8) 65+ years old.

Table SM.A7: Validated Turnout among All (CES; 2016-2024)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Victim of Crime in Last Year		-0.019*	-0.020*
		(0.009)	(0.009)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		-0.011*	-0.003
		(0.005)	(0.005)
Woman	$0.018^{*}$	0.018*	0.018*
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Other Gender	0.212**	0.214**	0.212**
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.056)
Black	-0.070**	-0.073**	-0.069**
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Hispanic	-0.087**	-0.091**	-0.087**
-	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Asian	-0.122**	-0.125**	-0.119**
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.019)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.042*	-0.043*	-0.042*
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Education (1-6)	0.045**	$0.046^{**}$	0.045**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Family Income (1-16)	$0.005^{**}$	0.005**	0.005**
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.007	-0.007	-0.008
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Age in Years	0.009**	0.009**	0.009**
-	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes
Observations	22723	22723	22723

Table SM.A8: Validated Turnout among Matched (CES; 2016-2024)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Victim of Crime in Last Year		-0.047**	-0.048**
		(0.014)	(0.014)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		-0.016**	-0.010
		(0.005)	(0.006)
Woman	0.012*	0.012*	$0.012^{*}$
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Other Gender	0.168**	$0.174^{**}$	$0.174^{**}$
	(0.059)	(0.060)	(0.062)
Black	-0.065**	-0.060**	-0.057**
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Hispanic	-0.082**	-0.081**	-0.076**
_	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Asian	-0.102**	-0.104**	-0.102**
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.063**	-0.061**	-0.061**
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Education (1-6)	$0.041^{**}$	0.041**	$0.040^{**}$
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Family Income (1-16)	$0.010^{**}$	$0.010^{**}$	0.009**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	0.036**	0.034**	$0.034^{**}$
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age in Years	0.004**	0.004**	$0.004^{**}$
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes
Observations	14836	14836	14836

## SM A.6 Non-Voting Participation Models

Table SM.A9: Non-Voting Participation (0-4; MCS)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Victimization Instances (0-4)		0.286**	0.285**	0.294**	0.293**	0.288**
` ,		(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		-0.021	-0.020	-0.014	-0.019	-0.018
		(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Perceived Neighborhood Safety (1-5)				0.073**	0.071**	0.068**
				(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.024)
Time Out Weekdays (1-5)						0.029
						(0.018)
Time Out Weekends (1-5)						0.015
						(0.017)
Woman	-0.098	-0.052	-0.049	-0.027	-0.025	-0.027
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.051)	(0.052)	(0.050)	(0.049)
Other Gender	-0.173	-0.095	-0.075	-0.083	-0.064	-0.050
	(0.181)	(0.204)	(0.203)	(0.213)	(0.211)	(0.210)
Black	-0.143*	-0.127*	-0.128*	-0.120*	-0.126*	-0.136**
	(0.064)	(0.057)	(0.051)	(0.054)	(0.049)	(0.050)
Hispanic	-0.175**	-0.099	-0.101	-0.086	-0.089	-0.095
	(0.061)	(0.052)	(0.056)	(0.052)	(0.056)	(0.055)
Asian	-0.352**	-0.256**	-0.247**	-0.234**	-0.224**	-0.218**
	(0.093)	(0.082)	(0.083)	(0.081)	(0.082)	(0.081)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	0.092	0.071	0.062	0.061	0.051	0.043
	(0.265)	(0.230)	(0.237)	(0.227)	(0.234)	(0.236)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	0.121**	0.118**	0.114**	0.114**	0.112**	0.110**
D 11 I (1.16)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Family Income (1-16)	0.025**	0.024**	0.023**	0.021**	0.021**	0.019**
In D. C 1	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Income Refusal	-0.461**	-0.450**	-0.446**	-0.447**	-0.443**	-0.415**
A co in Vocas	(0.086) -0.010**	(0.090) -0.006**	(0.092) -0.006**	(0.091) -0.006**	(0.093) -0.006**	(0.093) -0.006**
Age in Years						
Basic ZCTA Controls	(0.002) No	(0.001) Yes	(0.001) Yes	(0.001) Yes	(0.001) Yes	(0.001) Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819	1819	1819

Table SM.A10: Non-Voting Participation (0-4; CES; 2016-2024)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Victim of Crime in Last Year		0.244**	0.245**
		(0.048)	(0.048)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		0.015	0.007
		(0.011)	(0.016)
Woman	-0.051**	-0.050**	-0.050**
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Other Gender	0.029	0.002	-0.007
	(0.107)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Black	-0.163**	-0.163**	-0.165**
	(0.019)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Hispanic	-0.151**	-0.146**	-0.144**
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.025)
Asian	-0.388**	-0.381**	-0.381**
	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.035)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	$-0.064^{*}$	-0.070**	-0.071**
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Education (1-6)	0.093**	0.092**	0.088**
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Family Income (1-16)	0.035**	$0.036^{**}$	0.035**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.039**	-0.037*	-0.038**
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Age in Years	0.001	0.002	0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes
Observations	22778	22778	22778

Table SM.A11: Non-Voting Participation (0-6; CES; 2018-2024)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Victim of Crime in Last Year		0.351**	0.352**
		(0.052)	(0.052)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		0.036*	0.020
		(0.017)	(0.025)
Woman	-0.033	-0.034	-0.034
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Other Gender	0.255	0.216	0.203
	(0.155)	(0.152)	(0.152)
Black	-0.329**	-0.335**	-0.335**
	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.038)
Hispanic	-0.268**	-0.264**	-0.256**
	(0.045)	(0.047)	(0.050)
Asian	-0.621**	-0.611**	-0.603**
	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.066)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.116**	-0.126**	-0.127**
	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.035)
Education (1-6)	0.166**	0.165**	0.159**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Family Income (1-16)	0.043**	$0.045^{**}$	$0.044^{**}$
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.048	-0.043	-0.045
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Age in Years	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes
Observations	18694	18694	18694

# SM A.7 Cooperative Election Study (2024 only)

Table SM.A12: Self-Reported Turnout (CES; 2024 only)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Victim of Crime in Last Year		-0.057**	-0.056*	-0.050*	-0.112*	-0.110*
		(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		0.001	0.011*	0.011*	-0.010	0.001
,		(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Trust Federal Gov. (0-1)		,	,	0.015	0.013	0.015
,				(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Trust State Gov. (0-1)				0.064**	0.057**	0.055**
				(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Victim x Trust State					0.161*	0.161*
					(0.073)	(0.074)
Victim x Trust Federal					-0.032	-0.036
					(0.079)	(0.078)
Crime Rate x Trust State					0.004	0.002
					(0.017)	(0.017)
Crime Rate x Trust Federal					0.016	0.019
					(0.020)	(0.020)
Woman	0.008	0.008	0.009	0.008	0.006	0.007
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Other Gender	-0.005	-0.001	-0.005	-0.002	-0.001	-0.005
	(0.043)	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.045)	(0.046)
Black	-0.036**	-0.035*	-0.033*	-0.036*	-0.038**	-0.035*
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Hispanic	-0.039	-0.039	-0.038	-0.039	-0.041*	-0.040
_	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.022)
Asian	-0.068**	-0.068**	-0.072**	-0.071**	-0.068**	-0.073**
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.024)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.037**	-0.033*	-0.032*	-0.030*	-0.030*	-0.029*
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Education (1-6)	$0.030^{**}$	0.029**	0.028**	0.028**	0.029**	0.028**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Family Income (1-16)	0.008**	0.007**	$0.007^{**}$	$0.007^{**}$	0.007**	0.007**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.017	-0.018	-0.020	-0.016	-0.014	-0.016
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Age in Years	$0.002^{**}$	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**	0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	4469	4469	4469	4452	4452	4452

Table SM.A13: Non-Voting Participation (0-6; CES; 2024 only)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Victim of Crime in Last Year		0.153	0.153	0.164	0.089	0.105
		(0.096)	(0.095)	(0.099)	(0.194)	(0.192)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		0.032	0.019	0.021	0.083*	0.069
,		(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.039)	(0.037)
Trust Federal Gov. (0-1)		,	,	-0.000	0.005	0.009
,				(0.131)	(0.129)	(0.124)
Trust State Gov. (0-1)				0.191	0.198	0.189
				(0.173)	(0.176)	(0.172)
Victim x Trust State					0.185	0.174
					(0.271)	(0.274)
Victim x Trust Federal					-0.030	-0.057
					(0.356)	(0.358)
Crime Rate x Trust State					-0.016	-0.011
					(0.059)	(0.063)
Crime Rate x Trust Federal					-0.090	-0.088
					(0.067)	(0.069)
Woman	0.045	0.043	0.042	0.041	0.042	0.042
	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.046)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.046)
Other Gender	0.658**	0.658**	0.640**	0.645**	0.666**	0.648**
	(0.197)	(0.201)	(0.200)	(0.210)	(0.209)	(0.210)
Black	-0.175**	-0.184**	-0.193**	-0.201**	-0.194**	-0.202**
	(0.042)	(0.048)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.048)	(0.046)
Hispanic	-0.194**	-0.192**	-0.179**	-0.183**	-0.198**	-0.184**
_	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.056)	(0.057)	(0.054)	(0.057)
Asian	-0.375**	-0.372**	-0.354**	-0.354**	-0.373**	-0.354**
	(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.075)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.034	-0.048	-0.053	-0.041	-0.037	-0.041
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Education (1-6)	$0.141^{**}$	$0.140^{**}$	0.131**	$0.130^{**}$	0.138**	0.130**
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Family Income (1-16)	0.037**	0.038**	0.037**	0.037**	0.038**	0.037**
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.010	-0.005	-0.013	0.002	0.014	0.006
	(0.046)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Age in Years	0.003	0.003	0.004	0.003	0.003	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	4719	4719	4719	4701	4701	4701

### SM A.8 Alternate Crime Measures

Table SM.A14: Alternate Crime Rate Measure (MCS)

	Self-Reported Turnout		Non	-Voting Part. (0-4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Victimization Instances (0-4)	-0.030**	-0.029**	0.286**	0.285**
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities;	-0.017	-0.005	-0.034	-0.033
Residential Pop.)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.044)	(0.052)
Woman	-0.015	-0.016	-0.053	-0.049
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.054)	(0.052)
Other Gender	-0.167	-0.169	-0.089	-0.068
	(0.100)	(0.101)	(0.202)	(0.200)
Black	0.005	0.017	-0.130*	-0.129**
	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.060)	(0.050)
Hispanic	-0.060*	-0.062**	-0.100	-0.102
-	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.052)	(0.055)
Asian	-0.076**	-0.075**	-0.258**	-0.249**
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.081)	(0.083)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.100	-0.094	0.069	0.059
	(0.087)	(0.085)	(0.231)	(0.239)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	$0.047^{**}$	0.048**	0.118**	0.115**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Family Income (1-16)	0.022**	0.022**	0.024**	0.024**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Income Refusal	-0.058	-0.052	-0.451**	-0.447**
	(0.059)	(0.061)	(0.090)	(0.092)
Age in Years	0.003**	0.002**	-0.006**	-0.006**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819

Table SM.A15: Alternate Crime Rate Measure (CES)

	Self-Repo	Self-Reported Turnout	Validated (All)	ed (All)	Validated	Validated (Matched)	Non-Voti	Non-Voting Part. (0-4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	(7)	(8)
Victim of Crime in Last Year	-0.034**	-0.033**	-0.019*	-0.020*	-0.048**	-0.048**	0.245**	0.246**
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.000)	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities;	0.001	0.004	-0.024**	-0.019*	$-0.021^{*}$	-0.012	0.020	0.013
Residential Pop.)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.000)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Woman	0.011**	0.011**	$0.018^{*}$	$0.018^{*}$	0.012*	0.012*	$-0.050^{**}$	-0.050**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Other Gender	$0.065^*$	0.063*	0.214**	0.212**	0.173**	0.173**	0.002	-0.006
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Black	-0.026**	$-0.027^{*}$	-0.073**	-0.069**	-0.063**	-0.057**	$-0.161^{**}$	-0.165**
	(0.00)	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.022)
Hispanic	-0.032**	-0.030**	-0.090**	-0.087**	-0.081**	-0.076**	-0.146**	$-0.144^{**}$
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.024)	(0.025)
Asian	-0.072**	-0.072**	-0.125**	-0.119**	-0.104**	-0.101**	-0.381**	-0.382**
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.033)	(0.035)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.037**	-0.038**	-0.043*	-0.042*	-0.062**	-0.061**	-0.070**	-0.071**
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Education (1-6)	0.028**	0.027**	0.046**	0.045**	0.041**	0.040**	0.092**	0.088**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Family Income (1-16)	0.009**	0.009**	0.005**	$0.004^{**}$	$0.010^{**}$	0.009**	0.036**	0.035**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.009	-0.009	-0.008	-0.008	$0.034^{**}$	0.034**	-0.037*	-0.038**
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Age in Years	0.003**	0.003**	0.009**	0.009**	$0.004^{**}$	$0.004^{**}$	0.002	0.002
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	21461	21461	22723	22723	14836	14836	22778	22778
1	f t	1.11	1.		101	. 4	, ,, ,, ,, ,,	1

## SM A.9 Cook County Community Survey (CCCS)

Table SM.A16: Self-Reported Turnout (CCCS)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Victimization Instances (0-4)		-0.019	-0.019	-0.019	-0.019
		(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		-0.015	-0.093	-0.015	-0.092
		(0.030)	(0.074)	(0.032)	(0.074)
Perceived Neighborhood Safety (1-5)				0.002	0.004
				(0.017)	(0.017)
Woman	-0.022	-0.024	-0.024	-0.023	-0.023
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.033)	(0.032)
Other Gender	-0.001	-0.006	-0.027	-0.008	-0.031
	(0.274)	(0.277)	(0.273)	(0.281)	(0.277)
Black	-0.015	-0.005	-0.038	-0.005	-0.038
	(0.048)	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.060)
Hispanic	-0.052	-0.054	-0.066	-0.054	-0.065
	(0.048)	(0.050)	(0.053)	(0.050)	(0.054)
Asian	-0.149	-0.153	$-0.184^{*}$	-0.153	-0.183*
	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.084)	(0.080)	(0.085)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.154	-0.157	-0.188	-0.156	-0.187
	(0.160)	(0.168)	(0.169)	(0.168)	(0.169)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	0.028*	0.028*	0.028*	0.028*	$0.028^{*}$
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Family Income (1-16)	0.024**	0.023**	0.023**	0.023**	0.023**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Income Refusal	-0.018	-0.027	-0.004	-0.027	-0.003
	(0.077)	(0.078)	(0.081)	(0.078)	(0.080)
Age in Years	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	662	662	662	662	662

# SM A.10 By Type of Victimization

Table SM.A17: Local Participation (0-4)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Victimization Instances (0-4)		0.337**	0.335**	0.352**	0.349**
		(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)		0.038	0.091	0.069	0.104
		(0.041)	(0.118)	(0.041)	(0.117)
Perceived Neighborhood Safety (1-5)				0.094**	0.094**
• • • •				(0.029)	(0.030)
Woman	-0.107*	-0.057	-0.052	-0.029	-0.023
	(0.047)	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.042)	(0.043)
Other Gender	-0.116	0.128	0.138	0.094	0.105
	(0.272)	(0.263)	(0.267)	(0.265)	(0.269)
Black	-0.155	-0.146	-0.162	-0.144	-0.163
	(0.089)	(0.084)	(0.087)	(0.085)	(0.089)
Hispanic	-0.244**	-0.201*	-0.217**	-0.180*	-0.198*
-	(0.089)	(0.080)	(0.081)	(0.079)	(0.081)
Asian	-0.571**	-0.459**	-0.481**	-0.434**	-0.455**
	(0.113)	(0.106)	(0.108)	(0.103)	(0.106)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	0.052	-0.080	-0.102	-0.068	-0.091
	(0.232)	(0.196)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.184)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	0.071**	0.082**	0.080**	0.073**	0.072**
	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Family Income (1-16)	0.043**	0.046**	0.047**	0.044**	0.046**
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Income Refusal	-0.315**	-0.146	-0.144	-0.141	-0.137
	(0.115)	(0.111)	(0.115)	(0.110)	(0.114)
Age in Years	-0.003*	0.003	0.003	0.003*	0.003*
-	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Basic ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1932	1932	1932	1932	1932

Table SM.A18: Participation by Type of Victim (MCS)

	Self-Reported Turnout		Non-Votir	ng Participation (0-4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Break-in	-0.025	-0.022	0.384**	0.385**
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.106)	(0.102)
Vehicle	0.015	0.015	0.280**	0.285**
	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.090)	(0.090)
Stolen	-0.043	-0.045	0.260**	0.255**
	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.074)	(0.074)
Attacked	-0.076*	-0.076*	$0.219^*$	$0.214^{*}$
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.109)	(0.107)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)	-0.005	0.011	-0.020	-0.018
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Woman	-0.018	-0.019	-0.056	-0.052
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.054)	(0.052)
Other Gender	-0.185	-0.188	-0.110	-0.092
	(0.105)	(0.104)	(0.197)	(0.196)
Black	0.005	0.018	-0.129*	-0.130**
	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.056)	(0.050)
Hispanic	-0.063**	-0.065**	-0.100	-0.101
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.053)	(0.056)
Asian	-0.077**	-0.077**	-0.260**	-0.251**
	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.083)	(0.084)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.096	-0.089	0.078	0.069
	(0.089)	(0.086)	(0.228)	(0.235)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	$0.046^{**}$	$0.047^{**}$	0.117**	0.113**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.019)	(0.020)
Family Income (1-16)	0.022**	0.022**	$0.024^{**}$	0.023**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Income Refusal	-0.055	-0.048	-0.445**	-0.440**
	(0.061)	(0.062)	(0.091)	(0.093)
Age in Years	0.002**	0.002**	-0.006**	-0.006**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819

### SM A.11 By Type of Non-Voting Participation

Table SM.A19: Types of Non-Voting Participation (MCS)

	(1) Protest	(2) Discuss	(3) Contact	(4) Meeting
Victim of Crime in Last Year	0.074**	0.019	0.076**	0.117**
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)	0.001	-0.003	-0.008	-0.011
,	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.008)
Woman	-0.001	-0.006	0.008	-0.053**
	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.018)
Other Gender	-0.069	0.079	0.107	-0.211**
	(0.116)	(0.137)	(0.087)	(0.029)
Black	-0.011	-0.069**	-0.054*	0.008
	(0.016)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.023)
Hispanic	0.037	-0.093**	-0.015	-0.027
•	(0.019)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.019)
Asian	0.030	-0.104**	-0.086*	-0.096**
	(0.041)	(0.026)	(0.034)	(0.032)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	0.144	-0.019	-0.087	0.033
	(0.081)	(0.070)	(0.087)	(0.083)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	0.022**	0.033**	0.035**	0.028**
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Family Income (1-16)	0.003	0.010**	0.003	0.008**
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Income Refusal	-0.111**	-0.145**	-0.104**	-0.089**
	(0.029)	(0.048)	(0.038)	(0.026)
Age in Years	-0.003**	0.000	0.001	-0.004**
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819

Cell entries are unstandardized coefficients from multilevel mixed-effects linear models with random ZCTA intercepts and city fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered by city, in parentheses. \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < .01. Basic ZCTA Controls: total population, number employed in ZCTA, area in square miles.

Table SM.A20: Types of Non-Voting Participation (MCS)

	(1)	(2)	(2)	(4)
	(1) Protest	(2) Discuss	(3) Contact	(4) Masting
				Meeting
Victim of Crime in Last Year	0.074**	0.021	0.076**	0.115**
	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)	-0.011	0.005	-0.007	-0.007
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.008)
Woman	-0.001	-0.009	0.010	-0.049**
	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.017)
Other Gender	-0.059	0.068	0.114	-0.198**
	(0.114)	(0.137)	(0.083)	(0.031)
Black	-0.013	-0.065**	-0.060*	0.010
	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.022)
Hispanic	0.031	-0.089**	-0.015	-0.027
	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.018)
Asian	0.035	-0.105**	$-0.084^{*}$	-0.094**
	(0.037)	(0.026)	(0.035)	(0.034)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	0.137	-0.017	-0.094	0.036
	(0.080)	(0.068)	(0.087)	(0.085)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	0.021**	0.032**	0.034**	0.027**
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Family Income (1-16)	0.003	$0.010^{**}$	0.003	0.007**
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Income Refusal	-0.107**	-0.145**	-0.104**	-0.090**
	(0.030)	(0.048)	(0.039)	(0.026)
Age in Years	-0.003**	0.000	0.001	-0.004**
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819

#### Crime and Types of Non-Voting Participation

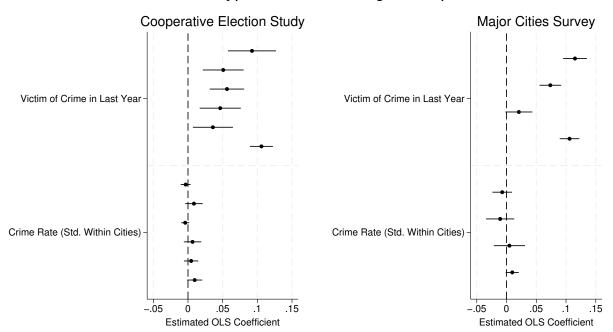


Figure SM.A1: Estimated Effects of Victimization and Crime Rates on Types of Non-Voting Participation. Solid markers are estimates from models controlling for respondent demographics and basic ZCTA-level variables (area, number of residents, number employed). Hollow markers are from models also controlling for percentage of ZCTA residents: 1) identifying as white (only, non-Hispanic), 2) Black (only, non-Hispanic), 3) Asian (only, non-Hispanic), 4) Hispanic (any race), 5) with a HS diploma or more, 6) with a BA or more, 7) living in poverty, 8) 65+ years old. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals.

Table SM.A21: Types of Non-Voting Participation (CES)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Meeting	Sign	Work For	Donate	Protest	Contact
Victim of Crime in Last Year	0.092**	0.051**	0.056**	0.046**	0.036*	0.106**
	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.008)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)	0.003	0.006	0.001	0.005	0.009**	0.012**
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Woman	-0.007	-0.014**	-0.014**	-0.016**	-0.000	-0.003
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Other Gender	0.067	-0.023	-0.047*	0.002	0.093	0.101
	(0.046)	(0.035)	(0.023)	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.058)
Black	-0.006	-0.046**	-0.017**	-0.093**	-0.054**	-0.127**
	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Hispanic	-0.012	-0.023**	-0.028**	-0.084**	-0.030**	-0.097**
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.016)
Asian	-0.080**	-0.096**	-0.059**	-0.146**	-0.089**	-0.165**
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.018)	(0.013)	(0.024)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.009	-0.020	-0.017*	-0.026	-0.032**	-0.022*
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.016)	(0.007)	(0.010)
Education (1-6)	0.017**	$0.014^{**}$	0.013**	$0.048^{**}$	0.022**	0.052**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Family Income (1-16)	$0.006^{**}$	0.008**	0.003**	$0.018^{**}$	$0.004^{**}$	0.005**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.014	-0.021**	0.008	-0.010	-0.023**	0.014
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.016)
Age in Years	-0.001**	-0.000	-0.000*	0.003**	-0.003**	0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	22778	22778	22778	22778	18694	18694

Cell entries are unstandardized coefficients from multilevel mixed-effects linear models with random ZCTA intercepts and fixed effects for city and year. Robust standard errors clustered by city, in parentheses. \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < .01. Basic ZCTA Controls: total population, number employed in ZCTA, area in square miles.

Table SM.A22: Types of Non-Voting Participation (CES)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Meeting	Sign	Work For	Donate	Protest	Contact
Victim of Crime in Last Year	0.092**	0.051**	0.056**	0.047**	0.036*	0.106**
	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.008)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)	-0.003	0.009	-0.004	0.007	0.005	0.010
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Woman	-0.006	-0.014**	-0.014**	-0.016**	0.000	-0.003
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Other Gender	0.068	-0.025	$-0.048^*$	-0.003	0.089	0.099
	(0.046)	(0.035)	(0.023)	(0.048)	(0.051)	(0.058)
Black	-0.010	-0.046**	-0.022**	-0.087**	-0.051**	-0.126**
	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Hispanic	-0.013	-0.022**	-0.029**	-0.082**	-0.028**	-0.096**
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.017)
Asian	-0.082**	-0.097**	-0.061**	-0.142**	-0.085**	-0.160**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.026)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.010	-0.020	-0.018*	-0.024	-0.031**	-0.022*
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.010)
Education (1-6)	0.016**	0.014**	0.013**	$0.045^{**}$	0.020**	0.051**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)
Family Income (1-16)	$0.007^{**}$	0.008**	0.003**	$0.018^{**}$	$0.004^{**}$	0.005**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income Refusal (1=yes)	-0.014	-0.021**	0.008	-0.011	-0.024**	0.014
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.016)
Age in Years	-0.001**	-0.000	-0.000	0.003**	-0.002**	0.002**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	22778	22778	22778	22778	18694	18694

## SM A.12 By Whether Victimization Reported to Police (MCS)

Table SM.A23: Participation by Whether Crime Reported to Police (MCS)

	Self-Reported Turnout		Non-Voting Participation (0-4)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Victimization Instances (Reported to	0.006	0.008	0.236**	0.236**	
Police; 0-3)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.022)	(0.023)	
Victimization Instances (Not Reported;	-0.084**	-0.086**	0.174**	$0.174^{**}$	
0-3)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.052)	(0.052)	
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)	-0.006	0.011	-0.016	-0.007	
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.026)	(0.028)	
Woman	-0.012	-0.013	-0.051	-0.047	
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.053)	(0.050)	
Other Gender	-0.164	-0.167	-0.077	-0.058	
	(0.094)	(0.093)	(0.220)	(0.222)	
Black	0.006	0.020	-0.109*	-0.107*	
	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.052)	(0.047)	
Hispanic	-0.054*	-0.055*	-0.096	-0.098	
-	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.051)	(0.056)	
Asian	-0.068**	-0.068**	-0.257**	-0.249**	
	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.080)	(0.080)	
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.094	-0.087	0.115	0.105	
	(0.092)	(0.090)	(0.230)	(0.237)	
Educational Attainment (1-6)	$0.044^{**}$	0.045**	0.118**	0.115**	
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.019)	(0.019)	
Family Income (1-16)	0.020**	0.020**	0.023**	0.022**	
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	
Income Refusal	-0.050	-0.042	-0.422**	-0.417**	
	(0.057)	(0.059)	(0.082)	(0.084)	
Age in Years	0.003**	0.003**	-0.006**	-0.006**	
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819	

Table SM.A24: Participation by Whether Crime Reported to Police (MCS)

	Self-Reported Turnout		Non-Voting Participation (0-	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Break-in: Reported	-0.025	-0.021	0.308*	0.308*
1	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.123)	(0.123)
Vehicle: Reported	0.012	0.014	0.301**	0.309**
1	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.099)	(0.101)
Stolen: Reported	0.017	0.014	0.374**	0.369**
•	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.126)	(0.125)
Attacked: Reported	-0.069	-0.068	0.277	0.269
•	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.147)	(0.147)
Break-in: Unreported	-0.107*	-0.106*	0.386	0.394
•	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.217)	(0.213)
Vehicle: Unreported	0.000	-0.004	0.211	0.212
•	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.128)	(0.126)
Stolen: Unreported	-0.111*	-0.113*	0.126	0.122
•	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.093)	(0.093)
Attacked: Unreported	-0.117	-0.118	0.102	0.102
•	(0.068)	(0.069)	(0.122)	(0.122)
Crime Rate (Std. Within Cities)	-0.005	0.012	-0.019	-0.015
,	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.027)	(0.029)
Woman	-0.018	-0.019	-0.055	-0.052
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.053)	(0.050)
Other Gender	-0.180	-0.183	-0.119	-0.105
	(0.105)	(0.103)	(0.198)	(0.198)
Black	0.005	0.018	-0.129*	-0.130**
	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.054)	(0.049)
Hispanic	-0.059*	-0.061*	-0.092	-0.094
1	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.054)	(0.058)
Asian	-0.078**	-0.078**	-0.259**	-0.251**
	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.083)	(0.083)
All Other Race/Ethnicity	-0.093	-0.086	0.082	0.071
,	(0.089)	(0.087)	(0.216)	(0.223)
Educational Attainment (1-6)	0.044**	0.045**	0.114**	0.111**
( - 0)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Family Income (1-16)	0.021**	0.021**	0.022**	0.021**
1 10)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Income Refusal	-0.050	-0.043	-0.439**	-0.435**
meome nerusur	(0.059)	(0.060)	(0.087)	(0.090)
Age in Years	0.002**	0.002**	-0.006**	-0.006**
0	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Basic ZCTA Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional ZCTA Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1819	1819	1819	1819

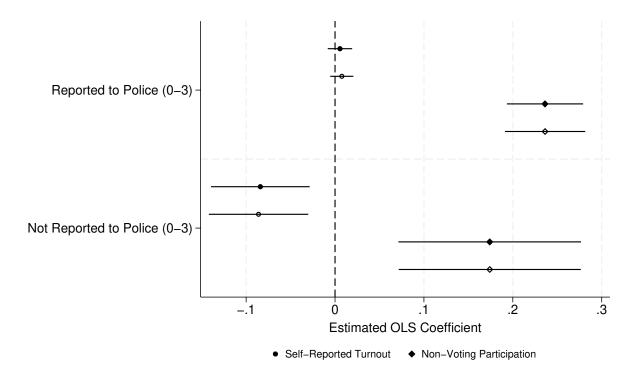


Figure SM.A2: **Victimization, by Whether Reported to Police**. Solid markers are estimates from models controlling for respondent demographics and basic ZCTA-level variables (area, number of residents, number employed). Hollow markers are from models also controlling for percentage of ZCTA residents: 1) identifying as white (only, non-Hispanic), 2) Black (only, non-Hispanic), 3) Asian (only, non-Hispanic), 4) Hispanic (any race), 5) with a HS diploma or more, 6) with a BA or more, 7) living in poverty, 8) 65+ years old. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals. See Table SM.A23 for regression models.