



# City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Study

2022 Findings Report



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of and in cooperation with the **City of Milwaukee Fire & Police Commission**, in 2022, the **Strategic Research Institute at St. Norbert College (SRI)** and **Neighborhood Analytics, LLC** partnered to conduct the fourth wave of the **City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey**. The purpose of this survey was to measure resident perceptions regarding a range of issues relevant to the Milwaukee Police Department; satisfaction with and trust in the police, perceptions of safety and police visibility, views on various kinds of police contacts, and exposure to crime. The survey was structured to provide estimates of both city-wide opinion as well as estimates of opinion within each police district.

Data collection for the mixed-mode RDD (Random Digit Dial) telephone/ABS (Address-Based Sampling) mail survey occurred between September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022 and November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2022. Of the 1,003 completed interviews, 44.7% were conducted via telephone and 55.3% via ABS online survey. The response rate for the RDD sample was approximately 4.3%, while the response rate for the ABS sample was approximately 1.1%. The margin of error for unweighted sample statistics is  $\pm 3.1\%$  at the 95% confidence level. Surveys were conducted in both English and Spanish.

## MAJOR FINDINGS:

- 36% of Milwaukee residents are “not very” or “not at all satisfied” overall with the Milwaukee Police Department in 2022, compared to 21% in 2019.
- Overall satisfaction decreased among every demographic and socioeconomic subgroup of Milwaukee residents, and regardless of recent contact with police or recent exposure to crime. The largest increases in dissatisfaction occurred among white residents, residents 30-44 years of age, homeowners, those with 4-year degrees or higher, and those with no recent instances of victimization. The largest gap in opinion across groups of Milwaukee residents is generational, with younger residents far more likely to express dissatisfaction when compared with those in older age groups.
- 42% of residents say police are either “not very” or “not at all visible” in their neighborhoods, compared to 33% in 2019. 91% of residents say they would prefer that Milwaukee police be “somewhat” or “very visible” in their neighborhoods.
- 15% of residents say they feel “not very” or “not at all safe” in their neighborhoods during the day, compared to 9% in 2019. 40% of residents say they feel “not very” or “not at all safe” in their neighborhoods at night, compared to 26% in 2019.
- 41% of residents report having initiated contact with police in the past year, compared to 40% in 2019. 62% of these contacts were to report a crime, compared to 59% in 2019. 22% of residents report having been victimized within the past year, compared to 21% in 2019.
- 18% of residents report having been stopped or approached by Milwaukee police within the past year, compared to 22% in 2019. Far fewer police-initiated contacts occurred in the context of a motor vehicle (29%, compared to 49% in 2019) and smaller proportions of residents reported

their stops resulting in tickets (17%, compared to 27% in 2019) or searches/pat-downs (7%, compared with 24% in 2019). 7% say they were arrested during their last recent police-initiated contact in 2022, compared with 9% in 2019.

- Patterns of reported racial bias in police stops and searches have subsided since 2019. Stops of minorities decreased significantly. Differences in rates of stops and searches across racial subgroups of Milwaukee residents in 2022 are not statistically significant.
- Reports of racial bias regarding other important dimensions of police behavior during both resident-initiated contacts and police-initiated stops continue in 2022. Black and other nonwhite residents are significantly more likely than white residents to report lower levels of police compassion when they call police for assistance, and minorities perceive lower levels of legitimacy during police stops. While these gaps in perception persist, they have closed significantly due to negative changes in opinion about Milwaukee police conduct among white residents who have had recent police contacts.
- 85% of Milwaukee residents are “very concerned” about reckless driving in Milwaukee; less than 1% said they were “not at all concerned.” 64% of residents say they are “not very” or “not at all satisfied” with the Milwaukee Police Department’s response to reckless driving.
- 30% of residents report having used the 911 system in the past year, compared with 29% in 2019. Average levels of dissatisfaction with police, fire, and emergency medical assistance operators have increased significantly since 2019. Dissatisfaction with wait/hold times for fire and emergency medical assistance have similarly increased during the same period.

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## METHODOLOGY

The fourth wave of the City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey was a mixed-mode random-digit-dial (RDD) telephone and address-based sampling (ABS) mail survey.<sup>1</sup> In total, 1,003 residents of the City of Milwaukee provided completed responses. Data was collected by the Strategic Research Institute (SRI) at St. Norbert College between September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022 and November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2022. Surveys were conducted in both English and Spanish. Of the 1,003 completed interviews, 44.7% were collected over telephone lines. The response rate for the telephone portion of the sample was 4.3%.<sup>2</sup> For the mail portion of the survey, a total of 65,268 households were sampled, yielding a response rate of 1.1%. The margin of error<sup>3</sup> for unweighted sample statistics is  $\pm 3.1\%$  at the 95% confidence level. For some items, non-response/missing values cause total counts to drop below 1,003.

### Survey instrument language

To reach the Milwaukee residents that speak only Spanish, SRI works with the St. Norbert College Community Language Outreach Center to update and maintain a Spanish-language survey instrument first developed by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee for the 2014 wave of the survey. This Spanish-language instrument was used to complement the English-language instrument; Spanish-speaking interviewers called back Spanish-speaking households in which an English-speaking informant could not be located. The identified respondents were given the Spanish-language version of the survey.

### Statistical tests and examination of change over time or differences across groups

The 2022 survey replicated the 2014, 2017, and 2019 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Surveys; every question posed during past waves was asked again during this wave, and in the same sequence. In 2017, additional questions about the 911 system were added. In 2019, questions about the order of police contacts and instances of victimization were added. In 2022, the survey has two new questions about reckless driving and the MPD's response. All data described in this research brief are from 2022 unless otherwise specified; cases in which 2022 data are compared against 2019 data are clearly labeled.

Throughout this research brief, we employ a pair of statistical tests to identify meaningful aggregate sentiment changes over time or meaningful differences across groups. To examine differences in average (mean) responses to a survey item, we employ *t*-tests (two-tailed). When it is appropriate to examine differences in how responses are distributed across a range of possible response categories (response distributions can differ significantly even when average responses do not), we employ chi-square ( $\chi^2$ )

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<sup>1</sup> "Address-based sampling (ABS) is increasingly viewed as a potential remedy for ... the dwindling coverage associated with telephone surveys." Iannacchione (2011) The Changing Role of Address-Based Sampling in Survey Research. *Political Opinion Quarterly*. 75. 3. 556-575

<sup>2</sup> When properly addressed with weighting, low response rates do not negatively impact the reliability of RDD telephone surveys. Refer to <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/The-Future-Of-U-S-General-Population-Telephone-Sur.aspx>

<sup>3</sup> "Margin of error" is a measurement of the likely accuracy of a statistic relative to the parameter it is meant to estimate. For example, if 20% of respondents from a survey with a  $\pm 2.7\%$  margin of error report being retired, then we can be 95% certain that between 17.3% and 22.7% of the individuals in the population are retired.

tests<sup>4</sup>. For each test, the relevant test statistic (either  $t$  or  $\chi^2$ ) is reported, along with its associated  $p$ -value. By convention, we label a difference as “statistically significant” only when  $p$ -values are less than or equal to 0.05; this corresponds to a confidence level (CL) of 95% or better that the observed difference is a reflection of an actual difference in the population under study and not merely an artifact of sampling error<sup>5</sup>.

## **Post-stratification**

We compensate for non-response patterns that can cause sample statistics to deviate from population parameters by weighting the sample. Population values for age, sex, and race are drawn from the most recent wave of the U.S. Census Current Population Survey (CPS). Weights are balanced to bring sample distributions for age, sex, and race in line with population distributions. Rounding errors associated with the weighting procedure cause a slight deviation between unweighted counts and weighted counts. Complete post-stratification tables for age, sex, and race can be found in Appendix A. Complete weighted frequency tables for all questions can be found in Appendix C.

## **Rounding**

All percentages presented in this research brief are rounded to the nearest whole number. The resulting rounding error sometimes causes total percentages to add up to just over or just under 100%, and sometimes causes differences of a percentage point when combined categories are discussed together.

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<sup>4</sup> It is possible for response distributions to differ significantly even when average responses do not.

<sup>5</sup> “Sampling error” refers to a difference between a sample statistic and the true (but unobserved) value of the population parameter the statistic is an estimate of. Sampling error arises because not all population elements are included in a sample. As the sample size increases relative to the size of the population, likelihood of sampling error decreases.

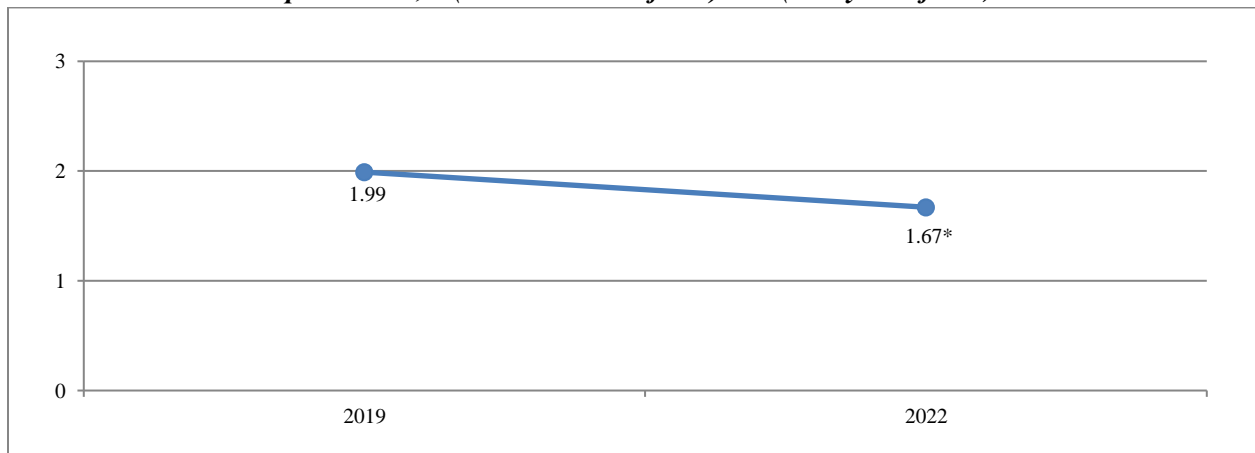
## OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH THE MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT

The following question regarding overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department was posed to Milwaukee residents:

**“Thinking about the police department here in Milwaukee, how satisfied are you with the Milwaukee Police Department overall?”**

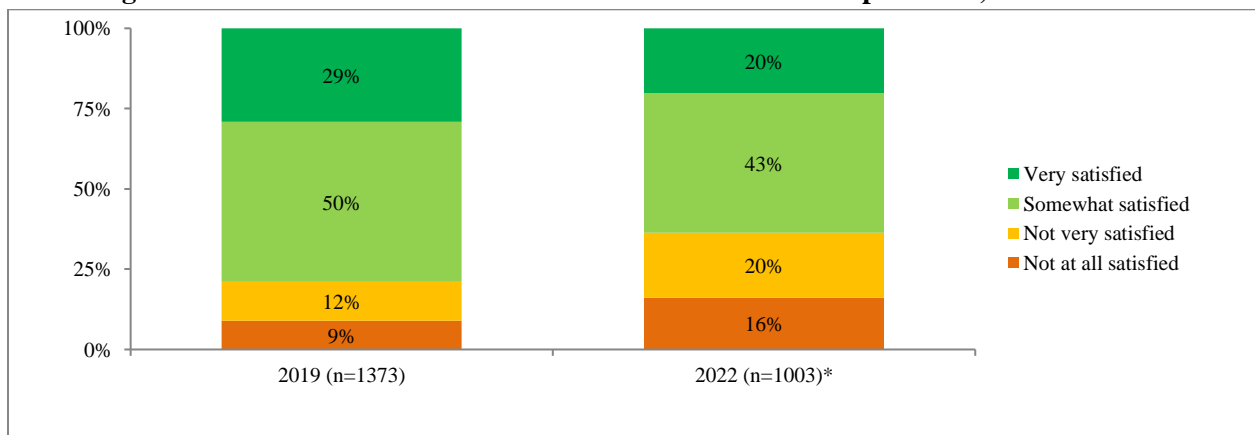
The four-point response scale ranged from 0 (“not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“very satisfied”). Figure 1.1 shows that the mean response in 2022 is 1.67, closest to “somewhat satisfied”. The mean response in 2019 was 1.99; the decrease between waves is statistically significant ( $t=-8.37, p=0.00$ ). Figure 1.2 shows that 63% of residents are either “very” or “somewhat” satisfied in 2022, while 36% are “not very” or “not at all” satisfied. The decrease in mean satisfaction is driven by an overall negative shift across the distribution of responses ( $\chi^2=74.93, p=0.00$ ).

**Figure 1.1: Change over time in mean overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department 4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“Very satisfied”)**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

**Figure 1.2: Overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, 2019 vs. 2022**

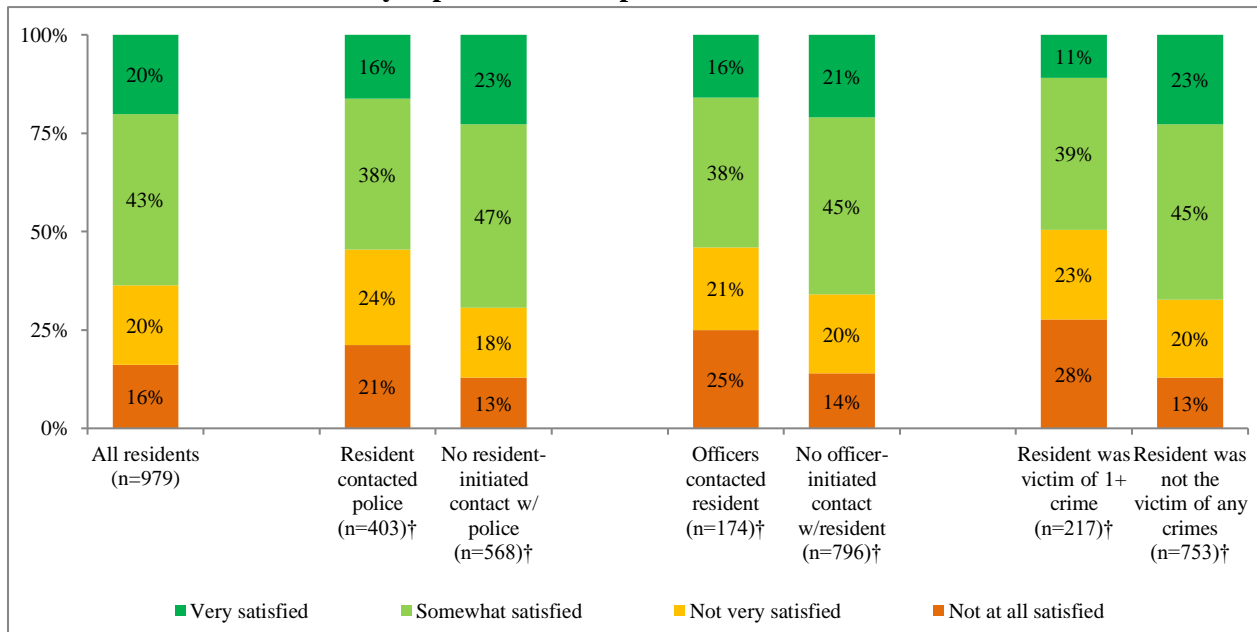


\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)



Overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police continues to vary significantly across groups of residents with different patterns of police interactions and different levels of exposure to crime. Figure 1.3 shows that residents who initiated contact with Milwaukee police at least once over the 12 months prior to the survey are significantly more likely to be “not very satisfied” or “not at all satisfied” (45%) than are residents who did not contact the police during that span (31% “not very satisfied” or “not at all satisfied”);  $\chi^2=23.04, p=0.00$ ). The likelihood of dissatisfaction is also significantly higher among those who reported having been stopped by police over the past year; 46% of those residents are “not very satisfied” or “not at all satisfied”, compared to 34% of residents who were not stopped ( $\chi^2=13.55, p=0.00$ ). The gap is once again widest among residents who experienced crime within the past year versus those who did not; 51% of those who were victimized say they are “not at all” or “not very” satisfied, compared to 33% of those who were not victimized ( $\chi^2=38.18, p=0.00$ ).

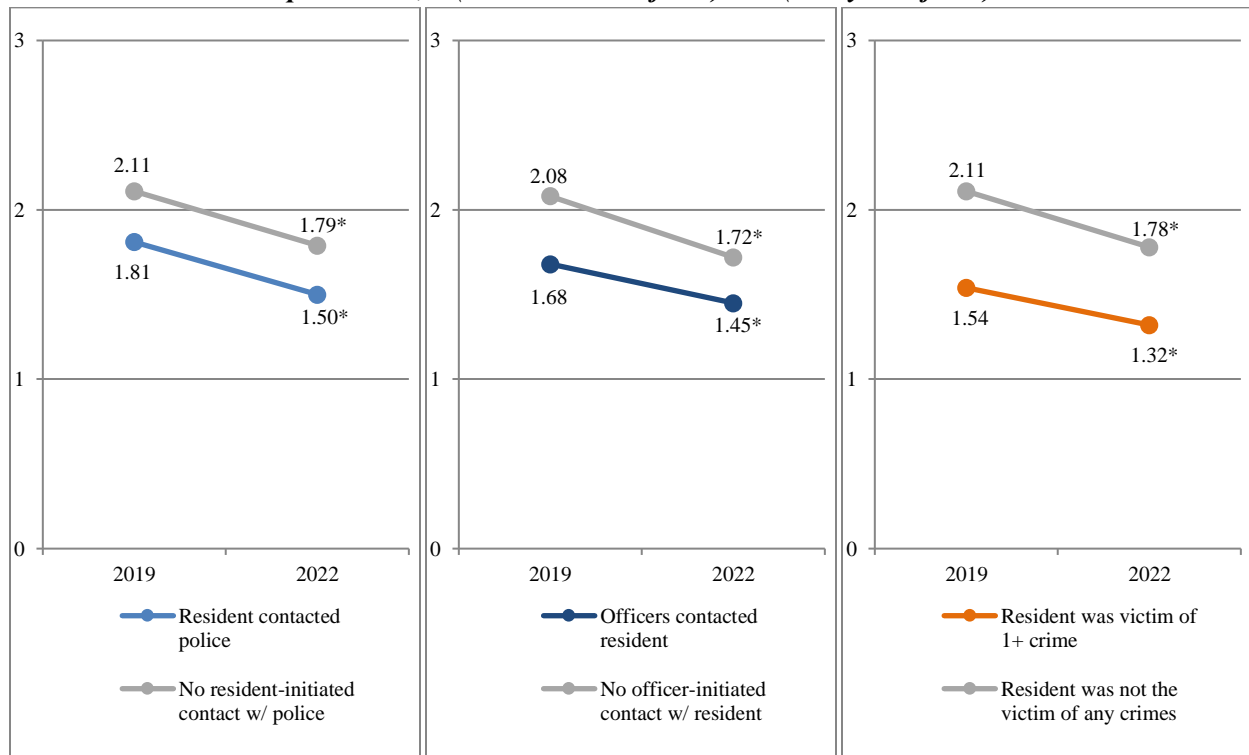
**Figure 1.3: Overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, by experiences with police and with crime**



†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

Average overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee police has decreased across groups of residents with different experiences with police and crime (Figure 1.4). Compared with 2019, mean overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee police is significantly lower in 2022 among both those who did and did not initiate contact with police during the past year ( $t=-4.98, p=0.00$ ;  $t=-6.68, p=0.00$ ), among both those who were and were not stopped by police within the past year ( $t=-2.49, p=0.01$ ;  $t=-8.80, p=0.00$ ), and among both those who were and were not the victim of a crime within the past year ( $t=-2.46, p=0.01$ ;  $t=-7.97, p=0.00$ ). The decreases in average satisfaction were larger among groups with no recent police contacts and no recent exposure to crime.

**Figure 1.4: Change over time in mean overall satisfaction with Milwaukee Police Department, by experiences with police and crime**  
*4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“Very satisfied”)*

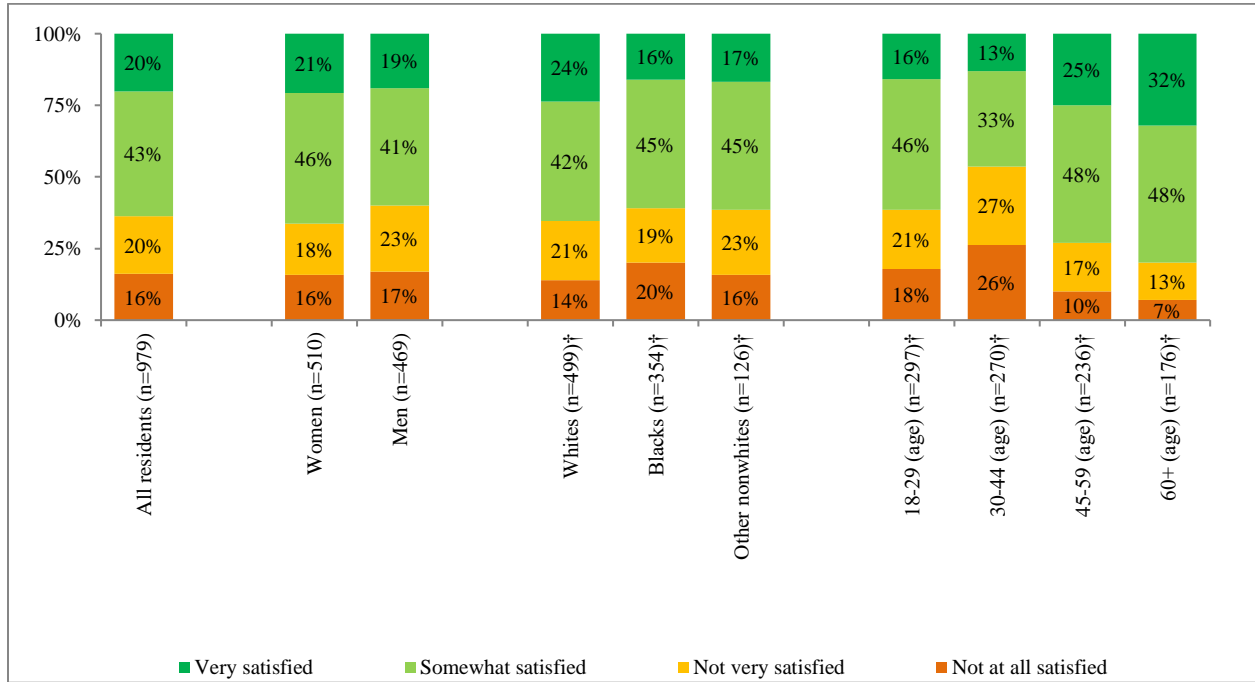


\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

The distribution of satisfaction with Milwaukee police varies significantly across some demographic groups. Figure 1.5 shows differences across racial and age groups that are statistically significant; black and other nonwhite residents are more likely to be dissatisfied than white residents ( $\chi^2=13.73$   $p=0.01$ ), and those over 60 are substantially less likely to express dissatisfaction than younger residents ( $\chi^2=74.78$   $p=0.01$ ). Differences in the distribution of satisfaction across men and women are not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=4.89$   $p=0.18$ ).

There have been statistically significant decreases in the level of average overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police across all divisions of gender, race, and age since 2019. Figure 1.6 shows significant decreases in satisfaction for both women ( $t=-6.80$ ,  $p=0.00$ ) and men ( $t=-5.06$ ,  $p=0.00$ ), with the decrease among the former large enough to erase a statistically significant gender gap in satisfaction that existed in 2019. There were also significant drops in average satisfaction among white residents ( $t=-8.75$ ,  $p=0.00$ ), black residents ( $t=-2.17$ ,  $p=0.03$ ), and other nonwhite residents ( $t=-2.96$ ,  $p=0.00$ ). Although a satisfaction gap between white and minority residents persists in 2022, there has been a considerable convergence of opinion, driven by a much larger decrease among white residents. While the most prominent gap in satisfaction had been across racial lines in the past, that set of differences appears to be fading in favor of a generational gap. While there were significant decreases in satisfaction across all age groups between 2019 and 2022, those drops were much more pronounced among 18-29 year-olds ( $t=-5.40$ ,  $p=0.00$ ) and 30-44 year-olds ( $t=-5.92$ ,  $p=0.00$ ) when compared with those aged 45-59 ( $t=-2.29$ ,  $p=0.03$ ) and those aged 60+ ( $t=-3.00$ ,  $p=0.00$ ).

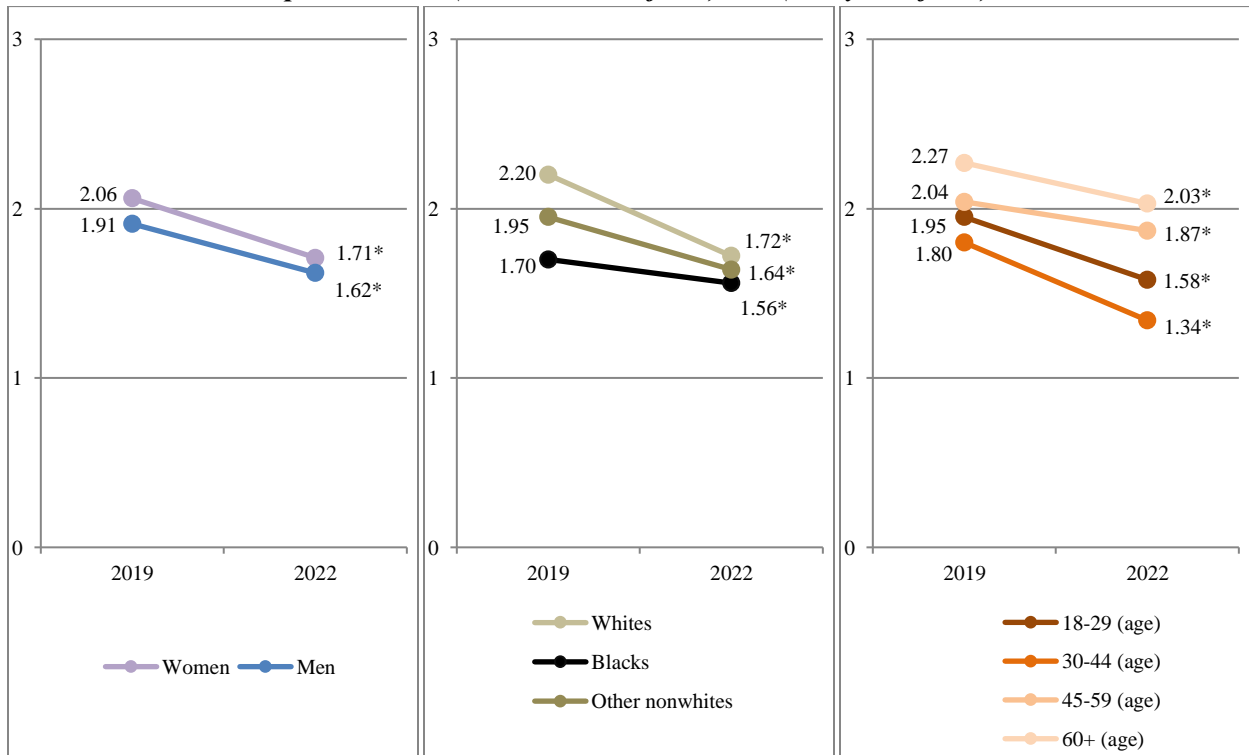
**Figure 1.5: Overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, by demographic categories**



†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

**Figure 1.6: Change over time in mean overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, by demographic categories**

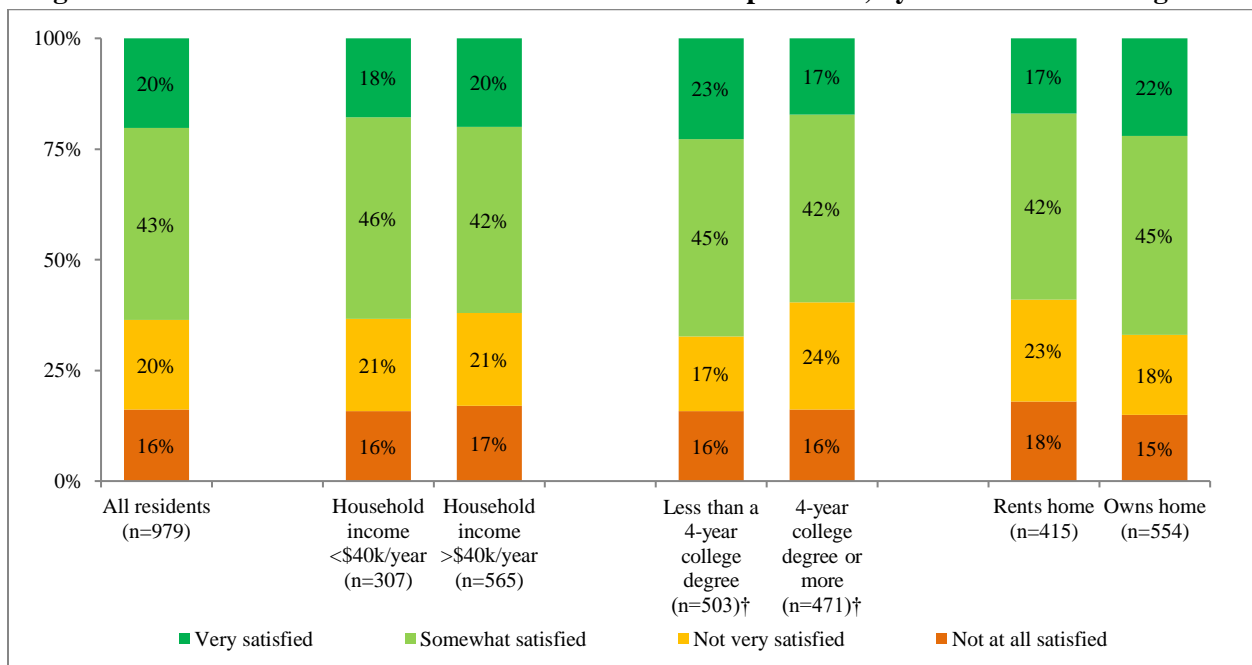
4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“Very satisfied”)



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

In addition to experiential and demographic factors, aggregate overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department can also vary significantly across some socioeconomic lines (Figure 1.7). While there is not a noticeable difference in the pattern of satisfaction across respondents from households with different levels of income ( $\chi^2=1.58, p=0.67$ ), those who have completed 4-year degrees or higher are significantly more likely to express dissatisfaction with the Milwaukee police than are those who have relatively lower levels of educational attainment ( $\chi^2=10.72, p=0.01$ ). Those who own their homes appear slightly more likely to express dissatisfaction with Milwaukee police in 2022 when compared to those who rent ( $\chi^2=7.26, p=0.06$ ), although the difference is on the edge of traditional measures of statistical significance; there is a 6% probability that such a difference would not be observed if data was collected from the entire population of interest (the commonly observed threshold for statistical significance in a study such as this one is 5%).

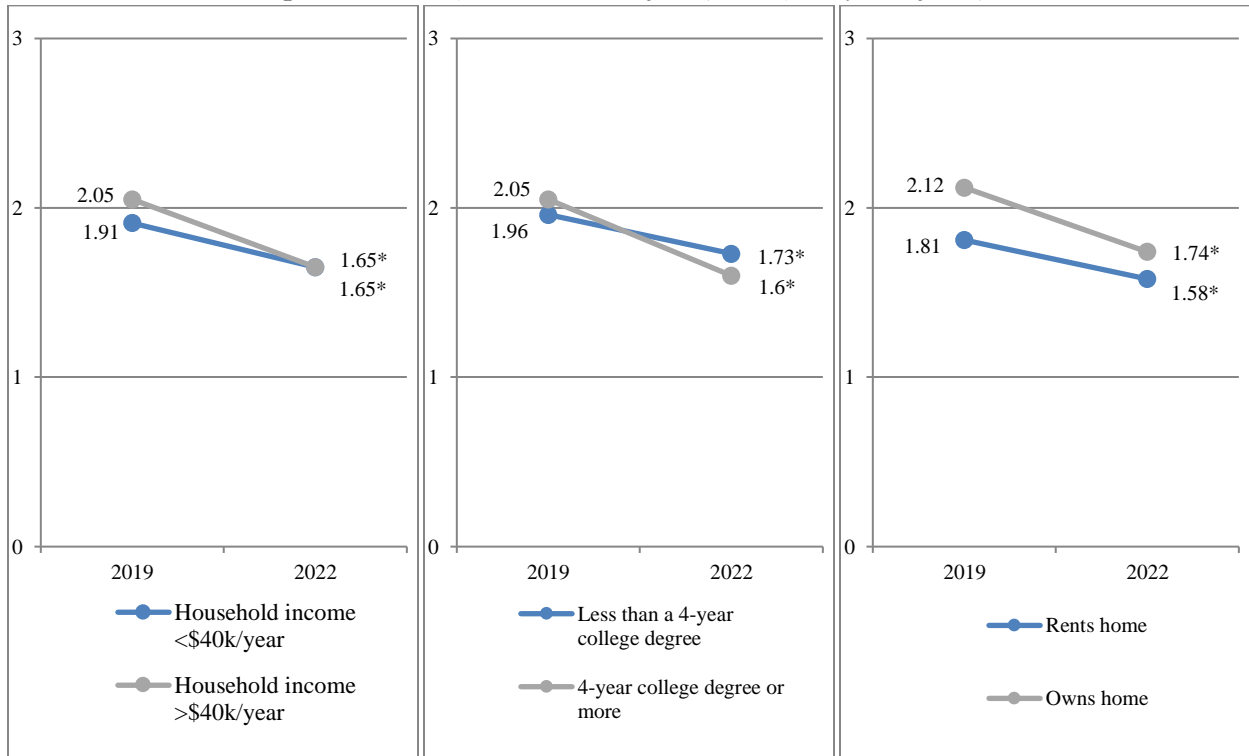
**Figure 1.7: Overall satisfaction with Milwaukee Police Department, by socioeconomic categories**



†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

While a salient gap appears only between categories of homeownership, statistically significant decreases were seen between 2019 and 2022 within all the measured socioeconomic categories (Figure 1.8). There is lower average overall satisfaction in 2022 for both those living in households with yearly income below \$40k ( $t=4.37, p=0.00$ ) and above ( $t=-7.60, p=0.00$ ); a relatively larger decrease among those from higher-earning households has closed what was a significant gap in 2019. The large drop in average satisfaction among those with higher educational attainment ( $t=-7.60, p=0.00$ ) compared to the relatively smaller decrease among those with lower attainment ( $t=-3.81, p=0.00$ ) has created a new gap. Finally, a large decrease in average satisfaction among Milwaukee residents that own their homes ( $t=-7.75, p=0.00$ ) has brought their aggregate opinion more in line with renters, despite that group also seeing a drop in average sentiment towards police ( $t=-3.81, p=0.00$ ).

**Figure 1.8: Change over time in mean overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, by socioeconomic categories**  
*4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“Very satisfied”)*



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

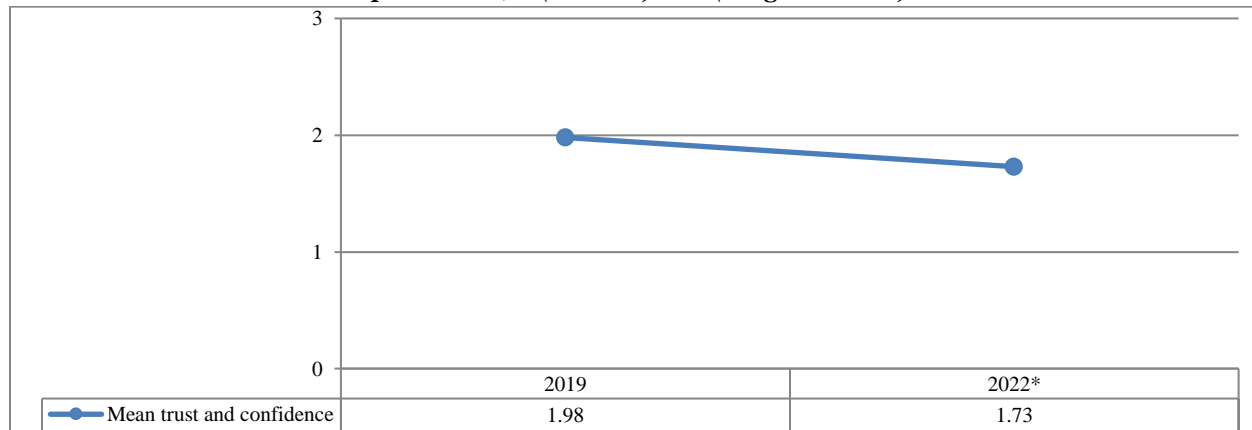
## TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN THE MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT

In addition to overall satisfaction, residents were also asked about trust and confidence in the Milwaukee Police Department:

**“How would you describe your level of trust and confidence in the Milwaukee Police Department?”**

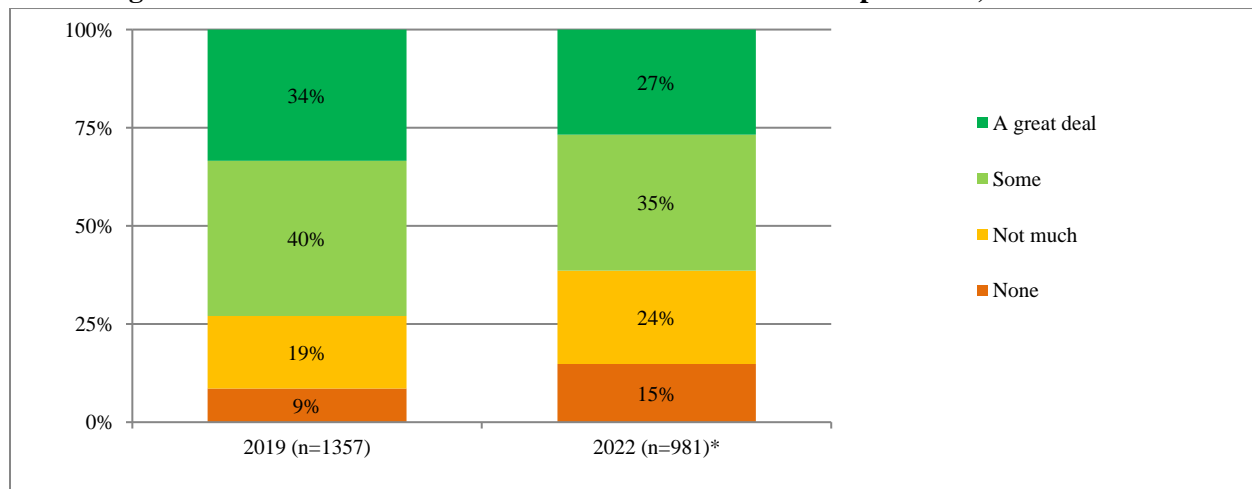
The 4-point response scale ranged from 0 (“none”) to 3 (“a great deal”). Figure 2.1 shows that the mean response in 2022 is 1.73, closest to “some,” and that this represents a significant decrease since 2019 ( $t=6.06, p=0.00$ ). Figure 2.2 shows that about 62% of residents have either “a great deal” or “some” trust and confidence in Milwaukee police in 2022, while about 39% had either “not much” trust and confidence, or “none.” The overall distribution of trust and confidence has shifted significantly in a negative direction between 2019 and 2022 ( $\chi^2=39.16, p=0.00$ ).

**Figure 2.1: Change over time in mean trust and confidence in the Milwaukee Police Department 4-point scale, 0 (“None”) to 3 (“A great deal”)**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

**Figure 2.2: Trust and confidence in the Milwaukee Police Department, 2019 vs. 2022**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

## SATISFACTION WITH SPECIFIC DIMENSIONS OF POLICE PERFORMANCE

Residents were asked to rate their satisfaction with various dimensions of Milwaukee Police Department performance:

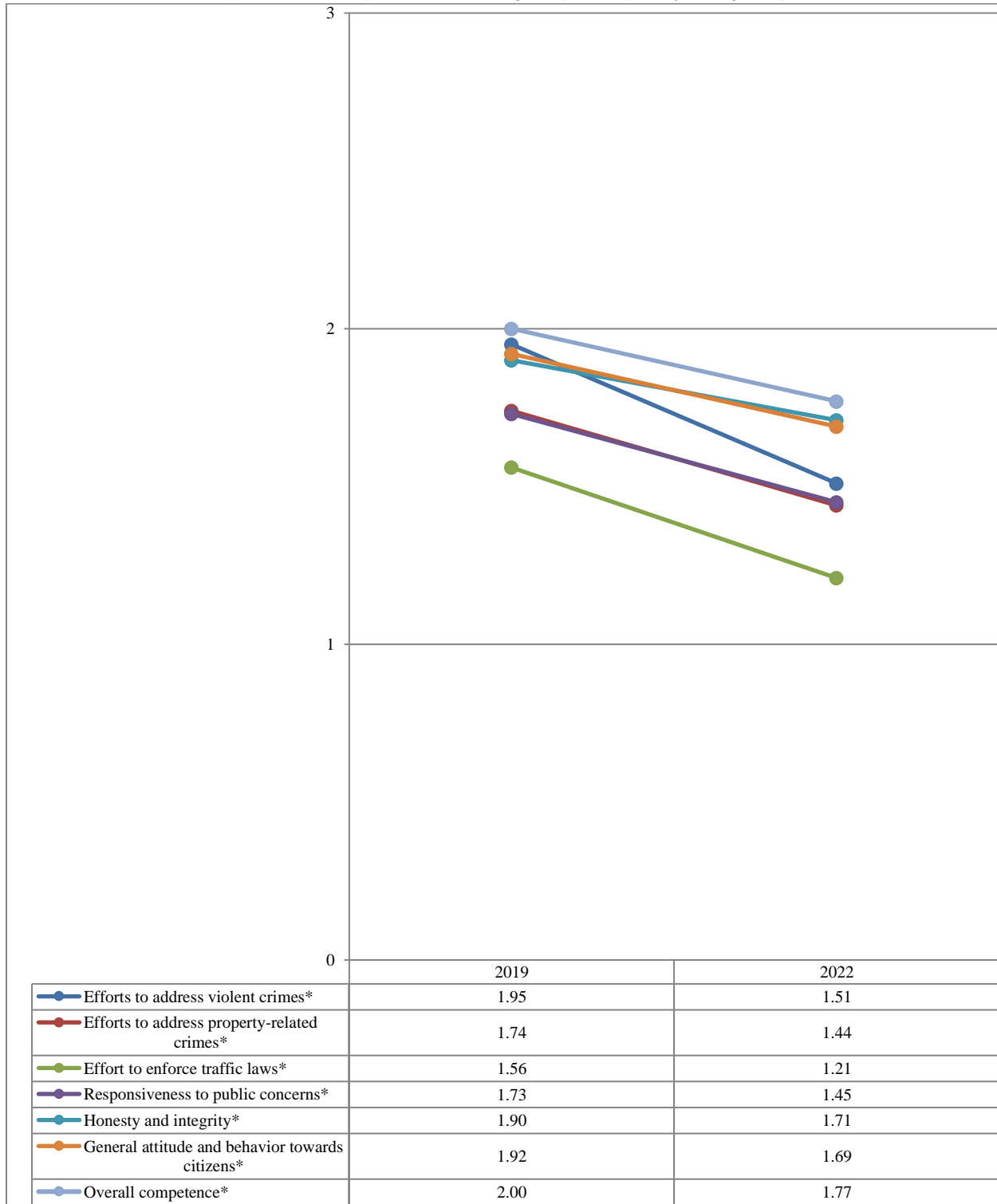
- **Efforts to address violent crimes**
- **Efforts to address property-related crimes**
- **Efforts to enforce traffic laws**
- **Responsiveness to public concerns**
- **Honesty and integrity**
- **General attitude and behavior towards citizens**
- **Overall competence**

Figure 3.1 shows that on a four-point scale of satisfaction ranging from 0 (“not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“very satisfied”), average scores for four items (*efforts to address violent crimes*; *honesty and integrity*; *general attitude and behavior towards citizens*; *overall competence*) fall nearest to 2 (“somewhat satisfied”), while the average scores for the remaining three items (*efforts to address property-related crimes*; *efforts to enforce traffic laws*; *responsiveness to public concerns*) fall nearest to 1 (“not very satisfied”).

Of the dimensions of police performance listed, Milwaukee residents in 2022 are most likely to be satisfied with the *overall competence of police* (1.77), followed by *honestly and integrity* (1.71) and *general attitude and behavior towards citizens* (1.69). The three lowest-rated dimensions were *efforts to enforce traffic laws* (1.21), *efforts to address property-related crimes* (1.44), and *responsiveness to public concerns* (1.45).

Between 2019 and 2022, there were substantively large and statistically significant drops in average satisfaction with all seven measures, the largest of which were with *efforts to address violent crimes* ( $t=-10.88$ ,  $p=0.00$ ) and *efforts to enforce traffic laws* ( $t=-7.68$ ,  $p=0.00$ ). Notably, over the four waves of this survey, *efforts to enforce traffic laws* has shifted from one of the highest-rated items in terms of satisfaction to the lowest-rated by a wide margin in 2022.

**Figure 3.1: Change over time in mean satisfaction with dimensions of police performance**  
*4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“Very satisfied”)*



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)



## POLICE VISIBILITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Residents were asked a series of questions about police visibility:

**“How visible are the Milwaukee police in your neighborhood?”**

**“In your opinion, how visible should the police be in your neighborhood?”**

**“How satisfied are you with the level of police visibility in your neighborhood?”**

Responses to the first question were on a four-point scale ranging from “not at all visible” to “very visible.” Table 4.1 shows that the most common response in 2022 (36%) is “somewhat visible”, and that the majority of Milwaukee residents (58%) feel that the Milwaukee police are either “very” or “somewhat” visible in their neighborhoods. About 42% feel that police are “not very” or “not at all” visible in their neighborhoods. There has been a significant shift towards less perceived police visibility in neighborhoods between 2019 and 2022 ( $\chi^2=29.43, p=0.00$ ); about the same percentage of residents feel police are somewhat visible, but more residents are likely to feel police are not very or not at all visible, and less residents are likely to feel that the Milwaukee police are very visible in their neighborhoods.

**Table 4.1: Resident impressions of neighborhood police visibility, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022*
How visible are the Milwaukee police in your neighborhood?	Not at all visible	158 12%	161 16%
	Not very visible	291 21%	259 26%
	Somewhat visible	508 37%	363 36%
	Very visible	406 30%	214 22%
Total		1363 100%	998 100%

\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

Responses to the second question were on the same four-point visibility scale. Table 4.2 shows that the most common response regarding the preferred level of neighborhood police visibility in 2022 is “very visible” (46%). The vast majority of residents (91%) prefer the police to be either “somewhat” or “very” visible in their neighborhoods. The distribution of preferences regarding neighborhood police visibility has not changed significantly since 2019 ( $\chi^2=0.65, p=0.89$ ).

Table 4.3 shows the breakout of 2022 preferences regarding neighborhood police visibility by resident race. While similar proportions of residents across racial groups prefer that the police be either “very” or “somewhat” visible in their neighborhoods (87% of white residents, 95% of black residents, and 95% of other nonwhite residents), the distribution of granular preferences varies significantly across racial lines.

Black and other nonwhite residents are significantly more likely than white residents to say they want police to be “very visible” in their neighborhoods (56%, 62%, and 35%, respectively), while white residents are more likely to prefer that police be “somewhat visible” ( $\chi^2=41.01, p=0.00$ ).

**Table 4.2: Resident preferences regarding neighborhood police visibility, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
In your opinion, how visible SHOULD the police be in your neighborhood? Would you say...	Not at all visible	38 3%	30 3%
	Not very visible	86 6%	59 6%
	Somewhat visible	630 46%	442 45%
	Very visible	610 45%	453 46%
Total		1364 100%	985 100%

**Table 4.3: Resident preferences regarding neighborhood police visibility, by resident race**

		Resident race		
		White†	Black†	Other nonwhite-
In your opinion, how visible SHOULD the police be in your neighborhood? Would you say...	Not at all visible	19 4%	9 3%	3 2%
	Not very visible	46 9%	9 3%	4 3%
	Somewhat visible	262 52%	139 39%	41 33%
	Very visible	179 35%	196 56%	78 62%
Total		506 100%	353 100%	126 100%

†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

-category excluded from  $\chi^2$  test due to cells with  $n<5$

Responses to the third question were on a four-point satisfaction scale ranging from “not at all satisfied” to “very satisfied”. Table 4.4 shows that the most common response regarding satisfaction with neighborhood police visibility in 2022 is “somewhat satisfied” (36%). A slight majority of residents (57%) are either “somewhat” or “very” satisfied with the level of police visibility in their neighborhoods. There has been a statistically significant negative shift in the distribution of satisfaction with police visibility in neighborhoods between 2019 and 2022 ( $\chi^2=65.38, p=0.00$ ); residents are now more likely to express dissatisfaction.

**Table 4.4: Satisfaction with neighborhood police visibility, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022*
How satisfied are you with the level of police visibility in your neighborhood? Would you say...	Not at all satisfied	158 12%	193 20%
	Not very satisfied	213 16%	227 23%
	Somewhat satisfied	575 42%	358 36%
	Very satisfied	415 30%	207 21%
Total		1361 100%	985 100%

\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

Table 4.5 shows the combination of responses across these three questions. The column on the left-hand side of the table shows four combined response categories regarding observed police visibility and ideal police visibility, while the totals column on the right breaks respondents out across those combined categories. In 2022, about 39% of residents prefer police visibility in their neighborhoods, but feel that actual visibility is falling short. About 53% of respondents prefer visibility, and feel police actually are visible in their neighborhoods. About 3% feel the police are visible in their neighborhoods but would prefer them *not* to be, while the remaining 6% do not feel the police are visible in their neighborhoods and prefer it that way.

Residents are broken out across the remaining columns based on their level of satisfaction with police visibility in their neighborhoods. The data is arranged in this way because it is possible for respondents to be, for example, satisfied with police visibility because they are actually visible (if they would like police in their neighborhoods) or, alternatively, satisfied with police visibility because they are *not* visible (assuming, in that case, they do *not* value police visibility where they live.)

When preferences, observations, and satisfaction with observed police visibility are combined in this way, it is clear that the vast majority of unsatisfied residents are unsatisfied because police are not visible enough in their neighborhoods. Large majorities of those who say they are “not at all satisfied” or “not very satisfied” with police visibility in their neighborhoods want more police presence. Only a small fraction of those who said they are either “not at all” or “not very” satisfied with police visibility in their neighborhoods are from the group that feel police are visible in their neighborhoods, but should *not* be.

**Table 4.5: Satisfaction with neighborhood police visibility,  
by observed visibility + ideal visibility category**

		Satisfaction with neighborhood police visibility				Total
		Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	
Combined observed visibility + ideal visibility categories	Police not visible, but should be	149 78%	159 71%	63 18%	4 2%	375 39%
	Police are visible, and should be	13 7%	49 22%	256 73%	194 94%	512 53%
	Police are visible, but should not be	9 5%	3 1%	12 3%	1 1%	25 3%
	Police are not visible, and should not be	21 10%	12 5%	20 6%	8 4%	61 6%
	Total	192 100%	223 100%	351 100%	207 100%	973 100%

## PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY

Residents were asked a series of questions related to their perceptions of safety:

**“How safe do you feel in your neighborhood during the day?”**

**“How safe do you feel in your neighborhood at night?”**

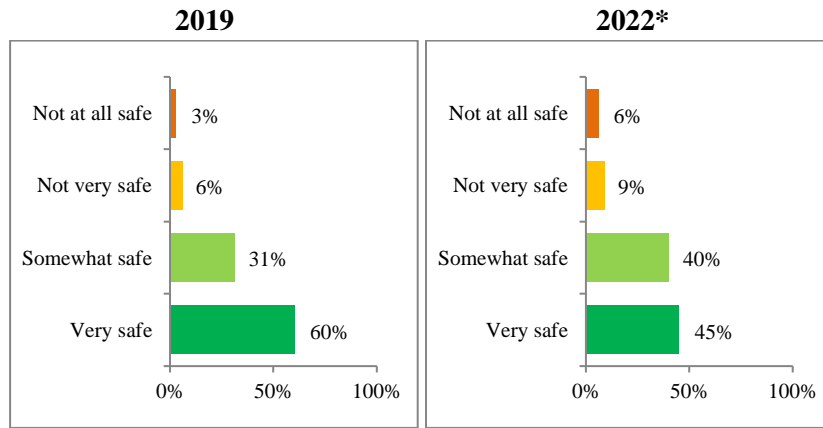
**“What about the City of Milwaukee as a whole? Would you describe the City of Milwaukee as very safe, somewhat safe, not very safe, or not at all safe?”**

Responses to each question were measured on a four-point scale, ranging from “not at all safe” to “very safe.” Figure 5.1 shows that the most common response to the question regarding perceptions of neighborhood safety during the day in 2022 is “very safe” (45%), while 40% say they feel “somewhat safe” in their neighborhoods. Despite the fact that most respondents feel very or somewhat safe, the distribution of perceptions of neighborhood safety during the day shift significantly in the negative direction between 2019 and 2022 ( $\chi^2=60.66, p=0.00$ ).

Regarding feelings about neighborhood safety at night, the most common response in 2022 is “somewhat safe” (41%); about 19% say they feel “very” safe in their neighborhoods at night. As with perceptions of safety during the day, the distribution of perceptions of neighborhood safety at night significantly shifted in a negative direction between 2019 and 2022 (Figure 5.2;  $\chi^2=71.45, p=0.00$ ); 21% of residents say they feel “not at all safe” in their neighborhoods at night, up from 12% in 2019.

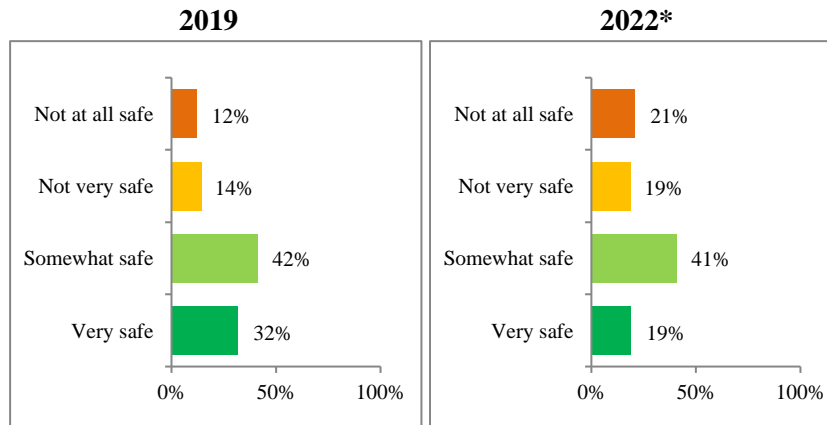
When it comes to perceptions of safety in the City of Milwaukee as a whole, the most common response in 2022 is “somewhat safe” (37%), but just 3% say they view the city as a whole as “very safe” (Figure 5.3). Meanwhile, a majority of residents now feel the city is either “not very safe” (36%) or “not at all safe” (25%). This is a significant shift from 2019, when the proportion of residents who felt Milwaukee as a whole was “not very” or “not at all safe” was smaller than the proportion that saw the city as “somewhat” or “very safe” ( $\chi^2=65.37, p=0.00$ ). A consistent theme throughout all four waves of this survey has been the tendency of Milwaukee residents to classify the city as a whole as less safe than their own neighborhoods. This continues in 2022.

**Figure 5.1: Resident perceptions of neighborhood safety during the day, 2019 vs. 2022**



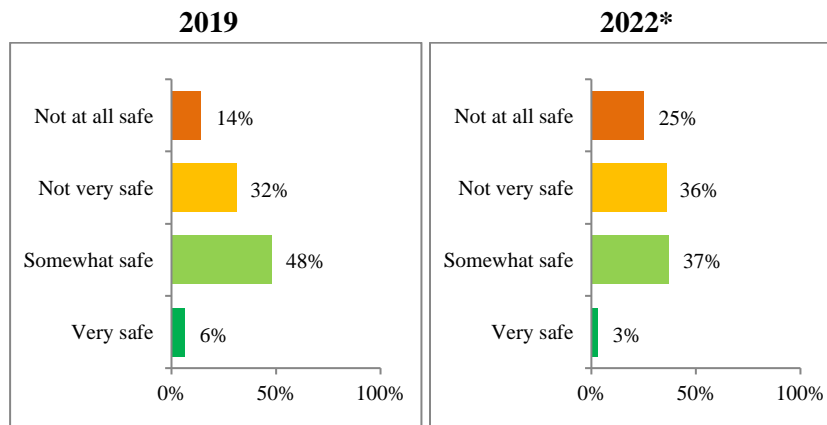
\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

**Figure 5.2: Resident perceptions of neighborhood safety at night, 2019 vs. 2022**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

**Figure 5.3: Resident perceptions of safety in Milwaukee as a whole, 2019 vs. 2022**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

## RECKLESS DRIVING

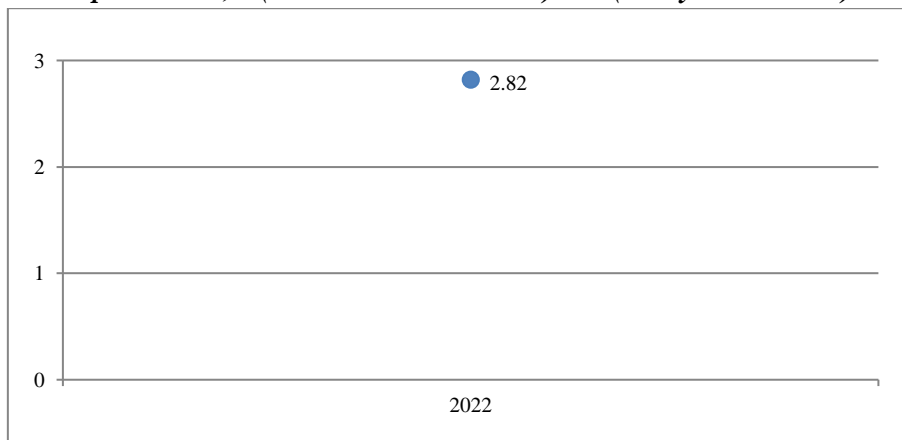
This wave, a new pair of questions regarding reckless driving in the city and the response of the MPD were added to the section of the survey pertaining to perceptions of safety:

**“How concerned are you about reckless driving in the City of Milwaukee?”**

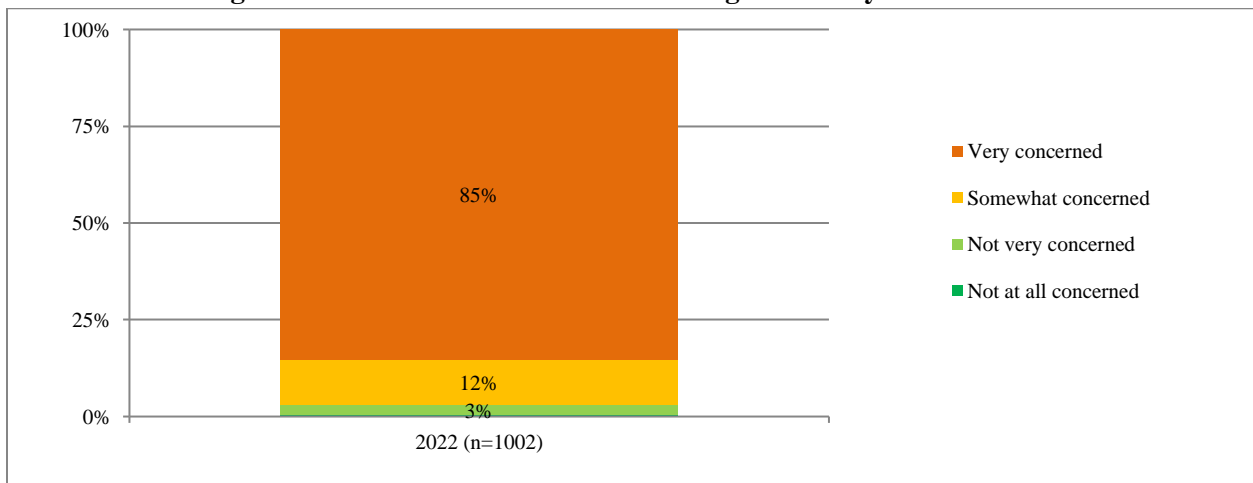
**“How satisfied are you with the City of Milwaukee’s Police Department’s response to reckless driving?”**

Responses to the first question were measured on a four-point scale, with 0 being “Not at all concerned” and 3 being “very concerned”. Figure 6.1 shows that the average response was 2.82, which is closest to “Very concerned”. Figure 6.2 shows that 85% of respondents say they are very concerned and another 12% say they are somewhat concerned. Just 3% are not very concerned, and less than 1% say they are not at all concerned.

**Figure 6.1: Mean level of concern about reckless driving in the City of Milwaukee**  
*4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all concerned”) to 3 (“Very concerned”)*



**Figure 6.2: Concern about reckless driving in the City of Milwaukee**



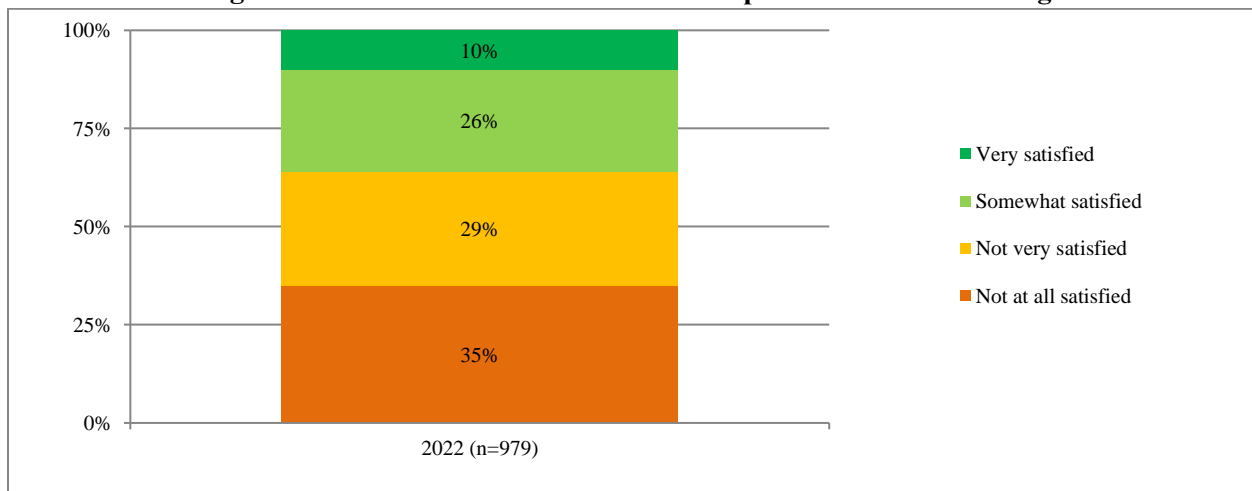
Concern with reckless driving is so common that there does not appear to be important variation across groups, with a few notable exceptions. Residents in the youngest age group (18-25 years) display slightly lower levels of concern than do members of other age groups; black residents are, on average, slightly but significantly more concerned than white or other nonwhite residents; those with lower levels of educational attainment are not as concerned on average when compared with more educated residents. Residents who were recently the victims of crimes or contacted the police were slightly more likely to express the highest level of concern. However, these differences are small, and very large majorities of every category of Milwaukee residents express the highest level of concern. There are no significant differences across men and women or those in different categories of household income.

Responses to the following question about the Milwaukee Police Department’s response to reckless driving was measured on a four-point scale, with 0 being “not at all satisfied” and 3 being “very satisfied”. Figure 6.3 shows that the average response is 1.11, which is closest to “not very satisfied”. Figure 5.7 shows that just 10% of Milwaukee residence are “very satisfied,” 26% are “somewhat satisfied”, 29%, are “not very satisfied” and 35% are “not at all satisfied.”

**Figure 6.3: Mean level of satisfaction with the MPD’s response to reckless driving**  
*4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“Very satisfied”)*



**Figure 6.4: Satisfaction with the MPD’s response to reckless driving**





There is more substantial variation across groups of Milwaukee residents when it comes to satisfaction with the MPD's response to reckless driving (Figure 6.4); however, these differences seem to be driven more by experience, education and socioeconomic status than by demographics. There are not significant differences across racial groups ( $\chi^2=10.82, p=0.09$ ) or gender ( $\chi^2=1.91, p=0.59$ ); instead, differences come across based on education, home ownership status, household income, and experience with police and with crime. Homeowners ( $\chi^2=16.11, p=0.00$ ), those who have a 4-year degree or higher ( $\chi^2=32.14, p=0.00$ ), and those from households making more than \$40k/year ( $\chi^2=26.60, p=0.00$ ) are significantly more likely to be unsatisfied with the MPD's response. Additionally, those who have had recent contact with the police (either self-initiated [ $\chi^2=33.01, p=0.00$ ] or police-initiated [ $\chi^2=7.79, p=0.05$ ]) or recent experiences with crime ( $\chi^2=40.53, p=0.00$ ) were less likely to be satisfied.

## RESIDENT EXPERIENCES WITH THE 911 SYSTEM

Residents were asked about their recent experiences and perceptions regarding the 911 system:

**“During the past 12 months, have you called 911 for any reason, including police, fire, or emergency medical assistance?”**

**“Thinking now about just the most recent time that you called 911, were you seeking police assistance, emergency medical assistance, fire department assistance, or some other type of assistance?”**

**“During your most recent call to 911, how satisfied were you with the service provided by the 911 operator?”**

**“Thinking about this same call, would you describe the amount of time you were placed on hold before being connected to the service you were seeking as acceptable or unacceptable?”**

About 30% of Milwaukee residents report having called 911 at least once within the last year. Table 7.1 shows that this is not significantly different than in 2019 ( $\chi^2=0.21$ ,  $p=0.65$ ). About 58% of those who called 911 were seeking police assistance during their most recent call, while 28% were seeking emergency medical assistance, 7% were seeking fire department assistance, and the remaining 7% were looking for some other type of assistance. This distribution of contact reasons is not significantly different than in 2019 (Table 7.2;  $\chi^2=3.61$ ,  $p=0.31$ ).

**Table 7.1: Proportion of residents reporting 1+ 911 call for any reason within the last year, 2019 vs. 2022**

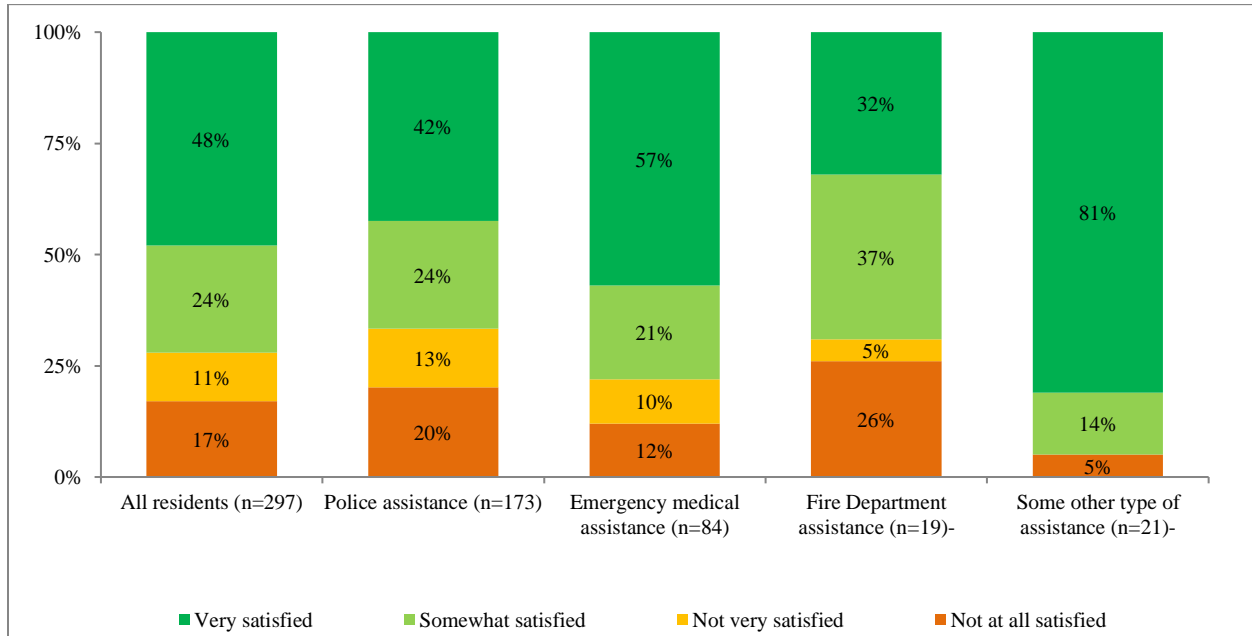
		Survey year	
		2019	2022
During the past 12 months, have you called 911 for any reason, including police, fire, or emergency medical assistance?	No	969 71%	697 70%
	Yes	400 29%	300 30%
Total		1369 100%	997 100%

**Table 7.2: Type of service sought during most recent 911 call, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Thinking now just about the most recent time that you called 911, were you seeking...	Police assistance	203 51%	176 58%
	Emergency medical assistance	136 34%	85 28%
	Fire Department assistance	27 7%	19 7%
	Some other type of assistance	34 9%	22 7%
Total		400 100%	299 100%

Regarding resident satisfaction with the 911 operator, 48% of residents who called 911 within the last year are “very satisfied” regarding their most recent call, and 24% are “somewhat” satisfied (Figure 7.1). The distribution of satisfaction with the 911 operator does not vary significantly across residents based on whether they sought police assistance or emergency medical assistance ( $\chi^2=5.73, p=0.13$ ); sampling error can’t be ruled out as the source of the observed difference in the sample. Additionally, the sample size is too small to properly evaluate differences in satisfaction for calls for Fire department assistance or calls for other types of assistance.

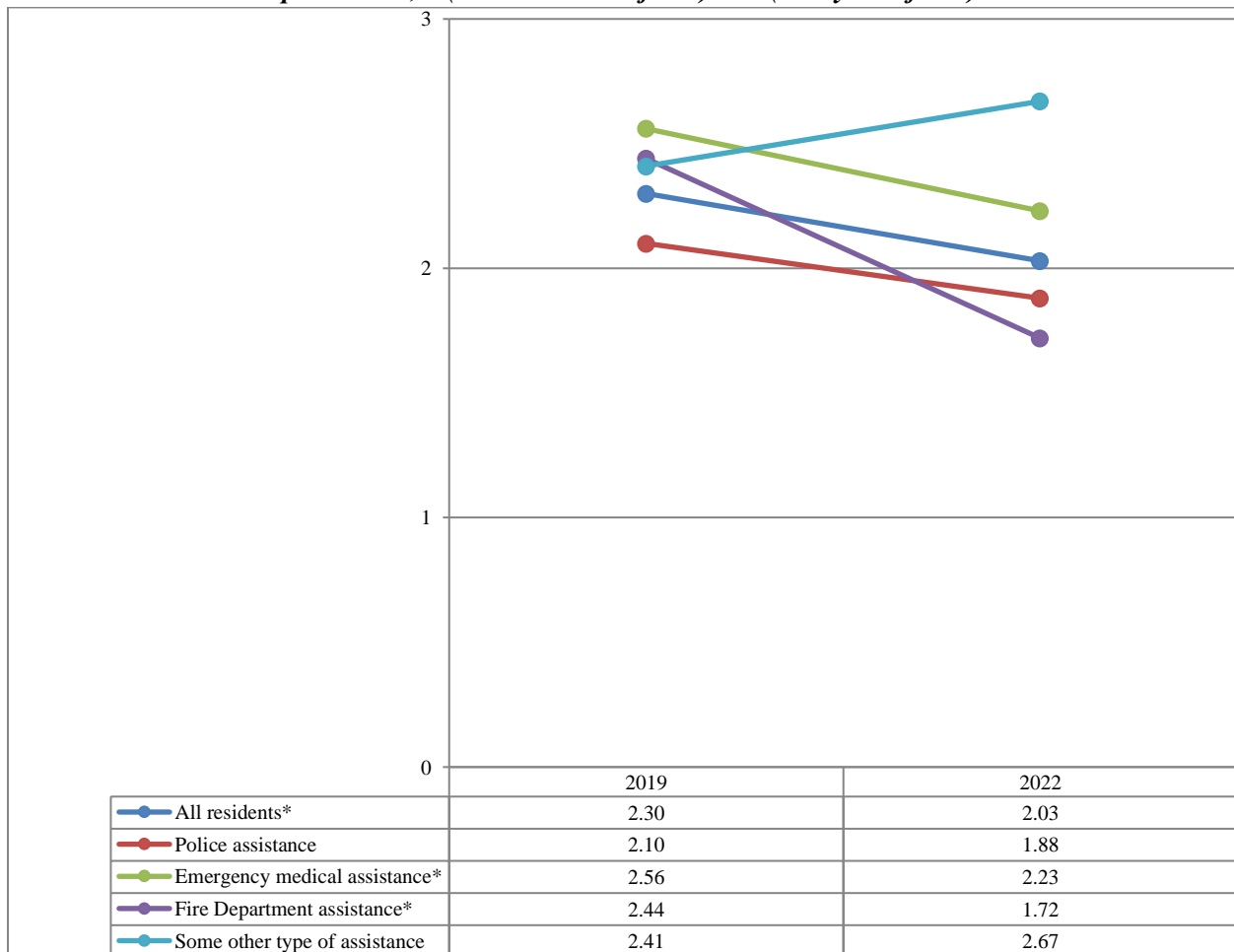
**Figure 7.1: Satisfaction with 911 operator during most recent call, by services sought**



-category excluded from  $\chi^2$  test due to cells with  $n < 5$

Responses to the question about satisfaction with the service provided by the 911 operator were captured on a four-point scale, ranging from 0 (“not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“very satisfied”). Figure 7.2 shows that the mean level of satisfaction across all residents in 2022 was 2.03, closest to “somewhat satisfied”, and that this represents a statistically significant decrease (from 2.30) since 2019 ( $t=-3.35, p=0.00$ ). The highest-rated individual service in terms of satisfaction was *some other type of assistance* with an average rating of 2.67, while the lowest-rated service was *Fire Department assistance* with an average rating of 1.72. Decreases in average satisfaction between 2019 and 2022 can be seen for *emergency medical assistance* ( $t=-2.56, p=0.01$ ) and for *Fire Department assistance* ( $t=-2.34, p=0.02$ ). While the average satisfaction score for *police assistance* is lower in 2022 than it was in 2019, this difference falls short of statistical significance; there is a 6% chance that a difference of this magnitude would not be seen if data was collected from the entire population of interest. Additionally, the increase seen for *some other type of assistance* during this same period also falls short of statistical significance; there is a 33% probability this difference is due to sampling error.

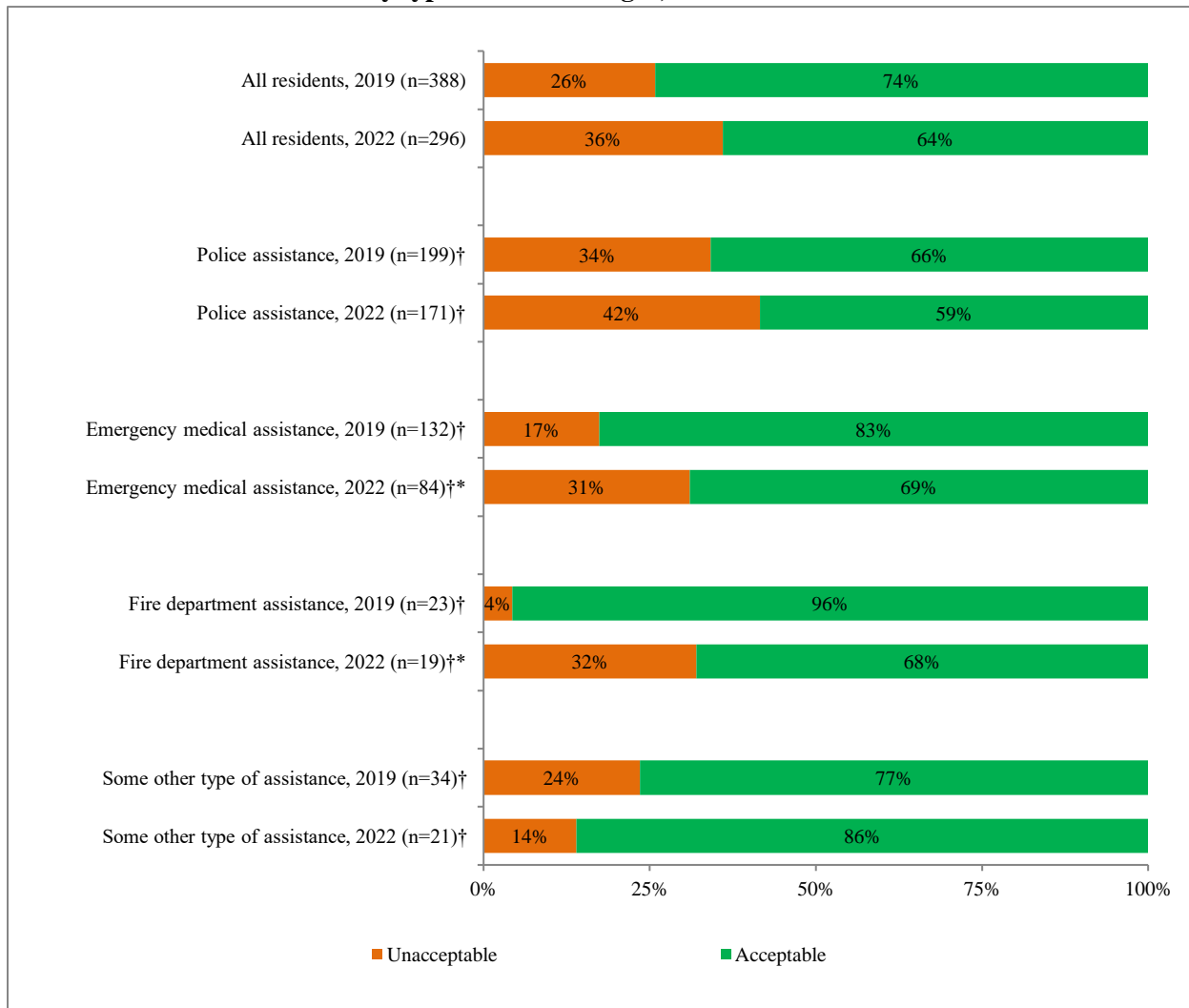
**Figure 7.2: Change over time in mean satisfaction with 911 operator during most recent call, by services sought**  
**4-point scale, 0 (“Not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“Very satisfied”)**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

In 2022, about 64% of Milwaukee residents with at least one 911 call within the last year in 2022 found the amount of time they spent on hold before being connected to the service they were seeking during their most recent call acceptable. Figure 7.3 shows that this represents a significant decrease when compared to 2019 ( $t=-2.89, p=0.00$ ). Those requesting *police assistance* were most likely to say their hold time was unacceptable (42%), while those requesting *some other type of assistance* were least likely to hold that view (14%). The differences across resident views on the acceptability of their wait times grouped by type of service sought in 2022 are statistically significant ( $\chi^2=7.66, p=0.05$ ). In terms of change over time, residents were significantly less likely to view their wait times as acceptable in 2022 when compared to 2019 if they were seeking *emergency medical assistance* ( $t=-2.29, p=0.02$ ) or *fire department assistance* ( $t=-2.46, p=0.02$ ). The observed differences for *police assistance* ( $t=-1.49, p=0.14$ ) and *some other type of assistance* ( $t=0.85, p=0.40$ ) are not statistically significant.

**Figure 7.3: Perceived acceptability of time placed on hold before being connected, by type of service sought, 2019 vs. 2022**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

## RESIDENT-INITIATED CONTACTS WITH THE MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT

A section of the survey was devoted to investigating opinion regarding resident-initiated contacts with the Milwaukee Police Department. In 2022, about 41% of Milwaukee residents report that they approached or sought help (including through the 911 telephone system) from the Milwaukee Police Department within the 12 months prior to being surveyed (Table 8.1). This is not significantly different than the proportion of residents that contacted police in the year prior to being surveyed in 2019 ( $\chi^2=0.49, p=0.48$ ).

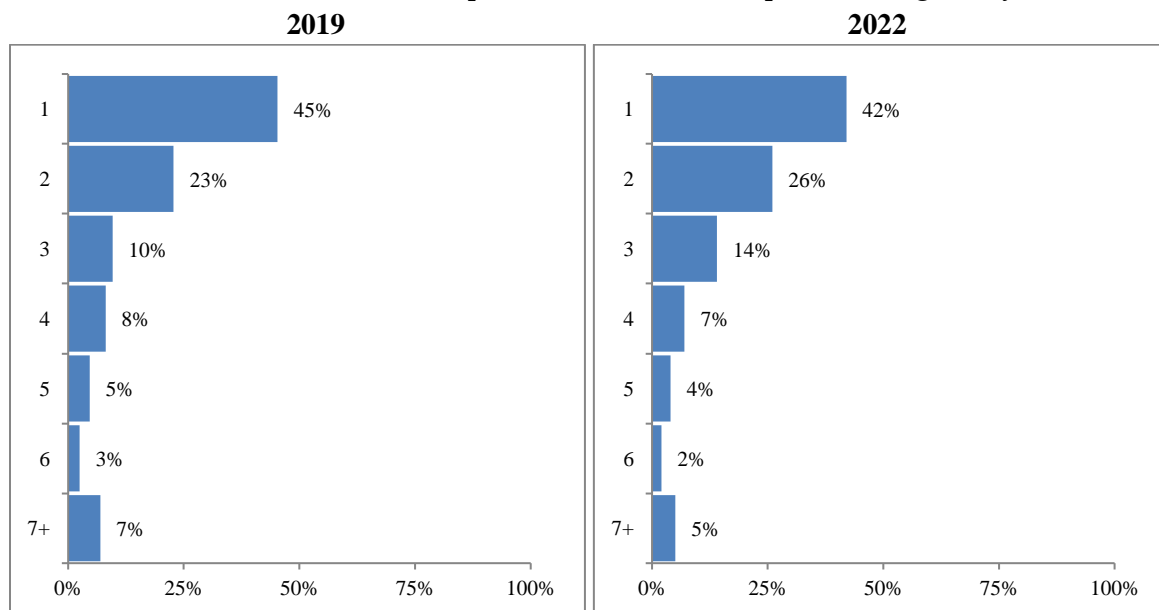
Reported frequencies of resident-initiated contacts are displayed in Figure 8.1; about 42% of those who contacted the Milwaukee police within the last year did so only once, while the remainder contacted the police two or more times over that span. The distribution of the frequencies of self-reported contacts with police within the 12 months prior to being surveyed also did not change significantly between 2019 and 2022 ( $\chi^2=0.71, p=0.40$ ).

**Table 8.1: Resident-initiated contacts with the Milwaukee Police Department, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Have you approached or sought help from the Milwaukee Police Department or a Milwaukee police officer for any reason in the past 12 months, including through the 911 telephone system?	No	827 60%	587 59%
	Yes	543 40%	409 41%
Total		1370 100%	996 100%

**Figure 8.1: Frequency of resident-initiated contacts with Milwaukee police, 2019 vs. 2022**

*[Those that contacted police within 12 months prior to being surveyed]*



Residents that reported contacting the Milwaukee Police Department at least once within the last year were asked about their most recent contact; was it to report a crime, or was the contact for some other reason? Table 8.2 shows that 62% of residents say their most recent contact was due to a crime, while 38% say their most recent contact with the Milwaukee police was for other reasons. The observed change between 2019 and 2022 is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=1.03, p=0.31$ ).

**Table 8.2: Reason for last recent resident-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Thinking now about just the most recent time that you approached or sought help from the Milwaukee Police Department, was it to report a crime, or for some other reason?	Report a crime	318 59%	252 62%
	Other reason	220 41%	152 38%
Total		538 100%	404 100%

In an attempt to measure the perceived quality of the assistance the Milwaukee Police Department offers, residents who reported voluntarily contacting the Milwaukee police at least once within the last year were asked about several dimensions of the most recent contact they initiated. First, residents in this group were asked whether or not they were treated fairly; 68% agree that they had been treated with fairness (Table 8.3). Perceptions of fairness during resident-initiated police contacts have not changed significantly since 2019 ( $\chi^2=0.13, p=0.72$ ).

**Table 8.3: Perceptions of fair treatment during last recent resident-initiated police contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Do you feel that you were treated fairly?	No	165 31%	122 32%
	Yes	373 69%	262 68%
Total		538 100%	384 100%

When asked about situational competence, 54% of residents say police acted competently the last time they were summoned (Table 8.4). The observed proportion is lower than in 2019, but the difference is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=2.93, p=0.09$ ).

When asked about police professionalism during their most recent resident-initiated contact with Milwaukee police, 64% say the police acted professionally (Table 8.5). This represents a statistically significant decrease since 2019, when 70% said they felt the police handled their most recent request for assistance with professionalism ( $\chi^2=3.70, p=0.05$ ).

**Table 8.4: Perceptions of competence during last recent resident-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Do you feel that the situation or request was handled with competence?	No	213 40%	168 46%
	Yes	322 60%	201 54%
Total		535 100%	369 100%

**Table 8.5: Perceptions of professionalism during last recent resident-initiated police contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022*
Do you feel that the situation or request was handled with professionalism?	No	160 30%	135 36%
	Yes	376 70%	241 64%
Total		536 100%	377 100%

\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

Residents were also asked about their level of satisfaction with the courtesy extended to them during their most recent self-initiated contact with Milwaukee police, as well as their satisfaction with the compassion shown by officers during that most recent contact. Table 8.6 shows that most residents were either “very satisfied” (39%) or “somewhat satisfied” (28%) with the level of police courtesy. The distribution of satisfaction with police courtesy has not shifted significantly since 2019 ( $\chi^2=5.79, p=0.12$ ).

**Table 8.6: Satisfaction with level of courtesy during last recent resident-initiated police contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
How satisfied were you with the level of courtesy extended to you?	Not at all satisfied	93 17%	84 21%
	Not very satisfied	64 12%	47 12%
	Somewhat satisfied	131 25%	114 28%
	Very satisfied	246 46%	155 39%
Total		534 100%	400 100%



Regarding the level of compassion shown by police during the last resident-initiated contact, most residents were satisfied (either “very” [37%] or “somewhat” [25%]); Table 8.7 shows that aggregate perception of police compassion has not shifted significantly since 2019 ( $\chi^2=5.62, p=0.13$ ).

**Table 8.7: Satisfaction with level of compassion during last recent resident-initiated police contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
How satisfied were you with the level of compassion shown to you?	Not at all satisfied	101 19%	99 26%
	Not very satisfied	74 14%	46 12%
	Somewhat satisfied	137 26%	99 25%
	Very satisfied	215 41%	145 37%
Total		527 100%	389 100%

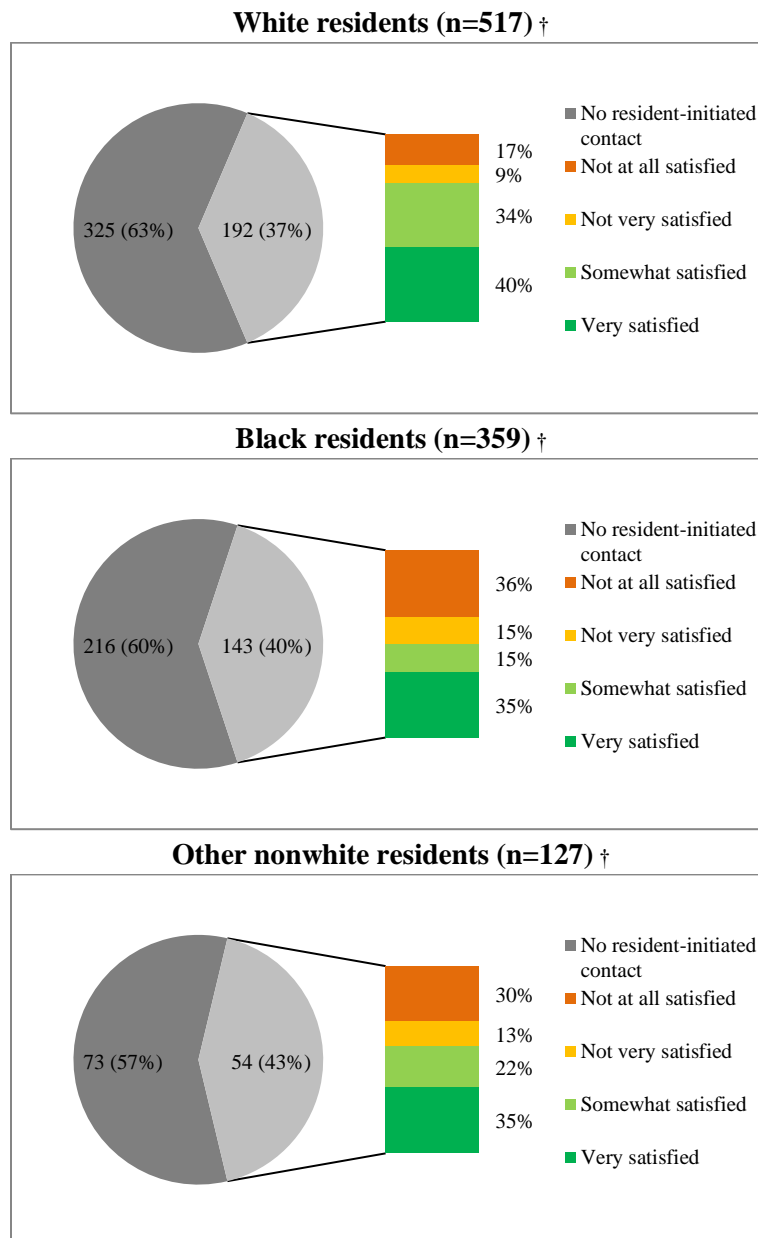
Analysis of data collected during past waves has yielded strong evidence that a lack of satisfaction with the level of compassion shown during resident-initiated interactions with Milwaukee police is an important individual-level determinant of overall dissatisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, and that aggregate levels of dissatisfaction within racial subgroups serve as markers by which members of each group who lack recent experiences judge the Milwaukee Police Department. At the level of the individual resident, among those who recently contacted the police for help, evaluation of police compassion during the most recent resident-initiated interaction serves as a better predictor of ultimate overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department than does the race of the resident; however, among those without recent personal experience with police, the aggregate level of satisfaction with compassion shown during recent police interactions among other members of each resident’s racial group is the best predictor of overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department.<sup>6</sup>

Figure 8.2 shows how resident-initiated interactions were distributed across racial groups in 2022, along with the aggregate levels of satisfaction with perceived police compassion during those interactions for each racial group. The proportions of each group that sought police assistance in 2022 are once again comparable; 37% of white residents, 40% of black residents, and 43% of other nonwhite residents. However, aggregate resident satisfaction with compassion shown to them by police during those interactions differed significantly by resident race ( $\chi^2=27.36, p=0.00$ ). The proportion of black residents that are “not at all satisfied” is more than double that of whites (36% and 17%, respectively, compared with 30% among other nonwhites residents). Conversely, 74% of white residents are “somewhat” or “very satisfied”, compared with just 50% of black residents and 57% of other nonwhite residents.

<sup>6</sup> 2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report; Page 18; Figure 2.11

It is notable that black Milwaukee residents specifically are more likely than not to walk away from self-initiated encounters with the MPD feeling unsatisfied with the level of compassion shown to them. Extrapolating the perceived unequal spread of compassion across racial boundaries onto the opinions of the remaining 59% of Milwaukee residents *without* recent personal experience with Milwaukee Police Department assistance helps explain the statistically significant aggregate gaps in overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police between residents from different racial groups shown in Figure 1.5.

**Figure 8.2: Satisfaction with compassion shown by police during last recent resident-initiated contact, by resident race**

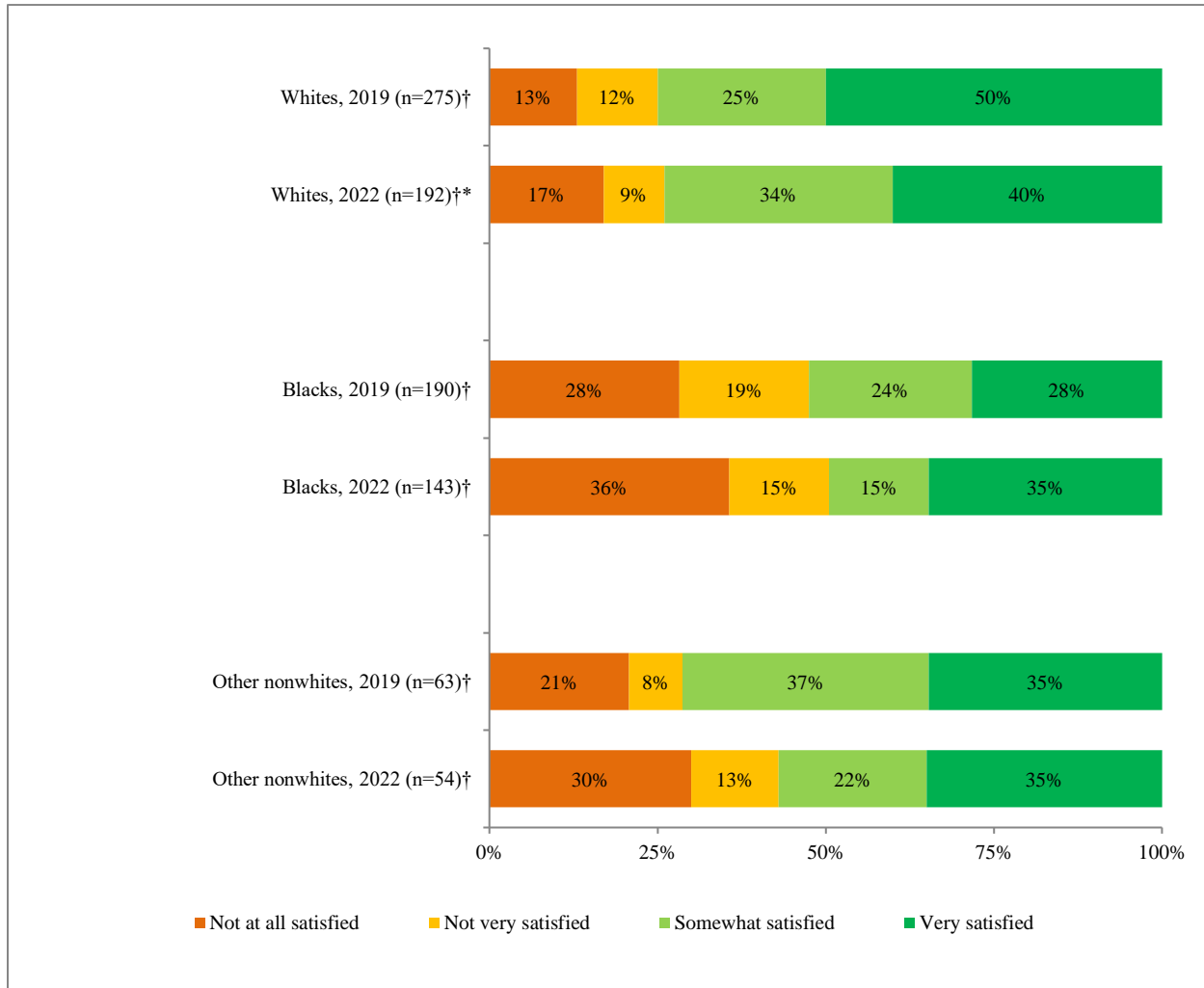


†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

Although the observed decrease in aggregate satisfaction with police compassion shown during resident-initiated contacts between 2019 and 2022 falls short of statistical significance, there was at least one important shift in perceptions among racial subgroups of Milwaukee residents. Figure 8.3 shows that satisfaction with police compassion has decreased significantly among white residents in 2022 ( $\chi^2=8.57$ ,  $p=0.04$ ). This is especially notable because white residents make up the largest proportion of those with 1+ recent self-initiated police contacts (43%, compared to 36% black and 13% other nonwhite).

While similar decreases in satisfaction with recent self-initiated contacts with the MPD are reported among black ( $\chi^2=7.06$ ,  $p=0.06$ ) and other nonwhite ( $\chi^2=3.65$ ,  $p=0.30$ ) residents, smaller subsample sizes mean that we cannot conclude with confidence that differences of these magnitudes would be seen for these groups if data from every member of the population of interest was collected.

**Figure 8.3: Satisfaction with police compassion during last recent resident-initiated contact, by resident race, 2019 vs. 2022**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

## HOW PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE COMPASSION ARE IMPACTED BY OTHER POLICE CONDUCT

The 2019 survey wave introduced new questions designed to determine the order of different kinds of police interactions and experiences with crime. Statistical analysis of the resulting data<sup>7</sup> has yielded strong evidence that Milwaukee residents are not likely to allow past police interactions, for better or worse, to significantly influence their perceptions of police during subsequent encounters. Instead, Milwaukee residents appear to allow police conduct during each new interaction to speak for itself. However, more recent experiences with police appear to color the lenses through which Milwaukee residents view police interactions further in the past. In this way, Milwaukee police officers are ambassadors for the Milwaukee Police Department as a whole, and their conduct during interactions have an impact that reverberates beyond immediate circumstances. Every negative encounter has the potential to undermine the impact of the prior compassionate acts and responsible conduct of other police officers; and every new opportunity for compassionate, fair conduct is a chance to right past perceived wrongs. Given how the majority of Milwaukee residents do not have regular contact with the police and look to the experiences of those like them in their communities who do to structure their opinions, each potential interaction takes on that much more importance. But despite this joint responsibility police officers have to uphold public opinion of the department as a whole, at the end of the day, during interactions, the evidence suggests that Milwaukee residents see police officers as individuals and are willing to give them a relatively unbiased chance to make a positive mark.

The 2017 Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Findings Report included a passage discussing how policymakers can approach the link between public dissatisfaction with police and compassionate police conduct. It is repeated here:

“Addressing dissatisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department presents a difficult challenge to policymakers. It is likely that a focus on increasing positive extemporaneous police-initiated contacts and police visibility within neighborhoods would have a net positive impact; however, it is clear that residents are paying close attention to how police conduct themselves during all types of interactions, paying close attention to patterns present across those interactions, and adjusting their overall orientation towards the Milwaukee police accordingly. Any effective solution is likely to require recommendations that police officers increase their efforts at acting with compassion indiscriminately towards those all those they serve, and especially when they are rendering aid. However, a growing body of evidence shows that public servants whose responsibilities include regular interactions with at-risk populations (including but not limited to social workers, teachers, and police officers) themselves experience risk of serious emotional/psychological trauma that scales with the compassion they exercise towards those they serve (Figley 1999; Violante and Gehrke 2004). It is likely that an effective intervention aimed at improving the relationship between the Milwaukee Police Department and Milwaukee residents will require not just resources aimed at changing the behavior of police officers, but also resources aimed at ameliorating the increased mental/emotional costs those behavioral changes would likely incur for police officers. Quantitative studies focused on strategies for addressing compassion fatigue and burnout among those in the helping professions have concluded that individual-centered efforts aimed at teaching coping mechanisms are ineffective; researchers assert that successful strategies must focus on systemic

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<sup>7</sup> 2019 *City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 36, Figure 8.1; Page 70.

improvements to working conditions, improved access to mental health services, and restructuring of shifts to reduce net exposure to trauma (Bober and Regehr 2006; Killian 2008).”

A more recent passage from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin on Police Compassion Fatigue (Papazoglu, Marans, Keese and Chopko 2020) is also relevant:

“The current scientific literature abounds with studies that explore experiences of compassion fatigue among officers and other caregiving personnel. Most suggest that compassion fatigue affects a significant number of such professionals. In a recent empirical study involving a large sample of police officers from the United States and Canada, 23 percent—or 230 in a department of 1,000—reported high levels of compassion fatigue. Significantly, research has shown that compassion fatigue can have an incapacitating impact on frontline professionals’ well-being, decision-making ability in critical situations, and overall job performance. In addition, it may negatively affect their cognitive processes (e.g., dissociation, lack of concentration), emotions (e.g., irritability, sense of helplessness and hopelessness), and behavioral patterns (e.g., hypervigilance, physical exhaustion). Further, compassion fatigue may adversely impact officers’ relationships with family and friends because its effects cannot be left at work and may disrupt the adaptive transition from shift work to family environment. Compassion fatigue more likely will occur if officers remain unaware or ignore the presence of its cues and continue to perform their duties without getting help from available resources, such as supervisors, peer-support groups, or clinical practitioners. If police officers or their supervisors continue to ignore the signs, symptoms of compassion fatigue can accumulate over time, ultimately leading to debilitating effects on officers’ health and well-being.”

The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin goes on to make several concrete, achievable policy recommendations aimed at counteracting compassion fatigue, mostly by increasing the capacity of officers to derive satisfaction from the compassion they extend to others while on the job:

- Regularly integrate clinical practitioners into debriefing sessions in order to help officers and supervisors to focus on and identify positive incidents that occurred, such as achievements, moments of gratitude, and pleasant social interactions;
- Establishment of partnership programs pairing police officers with clinical practitioners for response to child abuse and domestic violence calls;
- Tasking supervisory officers with reporting/sharing instances of success/positive interactions involving their officers to command staff and throughout the department, in order to establish departmental tone/a shared set of values and to boost shared compassion satisfaction;
- Increased training with an emphasis on dealing with children and families impacted by traumatizing events;
- Formal integration between departments and community clubs and organizations as an avenue for officers to share stories of accomplishments and cultivate environments of appreciation.

## POLICE-INITIATED CONTACTS WITH RESIDENTS

When asked about police-initiated contacts within the past 12 months, in 2022 18% of Milwaukee residents report having been contacted by Milwaukee police officers. Table 9.1 shows that this is a significantly smaller proportion compared with 2019 ( $\chi^2=4.36, p=0.04$ ).

**Table 9.1: Recent police-initiated contacts, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022*
Has a Milwaukee police officer initiated contact with you at any time in the past 12 months?	No	1072 78%	812 82%
	Yes	296 22%	180 18%
Total		1368 100%	991 100%

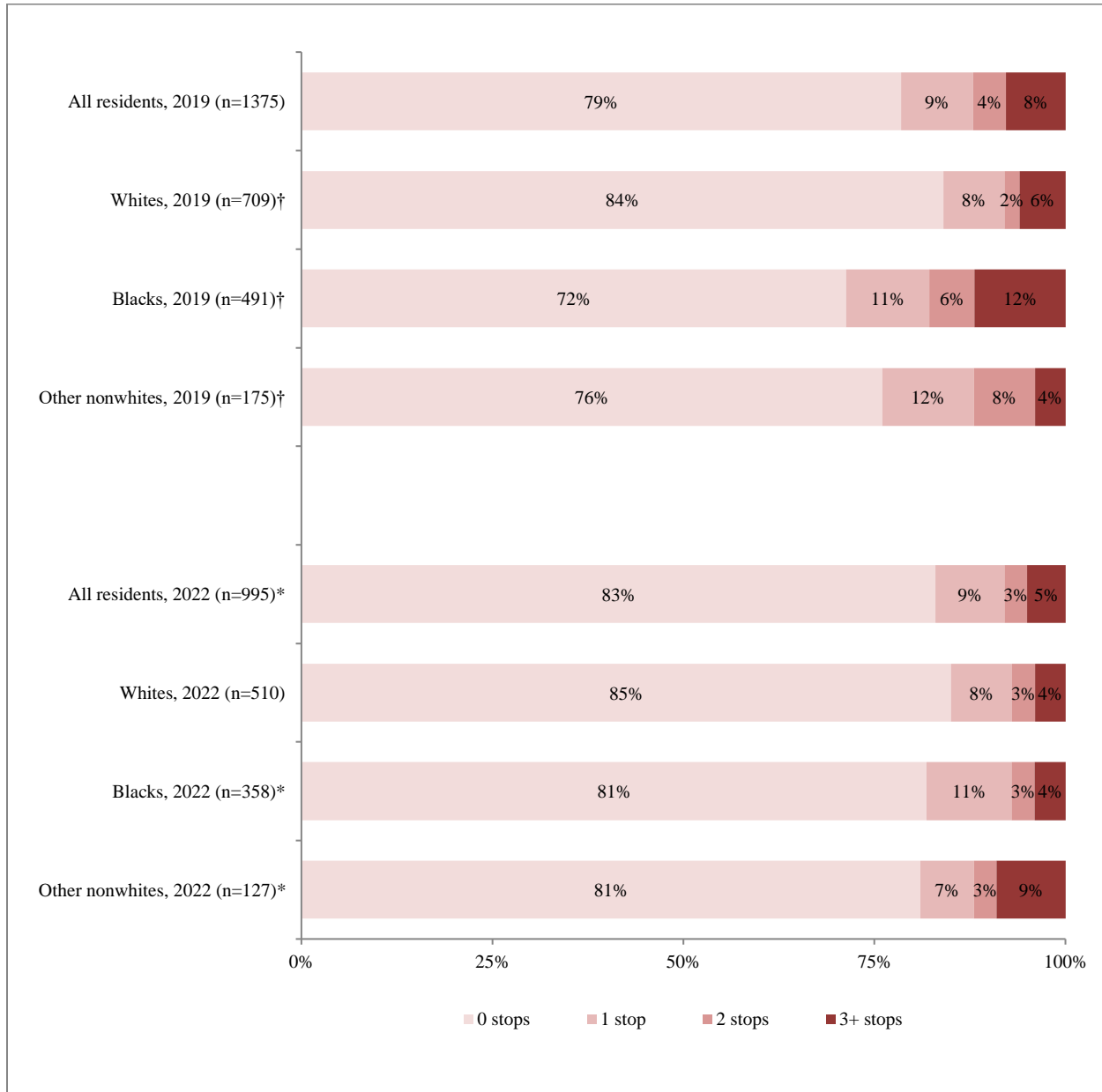
\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

Figure 9.1 shows that residents who report having been contacted by police in 2022 are most likely to say they had been contacted exactly once; those with exactly one contact account for 9% of all residents. About 3% of all residents report two contacts, and the remaining 5% report three or more contacts. This distribution of police contact frequencies across Milwaukee residents in 2022 was significantly different than in 2019, when more residents reported contacts and those with multiple contacts reported higher contact frequencies ( $\chi^2=13.05, p=0.01$ ).

Figure 9.1 also shows that the significant gaps across racial lines in the rates of reported police-initiated contacts present in 2019 have eased in 2022; the observed differences in the distributions of contacts across racial groups this year are not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=10.03, p=0.12$ ). While the observed rates for minority contacts are slightly higher, there is a 13% probability that differences of this magnitude would not be observed if data on every member of the population was available.

Where some changes in aggregate opinion regarding the MPD this year are being driven primarily by changes in opinion among white residents, the shift in observed patterns of police-initiated contacts are being driven by change in the reported experiences of black and other nonwhite residents. Figure 9.1 shows the patterns of reported police contacts among white residents did not change significantly since 2019 ( $\chi^2=2.72, p=0.44$ ), but there have been statistically significant reductions in reported police contacts across black residents ( $\chi^2=20.87, p=0.00$ ) and other nonwhite residents ( $\chi^2=7.67, p=0.05$ ) between 2019 and 2022.

**Figure 9.1: Frequency distribution of recent police-initiated contacts, by resident race, 2019 vs. 2022**

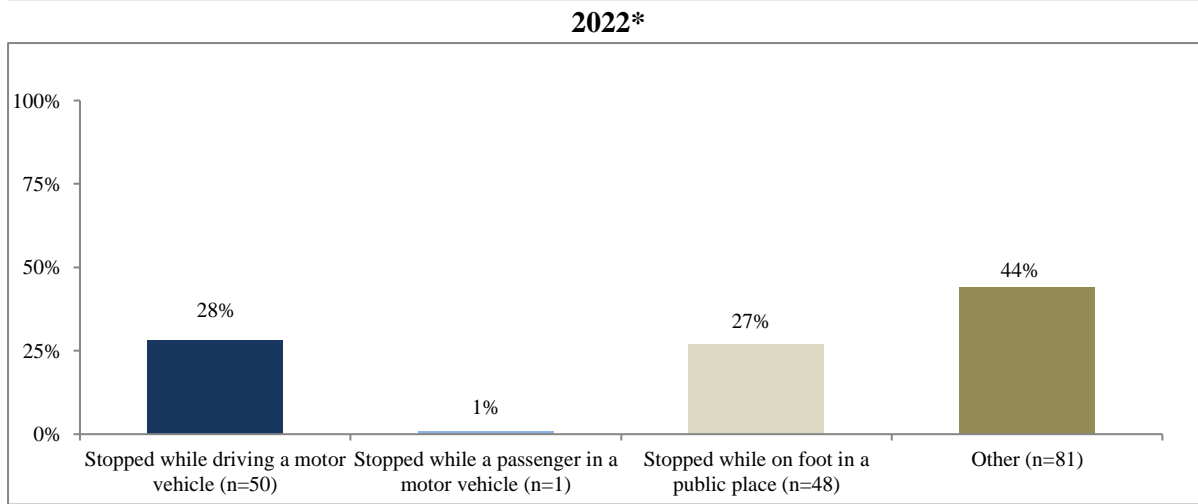
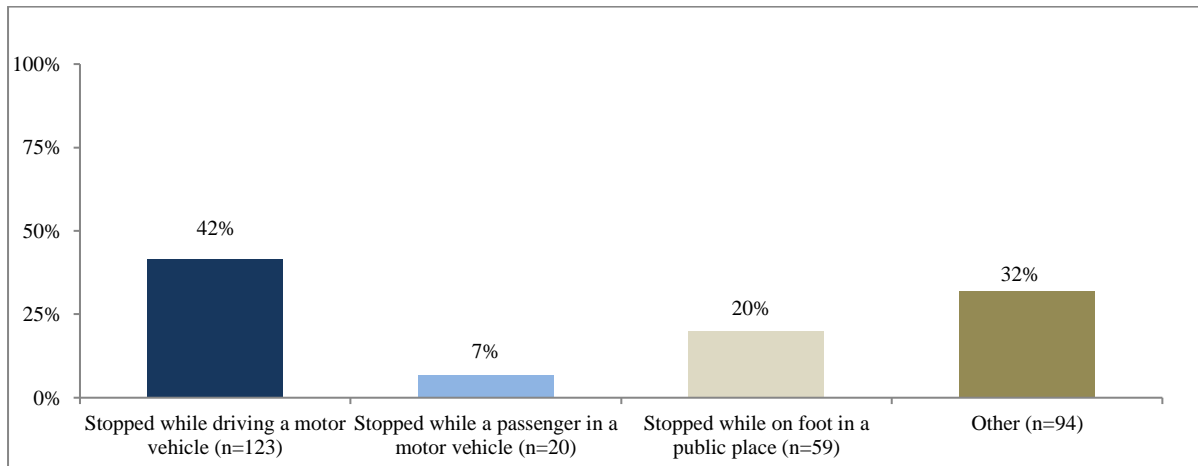


\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

Residents who indicated police had initiated contact with them at least once over the course of the past year were asked follow-up questions regarding the context of the most recent contact. Figure 9.2 shows the relative frequency of different contexts for these contacts; 28% of the most recent officer-initiated stops occurred while the resident was driving a motor vehicle, 1% occurred while the resident was a passenger in a motor vehicle, 27% occurred while the resident was on foot in a public space, and the remaining 44% of officer-initiated contacts occurred in various other contexts. The distribution of police contacts across different contexts has notably shifted away from motor vehicles between 2019 and 2022.

**Figure 9.2: Context of last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

Table 9.2 shows that about 17% of those contacted at least once by police during 2022 report having receiving a ticket, a large and statistically significant decrease from the 27% reported in 2019 ( $\chi^2=5.52$ ,  $p=0.02$ ).

**Table 9.2: Proportion of residents that received a ticket during last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022*
Were you given a ticket?	No	197 73%	135 83%
	Yes	73 27%	28 17%
Total		270 100%	163 100%

\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)



In order to learn about resident opinions regarding contacts initiated by officers from the Milwaukee Police Department, residents were asked a series of questions regarding different dimensions of their most recent officer-initiated interaction. About 29% of Milwaukee residents who experienced police-initiated contacts within 12 months of being surveyed in 2022 feel that they were treated with a lack of courtesy and respect; although this represents an improvement over the 38% reported in 2019, the difference falls just short of statistical significance (Table 9.3;  $\chi^2=3.43$ ,  $p=0.06$ ).

**Table 9.3: Proportion of residents treated with courtesy and respect during last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Were you treated with courtesy and respect?	No	110 38%	51 29%
	Yes	183 63%	124 71%
Total		293 100%	175 100%

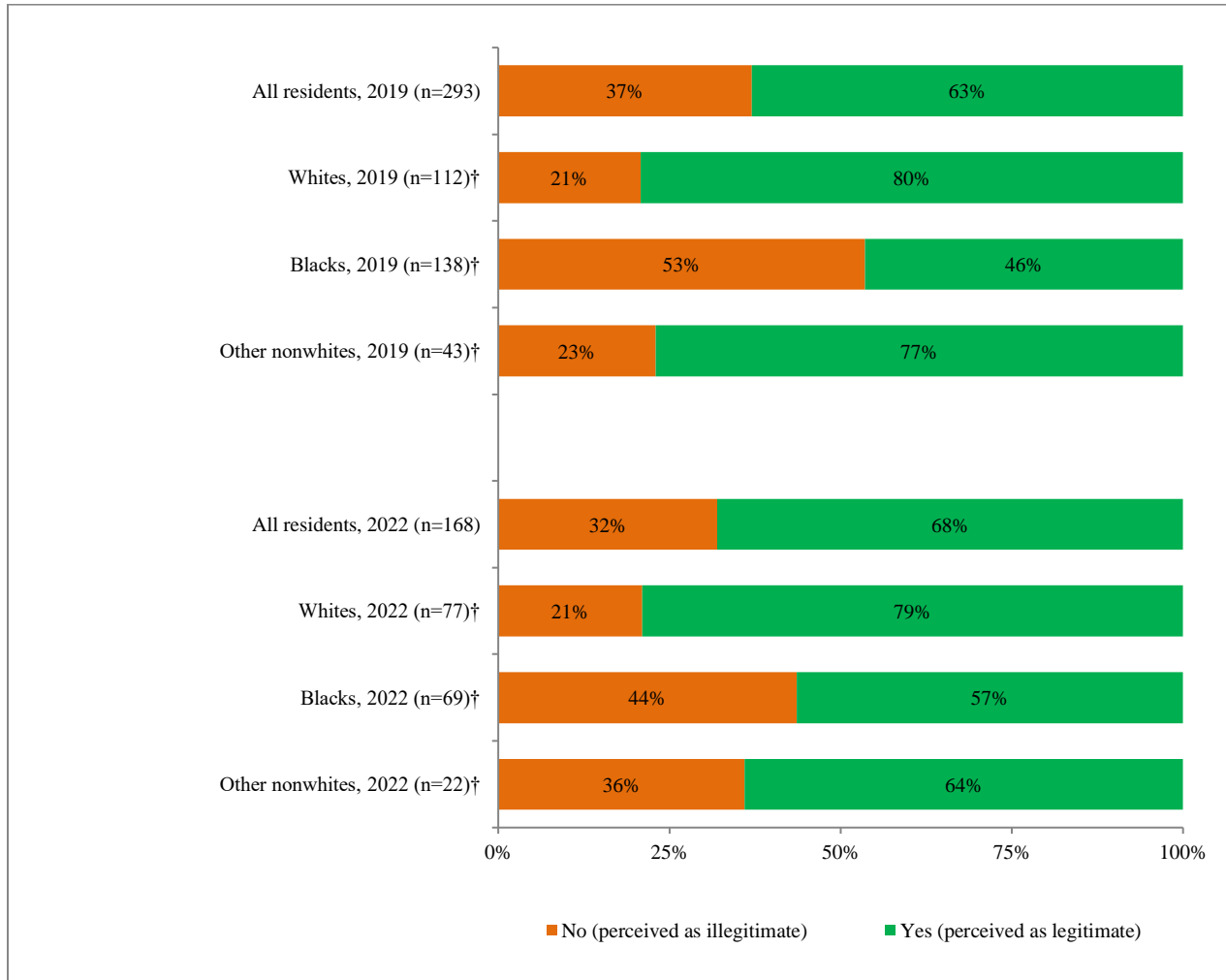
About 68% of those who report having been contacted by Milwaukee police in 2022 feel the officer or officers had a legitimate reason for initiating that contact, while the remaining 32% felt the contact was unjustified (Table 9.4). Statistically, this facet of opinion has not changed significantly since 2019; while there was an observed increase in the proportion of residents viewing their most recent police-initiated contact as legitimate, there is a 12% probability that this observed difference is due to sampling error ( $\chi^2=5.87$ ,  $p=0.12$ ).

**Table 9.4: Proportion of residents viewing reason for last recent police-initiated contact as legitimate, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for initiating the contact?	No	109 37%	54 32%
	Yes	185 63%	114 68%
Total		294 100%	168 100%

Significant differences in the perceived legitimacy of contacts initiated by the MPD across racial lines persist in 2022. Figure 9.3 shows that 44% of blacks with a recent police contact saw the reason for it as illegitimate, compared to 36% of other nonwhites and just 21% of whites ( $\chi^2=8.80$ ,  $p=0.01$ ). Observed differences within racial groups between 2019 and 2022 for whites ( $\chi^2=0.00$ ,  $p=0.97$ ), blacks ( $\chi^2=2.17$ ,  $p=0.14$ ), and other nonwhites ( $\chi^2=1.25$ ,  $p=0.16$ ) all fail to achieve statistical significance.

**Figure 9.3: Perception of legitimacy of reason for last recent police contact, by resident race, 2019 vs. 2022**



†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

Residents that were stopped were asked if they were patted down or searched during their last contact; in 2019, 7% indicated they had, a notable and statistically significant decrease when compared to 2019 (Table 9.5;  $\chi^2=22.23$ ,  $p=0.00$ ).

**Table 9.5: Searched or patted down during last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

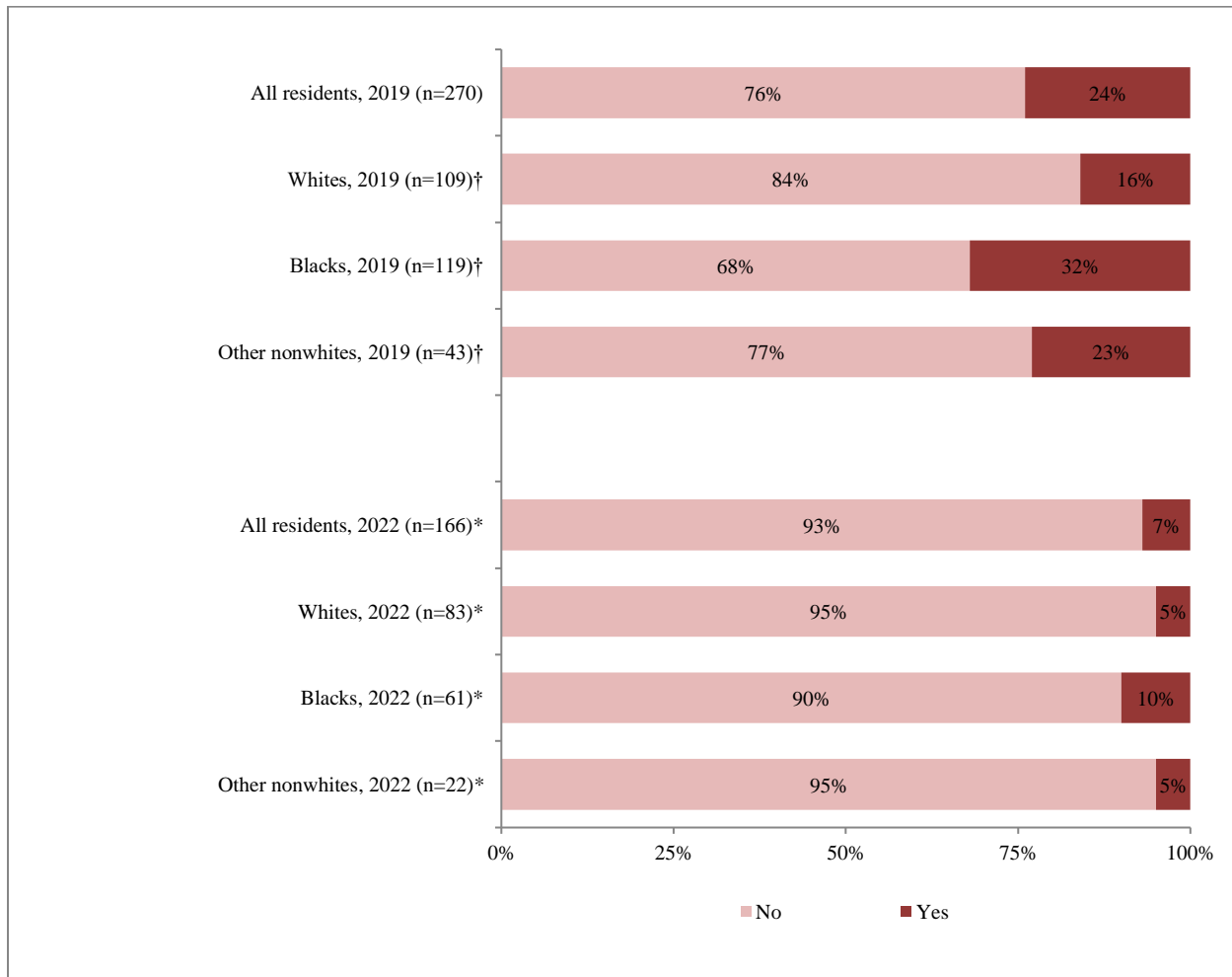
		Survey year	
		2019	2022*
Were you searched or patted down during the contact?	No	205 76%	155 93%
	Yes	66 24%	11 7%
Total		271 100%	166 100%

\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

While the reported rates of search among those stopped by police varied significantly by race in 2019, this pattern of inequity has relaxed in 2022. Figure 9.4 shows that this year the observed differences across racial groups of Milwaukee residents are not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=1.61, p=0.45$ ). This was caused by large and statistically significant changes within each group over time; the rate of search among residents recently contacted by police decreased significantly from 16% to 5% ( $\chi^2=5.62, p=0.02$ ) for whites, from 32% to 10% among blacks ( $\chi^2=10.66, p=0.00$ ), and from 23% to 5% among other nonwhites ( $\chi^2=3.76, p=0.05$ ).

The counts presented in Figure 9.4 show an important shift among the racial balance of those who reported having been recently contacted by police. In 2019, 44% (119 of 270) of those who said they were contacted by police in the year prior to being surveyed were black, despite blacks making up approximately 36% of the adult population in Milwaukee. By comparison, in 2022, just 37% (61 of 166) of those who said they were contacted by police in the year prior to being surveyed were black.

**Figure 9.4: Searched or patted down during last recent police-initiated contact, by race, 2019 vs. 2022**



\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CI=95%)  
 †denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CI=95%)

Table 9.6 shows that the vast majority of residents (75%) who were searched during their last recent stop felt that the search was illegitimate. While there was a decrease in the proportion compared to 2019, the small number of observations means that sampling error can't be ruled out as the cause ( $t=1.12, p=0.26$ )

**Table 9.6: Perceived legitimacy of reason for search during last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for searching you?	No	58 88%	8 75%
	Yes	8 12%	3 25%
Total		66 100%	11 100%

About 7% of Milwaukee residents report having been arrested after their last recent police stop (Table 9.7) The proportion of those reporting arrest as the outcome of their most recent police-initiated interaction has not changed significantly since 2019 ( $t=-0.75, p=0.45$ ).

**Table 9.7: Arrested during last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
During the most recent time you were stopped or approached by a Milwaukee police officer, were you arrested?	No	271 91%	166 93%
	Yes	26 9%	12 7%
Total		297 100%	178 100%

Just 8% of residents who report having been arrested during their last recent stop say the reason was legitimate (Table 9.8). There is no observed change between 2019 and 2022. A very small sample size prevents us from engaging in meaningful statistical analysis of this subset of residents.

**Table 9.8: Perceived legitimacy of arrest reason during last recent police contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for arresting you?	No	24 92%	11 92%
	Yes	2 8%	1 8%
Total		26 100%	12 100%

Table 9.9 shows that 77% of those who were arrested during their last recent police contact say force was used against them. The very small sample size means that we cannot be sure how representative this is of the population of those who were arrested in 2022. The observed difference between 2019 and 2022 is not statistically significant ( $t=0.86, p=0.39$ ).

**Table 9.9: Use of force during arrest resulting from last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Did the police use force against you when you were arrested?	No	9 36%	3 23%
	Yes	16 64%	9 77%
Total		25 100%	12 100%

Those Milwaukee residents who reported having had force used against them during the arrest stemming from their most recent police stop were asked whether or not the use of force they experienced was excessive. Table 9.10 shows that in 2019, 100% of such residents said the use of force they experienced was excessive. In 2022, 100% of such residents say the use of force was excessive. We must caution once again that due to the very small number of individuals answering this question ( $n=9$ ), it is unlikely that observed sample characteristics are a good representation of overall population characteristics. It is likely that the vast majority of residents that are arrested after having had force used on them feel that the use of force was excessive, but it is not possible to accurately estimate the magnitude of that majority without a much larger sample.

**Table 9.10: Perception of use of force during arrest resulting from last recent police-initiated contact, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Do you feel the use of force was excessive?	No	0 0%	0 0%
	Yes	16 100%	9 100%
Total		16 100%	9 100%

There is not sufficient data to analyse reported patterns of arrests and use of force by race, but resident race is key to understanding how other patterns of policing in Milwaukee influence and structure aggregate overall satisfaction with police in 2022. While some patterns of inequity relaxed (such as frequency of reported stops and frequency of searches during stops), others remain (such as perceptions of legitimacy for stops). While police conduct during stops is just one part of the complex relationship between residents and police, there are positive signs within this dimension of that relationship.

## RESIDENT EXPERIENCES WITH CRIME

In the 2022 wave, Milwaukee residents were once again asked about their exposure to crime. About 22% of residents report having been victimized at least once within the City of Milwaukee during the 12 months prior to being surveyed (Table 10.1). This level of reported victimization among city residents is consistent with levels seen in 2019 ( $\chi^2=0.86$ ,  $p=0.36$ ). Of those reporting recent victimization in 2022, 40% say they have experienced more than one crime, compared to 50% in 2019; that represents a large and statistically significant decrease ( $\chi^2=5.44$ ,  $p=0.02$ ).

**Table 10.1: Victimization during the past 12 months, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of any crimes that occurred in the City of Milwaukee?	No	1088 79%	770 78%
	Yes	283 21%	220 22%
Total		1371 100%	100 100%

**Table 10.2: Frequency of victimization among those who reported experiencing crime during the past 12 months. 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022*
During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of just one crime in the City of Milwaukee, or more than one crime?	One crime	141 50%	132 60%
	More than 1 crime	142 50%	87 40%
Total		283 100%	219 100%

\*denotes a statistically significant change since 2019 (CL=95%)

Among those who reported having been the victim of exactly one crime over the past year, about 13% say they failed to report the incident to police (Table 10.3). Of those who report having been the victim of multiple crimes over that same time span, 53% said they failed to report at least one of those crimes to the Milwaukee Police Department (Table 10.4). Despite a decrease in the average number of crimes experienced by residents, we find no evidence that Milwaukee residents have changed their likelihood of reporting crimes to the Milwaukee Police Department; observed changes in patterns of crime non-reporting since 2019 are not statistically significant (1 crime:  $\chi^2=1.84$ ,  $p=0.18$ ; >1 crime:  $\chi^2=0.05$ ,  $p=0.83$ ).

**Table 10.3: Non-reporting of crimes among those who experienced one crime in the past year, 2019 vs. 2022**

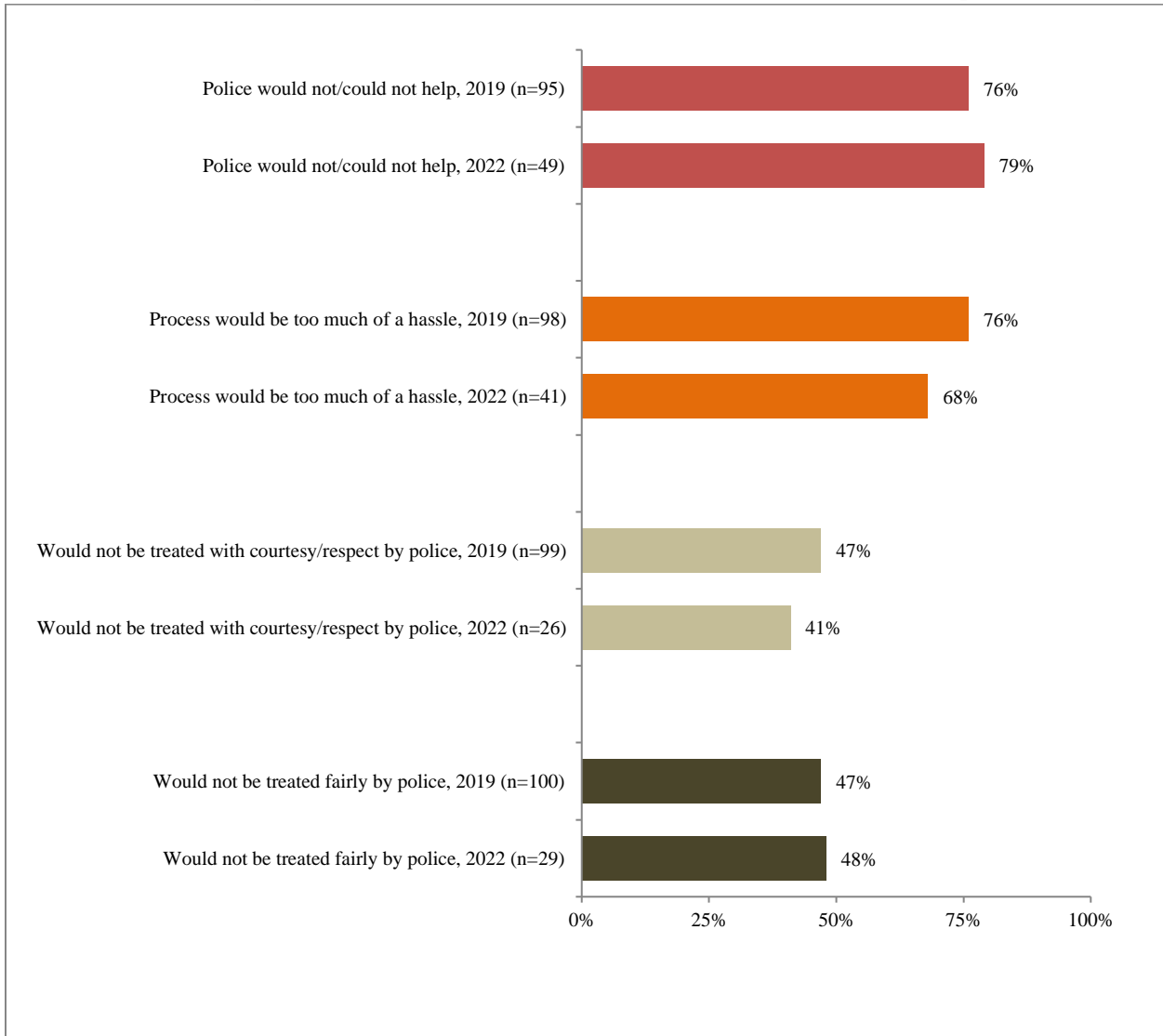
		Survey year	
		2019	2022
Did you report the incident to police?	No	27 19%	17 13%
	Yes	115 81%	114 87%
Total		142 100%	131 100%

**Table 10.4: Non-reporting of crimes among those who experienced more than one crime in the past year, 2019 vs. 2022**

		Survey year	
		2019	2022
During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of any crimes in Milwaukee that you did NOT report to the Milwaukee Police Department?	No	82 49%	41 47%
	Yes	85 51%	46 53%
Total		142 100%	87 100%

Residents who declined to report at least one instance of crime to the Milwaukee Police Department were presented with a range of possible considerations that may have influenced their decision to not file a report. Figure 10.1 summarizes resident reactions to these considerations; the most common considerations that influence residents when choosing to not report crimes are the beliefs that the police would not or could not help (about 79% of victimized non-reporters hold this view) and the belief that the process of reporting is too much of a hassle (68% of victimized non-reporters hold this view). About 41% were discouraged by the notion that the police might not show them courtesy or respect, and 48% say they were influenced by the consideration that they would not receive fair treatment by police. Although some of these measures have changed slightly since 2019, none of the observed differences meet the criteria for statistical significance (*Police would not/could not help*:  $\chi^2=0.22$ ,  $p=0.67$ ; *Process would be too much of a hassle*:  $\chi^2=0.04$ ,  $p=0.95$ ; *Would not be treated with courtesy/respect by police*:  $\chi^2=0.42$ ,  $p=0.52$ ; *Would not be treated fairly by police*:  $\chi^2=0.97$ ,  $p=0.33$ ).

**Figure 10.1: Reasons for not reporting crimes to the Milwaukee Police Department, 2019 vs. 2022**  
*[Residents who experienced being the victim of at least one crime AND did not report a crime]*





## UNPACKING CHANGE IN OVERALL SATISFACTION WITH MILWAUKEE POLICE

Aggregate overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department varies significantly across many different overlapping groups of Milwaukee residents. Policymakers face an ongoing challenge in determining which group experiences and characteristics are causally associated with differences in satisfaction or changes in satisfaction over time. For example, overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police is relatively lower among residents with recent police contacts and also with renters, but renters have a significantly higher rate of police contacts. How can the impact of these interrelated factors be untangled and understood, especially in light of additional salient interrelationships with factors like age and race?

Statistical modeling exercises involving data from past waves of the Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey enabled estimation of the *independent* impact of an exhaustive number of experiential, perceptual, demographic, and socioeconomic variables on individual residents' overall satisfaction with police. Those statistical models identified *perceptions of police visibility within neighborhoods*, *experiences with crime*, *perceptions of police conduct during individual interactions with police*, and *resident race* as the key determinants of overall satisfaction with police, while aggregate differences in opinion across various age, gender, or socioeconomic groups are attributable to differences in how race and experiences with police are distributed across those groups. With an established understanding of the independent impact of group differences on police satisfaction, it is possible to unpack and understand how changes in each of the above-mentioned determinants of police satisfaction ladder up to change in aggregate overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department between 2019 and 2022.

### ***Police visibility within neighborhoods***

Data from every wave of the survey show that the vast majority of Milwaukee residents prefer police to be visible within their neighborhoods, and that continues in 2022 (Table 4.2, page 17). Statistical analysis of the data from past waves provided evidence that after controlling for other factors, the perception of a lack of police presence in an individual's neighborhood makes that individual resident about twice as likely to express overall dissatisfaction with the police.<sup>8</sup> Police visibility within neighborhoods has declined between 2019 and 2022 (Table 4.1, Page 16), and this has likely contributed to lower levels of overall police satisfaction in 2022 when compared to 2019.

### ***Experiences with crime***

Analysis of the data resulting from past waves of the survey has shown that resident exposure to crime can negatively affect individual overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police. In 2014, after controlling for other factors, recent victimization decreased an individual resident's likelihood of being "very satisfied" with the police by about one-fifth, and multiple instances of recent victimization reduced the likelihood by about one-half.<sup>9</sup> In 2022, the overall proportion of residents who experienced victimization is not significantly different than in 2019, but on average, those who experienced crimes experienced less of them (Tables 10.1 & 10.2, page 45). However, data from the 2017 wave shows that the link between victimization and overall police satisfaction can vary in strength<sup>10</sup>, and data from this wave indicates that individuals with multiple instances of recent victimization are not any more likely to express

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<sup>8</sup> 2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report; Page 15; Figure 2.10

<sup>9</sup> 2014 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Research Brief, page 8, Table 1.8

<sup>10</sup> 2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report; Page 16

dissatisfaction with police than residents who were not victimized at all (see 2022 Satisfaction Statistical model Parameters, Appendix B). Given this finding, it is unlikely that change in patterns of exposure to crime is strongly related to change in overall police satisfaction between 2019 and 2022.

### ***Perceptions of police conduct during individual interactions with police***

Every wave of this survey has asked residents with various types of recent police contacts to rate police conduct during their most recent interactions along a number of dimensions. Statistical modeling of the data from past waves yielded evidence that differences in the perceived level of compassion shown to residents by police during their last self-initiated contacts are predictive of overall satisfaction with police. After controlling for other factors, a perceived lack of compassion makes an individual resident about eight times as likely to say they are “not at all satisfied” with the police overall.<sup>11</sup> Data from the most recent wave indicates that aggregate perceptions of police compassion during resident-initiated contacts have not changed significantly between 2019 and 2022 (Table 8.7, page 32). However, there has been a significant decrease in perception of police compassion among white residents, who make up the largest share of those with recent self-initiated police contacts. Given the established relationship between perceptions of police compassion and overall satisfaction with police among Milwaukee residents, it is likely that worsening evaluations of police behavior during resident-initiated interactions among white residents has contributed to a negative shift in overall satisfaction with the MPD during the same period.

Statistical modeling from past waves also indicates that perceptions of the legitimacy of police actions during officer-initiated police contacts exercise a significant independent impact on overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police; holding other factors constant, a police-initiated stop viewed as illegitimate by an individual makes him or her about six times as likely to express the lowest level of overall satisfaction with police.<sup>12</sup> The proportion of residents that felt their most recent police stops were illegitimate did not change significantly between 2019 and 2022 (Table 9.4, page 40). Additionally, the rate of reported searches during recent stops has significantly declined, especially among black residents, who have been subjected to disproportionate rates of stops and searches in the past. Considering this data, it is unlikely that perceptions of police behavior during MPD-initiated stops are a driving factor behind higher overall dissatisfaction with the MPD in 2022.

### ***Resident race***

Analysis of the data from previous waves of the survey provides evidence that resident race influences aggregate overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police in at least two ways. First, although overall satisfaction with police does not vary significantly by race among those with recent resident-initiated police contacts once perception of police compassion shown during those contacts is held constant<sup>13</sup>, historically compassion has not been spread equitably across racial lines; minorities generally and blacks specifically have been dramatically more likely than whites to describe their contact with Milwaukee police officers in negative terms.<sup>14</sup> Even after the significant drop in satisfaction with police compassion among whites in 2022 is accounted for, this inequitable pattern persists, with blacks and other nonwhite residents again significantly less likely than whites to perceive their self-initiated contacts as positive. But

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<sup>11</sup> 2017 *City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 14; Figure 2.8

<sup>12</sup> 2017 *City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 15; Figure 2.9

<sup>13</sup> 2017 *City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 18; Figure 2.11

<sup>14</sup> 2017 *City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 17; Tables 1.1 & 1.2

in the final analysis, respondent race is having a direct effect on change in overall satisfaction with police in 2022 precisely because the opinions of white residents are moving in a negative direction faster than the opinions of residents in other racial groups.

Second, while those with police contacts are likely to have their opinions about Milwaukee police structured primarily by their own personal experiences, the opinions of Milwaukee residents without recent police contacts have been more likely to have opinions predicted by the aggregate experiences of their respective racial groups.<sup>15</sup> Whites without recent police contacts have historically expressed significantly higher satisfaction with police than blacks or other nonwhites, even after other demographic, economic, and experiential factors are controlled.<sup>16</sup> This is evidence that those lacking in recent personal experience with Milwaukee police refer, at least to some degree, to the combined recent experiences of others like them in their respective racial groups when forming opinions about Milwaukee police. Statistical modeling involving data from this wave suggests that this continues (see 2022 Satisfaction Statistical Model Parameters, Appendix B). In this way, resident race serves as an avenue by which opinion about Milwaukee police among those who do not have recent police contacts can be indirectly impacted by the changing firsthand experiences of the subsets of residents that do encounter police. In 2022, it is likely that the decreasing levels of satisfaction among white residents without recent police contacts were influenced at least in part by the increasingly negative perceptions of white residents who did have police contacts.

### ***Other influences***

When it comes to understanding opinion involving police and how it has changed since 2019, the twin elephants in the room are the social upheaval centered on police conduct that intensified after police officers killed Breonna Taylor and George Floyd in separate events in 2020, and the COVID-19 pandemic that swept across the world in late 2019 and 2020. The former set of events brought violent police conduct and its intersection with race and politics into the center of American consciousness, and the restrictions and precautions necessitated by the latter caused many people to spend time normally invested in socializing instead immersed in social and traditional media coverage. It is very likely these events have influenced opinion of police in Milwaukee; as information about police conduct proliferates, it becomes easier for individuals to look outside of the traditional set of inputs into their opinion and integrate a wider range of information about the experiences of others. This phenomenon can be seen in the data from this wave; for the first time, Milwaukee residents with high levels of educational attainment (long viewed by social scientists as a measure of individual ability to synthesize information about their environments) have lower levels of satisfaction with Milwaukee police than relatively less-well-educated residents. At the same time, a generational gap regarding opinion of Milwaukee police has become more pronounced (Figures 1.5 & 1.6, page 10) as current events loom larger in the experience sets of younger residents but must be averaged with larger experience sets among older residents.

In addition to national events capable of moving opinion regarding the Milwaukee police, there have been local developments with potential to shape opinion that can't be ignored, including the ouster of former police chief Alfonso Morales in 2020 (which was at least in part due to his authorizing tear gas to disperse

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<sup>15</sup> 2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report; Pages 17-18

<sup>16</sup> 2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report; Page 18; Figure 2.11

people protesting the murder of George Floyd<sup>17</sup>), his replacement by chief Jeffrey Norman, an intensifying crisis around reckless driving in the city and the MPD's ongoing response to it, the end of Tom Barrett's 5-term tenure as mayor and the attendant political changes resulting from his departure, and the subsequent election of Cavalier Johnson as Milwaukee's first black mayor. Any or all of these events have the potential, along with personal experiences, perceptions, and characteristics, to contribute to the changing dynamic of public opinion regarding the Milwaukee Police Department between 2019 and 2022.

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/milwaukee-police-chief-demoted-over-tear-gas-use-other-concerns-n1236099>

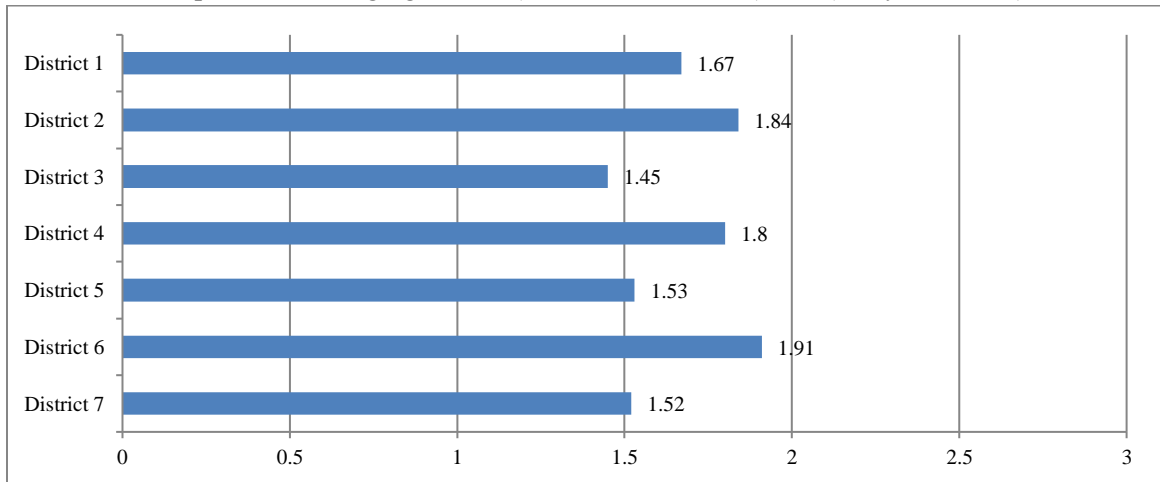
## RESULTS BY POLICE DISTRICT

**Table 11.1: Responses by police district**

	Frequency	Proportion of responses
District 1	128	13%
District 2	98	10%
District 3	123	12%
District 4	188	19%
District 5	105	10%
District 6	210	21%
District 7	152	15%
Total	1003	100%

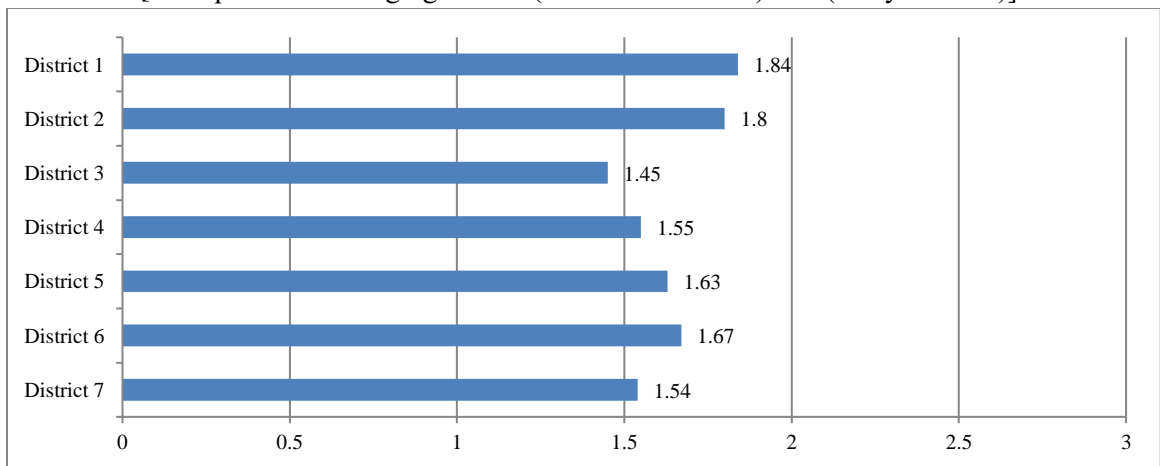
**Figure 11.1: Mean overall satisfaction by police district**

[Four-point scale ranging from 0 (“not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“very satisfied”)]

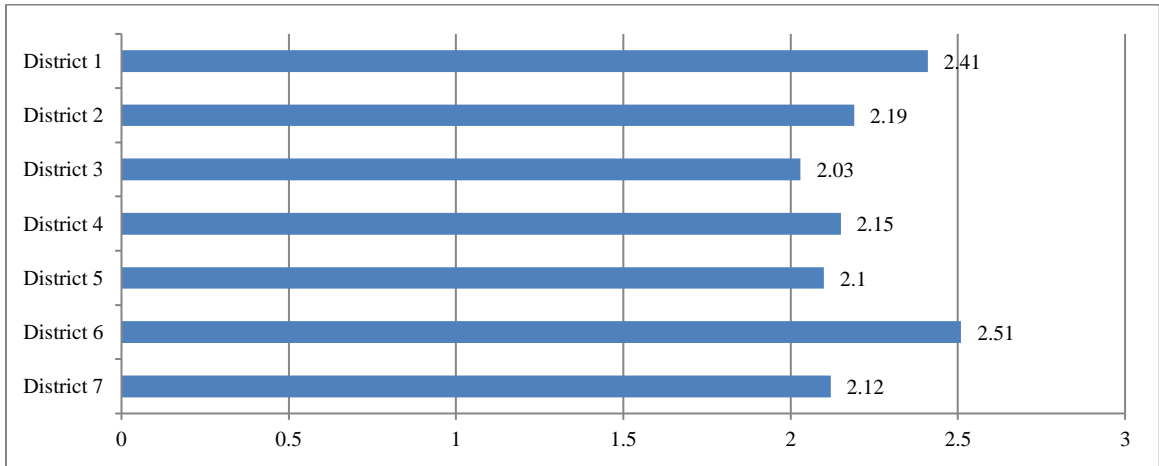


**Figure 11.2: Mean perception of neighborhood police visibility by police district**

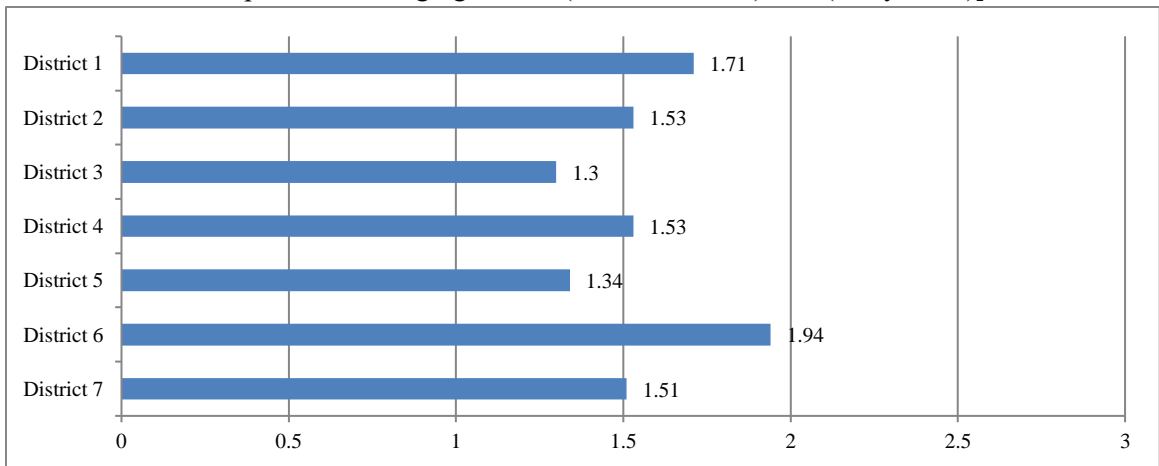
[Four-point scale ranging from 0 (“not at all visible”) to 3 (“very visible”)]



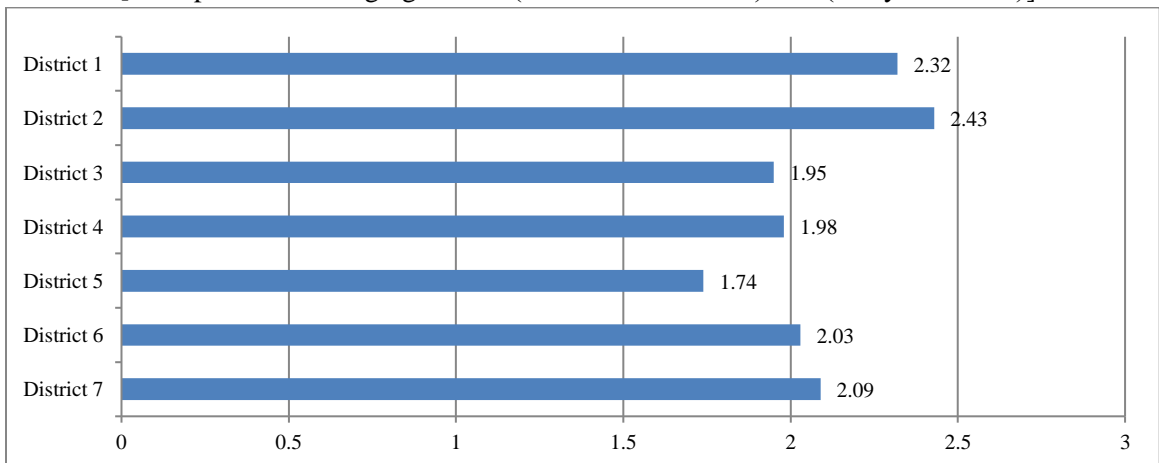
**Figure 11.3: Mean perception of neighborhood safety during the day by police district,**  
 [Four-point scale ranging from 0 (“not at all safe”) to 3 (“very safe”)]



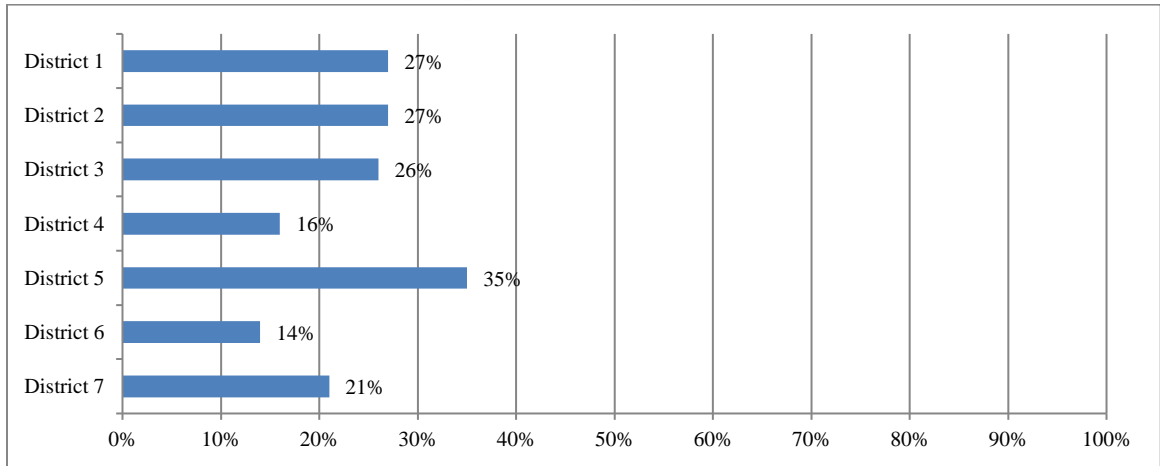
**Figure 11.4: Mean perception of neighborhood safety at night by police district**  
 [Four-point scale ranging from 0 (“not at all safe”) to 3 (“very safe”)]



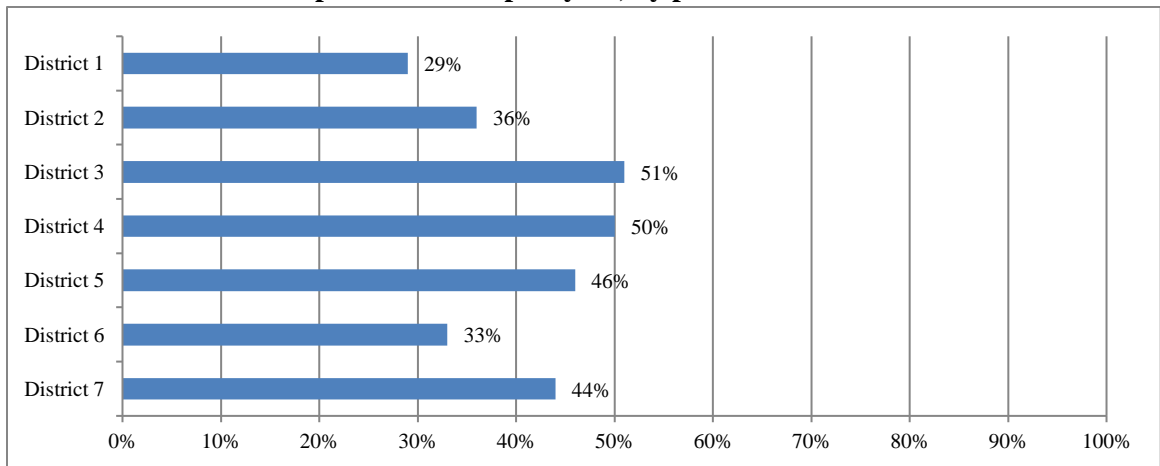
**Figure 11.5: Mean satisfaction with 911 operator service by police district**  
 [Four-point scale ranging from 0 (“not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“very satisfied”)]



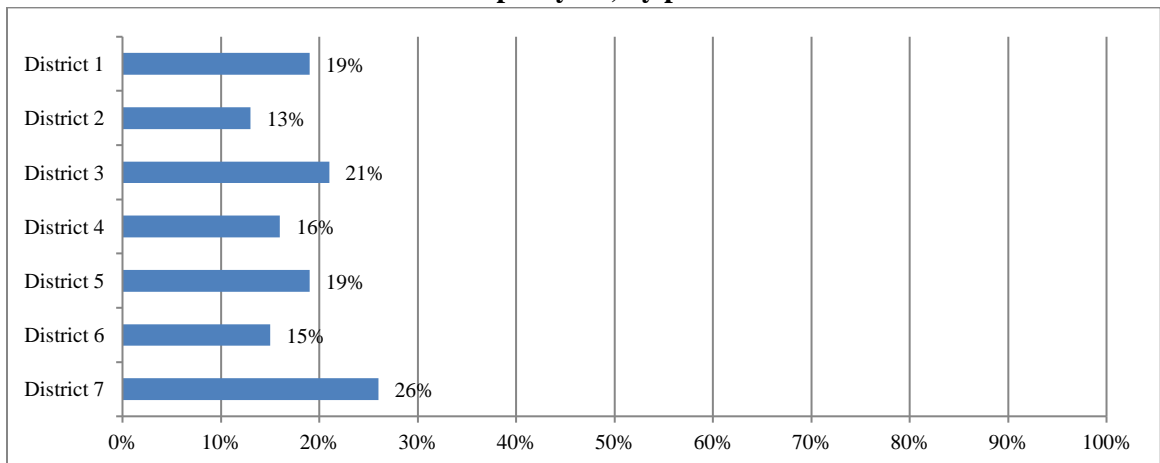
**Figure 11.6: Percentage of residents that report having been the victim of at least one crime over the past year, by police district**



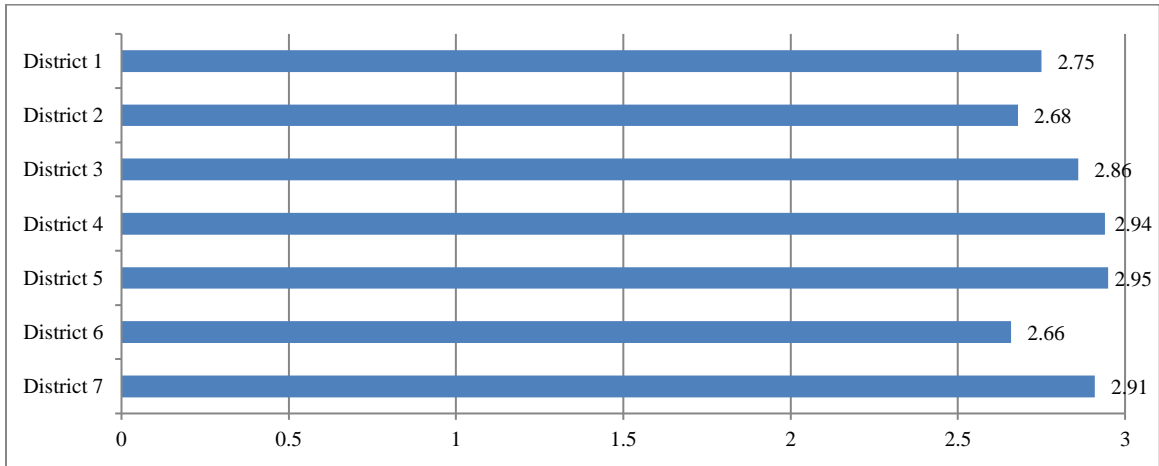
**Figure 11.7: Percentage of residents that report having initiated at least one contact with police over the past year, by police district**



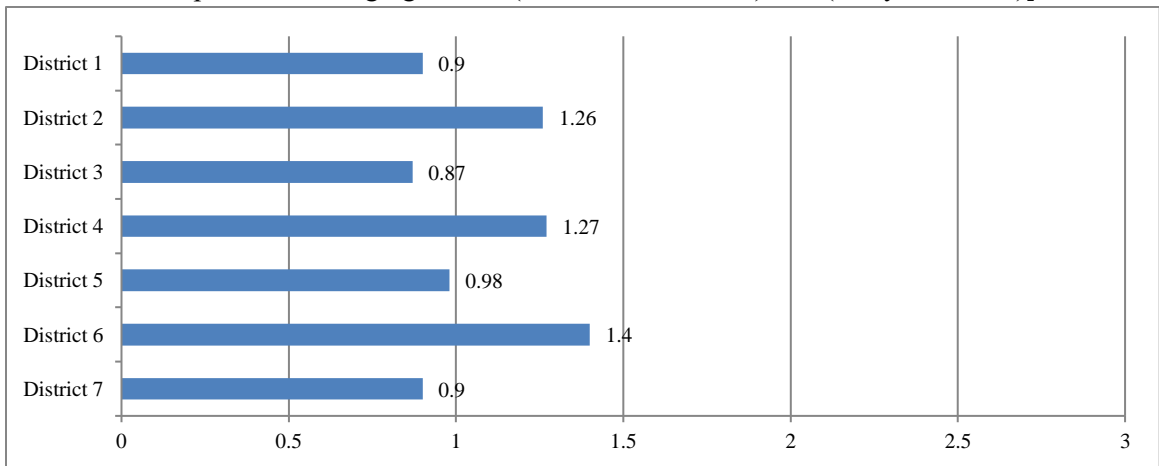
**Figure 11.8: Percentage of residents that report having been contacted by police at least once over the past year, by police district**



**Figure 11.9: Mean concern with reckless driving by police district**  
[Four-point scale ranging from 0 (“not at all concerned”) to 3 (“very concerned”)]



**Figure 11.10: Mean satisfaction with MPD response to reckless driving by police district**  
[Four-point scale ranging from 0 (“not at all satisfied”) to 3 (“very satisfied”)]





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## APPENDIX A

### Post-stratification tables

	Population value (CPS) %	Unweighted sample %	Unweighted sample N	Weighted sample %	Weighted sample N
African-American	36.0%	22.5%	226	35.7%	359
Other (nonwhite)	12.7%	13.5%	135	12.7%	127
White	51.3%	64.0%	642	51.5%	517

	Population value (CPS) %	Unweighted sample %	Unweighted sample N	Weighted sample %	Weighted sample N
Female	52.7%	52.1%	523	52.6%	527
Male	47.3%	47.9%	480	47.4%	475

	Population value (CPS) %	Unweighted sample %	Unweighted sample N	Weighted sample %	Weighted sample N
18-29	30.8%	9.2%	92	30.6%	307
30-44	27.4%	23.8%	239	27.5%	276
45-59	23.9%	24.0%	241	24.0%	241
60+	17.9%	43.0%	431	17.9%	180

## APPENDIX B

### 2022 Satisfaction Statistical Model Parameters

```
. oprobit overallatisfaction i.policevisibility i.feelsafeday i.callpolice##i.race i.policestop##i.race i.crimes i.gender i.agerange i.rentown i.education i.children

Iteration 0:  log likelihood = -1198.6491
Iteration 1:  log likelihood = -1029.6665
Iteration 2:  log likelihood = -1028.8248
Iteration 3:  log likelihood = -1028.8246
Iteration 4:  log likelihood = -1028.8246

Ordered probit regression          Number of obs   =        943
                                   LR chi2(28)      =       339.65
                                   Prob > chi2       =        0.0000
                                   Pseudo R2        =        0.1417

Log likelihood = -1028.8246
```

overallatisfaction	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
policevisibility						
Not very visible	.4608326	.1156286	3.99	0.000	.2342047	.6874605
Somewhat visible	.871351	.116602	7.47	0.000	.6428152	1.099887
Very visible	1.249877	.1387108	9.01	0.000	.978009	1.521745
feelsafeday						
Not very safe	.4114958	.2152667	1.91	0.056	-.0104191	.8334108
Somewhat safe	.4503484	.1860133	2.42	0.015	.085769	.8149278
Very safe	.7866542	.1883954	4.18	0.000	.417406	1.155902
callpolice						
No	.2991724	.1002704	2.98	0.003	.102646	.4956989
race						
black	-.5626155	.2386171	-2.36	0.018	-1.030296	-.0949346
other nonwhite	-.48128	.2612152	-1.84	0.065	-.9932524	.0306925
callpolice#race						
No#black	-.3322705	.1874553	-1.77	0.076	-.6996761	.0351351
No#other nonwhite	-.2944878	.2272333	-1.30	0.195	-.7398568	.1508813
policestop						
No	-.1835891	.1258654	-1.46	0.145	-.4302807	.0631025
policestop#race						
No#black	.438972	.2448476	1.79	0.073	-.0409206	.9188646
No#other nonwhite	.6349905	.2729274	2.33	0.020	.1000626	1.169918
crimes						
1	-.3591782	.1245129	-2.88	0.004	-.6032189	-.1151374
2	-.0777613	.1496072	-0.52	0.603	-.370986	.2154633
gender						
Female	.2526617	.0754218	3.35	0.001	.1048376	.4004857
agerange						
30 to 44	-.184635	.1450213	-1.27	0.203	-.4688715	.0996014
45 to 59	.4112955	.1457246	2.82	0.005	.1256805	.6969104
60 and up	.635672	.1441925	4.41	0.000	.3530599	.918284
rentown						
Own	-.092853	.0871119	-1.07	0.286	-.2635892	.0778832
education						
Some high school (9-11)	-.5942171	.3438748	-1.73	0.084	-1.268199	.0797652
High school graduate (12)	-.3885686	.3049177	-1.27	0.203	-.9861963	.2090592
Tech or vocational school	-.6614275	.3236007	-2.04	0.041	-1.295673	-.0271817
Some college	-.6411127	.3021692	-2.12	0.034	-1.233353	-.048872
College graduate	-.7235462	.300902	-2.40	0.016	-1.313303	-.1337892
Graduate or professional degree	-.8529554	.3045475	-2.80	0.005	-1.449858	-.2560532
children						
Yes	-.081948	.0998421	-0.82	0.412	-.2776349	.1137389
/cut1	-.6015478	.3913402			-1.368561	.165465
/cut2	.2115863	.391681			-.5560944	.979267
/cut3	1.700525	.3945694			.9271831	2.473867

**APPENDIX C**

**Weighted survey responses to all questions**

**Thinking about the police department here in Milwaukee, how satisfied are you with the Milwaukee Police Department overall? Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	160	16.0	16.4	16.4
	Not very satisfied	199	19.9	20.4	36.7
	Somewhat satisfied	424	42.3	43.4	80.1
	Very satisfied	195	19.4	19.9	100.0
	Total	978	97.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	23	2.3		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	24	2.4		
Total	1003	100.0			

**How would you describe your level of trust and confidence in the Milwaukee Police Department? Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	145	14.4	14.7	14.7
	Not much	236	23.6	24.1	38.8
	Some	338	33.7	34.5	73.3
	A great deal	262	26.1	26.7	100.0
	Total	981	97.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	17	1.7		
	Refused	5	.5		
	Total	22	2.2		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied. - Their efforts to address violent crimes**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all Satisfied	217	21.7	22.5	22.5
	Not very satisfied	213	21.3	22.1	44.6
	Somewhat Satisfied	360	35.9	37.4	82.0
	Very Satisfied	174	17.3	18.0	100.0
	Total	964	96.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	33	3.3		
	Refused	5	.5		
	Total	38	3.8		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied. - Their efforts to address property-related crimes**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all Satisfied	224	22.3	24.0	24.0
	Not very satisfied	214	21.3	22.9	46.9
	Somewhat Satisfied	353	35.2	37.9	84.8
	Very Satisfied	142	14.1	15.2	100.0
	Total	932	93.0	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	62	6.2		
	Refused	8	.8		
	Total	70	7.0		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied. - Their efforts to enforce traffic laws**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all Satisfied	340	33.9	34.6	34.6
	Not very satisfied	237	23.7	24.2	58.8
	Somewhat Satisfied	265	26.4	27.0	85.8
	Very Satisfied	139	13.9	14.2	100.0
	Total	981	97.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	20	2.0		
	Refused	2	.2		
	Total	21	2.1		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied. - Their responsiveness to public concerns**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all Satisfied	247	24.6	25.7	25.7
	Not very satisfied	190	19.0	19.8	45.4
	Somewhat Satisfied	366	36.5	38.1	83.6
	Very Satisfied	158	15.8	16.4	100.0
	Total	961	95.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	40	4.0		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	41	4.1		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied. - Their honesty and integrity**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all Satisfied	197	19.7	20.9	20.9
	Not very satisfied	136	13.5	14.4	35.3
	Somewhat Satisfied	354	35.3	37.5	72.9
	Very Satisfied	256	25.5	27.1	100.0
	Total	943	94.0	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	58	5.8		
	Refused	2	.2		
	Total	60	6.0		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied. - Their general attitude and behavior towards citizens**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all Satisfied	212	21.2	22.1	22.1
	Not very satisfied	132	13.2	13.8	35.8
	Somewhat Satisfied	354	35.3	36.9	72.7
	Very Satisfied	262	26.1	27.3	100.0
	Total	960	95.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	40	4.0		
	Refused	3	.3		
	Total	42	4.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied. - Their overall competence**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all Satisfied	168	16.8	17.7	17.7
	Not very satisfied	142	14.1	14.9	32.7
	Somewhat Satisfied	383	38.2	40.4	73.1
	Very Satisfied	255	25.4	26.9	100.0
	Total	947	94.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	52	5.2		
	Refused	3	.3		
	Total	55	5.5		
Total		1003	100.0		

**How visible are the Milwaukee police in your neighborhood?  
Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all visible	161	16.1	16.1	16.1
	Not very visible	259	25.9	26.0	42.1
	Somewhat visible	363	36.2	36.4	78.5
	Very visible	214	21.4	21.5	100.0
	Total	998	99.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	4	.4		
	Refused	0	.0		
	Total	5	.5		
Total		1003	100.0		

**In your opinion, how visible SHOULD the police be in your neighborhood?  
Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all visible	30	3.0	3.1	3.1
	Not very visible	59	5.9	6.0	9.1
	Somewhat visible	442	44.1	44.9	54.0
	Very visible	453	45.2	46.0	100.0
	Total	985	98.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	18	1.7		
	Refused	0	.0		
	Total	18	1.8		
Total		1003	100.0		

**How satisfied are you with the level of police visibility in your neighborhood?  
Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	193	19.3	19.6	19.6
	Not very satisfied	227	22.6	23.0	42.7
	Somewhat satisfied	358	35.7	36.3	79.0
	Very satisfied	207	20.7	21.0	100.0
	Total	985	98.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	17	1.7		
	Refused	0	.0		
	Total	17	1.7		
Total		1003	100.0		

**The next questions relate to personal safety.**

**How safe do you feel in your neighborhood during the day?**

**Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all safe	61	6.1	6.1	6.1
	Not very safe	91	9.0	9.0	15.2
	Somewhat safe	400	39.9	40.0	55.2
	Very safe	449	44.8	44.8	100.0
	Total	1001	99.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	2	.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**How safe do you feel in your neighborhood at night?**

**Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all safe	205	20.4	20.5	20.5
	Not very safe	193	19.3	19.4	39.9
	Somewhat safe	411	41.0	41.2	81.1
	Very safe	189	18.8	18.9	100.0
	Total	998	99.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	4	.4		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	5	.5		
Total		1003	100.0		

**What about the City of Milwaukee as a whole? Would you describe the City of Milwaukee as...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all safe	245	24.4	24.6	24.6
	Not very safe	353	35.2	35.5	60.1
	Somewhat safe	367	36.6	36.9	97.0
	Very safe	30	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	994	99.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	6	.6		
	Refused	2	.2		
	Total	8	.8		
Total		1003	100.0		



**How concerned are you about reckless driving in the City of Milwaukee?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all concerned	4	.4	.4	.4
	Not very concerned	26	2.6	2.6	3.1
	Somewhat concerned	117	11.7	11.7	14.8
	Very concerned	854	85.2	85.2	100.0
	Total	1002	99.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**How satisfied are you with the City of Milwaukee's Police Department's response to reckless driving?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	345	34.4	35.2	35.2
	Not very satisfied	281	28.0	28.7	63.9
	Somewhat satisfied	252	25.2	25.8	89.6
	Very satisfied	101	10.1	10.4	100.0
	Total	979	97.7	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	22	2.2		
	Refused	1	.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**The next questions are about your personal experiences with crime. A crime might be violent or nonviolent, and it might be committed by a stranger or by someone you know.**

**During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of any crimes that occurred in the City of Milwaukee?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	220	22.0	22.2	22.2
	No	770	76.8	77.8	100.0
	Total	991	98.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	12	1.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of just one crime in the City of Milwaukee, or more than one crime?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	More than one crime	87	8.7	39.9	39.9
	One crime	132	13.1	60.1	100.0
	Total	219	21.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	782	78.0		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did you report the incident to the police?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	114	11.3	86.8	86.8
	No	17	1.7	13.2	100.0
	Total	131	13.0	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	871	86.9		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Thinking about this incident, did any of the following considerations influence your decision to not report the crime?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Continue	17	1.7	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	985	98.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

**During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of any crimes in Milwaukee that you did NOT report to the Milwaukee Police Department?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	46	4.5	52.6	52.6
	No	41	4.1	47.4	100.0
	Total	87	8.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	914	91.2		
Total		916	91.4		
Total		1003	100.0		

**First, you thought the police would not or could not help. Did this consideration influence your decision to not report the crime?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	49	4.9	79.2	79.2
	No	13	1.3	20.8	100.0
	Total	62	6.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	940	93.7		
Total		941	93.9		
Total		1003	100.0		

**You thought the police would not treat you fairly. (Did this consideration influence your decision to not report the crime?)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	29	2.9	48.0	48.0
	No	32	3.2	52.0	100.0
	Total	61	6.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	940	93.7		
Total		941	93.9		
Total		1003	100.0		

**You thought the police would not treat you with courtesy and respect. (Did this consideration influence your decision to not report the crime?)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	26	2.6	41.1	41.1
	No	37	3.7	58.9	100.0
	Total	63	6.3	100.0	
Missing	System	940	93.7		
Total		1003	100.0		

**You thought the process would be too much of a hassle. (Did this consideration influence your decision to not report the crime?)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	41	4.1	68.4	68.4
	No	19	1.9	31.6	100.0
	Total	59	5.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	3	.3		
	System	940	93.7		
Total		943	94.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Have you approached or sought help from the Milwaukee Police Department or a Milwaukee police officer for any reason in the past 12 months, including through the 911 telephone system?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	409	40.8	41.1	41.1
	No	587	58.6	58.9	100.0
	Total	996	99.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	3	.3		
	Refused	3	.3		
	Total	6	.6		
Total		1003	100.0		

**About how many times have you approached or sought help from the Milwaukee Police Department or a Milwaukee Police Officer in the past 12 months? - Selected Choice**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Please type the number of times	388	38.7	100.0	100.0
Missing	Don't know	19	1.9		
	Refused	2	.2		
	System	593	59.2		
Total		615	61.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

**About how many times have you approached or sought help from the Milwaukee Police Department or a Milwaukee Police Officer in the past 12 months? - Please type the number of times - Text**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	.00	1	.1	.3	.3	
	1.00	158	15.8	41.5	41.8	
	2.00	97	9.7	25.5	67.3	
	3.00	54	5.3	14.1	81.4	
	4.00	27	2.7	7.1	88.5	
	5.00	15	1.5	4.0	92.5	
	6.00	8	.8	2.1	94.6	
	7.00	3	.3	.8	95.4	
	8.00	4	.4	1.1	96.5	
	9.00	2	.2	.6	97.1	
	10.00	7	.7	1.8	98.9	
	12.00	2	.2	.6	99.5	
	15.00	0	.0	.1	99.6	
	20.00	2	.2	.4	100.0	
	Total		381	38.0	100.0	
	Missing	System	622	62.0		
Total		1003	100.0			

**Thinking now about just the most recent time that you approached or sought help from the Milwaukee Police Department, was it to report a crime, or for some other reason?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Other reason	152	15.2	37.7	37.7
	Report a crime	252	25.1	62.3	100.0
	Total	404	40.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	4	.4		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	593	59.2		
Total		599	59.7		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did this happen before or after the last time you were victimized?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before	36	3.6	25.1	25.1
	After	106	10.6	74.9	100.0
	Total	142	14.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	16	1.6		
	Refused	9	.8		
	System	836	83.4		
Total		861	85.8		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Do you feel that you were treated fairly?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	262	26.1	68.3	68.3
	No	122	12.2	31.7	100.0
	Total	384	38.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	24	2.4		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	593	59.2		
Total		619	61.7		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Do you feel that the situation or request was handled with competence?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	201	20.0	54.5	54.5
	No	168	16.7	45.5	100.0
	Total	369	36.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	39	3.9		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	593	59.2		
Total		634	63.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Do you feel that the situation or request was handled with professionalism?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	241	24.1	64.1	64.1
	No	135	13.5	35.9	100.0
	Total	377	37.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	31	3.1		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	593	59.2		
Total	Total	626	62.4		
Total		1003	100.0		

**How satisfied were you with the level of courtesy extended to you?**

**Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	84	8.4	21.1	21.1
	Not very satisfied	47	4.7	11.7	32.8
	Somewhat satisfied	114	11.3	28.4	61.2
	Very satisfied	155	15.5	38.8	100.0
	Total	400	39.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	6	.6		
	Refused	2	.2		
	System	593	59.2		
Total	Total	602	60.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**How satisfied were you with the level of compassion shown to you?**

**(Would you say...)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	99	9.9	25.5	25.5
	Not very satisfied	46	4.6	11.9	37.3
	Somewhat satisfied	99	9.8	25.4	62.7
	Very satisfied	145	14.5	37.3	100.0
	Total	389	38.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	16	1.6		
	Refused	5	.5		
	System	593	59.2		
Total	Total	614	61.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did this police contact occur...?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	During the day, between 8am and 4pm	159	15.9	40.0	40.0
	In the evening, between 4pm and midnight	168	16.7	42.1	82.1
	Late at night, between midnight and 8am	71	7.1	17.9	100.0
	Total	398	39.7	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	11	1.1		
	Refused	0	.0		
	System Total	593	59.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Has a Milwaukee police officer initiated contact with you at any time in the past 12 months?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	180	17.9	18.1	18.1
	No	812	81.0	81.9	100.0
	Total	991	98.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	9	.9		
	Refused	2	.2		
	Total	11	1.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**About how many times did a Milwaukee police officer initiate contact with you in the past 12 months? - Please type the number of times - Text**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	91	9.1	54.3	54.3
	2.00	31	3.1	18.7	72.9
	3.00	21	2.1	12.3	85.3
	4.00	7	.7	4.0	89.3
	5.00	11	1.1	6.5	95.8
	6.00	4	.4	2.7	98.4
	8.00	1	.1	.6	99.0
	10.00	1	.1	.6	99.5
	12.00	1	.1	.3	99.8
	85.00	0	.0	.2	100.0
	Total	168	16.7	100.0	
Missing	System	835	83.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did this incident occur before or after the last time you were victimized?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before	15	1.5	29.9	29.9
	After	36	3.6	70.1	100.0
	Total	51	5.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	3	.3		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	947	94.4		
Total		952	94.9		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did this incident occur before or after your last voluntary contact with Milwaukee police?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before	29	2.8	34.7	34.7
	After	54	5.4	65.3	100.0
	Total	82	8.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	10	1.0		
	Refused	2	.2		
	System	909	90.6		
Total		920	91.8		
Total		1003	100.0		

**During this incident, were you stopped while DRIVING a motor vehicle?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	50	5.0	28.2	28.2
	No	127	12.7	71.8	100.0
	Total	177	17.7	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	823	82.1		
Total		826	82.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

**During the most recent time you were stopped or approached by a Milwaukee police officer, were you stopped while a PASSENGER in a motor vehicle?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	.1	.6	.6
	No	127	12.7	99.4	100.0
	Total	128	12.8	100.0	
Missing	Refused	1	.1		
	System	873	87.1		
Total		874	87.2		
Total		1003	100.0		



**During the most recent time you were stopped or approached by a Milwaukee police officer, were you stopped while ON FOOT in a public place?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	48	4.8	37.7	37.7
	No	79	7.9	62.3	100.0
	Total	127	12.7	100.0	
Missing	Refused	1	.1		
	System	874	87.2		
	Total	875	87.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for initiating the contact?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	114	11.4	68.0	68.0
	No	54	5.4	32.0	100.0
	Total	168	16.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	7	.7		
	Refused	5	.5		
	System	823	82.1		
Total		835	83.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Were you treated with courtesy and respect?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	124	12.3	70.8	70.8
	No	51	5.1	29.2	100.0
	Total	175	17.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	Refused	4	.4		
	System	823	82.1		
Total		828	82.6		
Total		1003	100.0		

**How satisfied were you with the way that the police handled the contact?  
Would you say...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	33	3.3	18.8	18.8
	Not very satisfied	26	2.6	15.0	33.8
	Somewhat satisfied	32	3.2	18.5	52.3
	Very satisfied	83	8.3	47.7	100.0
	Total	175	17.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	Refused	4	.4		
	System	823	82.1		
Total		828	82.6		
Total		1003	100.0		

**During the most recent time you were stopped or approached by a Milwaukee police officer, were you arrested?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	1.2	6.7	6.7
	No	166	16.5	93.3	100.0
	Total	178	17.7	100.0	
Missing	Refused	2	.2		
	System	823	82.1		
Total		825	82.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Were you searched or patted down during the contact?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	1.1	6.4	6.4
	No	155	15.5	93.6	100.0
	Total	166	16.5	100.0	
Missing	Refused	2	.2		
	System	835	83.3		
Total		837	83.5		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for searching you?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3	.3	25.0	25.0
	No	8	.8	75.0	100.0
	Total	11	1.1	100.0	
Missing	System	992	98.9		
Total		1003	100.0		

**About how many minutes would you say the contact lasted? - Please type the number of minutes - Text**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	1	.1	.5	.5
	1.00	2	.2	1.6	2.1
	2.00	7	.7	4.5	6.6
	3.00	9	.9	6.0	12.6
	4.00	2	.2	1.6	14.2
	5.00	28	2.8	18.2	32.4
	7.00	1	.1	.9	33.3
	8.00	3	.3	1.7	34.9
	10.00	45	4.5	29.6	64.6
	12.00	0	.0	.2	64.8
	15.00	21	2.1	13.9	78.6
	18.00	1	.1	.9	79.5
	20.00	8	.8	5.4	84.9
	25.00	0	.0	.2	85.2
	30.00	12	1.2	8.0	93.1
	45.00	5	.5	3.1	96.3
	60.00	1	.1	.6	96.9
	70.00	1	.1	.6	97.5
	90.00	1	.1	.8	98.2
	120.00	3	.3	1.8	100.0
	Total	152	15.2	100.0	
Missing	System	851	84.8		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Do you believe this contact lasted an appropriate amount of time?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	119	11.9	77.8	77.8
	No	34	3.4	22.2	100.0
	Total	153	15.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	11	1.1		
	Refused	4	.4		
	System	835	83.3		
Total	Total	849	84.7		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Were you given a ticket?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	28	2.8	17.1	17.1
	No	135	13.5	82.9	100.0
	Total	163	16.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	2	.2		
	System	835	83.3		
Total		840	83.7		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for arresting you?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	.1	7.8	7.8
	No	11	1.1	92.2	100.0
	Total	12	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	991	98.8		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did the police use force against you when you were arrested?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	.9	77.4	77.4
	No	3	.3	22.6	100.0
	Total	12	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	991	98.8		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Do you feel the use of force was excessive?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	.9	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	993	99.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did you make a complaint about the way you were treated to the Police Department or Fire and Police Commission?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	1.2	6.9	6.9
	No	165	16.4	93.1	100.0
	Total	177	17.7	100.0	
Missing	Refused	2	.2		
	System	823	82.1		
	Total	826	82.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

**We are interested in the demographic profile of the officer who initiated contact with you. Was the officer male or female?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	158	15.8	88.2	88.2
	Female	13	1.3	7.0	95.2
	Don't know	4	.4	2.3	97.5
	Refused	4	.4	2.5	100.0
	Total	180	17.9	100.0	
Missing	System	823	82.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Was the officer Hispanic or Latino?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	25	2.4	13.7	13.7
	No	124	12.3	68.9	82.6
	Don't know	25	2.5	13.9	96.5
	Refused	6	.6	3.5	100.0
	Total	180	17.9	100.0	
Missing	System	823	82.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**What was the primary race of the officer? (If you had to choose one, what would you say?)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	African-American	26	2.6	14.6	14.6
	Asian	1	.1	.6	15.2
	White	119	11.9	66.5	81.7
	Mixed	1	.1	.6	82.3
	Other	11	1.1	6.3	88.5
	Don't know	15	1.5	8.4	96.9
	Refused	5	.5	3.1	100.0
	Total	180	17.9	100.0	
Missing	System	823	82.1		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Did this police contact occur...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	During the day, between 8am and 4pm	85	8.5	49.0	49.0
	In the evening, between 4pm and midnight	65	6.5	37.5	86.6
	Late at night, between midnight and 8am	23	2.3	13.4	100.0
	Total	174	17.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	3	.3		
	System Total	823	82.1		
Total		829	82.6		
Total		1003	100.0		

**During the past 12 months, have you called 911 for any reason, including police, fire or emergency medical assistance?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	300	29.9	30.1	30.1
	No	697	69.5	69.9	100.0
	Total	997	99.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	3	.3		
	Total	5	.5		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Thinking now about just the most recent time that you called 911 were you seeking...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Police assistance	173	17.3	58.0	58.0
	Emergency medical assistance	85	8.4	28.3	86.3
	Fire department assistance	19	1.9	6.5	92.8
	Some other type of assistance	22	2.2	7.2	100.0
	Total	299	29.8	100.0	
Missing	Refused	1	.1		
	System Total	702	70.1		
Total		704	70.2		
Total		1003	100.0		

**During your most recent call to 911, how satisfied were you with the service provided by the 911 operator? (Would you say...)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very satisfied	143	14.2	48.1	48.1
	Somewhat satisfied	70	7.0	23.7	71.8
	Not very satisfied	33	3.3	11.0	82.8
	Not at all satisfied	51	5.1	17.2	100.0
	Total	297	29.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	System	704	70.2		
	Total	706	70.4		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Thinking about this same call, would you describe the amount of time you were placed on hold before being connected to the service you were seeking as...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Acceptable	189	18.9	64.0	64.0
	Unacceptable	107	10.6	36.0	100.0
	Total	296	29.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	3	.3		
	Refused	0	.0		
	System	704	70.2		
Total	707	70.5			
Total	1003	100.0			

**Finally, we have some questions so we can compare answers across respondents**

**First, how long have you been a resident of Milwaukee?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 5 years	118	11.7	11.7	11.7
	5 to 10 years	114	11.3	11.3	23.1
	11 to 15 years	61	6.1	6.1	29.1
	More than 15 years	711	70.9	70.9	100.0
	Total	1003	100.0	100.0	

**Do you rent or own your home?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rent	432	43.1	43.5	43.5
	Own	560	55.9	56.5	100.0
	Total	992	98.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	9	.9		
	Total	11	1.1		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Including you, how many adults aged 18 and over live in your household? (Please type in "1" if you are the only adult in the household) - Selected Choice**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Please type the number of adults	986	98.4	98.4	98.4
Don't know	1	.1	.1	98.5
Refused	15	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	1003	100.0	100.0	

**Including you, how many adults aged 18 and over live in your household? (Please type in "1" if you are the only adult in the household) - Please type the number of adults - Text**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid .00	1	.1	.1	.1
1.00	330	33.0	33.6	33.7
2.00	436	43.5	44.4	78.1
3.00	127	12.7	13.0	91.0
4.00	59	5.9	6.0	97.0
5.00	19	1.9	2.0	99.0
6.00	6	.6	.6	99.6
7.00	3	.3	.3	100.0
10.00	0	.0	.0	100.0
Total	982	98.0	100.0	
Missing System	20	2.0		
Total	1003	100.0		

**Do you have any children under the age of 18 living in your household?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	672	67.0	67.5	67.5
Yes	323	32.2	32.5	100.0
Total	995	99.2	100.0	
Missing Don't know	3	.3		
Refused	5	.5		
Total	8	.8		
Total	1003	100.0		



**Has anyone in your household been convicted of a felony?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	920	91.8	92.7	92.7
	Yes	72	7.2	7.3	100.0
	Total	992	99.0	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	8	.8		
	Total	10	1.0		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Do you currently describe yourself as male, female, or other?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	472	47.0	47.0	47.0
	Female	524	52.3	52.3	99.3
	Other	7	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	1003	100.0	100.0	

**What sex were you assigned at birth, on your original birth certificate?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	4	.4	55.0	55.0
	Female	3	.3	45.0	100.0
	Total	7	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	996	99.3		
Total		1003	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Some grade school (1-8)	21	2.1	2.1	2.1
	Some high school (9-11)	46	4.6	4.6	6.7
	High school graduate (12)	159	15.8	15.9	22.6
	Tech or vocational school	79	7.8	7.9	30.5
	Some college	210	21.0	21.1	51.6
	College graduate	321	32.0	32.1	83.7
	Graduate or professional degree	162	16.2	16.3	100.0
	Total	998	99.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	Refused	4	.4		
	Total	5	.5		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Are you currently...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Employed	712	71.0	71.5	71.5
	Unemployed	112	11.2	11.2	82.7
	Retired	172	17.2	17.3	100.0
	Total	996	99.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	4	.4		
	Total	7	.7		
Total		1003	100.0		

**Are you Hispanic or Latino?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	128	12.8	12.9	12.9
	No	867	86.4	87.1	100.0
	Total	995	99.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	6	.6		
	Total	8	.8		
Total		1003	100.0		

**What is your primary race? (If you had to choose one, what would you say...)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	African-American	359	35.8	35.8	35.8
	Asian	22	2.2	2.2	38.0
	White	517	51.5	51.5	89.5
	Native American/Native Alaskan	8	.8	.8	90.3
	Mixed	44	4.4	4.4	94.7
	Other	53	5.3	5.3	100.0
	Total	1003	100.0	100.0	

**Please stop me when I get to the age range that includes you**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18 to 29	307	30.6	30.6	30.6
	30 to 44	276	27.5	27.5	58.1
	45 to 59	241	24.0	24.0	82.1
	60 and up	180	17.9	17.9	100.0
	Total	1003	100.0	100.0	

**About how much was your total family income before taxes in 2021? Please stop me when I get to the range that covers your answer. Was it...**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	\$20 thousand or less	151	15.1	17.0	17.0
	\$20 thousand to less than \$40 thousand	166	16.6	18.6	35.6
	\$40 thousand to less than \$60 thousand	183	18.2	20.5	56.1
	\$60 thousand to less than \$80 thousand	157	15.6	17.6	73.7
	\$80 thousand to less than \$100 thousand	76	7.6	8.5	82.2
	\$100 thousand to less than \$120 thousand	59	5.9	6.6	88.9
	more than \$120 thousand	99	9.9	11.1	100.0
	Total	891	88.9	100.0	
	Missing	Don't know	37	3.7	
Refused		75	7.4		
Total		111	11.1		
Total	1003	100.0			

**Which police district do you live in? (Please use the map above to help locate your district)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	District 1	128	12.7	12.7	12.7
	District 2	98	9.7	9.7	22.5
	District 3	123	12.2	12.2	34.7
	District 4	188	18.7	18.7	53.4
	District 5	105	10.4	10.4	63.9
	District 6	210	20.9	20.9	84.8
	District 7	152	15.2	15.2	100.0
Total	1003	100.0	100.0		



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