City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Study

2019 Findings Report

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of and in cooperation with the **City of Milwaukee Fire & Police Commission**, in 2019, the **Strategic Research Institute at St. Norbert College (SRI)** and **Neighborhood Analytics, LLC** partnered to conduct the third 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 and aldermanic district.

Data collection for the RDD (random-digit-dial) telephone survey occurred from August 14th, 2019 until January 17th, 2020. Surveys were conducted in both English and Spanish. The response rate was 4.3%. Of the 1,373 completed interviews, 57% were over landlines, while 43% were over mobile lines. The margin of error for unweighted sample statistics is ±2.6% at the 95% confidence level.

MAJOR FINDINGS:

- About 21% of Milwaukee residents were "not very" or "not at all satisfied" overall with the Milwaukee Police Department (MPD) in 2019 (79% were "somewhat" or "very satisfied"). This is a significant improvement over 2017, when 28% were "not very" or "not at all satisfied."

- While gaps in overall satisfaction with the MPD across racial, gender, socioeconomic, and experiential lines persisted in 2019, overall satisfaction increased significantly among some resident subgroups with historically higher rates of dissatisfaction, including those who recently contacted the police for assistance, male residents, black residents, and those without a 4-year college degree. Notably, none of the subgroups measured expressed lower levels of satisfaction in 2019 when compared to 2017.

- Increased overall satisfaction with the MPD in 2019 appears to have been driven by lower aggregate levels of victimization, improved perceptions of compassion shown by police during recent resident-initiated police interactions among both black and white residents (but not other nonwhite residents), and a significantly lower rate of police stops among white residents.

- In 2019, 91% of Milwaukee residents felt "very" or "somewhat safe" in their neighborhoods during the day, 74% felt "very" or "somewhat safe" in their neighborhoods at night, and 54% felt "very" or "somewhat safe" in Milwaukee as a whole. Perceptions of safety in each of these areas increased significantly between 2017 and 2019.

- The vast majority of residents (91%) continued to prefer MPD visibility in their neighborhoods in 2019. Most of those who were dissatisfied with MPD visibility in their neighborhoods would have liked the police to be more visible.

- Satisfaction with several specific dimensions of police performance improved significantly between 2017 and 2019; efforts to address violent crimes, efforts to address property-related crimes, responsiveness to public concerns, and overall competence. Satisfaction with efforts to enforce traffic laws decreased significantly over this same period, commensurate with a significant increase in the proportion of residents who received a ticket during their most recent police stop (27%, compared to 18% in 2017).

- Analysis of the impact of timing of police interactions on residents' subsequent satisfaction with police suggests that Milwaukee residents generally allow each new police interaction to structure their opinions, and do not hold past negative experiences with police against individual officers when they evaluate more recent police conduct. However, 2019 data suggests that more recent bad experiences with can have a significant negative impact on perceptions of earlier encounters with Milwaukee police.

- While opinion regarding police conduct during resident-initiated police contacts improved broadly across Milwaukee residents between 2017 and 2019, perceptions of police conduct during recent officer-initiated stops worsened significantly during the same period, and patterns of police conduct during stops continued to be spread inequitably across racial lines. Residents who were recently stopped were more likely to perceive a lack of courtesy and respect during their most recent police stop (38% in 2019, compared to 28% in 2017). Black residents were twice as likely to report having been stopped by police than were white residents, and among those stopped, twice as likely to report having been searched or patted down during their most recent stop.

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METHODOLOGY

The third wave of the City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey was a random-digit-dial (RDD) landline/mobile telephone survey of 1,373 residents of the City of Milwaukee. Data was collected by the **Strategic Research Institute (SRI)** at **St. Norbert College** between August 14th, 2019 and January 17th, 2020. Surveys were conducted in both English and Spanish. Of the 1,373 completed interviews, 57% were over landlines, 43% were over mobile lines. The response rate was 4.3%.[1] The margin of error[2] for unweighted sample statistics is ±2.6% at the 95% confidence level. For some items, non-response/missing values cause total counts to drop below 1,373.

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 2019 survey replicated the 2014 and 2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Surveys; every question posed in 2014 and 2017 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, and additional questions to aid in the geo-location of respondents within police districts, aldermanic districts, and neighborhoods were added. All data described in this research brief are from 2019 unless otherwise specified; cases in which 2019 data are compared against 2017 or 2014 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 (χ^2) tests[3]. For each test, the relevant test statistic (either t or χ^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

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[1] 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
[2] "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 +/-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.
[3] It is possible for response distributions to differ significantly even when average responses do not.

a reflection of an actual difference in the population under study and not merely an artifact of sampling error[4].

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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[4] "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

Residents were asked the following question regarding overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department:

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

The 4-point response scale ranged from 0 ("not at all satisfied") to 3 ("very satisfied"). Figure 1.1 shows that the mean response in 2019 was 1.99, closest to "somewhat satisfied," and that this represents a small but statistically significant increase in aggregate satisfaction since 2017 (t=4.01, p=0.00). Figure 1.2 shows that 79% of residents were either "very" or "somewhat" satisfied in 2019, while 21% were "not very" or "not at all" satisfied. The increase in aggregate satisfaction was driven by an overall positive shift in the distribution of responses (χ^2=16.97, 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")
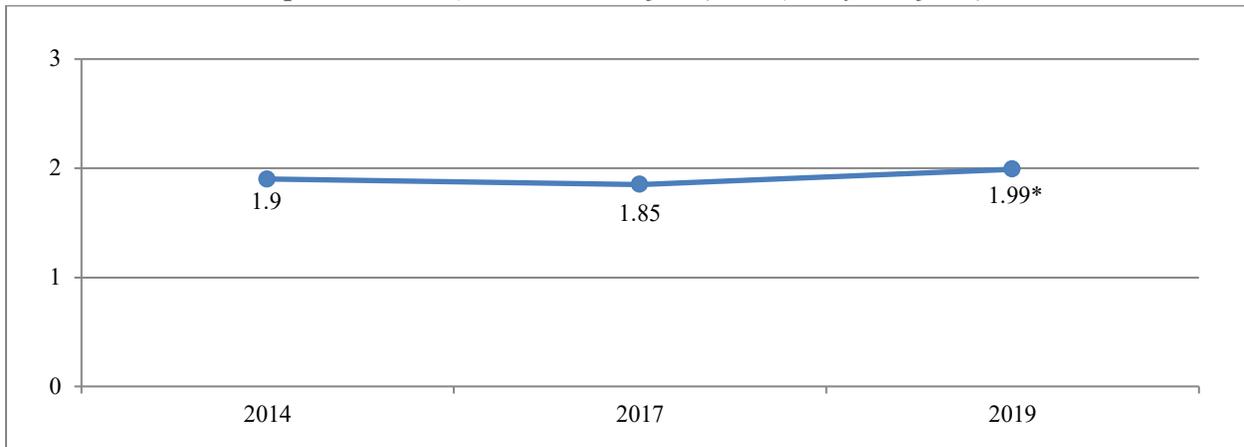
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

Figure 1.2: Distribution of overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, by year
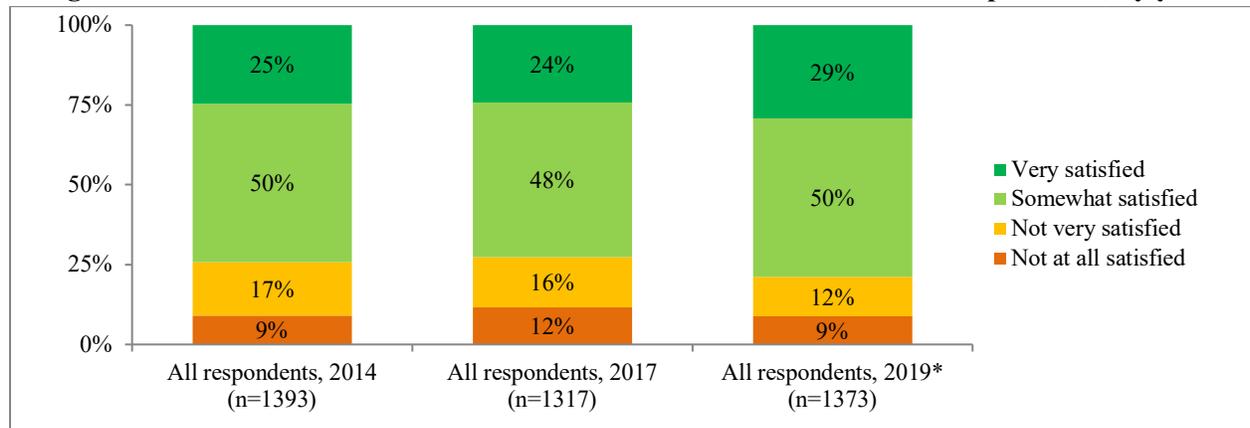
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

Overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police continues to vary significantly across groups with different patterns of police interactions and different levels of exposure to crime. Residents who report having initiated contact with Milwaukee police at least once over the 12 months prior to the survey were significantly more likely to say they are "not very satisfied" or "not at all satisfied" (29%) than were residents who did not contact the police during that span (16% "not very satisfied" or "not at all satisfied"; Figure 1.3; χ^2=16.97, p=0.00). The likelihood of dissatisfaction is also significantly higher among those who reported having been stopped by police over the past year; 38% of those residents are "not very satisfied" or "not at all satisfied", compared to 17% of residents who were not stopped (χ^2=73.24, p=0.00). The gap is widest among residents who experienced crime within the past year versus those who did not; 41% of those who were victimized said 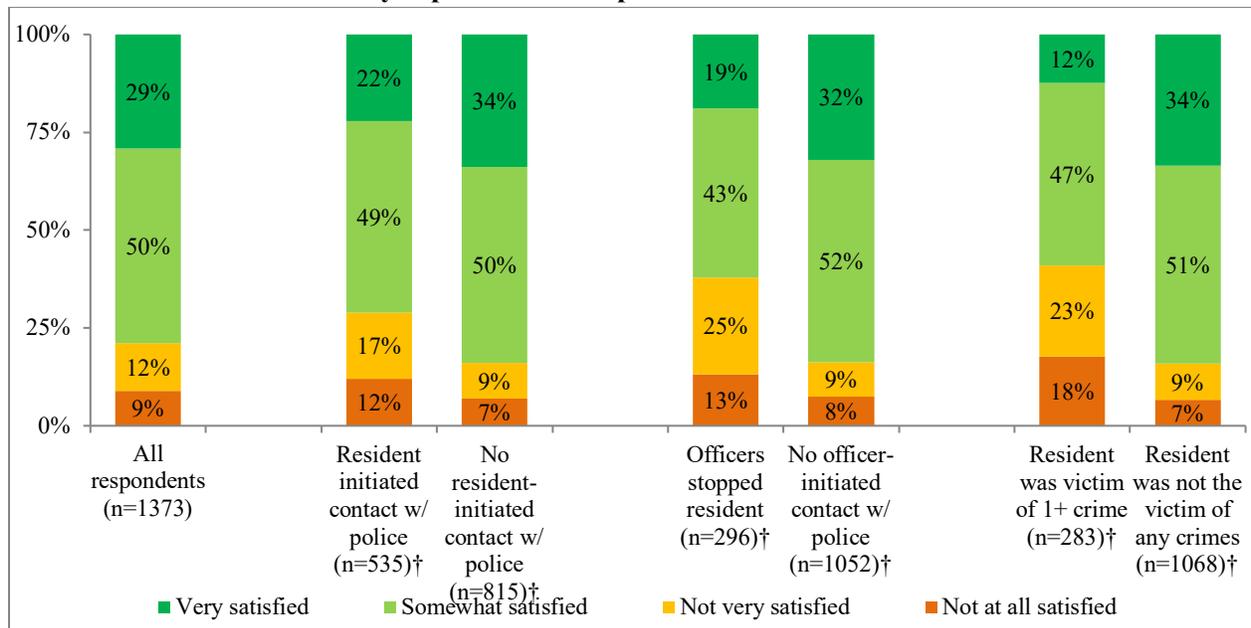they were "not at all" or "not very" satisfied, compared to 16% of those who were not victimized (χ^2=101.61, p=0.00).

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%)

Aggregate overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee police within some of these experiential subgroups of residents has also varied over time. Compared with 2017, the mean response on the 4-point satisfaction scale was significantly higher in 2019 for both residents who initiated contact with the police over the past year (Figure 1.4; t=3.32, p=0.00) and those who did not (t=2.65, p=0.01). Regarding police-initiated interactions, there was no significant change between 2017 and 2019 in the average level of satisfaction among those who were stopped by police within the last 12 months (t=0.59, p=0.56), but mean satisfaction was significantly higher among those who reported no police stops (t=4.24, p=0.00). Likewise, there was no significant change between 2017 and 2019 in the average level of satisfaction with police among those who experienced crime within the year prior to each survey (t=-0.62, p=0.53), but among residents who experienced no victimization, there was a significant increase in mean satisfaction (t=4.56, p=0.00).

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 2017 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

Aggregate overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police also continued to vary considerably based on demographic factors in 2019. Figure 1.5 shows that the distribution of satisfaction varied significantly by gender (χ^2=11.11 p=0.01), race (χ^2=104.04, p=0.00) and age group (χ^2=50.94, p=0.00). About 25% of men were "not at all" or "not very" satisfied with police, compared to just 18% of women; 31% of blacks expressed dissatisfaction, compared to 20% of other nonwhite minorities and just 14% of whites; and while 11% of those aged 60+ were dissatisfied, 18% were dissatisfied in the 45-59 age group, 28% were dissatisfied in the 30-44 age group, and 23% were dissatisfied in the 18-29 age group.

In addition to significant differences *across* demographic groups, there were significant changes in overall satisfaction levels with the police *within* many individual demographic groups between 2017 and 2019. Figure 1.6 shows similar increases in mean satisfaction among both males (t=3.05, p=0.00) and females (t=2.66, p=0.01). Blacks (t=3.39, p=0.00) and whites (t=2.60, p=0.01) both saw similar (statistically significant) increases in mean satisfaction over the same time frame, although no significant change was observed among other nonwhites (t=0.58, p=0.56). Average satisfaction also increased significantly among those aged 18-29 (t=3.28, p=0.00) as well as among those aged 45-59 (t=2.34, p=0.02).
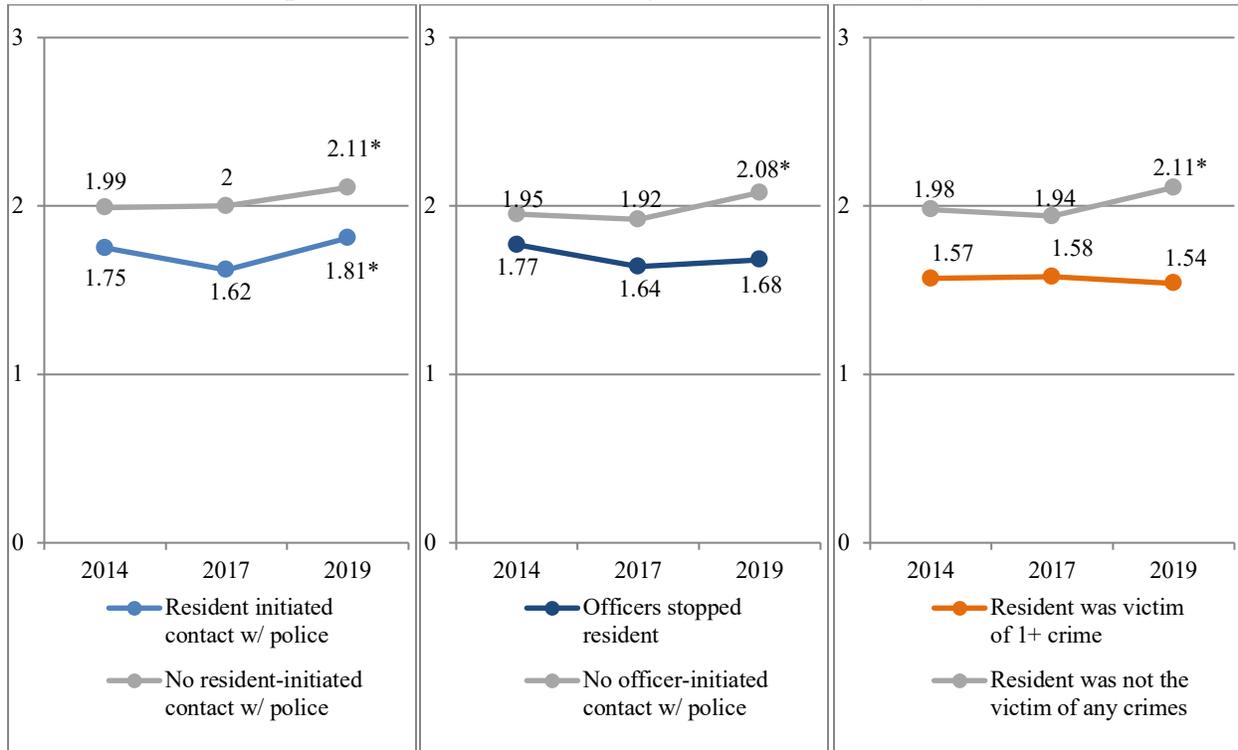
Figure 1.5: Overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, by demographic categories

†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")
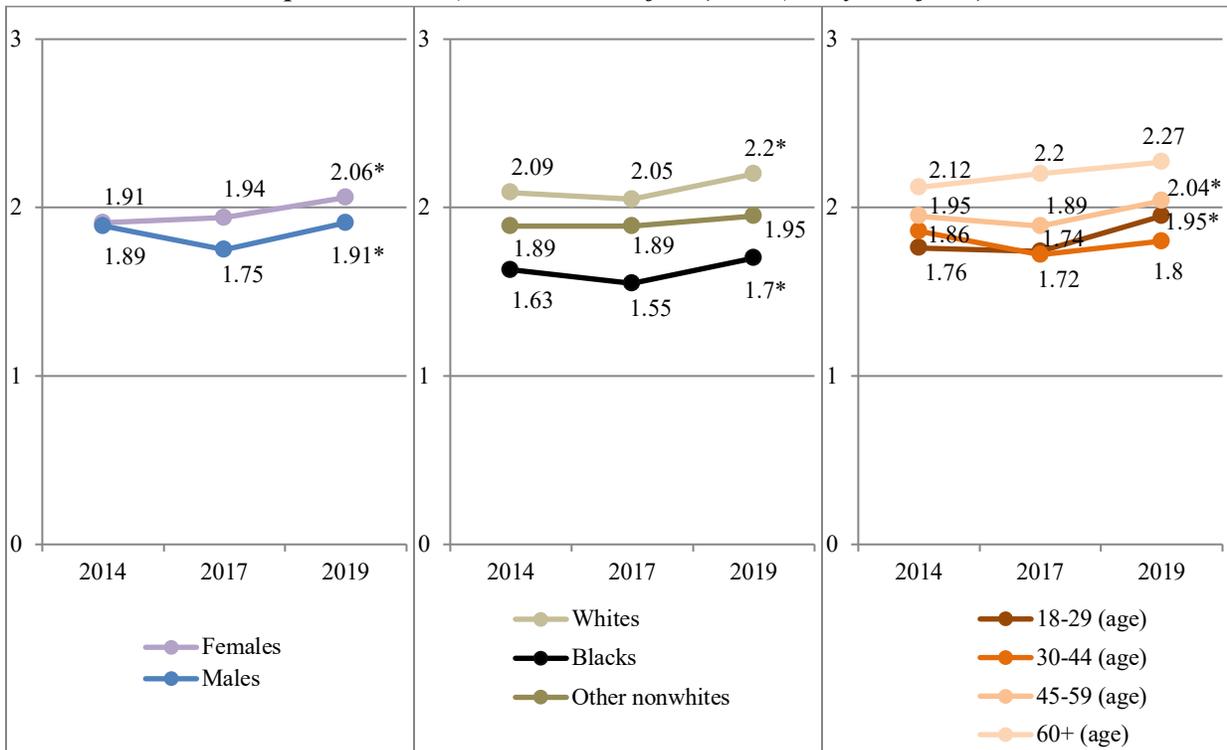
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

In addition to experiential and demographic factors, aggregate overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department also varies significantly across some of the most salient socioeconomic divisions. About 20% of those from households making less than $40,000/year were "not at all satisfied" or "not very satisfied" in 2019, compared to 24% of those from households earning $40,000/year or more (Figure 1.7; χ^2=10.83, p=0.01). The gap is more expansive when it comes to homeownership; while 15% of those who owned their homes in 2019 were dissatisfied overall with the Milwaukee police, 29% of those who rent were dissatisfied (χ^2=44.69, p=0.00). The observed gap between those with and without 4-year college degrees does not pass the commonly used threshold for statistical significance (χ^2=6.47, p=0.09); there is a 9% probability that this difference would not be detected if it were possible to survey every member of the population under study.

Figure 1.7: Overall satisfaction with Milwaukee Police Department, by socioeconomic categories
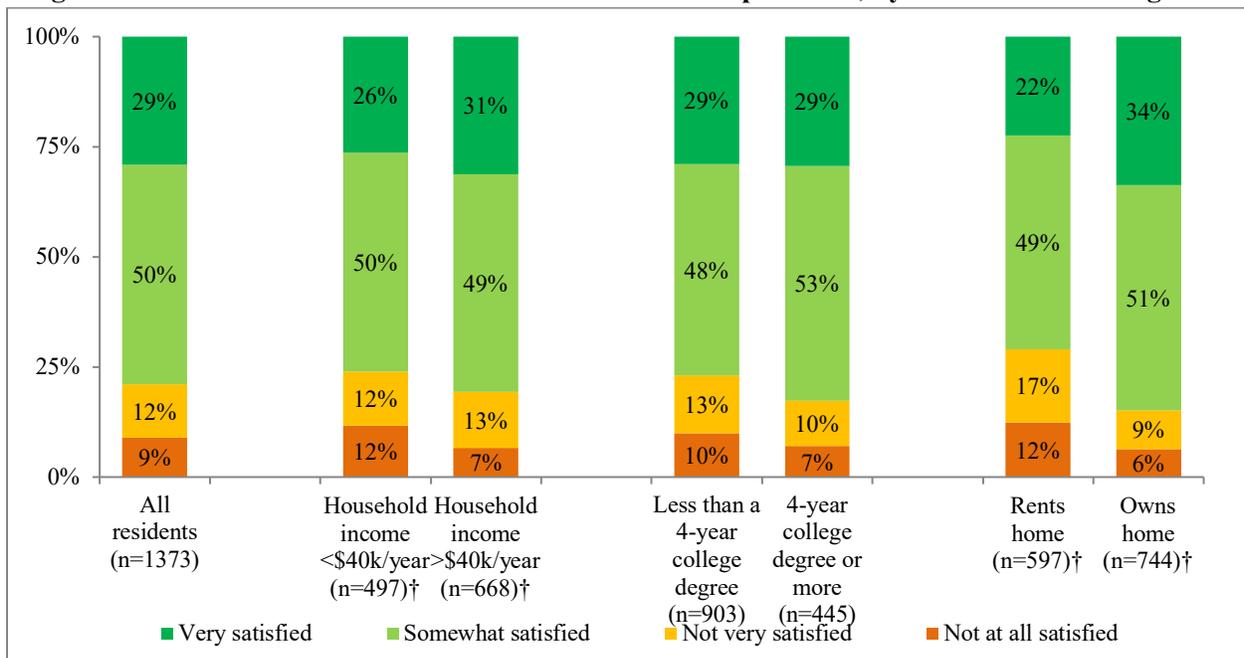
†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

There was also significant change over time within some of these socioeconomic subgroups. Those reporting $40,000/year or more in household income saw a small but statistically significant increase in mean overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department between 2017 and 2019 (Figure 1.8; t=1.98, p=0.05). While an increase similar in magnitude was also observed for those from households making less than $40,000/year ($t$=1.65, p=0.10), sampling error cannot be ruled out as the source; there is a 10% chance this difference would not be observed were it possible to collect data from every member of the population under study. Significant increases in average overall satisfaction were also seen among both those with a four-year college degree (t=3.39, p=0.00) and those without (t=3.39, p=0.00). Homeowners saw a small but significant increase in mean satisfaction with Milwaukee police between 2017 and 2019 (t=2.38, p=0.02), while there was no statistically significant change during the same period among renters (t=1.81, p=0.07).

Figure 1.8: Change over time in mean overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department, by socioeconomic categories

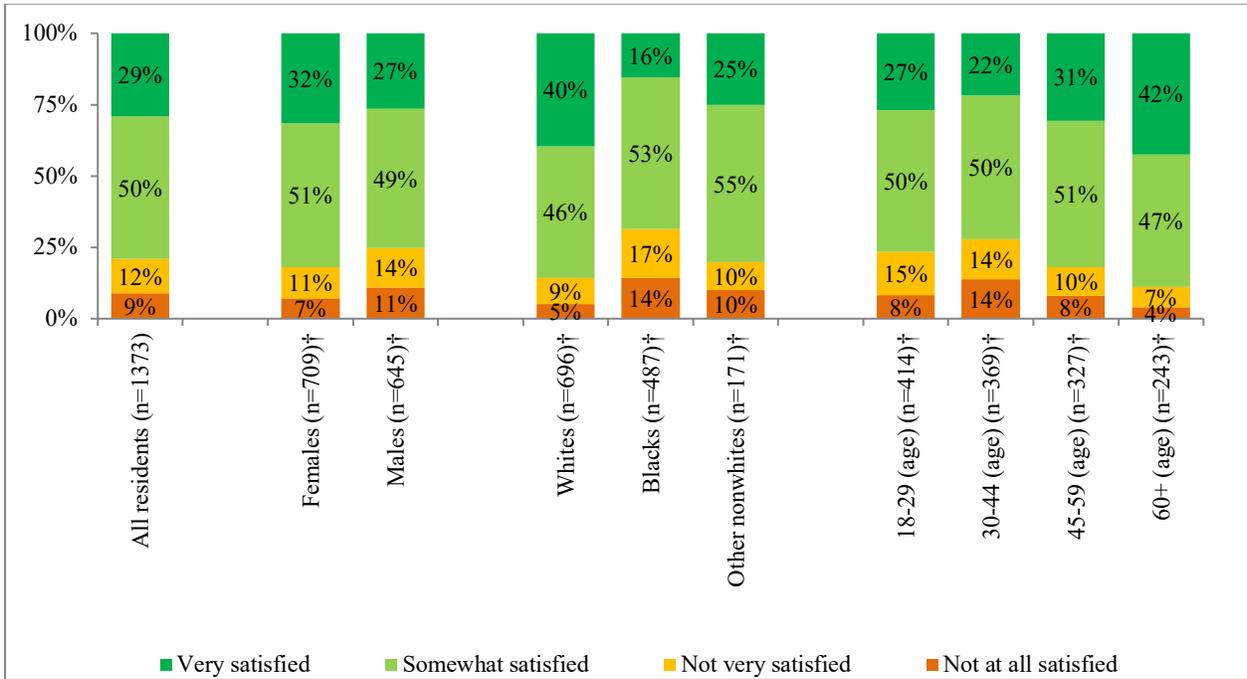*4-point scale, 0 ("Not at all satisfied") to 3 ("Very satisfied")*
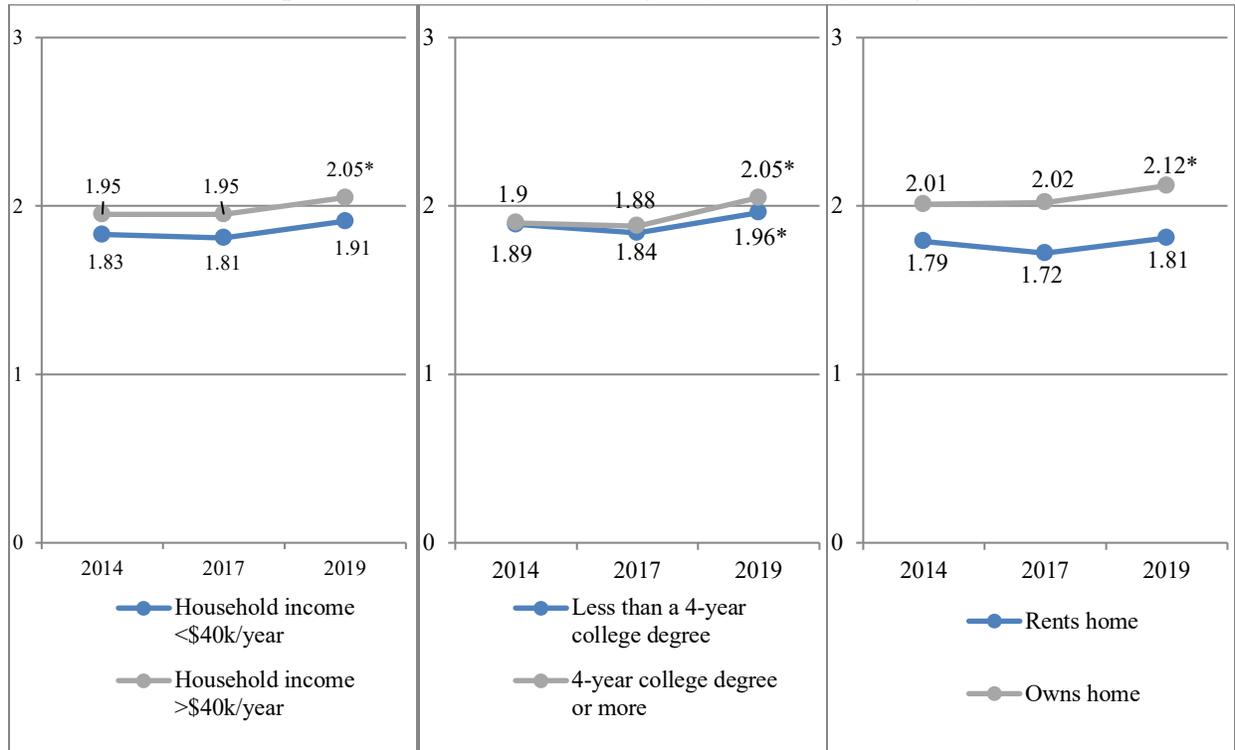
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

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, and 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 the 2014 and 2017 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 to police satisfaction, it is possible to unpack and understand *how* changes in each of the above-mentioned determinants of police satisfaction are related to changes in aggregate overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department between 2017 and 2019.

Police visibility within neighborhoods

Data from 2014, 2017, and 2019 show that the vast majority of Milwaukee residents prefer police to be visible within their neighborhoods (Table 4.2, page 20). 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 her or his neighborhood makes an individual resident about twice as likely to express overall dissatisfaction with the police.[5] However, perceptions of police visibility have not changed significantly between 2017 and 2019 (Table 4.1, Page 19), so it is likely that the observed change in aggregate overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police during the same period is related to other factors besides police visibility.

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 probability of being "very satisfied" with the police by about 20%, and multiple instances of recent victimization reduced the probability by about 50%.[6] Data from the 2019 wave indicates that the overall proportion of residents reporting one or more recent instances of victimization has decreased significantly since 2017 (Table 10.1, page 48). While the link between victimization and overall police satisfaction can vary in strength[7], the observed

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[5] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 15; Figure 2.10
[6] *2014 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Research Brief*, page 8, Table 1.8
[7] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 16

increase in overall satisfaction between 2017 and 2019 is not surprising given the accompanying reduction in recent victimization over the same period.

Perceptions of police conduct during individual interactions with police

Every wave of this survey has asked residents with various types of police contacts over the prior calendar year 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.[8] Data from the most recent wave indicates that aggregate perceptions of police compassion during resident-initiated contacts have improved significantly between 2017 and 2019 (Table 7.7, page 13). Given the established positive relationship between this aspect of police conduct and overall satisfaction with police among Milwaukee residents, it is likely that this shift in perceptions of police behavior contributed to the observed change in overall satisfaction 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 stop viewed as "unjustified" by an individual makes him or her about six times as likely to express the lowest level of overall satisfaction with police.[9] However, the proportion of residents that felt their most recent police stops were unjustified did not change significantly between 2017 and 2019 (Table 9.4, page 43). There is insufficient evidence to conclude that the observed aggregate change in Milwaukee residents' overall satisfaction with police between 2017 and 2019 is related to change regarding how the legitimacy of police-initiated stops are being perceived by the residents experiencing those stops.

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[10], 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.[11] This inequitable pattern persisted in 2019, with blacks and other nonwhite minorities again significantly less likely than whites to perceive their self-initiated contacts as positive and their officer-initiated contacts as legitimate. However, despite these differences, the distributions of responses related to perceptions of police compassion during resident-initiated contacts shifted significantly in a positive direction for both whites and blacks between 2017 and 2019 (although there was no concordant shift among other nonwhite minorities). The observed positive change in overall

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[8] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 14; Figure 2.8
[9] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 15; Figure 2.9
[10] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 18; Figure 2.11
[11] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 17; Tables 1.1 & 1.2

satisfaction with Milwaukee police is not surprising given how improved perceptions of police compassion during resident-initiated contacts crossed some racial lines.

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.[12] 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.[13] 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. In this way, resident race serves as an avenue by which broader aggregate opinion about Milwaukee police can shift based on the changing firsthand experiences of the subsets of residents that encounter them.

In all, given decreased reported recent exposure to crime and significant improvements in aggregate perceptions of police compassion during resident-initiated contacts observed in the two largest racial groups of Milwaukee residents, a significant positive shift in overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police is consistent with expectations established by past research.

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[12] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Pages 17-18
[13] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 18; Figure 2.11

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 2019 was 1.98, closest to "some," and that this has not changed significantly since 2017 (t=1.04, p=0.16). Figure 2.2 shows that about 73% of residents had either "a great deal" or "some" trust and confidence in Milwaukee police in 2019, while about 27% had either "not much" trust and confidence, or "none." This distribution of trust and confidence has not changed significantly since 2017 (χ^2=2.85, p=0.42).

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")

	2014	2017	2019
Mean trust and confidence	1.88	1.93	1.98
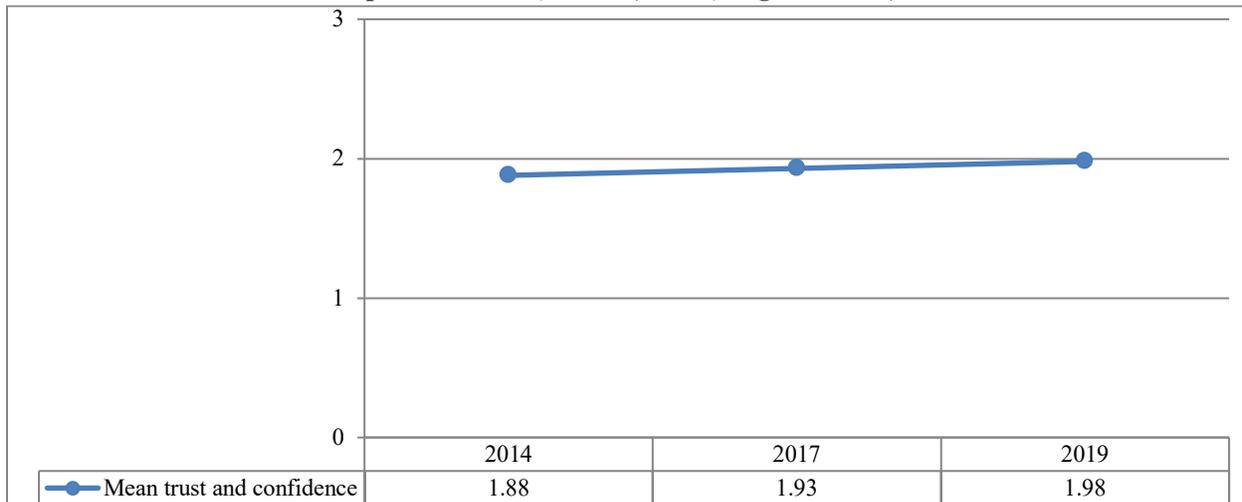
Figure 2.2: Distribution of trust and confidence in the Milwaukee Police Department, by year
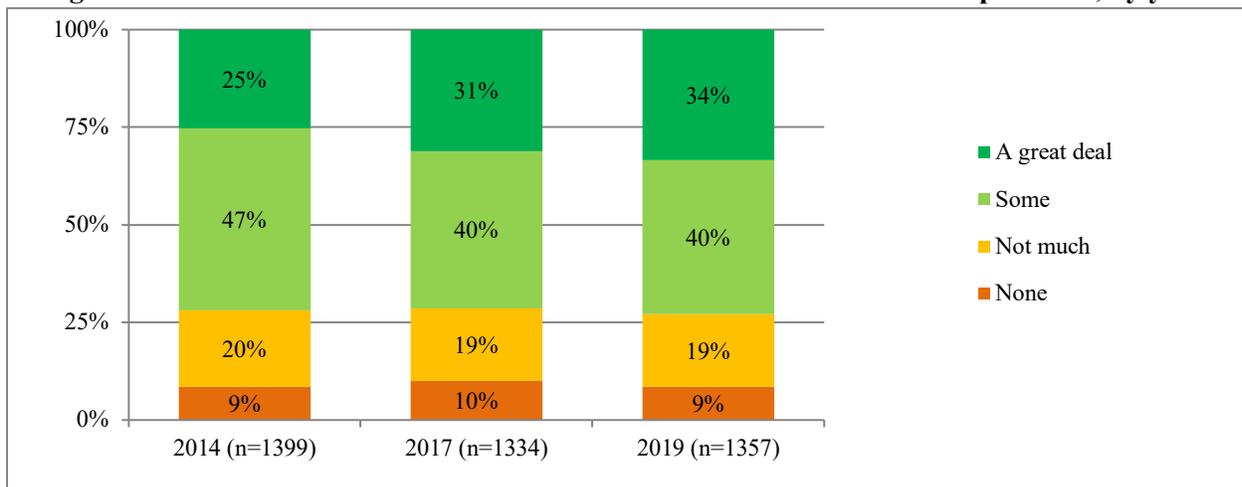
SATISFACTION WITH SPECIFIC DIMENSIONS OF POLICE PERFORMANCE

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 4-point scale of satisfaction ranging from 0 ("not at all satisfied") to 3 ("very satisfied"), average scores for each item fell nearest to 2 ("somewhat satisfied"). Of the dimensions of police performance listed, Milwaukee residents in 2019 were most likely to be satisfied with the overall competence of police (2.00), followed by efforts to address violent crimes (1.95), general attitude and behavior towards citizens (1.92), and honesty and integrity (1.90). The three lowest-rated dimensions were efforts to address property-related crimes (1.74), responsiveness to public concerns (1.73), and efforts to enforce traffic laws (1.56).

Four dimensions of police performance saw small but statistically significant increases in mean satisfaction since 2017; efforts to address violent crimes ($t=5.43$, $p=0.00$), efforts to address property-related crimes ($t=2.01$, $p=0.05$), responsiveness to public concerns ($t=3.09$, $p=0.00$), and overall competence ($t=2.41$, $p=0.02$). Efforts to enforce traffic laws saw a relatively large, significant negative shift ($t=-3.55$, $p=0.00$) for the second time since 2014, moving from one of the highest-rated dimensions of Milwaukee police performance to the lowest by far in 2019. There was no statistically significant change in average satisfaction with honesty and integrity ($t=1.70$, $p=0.09$) or general attitude and behavior towards citizens ($t=1.38$, $p=0.17$) between 2017 and 2019.

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")

	2014	2017	2019
Efforts to address violent crimes*	1.79	1.75	1.95
Efforts to address property-related crimes*	1.72	1.66	1.74
Effort to enforce traffic laws*	1.98	1.70	1.56
Responsiveness to public concerns*	1.73	1.61	1.73
Honesty and integrity	1.80	1.83	1.90
General attitude and behavior towards citizens	1.83	1.87	1.92
Overall competence*	2.01	1.91	2.00
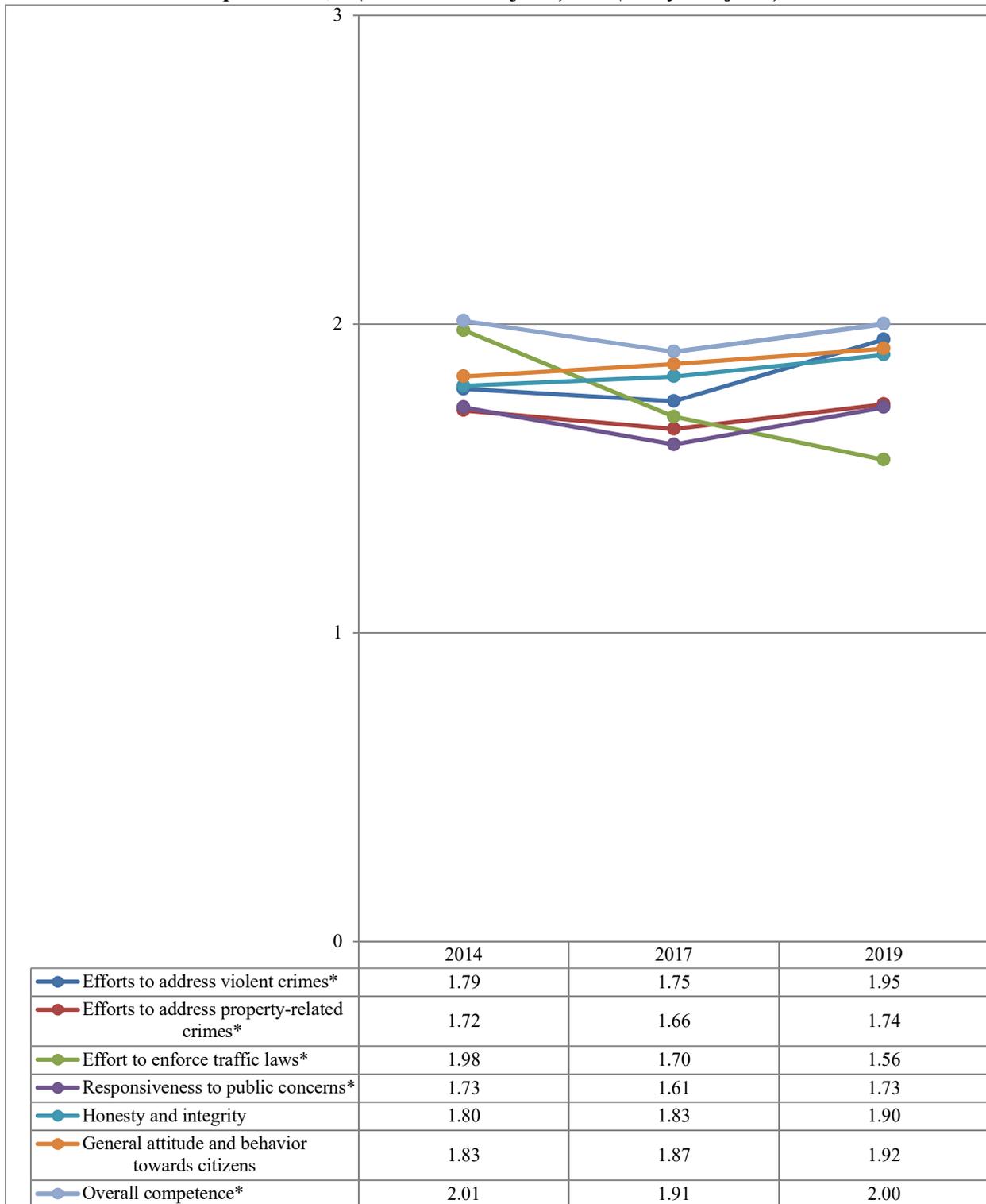
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%, 2-tailed test)

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 (37%) was "somewhat visible", and that the majority of Milwaukee residents (67%) felt that the Milwaukee police were either "very" or "somewhat" visible in their neighborhoods. About 33% felt that police were "not very" or "not at all" visible in their neighborhoods in 2019. The distribution of police visibility did not change significantly between 2017 and 2019 (χ^2=0.36, p=0.95).

Table 4.1: Resident impressions of neighborhood police visibility, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
How visible are the Milwaukee police in your neighborhood?	Not at all visible	117	148	158
		8%	11%	12%
	Not very visible	284	278	291
		20%	21%	21%
	Somewhat visible	530	506	508
		38%	38%	37%
	Very visible	470	404	406
		34%	30%	30%
Total		1401	1336	1363
		100%	100%	100%

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 2019 was "somewhat 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 2017 (χ^2=3.78, p=0.28).

Table 4.3 shows the breakout of 2019 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 (92% of white residents, 91% of black residents, and 91% 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 (55%, 50%, and 37%, respectively), while white residents are more likely to prefer that police be "somewhat visible" (χ^2=46.99, p=0.00).

Table 4.2: Resident preferences regarding neighborhood police visibility, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
In your opinion, how visible SHOULD the police be in your neighborhood? Would you say...	Not at all visible	28	24	38
		2%	2%	3%
	Not very visible	85	74	86
		6%	6%	6%
	Somewhat visible	636	628	630
		45%	47%	46%
	Very visible	650	611	610
		46%	46%	45%
Total		1399	1337	1364
		100%	100%	100%

Table 4.3: Resident preferences regarding neighborhood police visibility, by resident race (2019)

		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	17	14	6
		2%	3%	4%
	Not very visible	44	32	10
		6%	7%	6%
	Somewhat visible	386	174	70
		55%	36%	41%
	Very visible	258	267	85
		37%	55%	50%
Total		705	487	171
		100%	100%	100%

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

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 2019 was "somewhat satisfied" (42%). Most residents (72%) were either "somewhat" or "very" satisfied with the level of police visibility in their neighborhoods. Despite no measureable change in aggregate perceptions of police visibility or preferences around ideal levels of police visibility between 2017 and 2019, the distribution of satisfaction with neighborhood police visibility shifted slightly in a positive direction during that period (χ^2=14.61, p=0.00).

Table 4.4: Satisfaction with neighborhood police visibility, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019*
How satisfied are you with the level of police visibility in your neighborhood? Would you say...	Not at all satisfied	125	187	158
		9%	14%	12%
	Not very satisfied	256	262	213
		18%	20%	16%
	Somewhat satisfied	557	533	575
		40%	40%	42%
	Very satisfied	460	348	415
		33%	26%	30%
Total		1398	1330	1361
		100%	100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

The Sankey diagram in Figure 4.1 shows the combination of responses across these three questions. The vertical axis on the left-hand side of the diagram shows a breakdown of residents based on their combined responses to the questions about actual police visibility and preferred police visibility; in 2019, about 63% of Milwaukee residents preferred the police to be visible in their neighborhoods, and perceived them to be. About 28% preferred the police to be visible in their neighborhoods, but felt that actual police visibility fell short of their preferred level. About 5% preferred low police visibility in their neighborhoods and perceived low visibility, while the remaining 4% preferred low police visibility but perceived high police visibility.

The vertical axis on the right-hand side of the Sankey diagram in Figure 4.1 shows the breakdown of residents based on their responses to the question about satisfaction with police visibility. About 30% said they were "very satisfied" with police visibility in their neighborhoods, while 42% said they were "very satisfied", 16% said they were "not very satisfied", and 12% said they were "not at all satisfied". The flows between the left and right vertical axes show how individuals were distributed across these two groupings.

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 said they were "not at all satisfied" or "vot very satisfied" with police visibility in their neighborhoods felt that police were not visible in their neighborhoods, but should be. Only a small fraction of those who said they were unsatisfied with police visibility in their neighborhoods were from the group that felt police were visible in their neighborhoods but should not be. Notably, less than half of the 4% of residents who preferred low police presence in their neighborhoods yet perceived a higher-than-desired level of police visibility went on to say they were "not very" or "not at all" satisfied; even though their preferences were not being perfectly met, they still expressed satisfaction with the status quo.

**Figure 4.1: Satisfaction with neighborhood police visibility,
by observed visibility + ideal visibility category (2019)**

Not visible, should be (28%): 383

Visible, should be (63%): 847

Visible, should not be (4%): 52

Not visible, should not be (5%): 64

Not at all satisfied (12%): 158

Not very satisfied (16%): 212

Somewhat satisfied (42%): 567

Very satisfied (30%): 409
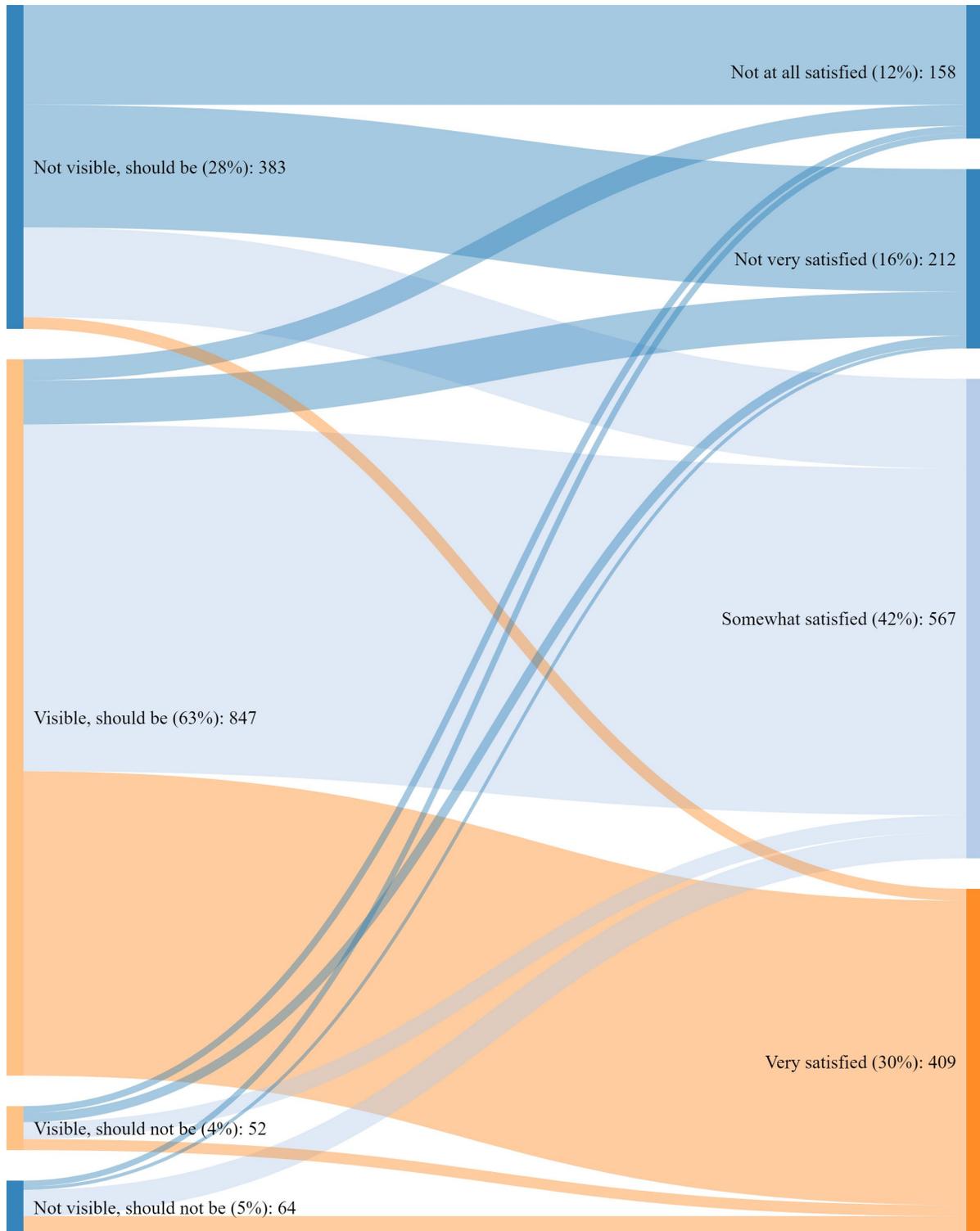
PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY

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 2019 was "very safe" (60%), and that the vast majority of residents said they feel "very" or "somewhat" safe in their neighborhoods (91%). The distribution of perceptions of neighborhood safety during the day improved significantly between 2017 and 2019 (χ^2=24.81, p=0.00).

Regarding feelings about neighborhood safety at night, the most common response in 2019 was "somewhat safe" (42%); about 74% of residents said they felt "somewhat" or "very" safe in their neighborhoods at night. As with perceptions of safety during the day, the distribution of perceptions of neighborhood safety at night improved significantly between 2017 and 2019 (Figure 5.2; χ^2=52.62, p=0.00).

When it comes to perceptions of safety in Milwaukee as a whole, the most common response in 2019 was "somewhat safe" (48%), and 54% of residents perceived the city as a whole to be either "somewhat" or "very" safe (Figure 5.3). Over the previous two waves of the survey, there was a contrast between perceptions of neighborhood safety and perceptions of safety in Milwaukee as a whole. That continues in 2019; while 60% of Milwaukee residents feel "very safe" in their own neighborhoods during the day and 32% feel "very safe" in their neighborhoods at night, Figure 5.3 shows that just 6% describe the city as a whole as "very safe". About 46% of residents characterized the city as a whole as either "not very safe" or "not at all safe," despite just 9% saying they feel unsafe in their own neighborhoods during the day and 26% saying they feel unsafe in their neighborhoods at night. Despite this disconnect, the distribution of perceptions of safety in Milwaukee as a whole underwent a significant positive shift in 2019 (χ^2=29.41, p=0.00).

Figure 5.1: Resident perceptions of neighborhood safety during the day, by year

2014	2017	2019*
Not at all safe 3%	Not at all safe 4%	Not at all safe 3%
Not very safe 5%	Not very safe 8%	Not very safe 6%
Somewhat safe 31%	Somewhat safe 38%	Somewhat safe 31%
Very safe 61%	Very safe 51%	Very safe 60%
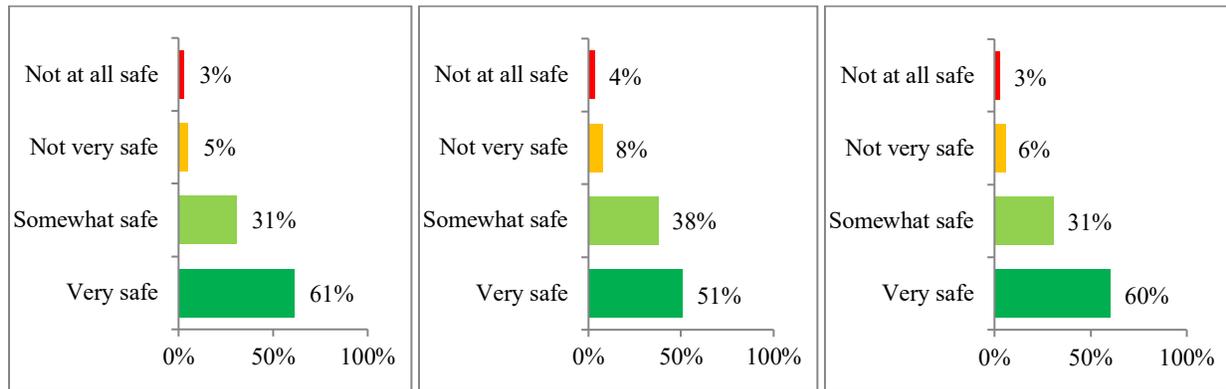
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

Figure 5.2: Resident perceptions of neighborhood safety at night, by year

2014	2017	2019*
Not at all safe 10%	Not at all safe 14%	Not at all safe 12%
Not very safe 15%	Not very safe 22%	Not very safe 14%
Somewhat safe 39%	Somewhat safe 42%	Somewhat safe 42%
Very safe 35%	Very safe 22%	Very safe 32%
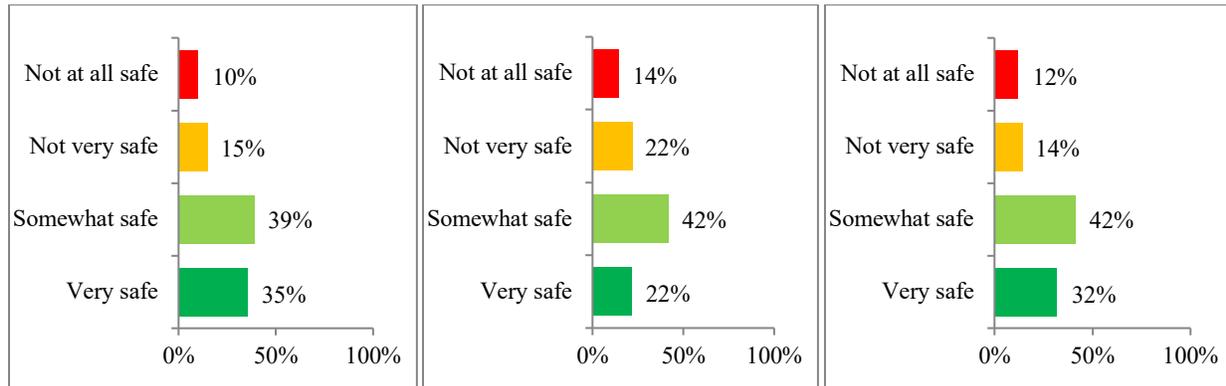
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

Figure 5.3: Resident perceptions of safety in Milwaukee as a whole, by year

2014	2017	2019*
Not at all safe 11%	Not at all safe 18%	Not at all safe 14%
Not very safe 28%	Not very safe 38%	Not very safe 32%
Somewhat safe 53%	Somewhat safe 41%	Somewhat safe 48%
Very safe 8%	Very safe 4%	Very safe 6%
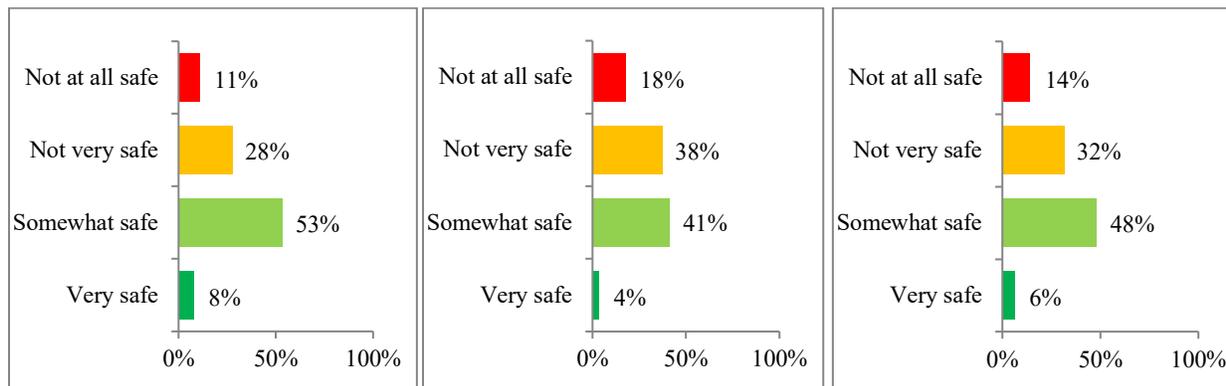
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

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 as acceptable or unacceptable?"

About 29% of Milwaukee residents reported having called 911 at least once within the last year. Table 6.1 shows that this is not significantly different than in 2017 (χ^2=1.04, p=0.31). About half (51%) of those who called 911 were seeking police assistance during their most recent call, while 34% were seeking emergency medical assistance, 7% were seeking fire assistance, and the remaining 9% were looking for some other type of assistance. This distribution of contact reasons is significantly different than in 2017— when more residents reported requests for emergency medical services and fewer residents reported requests for police assistance (Table 6.2; χ^2=10.42, p=0.02).

Table 6.1: Proportion of residents reporting 1+ 911 call for any reason within the last year, by year

		Survey year	
		2017	2019
During the past 12 months, have you called 911 for any reason, including police, fire, or emergency medical assistance?	No	923	969
		69%	71%
	Yes	415	400
		31%	29%
Total		1338	1369
		100%	100%

Table 6.2: Reason for most recent 911 call, by year

		Survey year	
		2017	2019*
Thinking now just about the most recent time that you called 911, were you seeking…	Police assistance	195 47%	203 51%
	Emergency medical assistance	174 42%	136 34%
	Fire Department assistance	25 6%	27 7%
	Some other type of assistance	17 4%	34 9%
Total		411 100%	400 100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

Regarding resident satisfaction with the 911 operator, 63% of residents who called 911 within the last year were "very satisfied" during their most recent call, and 79% were either "somewhat" or "very" satisfied (Figure 6.1). The distribution of satisfaction with the 911 operator varied significantly across residents based on the type of services sought; aggregate satisfaction was lower among those who sought police assistance when compared with those who sought emergency medical assistance, Fire Department assistance, or some other type of assistance (χ^2=21.11, p=0.01).

Figure 6.1: Satisfaction with 911 Operator during most recent call, by services sought (2019)
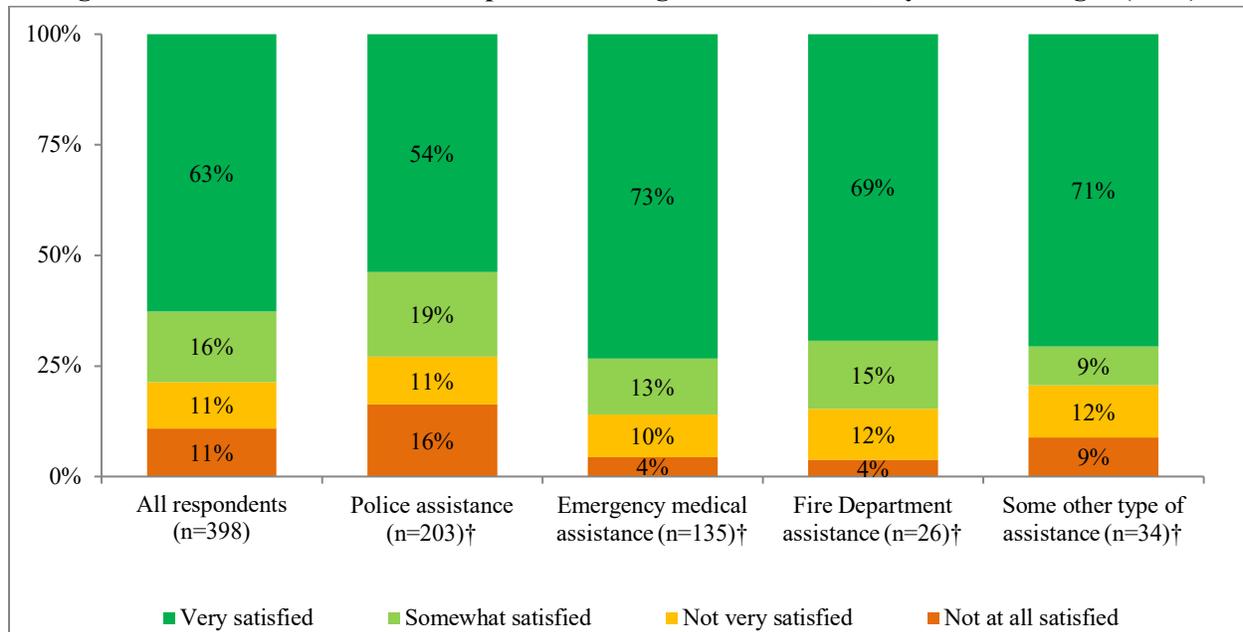
†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

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 6.2 shows that the mean level of satisfaction across all residents in 2019 was 2.3, closest to "somewhat satisfied", and that this has not changed significantly since 2017 ($t=1.38$, $p=0.17$). Regarding subgroups of residents seeking different emergency services, the only statistically significant change between 2017 and 2019 in mean satisfaction was an increase among those seeking emergency medical assistance ($t=2.42$, $p=0.09$). While a seemingly large increase in mean satisfaction was observed for the Fire Department assistance subgroup, a small number of responses means that sampling error cannot be ruled out as the cause of the difference; there is a 9% chance that this change would not be seen if every member of the populations under study were measured.

Figure 6.2: 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")

	2017	2019
All respondents	2.22	2.30
Police assistance	2.16	2.10
Emergency medical assistance*	2.31	2.56
Fire Department assistance	1.90	2.44
Some other type of assistance	2.32	2.41
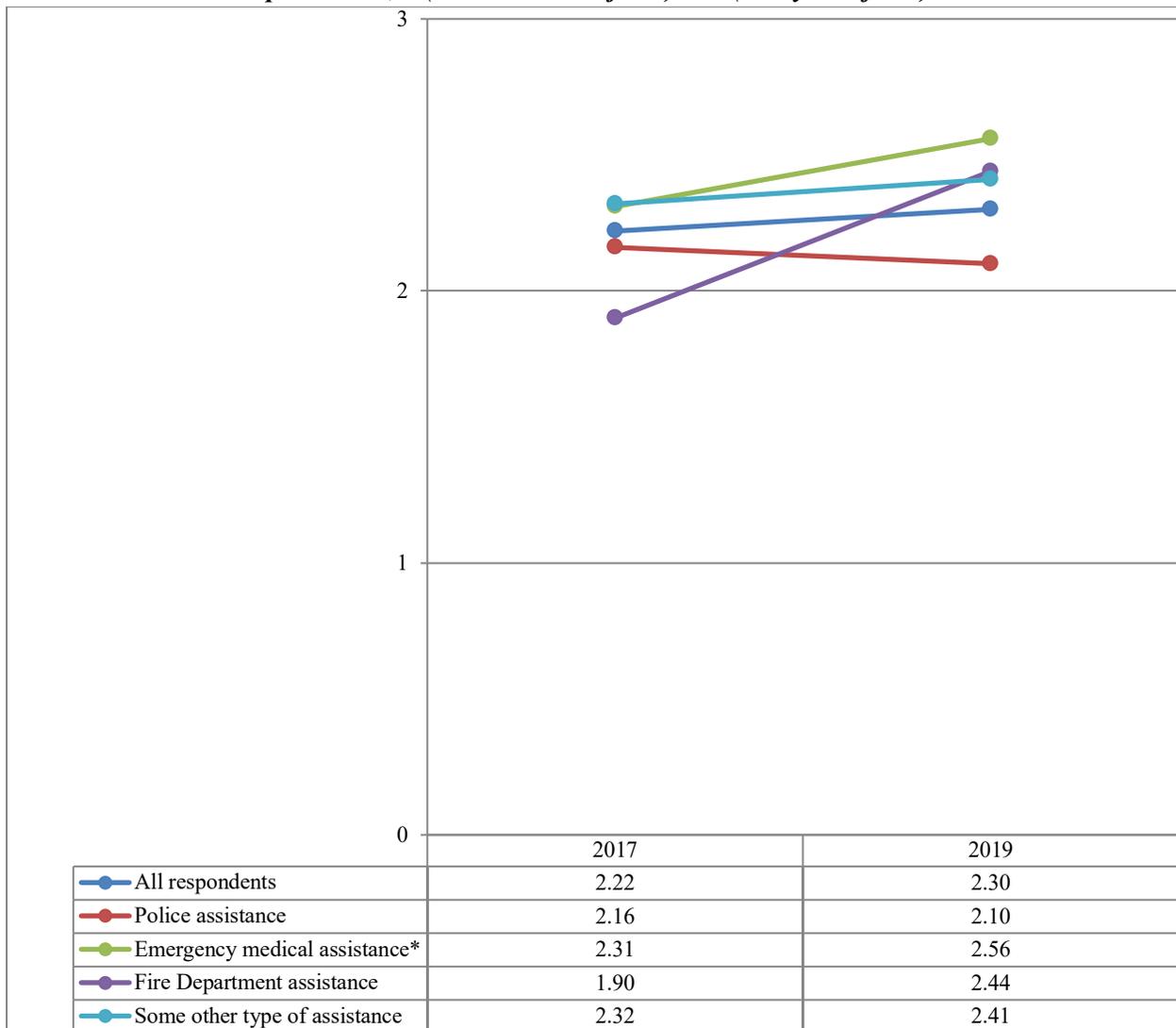
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

About 74% of Milwaukee residents with at least one 911 call within the last year in 2019 found the amount of time they spent on hold before being connected acceptable; Figure 6.3 shows that this has not changed significantly since 2017 (t=0.32, p=0.75). Those requesting emergency police services were most likely to say their hold time was unacceptable (34%), while those requesting emergency services from the Fire Department were least likely to hold that view (4%). The differences across residents grouped by type of service sought in 2019 were statistically significant (χ^2=21.10, p=0.01). In terms of change over time, residents seeking Fire Department assistance were significantly less likely to see their hold times as unacceptable in 2019 when compared to 2017 (t=3.06, p=0.00).

Figure 6.3: Perceived acceptability of time placed on hold before being connected, by type of service sought, by year
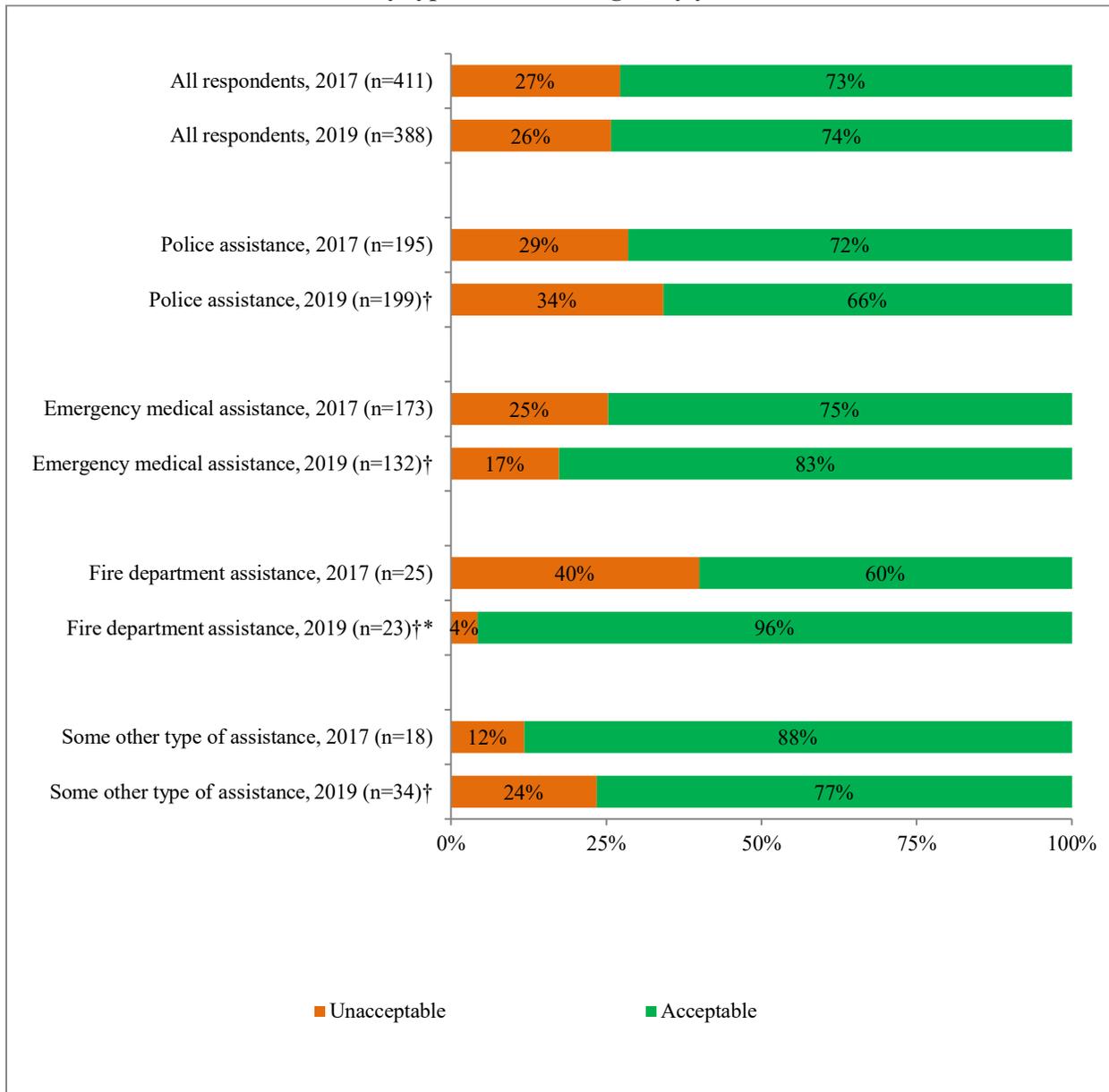
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)
†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

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 2019, about 40% of Milwaukee residents reported 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 7.1). This is not significantly different than the proportion of residents that contacted police in the year prior to being surveyed in 2017 (χ^2=0.72, p=0.40).

Reported frequencies of resident-initiated contacts are displayed in Figure 7.1; about 45% 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. While the proportion of residents reporting recent self-initiated police contacts did not change significantly since 2017, those with at least one self-initiated police contact in 2019 were less likely to report multiple contacts than in 2017 (χ^2=37.13, p=0.02).

Table 7.1: Resident-initiated contacts with the Milwaukee Police Department (2017 vs. 2019)

		Survey year	
		2017	2019
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	829	827
		62%	60%
	Yes	509	543
		38%	40%
Total		1338	1370
		100.0%	100.0%

Figure 7.1: Frequency of resident-initiated contacts with Milwaukee police (2017 vs. 2019)
[Those that contacted police within 12 months prior to being surveyed]
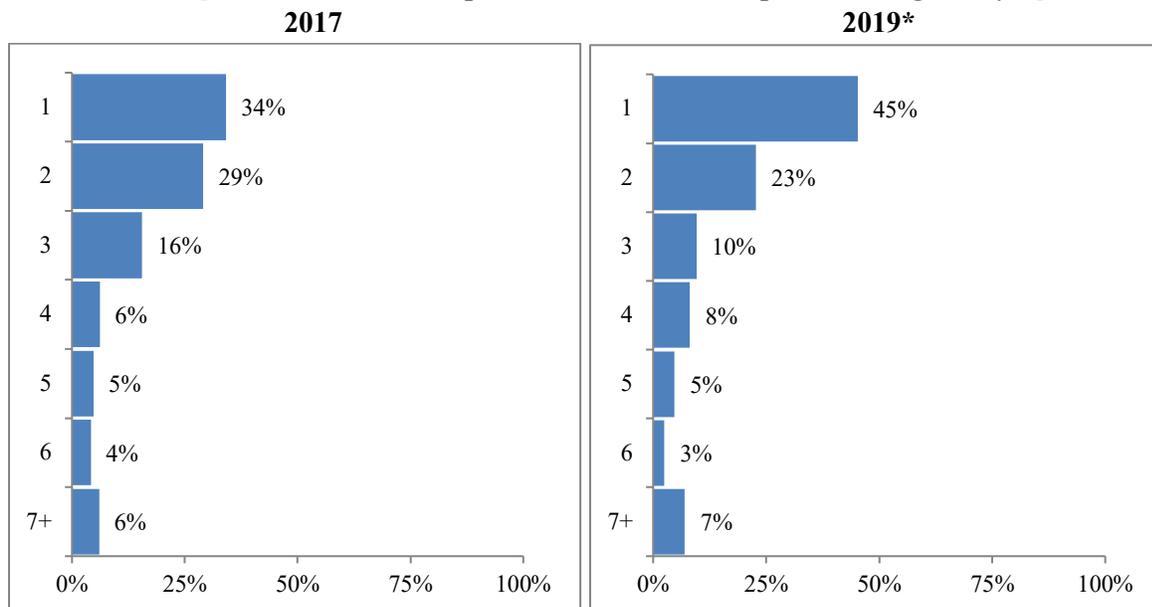
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

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 7.2 shows that 59% of residents said their most recent contact was due to a crime, while 41% said their most recent contact with the Milwaukee police was for other reasons. This represents a significant change from 2017, when 48% of recent resident-initiated police contacts were to report a crime, and 52% contacted the police for some other reason (χ^2=12.89, p=0.00).

Table 7.2: Reason for most recent resident-initiated contact (2014 vs. 2017)

		Survey year	
		2017	2019*
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	243	318
		48%	59%
	Other reason	263	220
		52%	41%
Total		506	538
		100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

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; 69% felt that they had been treated with fairness (Table 7.3). Perceptions of fairness during resident-initiated police contacts have not changed significantly since 2017 (χ^2=0.16, p=0.69). When asked about situational competence, 60% said the police acted competently the last time they were summoned (Table 7.4); this is not significantly different than in 2017 (χ^2=0.73, p=0.39).

When asked about police professionalism during their most recent resident-initiated contact with Milwaukee police, 70% said the police acted professionally (Table 7.5). This represents a statistically significant increase since 2017, when 64% said they felt the police handled their most recent request for assistance with professionalism (χ^2=3.89, p=0.05).

Table 7.3: Perceptions of fair treatment during last resident-initiated police contact (2017 vs. 2019)

		Survey year	
		2017	2019
Do you feel that you were treated fairly?	No	161	165
		32%	31%
	Yes	345	373
		68%	69%
Total		506	538
		100%	100%

Table 7.4: Perceptions of competence during last resident-initiated police contact (2017 vs. 2019)

		Survey year	
		2017	2019
Do you feel that the situation or request was handled with competence?	No	213	213
		42%	40%
	Yes	289	322
		58%	60%
Total		502	535
		100%	100%

Table 7.5: Perceptions of professionalism during last resident-initiated police contact (2017 vs. 2019)

		Survey year	
		2017	2019*
Do you feel that the situation or request was handled with professionalism?	No	178	160
		36%	30%
	Yes	322	376
		64%	70%
Total		500	536
		100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (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 7.6 shows that most residents were either "very satisfied" (46%) or "somewhat satisfied" (25%) with the level of courtesy extended to them. The distribution of satisfaction with courtesy has not shifted significantly since 2017 (χ^2=5.99, p=0.11).

Table 7.6: Satisfaction with level of courtesy during last resident-initiated police contact (2017 vs. 2019)

		Survey year	
		2017	2019
How satisfied were you with the level of courtesy extended to you?	Not at all satisfied	113	93
		22%	17%
	Not very satisfied	48	64
		9%	12%
	Somewhat satisfied	134	131
		26%	25%
	Very satisfied	213	246
		42%	46%
Total		508	534
		100%	100%

Regarding the level of compassion shown by police during the last resident-initiated contact, most residents were satisfied (either "very" [41%] or "somewhat" [26%]); Table 7.7 shows that aggregate perception of police compassion has shifted significantly in a positive direction since 2017 (χ^2=15.69, p=0.00).

Table 7.7: Satisfaction with level of compassion during last resident-initiated police contact (2017 vs. 2019)

		Survey year	
		2017	2019*
How satisfied were you with the level of compassion shown to you?	Not at all satisfied	132	101
		26%	19%
	Not very satisfied	49	74
		10%	14%
	Somewhat satisfied	153	137
		31%	26%
	Very satisfied	166	215
		33%	41%
Total		500	527
		100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

Analysis of data collected in 2017 yielded 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.[14]

Figure 7.2 shows how resident-initiated interactions were distributed across racial groups in 2019, 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 2019 are comparable; 40% of whites, 39% of blacks, and 37% of other nonwhites. However, aggregate resident satisfaction with compassion shown to them by police during those interactions differed significantly by resident race (χ^2=35.13, p=0.00). The proportion of black residents that were "not at all satisfied" was more than double that of whites (28% and 13%, respectively, compared with 21% among other nonwhites). Conversely, 50% of whites were "very satisfied", compared with just 28% of blacks and 35% of other nonwhites.

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[14] *2017 City of Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey Findings Report*; Page 18; Figure 2.11

When this perceived unequal spread of compassion across racial boundaries is extrapolated onto the opinions of the remaining 60% of Milwaukee residents without recent personal experience with Milwaukee Police Department assistance, the aggregate gap in overall satisfaction with Milwaukee police between racial groups shown in Figure 1.5 is not surprising.

Figure 7.2: Satisfaction compassion shown by police during most recent resident-initiated contact, by resident race (2019)
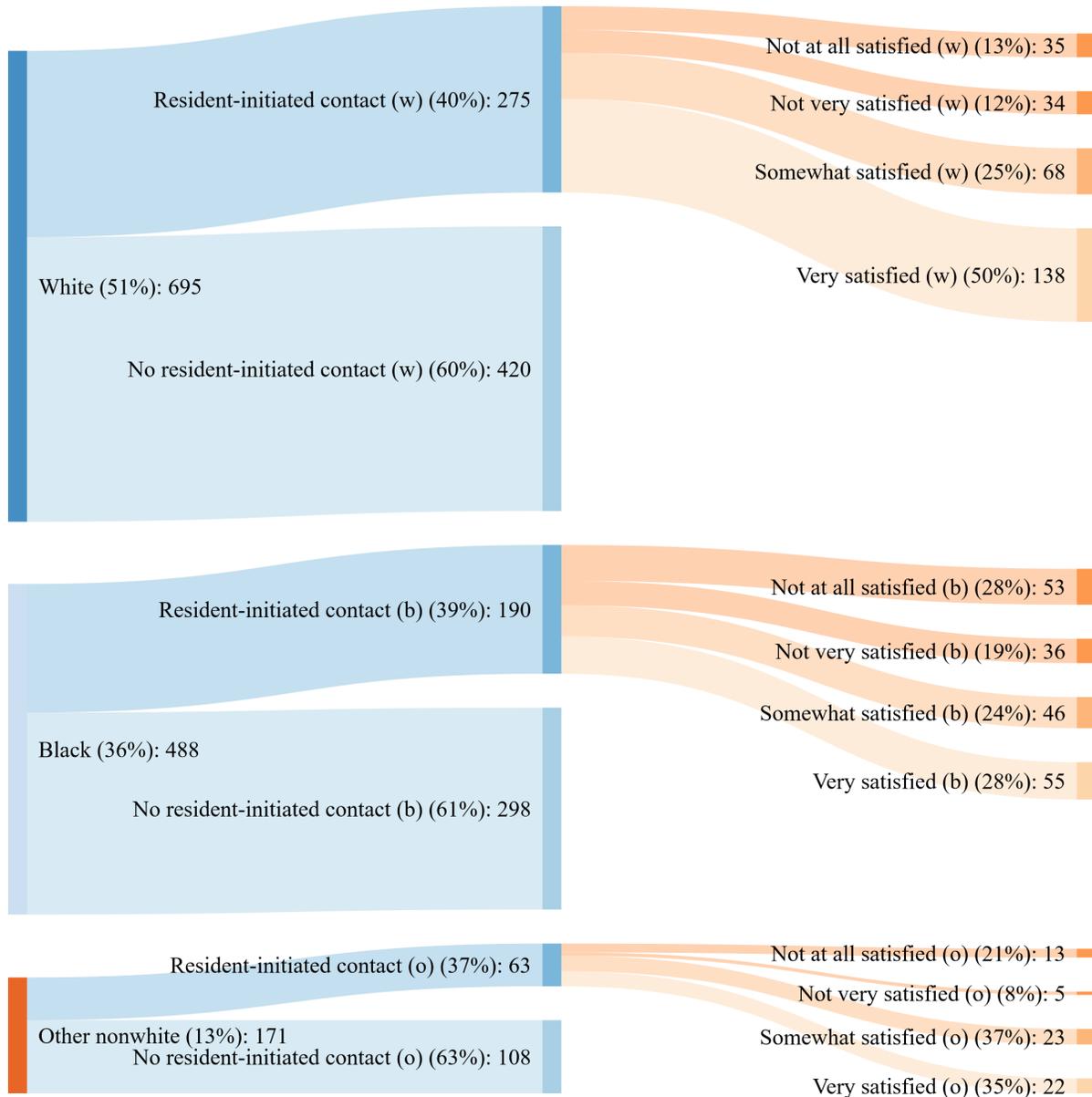
Interestingly, the significant increase in overall aggregate satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department between 2017 and 2019 is related to a positive shift in how police compassion was perceived during that time frame that stretched across racial boundaries. Figure 7.3 shows the change in the distribution of satisfaction with compassion shown by police during recent resident-initiated contacts between 2017 and 2019 for each racial group. There was also a statistically significant gap across racial groups in 2017 (χ^2=50.54, p=0.00), but it was wider; 42% of blacks were "not at all satisfied" with perceived police compassion, compared to 17% of whites. But between 2017 and 2019, both blacks and whites saw large, significant positive aggregate shifts in perceived compassion from police when they were called for assistance (χ^2=9.58, p=0.02; χ^2=9.90, p=0.02). The improved and more equitable perceived spread of compassion on behalf of police contributed directly to the higher level of overall resident satisfaction with Milwaukee police in 2019.

Figure 7.2: Change over time in distribution of satisfaction with police compassion during recent resident-initiated contacts, by resident race
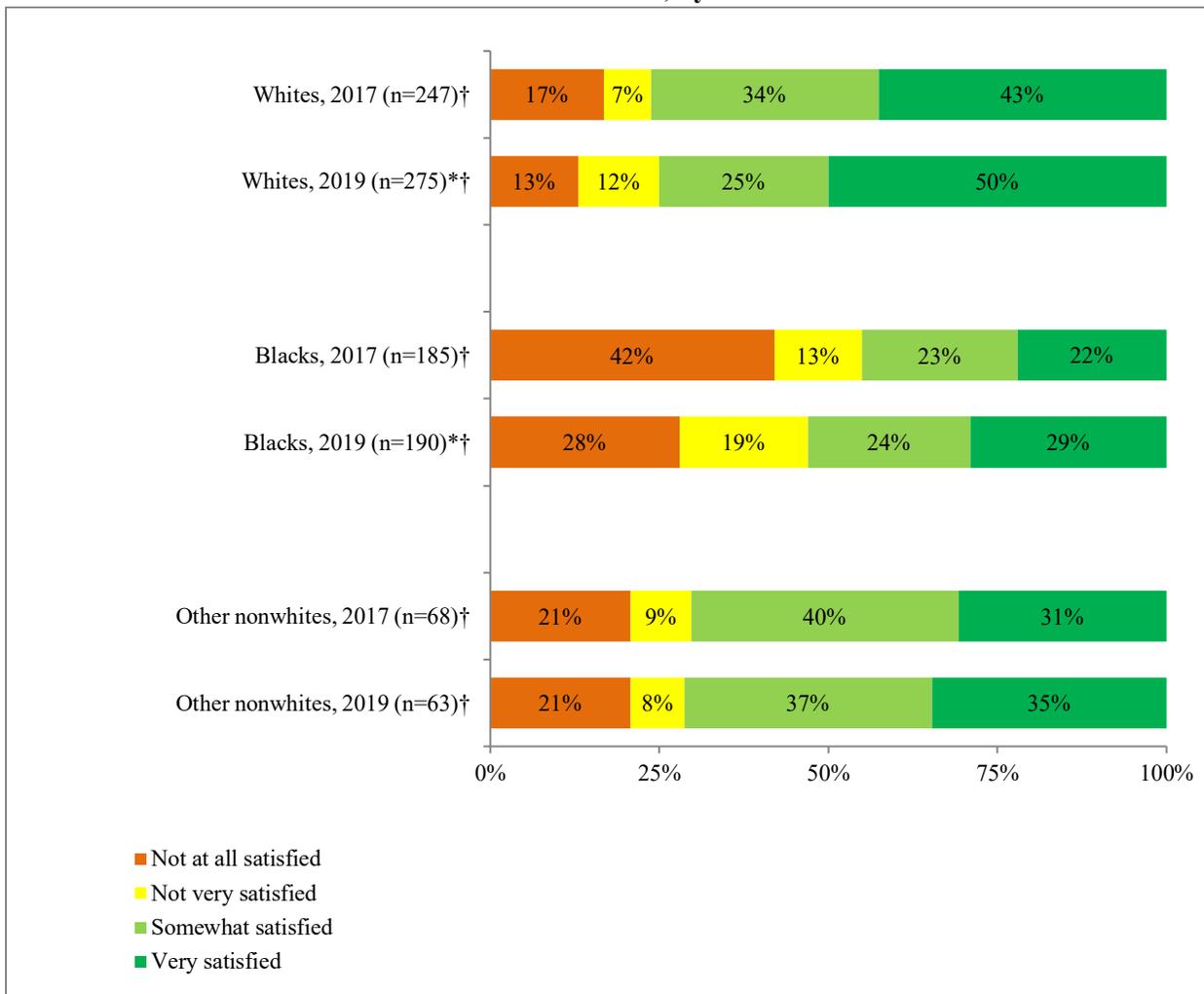
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)
†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

HOW PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE COMPASSION ARE IMPACTED BY OTHER POLICE CONDUCT

The 2019 wave of the Milwaukee Police Satisfaction Survey asked residents with multiple recent police encounters of different types to place them in chronological order. This event ordering allows an investigation of how resident perceptions of recent encounters with police can be influenced by prior police contacts with various outcomes, and how memories of prior contacts might be colored by more recent encounters. "Anti-" and "pro-police bias" are frequent themes touched upon by public discussions focused on views of police; but to what extent are people actually predisposed to view police conduct as good or bad? Do negative experiences with police "poison the well" and prevent favorable views of future encounters? Can a positive interaction with a police officer earn other officers breathing room during future encounters? To what degree can an unsatisfactory interaction with police undo positive views of prior engagements? Can a compassionate intervention by an officer make up for a prior negative experience with police?

A multivariate statistical classification model incorporating 2019 response data allowed for the estimation of predicted probabilities that residents with various demographic, socioeconomic, and experiential backgrounds would say they were "not at all satisfied" with the level of compassion shown to them by Milwaukee police after a resident-initiated encounter.[15] The following variables were included in the model:

- Resident age group (18-29; 30-44; 45-59; 60+)
- Resident gender (male/female)
- Resident race (white/black/other nonwhite)
- Hispanic/Latino ethnicity (yes/no)
- Education level
- Home ownership (yes/no)
- Time of day of resident-initiated police encounter
- Recent police-initiated stop (none/stopped before call for help/stopped after call for help)
- Perceived legitimacy of police-initiated stop (none/legitimate/illegitimate)

The model estimates that in 2019, a Milwaukee resident with a recent self-initiated police contact, average values for each variable included above, and *no recent police-initiated stops* would have a 15% predicted probability of being "not at all satisfied" regarding the level of compassion shown by police during that resident-initiated contact. However, that probability changes significantly when recent police-initiated stops are part of the picture; Figure 8.1 shows how various police-initiated stop scenarios influence that predicted probability.

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[15] Ordered Probit estimation; Stata SE 13.1 was used to generate model parameters (Appendix B)

Figure 8.1: Predicted probability that a resident is "not at all satisfied" with the level of compassion shown by police during a recent self-initiated interaction, by type of recent police stop
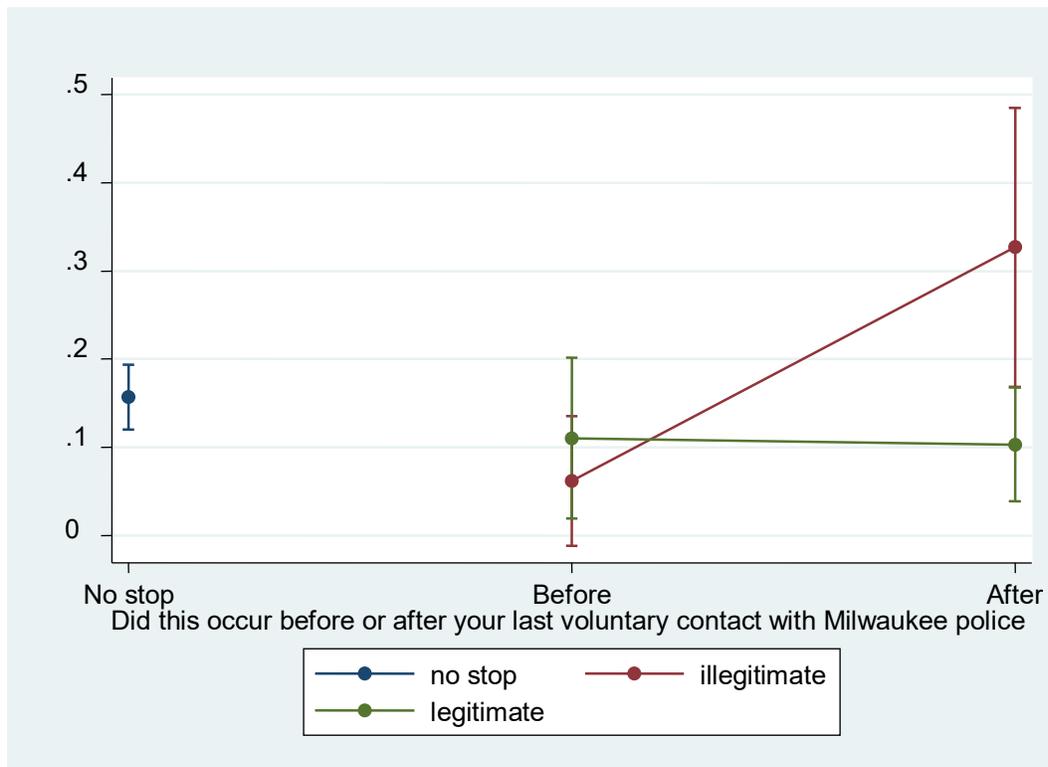
The vertical axis of Figure 8.1 displays the predicted probability of a resident being "not at all satisfied" with the level of compassion shown by police during a resident-initiated interaction. The blue mark above the "No stop" label on the horizontal axis shows the predicted probability for a resident with average values for gender, age, race, ethnicity, education, home ownership, police call timing, and no recent police stops: .15 (15%). Alternatively, the green and red marks over the "Before" label on the horizontal axis show the predicted probabilities for similar residents with recent police stops that predate their calls for help chronologically, and were seen by the residents as "legitimate" and "illegitimate", respectively. The predicted probabilities associated with these marks are .11 (11%) for green, and .06 (6%) for red; however, the associated confidence intervals (represented by the bars around each mark) overlap substantially, indicating that these estimates are not statistically different. This indicates that the perceived legitimacy of a prior police stop has no significant bearing on how police compassion is perceived during a more recent call for help.

The green and red marks over the "After" label on the horizontal axis of Figure 8.1 show the predicted probabilities for another set of similar residents with recent police stops that happened after their calls for police help, and were seen by those residents as "legitimate" and "illegitimate", respectively. The predicted probabilities associated with these marks are .10 (10%) for green, and .33 (33%) for red; while a more recent legitimate police stop has no impact on the perceived level of police compassion during the earlier call for help, a more recent illegitimate police stop dramatically increases the predicted probability

of that resident expressing a lack of satisfaction with police compassion during her earlier call for help. The confidence intervals for the green and red marks over the "After" label do not overlap, indicating that this difference is statistically significant.

These statistical findings constitute evidence that Milwaukee residents are not likely to allow past police interactions, for better or worse, to significantly influence their perceptions of police during future encounters. Instead, Milwaukee residents appear to allow police conduct during each new interaction to speak for itself. Additionally, recent experiences with police appear to color the lenses through which Milwaukee residents view police interactions further in the past. 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 indescriminately 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 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, Keesee 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 2019 22% of Milwaukee residents reported having been stopped by Milwaukee police officers. Table 9.1 shows that this proportion is not significantly different than the proportion of residents that reported such contacts in 2017 (t=1.66, p=0.09).

Table 9.1: Recent police-initiated stops (2014 vs. 2017)

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
Has a Milwaukee police officer initiated contact with you at any time in the past 12 months?	No	1056	1012	1072
		76%	76%	78%
	Yes	341	325	296
		24%	24%	22%
Total		1397	1337	1368
		100%	100%	100%

Figure 9.1 shows that residents who reported having been stopped by police in 2019 were most likely to say they had been stopped exactly once; those with exactly one stop account for 9% of all residents. About 4% of all residents reported two stops, and the remaining 8% reported three or more stops. This distribution of police stop frequencies across Milwaukee residents in 2019 was significantly different than in 2017, when fewer residents reported stops and those with multiple stops reported lower stop frequencies (χ^2=10.66, p=0.02).

Figure 9.1 also shows that the significant differences in the frequencies and distributions of police stops across racial groups that began to emerge in 2017 intensified in 2019; in 2019 blacks were significantly more likely to be stopped than whites, and more than twice as likely to be stopped multiple times within the prior 12 months (χ^2=41.80, p=0.00). This discrepancy, as well as the overall reduction in the observed rate of stops between 2017 and 2019, was driven by a statistically significant decrease in the rate of stops among white residents over that time span (χ^2=24.98, p=0.00).

Figure 9.1: Frequency distribution of police stops, by year, by resident race (2017-2019)
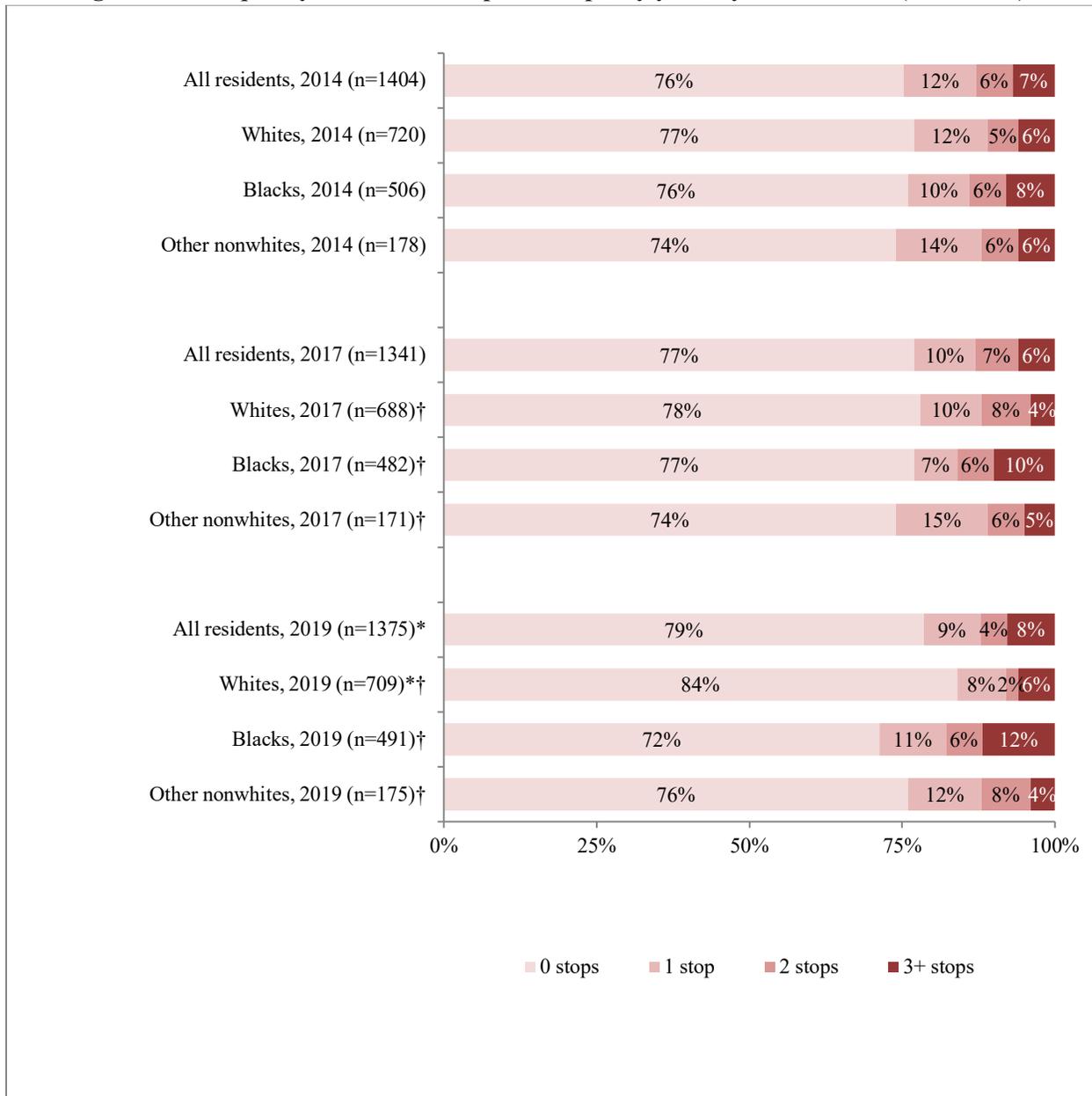
All residents, 2014 (n=1404): 76% | 12% | 6% | 7%
Whites, 2014 (n=720): 77% | 12% | 5% | 6%
Blacks, 2014 (n=506): 76% | 10% | 6% | 8%
Other nonwhites, 2014 (n=178): 74% | 14% | 6% | 6%

All residents, 2017 (n=1341): 77% | 10% | 7% | 6%
Whites, 2017 (n=688)†: 78% | 10% | 8% | 4%
Blacks, 2017 (n=482)†: 77% | 7% | 6% | 10%
Other nonwhites, 2017 (n=171)†: 74% | 15% | 6% | 5%

All residents, 2019 (n=1375)*: 79% | 9% | 4% | 8%
Whites, 2019 (n=709)*†: 84% | 8% | 2% | 6%
Blacks, 2019 (n=491)†: 72% | 11% | 6% | 12%
Other nonwhites, 2019 (n=175)†: 76% | 12% | 8% | 4%

■ 0 stops ■ 1 stop ■ 2 stops ■ 3+ stops

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (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; 42% of the most recent officer-initiated stops occurred while the resident was driving a motor vehicle, 7% occurred while the resident was a passenger in a motor vehicle, 20% occurred while the resident was on foot in a public space, and the remaining 32% of officer-initiated contacts occurred in various other contexts. Traffic stops have increased slightly between 2017 and 2019, while there has been a notable decrease in the proportion of contacts that occurred while the resident was on foot in a public place.

Figure 9.2: Context of most recent police-initiated contact (2014-2019)

2014
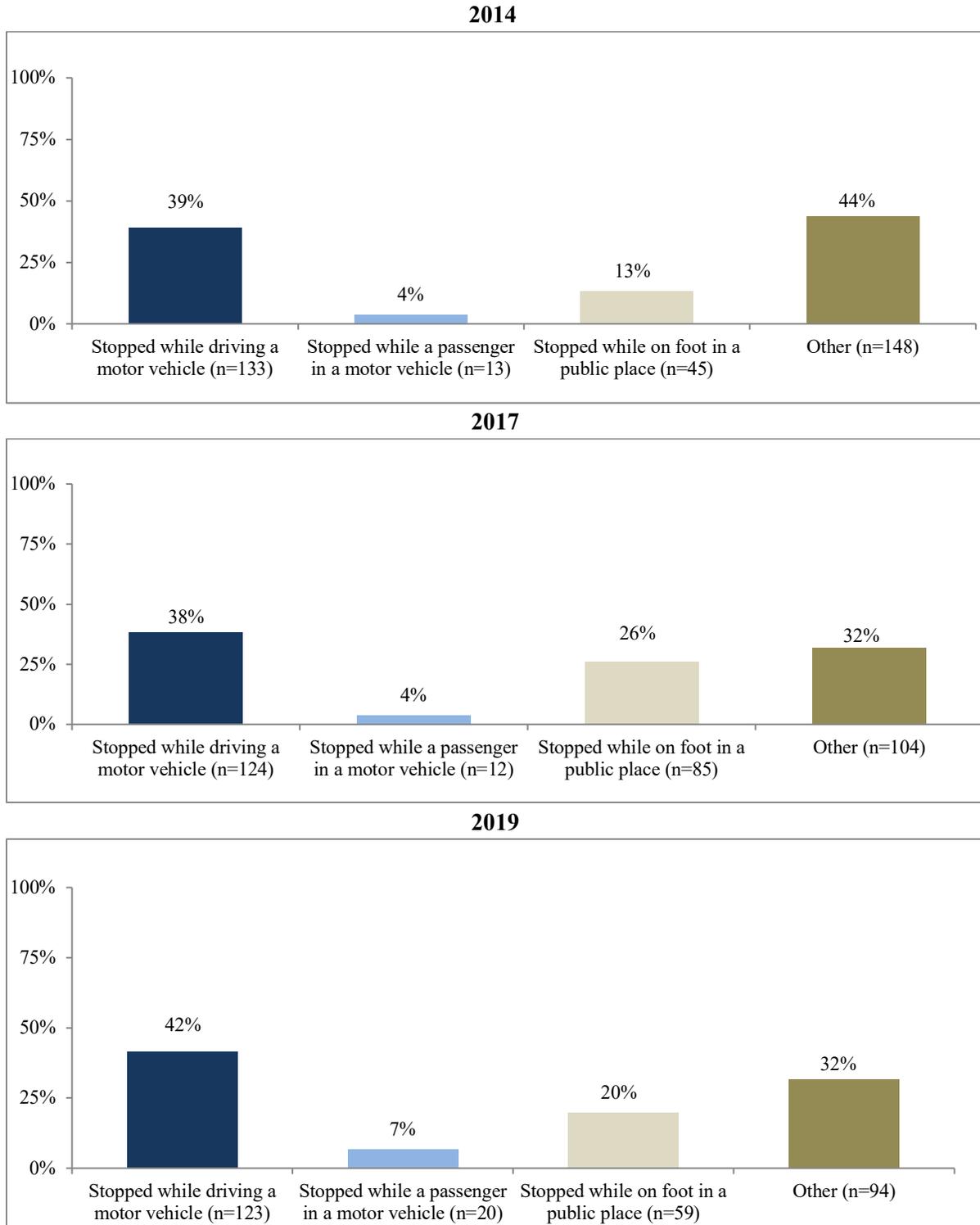
2017

2019

Table 9.2 shows that approximately 27% of those stopped at least once by police during 2019 reported receiving a ticket, a large and statistically significant increase over the 18% reported in 2017 ($t=2.47$, $p=0.01$)

Table 9.2: Proportion of residents that received a ticket during their most recent stop, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019*
Were you given a ticket?	No	271	249	197
		85%	82%	73%
	Yes	48	56	73
		15%	18%	27%
Total		319	305	270
		100%	100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (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 38% of Milwaukee residents who experienced police-initiated contacts within 12 months of being surveyed in 2019 felt that they were treated with a lack of courtesy and respect; this represents a statistically significant change from 2017, when just 28% felt they were treated poorly (Table 9.3; $t=6.34$, $p=0.01$).

Table 9.3: Proportion of residents treated with courtesy and respect during most recent stop, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019*
Were you treated with courtesy and respect?	No	85	91	110
		25%	28%	38%
	Yes	252	234	183
		75%	72%	63%
Total		337	325	293
		100%	100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

About 63% of those who report having been contacted by Milwaukee police in 2019 felt the officer or officers had a legitimate reason for initiating that contact, while the remaining 37% felt the contact was unjustified (Table 9.4). Statistically, this facet of opinion has not changed significantly since 2017; while there was an observed decrease in the proportion of residents viewing their most recent stop as legitimate, there is a 16% probability that this observed difference is due to sampling error ($t=-1.42$, $p=0.16$).

Table 9.4: Perceptions of legitimacy of reason for last officer-initiated stop (2014-2019)

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for initiating the contact?	No	111	102	109
		33%	32%	37%
	Yes	222	221	185
		67%	68%	63%
Total		333	323	294
		100%	100%	100%

Despite the lack of a significant difference in perceived legitimacy of recent police stops over time, its distribution across racial lines continues to vary significantly. Figure 9.3 shows that 53% of blacks saw their most recent stop as illegitimate, compared to 23% of other nonwhites and just 21% of whites (χ^2=34.38, p=0.00). This unequal distribution is consistent with 2017, where a similar pattern was found (χ^2=37.05, p=0.00).

Figure 9.3: Perception of legitimacy of recent police stops, by year, by resident race (2017-2019)
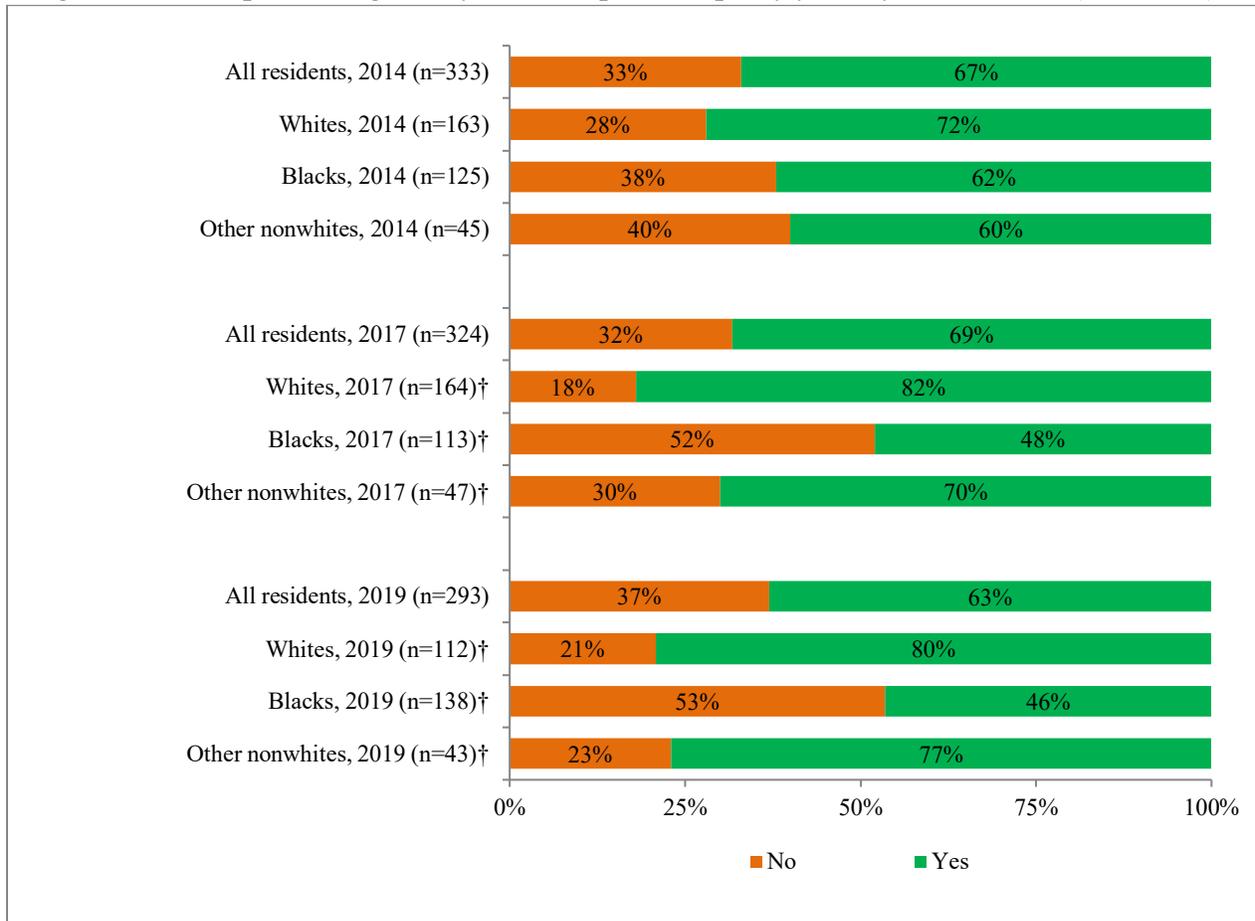
†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

Residents that were stopped were asked if they were patted down or searched during their last contact; in 2019, 24% indicated they had, a statistically significant increase in the proportion since 2017 (Table 9.5; t=3.73, p=0.00).

Table 9.5: Searched or patted down during last recent police-initiated contact, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019*
Were you searched or patted down during the contact?	No	287	266	205
		90%	88%	76%
	Yes	31	38	66
		10%	13%	24%
Total		318	304	271
		100%	100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

Figure 9.4: Searched or patted down during last recent police-initiated contact, by year, by race
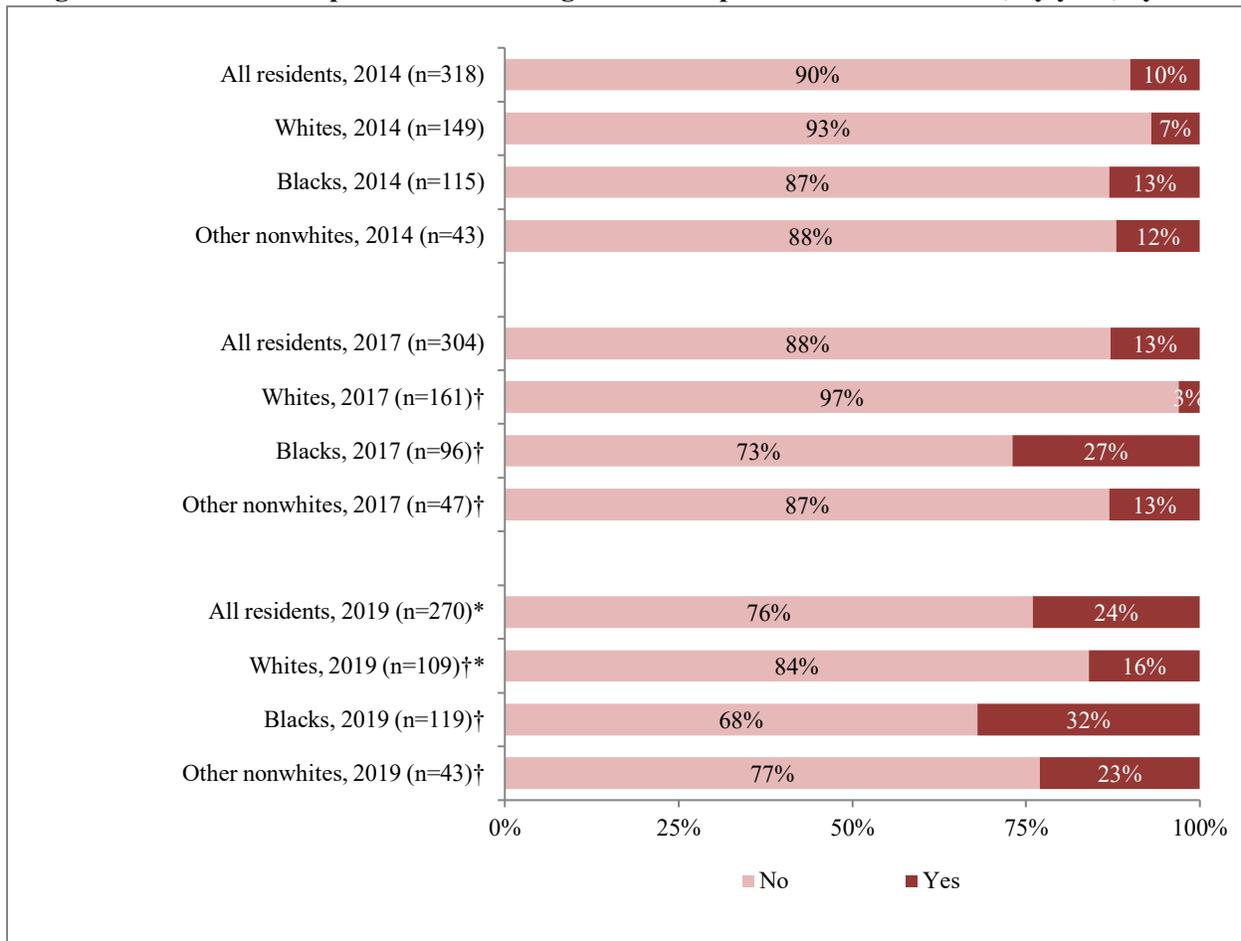
*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)
†denotes a statistically significant difference between categories (CL=95%)

Figure 9.4 shows that reported rates of search among those stopped by police varied significantly by race in 2019; blacks disproportionately reported being subject to search during their most recent stop (32%) when compared to other nonwhites (23%) and whites (16%) (χ^2=8.31, p=0.01). However, blacks being searched at twice the rate of whites in 2019 actually represents a significantly smaller racial gap than the one that was measured in 2017, when blacks reported being searched at a rate nine times higher than whites (27% to 3%; χ^2=32.36, p=0.00). The reduction in this racial gap in search rates is completely attributable to a giant increase in the search rate among whites (χ^2=13.55, p=0.00), but it is important to keep in mind the simultaneous decrease in stop rates among whites during the same period. In 2019, whites who were stopped were searched more often, but fewer whites reported having been stopped.

Table 9.6 shows that the vast majority of residents (88%) who were searched in 2019 felt that the search was illegitimate; this is consistent with past waves. While there was an observed increase in the proportion compared to 2017, a small number of observations means that sampling error can't be ruled out as the cause (t=1.69, p=0.10).

Table 9.6: Perceived legitimacy of reason for search during last police-initiated contact, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for searching you?	No	27	37	58
		87%	97%	88%
	Yes	4	1	8
		13%	3%	12%
Total		31	38	66
		100%	100%	100%

About 9% of Milwaukee residents report having been arrested after their most 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 2017 (t=1.17, p=0.24). While there is an observed decrease since 2017 in the proportion of residents reporting that their arrest stemmed from a legitimate reason (Table 9.8; down to 8%, from 15% in 2017), again the small number of residents reporting having been arrested as a result of their most recent police contact within a 12-month time frame means that sampling error cannot be ruled out as the cause of the difference. There is a 24% chance that this difference would not be observed if the entire population was surveyed (t=1.17; p=0.24).

Table 9.7: Arrested during last police-initiated contact, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
During the most recent time you were stopped or approached by a Milwaukee police officer, were you arrested?	No	319	305	271
		94%	94%	91%
	Yes	21	20	26
		6%	6%	9%
Total		340	325	297
		100%	100%	100%

Table 9.8: Perceived legitimacy of reason for arrest during last police-initiated contact, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
Would you say that the police had a legitimate reason for arresting you?	No	16	17	24
		73%	85%	92%
	Yes	6	3	2
		27%	15%	8%
Total		22	20	26
		100%	100%	100%

The reported use of force during arrests stemming from residents' most recent police stop decreased from 71% in 2017 to 64% in 2019 (Table 9.9); however, the small number of arrestees in the sample again prevents us from concluding with a high level of confidence that the observed change would persist were we able to measure the entire population. There is a 52% chance that this difference would not be observed if the entire population was examined (t=-0.66, p=0.52).

Table 9.9: Use of force during arrest resulting from most recent police-initiated interaction, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
Did the police use force against you when you were arrested?	No	10	6	9
		46%	29%	36%
	Yes	12	15	16
		55%	71%	64%
Total		22	21	25
		100%	100%	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 2017, 100% of such residents said the use of force they experienced was excessive. In 2019, 100% of such residents once again said the use of force was excessive. We must caution once again that due to the very small number of individuals answering this question (n=15), it is unlikely that observed sample characteristics are a good representation of overall population characteristics. It is likely that the 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 determine the magnitude of that majority without a much larger sample.

Table 9.10: Perception of use of force during arrest resulting from most recent police-initiated interaction, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
Do you feel the use of force was excessive?	No	7	0	0
		44%	0%	0%
	Yes	9	15	16
		56%	100%	100%
Total		16	15	16
		100%	100%	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 influenced and structured aggregate overall satisfaction with police in 2019. There are statistically significant differences in reported rates of police stops across racial groups, and statistically significant differences in reported rates of stops within racial groups over time. White residents in 2019 reported reduced rates and frequencies of police stops when compared to past years, while black and minority residents have not shared in this trend. Black and other nonwhite residents in 2019 were significantly more likely than whites to report having been recently stopped by police. Black and other nonwhite residents in 2019 were significantly more likely than white residents to say they were searched or patted down during their most recent police stop. Black residents in 2019 were significantly more likely to perceive their most recent police stop as illegitimate when compared to white residents. Any negative change in the aggregate level of overall resident satisfaction with Milwaukee police caused by patterns of police stops and searches were likely blunted in 2019 by dramatically lowered stop rates among white residents, but the unequal distribution of stops and searches across racial lines was a key driver of the significantly lower rates of overall satisfaction with the Milwaukee Police Department among black and other nonwhite Milwaukeeans.

RESIDENT EXPERIENCES WITH CRIME

Milwaukee residents were asked about their exposure to crime in 2019. About 21% of residents reported having been victimized at least once within the City of Milwaukee during the 12 months prior to being surveyed (Table 10.1). This represents a statistically significant decrease since 2017, when 24% reported recent victimization (t=-2.04, p=0.04). Of those reporting recent victimization in 2019, 50% say they have experienced more than one crime, compared to 52% in 2017; that observed change is not statistically significant (Table 10.2; t=-0.44, p=0.66).

Table 10.1: Victimization during the past 12 months, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019*
During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of a crime in the City of Milwaukee?	No	1121	1019	1088
		80%	76%	79%
	Yes	280	320	283
		20%	24%	21%
Total		1401	1339	1371
		100%	100%	100%

*denotes a statistically significant change since 2017 (CL=95%)

Table 10.2: Frequency of victimization among those who reported experiencing crime during the past 12 months. by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
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	170	154	141
		61%	48%	50%
	More than 1 crime	110	166	142
		39%	52%	50%
Total		280	320	283
		100%	100%	100%

Among those who reported having been the victim of exactly one crime over the past year, about 19% said they failed to report the incident to police (Table 10.3). Of those who reported having been the victim of multiple crimes over that same time span, 51% said they failed to report at least one of those crimes (Table 10.4). Despite reporting decreased levels of victimization, we find no evidence that Milwaukee residents have changed their likelihood of reporting crimes to the Milwaukee Police Department; observed changes in rates of crime non-reporting are not statistically significant (t=1.42, p=0.16; t=0.10, p=0.92).

Table 10.3: Non-reporting of crimes among those who experienced one crime in the past year, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
Did you report the incident to police?	No	31	40	27
		19%	26%	19%
	Yes	137	114	115
		82%	74%	81%
Total		168	154	142
		100%	100%	100%

Table 10.4: Non-reporting of crimes among those who experienced multiple crimes in the past year, by year

		Survey year		
		2014	2017	2019
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	51	82	69
		46%	49%	49%
	Yes	59	85	73
		54%	51%	51%
Total		110	167	142
		100%	100%	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 76% of victimized non-reporters hold this view) and the belief that the process of reporting is too much of a hassle (76% of victimized non-reporters hold this view). About 47% were discouraged by the notion that the police might not show them courtesy or respect, and 47% say they were influenced by the consideration that they would not receive fair treatment by police. Although the latter two measures have seen observable changes in response patterns, neither change is large enough in magnitude to grant statistical significance.

Figure 10.1: Reasons for not reporting crimes to the Milwaukee Police Department, by year
[Residents who experienced being the victim of at least one crime AND did not report a crime]
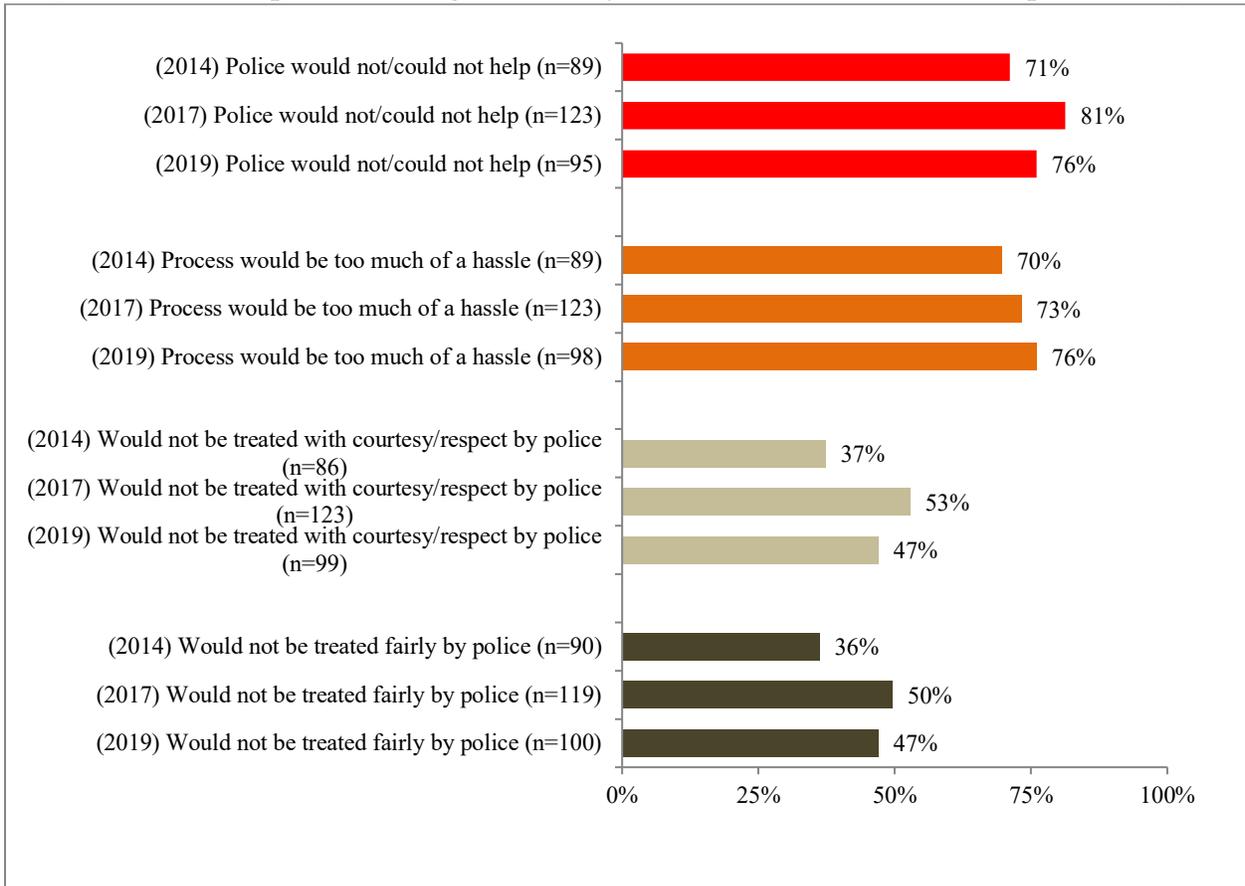
RESULTS BY POLICE DISTRICT AND ALDERMANIC DISTRICT

Of the 1,373 weighted survey responses collected from Milwaukee residents, we were able to geo-locate 875 within specific police districts and aldermanic districts; this allows for cross-district comparisons for many response items:

- Figures 11.1 and 11.2 report mean overall satisfaction by police district and aldermanic district, respectively, measured on a four-point scale ranging from 0 ("not at all satisfied") to 3 ("very satisfied").

- Figures 11.3 and 11.4 report mean perception of neighborhood police visibility by police district and aldermanic district, respectively, measured on a four-point scale ranging from 0 ("not at all visible") to 3 ("very visible").

- Figures 11.5 and 11.6 report mean perception of neighborhood safety during the day by police district and aldermanic district, respectively, measured on a four-point scale ranging from 0 ("not at all safe") to 3 ("very safe").

- Figures 11.7 and 11.8 report mean perception of neighborhood safety at night by police district and aldermanic district, respectively, measured on a four-point scale ranging from 0 ("not at all safe") to 3 ("very safe").

- Figures 11.9 and 11.10 report mean satisfaction with service provided by the 911 Operator by police district and aldermanic district, respectively, measured on a four-point scale ranging from 0 ("not at all satisfied") to 3 ("very satisfied").

- Figures 11.11 and 11.12 show the percentage of residents that report having been the victim of at least one crime over the past year, by police district and aldermanic district, respectively.

- Figures 11.13 and 11.14 show the percentage of residents that report having initiated at least one contact with police over the past year, by police district and aldermanic district, respectively.

- Figures 11.15 and 11.16 show the percentage of residents that report having been stopped by police at least once over the past year, by police district and aldermanic district, respectively.

Figure 11.1: Mean Overall Satisfaction, by Police District
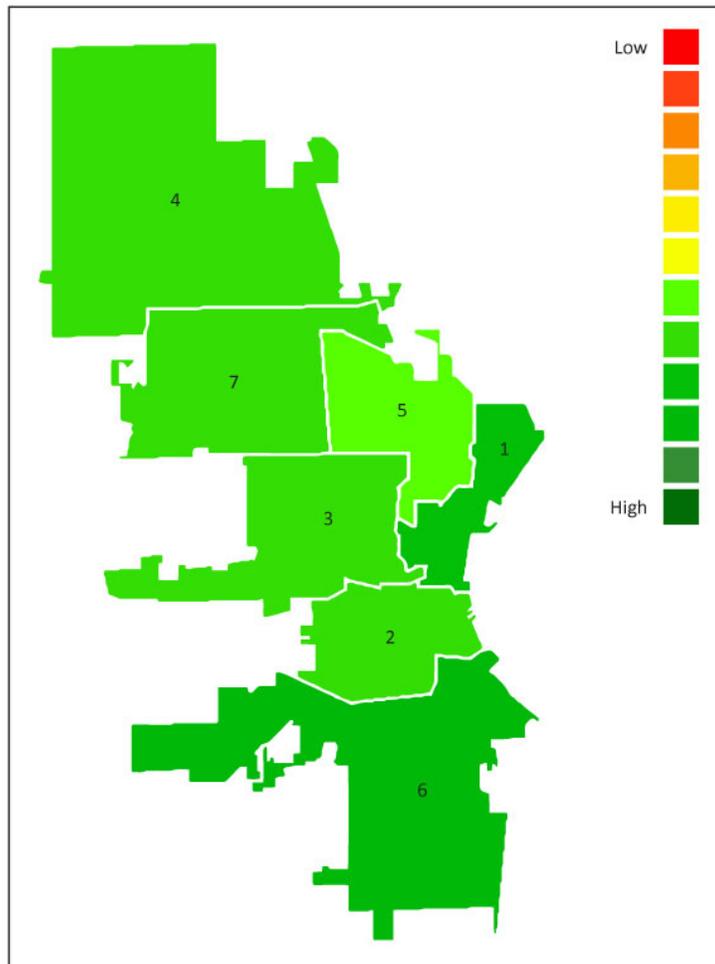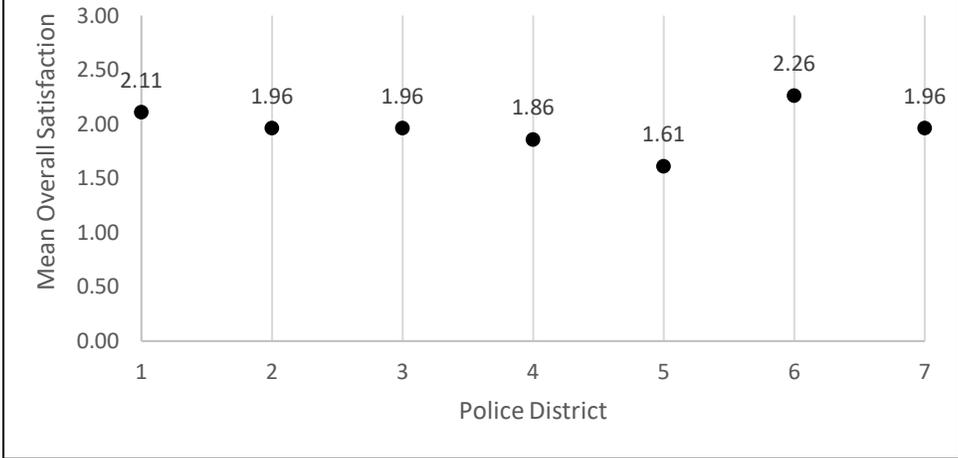
Figure 11.2: Mean Overall Satisfaction, by Aldermanic District

Figure 11.3: Mean Perception of Police Visibility, by Police District

Figure 11.4: Mean Perception of Police Visibility, by Aldermanic District

Figure 11.5: Mean Pereption of Neighborhood Safety - Day, by Police District

Figure 11.6: Mean Perception of Neighborhood Safety - Day, by Aldermanic District
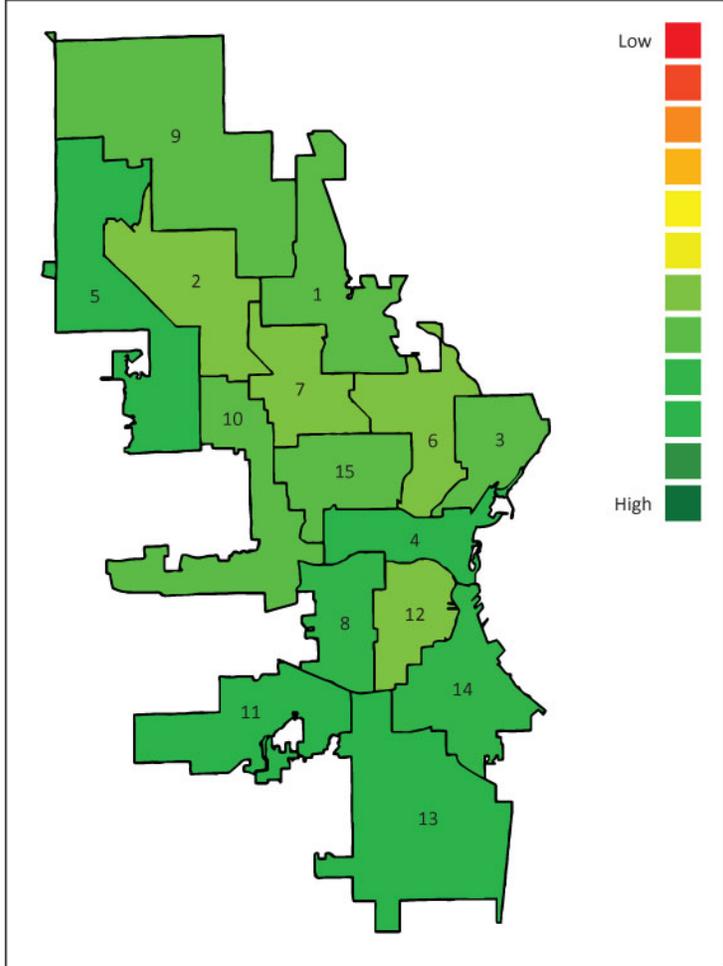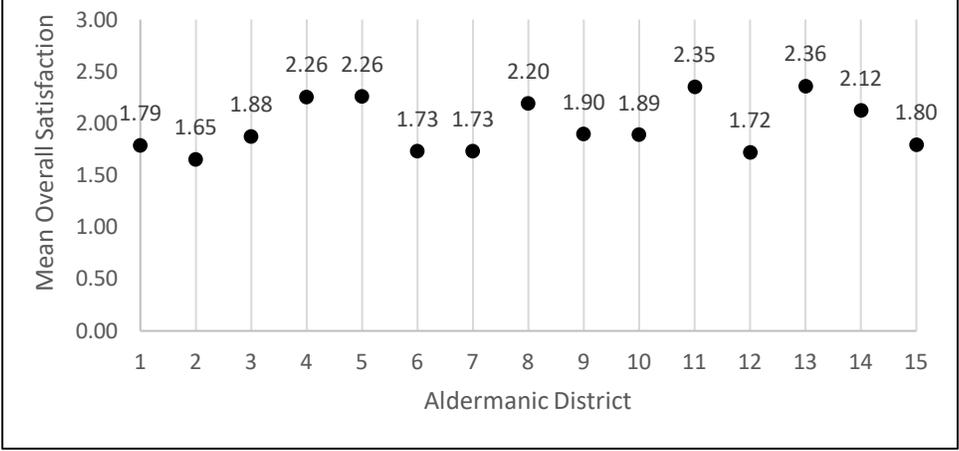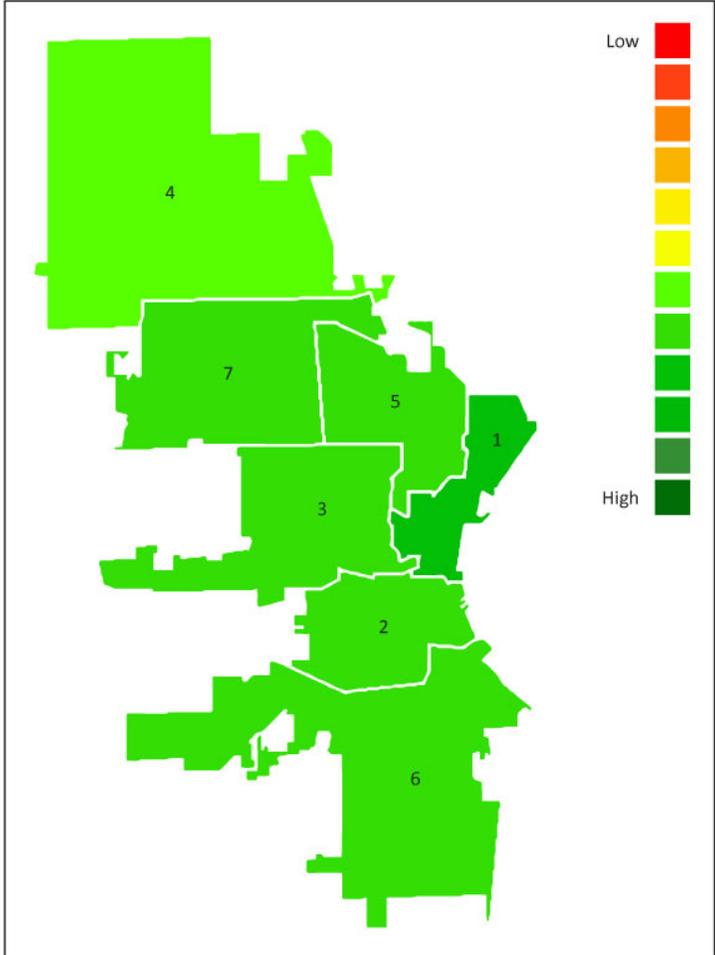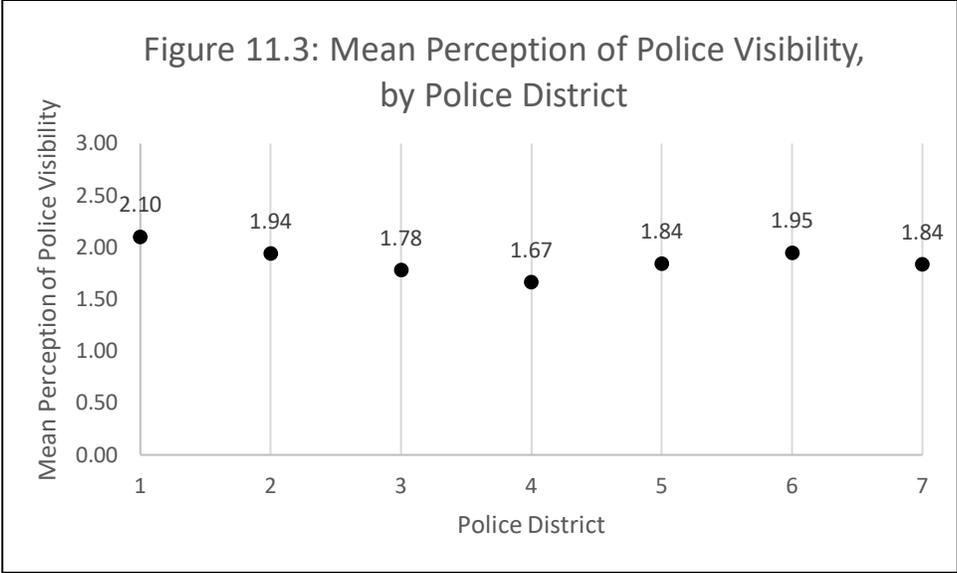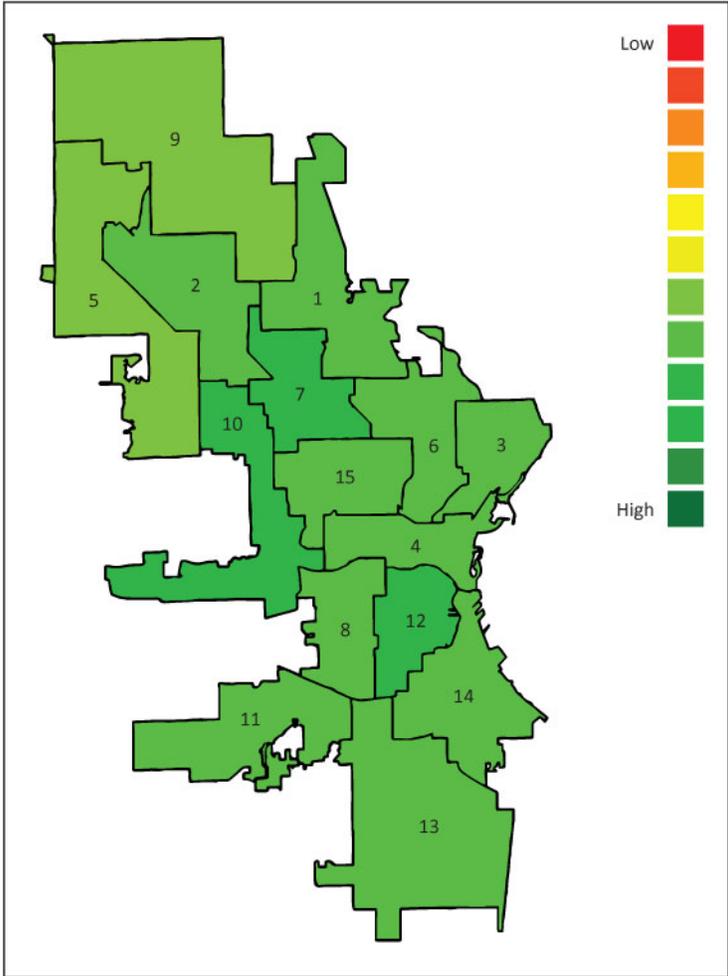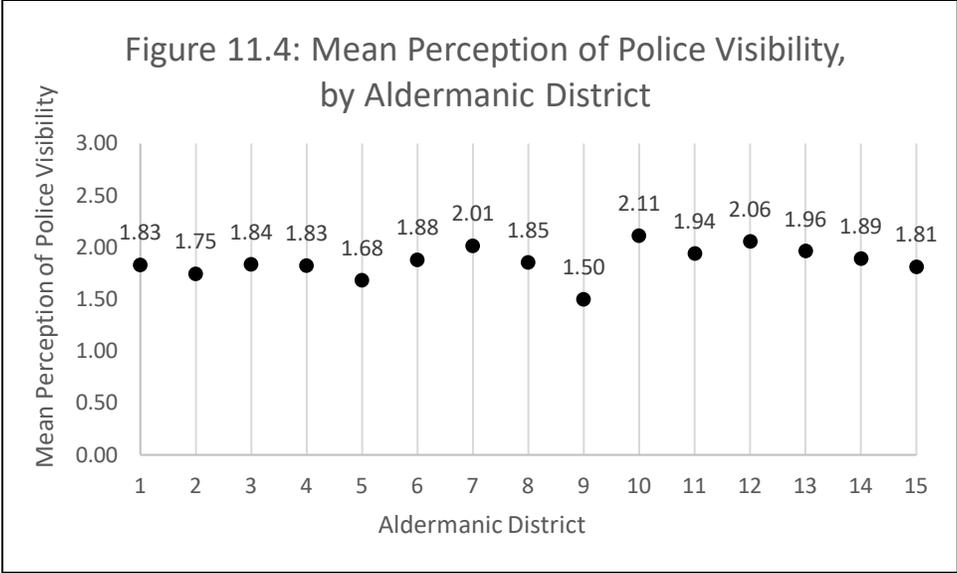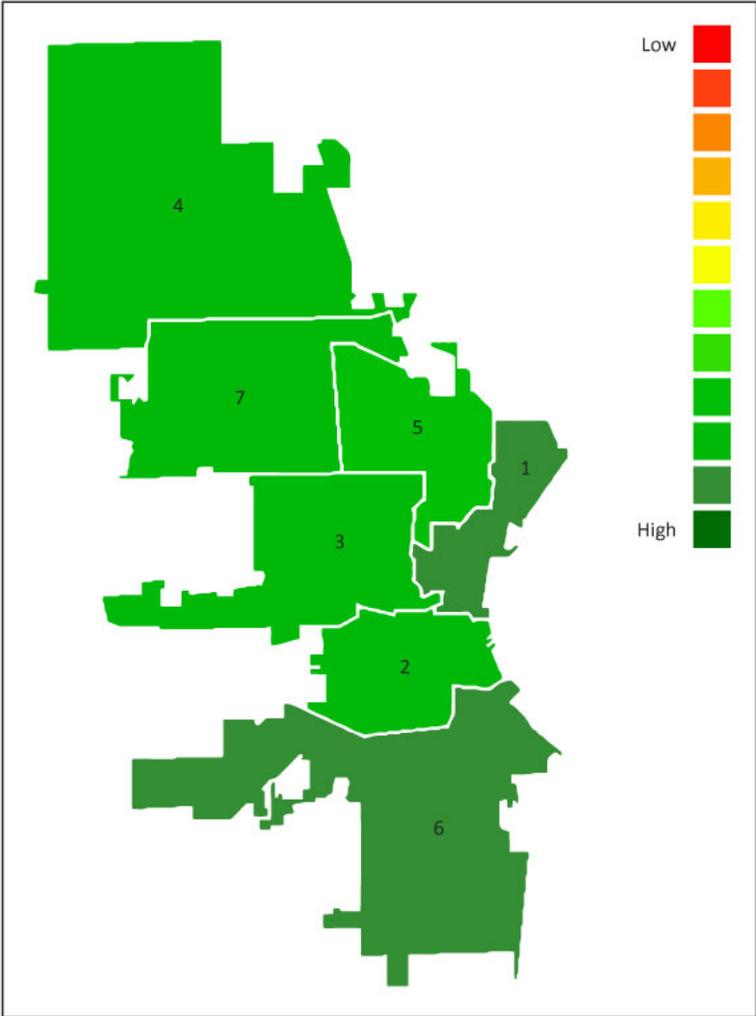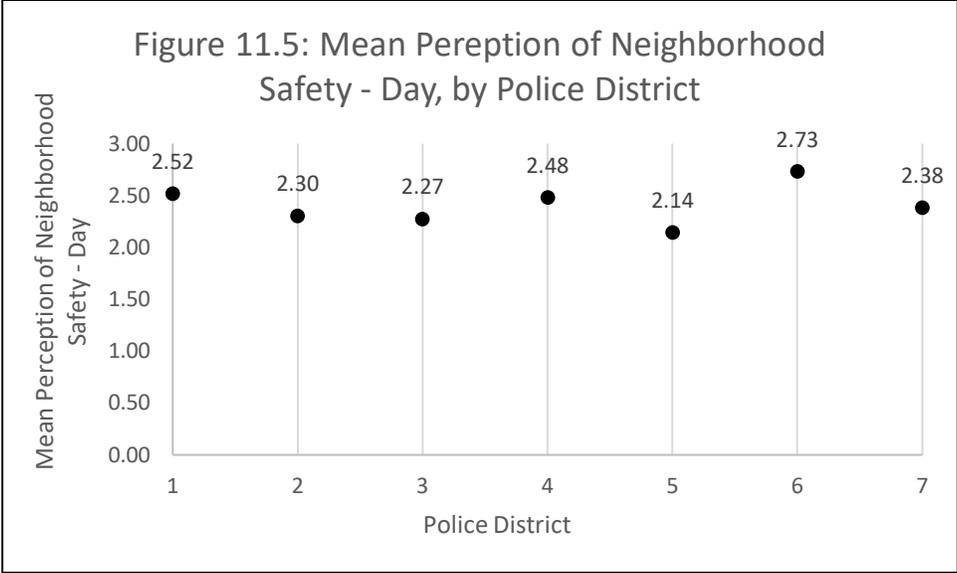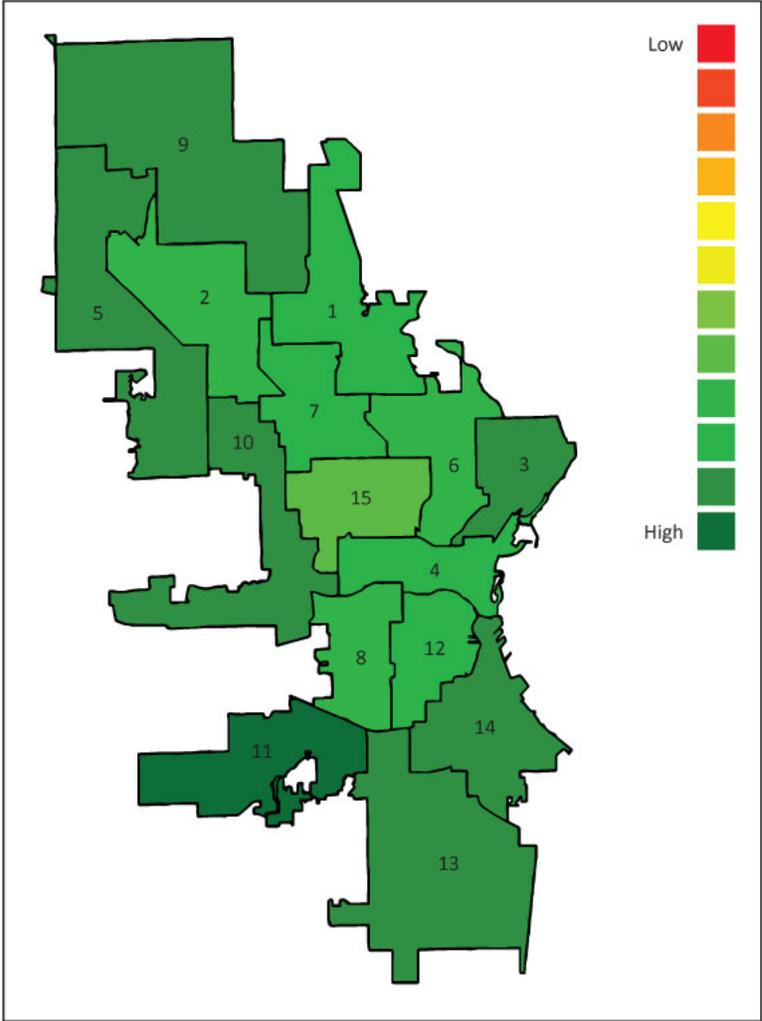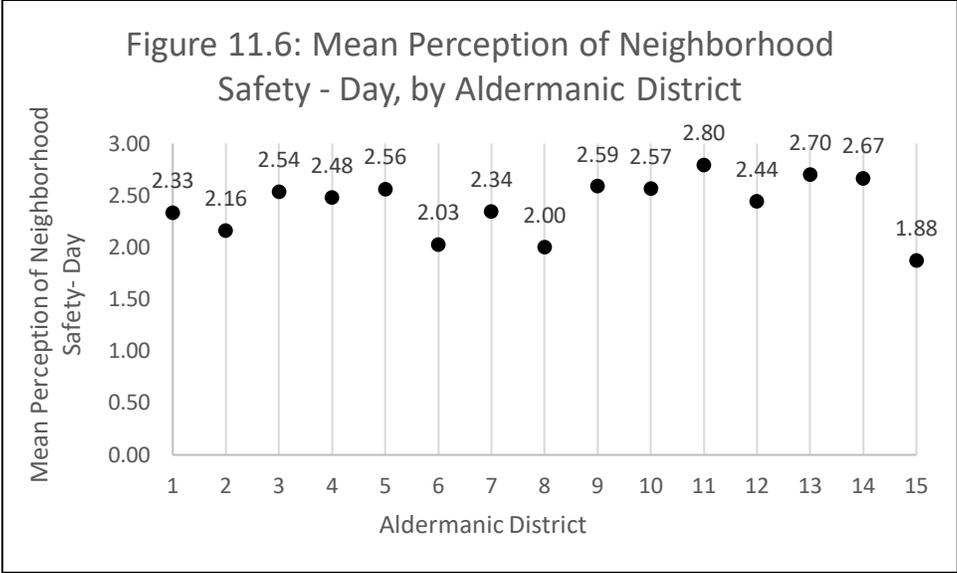
Figure 11.7: Mean Perception of Neighborhood Safety - Night, by Police District
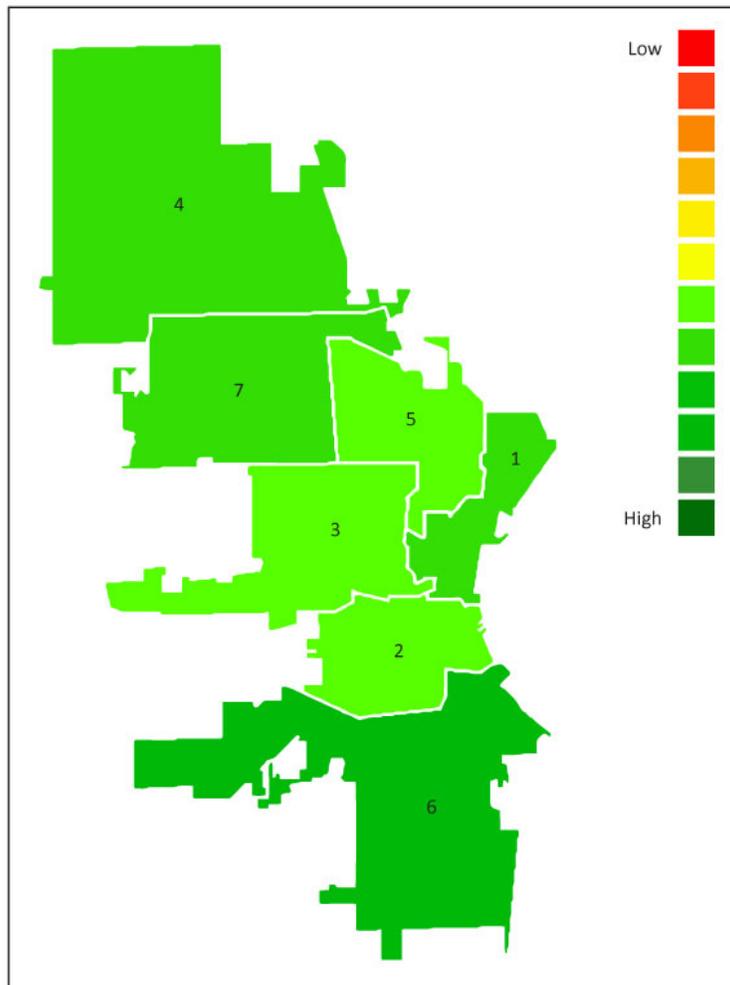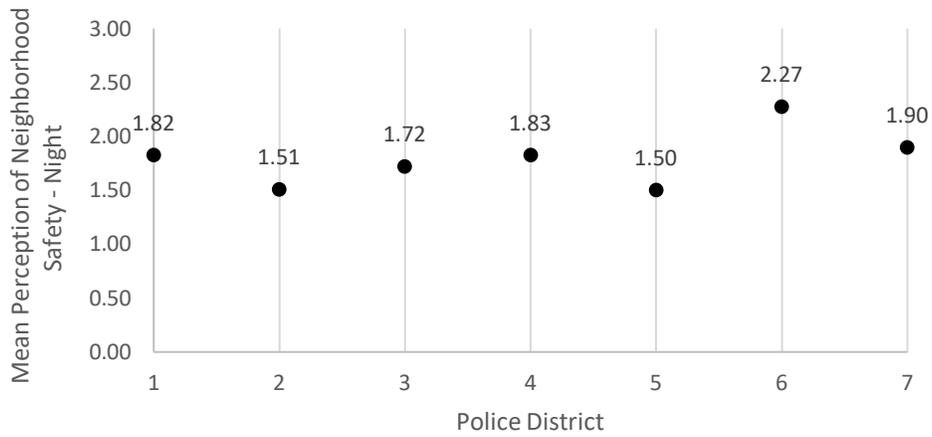
Figure 11.8: Mean Perception of Neighborhood Safety - Night, by Aldermanic District
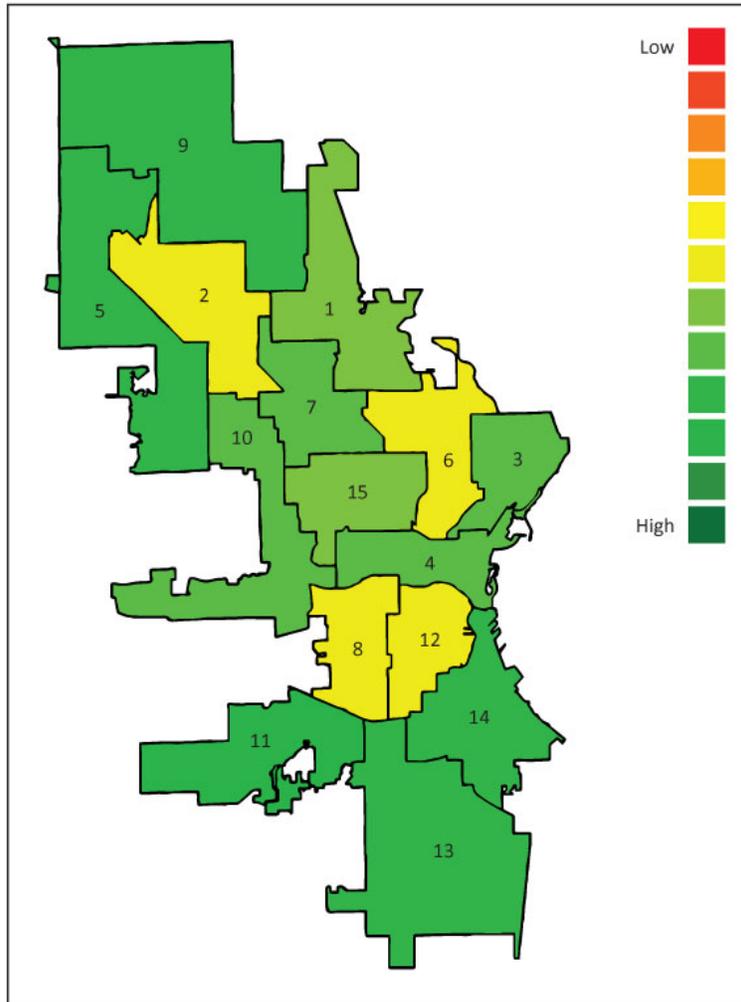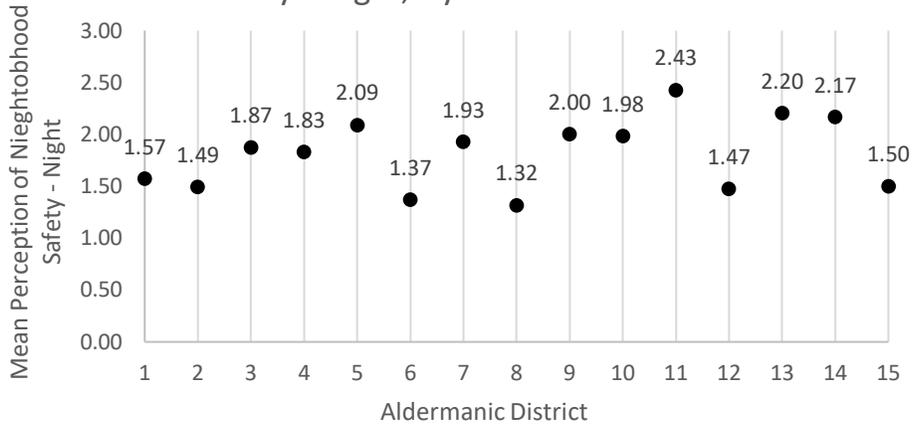
Figure 11.9: Mean Satisfaction with Service Provided by the 911 Operator, by Police District

Figure 11.10: Mean Satisfaction with Service Provided by the 911 Operator, by Aldermanic District

Figure 11.11: % Reporting 1+ Instances of Victimization in the Last Year, by Police District
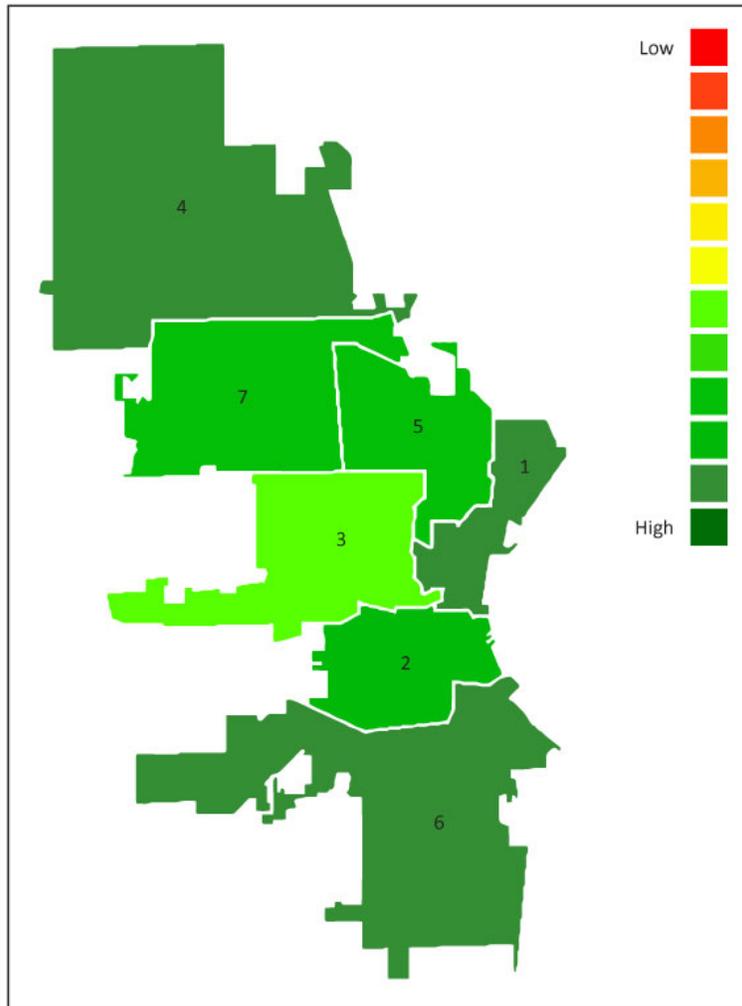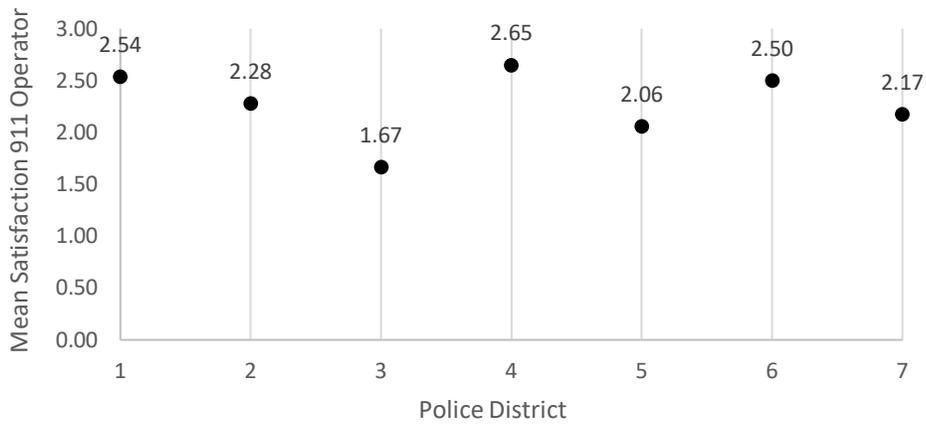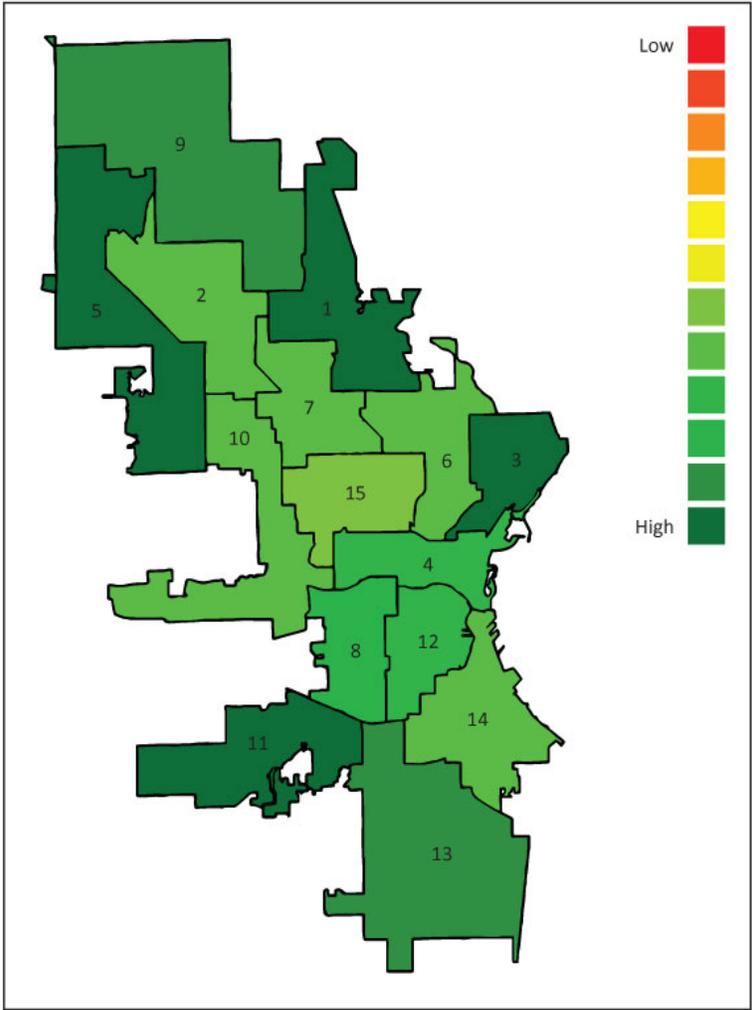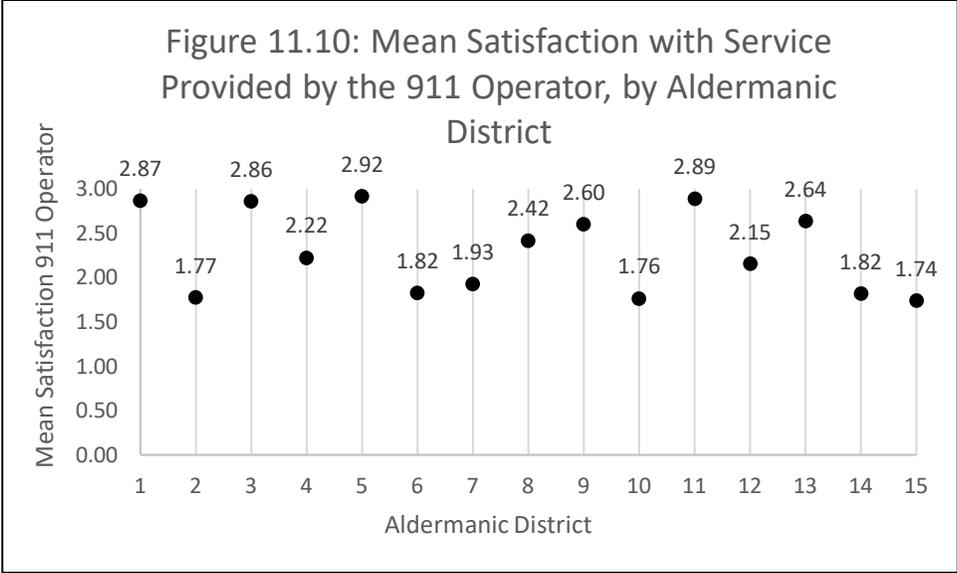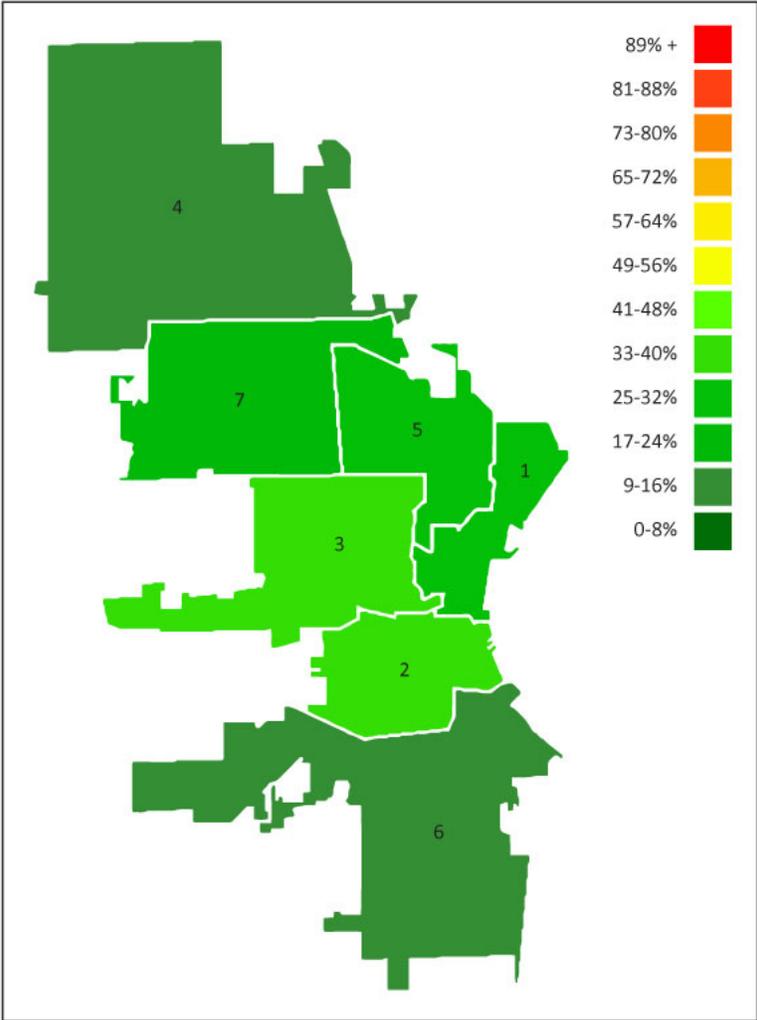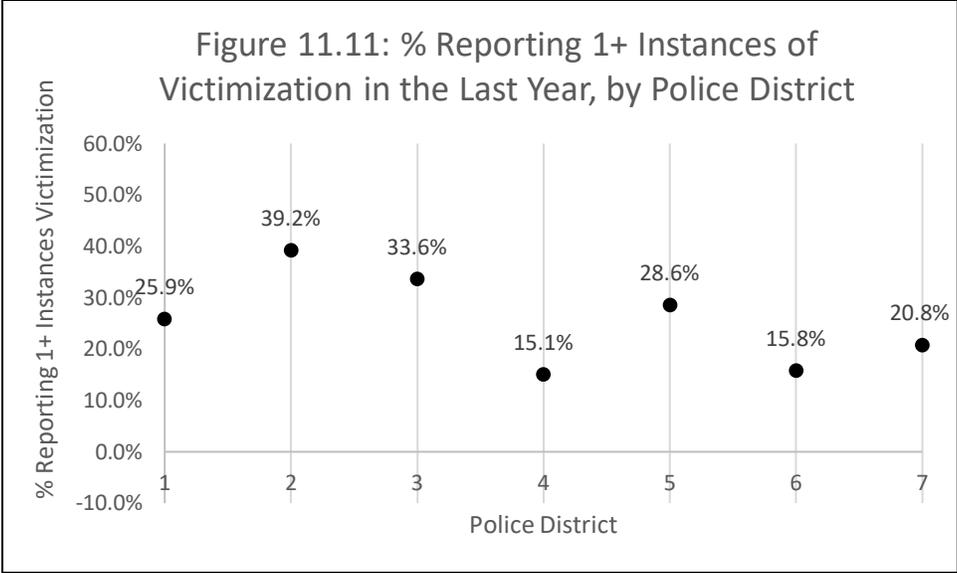
Figure 11.12: % Reporting 1+ Instances of Victimization in the Last Year, by Aldermanic District
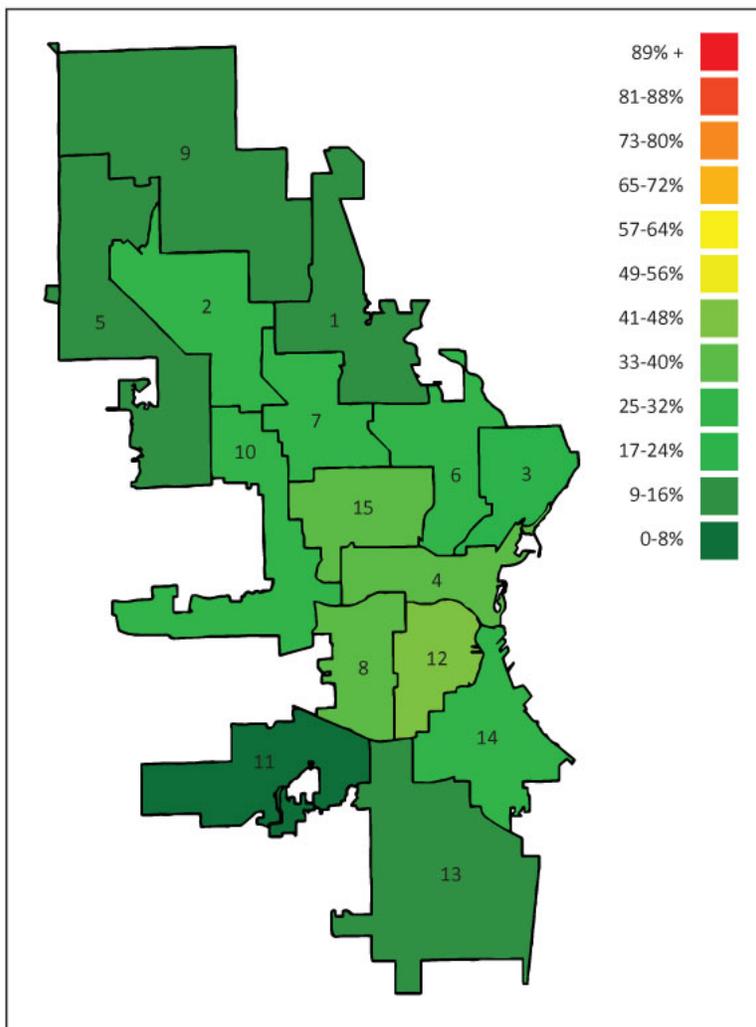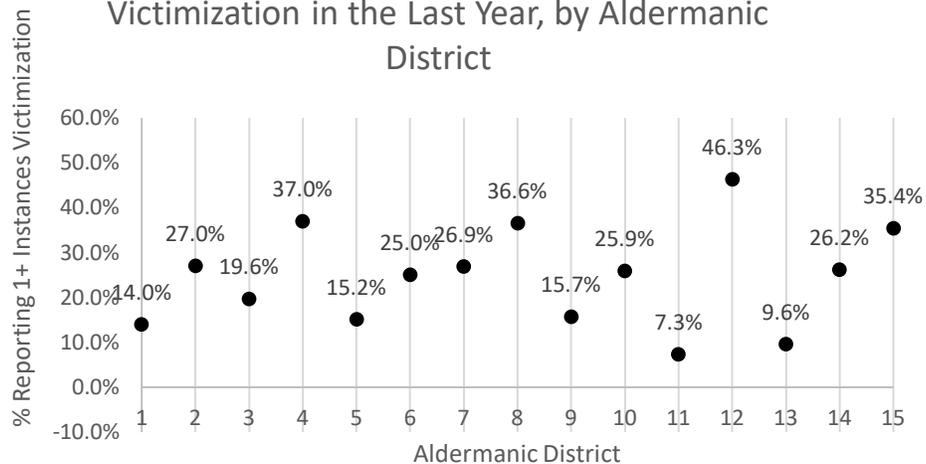
Figure 11.13: % Reporting 1+ Resident-Initiated Police Contacts During Past Year, by Police District
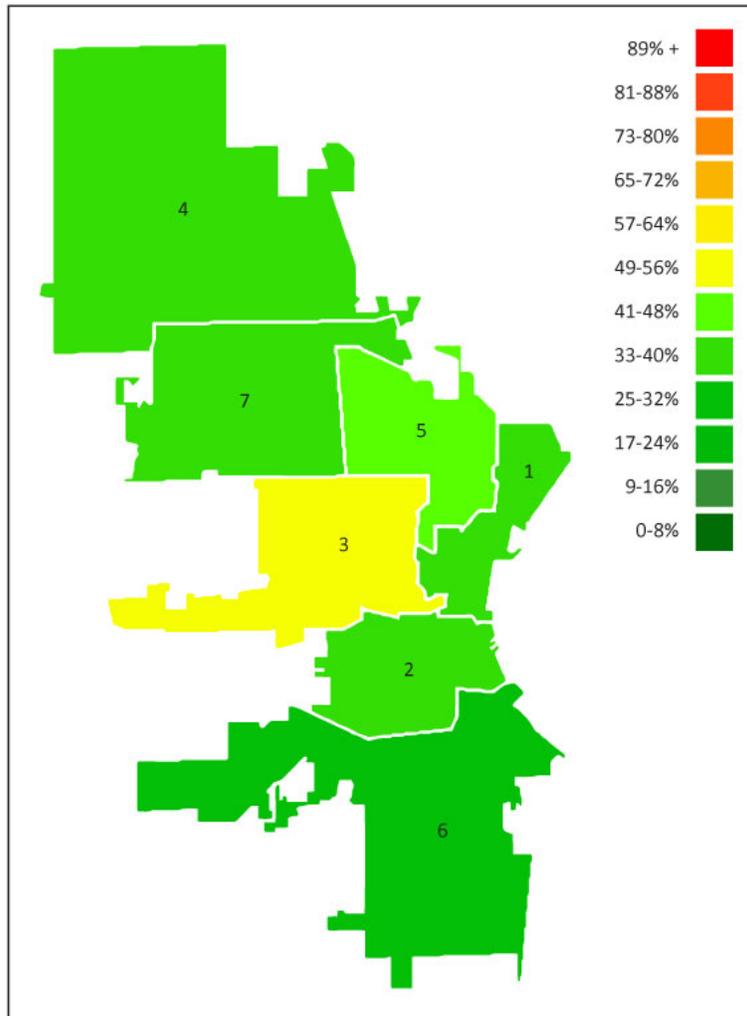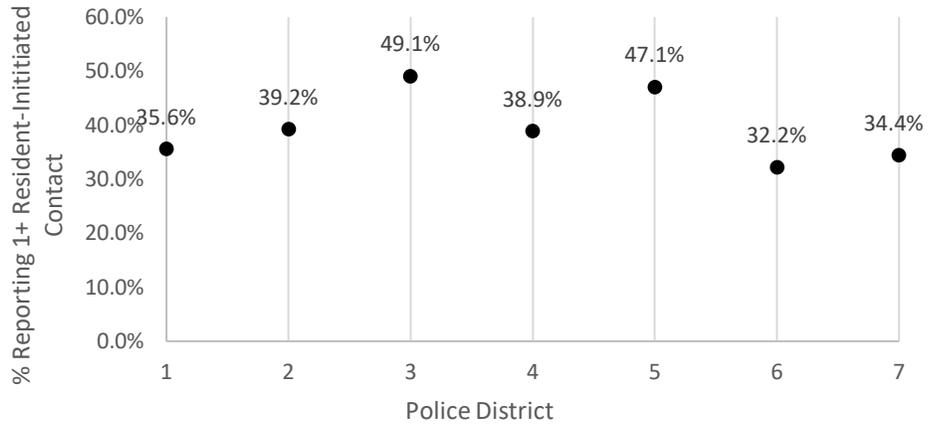
Figure 11.14: % Reporting 1+ Resident-Initiated Police Contacts During Past Year, by Aldermanic District
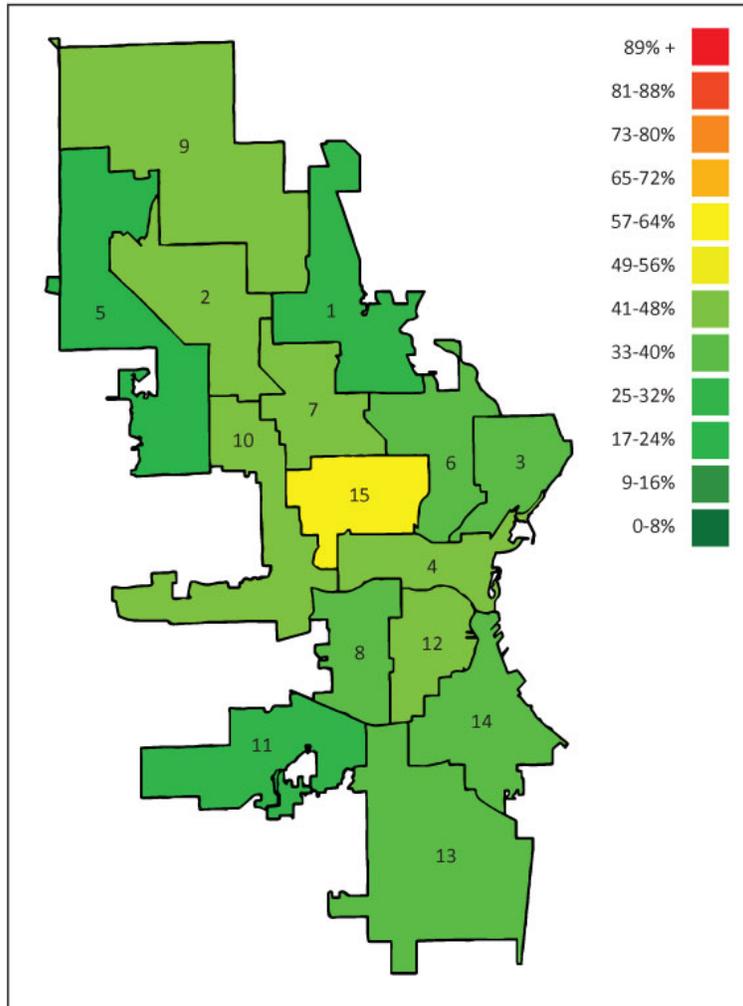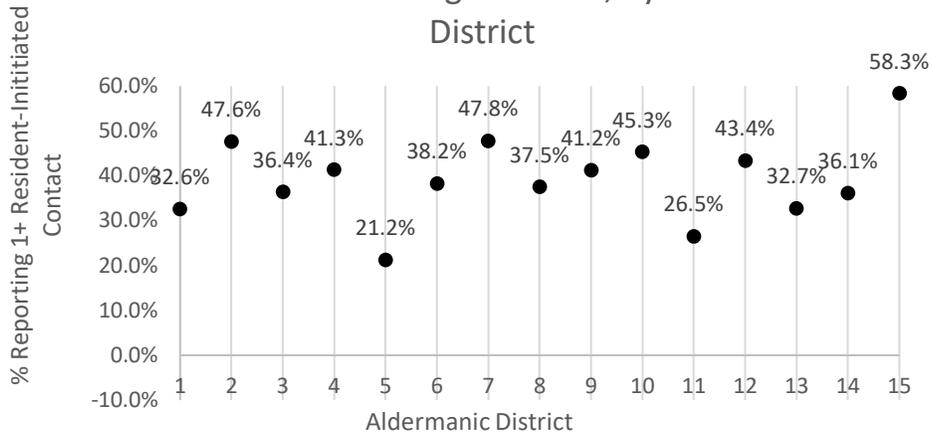
Figure 11.15: % Reporting 1+ Officer-Initiated Police Contacts During Past Year, by Police District
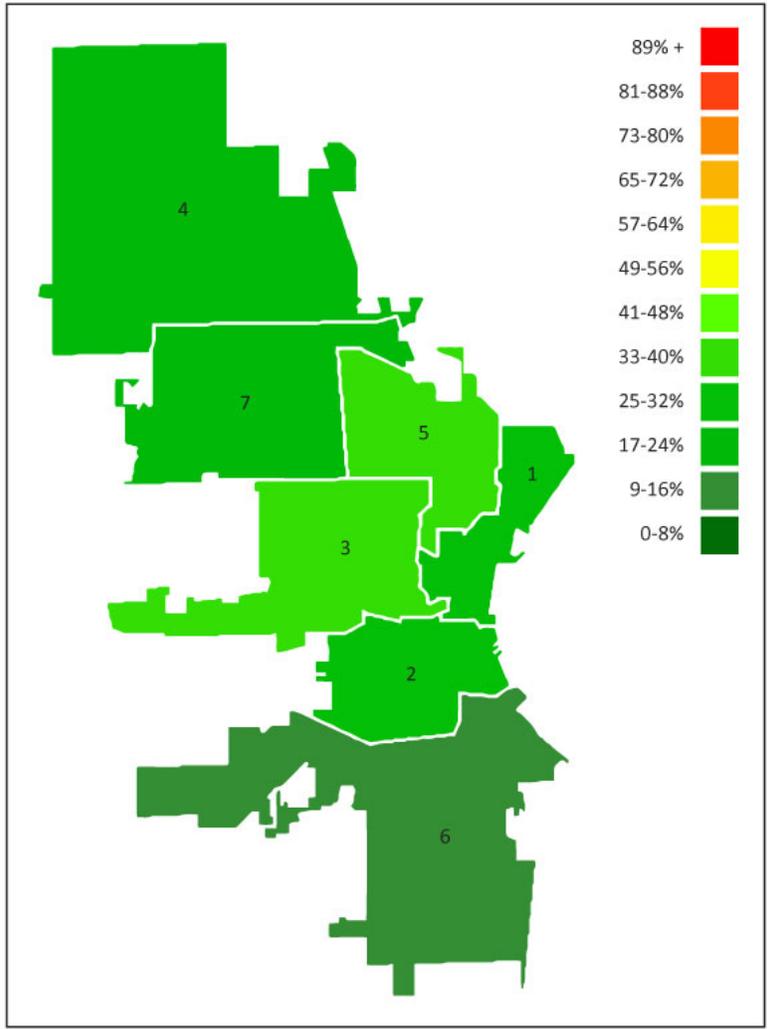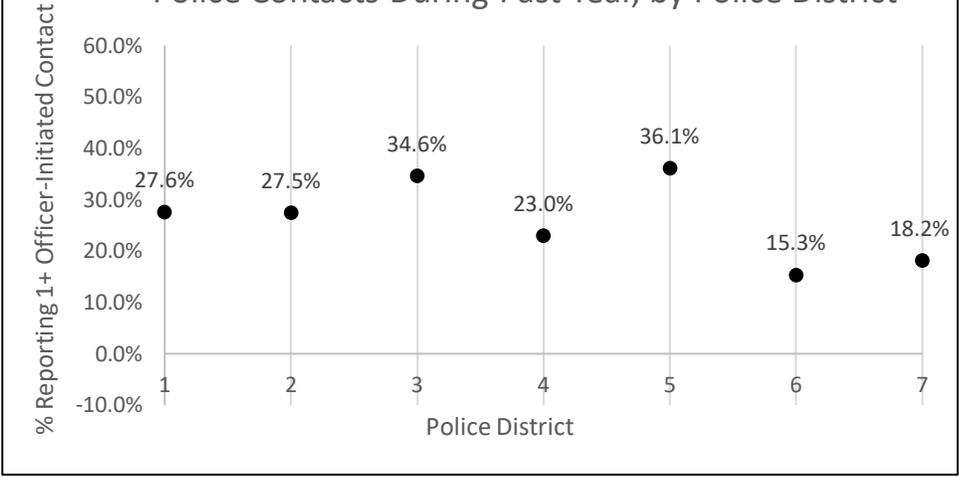
Figure 11.16: % Reporting 1+ Officer-Initiated Police Contacts During Past Year, by Aldermanic District
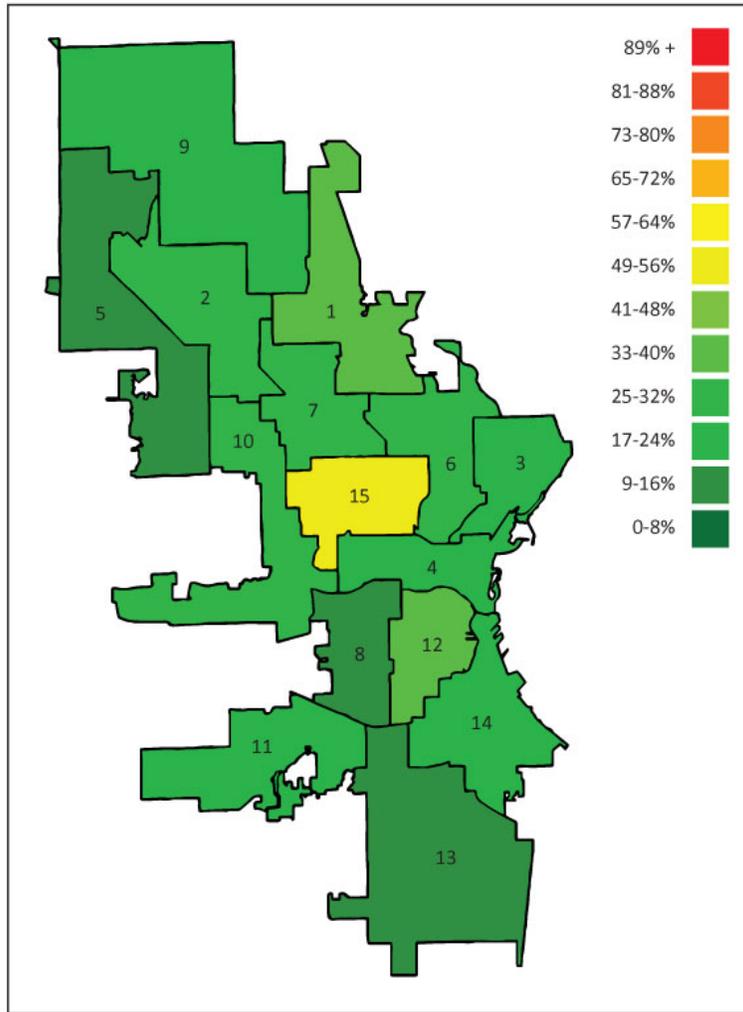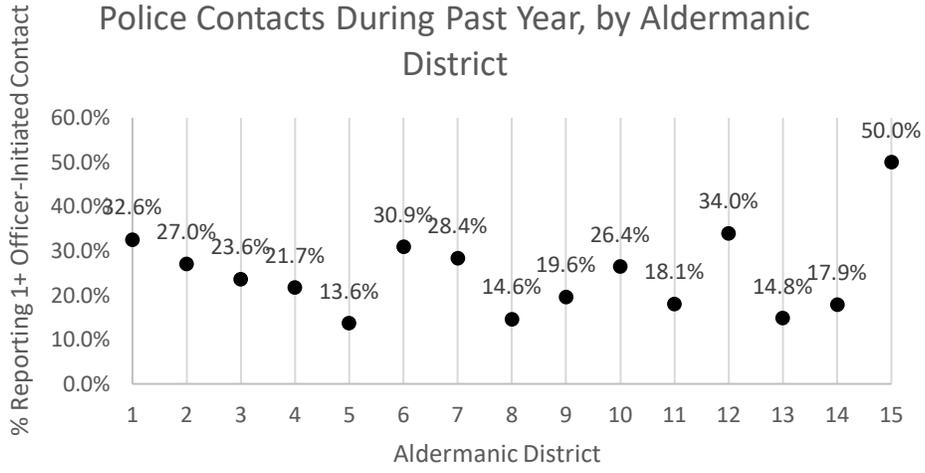
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APPENDIX A

Post-stratification tables

	Population value (CPS) %	Unweighted sample %	Unweighted sample N	Weighted sample %	Weighted sample N
African-American	36.0%	36.5%	501	35.7%	490
Other (nonwhite)	12.7%	12.5%	171	12.7%	175
White	51.3%	51.1%	701	51.6%	708

	Population value (CPS) %	Unweighted sample %	Unweighted sample N	Weighted sample %	Weighted sample N
Female	52.7%	59.4%	815	52.5%	722
Male	47.3%	40.6%	558	47.5%	652

	Population value (CPS) %	Unweighted sample %	Unweighted sample N	Weighted sample %	Weighted sample N
18-29	30.8%	8.4%	115	30.6%	421
30-44	27.4%	18.7%	257	27.5%	378
45-59	23.9%	24.3%	333	24.0%	330
60+	17.9%	48.7%	668	17.8%	245

APPENDIX B

Satisfaction with compassion shown during resident-initiated police interactions classification model parameters

```
Ordered probit regression                    Number of obs   =        424
                                             LR chi2(24)     =     162.92
                                             Prob > chi2     =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -595.76555                  Pseudo R2       =     0.1203
```

Satisfaction w/compassion shown	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender						
Male	.2403702	.1056772	2.27	0.023	.0332467	.4474937
Resident race						
black	-.3220731	.1231598	-2.62	0.009	-.5634618	-.0806844
other nonwhite	-.0224614	.1746678	-0.13	0.898	-.364804	.3198811
Age range						
30 to 44	-.0021492	.1379972	-0.02	0.988	-.2726188	.2683204
45 to 59	.0856722	.1539708	0.56	0.578	-.2161049	.3874494
60 and up	.562402	.1927246	2.92	0.004	.1846688	.9401352
Resident education						
Some high school (9-11)	-1.750913	.6753154	-2.59	0.010	-3.074506	-.4273188
High school graduate (12)	-.0034859	.649457	-0.01	0.996	-1.276398	1.269426
Tech or vocational school	-.1490739	.6664039	-0.22	0.823	-1.455202	1.157054
Some college	-.1635991	.6474229	-0.25	0.801	-1.432525	1.105326
College graduate	-.0401432	.6475037	-0.06	0.951	-1.309227	1.228941
Graduate or professional ..	-.2164558	.6689273	-0.32	0.746	-1.527529	1.094618
Homeownership						
Own	.1470677	.1123603	1.31	0.191	-.0731545	.3672898
Hispanic						
Yes	.0625519	.1834792	0.34	0.733	-.2970608	.4221646
R-initiated interaction shift						
In the evening	-.2252556	.1217544	-1.85	0.064	-.4638899	.0133786
Late at night	.2807807	.1446182	1.94	0.052	-.0026657	.5642271
Don't know	.1751168	.406655	0.43	0.667	-.6219124	.9721459
Timing of victimization relative to R-initiated interaction						
Before	-1.236894	.2159506	-5.73	0.000	-1.660149	-.8136386
After	-.6283666	.1214427	-5.17	0.000	-.8663899	-.3903433
Don't know	-.8174033	.2895882	-2.82	0.005	-1.384986	-.249821
Timing of police stop relative to R-initiated interaction						
Before	-.0384115	.2945105	-0.13	0.896	-.6156415	.5388185
After	0	(omitted)				
Legitimacy of police stop						
Illegitimate	-.5585957	.2295419	-2.43	0.015	-1.00849	-.1087018
Legitimate	.2557378	.1874023	1.36	0.172	-.1115639	.6230394
Legitimacy#Timing of p. stop						
Illegitimate#Before	1.130703	.472106	2.40	0.017	.2053919	2.056013

APPENDIX C

Weighted survey responses to all questions

Are you currently a resident of the City of Milwaukee age 18 or older?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Yes	1373	100.0	100.0	100.0

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	121	8.8	8.9	8.9
	Not very satisfied	165	12.0	12.2	21.1
	Somewhat satisfied	673	49.0	49.8	70.9
	Very satisfied	394	28.7	29.1	100.0
	Total	1353	98.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	20	1.5		
Total		1373	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	117	8.5	8.6	8.6
	Not much	254	18.5	18.7	27.4
	Some	529	38.6	39.0	66.4
	A great deal	457	33.3	33.6	100.0
	Total	1358	98.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	16	1.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Their efforts to address violent crimes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	139	10.1	10.3	10.3
	Not very satisfied	166	12.1	12.4	22.7
	Somewhat satisfied	664	48.3	49.4	72.1
	Very satisfied	375	27.3	27.9	100.0
	Total	1344	97.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	29	2.1		
	Refused	0	.0		
	Total	29	2.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Their efforts to enforce property-related crimes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	196	14.3	15.0	15.0
	Not very satisfied	220	16.0	16.8	31.8
	Somewhat satisfied	619	45.1	47.2	79.0
	Very satisfied	275	20.0	21.0	100.0
	Total	1310	95.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	62	4.5		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	63	4.6		
Total		1373	100.0		

Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Their efforts to enforce traffic laws

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	329	23.9	24.2	24.2
	Not very satisfied	257	18.7	18.9	43.2
	Somewhat satisfied	458	33.4	33.8	77.0
	Very satisfied	312	22.7	23.0	100.0
	Total	1357	98.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	16	1.2		
	Refused	0	.0		
	Total	17	1.2		
Total		1373	100.0		

Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Their responsiveness to public concerns

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	219	15.9	16.4	16.4
	Not very satisfied	221	16.1	16.5	32.9
	Somewhat satisfied	597	43.5	44.7	77.6
	Very satisfied	300	21.8	22.4	100.0
	Total	1337	97.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	35	2.6		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	36	2.7		
Total		1373	100.0		

Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Their honesty and integrity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	184	13.4	13.8	13.8
	Not very satisfied	200	14.6	15.0	28.8
	Somewhat satisfied	515	37.5	38.5	67.3
	Very satisfied	437	31.8	32.7	100.0
	Total	1337	97.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	34	2.4		
	Refused	3	.2		
	Total	37	2.7		
Total		1373	100.0		

Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Their general attitude and behavior towards citizens

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	179	13.0	13.3	13.3
	Not very satisfied	179	13.0	13.3	26.6
	Somewhat satisfied	553	40.3	41.1	67.7
	Very satisfied	434	31.6	32.3	100.0
	Total	1345	97.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	27	2.0		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	29	2.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

Please specify how satisfied you are with the Milwaukee Police Department in each of the following areas. Their overall competence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all satisfied	138	10.0	10.4	10.4
	Not very satisfied	149	10.9	11.2	21.6
	Somewhat satisfied	626	45.6	47.0	68.5
	Very satisfied	419	30.5	31.5	100.0
	Total	1332	97.0	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	41	3.0		
	Refused	0	.0		
	Total	41	3.0		
Total		1373	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	158	11.5	11.6	11.6
	Not very visible	291	21.2	21.3	33.0
	Somewhat visible	508	37.0	37.3	70.2
	Very visible	406	29.6	29.8	100.0
	Total	1364	99.3	100.0	
Missing	8 Don't know	10	.7		
Total		1373	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	38	2.7	2.8	2.8
	Not very visible	86	6.3	6.3	9.1
	Somewhat visible	630	45.9	46.2	55.3
	Very visible	610	44.4	44.7	100.0
	Total	1364	99.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	9	.6		
	Refused	1	.1		
	Total	10	.7		
Total		1373	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	158	11.5	11.6	11.6
	Not very satisfied	213	15.5	15.7	27.2
	Somewhat satisfied	575	41.9	42.3	69.5
	Very satisfied	415	30.2	30.5	100.0
	Total	1362	99.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	11	.8		
	Refused	1	.0		
	Total	12	.8		
Total		1373	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	40	2.9	2.9	2.9
	Not very safe	81	5.9	5.9	8.8
	Somewhat safe	425	30.9	31.0	39.8
	Very safe	826	60.1	60.2	100.0
	Total	1371	99.9	100.0	
Missing	8 Don't know	2	.1		
Total		1373	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	166	12.1	12.1	12.1
	Not very safe	197	14.4	14.4	26.5
	Somewhat safe	568	41.4	41.5	68.1
	Very safe	437	31.8	31.9	100.0
	Total	1369	99.7	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	5	.3		
Total		1373	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	192	14.0	14.2	14.2
	Not very safe	427	31.1	31.5	45.7
	Somewhat safe	651	47.4	48.0	93.7
	Very safe	85	6.2	6.3	100.0
	Total	1356	98.7	100.0	
Missing	8 Don't know	17	1.2		
	9 Refused	0	.0		
	Total	17	1.3		
Total		1373	100.0		

During the past 12 months, have you been the victim of a crime?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	1088	79.2	79.3	79.3
	Yes	283	20.6	20.7	100.0
	Total	1371	99.8	100.0	
Missing	8 Don't know	2	.1		
	9 Refused	0	.0		
	Total	2	.2		
Total		1373	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	One crime	141	10.3	49.9	49.9
	More than 1 crime	142	10.3	50.1	100.0
	Total	283	20.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	0	.0		
	System	1090	79.4		
	Total	1090	79.4		
Total		1373	100.0		

Did you report the incident to the police?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 No	27	1.9	18.9	18.9
	1 Yes	115	8.3	81.1	100.0
	Total	141	10.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1232	89.7		
Total		1373	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	No	69	5.0	48.7	48.7
	Yes	73	5.3	51.3	100.0
	Total	142	10.4	100.0	
Missing	System	1231	89.6		
Total		1373	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	No	23	1.7	24.5	24.5
	Yes	72	5.2	75.5	100.0
	Total	95	6.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	5	.3		
	System	1274	92.7		
	Total	1278	93.1		
Total		1373	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	No	53	3.8	53.0	53.0
	Yes	47	3.4	47.0	100.0
	Total	100	7.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1274	92.7		
Total		1373	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	No	53	3.8	53.4	53.4
	Yes	46	3.3	46.6	100.0
	Total	99	7.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	1274	92.7		
	Total	1275	92.8		
Total		1373	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	No	24	1.7	24.4	24.4
	Yes	74	5.4	75.6	100.0
	Total	98	7.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.1		
	System	1274	92.7		
	Total	1275	92.9		
Total		1373	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	No	827	60.2	60.4	60.4
	Yes	543	39.5	39.6	100.0
	Total	1370	99.7	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	4	.3		
Total		1373	100.0		

About how many times have you approached or sought help from the Milwaukee Police Department or a Milwaukee Police Officer during the past 12 months?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	239	17.4	45.3	45.3
	2	120	8.7	22.8	68.1
	3	51	3.7	9.6	77.7
	4	43	3.1	8.1	85.9
	5	25	1.8	4.7	90.6
	6	13	.9	2.5	93.1
	7	4	.3	.7	93.8
	8	7	.5	1.3	95.0
	9	1	.1	.2	95.3
	10	7	.5	1.3	96.6
	11	1	.1	.3	96.8
	12	6	.5	1.2	98.0
	15	6	.4	1.1	99.1
	18	0	.0	.1	99.2
	20	2	.1	.3	99.5
	30	1	.1	.3	99.7
	50	0	.0	.1	99.8
	200	1	.1	.2	100.0
	Total	527	38.4	100.0	
Missing	0	15	1.1		
	don't know or refused	2	.1		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	847	61.6		
Total		1373	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	Report a crime	318	23.2	59.1	59.1
	Other reason	220	16.1	40.9	100.0
	Total	539	39.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	5	.3		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	835	60.8		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before	37	2.7	18.7	18.7
	After	160	11.6	81.3	100.0
	Total	197	14.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	21	1.5		
	System	1156	84.2		
	Total	1177	85.7		
Total		1373	100.0		

Do you feel that you were treated fairly?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	165	12.0	30.7	30.7
	Yes	373	27.2	69.3	100.0
	Total	538	39.2	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	5	.3		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	835	60.8		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	213	15.5	39.8	39.8
	Yes	322	23.4	60.2	100.0
	Total	534	38.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	9	.7		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	839	61.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	160	11.7	29.9	29.9
	Yes	376	27.4	70.1	100.0
	Total	536	39.0	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	7	.5		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	837	61.0		
Total		1373	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	93	6.8	17.4	17.4
	Not very satisfied	64	4.6	11.9	29.3
	Somewhat satisfied	131	9.6	24.6	53.9
	Very satisfied	246	17.9	46.1	100.0
	Total	534	38.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	9	.7		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	840	61.1		
Total		1373	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	101	7.3	19.1	19.1
	Not very satisfied	74	5.4	14.1	33.2
	Somewhat satisfied	137	10.0	26.0	59.1
	Very satisfied	215	15.7	40.9	100.0
	Total	527	38.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	15	1.1		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	846	61.6		
Total		1373	100.0		

Did this police contact occur...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	During the day, between 8am and 4pm	199	14.5	37.3	37.3
	In the evening, between 4pm and midnight	199	14.5	37.4	74.7
	Late at night, between midnight and 8am	135	9.8	25.3	100.0
	Total	534	38.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	10	.7		
	System	830	60.5		
	Total	840	61.1		
Total		1373	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	No	1072	78.0	78.4	78.4
	Yes	296	21.6	21.6	100.0
	Total	1368	99.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	5	.4		
Total		1373	100.0		

About how many times did a Milwaukee police officer initiate contact with you in the past 12 months?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	129	9.4	43.8	43.8
	2	59	4.3	19.9	63.7
	3	34	2.5	11.5	75.2
	4	37	2.7	12.5	87.7
	5	10	.7	3.5	91.2
	6	3	.2	1.0	92.2
	7	0	.0	.1	92.3
	8	4	.3	1.3	93.5
	10	10	.7	3.4	96.9
	11	1	.1	.5	97.4
	12	2	.2	.7	98.1
	15	3	.2	.9	99.0
	16	1	.1	.4	99.4
	20	1	.1	.4	99.9
	30	0	.0	.1	100.0
	Total	295	21.5	100.0	
Missing	don't know or refused	1	.1		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1078	78.5		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before	30	2.2	29.0	29.0
	After	74	5.4	71.0	100.0
	Total	105	7.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	3	.2		
	System	1266	92.2		
	Total	1269	92.4		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before	44	3.2	35.0	35.0
	After	81	5.9	65.0	100.0
	Total	125	9.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	7	.5		
	System	1242	90.4		
	Total	1248	90.9		
Total		1373	100.0		

During this incident, were stopped while driving a motor vehicle?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	173	12.6	58.3	58.3
	Yes	123	9.0	41.7	100.0
	Total	296	21.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1077	78.4		
Total		1373	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	No	153	11.1	88.5	88.5
	Yes	20	1.4	11.5	100.0
	Total	173	12.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1201	87.4		
Total		1373	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	No	93	6.8	61.2	61.2
	Yes	59	4.3	38.8	100.0
	Total	152	11.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.0		
	System	1220	88.9		
	Total	1221	88.9		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	109	7.9	37.0	37.0
	Yes	185	13.5	63.0	100.0
	Total	294	21.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1080	78.6		
Total		1373	100.0		

Were you treated with courtesy and respect?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	110	8.0	37.5	37.5
	Yes	183	13.3	62.5	100.0
	Total	292	21.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	Refused	2	.1		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1081	78.7		
Total		1373	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	67	4.8	22.5	22.5
	Not very satisfied	58	4.2	19.5	42.0
	Somewhat satisfied	63	4.6	21.4	63.4
	Very satisfied	108	7.9	36.6	100.0
	Total	295	21.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1078	78.5		
Total		1373	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	No	271	19.7	91.4	91.4
	Yes	26	1.9	8.6	100.0
	Total	296	21.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1077	78.4		
Total		1373	100.0		

Were you searched or patted down during the contact?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	205	14.9	75.8	75.8
	Yes	66	4.8	24.2	100.0
	Total	271	19.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1103	80.3		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	58	4.2	88.0	88.0
	Yes	8	.6	12.0	100.0
	Total	66	4.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1308	95.2		
Total		1373	100.0		

About how many minutes would you say the contact lasted?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	8	.6	3.0	3.0
	2	18	1.3	6.8	9.9
	3	11	.8	4.2	14.1
	4	3	.2	1.2	15.3
	5	41	3.0	15.2	30.5
	7	1	.1	.5	31.0
	8	6	.4	2.1	33.1
	9	0	.0	.2	33.2
	10	46	3.4	17.2	50.4
	11	1	.1	.5	50.9
	12	1	.1	.4	51.3
	15	37	2.7	14.0	65.3
	17	1	.1	.5	65.8
	18	2	.1	.7	66.6
	20	33	2.4	12.5	79.1
	22	1	.1	.5	79.6
	23	1	.1	.5	80.1
	25	5	.4	1.9	82.0
	30	20	1.4	7.3	89.3
	35	1	.1	.5	89.8
	40	2	.2	.9	90.7
	45	1	.1	.3	91.0
	50	1	.1	.3	91.3
	55	1	.1	.5	91.8
	60	7	.5	2.8	94.6
	90	10	.8	3.9	98.4
	120	3	.2	1.1	99.6
	180	1	.1	.3	99.9
	360	0	.0	.1	100.0
	Total	268	19.5	100.0	
Missing	don't know or refused	3	.2		
	System	1103	80.3		
	Total	1105	80.5		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	97	7.0	36.0	36.0
	Yes	172	12.5	64.0	100.0
	Total	268	19.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.2		
	System	1103	80.3		
	Total	1105	80.5		
Total		1373	100.0		

Were you given a ticket?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	197	14.4	73.0	73.0
	Yes	73	5.3	27.0	100.0
	Total	271	19.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1103	80.3		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	24	1.7	93.5	93.5
	Yes	2	.1	6.5	100.0
	Total	26	1.9	100.0	
Missing	System	1348	98.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	9	.7	37.0	37.0
	Yes	16	1.2	63.0	100.0
	Total	26	1.9	100.0	
Missing	System	1348	98.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

Do you feel the use of force was excessive?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	16	1.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	1357	98.8		
Total		1373	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	No	262	19.1	88.4	88.4
	Yes	34	2.5	11.6	100.0
	Total	296	21.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1077	78.4		
Total		1373	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	Female	41	3.0	14.1	14.1
	Male	252	18.4	85.9	100.0
	Total	293	21.4	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	Refused	1	.1		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1080	78.6		
Total		1373	100.0		

Was the officer Hispanic or Latino?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	240	17.5	91.9	91.9
	Yes	21	1.5	8.1	100.0
	Total	262	19.0	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	35	2.5		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1112	81.0		
Total		1373	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	27	2.0	9.8	9.8
	Asian	1	.1	.4	10.3
	White	230	16.8	82.5	92.8
	Mixed	9	.6	3.2	96.0
	Other	11	.8	4.0	100.0
	Total	279	20.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	15	1.1		
	Refused	2	.1		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1094	79.7		
Total		1373	100.0		

Did this police contact occur...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	During the day, between 8am and 4pm	106	7.7	35.8	35.8
	In the evening, between 4pm and midnight	126	9.1	42.6	78.4
	Late at night, between midnight and 8am	64	4.6	21.6	100.0
	Total	295	21.5	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	1077	78.4		
	Total	1078	78.5		
Total		1373	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	No	969	70.5	70.8	70.8
	Yes	400	29.2	29.2	100.0
	Total	1369	99.7	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	4	.3		
Total		1373	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	203	14.8	50.8	50.8
	Emergency medical assistance	136	9.9	34.0	84.8
	Fire department assistance	27	1.9	6.7	91.5
	Some other type of assistance	34	2.5	8.5	100.0
	Total	400	29.2	100.0	
Missing	System	973	70.8		
Total		1373	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	Not at all satisfied	44	3.2	10.9	10.9
	Not very satisfied	42	3.0	10.5	21.4
	Somewhat satisfied	64	4.6	15.9	37.3
	Very satisfied	250	18.2	62.7	100.0
	Total	399	29.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	1	.1		
	System	973	70.8		
	Total	974	70.9		
Total		1373	100.0		

Thinking about this same call, would you describe the amount of time you were placed on hold before being connected to the operator?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Unacceptable	100	7.3	25.8	25.8
	Acceptable	288	21.0	74.2	100.0
	Total	388	28.3	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	12	.9		
	System	973	70.8		
	Total	985	71.7		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 5 years	119	8.7	8.7	8.7
	5 to 10 years	120	8.8	8.8	17.4
	11 to 15 years	87	6.3	6.3	23.8
	More than 15 years	1045	76.1	76.2	100.0
	Total	1371	99.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

Do you rent or own your home?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rent	611	44.5	44.9	44.9
	Own	750	54.6	55.1	100.0
	Total	1361	99.1	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	10	.7		
	Refused	2	.1		
	Total	12	.9		
Total		1373	100.0		

Including you, how many adults aged 18 and over live in your household?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	390	28.4	28.5	28.5
	2	595	43.4	43.5	72.0
	3	227	16.5	16.6	88.6
	4	108	7.9	7.9	96.4
	5	38	2.8	2.8	99.2
	6	9	.6	.6	99.9
	7	2	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	1369	99.7	100.0	
Missing	don't know or refused	3	.2		
	don't know or refused	1	.1		
	Total	4	.3		
Total		1373	100.0		

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

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	856	62.3	62.3	62.3
	Yes	517	37.6	37.7	100.0
	Total	1373	99.9	100.0	
Missing	Refused	1	.1		
Total		1373	100.0		

Has anyone in your household been convicted of a felony?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	1231	89.6	90.7	90.7
	Yes	126	9.2	9.3	100.0
	Total	1357	98.8	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	6	.5		
	Refused	10	.7		
	Total	16	1.2		
Total		1373	100.0		

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Some grade school (1-8)	12	.9	.9	.9
	Some high school (9-11)	65	4.8	4.8	5.7
	High school graduate (12)	354	25.8	25.9	31.6
	Tech or vocational school	112	8.2	8.2	39.8
	Some college	372	27.1	27.2	67.0
	College graduate	316	23.0	23.1	90.1
	Graduate or professional degree	135	9.8	9.9	100.0
	Total	1368	99.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	0	.0		
	Refused	5	.4		
	Total	5	.4		
Total		1373	100.0		

Are you currently...

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Employed	933	67.9	68.2	68.2
	Unemployed	182	13.3	13.3	81.6
	Retired	252	18.4	18.4	100.0
	Total	1367	99.6	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	5	.4		
	Refused	1	.0		
	Total	6	.4		
Total		1373	100.0		

Are you Hispanic or Latino

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	1220	88.9	89.0	89.0
	Yes	151	11.0	11.0	100.0
	Total	1371	99.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	2	.1		
	Refused	0	.0		
	Total	2	.1		
Total		1373	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	490	35.7	35.7	35.7
	Asian	31	2.2	2.2	37.9
	White	708	51.6	51.6	89.5
	Native American/Native Alaskan	13	1.0	1.0	90.5
	Mixed	72	5.2	5.2	95.7
	Other	59	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	1373	100.0	100.0	

Gender (Are you...)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Female	722	52.5	52.5	52.5
	Male	652	47.5	47.5	100.0
	Total	1373	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	421	30.6	30.6	30.6
	30 to 44	378	27.5	27.5	58.1
	45 to 59	330	24.0	24.0	82.2
	60 and up	245	17.8	17.8	100.0
	Total	1373	100.0	100.0	

About how much was your total family income before taxes in 2018? Please stop me when I get to the range that covers you

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	$20 thousand or less	205	14.9	17.4	17.4
	$20 to $40 thousand	293	21.3	24.8	42.2
	$40 to $60 thousand	251	18.2	21.2	63.5
	$60 to $80 thousand	162	11.8	13.7	77.2
	$80 to $100 thousand	105	7.6	8.9	86.1
	$100 to $120 thousand	61	4.4	5.1	91.3
	more than $120 thousand	103	7.5	8.7	100.0
	Total	1179	85.9	100.0	
Missing	Don't know	100	7.3		
	Refused	94	6.9		
	Total	194	14.1		
Total		1373	100.0		