TECHNICAL REPORT

Police–Community Relations in Cincinnati

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Sponsored by the City of Cincinnati

RAND INFRASTRUCTURE, SAFETY, AND ENVIRONMENT

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Preface

In 2002, the Cincinnati Police Department entered into a collaborative agreement with other parties in Cincinnati. The collaborative agreement binds the signatories (referred to as "the parties") to a series of reforms and initiatives intended to reduce social strife in the city. This report is the result of a section in the decree that pledges the parties to evaluate whether the agreement is achieving its goals. The RAND Corporation will conduct this evaluation over a five-year period, from June 2004 to the latter part of 2008. This is the first annual report required under the collaborative evaluation. This study will interest Cincinnati residents and public officials. This report may also prove useful to residents and officials in other jurisdictions where similar reform efforts are underway. The City of Cincinnati funded this project on behalf of the parties to the collaborative agreement. Recent RAND works that may be of interest to readers of this report include the following:

- *Training the 21st Century Police Officer: Redefining Police Professionalism for the Los Angeles Police Department* (Glenn et al., 2003)
- *Assessing Racial Profiling More Credibly: A Case Study of Oakland, California* (Ridgeway and Riley, 2004).

The RAND Safety and Justice Program

This research was conducted under the auspices of the Safety and Justice Program within RAND's Infrastructure, Safety, and Environment Division. The mission of Infrastructure, Safety, and Environment is to improve the development, operation, use, and protection of society's essential man-made and natural assets and to enhance the related social assets of safety and security of individuals in transit and in their workplaces and community. Safety and Justice Program research addresses occupational safety, transportation safety, food safety, and public safety—including violence, policing, corrections, substance abuse, and public integrity.

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Summary

Introduction

In 2002, the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD), the Fraternal Order of Police, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) entered into a collaborative agreement. This agreement pledges the signatories to the agreement (referred to collectively as "the parties") to collaborate in efforts to resolve social conflict, improve community relations, and avoid litigation. The agreement requires the CPD to implement a variety of changes, most notably the adoption of Community Problem-Oriented Policing (CPOP) as a strategy for addressing crime problems and engaging the community. Other provisions of the agreement require the CPD to establish a civilian complaint review process. The collaborative agreement incorporates a previous agreement between the CPD and the U.S. Department of Justice on use-of-force issues.

The agreement has five primary goals:

- [Ensure that p]olice officers and community members…become proactive partners in community problem solving.
- Build relationships of respect, cooperation, and trust within and between police and communities.
- Improve education, oversight, monitoring, hiring practices, and accountability of the CPD.
- Ensure fair, equitable, and courteous treatment for all.
- Create methods to establish the public's understanding of police policies and procedures and recognition of exceptional service in an effort to foster support for the police (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, undated, pp. 3–4).

The agreement also specifies the need to evaluate achievement of these goals. In 2004, the parties contracted with RAND to conduct this evaluation. These goals are assessed through a variety of evaluation mechanisms, including the following:

- A survey of citizen satisfaction with the CPD
- A survey of citizens who have interacted with the police through arrest, reporting a crime or victimization, or being stopped for a traffic violation
- A survey of CPD officers about their perceptions of support from the community, working conditions, and other factors related to job satisfaction and performance

- A survey of officers and citizens involved in a sample of citizen complaints against the officers and the department
- An analysis of motor vehicle stops for patterns of racial disparity in various aspects of the stop
- Periodic observations of structured meetings between citizens and representatives of the CPD
- A review of CPD statistical compilations
- Analysis of a sample of videotaped interactions between citizens and officers during motor vehicle stops
- Analysis of CPD staffing, recruitment, retention, and promotion patterns.

The collaborative agreement requires an annual assessment of progress toward these goals. This report is the first such annual review.

The Context of Policing in Cincinnati

This section compiles data from the CPD on crime, arrests, use of force, and calls for service. This information provides insight into the spatial distribution of incidents and the concentration of law enforcement effort and crime in particular neighborhoods.

Arrests and Citations

Five neighborhoods comprise 37 percent of the CPD's arrests and 31 percent of Cincinnati's reported crimes. The largest share of arrests and reported crimes occurred in the Central Business District (CBD)/Riverfront and Over-the-Rhine neighborhoods, both located in District 1. Citation rates and arrest rates were strongly negatively correlated ($r = -0.62$), implying that neighborhoods with the highest citation rates have the lowest arrest rates. Neighborhoods with high search rates, on the other hand, generally had high arrest rates ($r = 0.92$). These findings are consistent with research that indicates that police are less likely to exercise their discretion to enforce traffic and other less serious offenses in high-crime neighborhoods (Klinger, 1997).

Use of Force

RAND obtained data on use-of-force incidents occurring in 2004. In 2004, there were 1,067 use-of-force incidents in Cincinnati. Over-the-Rhine alone accounted for 20 percent of the incidents involving force. CBD/Riverfront, Walnut Hills, and Avondale, all of which are in close geographic proximity to Over-the-Rhine, each had about 6 percent of the incidents. These findings indicate that use of force by the CPD was geographically clustered in high-crime neighborhoods. Black individuals most frequently received use of force and accounted for 75 percent of these incidents ($n = 798$). There was no difference in the type of force used against individuals of different races.

Calls for Service

The number of calls for service and the number of reported Part 1 crimes in a neighborhood were highly correlated ($r = 0.96$) with an average of 11.4 calls for service for every reported Part 1 crime. The number of arrests was also highly correlated with both calls for service

($r = 0.85$) and the number of reported crimes ($r = 0.76$). These findings indicate that crime, calls for service, and arrests were geographically clustered in the same areas of Cincinnati.

Summary

In short, the statistical compilation suggests that patterns of calls for service, reported crime, arrests, and police use of force were geographically clustered in Cincinnati. Neighborhoods afflicted by high rates of crime were also more likely to have a high volume of crime and police use-of-force incidents. Over-the-Rhine and other neighborhoods located in District 1 (CBD/Riverfront, Queensgate, West-End, Mt. Adams, and Pendleton) appear to be neighborhoods that were disproportionately affected by crime and police interventions (e.g., stops, arrests, and use of force). These findings are consistent with perceptions of neighborhood crime reported in the police community survey. It appears that resident perceptions of crime and police interventions mirror actual police reports. Use-of-force incidents disproportionately occurred in these high-crime and predominantly black neighborhoods. Not surprisingly, therefore, blacks were more likely than whites to be involved in police use-of-force events. When a police use-of-force event occurred, there were no differences in the type of police force applied. It does not appear that blacks received more intense forms of police force than whites. Overall, the results from the statistical compilations of official police reports indicated distinct neighborhood differences in the levels of crime and of police intervention. These differences most likely resulted from the different social conditions present in these neighborhoods.

Staffing and Personnel Actions in the Cincinnati Police

This chapter describes and analyzes CPD staffing to assess the extent to which CPD personnel reflect the population they serve and if and how personnel decisions are associated with race and sex. It provides context that can help in understanding other areas of this report, and offers a baseline by which staffing and personnel actions can be assessed over time. The analysis is based on CPD-supplied staffing reports. RAND's findings indicate that minorities and women were underrepresented among sworn officers and their representation tends to diminish with rank. They were also underrepresented in terms of promotions and applicants. Those who transferred varied little from sworn staff in terms of race, but women transferred more than their presence as sworn staff would suggest. Relative to sworn staff, whites and women separated from the CPD at a disproportionately higher rate, but in terms of resignation, which tends to occur early in the career cycle, the rates were fairly close to that expected from the race and sex distribution of sworn staff. Blacks and females were overrepresented as recruits relative to sworn staff but underrepresented relative to city residents. They were also more successful at completing the academy, and graduated in proportions greater than their composition as sworn staff.

Analysis of Vehicle Stops

The CPD's investigatory stop policy (CPD, Procedure 12.554) requires officers to complete Form 534, a citizen contact card, for all motor vehicle stops. In addition, for any passenger

detained separately, the officer must complete a separate Form 534. The contact cards include information on the vehicle (license plate, car make, and year), the driver (race, age, driver's license), passengers, and the stop (location of the stop, reason for the stop, whether a search occurred, the outcome of the stop, the duration of the stop). After examining the data, we conclude that approximately 20 percent of the stops did not get recorded on contact cards. In addition, important items from the contact cards were also frequently missing. For example, in 2004, 16 percent of stops were missing at least one of the following: stop location, time of day, stop duration, driver age, race, or sex, or whether a search occurred. RAND cannot rule out the possibility that the results of the analysis would be different with greater compliance and less missing data.

Using available data, RAND examined traffic stop data from 2003 and 2004 to assess whether there were indications of racial profiling on the part of CPD officers in their stop and post-stop behavior. RAND examined the data for both departmental-level and individual-level patterns of concern. RAND assesses three specific comparisons of bias here: in the decision to stop at the department level, in the decision to stop at the individual level, and in post-stop decisions at the department level.

Department-Level Stop Patterns

To assess bias in the decision to stop, RAND analyzed the data using the "veil of darkness" method. This method uses the seasonal changing of the clocks to compare stops that occur in daylight to those that occur in darkness. The authors would expect a race bias to be most prevalent during daylight hours when the driver's race is easier to see. In the absence of race bias and among stops made at the same time of day but during different months (and thus under different lighting conditions), the authors expect the percentage of black drivers among drivers stopped during daylight to equal the percentage of black drivers among those stopped in darkness. Since the driving population may vary between daylight and darkness hours, the seasonal changing of the clocks provides an important experimental control: On one Monday in October, drivers on the road at 6:30 p.m. are in daylight, and on the next Monday, they are in darkness. During this changeover, the only factor that varies is the officer's ability to see the race of the driver prior to the stop. Driving patterns, the racial distribution of drivers on the road, and enforcement patterns remain unchanged between these two Mondays.

Using this method, RAND did not find clear evidence of a race bias in an examination of stops that occurred within four weeks of either the spring or fall Daylight Saving Time change. In 2003, the odds that a daylight stop involved a black driver were 15 percent larger than the odds that a nighttime stop involved a black driver. In 2004, the daylight odds were 19 percent larger than the nighttime odds. This indicates that, in our samples, black drivers were more likely to be stopped when race was more visible. However, there is substantial uncertainty around these estimates and this means that additional data could swing the results one way or another. RAND performed an additional test that used all stops in the intertwilight period (stops in daylight or darkness, depending on the time of year) and found no statistically significant evidence of racial profiling. This test is more sensitive to seasonal changes in the mix of black and white drivers exposed to police, though it exhibits less variance because of the large sample size. Although these analyses did not reveal statistically significant evidence of racial profiling, the magnitude of the estimated effect stays at about the same level in both 2003 and 2004. The 2005 analysis will be important in determining

whether this lack of significant racial differences was due to a lack of statistical power to detect the biases, or due to a lack of any actual bias in stops.

Individual-Level Stop Patterns

Second, RAND developed an internal benchmark that compares each officer to similarly situated officers. This benchmark compares an officer to other officers making stops at the same time and in the same place. After controlling for these factors, the authors would expect similar race distributions in the stop patterns. For this analysis, RAND selected all CPD officers with more than 100 reported stops in 2004 for the analysis. The 100-stop cutoff focused the analysis on those officers most frequently interacting with drivers in Cincinnati. It also assured RAND of having at least a minimum level of statistical power for detecting differences if they existed. This produced a sample of 91 officers who frequently interact with drivers in Cincinnati.

Using this methodology, four officers seem to have stopped a larger percentage of black drivers than other officers making stops at the same times and places and appear to have stopped for equipment violations at a much higher rate. At this stage, the authors do not know whether there is a problem with these four officers. The officers may simply have been assigned to particular corners frequented more by black drivers, or by drivers likely to have equipment problems. It is impossible to determine from these data alone whether these officers are using equipment violations as a pretext to stop black drivers or whether their focus on equipment violations results in them stopping more black drivers. Their use of equipment violations as the reason for the stops warrants further investigation.[1]

Post-Stop Patterns

Third, RAND analyzed outcomes of the stop (i.e., citation rates, duration of the stop, search rates, and search outcomes) to assess race bias in actions taken post-stop. RAND statistically removed the effects of when, where, and why the stop took place in order to isolate the effect of race bias in the stop outcomes through a method called propensity scoring that helps the authors identify similarly situated drivers. After these adjustments, the authors observe no difference in the citation rates between black and white drivers.

With respect to stop duration, black drivers were less likely than nonblack drivers to have stops lasting less than 10 minutes. In both years, 40 percent of black drivers had stops lasting less than 10 minutes while 43–44 percent of the matched nonblack drivers had them. This difference is statistically significant, implying that this difference is not due to chance or to variation in stop conditions.

RAND also investigated post-stop search activity. The decision to search involves many factors and different levels of officer discretion. Officers searched black and nonblack drivers at nearly the same rate in cases when officers had discretion (5.9 percent versus 5.4 percent in 2003, 6.7 percent versus 6.2 percent in 2004). Black drivers were more likely to

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[1] All RAND studies fall under an Institutional Review Board that reviews research involving human subjects, as required by federal regulations. RAND's "Federalwide Assurance for the Protection of Human Subjects" (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, through 2008) serves as its assurance of compliance with the regulations of 16 federal departments and agencies. According to this assurance, the Committee is responsible for review regardless of source of funding. These federal regulations prevent RAND research from singling out specific individuals whom its research could adversely affect. The analysis in this section offers an estimate of the number of the CPD's patrol officers of concern. RAND encourages the CPD to implement a program that might offer explanations for these disparities or identify potential problem officers.

be subject to low-discretion searches, such as incident to arrest and when contraband was in plain view (8.1 percent versus 5.5 percent in 2003, 10.7 percent versus 7.0 percent in 2004), but these differences can be due to differences in offending rates rather than officer biases.

When searched, black drivers were more likely to be found with contraband (28 percent versus 22 percent in 2003, 29 percent versus 27 percent in 2004) when the officer initiated a high-discretion search. This indicates no racial bias in searches. Under conditions involving little officer discretion, recovery rates of contraband were the same (16 percent in 2003, 20 percent in 2004).

RAND recommends that the CPD implement a system that constantly audits their data collection process, checking each form for completeness and comparing the number of reported stops with dispatch communication logs to ensure that all officers are reporting on all vehicle stops that they make. RAND suggests that the CPD should track the race distribution of stops that individual officers make, comparing them with other officers with similar assignments and incorporating this program into an early warning system. A CPD early warning system should be able to identify officers easily with stop patterns outside the norm. A focused discussion on the stop duration problem is important. While RAND found no racial disparities in citation or search rates, black drivers did seem to have stops that lasted longer than nonblack drivers. RAND recommends a focused discussion on reasons for this difference, possibly resulting in supplemental data collection on the characteristics of stops that might account for these differences or changes in policies. In short, a theme of these findings is that they can be managed with intelligent policies. The CPD is already making efforts to improve data quality for data collected in 2005 that are not reflected in RAND's analysis of the 2003 and 2004 data.

Analysis of Videotaped Police-Motorist Interactions

Traffic stops constitute one of the most common interactions between police and community members. However, there has been very little objective information about what typically occurs in traffic stops and how it may depend on the race of the officer or driver. In the absence of any valid data, beliefs about possible racial difference in these interactions are inevitably based on personal anecdotes or guesses. In order to understand what occurs in typical traffic stops, RAND analyzed 313 randomly sampled video records of traffic stops. Independent, trained coders viewed these recordings and described the interactions using a wide range of measures. This analysis revealed three key differences as a function of the officers' and drivers' races: (1) Black drivers were more likely to experience proactive policing during the stop, resulting in longer stops that were significantly more likely to involve searches; (2) The communication quality of white drivers was, on average, more positive than of the black drivers—specifically, it was more apologetic, cooperative, and courteous; and (3) Officers' communication behavior was, on average, more positive when the officer and driver were of the same race. This analysis is descriptive and cannot determine the causes of these racial differences, or who is "to blame" for any communication problem. It does, however, point to specific changes that might improve the interactions.

Stop Characteristics

One key finding that sets the background for understanding these interactions is that, on average, blacks and whites experience different types of policing. White drivers typically experience traffic stops that are shorter and are less likely to involve an investigation beyond the original vehicle infraction—inquiries and searches for drugs, weapons, or contraband. This finding is generally consistent with the results of the racial profiling analyses presented in Chapter Four.

This style of policing may have negative effects on the interactions between police and black drivers. The longer, more invasive traffic stops experienced by black drivers may contribute to a more negative attitude in future traffic stops. This difference in personal history is one plausible explanation for the finding that, on average, black drivers have a more negative communication style in traffic stops than do white drivers.

It may be possible to make improvements in relations between the CPD and the black community by rethinking how black neighborhoods are policed. The proactive policing of motor vehicles that occurs in these communities (longer stops, more searches) is likely to put a high burden on law-abiding members of this community, and it may not match the policing priorities of the community. In other words, the high-crime, minority neighborhoods may want more police assistance with drugs and violent crime, but what they are getting is more tickets for speeding and more pat-down searches. This type of policing will certainly help to apprehend a small number of offenders, but it may have high costs for community relations.

Communication Quality

The authors found no significant evidence that black drivers were treated worse, on average, than were white drivers. However, the behavior of police officers was not race-blind. White officers used the most positive communication when they talked to white drivers, and black officers used the most positive communication when they were talking to black drivers. In same-race interactions, officers appeared to be listening more carefully, to be more accepting of what the drivers had to say, and to give the impression that they were interested in hearing the drivers' comments, relative to interracial interactions. While these differences were approximately symmetrical—about the same magnitude for white and black officers—the aggregate effect may not have been symmetrical because there were many more white officers than black officers in the CPD. Therefore, there were more officers on the force who typically had more positive communication with white drivers than there were who typically had more positive communication with black drivers. Motor vehicle stops are one of the most common interactions between officers and the community. If this contact reinforces negative racial expectations of the officers and drivers, it may make subsequent interactions less likely to be positive.

Education may play a role in improving these interactions. An individual's communication quality tends to rise, or sink, to the level of the person to whom he or she is talking, a pattern evident in the dataset. Because of this, both the officer and the community member have considerable power to improve, or degrade, the quality of the interaction. Specific training on this aspect of communication may lead to improved results.

The finding that officers treat same-race drivers more positively than different-race drivers was most evident in measures of how well they listened to the driver and acknowledged the driver's comments. While the authors expect that very few officers actually want to

hear drivers' excuses for infractions—or arguments against getting a citation—listening carefully and acknowledging these comments is important for maintaining a good relationship with the community being served. Police training that improves these skills may reduce the negative interracial interactions that the authors observed.

Community members, particularly black community members, also have a role to play in the improvement in police-community relations. Drivers who are argumentative do not get shorter stops, nor do they get lighter sanctions for their offenses. They do, however, get a less polite police officer. Individual efforts by black drivers to be friendly and polite may also make an impression such that the officer becomes more willing or able to see other blacks as friendly, respectful, and cooperative in the future.

In addition to improving their communication, officers may also be able to minimize the inconvenience caused by the stop. The length of the stop was the single best predictor of the quality of the drivers' communication, so efforts to expedite the stop—or to give the impression that they are trying to expedite the stop—may improve the driver's perception of the interaction.

Limits to the Analysis

There are a number of limitations to RAND's analysis of the audio-video records. One primary limitation is that it used observational data. These methods allowed RAND to describe what typically occurred in these interactions, but the authors cannot know definitively why it happened. Because of this limitation, the reader should avoid assigning blame for communication problems either to the community members or to police officers. Similarly, the reader should not conclude that the police chose to search black motorists, or hold them longer, *because* they are black, based on the correlations that the authors observed in this study.

The strength of the current study is that it looks at a random sample of each type of interaction. There was significant missing data, however. Missing data includes incidents in which contact cards were not filled out, incidents that could not be taped, incidents in which the recording could not be found, incidents that could not be identified on the recordings, the portion of incidents that were cut off if the recording ended prematurely, and the portion of the incidents that could not be coded due to low-quality audio or video. Fortunately, there was little evidence that missing data was associated with the race of the driver or the officer. This analysis will occur annually for the next three years, and the authors hope that future samples will show a substantial decrease in missing data.

Community Police Satisfaction Survey

To examine police-community relations in the City of Cincinnati, RAND conducted a survey from a representative sample of 3,000 residents living in Cincinnati neighborhoods. The community police satisfaction survey was primarily intended to understand community perceptions of the Cincinnati Police Department. RAND's approach involved three assessments of citizens' perceptions of police in Cincinnati:

- overall levels of satisfaction with the CPD and perceptions of CPD practices
- how satisfaction with the CPD and perceptions of CPD practices varies by race and police reporting district

- the relationship between race and other individual- and neighborhood-level factors on satisfaction with the CPD and perceptions of CPD practices.

The analysis yielded five key findings:

- Overall, the public had favorable opinions about the quality of police services they receive, police practices that they witnessed in their neighborhoods, and personal experiences they have had with the police.
- Blacks were more dissatisfied with the CPD and more likely to think that they had been the target of racial profiling than whites.
- Respondents living in District 1 have significantly less favorable perceptions of the quality of police services and less favorable experience with the CPD compared to other police reporting districts.
- Racial differences in perceptions appear to result partially from differences in neighborhood conditions and the perceived style of policing in specific regions of the city. Respondents who live in neighborhoods with perceived high rates of crime and disorder had less favorable views of the CPD.
- Knowing a police officer by name or sight related to improved perceptions of the CPD.

Perceptions of Citizens' Interactions with the Police in Cincinnati

The primary purpose of the police-citizen interaction survey was to understand the dynamics of daily interactions between civilians and officers working for the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD). RAND surveyed a random sample of 1,000 community residents, drawn from police records, who had been in contact with the police in 2004 through an arrest, reported crime, traffic stop, or traffic citation. The survey asked questions related to the respondent's perception of the officers' behavior during the interaction, including questions about the perceived fairness and professional standards of the police during the interaction.

Results from the complainant survey are based on the 126 citizens who had an official contact with the CPD in 2004 and who returned the citizen-police interaction survey. With a response rate of 14 percent, RAND does not draw any inferences about the population of all citizen interactions with the CPD. The analysis of this select sample of civilian respondents who had an official contact with the CPD suggests that, on average, these citizens are satisfied with the services they receive during interactions with the CPD and feel that the police attempt to help them address their concerns. There was not a sufficient response from arrestees to compare their perceptions with other groups. As a result, RAND cannot ascertain whether people who have been arrested also have a favorable impression of their interactions with the police. The results for this select sample are promising, because prior research notes that impressions of the fairness and professionalism of interactions with the police are important in shaping individuals' views of the legitimacy of the law (Tyler, 1990). However, citizens who responded to these surveys may be a select sample of individuals who were more likely to be satisfied with the CPD than those who failed to respond. Options for increasing the response rate in subsequent years of this evaluation are discussed in Chapter Seven.

Satisfaction of Police Officers Working in Cincinnati

RAND developed a survey to ascertain CPD officers' opinions about personal safety, working conditions, morale, organizational barriers to effective policing, fairness in evaluation and promotion, and attitudes of citizens in Cincinnati. RAND selected a random sample of 143 officers whom it contacted by mail and asked to respond to the police officer survey. Forty officers responded to the survey. The relatively low response rate (29 percent) precludes RAND from generalizing the survey results to all officers who work for the CPD and have significant citizen interactions. For the select group who did respond to the survey, the majority were satisfied and committed to their jobs. Despite their commitment and satisfaction, the officers who responded to this survey suffered several strains from the community and citizens with whom they interact. The majority of respondents thought that the media and black community complained unfairly about racial profiling and police abuse of authority. The majority of respondents also indicated that they had suffered a workplace injury resulting from an altercation with a resisting or attacking suspect. Strategies for improving the response rate on future surveys are provided in Chapter Eight.

Citizen and Officer Satisfaction with the Complaint Process

The complaint survey assessed the perceived fairness of the complaint process, the level of input that citizens and officers have in the process, and the final resolution and its justification. RAND selected a random sample of matched pairs of 229 officers and citizens involved in official complaints, resulting in 170 valid cases. The sample was drawn from a list of officers and citizens involved in Citizen Complaint Resolution Process (CCRP), Citizen Complaint Authority (CCA), and Internal Investigations Section (IIS) complaint cases in 2004.

Results from the complainant survey are based on the 34 citizen and 19 officer surveys returned. RAND could not draw any inferences about the population of all citizens or officers involved in official complaints. Officers and citizens who responded to the survey did not feel that their concerns had been taken into account, and they were dissatisfied with the process of their case and its outcome. The response rate was too low to compare CCA, IIS, or CCRP cases to each other. For those who did respond to the survey, the complaint review process appears to be following up with an investigation and contacting complainants and witnesses. However, the majority of citizens and officers who responded to the survey indicated that they did not trust officials investigating the complaint. Chapter Nine also includes a discussion of options for improving the survey response rate in subsequent years.

Periodic Observations and Problem-Solving Processes

RAND conducted 16 periodic observations of community council and Community Problem-Oriented Policing (CPOP) meetings. The surveys that participants completed on their experiences and perceptions supplemented RAND's observations. The sample of periodic observations could not be randomly drawn, the sample size was small, and the response rate for the community meetings was low. The policy implications need to be interpreted with

caution, and judged in the context of other exposure that the parties have to such police-community interactions.

RAND conducted 16 periodic observations of community council and CPOP meetings, representing all five CPD districts from April 11 through May 12, 2005. These meetings present opportunities for the CPD and the community to become proactive partners in community problem solving and to build relationships of cooperation and trust, and for the CPD to enhance the public's understanding of police policies and procedures, all of which are specific goals laid out in the collaborative agreement. However, the scope of the analysis limited the insight RAND could gain. First, the number of periodic observations that could be conducted was small and it was not possible to sample them randomly. These factors, coupled with the low response rate for the community council meetings, preclude the ability to use the findings to summarize all community council and CPOP meetings. As such, the findings should be used simply as examples. Second, as requested, the analysis focuses mostly on process, leaving the question of problem-solving effectiveness unanswered.

RAND administered the survey in seven community council meetings, and 94 participants provided responses. A total of 229 individuals attended these meetings, thereby making the response rate about 41 percent. RAND's research suggests that respondents generally believed the meetings are open, their opinions are valued and considered, and everyone is treated with dignity and respect. The most common sources of information about meetings were from a friend or neighbor, from a neighborhood police officer, and from attendance at community or council meetings. Most viewed the police as a partner, thought the community and police were responsive to each other's needs and concerns, and considered their relationship with the police as positive. Respondents cited a number of problems in their neighborhood, including litter, abandoned buildings, and drug dealing on the streets. Other problems included junk or trash in vacant lots, graffiti, burglary of homes, shooting and violence, abandoned cars, people being attacked or robbed, and gang violence. Some respondents also mentioned as problems theft from automobiles, noise problems, loitering, and panhandling .

A total of 55 out of 65 participants responded to the survey at the CPOP meetings, making the response rate about 85 percent. Questions focused on the characteristics of meetings and perceptions about the application of the Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment (SARA) approach to solving problems. The authors observed that meetings were typically led by residents or co-led by residents and police. Participants had a formal agenda to follow in half of the instances. Most of the meetings were open, but the atmosphere was unsupportive and contentious in two of the meetings. Residents typically dominated the discussion, but on a few occasions discussion seemed about equal among all who were present. CPOP meeting respondents also considered their meetings as open, and their opinions as valued by others. Generally, they judged the training they received and the police-community relationship as fairly good, and the problem-solving process mostly effective.

Summary and Conclusions

This first-year evaluation report was primarily intended to establish the baseline from which future progress toward or regression from the goals of the collaborative agreement can be measured. As such, RAND can offer only preliminary comment on progress toward

achievement of the goals spelled out in the collaborative agreement. The complexity—and difficulty—of the tasks facing the parties is best summarized by juxtaposing two findings from RAND's evaluation: Substantial majorities of black respondents think race is a factor in their perceived poorer treatment by police, yet the authors found no systemic pattern of the CPD targeting blacks for differential treatment based on their race. How can these seemingly irreconcilable facts be squared? Moreover, what does this pattern suggest for the coming years of the collaborative agreement? The overall story with respect to attainment of the goals established in the collaborative agreement process is complicated but, in the end, one for which there is some hope of achievement. Before turning to initial conclusions, the authors address some data issues.

Data Issues

Three critical data issues need to be addressed. First, the evaluation needs an improvement in the rate at which officers return the surveys. A letter or communication from CPD command staff and the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) to the members of the force might increase the compliance rate. More generally, with the exception of the community survey, the response rates were weak. These response problems can be resolved, but they will require changes to the evaluation protocol established by the parties. Second, the CPD needs to improve documentation of vehicle stops, including the completion of information on the contact cards. An estimated 20 percent of the vehicle stops were not documented and 16 percent of the contact cards were missing important information. Third, a reduction in the number of video and audio recordings with missing and unintelligible information is needed. Overall, 60 percent of the requested incidents were missing. Among the viewed records, there were problems with the audio quality on approximately one-third of the tapes, and approximately 15 percent of the tapes ended before the incidents were complete. The authors realize that some of these problems are due to limitations of the equipment itself in this difficult operational environment. However, it appears that substantial improvements could be achieved by ensuring that officers are using the equipment correctly and that existing departmental policies are enforced.

Progress Toward the Goals of the Collaborative Agreement

The initial evaluation provides the opportunity to comment on each of the goals of the collaborative agreement. Again, this first-year evaluation report was primarily intended to establish the baseline against which future departures can be measured. That said, there are some evident lessons for each of the goals.

Proactive Partners in Community Problem Solving. CPOP has permeated the CPD and its interactions with the community to a considerable degree. Two elements of the CPOP process require attention: problem definition and community participation. With respect to problem definition, the authors saw little indication that problem-solving processes are explicitly being used to address community problems. With respect to engaging the black community, RAND's study indicates that knowing police officers by name or sight is related to improved perceptions of the Cincinnati police. Police-community relations may be enhanced by encouraging those with the most critical view of the police (blacks) to participate in community and CPOP meetings. The challenge lies in engaging the black community on these dimensions of police-community relations.

How can the parties' engagement of the black community in the CPOP process be improved? Several theorists have suggested specific actions that might improve the level of engagement with the community (e.g., Skogan, 1994). These processes attempt to make the police force more responsive to the concerns of the citizens they serve, and to make the citizens more actively involved in addressing crime problems in their community. Ultimately, Cincinnati will have to find methods of encouraging police-community collaboration that will work within the city's specific social, historical, and economic context. The Community Police Partnering Center may become one means to engage the black community; however, this should not preclude developing additional efforts to engage those elements of the community that are dissatisfied with the CPD.

Build Relationships Between Police and Communities. The surveys demonstrate community support for the police. Much lower levels of support in specific parts of the city temper this support, however. Differences in neighborhood quality conditions and the style of policing in specific regions of the city appear to drive partially the different perceptions. While research indicates that proactive policing behavior in the form of aggressive traffic enforcement is an effective method for reducing violent crime in the short run (see Sampson and Cohen, 1988; James Q. Wilson and Boland, 1980; Sherman, 1992), this approach also engenders greater distrust of the police (Taylor, 2001), because it presents an added burden to law-abiding citizens living in or traveling through high-crime neighborhoods.

Unfortunately, resolving the issue of the disproportionate impact that proactive policing has on the black community defies simple solution. Indeed, many communities all around the United States are struggling with the same problem. The parties should seek answers to two critical questions in this regard. First, how can Cincinnati build an effective policing model without an enforcement pattern that differentially affects the black community? Second, when effective policing does appear to affect the black community disproportionately, what tools are at the parties' disposal to ensure that the reasons for the policing policies are effectively communicated to community members? In short, the city needs to avoid the assumption that effective law enforcement and good community relations are mutually exclusive goals, and to work to find policies that can maximize both outcomes.

Staffing is another, more indirect way in which the goal of building relations between the police and community might be met. As noted earlier, blacks and women are generally underrepresented in civilian and sworn roles in the CPD. While it is unclear what short-term impact reducing this disparity will have on black perceptions of the CPD, the disparity likely raises questions in this community about the CPD's legitimacy and inhibits its ability to improve its interaction with the community. Police organizations can improve their legitimacy, and ultimate effectiveness, by ensuring fairness—and the appearness of fairness—in the hiring and promotion processes (Skogan and Frydl, 2004). Such demonstrations may increase their legitimacy, and ultimately help the CPD to become more effective and improve its overall relationship with the community. It is also worth noting that black and white officers acted differently in traffic stops. To the extent that these problems with interracial interactions persist, it would be better to have a force that is more evenly mixed with respect to race, so that the black citizens predominantly do not feel this problem.

Improve Education, Oversight, Monitoring, Hiring Practices, and Accountability of the CPD. National public opinion poll data indicate that citizens in general support community policing and efforts at police reform including the following: (1) methods of monitoring officer behavior, (2) sanctions for officers who engage in misconduct, (3) installing video

cameras in police cars, (4) early warning systems to flag officers who receive several complaints from citizens, and (5) a policy of recording information, including race, on all motorists stopped by officers (Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). The Cincinnati Police Department is currently engaged in these reform efforts, yet the extent to which the public and blacks in particular have been made aware of their efforts is unclear. Thus, one significant step toward reaching this objective may simply to be to increase communication on these topics, particularly through channels that blacks trust and use.

Ensure Fair, Equitable, and Courteous Treatment. The message on this topic is mixed. On the one hand, there is no clear evidence of racial profiling in the traffic stops or post-stop activity; reports obtained from participants in community council and CPOP meetings, verified by the authors' independent observations, indicate that the atmosphere at these meetings is considered fair and equitable. However, the videotape analyses suggest that there are differences in the communication styles between officers and suspects of different races. The good news is that changes in training or policies can likely address the problem of differences in the communication styles between officers and suspects of different races. Improving the skill and confidence with which officers of all races deal with suspects of other races will, over time, help improve the relationships between the police and the community. This will not be an easy task to undertake, but it is a concrete and identifiable step that the parties can undertake to achieve the goal of fair, equitable, and courteous treatment for all.

Create Methods to Foster Support of the Police. As stated in the collaborative agreement, the agreement's fifth goal is to "create methods to establish the public's understanding of police policies and procedures and recognition of exceptional service in an effort to foster support for the police" (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, undated, p. 4). The results from the officer survey indicate that the officers perceived little community willingness to work with officers on problem solving and the perception that blacks complained and the media reported unfairly about racial profiling and police abuse of authority. In short, while the majority of officers appeared to be satisfied with the work, they also suffered significant strains from the job.

There are no easy solutions to these strains. At a minimum, more effective communication of CPD goals, policies, and strategies through channels that are trusted by community members would create opportunities to increase support. Similarly, providing training on interacting with suspects of a different race can be expected to increase the officers' confidence and skill in such interpersonal situations. As they are more effectively able to interact with people from other races, one can expect that they might begin to perceive less community resistance and, perhaps, more community support.

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Though the people named above and many others contributed to improving this report, it should be stressed that any remaining errors in this document are the responsibility of the authors.

Acronyms

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
ANCOVA	analysis of covariance
ANOVA	analysis of variance
CAD	computer-aided dispatch
CALEA	Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies
CAPS	Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy
CBD	Central Business District
CCA	Citizen Complaint Authority
CCRP	Citizen Complaint Resolution Process
CPD	Cincinnati Police Department
CPOP	Community Problem-Oriented Policing
CPPC	Community Police Partnering Center
DOJ	Department of Justice
FI	field interview
FOP	Fraternal Order of Police
GIS	geographic information system
IIS	Internal Investigations Section
LAPD	Los Angeles Police Department
MOA	memorandum of agreement
MVR	mobile video recording
POP	problem-oriented policing
RDD	random-digit dialing
SARA	Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment
SRBI	Schulman, Ronca, and Bucuvalas, Inc.
SUV	sport-utility vehicle

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The Collaborative Agreement

In 2002, the City of Cincinnati and other parties (collectively, "the parties") entered into a collaborative agreement in an attempt to resolve social conflict, improve community-police relations, reduce crime and disorder, and resolve pending individual and organizational legal claims about racially biased policing in Cincinnati. The goals spelled out in the collaborative agreement are as follows:

- [Ensure p]olice officers and community members…become proactive partners in community problem solving.
- Build relationships of respect, cooperation, and trust within and between police and communities.
- Improve education, oversight, monitoring, hiring practices, and accountability of the CPD.
- Ensure fair, equitable, and courteous treatment for all.
- Create methods to establish the public's understanding of police policies and procedures and recognition of exceptional service in an effort to foster support for the police (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, undated, pp. 3–4).

A separate memorandum of agreement (MOA) between the city and the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), dated April 12, 2002, seeks to "remedy a pattern or practice of conduct by law enforcement officers that deprives individuals of rights, privileges or immunities secured by the Constitution or federal law" (U.S. Department of Justice, the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Cincinnati Police Department, 2002, paragraph II.1). This agreement followed a 2001 DOJ review of use of force by the CPD. Subsequent to the review, the DOJ recommended changes in the CPD's policies and procedures and the city's internal mechanism for resolving citizen complaints. The DOJ and the city concluded that the MOA, rather than litigation, was the appropriate way to resolve and monitor the city's remediation of the DOJ's findings.

An independent monitor team, headed by Saul Green, has been retained to track the parties' implementation of necessary reforms, changes, and procedures with respect to both the collaborative agreement and the agreement with the DOJ. A United States Magistrate Judge serves as the conciliator. The judge reviews the monitor's quarterly reports and instructs the parties on how to remedy areas of noncompliance. The conciliator may issue orders directing any of the parties to comply with provisions of both the collaborative agree-

ment and, in the case of the CPD, the agreement with the DOJ. The MOA is appended to the agreement, though the MOA is enforceable only through paragraph 113 of the agreement.

Operative Provisions of the Collaborative Agreement

The collaborative agreement contains five operative provisions. The first is that the CPD will embrace a strategy of Community Problem-Oriented Policing (CPOP) methods. Among other factors, this section of the collaborative agreement commits the CPD to developing a strategic CPOP plan, identification of CPOP best practices in other jurisdictions, development of training for CPD staff, implementation of a communication strategy, and a wide variety of other support elements. The agreement itself references the potential for the problem-solving process known as SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment), backed by research and case studies, to address crime, disorder, and the fear of crime in communities effectively. The agreement acknowledges that there are broad causes of crime and disorder and that the police require support from and interaction with the community to address crime effectively. Consequently, the CPD adopted a strategic plan that embraces CPOP.

A second key provision of the collaborative agreement binds the parties to a pledge of mutual accountability and responsibility for evaluating and implementing the agreement. The evaluation elements of the collaborative agreement are discussed more fully in the next subsection of this chapter. The substantive issue to note here is that the agreement, from first principles, recognized the need for evaluation and encouraged it as a means of ensuring that the desired goals were achieved.

The remaining elements of the collaborative agreement address use of force and status of terms of the DOJ agreement; require the parties to collaborate to ensure fair, equitable, and courteous treatment for all; and require the city to establish a civilian complaint authority.

Evaluation of Progress Toward the Goals of the Collaborative Agreement

As noted in the collaborative agreement itself, "this Agreement is outcome oriented, putting great emphasis on objective measures of police-citizen relations and police effectiveness" (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, undated, p. 4). Accordingly, the parties agreed to establish an evaluation process that would support their mutual accountability plan. In July 2004, the city, on behalf of the parties, hired the RAND Corporation to conduct these evaluations.[1] The individual elements of the evaluation, referred to as tasks, are combined into an annual report. Consistent with its contract, RAND's first annual report was due in draft form to the parties on October 13, 2005, and in final form in December 2005.

There are several notable and laudable features of the evaluation provisions of the Cincinnati collaborative agreement. Perhaps most importantly, it is a comprehensive and

[1] The RAND evaluation addresses only the provisions of the agreement. RAND is not evaluating the provisions of the city agreement with the DOJ. The DOJ agreement's provisions, however, serve as an important backdrop to the agreement.

integrated evaluation of all of the aspects of the reform effort. Such a comprehensive approach to evaluation is rare, if not unprecedented, in the realm of recent major law enforcement reforms brought about by lawsuits, consent decrees, and judicial orders. The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), for example, has sought sequential evaluations of specific aspects of its consent decree, including evaluations related to officer training (Glenn et al., 2003); motor vehicle and pedestrian stop data (Los Angeles Police Department, 2002); and policies and procedures for dealing with mentally disturbed populations (Lodestar Management/Research, 2002). The Cincinnati collaborative agreement represents the first time, to the authors' knowledge, that all aspects of a reform effort have been evaluated as a package. This comprehensive evaluation effort should provide important insights into how seemingly disparate elements of the collaborative agreement—vehicle stop patterns and citizen attitudes in videotaped vehicle stops—may be linked, mutually reinforcing, or conflicting. The comprehensive evaluation potentially provides the parties with better guidance about how to proceed than sequential or serial evaluation of individual elements would.[2]

Paragraph 44 of the collaborative agreement calls upon the evaluator to answer such questions as (1) Is public safety improving throughout the City of Cincinnati? (2) Are police-community relations improving throughout Cincinnati? (3) What has been done to help make citizens' activities toward the police less confrontational? and (4) What has been done to help the police respond to citizens in a more respectful manner? A lengthy list of evaluation questions specified in the collaborative agreement was subsequently pared back due to budget limits to the core 10 evaluation tasks identified below.

With respect to each task, there are two general factors RAND is seeking when conducting the analysis. The first is how the findings relate to the goals of the agreement. For example, when analyzing the traffic stop data, we not only seek to determine if there is a racial pattern of concern, but also to assess the consequences of that pattern (or, lack of a pattern) for the goals of the agreement. The second factor, which is most relevant to subsequent annual reports, is changes over time. In particular, RAND will be monitoring the surveys for changes in attitudes and other indicators over the life of the agreement. RAND will analyze the differences across the years and seek to link, where possible, any changes to the goals of the agreement.

The subsequent subsections describe the core elements of the evaluation. RAND's contract with the City of Cincinnati proscribes these elements.

Community Police Satisfaction Survey

The Community Police Satisfaction Survey (or, satisfaction survey) is an important mechanism to track community perceptions about the CPD. At its core, the satisfaction survey seeks to determine the degree to which Cincinnati residents trust and are satisfied with the CPD. The authors expect that trust and satisfaction will vary by such factors as the neighborhood of residence (and attendant conditions of crime and disorder and police enforcement patterns); the amount of previous exposure to police; and age, race, education, and

[2] As the Cincinnati monitor, Saul Green, has pointed out, there is another important difference in the evaluation approach of the collaborative agreement compared to the approach used in consent decrees and memoranda of agreement. The collaborative agreement assesses the parties' and citizens' perceptions toward implementation of police reform efforts, something that memoranda of agreement and consent decrees have not historically attempted to do (Green, 2004).

other demographic factors that help shape attitudes and beliefs. Thus, the satisfaction survey used questions to address the following:

- Citizens' perceptions of the quality of police services and professionalism
- Citizens' knowledge of police activities
- Citizens' perceptions of fairness and respect
- Citizens' perceptions of race-based police practices
- Citizens' personal experience with the police.

The satisfaction survey will be implemented in years one and four of the contract. The year-one survey will provide the baseline of community perceptions about the CPD. The year-four survey will identify deviations from the baseline. The direction and magnitude of the deviations will help the evaluation team determine whether the goals of the collaborative are being met.

Citizen/Police Interaction Survey

Residents who have interacted with the police through arrest, reporting of a victimization, traffic stop, or citation provide an important opportunity to assess citizen-police interactions in more detail. The Citizen/Police Interaction Survey (or, interaction survey) capitalizes on that opportunity. The interaction survey asks respondents to describe the reason for their interaction with the police, their perceptions of police conduct and professionalism, their recollections of the officer's knowledge about the respondent's problem, the clarity of the officer's instructions for seeking help or resolving the problem, and basic demographic information about the respondent. The interaction survey will be administered in years one and four of the contract. The results from this task may provide information about where to focus officer training and how to improve communication with citizens.

Police Officer Survey

RAND's evaluation contract requires a survey of CPD officers. The Police Officer Survey (or, officer survey), as with the satisfaction survey and the interaction survey, will be conducted in years one and four of the evaluation. This survey addresses officers' perceptions of personal safety, citizen support, working conditions, officer morale, organizational barriers to effective policing, and perceptions of fairness in evaluation and promotion. The officer survey provides important contextual information about how the line staff perceive their jobs. It is expected that, over time, this task will provide the parties (and the CPD in particular) with insights about how to improve communications with staff and the community, as well as improve staff morale.

Complaint and Internal Review Survey

The Complaint and Internal Review Survey (or, complaint survey) seeks the input of both officers and citizens about the same complaint. This survey will be conducted every year of the contract and it covers all three complaint processes: Citizen Complaint Authority (CCA), Citizen Complaint Resolution Process (CCRP), and Internal Investigations Section (IIS) investigations. The complaint survey assesses the perceived fairness of the complaint process, the level of input that both citizens and officers have into the process, and the outcome of

the process. The complaint survey also asks both officers and citizens for their thoughts on how to improve the complaint process.

Traffic Stop Analysis

RAND will conduct an analysis of traffic stop patterns in each year of the contract. This section investigates whether racial biases influence police activities in the decision to stop, cite, and search vehicles in Cincinnati. RAND is developing this assessment in three stages. The first stage assesses vehicle stops and whether there is a pattern of racial disparity at the department level. The second stage develops and applies internal benchmarks to look for patterns of racial disparity at the individual officer level. The third stage assesses whether there are racial disparities in the outcomes of stops, including such factors as the rates at which citations are given, the duration of stops, and the rates at which vehicle or personal searches are initiated. The traffic stop analyses are conducted through analysis of data that the CPD provided to RAND. This section of the evaluation did not require the collection of any original data through surveys or other means.

Periodic Observations and Problem-Solving Processes

The periodic observations provide important insights into the CPD's implementation, and the community's acceptance and utilization, of the CPOP process. This task involves observing two distinct types of meetings (community council and CPOP meetings). The community council meetings are essentially neighborhood association meetings at which crime and disorder issues are one among potentially several agenda items. In contrast, the CPOP meetings are convened specifically to address an identified problem of crime or disorder. In addition to observing the meetings, the authors also asked meeting participants to fill out questionnaires about the meeting, the process of engagement, and related issues.

Statistical Compilations

The CPD produces statistical compilations on a wide variety of topics related to the agreement, including arrests and reported crimes by neighborhood; vehicle stops and citation, search, and arrest rates by neighborhood; use-of-force incidents by neighborhood; and calls for service by neighborhood. These statistical compilations provide important inputs into other tasks of the contract. For example, the reported crime and use-of-force data provide important, independent validation of community perceptions about neighborhood quality of life. Similarly, the reported crime data underscore the importance of adjusting the traffic stop analyses for where the stop occurred.

RAND will review these CPD compilations in each contract year. In addition to incorporating the compilations into the analyses conducted under other tasks, the authors will also analyze changes in the compilations over time. Changes in the patterns over time may indicate changes in enforcement strategies or crime patterns that require deeper investigation as to their implications for the achievement of the goals of the agreement.

Evaluation of Video and Audio Records

Information from vehicle-mounted video and audio recordings can shed light on the origins of police-community conflict and dissatisfaction. Personal expectations about an interaction are transmitted through verbal and nonverbal cues that each participant is constantly interpreting. Interactions that result in conflict can often be traced to verbal and nonverbal cues

that are interpreted (or misinterpreted) by a participant as one of distrust, disrespect, or anger. Analysis of the video and audio recordings will allow us to understand how verbal and nonverbal cues are interpreted and misinterpreted and, in turn, identify opportunities to train officers (and, to a much less significant extent, citizens) on how to spot relevant cues and reduce misinterpretation of benign cues. For each year of the evaluation contract, the authors expect to sample 300 videotapes of motor vehicle stops.

Evaluation of Staffing

CPD patterns of recruiting, hiring, and promotion can have important implications for officer morale and job satisfaction, which can in turn influence retention and attrition rates. These factors are important in determining the overall experience level of the force, the amount of investment in training that might be required, and, ultimately, community satisfaction with the CPD. Under this task of the contract, the authors are examining CPD statistics on recruitment, retention, and promotion.

Evaluation of Reports

The final task under the evaluation contract is to combine the preceding tasks into an annual report. The annual report has two purposes. The first objective is to present the methodologies, findings, and related information at the task level. This presentation permits the parties to develop a more detailed understanding of, for example, resident attitudes, by reading the chapter that reports on the satisfaction survey. The second objective is to integrate across the tasks and provide the parties with an understanding, to the extent possible, of whether the collaborative agreement is achieving its goals.

Structure of This Report

The balance of this report is organized around the tasks presented above. Chapter Two reviews the statistical compilations Cincinnati provided, including their relevance for the other tasks of the evaluation. Chapter Three provides the discussion of CPD staffing issues. Chapter Four discusses the findings from the traffic stop analysis. In Chapter Five, the authors assess the results of the videotaped interactions of police and motorists. Chapter Six provides results from the community-police satisfaction survey. Chapter Seven presents findings from the interaction survey and the officer survey. Chapter Eight reports on CPD officers' satisfaction. In Chapter Nine, the authors detail citizen and officer satisfaction with the complaint process. Chapter Ten reviews periodic observations and problem-solving processes. Finally, Chapter Eleven integrates the material from the preceding chapters to highlight issues relevant to the agreement. In so doing, Chapter Eleven focuses on whether the goals of the collaborative agreement are being achieved and suggests some mechanisms, where possible, for improving movement toward goal achievement.

CHAPTER TWO

The Context of Policing in Cincinnati: Crime, Arrests, and Use of Force

Overview

This section describes the relationship between demand for police services, law enforcement activity, and the racial composition of neighborhoods. The CPD spends much of its law enforcement effort, as measured by actions such as arrests and citations, on a few neighborhoods. These neighborhoods also have the greatest demand for police as measured by calls for service and reports of crime. The residents of these areas, such as Over-the-Rhine and Pendleton, are predominantly black. This leads Cincinnati's black residents to be more exposed to both crime and aggressive (even if necessary) police tactics, which can lead to a negative perception of the police.

Using data from the CPD on calls for service, reported crime, arrests, and use-of-force incidents, this chapter sets the context for the remainder of the report, providing a description of the spatial distribution of incidents, the concentration of law enforcement effort, and crime in particular neighborhoods.

Calls for Service and Reported Crime

Figure 2.1 shows the number of calls for service by neighborhood for 2004. The areas with the greatest calls for service correspond to areas that the CPD has identified as hot spots (CPD, 2005). The Over-the-Rhine neighborhood accounted for 23,349 calls for service, the greatest number of calls of any neighborhood.

Figure 2.2 shows the number of Part 1 crimes (murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft) by neighborhood for 2004. The neighborhoods with the largest number of reported crimes were Downtown/Riverfront (2,071), Westwood (2,022), and Over-the-Rhine (1,981). The number of calls for service and the number of reported Part 1 crimes in a neighborhood were highly correlated ($r = 0.96$) with an average of 11.4 calls for service for every reported Part 1 crime. Those neighborhoods indicated in Figure 2.1 as having the greatest number of calls for service also had the greatest amount of reported crime. The number of arrests was also highly correlated with both calls for service ($r = 0.85$) and the number of reported crimes ($r = 0.76$). These findings indicate that crime, calls for service, and arrests were geographically clustered in the same areas of the City of Cincinnati. The Cincinnati Police Department maintains regular updates on reported crime on its Web site at http://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/police/pages/-4258-/.

Figure 2.1
Number of Calls for Service by Neighborhood, 2004

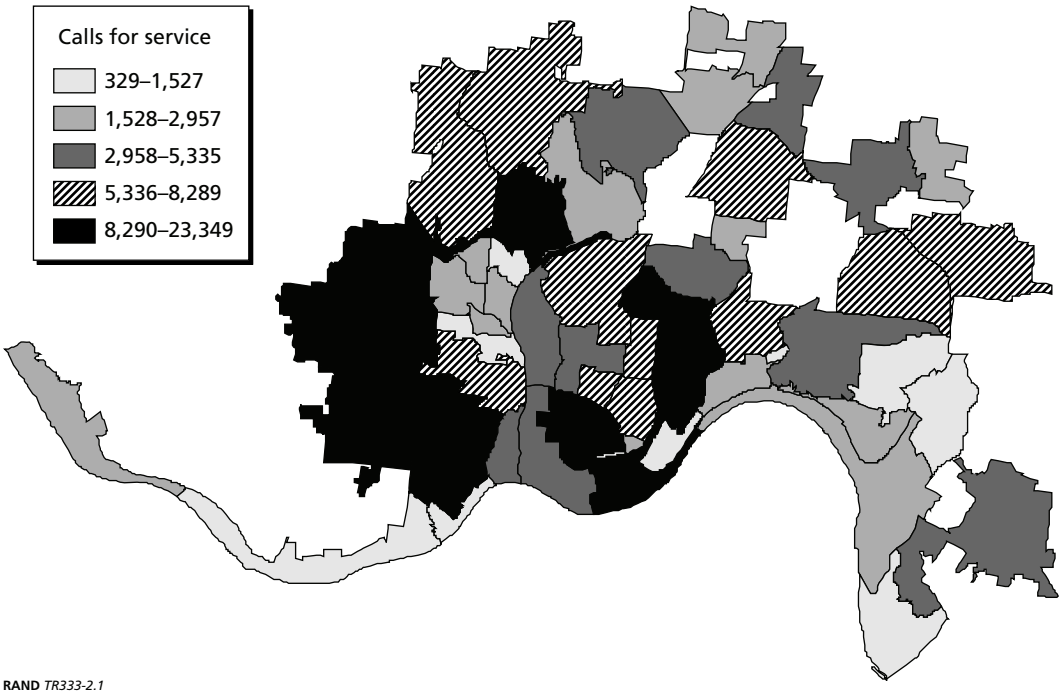

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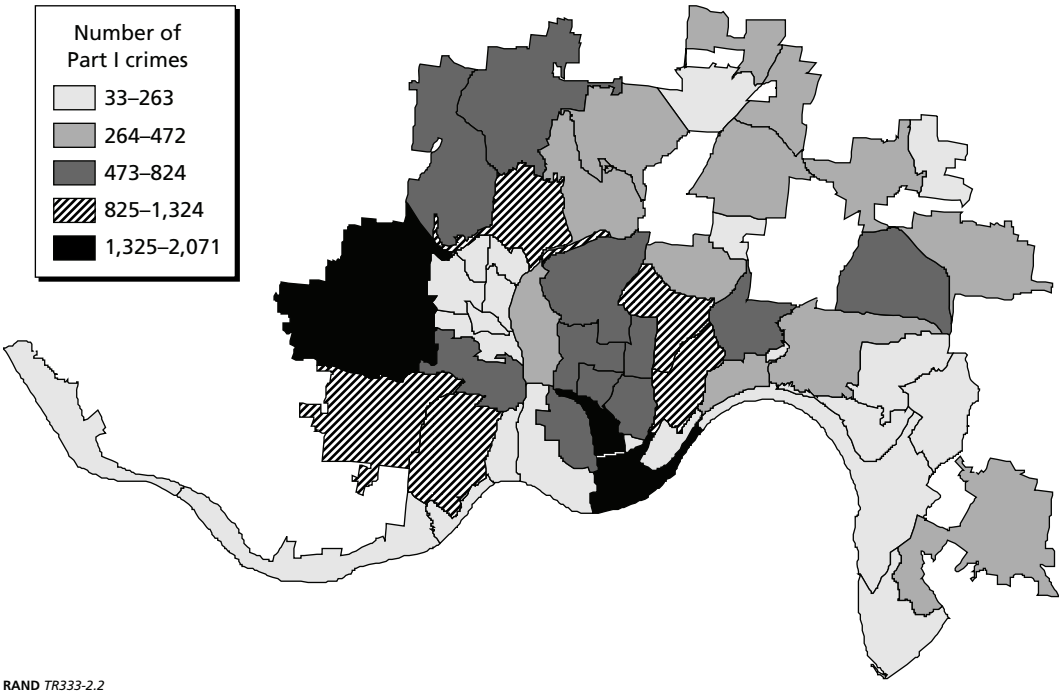
Figure 2.2
Number of Part 1 Crimes, by Neighborhood, 2004



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Stops, Citations, and Arrests

Table 2.1 shows the number and percentage of arrests and reported crimes by neighborhood. Five neighborhoods, highlighted in the table, comprised 37 percent of the CPD's arrests and 31 percent of Cincinnati's reported crimes. The largest share of arrests and reported crimes occurred in CBD/Riverfront and Over-the-Rhine neighborhoods, both located in District 1, an area that the community survey chapter will highlight in greater detail.

Table 2.1
Number of Arrests and Reported Crimes, by Neighborhood

	Arrests		Reported Crimes	
Neighborhood	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Avondale	1,816	4	2,202	5
Bondhill	519	1	720	2
California	13	0	61	0
Camp Washington	366	1	466	1
Carthage	119	9	339	1
CBD/Riverfront	2,892	6	2,757	6
Clifton	1,910	4	946	2
Clifton/University Heights	517	1	794	2
College Hill	824	2	1,012	2
Columbia/Tusculum	120	0	269	1
Corryville	1,004	2	847	2
East End	166	0	325	1
East Price Hill	3,852	8	2,313	5
East Walnut Hills	141	0	523	1
East Westwood	179	0	292	1
English Woods	154	0	348	1
Evanston	828	2	1,032	2
Fairview	968	2	1,077	2
Fay Apartments	278	1	535	1
Hartwell	156	0	461	1
Hyde Park	1,032	2	549	1
Kennedy Heights	248	1	349	1
Linwood	13	0	64	0
Lower Price Hill	338	1	460	1
Madisonville	1,146	2	839	2
Millvale	273	1	424	1
Mount Adams	172	0	197	0
Mount Auburn	780	2	987	2
Mount Airy	595	1	994	2
Mount Lookout	115	0	182	0
Mount Washington	204	0	540	1
North Avondale	443	1	817	2
North Fairmount	177	0	251	1
Northside	1,370	3	1,701	4
O'Bryonville	6	0	76	0

Table 2.1—continued

Neighborhood	Arrests n	Arrests %	Reported Crimes n	Reported Crimes %
Oakley	394	1	942	2
Over-the-Rhine	7,286	16	3,255	7
Paddock Hills	1,762	4	205	0
Pendleton	422	1	354	1
Pleasant Ridge	207	0	560	1
Queensgate	413	1	375	1
Riverside	92	0	214	0
Roselawn	464	1	759	2
Sayler Park	140	0	340	1
Sedamsville	112	0	230	1
South Cumminsville	98	0	160	0
South Fairmount	659	1	1,063	2
Walnut Hills	1,953	4	1,763	4
West End	4,403	10	1,520	3
West Price Hill	1,548	3	2,454	6
Westwood	1,550	3	3,169	7
Winton Hills	460	1	793	2
Winton Place	365	1	458	1

NOTE: The shaded rows indicate the five neighborhoods with the greatest share of reported crimes.

Table 2.2 shows the number of motor vehicle stops and the citation rate, search rate, and arrest rate of those stops by neighborhood. Pendleton and Kennedy Heights, while not having a large number of arrests, topped the list in the rate at which vehicle stops resulted in an arrest. Over-the-Rhine had both a large number of arrests (7,286) and a large arrest rate (16 percent). Citation and search rates varied widely across the neighborhoods, 55 percent to 96 percent for citation rates and 1 percent to 39 percent for search rates. Citation rates and arrest rates were strongly negatively correlated ($r = -0.62$), implying that neighborhoods with the highest citation rates had the lowest arrest rates. Neighborhoods with high search rates, on the other hand, generally had high arrest rates ($r = 0.92$). These findings are consistent with research that indicates that police are less likely to exercise their discretion to enforce traffic and other less serious offenses in high-crime neighborhoods (Klinger, 1997).

Table 2.2
Number of Motor Vehicle Stops and the Citation Rate, Search Rate, and Arrest Rate, by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Stops	Citations (%)	Searches (%)	Arrests (%)
Avondale	1,250	64	21	13
Bondhill	766	67	16	9
California	173	96	2	3
Camp Washington	1,597	79	8	4
Carthage	149	61	13	6
CBD/Riverfront	1,945	76	8	6
Clifton	1,047	70	9	5
Clifton/University Heights	1,094	65	10	7
College Hill	896	64	12	12
Columbia/Tusculum	527	83	3	2
Corryville	861	60	18	10
East End	814	88	4	3
East Price Hill	1,254	61	23	9
East Walnut Hills	177	57	12	9
East Westwood	355	58	18	8
English Woods	70	69	27	11
Evanston	458	65	23	11
Fairview	1,075	70	10	5
Fay Apartments	135	64	22	10
Hartwell	240	68	13	8
Hyde Park	359	70	4	3
Kennedy Heights	67	61	34	19
Linwood	252	81	3	2
Lower Price Hill	998	85	5	3
Madisonville	563	58	39	16
Millvale	465	70	14	8
Mount Adams	152	82	3	3
Mount Airy	765	71	13	8
Mount Auburn	707	68	21	10
Mount Lookout	139	55	9	4
Mount Washington	823	89	1	1
North Avondale	750	66	14	9
North Fairmount	215	64	17	8
Northside	1,701	70	14	7
O'Bryonville	101	89	3	2
Oakley	286	58	12	5
Over-the-Rhine	2,656	65	29	16
Paddock Hills	379	66	13	7
Pendleton	70	77	34	19
Pleasant Ridge	143	69	24	14
Queensgate	895	84	4	3
Riverside	466	82	3	1
Roselawn	375	70	17	10
Sayler Park	157	79	5	3

Table 2.2—continued

Neighborhood	Stops	Citations (%)	Searches (%)	Arrests (%)
Sedamsville	441	84	3	2
South Cumminsville	124	69	21	11
South Fairmount	986	65	14	7
Walnut Hills	1,332	66	23	12
West End	1,160	72	16	11
West Price Hill	1,256	69	17	8
Westwood	1,444	64	10	5
Winton Hills	550	73	13	10
Winton Place	692	71	14	9
I-471	9	89	11	0
I-71	2,232	90	3	2
I-74	325	84	4	4
I-75	2,440	86	6	4
SR-562	166	85	7	2
Total	42,263	72	13	7

NOTES: The 2004 contact cards are the source of the data. The shaded rows mark the neighborhoods with the largest arrest rates from vehicle stops.

Use of Force

RAND obtained data on use-of-force incidents occurring in 2004. For each incident, data included an officer identifier, time and date of the incident, the location (address or intersection) of the incident, race and sex of the individual involved, the reason or charge that led to force, the type of force used, and, in some instances, the race, sex, and badge number of the officer(s) involved.

In 2004, there were 1,067 use-of-force incidents in Cincinnati. Figure 2.3 shows the location of those incidents and notes the individual's race. Use of force was more likely to occur in Over-the-Rhine than in other neighborhoods. Over-the-Rhine alone accounted for 20 percent of the incidents involving force. CBD/Riverfront, Walnut Hills, and Avondale, all of which are in close geographic proximity to Over-the-Rhine, each had about 6 percent of the incidents. Fifteen incidents occurred outside of the city limits. These findings indicate that use of force by the CPD was geographically clustered in high-crime neighborhoods.

During 2004, the CPD transferred to a new system of tracking use-of-force incidents with the last incident in the old system recorded on September 30. The new system included a distinct set of incidents that occurred between January 1 and December 31, 2004. In this new system, the types of force used were categorized differently. For example, TASER™ devices and 40mm foam were combined into "TASER-beanbag-pepperball-40mm foam." The authors have tried to make the two systems as uniform as possible by translating the older types of force into the new system's categories.

Figure 2.3
Use-of-Force Incidents in 2004, by Neighborhood

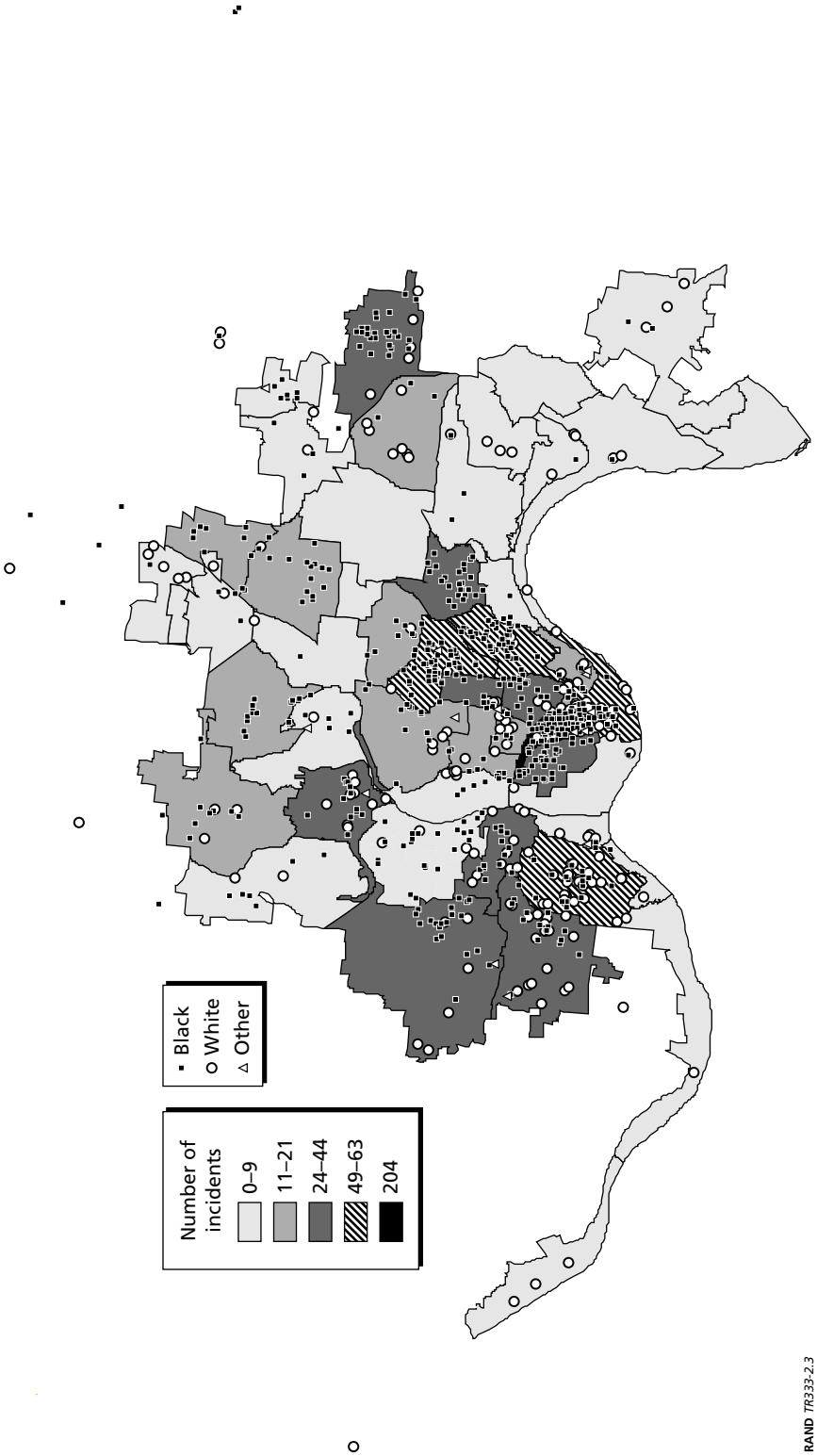

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Table 2.3 shows the number of use-of-force incidents broken down by type and neighborhood. TASER devices and nonlethal rounds are the most commonly used type of force and account for 54 percent of the incidents ($n = 581$). Over-the-Rhine has the largest number of use-of-force incidents with 204 incidents, accounting for 19 percent of Cincinnati's total. Not all incidents recorded as "Injury to Prisoner" are as a result of use of force. For example, if the subject is injured when fleeing from police, or swallowing drugs, these will be recorded on an Injury to Prisoner form. For the 2004 data, we cannot distinguish these from actual use-of-force incidents, but in coming years, we will be able to do so.

Table 2.3 also estimates rate of use of force per 1,000 arrests. The five neighborhoods highlighted in Table 2.3 are those neighborhoods with the highest rate of use of force, all having more than 47 use-of-force incidents per 1,000 arrests. All of these neighborhoods except Pendleton had relatively few arrests (Table 2.1), implying that the rate of use of force tends to be highest in those neighborhoods in which arrests are infrequent. In these neighborhoods, when those arrests occur, use of force seems to be more likely. In neighborhoods with relatively low arrest frequencies, the arrests may be for more serious offenses.

Table 2.3
Number of Use-of-Force Incidents, by Neighborhood and Type

Neighborhood	Canine	Injury to Prisoner	Use of Force[a]	Noncompliant Suspect/ Arrestee	TASER-plus	Weapon Discharge at an Animal	Chemical Irritant	% of Incidents	Use of Force Per 1,000 Arrests
Avondale	1	8	1	12	32	0	8	6	34
Bondhill	0	5	0	1	9[b]	0	6	2	40
Camp Washington	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	14
CBD/ Riverfront	0	9	3	4	37	0	11	6	22
Carthage	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	25
Clifton	0	1	0	4	7	0	1	1	7
Clifton/ University	1	2	1	3	6	0	3	1	31
College Hill	0	2	0	2	9	1	4	2	22
Columbia/ Tusculum	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	33
Corryville	0	1	0	4	26	0	6	3	37
East End	0	2	0	1	2	0	2	1	42
East Price Hill	0	6	0	7	29	1	6	5	13
East Walnut Hills	0	1	0	0	4	0	2	1	50
East Westwood	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	22
English Woods	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	32
Evanston	0	4	0	3	16	1	3	3	33
Fairview	0	5	0	4	4	0	1	1	14
Fay Apartments	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	14
Hartwell	0	1	0	0	5	0	2	1	51
Hyde Park	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
Kennedy Heights	0	1	0	1	3	1	2	1	32

Table 2.3—continued

Neighborhood	Canine	Injury to Prisoner	Use of Force[a]	Noncompliant Suspect/ Arrestee	TASER-plus	Weapon Discharge at an Animal	Chemical Irritant	% of Incidents	Use of Force Per 1,000 Arrests
Lower Price Hill	0	0	1	1	7	0	0	1	27
Madisonville	0	4	2	4	15	2	8	3	31
Millvale	0	2	0	1	5	0	0	1	29
Mount Adams	0	1	0	2	6	0	2	1	64
Mount Airy	0	0	0	1	6	0	2	1	15
Mount Auburn	0	4	1	2	16	0	1	2	31
Mount Lookout	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	26
Mount Washington	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	25
North Avondale	0	3	1	2	6	0	0	1	27
North Fairmount	0	1	1	0	7	0	0	1	51
Northside	0	2	0	7	15	1	1	2	19
O'Bryonville	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	167[c]
Oakley	0	3	0	1	6	0	1	1	28
Over-the-Rhine	1	41	4	26	115	0	17	19	28
Pendleton	0	2	1	4	12	0	1	2	47
Pleasant Ridge	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	24
Queensgate	0	0	0	2	2	0	3	1	17
Riverside	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Roselawn	0	2	0	3	9	0	2	1	34
Sayler Park	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	21
Sedamsville	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	18
South Cumminsville	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	31
South Fairmount	0	4	2	1	20	0	1	3	42
Walnut Hills	0	13	1	7	30	0	11	6	32
West End	3	9	1	8	20	0	3	4	10
West Price Hill	0	7	2	2	14	1	10	3	23
Westwood	0	3	4	4	18	0	2	3	20
Winton Hills	0	1	0	5	11	0	2	2	41
Winton Place	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	1	19
Outside Cincinnati	0	3	0	3	9	0	0	1	n/a
Unknown	1	4	0	3	12	0	0	2	n/a
Total	8	168	28	143	581[b]	11	128	100	23
Percent	1	16	3	13	54	1	12		

NOTES: TASER-plus indicates TASER-beanbag-pepperbll-40mm-foam. Shaded rows are those neighborhoods with more than 47 use-of-force incidents per 1,000 arrests. a. Indicates physical force, such as restraining and striking. b. Includes an incident of TASER + chemical irritant. c. This rate is highly uncertain, since O'Bryonville had only six arrests.

Table 2.4
Type of Force Used, by Race of Recipient

Type of Force Used	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	All (%)	Total[a]
Use of force	3	2	12	3	28
TASER-beanbag-pepperball-40mm foam	56	54	38	55	581[b]
Canine	1	0	0	1	8
Injury to prisoner[c]	15	19	25	16	168
Chemical irritant	11	14	0	12	123
Noncompliant suspect/arrestee	14	0	25	14	143
All	75	24	1	100	1,059[a]
Total	798	253	8	1,059	

NOTES: a. Eight incidents did not have the recipients' race recorded. b. Includes an incident of TASER + chemical irritant. c. Includes incidents in which the CPD did not cause the injuries.

Table 2.4 shows the number of use-of-force incidents broken down by type and race. Black individuals are the most common subjects of use of force and account for 75 percent of these incidents ($n = 798$), about the same as their prevalence among arrestees (73 percent).

There is no difference in the type of force used against individuals of different races. For example, 55 percent of use-of-force incidents against black individuals involved TASERS or nonlethal rounds compared to 54 percent for white individuals.

In the 1,067 use-of-force incidents, there were 770 different charges leading up to the incident. This indicates that a variety of charges lead up to a police use-of-force event. The charges ranged from serious offenses like "assault on a police officer" to infractions like "juvenile with tobacco products." Patterns are difficult to extract given the wide variety of offenses. In addition, the most common indications for the reason for the use of force are "Obstructing Official Business" (8 percent) and "Resisting Arrest" (8 percent). These charge offenses can be both a precursor and the result of a force event.

Summary

The statistical compilation suggests that patterns of calls for service, reported crime, arrests, and police use of force are geographically clustered in Cincinnati. Neighborhoods that are afflicted by high rates of crime are also more likely to have a high volume of crime and police use-of-force incidents. Over-the-Rhine and other neighborhoods located in District 1 (CBD/Riverfront, Queensgate, West End, Mt. Adams, and Pendleton) appear to be neighborhoods that are disproportionately affected by crime and police interventions (e.g., stops, arrests, and use of force). These findings are consistent with perceptions of neighborhood crime reported in the police community survey. It appears that resident perceptions of crime and police interventions mirror actual police reports. Use-of-force incidents disproportionately occurred in these high-crime, predominantly black neighborhoods. Therefore, black residents were more likely than white residents to be involved in police use-of-force events.

When police use-of-force events occurred, there were no differences in the type of police force applied. It does not appear that blacks received more intense forms of police force than whites.

Overall, the results from the statistical compilations of official police reports indicate that there were distinct neighborhood differences in the level of crime and the level of police intervention.

CHAPTER THREE

Staffing and Personnel Actions in the Cincinnati Police Department, 2004

Overview

This chapter describes and analyzes CPD staffing to assess the extent to which CPD personnel reflect the population they serve and if and how personnel decisions are associated with race and sex. The analysis is based on staffing reports supplied by the CPD. These reports describe characteristics of the organization in terms of staff and personnel actions.

RAND findings indicate that minorities and women were underrepresented among sworn officers and that their representation tends to diminish with rank. They were also underrepresented in terms of promotions and applicants. Those who transferred varied little from sworn staff in terms of race, but women transferred more than their presence as sworn staff would suggest. Relative to sworn staff, whites and women separated from the CPD at disproportionately higher rates, but in terms of resignation, which tends to occur early in the career cycle, the rates were fairly close to that expected from the race and sex distribution of sworn staff. Blacks and females were overrepresented as recruits relative to sworn staff but underrepresented relative to city residents. They were also more successful at completing the academy, and graduated in proportions greater than their composition as sworn staff.

Introduction

This chapter describes and analyzes CPD staffing to assess the extent to which CPD personnel reflect the population they serve. It describes several key aspects of the department, such as sworn and civilian staffing levels, attrition or separation from the organization (e.g., resignations and retirements), promotions to a higher rank, transfers in job assignment, applications to become police officers, and graduates of the police academy. Where possible, it also illustrates these characteristics and personnel actions as they relate to the race and sex of CPD staff and, where applicable, Cincinnati residents. This information helps to provide context for other chapters of this report, and establishes a baseline of staffing characteristics that can be compared to future reports to assess change over time.

The authors compiled the data for this analysis from monthly staffing reports provided by CPD for the year 2004. These reports contain descriptive information regarding the size and distribution of personnel throughout the organization in terms of occupational category (sworn versus civilian), rank, assignment, race, and sex. Generally, these are internal administrative summaries of the department's organizational structure and distribution.

The remaining sections of this chapter describe the historical context underpinning the premise that CPD staff should reflect the composition of Cincinnati residents in terms of

race and sex. The authors then assess the CPD's staff and personnel actions in terms of their relation to race and sex and how they compare to the race and sex of Cincinnati residents. The chapter closes with a summary of key findings and policy implications.

Historical Context

Allegations of discriminatory staffing decisions based on race and sex have led to two consent decrees involving the CPD, one federal (United States v. City of Cincinnati, 1981) and one state (Sentinel Police Association v. City of Cincinnati, 1987). These legal actions have stipulated that blacks and females in all sworn ranks should equal the proportion of qualified blacks and females in Cincinnati's labor force. Furthermore, the CPD "shall not discriminate against any individual in hiring, promotion, assignment, upgrading, training, compensation, discipline or discharge in whole or in part because of such individual's race or sex" (United States v. City of Cincinnati, 1981, p. 2). This provides a concrete rationale to examine CPD staffing along the lines of race and sex, but the evolution of policing and the police profession provides an additional impetus to explore the CPD's staffing from this perspective.

Historically, police forces largely comprised white, male officers. Those seeking to reform the police have long held that police personnel should reflect the communities they serve in terms of racial composition. This was a fundamental conclusion of both the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the Kerner Commission (1968), which found serious underrepresentation of minorities in America's police departments. Similarly, the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (1999) codified this philosophy as a national standard.[1] Therefore, the implementation of this philosophy serves as a criterion by which to measure the legitimacy of American police agencies.

The basis of the philosophy that the police organization should be representative of the race and sex of the community rests upon two fundamental assumptions. First, there are many circumstances in which minority and female officers would perform better than white male officers. For example, black officers may be less aggressive toward, and may better relate to, black citizens, and women may be more nurturing and use less coercion when dealing with the community. However, a recent report by the National Research Council does not confirm these assumptions (Skogan and Frydl, 2004). From a thorough review of the research evidence, the report concludes, "the limited research available provides little support for the notion that race and gender have a significant influence on officer behavior. . . . Indeed, whatever influence race and gender may exert on behavior is overwhelmed by the unifying effects of occupational socialization" (Skogan and Frydl, 2004, p. 147). The report concludes that race and sex should play no role in hiring and promotion decisions because they do not affect officer behavior.

The second fundamental assumption of the reflective philosophy is that there should be equal opportunity for all community members, regardless of race or sex, to become police officers. Furthermore, a department that is reflective of the population it serves is evidence

[1] According to Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) standard 31.2.1, "The agency has ethnic and gender composition in the sworn law enforcement ranks in approximate proportion to the makeup of the available work force in the law enforcement agency's service community, or a recruitment plan pursuant to standard 31.2.2" (CALEA, 1999).

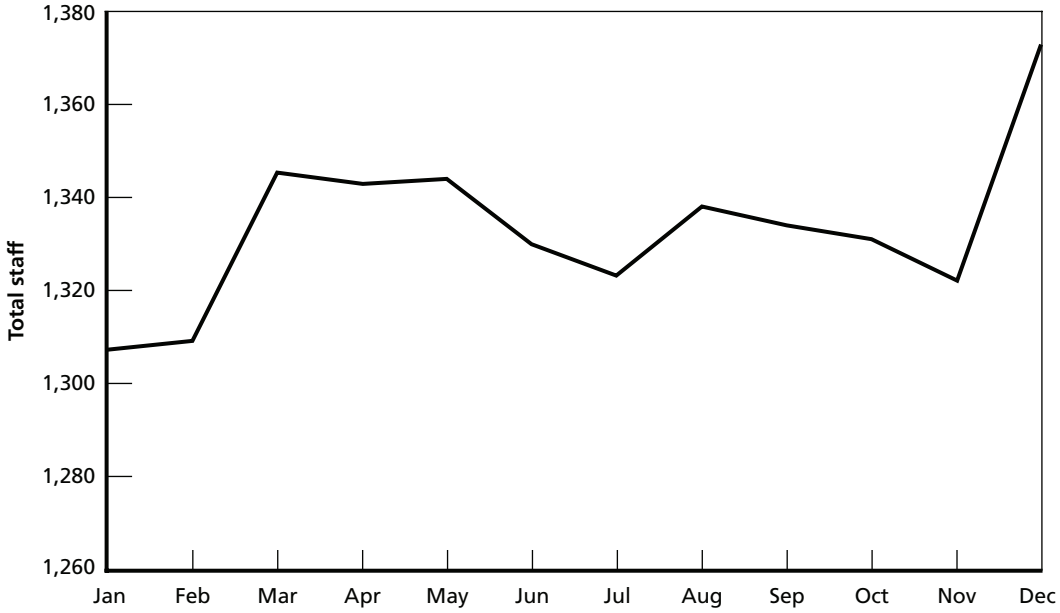
that discriminatory practices do not exist in the employment process. As explained in the 1967 President's Commission report, "[a] department can show convincingly that it does not practice racial discrimination by recruiting minority-group officers, assigning them fairly to duties of all sorts in all kinds of neighborhoods, and by pursuing promotion policies that are scrupulously fair to such officers" (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 261). This extends the assumption beyond overall composition and suggests equality among assignments and throughout the ranks. A recent nationally representative sample of Americans confirms support for a racially representative police department. Regardless of the race of the respondent, the majority of Americans believed that the racial make-up of a city's police department should be similar to the composition of the city (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004).

Although the consent decrees provide the primary motivation to examine the CPD's staff in terms of race and sex, RAND's purpose is not to determine if the CPD met the legal stipulations or followed the specific procedures laid out in the consent decrees. Instead, it seeks to describe CPD staffing and identify trends, which it will largely do in future reports.

Overall Staff Levels

The number of employees in any organization varies across time as a function of new staff joining and current staff separating from the organization. The variation can be small or large depending on the net effect of changes that take place. Given such fluctuation, when assessing the size of a single organization, it is helpful to consider it at multiple points in time. Figure 3.1 illustrates the size of the CPD in terms of total staff (i.e., sworn officers—including recruits—and civilians) for each month of 2004. The size of the CPD increased from 1,307 employees in January to 1,373 employees in December, or 5 percent overall (the spikes in March and December are a result of recruit classes that the CPD added). The staff of police agencies, unlike most others, can be differentiated into two major occupational categories—sworn officers who have undergone academy training and civilian employees who have not (Langworthy, 1986; Maguire, 2003; Jeremy Wilson, forthcoming). Generally, civilian personnel are technical specialists or administrative staff who support the work of the sworn officers. It is therefore useful to examine staff according to this distinction, as the following sections will do.

Figure 3.1
Total Staff, 2004



RAND *TR333-3.1*

Sworn Staff

Not surprisingly, the trend of sworn staff mirrors that of total staff for 2004 (see Figure 3.2). The trend is a function of new recruits being added to the CPD's ranks, which occur as large upward shifts at specific points in time, and sworn officers who separate from the organization (discussed later), which occur as smaller downward shifts throughout the year. In January, there were 1,038 sworn officers.[2] This number increased to 1,075 in March, when a recruit class was added, fell to 1,048 in November, and then increased to 1,091 in December, when a second recruit class was added. Over this period, the average number of sworn officers was 1,059. This number translates into a rate of 366 sworn officers per 100,000 Cincinnati residents, based on 2004 Census population estimates.[3]

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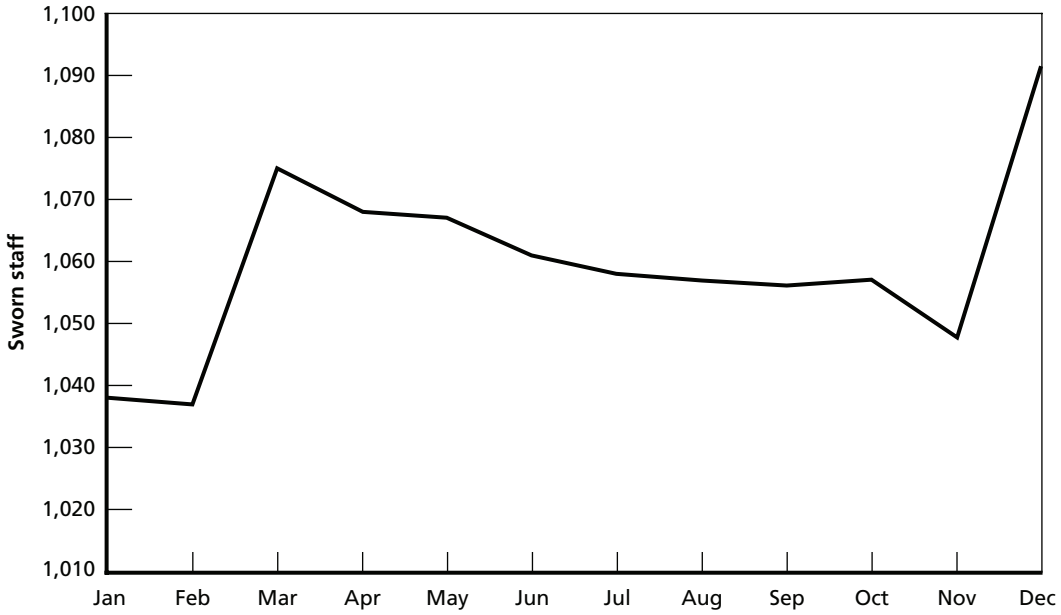
[2] The CPD provided monthly staffing in two forms. One form is a monthly summary of the number of sworn staff for the year, and the other is a distribution report for each month that differentiates the staff by race and sex. The monthly trend figures are based on the former, whereas the discussion regarding the race and sex of personnel are based on the latter. The numbers of sworn and civilian staff in January, as indicated in the summary form, are two fewer than those indicated in the distribution report. Therefore, some form of measurement error explains the small discrepancies between these sources.

[3] Unless otherwise noted, all city figures are based on the 2004 Census estimates. By comparison, the Columbus Division of Police had 1,779 sworn officers in 2003 and calculated its sworn police rate to be 242 per 100,000 residents in that year. See Columbus Police Force (2005).

Figure 3.2
Sworn Staff, 2004



RAND *TR333-3.2*

In January 2004, approximately 68 percent of all sworn officers at the CPD were white. Blacks represented 31 percent of the sworn officers, while those of another race constituted about 1 percent. These distributions remained fairly constant throughout the year. In fact, in July 2004, the racial distribution of sworn officers was exactly the same as in January 2004. It is useful to compare this distribution to that of Cincinnati residents to see how reflective the CPD is of the community it serves. About 53 percent of Cincinnati residents were white, whereas 41 percent of residents were black. Approximately 5 percent of residents were of some other race. Table 3.1 compares the racial breakdown of CPD staff relative to the racial distribution in the city. Relative to community members, minorities are underrepresented among CPD staff while whites are overrepresented.

Table 3.1
Percentages of Civilian and Sworn Staff and Residents, by Race and Sex, January 2004

	Civilian Staff		Sworn Staff		Residents	
Demographic	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Race						
White	167	62	708	68	154,511	53
Black	102	38	319	31	119,983	41
Other	2	1	13	1	15,134	5
Sex						
Male	67	25	816	78	130,648	45
Female	204	75	224	22	158,980	55
Total	271		1040		289,628	

SOURCE: Resident figures estimated from U.S. Census Bureau (2004).

The sworn CPD officers are largely male. Table 3.1 compares the sex distribution of sworn officers in January 2004 (these figures were identical to those in July) to the sex distribution of Cincinnati residents. Just over three-quarters of sworn officers were male, while these individuals accounted for less than half (45 percent) of Cincinnati residents. Females are underrepresented in the CPD relative to the city. Just over one in five sworn officers is a woman, but females make up over half (55 percent) of the city population.

The preceding discussion described the race and sex distribution of all the sworn staff in the CPD. For further illustration, this information can be broken down by the rank of the officers. The race and sex distribution of sworn officers by rank can be compared to two benchmarks. As above, they can be compared to the race and sex distribution of the general population in Cincinnati. The comparisons to the city are useful because they show the extent to which the ranks of the CPD reflect the community they serve. Just as illustrative, however, is to examine the race and sex distribution of sworn officers by rank to all sworn officers in the department. Even if the sworn staff of the CPD was unreflective of the city, for example because of a limited applicant pool or changing demographics, with all else being equal, the authors would expect the race and sex distributions by rank to be similar to the distributions for total sworn officers in the department. For example, the authors would expect the proportion of blacks in each rank to be somewhat close to the proportion of total sworn black officers in the department. Likewise, the authors would expect the proportion of females within each rank to be similar to the proportion of total sworn female staff.

Table 3.2 summarizes how races are distributed across each sworn rank. Several observations are evident from these data. The proportion of white officers holding each rank is greater than the proportion of white citizens in Cincinnati. The white officers in the CPD, who represent about 68 percent of all sworn staff, are not equally distributed across the ranks. Compared to total sworn staff, white officers are overrepresented within higher ranks (i.e., every rank from police specialist to colonel) and underrepresented within lower ranks (i.e., recruits and police officers). The representation of blacks in the CPD, for the most part, complements that of whites. Blacks are underrepresented at every rank within the CPD relative to their composition in the city. With the exception of sergeant, the representation of

Table 3.2
Percentages of Sworn Staff by Rank and Race, January 2004

Sworn Rank	White (%)	Black (%)	Other (%)
Colonel ($n = 1$)	100	0	0
Lt. Colonel ($n = 3$)	100	0	0
Captain ($n = 15$)	93	7	0
Lieutenant ($n = 43$)	84	16	0
Sergeant ($n = 148$)	72	27	1
Police Specialist ($n = 134$)	81	18	1
Police Officer ($n = 656$)	63	35	1
Recruit ($n = 40$)	58	40	3
Total ($n = 1{,}040$)	68	31	1
Residents ($n = 289{,}628$)	53	41	5

blacks steadily declines as the chain of command increases. Black officers are underrepresented in the higher ranks (i.e., every rank from police specialist to colonel) and overrepresented in the lower ranks (i.e., recruits and police officers) relative to their overall presence in the department. Finally, other minorities are not proportionally represented throughout the ranks of the CPD in terms of the Cincinnati population. Compared to the distribution in the department (1 percent), other minorities are overrepresented among recruits, proportionally represented among the ranks of police officer, police specialist, and sergeant, and underrepresented for the remaining higher ranks (i.e., lieutenant through colonel).

Should blacks and other minorities continue to be overrepresented among recruits relative to their presence in the department, the CPD may become more reflective of these races (assuming all other factors remain the same and no bias exists in the hiring and promotion process), but this process takes time. That they are not reflective now could be a function of hiring practices in place decades ago coupled with changing city demographics. Given the time it takes officers to be promoted and assuming no change in city demographics and that the CPD's hiring and promotion process is completely bias free, it could take the CPD just as long to represent races proportionally throughout its ranks.

A similar comparison of rank by sex can be made (see Table 3.3). The proportion of male officers holding each rank is greater than the proportion of male citizens in Cincinnati (45 percent), whereas the opposite is true for females, who constitute about 55 percent of the Cincinnati population. Relative to their representation among all sworn staff, women are underrepresented in the ranks of colonel, captain, lieutenant, and sergeant, and overrepresented in the ranks of lieutenant colonel, police specialist, police officer, and recruit. By contrast, the opposite is true for men—they are overrepresented in the ranks of colonel, captain, lieutenant, and sergeant, and underrepresented in the ranks of lieutenant colonel, police specialist, police officer, and recruit. With the exception of the lieutenant colonel position, the proportion of positions filled by men tends to increase with rank, while rank appears to be inversely related to the likelihood that females will be represented.

As with the differences discussed previously in terms of race distributions by rank, the difference seen here in terms of sex could be a result of hiring and promotion practices and changing demographics that occurred long ago. As with blacks and other minorities,

Table 3.3
Percentages of Sworn Staff by Rank and Sex, January 2004

Sworn Rank	Male (%)	Female (%)
Colonel ($n = 1$)	100	0
Lt. Colonel ($n = 3$)	67	33
Captain ($n = 15$)	93	7
Lieutenant ($n = 43$)	86	14
Sergeant ($n = 148$)	85	15
Police Specialist ($n = 134$)	76	24
Police Officer ($n = 656$)	77	23
Recruit ($n = 40$)	70	30
Total ($n = 1{,}040$)	78	22
Residents ($n = 289{,}628$)	45	55

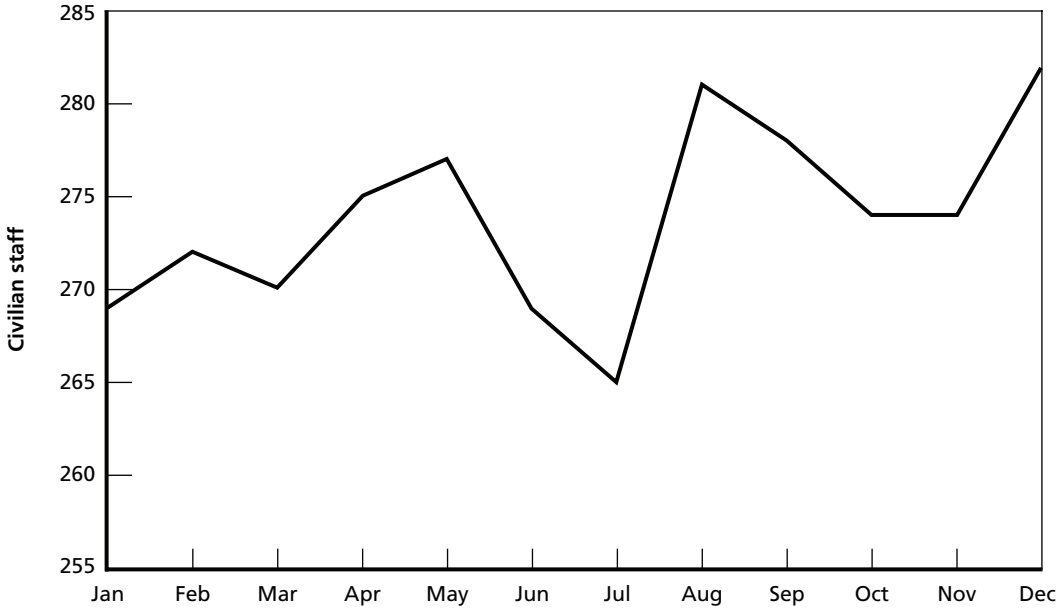
should all else remain the same and no bias exists, the CPD may become more reflective of women in the future, because they represent a greater proportion of recruits than of total sworn staff. However, it could take a significant amount of time for this to occur, given the lengthy process of promotion.

Civilian Staff

Civilian staff members largely serve as administrative support for the organization. The number of civilian staff working in the CPD in 2004 ranged from 269 in January to 282 in December (Figure 3.3). This represents slightly less than a 5-percent increase over the year. On a month-to-month basis, the change was generally a few people. The exceptions were between May and June, when the number fell by eight, and then between July and August and between November and December when civilians increased by 16 and 11, respectively.

Relative to the 2004 city population, the racial distribution of the CPD's civilian staff largely mirrored that of its sworn staff in January 2004. Comprising about 62 percent of the civilian workforce, whites were overrepresented compared to the city population, which was 53 percent white. By contrast, blacks and those of another race were underrepresented. They made up 38 percent and 1 percent of civilian staff but 41 percent and 5 percent of the Cincinnati's population, respectively. The racial distribution of the civilian staff also stayed fairly constant, in that the July 2004 distribution was the same as that in January. Table 3.1 illustrates the contrast of sworn staff to the city, while also comparing the racial distributions of the civilian and sworn staff members. This table makes it evident that the proportion of sworn staff that was white (68 percent) was somewhat larger than civilian staff (62 percent). Conversely, the proportion of sworn staff that was black (31 percent) was smaller than that of the civilian staff (38 percent).

Figure 3.3
Civilian Staff, 2004



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Unlike the sworn staff, the CPD's civilian staff is largely female, and women are overrepresented in relation to Cincinnati's 2004 population. About three-quarters of civilian staff were female, while just over half (55 percent) of Cincinnati's population comprised women. This left one in four civilian staff who was male, compared to just under half (45 percent) of the city's population. This is depicted in Table 3.1, which also compares the sex distribution of civilian staff to that of sworn staff. There is a stark contrast to the sex distribution of civilian and sworn staff. In fact, the distribution essentially inverts. Women constituted about 75 percent of the civilian staff but only 22 percent of the sworn staff.

Promotions

Throughout 2004, the CPD promoted 33 sworn staff.[4] This included promotions to captain (6 percent of all promotions), lieutenant (12 percent), sergeant (36 percent), and police specialist (45 percent). There were no promotions to colonel or lieutenant colonel during this period. With all else being equal, the authors would expect the race and sex distribution of sworn officers who are promoted from each rank to equal the race and sex distribution of sworn officers within the corresponding rank. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 compare these distributions for race and sex, respectively. None of those promoted was a captain or lieutenant colonel. Blacks and males were overrepresented among promotions from lieutenant and police specialist and underrepresented among promotions from sergeant. However, the number of promotions from these ranks is quite small so the percentages of promotions represented by each race and sex must be interpreted cautiously. The largest number of promotions, 26, went to police officers. Blacks were underrepresented among these promotions. They accounted for 14 percent of promotions going to police officers but make up 35 percent of the officers at that rank. Women were also underrepresented in promotions at this rank, but by a much smaller margin.

Table 3.4
Percentages of Sworn Staff and Promotions by Rank and Race, 2004

	White Staff (%)		Black Staff (%)		Other Staff (%)	
Sworn Rank	**Sworn**	**Promoted**	**Sworn**	**Promoted**	**Sworn**	**Promoted**
Lt. Colonel ($s = 3$, $p = 0$)	100	0	0	0	0	0
Captain ($s = 15$, $p = 0$)	93	0	7	0	0	0
Lieutenant ($s = 43$, $p = 2$)	84	50	16	50	0	0
Sergeant ($s = 148$, $p = 4$)	72	100	27	0	1	0
Police Specialist ($s = 134$, $p = 6$)	81	67	18	33	1	0
Police Officer ($s = 656$, $p = 21$)	63	86	35	14	1	0
Total ($s = 1{,}040$, $p = 33$)	68	82	31	18	1	0

NOTE: s is the number of sworn staff within each rank as of January 2004 and p is the number of staff promoted from each rank for the entire year.

[4] Of the 33 officers promoted to a sworn rank, 15 (45 percent) remained in their previously assigned location (i.e., district, unit, squad, or section).

Table 3.5
Percentages of Sworn Staff and Promotions by Rank and Sex, 2004

Sworn Rank	Male Staff (%)		Female Staff (%)	
	Sworn	Promoted	Sworn	Promoted
Lt. Colonel ($s = 3$; $p = 0$)	67	0	33	0
Captain ($s = 15$; $p = 0$)	93	0	7	0
Lieutenant ($s = 43$; $p = 2$)	86	100	14	0
Sergeant ($s = 148$; $p = 4$)	85	75	15	25
Police Specialist ($s = 134$; $p = 6$)	76	100	24	0
Police Officer ($s = 656$; $p = 21$)	77	81	23	19
Total ($s = 1{,}040$; $p = 33$)	78	85	22	15

NOTE: *s* is the number of sworn staff within each rank as of January 2004, and *p* is the number of staff promoted from each rank for the entire year.

Transfers

Transfers occur when officers are reassigned to a new function with no change in rank. These are distinct from promotions, which often entail a new assignment but at a higher rank. The CPD transferred 189 sworn staff in 2004. As with promotions, the authors would expect the race and sex distribution of sworn officers who transfer within each rank to equal the race and sex distribution of all sworn officers within the corresponding rank. Tables 3.6 and 3.7 compare these distributions for race and sex, respectively. Information was not available on the race of eight officers and the sex of nine officers. Two lieutenant colonels transferred, both white and one female. All three officers who held that position were white and one was female. Blacks and men were underrepresented and proportionately represented in terms of captains and lieutenants who transferred, respectively, but few transferred within these ranks, so it is difficult to draw reasonable comparisons.

Sergeants (29), police specialists (19), and police officers (131) transferred much more frequently. Blacks were overrepresented among sergeants and underrepresented among police specialists who transferred. The race distribution of police officers who transferred, the rank with the largest number of transfers, reflected the race distribution of officers holding that rank. Women were overrepresented among police officers, police specialists, and sergeants who transferred, with greater disparity occurring in the lower ranks. However, even if the transferee race and sex distribution perfectly matched the sworn staff distribution, the authors could not determine that race and sex played no role in transfers due to a lack of information regarding whether the officers requested these transfers or the number of transfer requests that were not granted.

Table 3.6
Percentages of Sworn Staff and Transfers by Rank and Race, 2004

Sworn Rank	White Staff (%)		Black Staff (%)		Other Staff (%)	
	Sworn	Transferred	Sworn	Transferred	Sworn	Transferred
Lt. Colonel ($s = 3$; $t = 2$)	100	100	0	0	0	0
Captain ($s = 15$; $t = 2$)	93	100	7	0	0	0
Lieutenant ($s = 43$; $t = 6$)	84	83	16	17	0	0
Sergeant ($s = 148$; $t = 29$)	72	62	27	38	1	0
Police Specialist ($s = 134$; $t = 19$)	81	89	18	11	1	0
Police Officer ($s = 656$; $t = 131$)	63	61	35	36	1	3
Total ($s = 1{,}040$; $t = 189$)	68	65	31	32	1	2

NOTE: *s* is the number of sworn staff within each rank as of January 2004 and *t* is the number of staff transferred from each rank for the entire year. The race for eight transferees was unknown; they are not included in the breakdown in the table.

Table 3.7
Percentages of Sworn Staff and Transfers by Rank and Sex, 2004

Sworn Staff	Male Staff (%)		Female Staff (%)	
	Sworn	Transferred	Sworn	Transferred
Lt. Colonel ($s = 3$; $t = 2$)	67	50	33	50
Captain ($s = 15$; $t = 2$)	93	50	7	50
Lieutenant ($s = 43$; $t = 6$)	86	83	14	17
Sergeant ($s = 148$; $t = 29$)	85	76	15	24
Police Specialist ($s = 134$; $t = 19$)	76	53	24	47
Police Officer ($s = 656$; $t = 131$)	77	26	23	74
Total ($s = 1{,}040$; $t = 189$)	78	72	22	28

NOTE: *s* is the number of sworn staff within each rank as of January 2004 and *t* is the number of staff transferred from each rank for the entire year. The sex for nine transferees was unknown; these are not included in the breakdown in the table.

The transfer data permitted an examination by rank and assigned location. Of those who transferred, the vast majority were police officers (69 percent), followed by sergeants (15 percent), police specialists (10 percent), lieutenants (3 percent), and captains and lieutenant colonels (1 percent each). Of the assigned locations from and to where sworn staff members were assigned, the districts represented the largest proportions. In terms of previous transferee assignment, 10 percent were from each of District 1 and District 3, 8 percent from District 4, 7 percent from District 2, and 3 percent from District 5. It should be noted that 5 percent of the transferees were lateral-entry officers, and 28 percent transferred from the training section. The high proportion of staff leaving the training section suggests that these figures may include academy graduates. However, the fact that two sergeants and three police specialists transferred from the training section indicates that not all of these transferees were necessarily recent academy graduates. In terms of where sworn staff located, 14 percent transferred to District 1, followed by 13 percent to District 2, 12 percent each to Districts 3 and 4, and 10 percent to District 5.

Separations

Separation, or attrition, occurs when staff members permanently leave the organization. Throughout 2004, a total of 43 sworn officers ceased working for the CPD. Comparing the race and sex distribution of sworn officers within each rank who separate from the CPD to the race and sex distribution of sworn officers within the corresponding ranks can indicate important areas of differential attrition and how it may affect the composition of the CPD over time. Tables 3.8 and 3.9 compare these distributions for race and sex, respectively. Information was not available on the race of one recruit. Whites appear to be leaving the CPD at a disproportionately greater number than their representation suggests would be appropriate. The colonel did not leave the CPD, and one white, male lieutenant colonel separated. However, the proportion of whites within every rank from police officer to captain who separated from the CPD was greater than the proportion of sworn officers in each of those ranks who was white. Twenty-five of the officers who separated held the rank of police officers, thereby making it the rank from which the largest number of officers separated. Of these individuals who left the CPD, 72 percent were white. This compares to 63 percent of police officers overall who were white.

The sex composition of those who leave the CPD is not as divergent as the race composition in terms of representing the overall department by rank. Females were underrepresented among those who separated from the CPD while holding the ranks of recruit, lieutenant, captain, and lieutenant colonel. By contrast, they were overrepresented among those leaving the CPD with the rank of police specialist and police officer. The sex composition of sergeants who left the CPD mirrors that of sergeants generally.

Table 3.8
Percentages of Sworn Staff and Attrition by Rank and Race, 2004

	White Staff (%)		Black Staff (%)		Other Staff (%)	
Sworn Rank	**Sworn**	**Separated**	**Sworn**	**Separated**	**Sworn**	**Separated**
Colonel ($s = 1$; $a = 0$)	100	0	0	0	0	0
Lt. Colonel ($s = 3$; $a = 1$)	100	100	0	0	0	0
Captain ($s = 15$; $a = 2$)	93	100	7	0	0	0
Lieutenant ($s = 43$; $a = 1$)	84	100	16	0	0	0
Sergeant ($s = 148$; $a = 7$)	72	86	27	14	1	0
Police Specialist ($s = 134$; $a = 4$)	81	100	18	0	1	0
Police Officer ($s = 656$; $a = 25$)	63	72	35	28	1	0
Recruit ($s = 40$; $a = 3$)	58	50	40	50	3	0
Total ($s = 1{,}040$; $a = 43$)	68	79	31	21	1	0

NOTE: *s* is the number of sworn staff within each rank as of January 2004 and *a* is the number of staff who separated from each rank for the entire year. The race for one recruit, who was not included in the breakdown in this table, was unknown.

Table 3.9
Percentages of Sworn Staff and Attrition by Rank and Sex, 2004

	Male Staff (%)		Female Staff (%)	
Sworn Rank	**Sworn**	**Separated**	**Sworn**	**Separated**
Colonel ($s = 1$; $a = 0$)	100	0	0	0
Lt. Colonel ($s = 3$; $a = 1$)	67	100	33	0
Captain ($s = 15$; $a = 2$)	93	100	7	0
Lieutenant ($s = 43$; $a = 1$)	86	100	14	0
Sergeant ($s = 148$; $a = 7$)	85	86	15	14
Police Specialist ($s = 134$; $a = 4$)	76	50	24	50
Police Officer ($s = 656$; $a = 25$)	77	68	23	32
Recruit ($s = 40$; $a = 3$)	70	100	30	0
Total ($s = 1{,}040$; $a = 43$)	78	74	22	26

NOTE: *s* is the number of sworn staff within each rank as of January 2004 and *a* is the number of staff who separated from each rank for the entire year.

When examining organizational attrition, it is important to consider the reasons why staff members leave the organization. In 2004, the largest proportion of sworn staff left the CPD because of retirement. This characterized 49 percent of separations, about half of which were for a disability. This is consistent with a nationally representative probability sample of police agencies in 2000 that found that half of officers leaving large agencies (those serving jurisdictions with 50,000 or more people) are retirees (Koper, Maguire, and Moore, 2001). Resignations (47 percent) were almost as common as retirements. The remaining separations were due to failed probation and dismissal (about 2 percent each). An examination of those who resign or are forced to leave the CPD (for a reason other than a disability) can provide important insight about organizational culture and the ability of individuals to create a successful career in the CPD. Very few people were forced to leave (one was dismissed and one failed probation), suggesting that the CPD does not find itself initiating many terminations. By contrast, many more people choose to leave the CPD and an analysis of these individuals would be illustrative of whom that includes.

Twenty sworn officers chose to leave the CPD in 2004. About 68 percent of these individuals were white, while 32 percent were black (there was one case where race was not available). These proportions are virtually identical to the presence of whites and blacks as sworn staff. Roughly 22 percent of the CPD's sworn officers were female, and 25 percent of those who resigned were women. Women are therefore choosing to leave the CPD at a rate that is fairly close to their representation as sworn staff. Men make up 78 percent of sworn staff and 75 percent of those who resigned.

For the most part, those choosing to leave the CPD are relatively early in their careers. Over one of every three sworn staff (38 percent) who left had about one year or less time in at the CPD, about 63 percent had in five or fewer years, and 81 percent had in eight or fewer years (seniority was unknown for four officers who resigned). Only three of the officers were known to have more than eight years' seniority—12, 15, and 17. These figures contrast with nationwide figures, which indicate, on average, one-third of officers who leave large agencies do so after five or fewer years (Koper, Maguire, and Moore, 2001). The rate at which sworn officers resigned from the CPD early in their careers was more than double the

national average. Given that those who resigned were concentrated among those with less seniority, it is not surprising that resignations were more likely to occur by those in lower ranks. The majority of those who resigned held the lowest ranks of police officer (70 percent) or recruit (15 percent). Of those who resigned, 10 percent were specialists and 5 percent were sergeants. No one with a rank above sergeant resigned.

Applicants and Academy Graduates

Like most other police departments, there is a lengthy process for those seeking to become CPD police officers. Aspiring officers must apply, take and pass a battery of tests, and enter and complete the police training academy. For added context in examining characteristics of the current workforce, it is useful to understand who is attempting to join the ranks of the police force. One way to do this is to describe the characteristics of those seeking sworn positions at the beginning and end of the process. This includes those who apply to become sworn officers and those who ultimately graduate from the academy.

In 2004, 931 people applied to become CPD officers and 74 graduated from the police academy. The racial distribution of the applicants was fairly close to that of the sworn composition of the police department as a whole (see Table 3.10). Whites constituted about 71 percent of the applicants and 68 percent of the sworn personnel, while blacks represented 28 percent and 31 percent of these populations, respectively. Individuals of another race made up about 1 percent of the applicants. Similar to sworn staff, white applicants are overrepresented relative to Cincinnati's residential population (53 percent), whereas blacks are underrepresented (41 percent). The opposite occurs in terms of academy graduates, however. The proportion of graduates who are white (62 percent) is less than their representation in the department (but still greater than their composition in the city population). The representation of blacks among graduates (35 percent) is greater than their representation among sworn staff (but still less than their representation in the city). About 3 percent of graduates were neither white nor black.

From this information, the authors see that in 2004, 28 percent of applicants were black, while 35 percent of the graduates were black. This might suggest that blacks are somewhat more likely to complete the hiring process successfully. However, the graduate information does not necessarily link directly to the specific applicants in 2004 (e.g., the first academy graduation in 2004 occurred in February, so these graduates would have applied prior to 2004). The graduate and application information could be compared, but to do so would require assuming that the racial distribution of applicants and graduates does not change over time. However, the authors can examine completion of the academy portion of the hiring process without having to make an assumption. In 2004, 8 percent of the white recruits started but did not finish the academy. This contrasts to 2 percent of black recruits. Black recruits therefore appear more successful at completing the academy.

Table 3.10
Percentages of Sworn Applicants and Graduates, by Race and Sex, 2004

	Applicants		Graduates		Sworn Staff		Residents	
Demographic	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Race								
White	662	71	46	62	708	68	154,511	53
Black	261	28	26	35	319	31	119,983	41
Other	8	1	2	3	13	1	15,134	5
Sex								
Male	703	76	54	73	816	78	130,648	45
Female	220	24	20	27	224	22	158,980	55
Total	931		74		1,040		289,628	

SOURCE: Resident figures estimated from U.S. Census Bureau (2004).
NOTE: Sex was unknown for eight applicants, who were not included in the breakdown in this table.

Men and women applied to become CPD officers in proportions fairly close to their presence as sworn officers (see Table 3.5). About one in four applicants (24 percent) was female, and about 22 percent of the CPD's sworn personnel are women. Female applicants, like female sworn staff, are underrepresented relative to their occurrence in the city of Cincinnati (55 percent). Females constituted about 27 percent of 2004 academy graduates. This is higher than their representation in the department as sworn staff, but still less than their occurrence in the city as residents. Like blacks relative to whites, women were more likely to complete the academy than men. In 2004, all nine of the recruits who dropped out of the academy were men. The authors do not have information about the qualifications of those seeking to become CPD officers.

Summary and Policy Implications

The preceding analysis provides useful context regarding the Cincinnati Police Department, which may complement the discussion in other chapters. Furthermore, it summarizes important characteristics that RAND will be able to examine over time in future reports. The following are general conclusions about staffing and personnel actions in the CPD:

- Relative to Cincinnati residents, minorities and women were underrepresented among sworn staff.
- Relative to Cincinnati residents and CPD sworn staff, minorities and women were underrepresented among higher sworn ranks (generally, representation tended to diminish with increased rank).
- Blacks and women represented a greater proportion of civilian staff than sworn staff, but, at least for blacks, this proportion was still less than their existence as city residents.
- Minorities and women were underrepresented among promotions relative to their composition of sworn ranks.

- Those who transferred varied somewhat from sworn staff in terms of race (the race effect reversed when comparing transfers from sergeant and police specialist), but women transferred more than their presence as sworn staff would suggest.
- Relative to sworn staff, whites and women separated from the CPD at disproportionately higher rates, but in terms of resignation the rates were fairly close to that expected from the race and sex distribution of sworn staff.
- Resignations tend to occur early in the career cycle.
- Those applying to become CPD officers are very similar to current sworn staff in terms of race and sex, which means minorities and women are underrepresented as applicants compared to the city population.
- Blacks and females are overrepresented as recruits relative to sworn staff but underrepresented relative to city residents, more successful at completing the academy, and graduate in proportions greater than their composition as sworn staff.

As the collaborative agreement progresses, the CPD will need to give careful attention to workforce characteristics in light of the city's changing demographics. Residents of all races have been leaving the city, but at varying rates. During the brief 2000–2004 period, the number of white residents fell from 175,492 to 154,511, or 12 percent (after already declining 20 percent between 1990 and 2000). However, during this same period, the number of residents who were black fell 16 percent (from 142,176 to 119,983), while the residents of another race increased 11 percent (from 13,617 to 15,134). Therefore, between 2000 and 2004, the proportion of residents who were white remained constant at 53 percent, while the proportion of residents who were black decreased from 43 percent to 41 percent.

Similarly, males appear to be leaving the city at a faster rate than females. Between 2000 and 2004, the male population fell about 16 percent (from 156,357 to 130,648), whereas the female population dropped about 9 percent (from 174,928 to 158,980). If these trends continue and the race and sex distribution of CPD sworn staff remains constant, the CPD may become more reflective of the community it serves in terms of race but less reflective in terms of sex by simple virtue of the city's shifting demographics. On the other hand, the exodus of males from Cincinnati may translate into significantly fewer males applying to become CPD officers. This may create applicant pools with a larger proportion of female applicants. By the same rationale, black applicants may become more difficult to recruit.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of Vehicle Stops

Overview

This section examines data on traffic stops from 2003 and 2004 to assess whether the data are indicative of racial profiling on the part of CPD officers. RAND's approach involves three phases of assessments: (1) an assessment of whether there is a departmentwide pattern of bias against black drivers in the decision to stop a vehicle; (2) an assessment of the fraction of CPD officers who disproportionately stop black drivers compared to other officers patrolling the same neighborhoods at the same time; (3) an assessment of racial biases in post-stop outcomes including citation rates, stop duration, and search rates.

The analysis yielded eight key findings.

- Officers are not documenting an estimated 20 percent of vehicle stops. The authors do not know whether the undocumented stops differ from the documented ones. As a result, the conclusions of all analyses are sensitive to possible biases in reporting.
- Sixteen percent of contact cards that officers completed were missing important information about the nature of the stop or the driver involved.
- An analysis of stops occurring near the changes to and from Daylight Saving Time found no clear statistical evidence of a racial bias in the decision to stop. Black drivers were more likely to be stopped during daylight when drivers' races are more visible—15 percent greater risk in 2003 and 19 percent greater risk in 2004—but this observed elevated risk for black drivers may be due to chance rather than a race bias.
- Four officers out of 91 stopped black drivers at substantially higher rates than other similarly situated officers. These officers were twice as likely to use equipment violations as a reason for stopping drivers. However, even after accounting for their large number of equipment violation stops, these four still stopped a greater share of black drivers than expected.
- Black drivers and similarly situated nonblack drivers received citations at the same rate in 2003 (75 percent) and 2004 (70 percent).
- Black drivers were less likely than similarly situated nonblack drivers to have stops last less than 10 minutes (40 percent versus 43 percent in 2003, 40 percent versus 44 percent in 2004). The resulting 3–4 percent difference implies that roughly 600–700 black drivers annually have long stops that should have lasted less than 10 minutes.
- Officers search black and nonblack drivers at nearly the same rate when the officers have discretion (5.9 percent versus 5.4 percent in 2003, 6.7 percent versus 6.2 percent in 2004). Black drivers are more likely to be subject to low discretion searches (8.1 percent versus 5.5 percent in 2003, 10.7 percent versus 7.0 percent in 2004).

Such low-discretion situations include searches that are incident to arrest and when contraband is in plain view, so the differences can be due to difference in offending rates rather than officer biases.

- For high-discretion searches, such as consent searches, black drivers were more likely to be found with contraband (28 percent versus 22 percent in 2003, 29 percent versus 27 percent in 2004). This is indicative of no racial bias in search decisions. For searches involving little officer discretion, such as searches incident to arrest, recovery rates of contraband were the same (16 percent in 2003, 20 percent in 2004).

The authors recommend that the CPD implement a system that constantly audits its data collection process, checking each form for completeness and comparing the number of reported stops with dispatch communication logs to assure that all officers are reporting all vehicle stops that they make. The authors suggest that the CPD track the race distribution of stops that individual officers make, comparing them with other officers with similar assignments and incorporating this program into an early warning system. While the authors found no racial disparities in citation or search rates, black drivers do seem to have stops that last longer than those for otherwise similar nonblack drivers. The authors recommend a focused discussion on reasons for this difference, possibly resulting in supplemental data collection on characteristics of stops that might account for these differences or changes in policies.

Introduction

This section investigates whether racial biases influence police activities in the decision to stop, cite, and search vehicles in Cincinnati. The authors develop this assessment in three stages. The first stage assesses whether racial bias is a pattern departmentwide in initiating vehicle stops. The second stage assesses whether individual officers appear to have racial biases in their decisions to stop. The third stage assesses whether there are racial disparities in the outcomes of stops (citation, duration, searches).

First, to assess bias in the decision to stop, the authors took advantage of a natural experiment, comparing stops made during darkness to stops made during daylight. If there is a race bias, then that bias will be most prevalent during daylight hours when the race of drivers is easier to see. In the absence of race bias, the authors expect the percentage of black drivers among drivers stopped during daylight to equal the percentage of black drivers among those stopped in darkness. The driving population may vary between daylight and darkness. For example, black drivers may compose a larger share of the driving population at later hours. To handle this situation, seasonal changes in natural lighting allow the method to adjust for clock time. In particular, the authors will compare stops immediately before and immediately after changes to and from Daylight Saving Time. On one Monday, it will be light at 6:30 p.m. and the following Monday, it will be dark at 6:30 p.m. Such comparisons help adjust for the changes in the race distribution in the driving population. As a result, it does not require explicit information on the characteristics of drivers at risk of being stopped.

Second, the authors implemented an internal benchmark, comparing each officer to other officers who patrol the same neighborhoods, at the same times, and with the same assignment. This method selects an officer, identifies stops made by other officers in the same time and place, and compares the race distributions of the stops. Since the officers are pa-

trolling the same neighborhood at the same time, the race distributions should be the same (assuming the officers are on the same assignment). The authors report estimates of the percentage of officers who appear disproportionately to stop black drivers.

Third, the authors analyzed outcomes of the stop, citation rates, duration of the stop, search rates, and search outcomes, to assess race bias in actions taken post-stop. The authors statistically removed the effects of when, where, and why the stop took place in order to isolate the effect of race bias in the stop outcomes.

Data

Contact Cards

The CPD's investigatory stop policy (CPD, Procedure 12.554) requires officers to complete Form 534, a citizen contact card, for all motor vehicle stops. In addition, for any passenger detained separately, the officer must complete a separate Form 534. The contact cards include information on the vehicle (license plate, car make, and year), the driver (race, age, driver's license), passengers, and the stop (location of the stop, reason for the stop, whether a search occurred, the outcome of the stop, the duration of the stop). CPD officers also completed contact cards for some pedestrian stops, collecting information on the individual detained and attributes of the stop. The analyses primarily rely on the data from a database that the CPD created from these contact cards for the 2003 and 2004 calendar years.

Geocoding

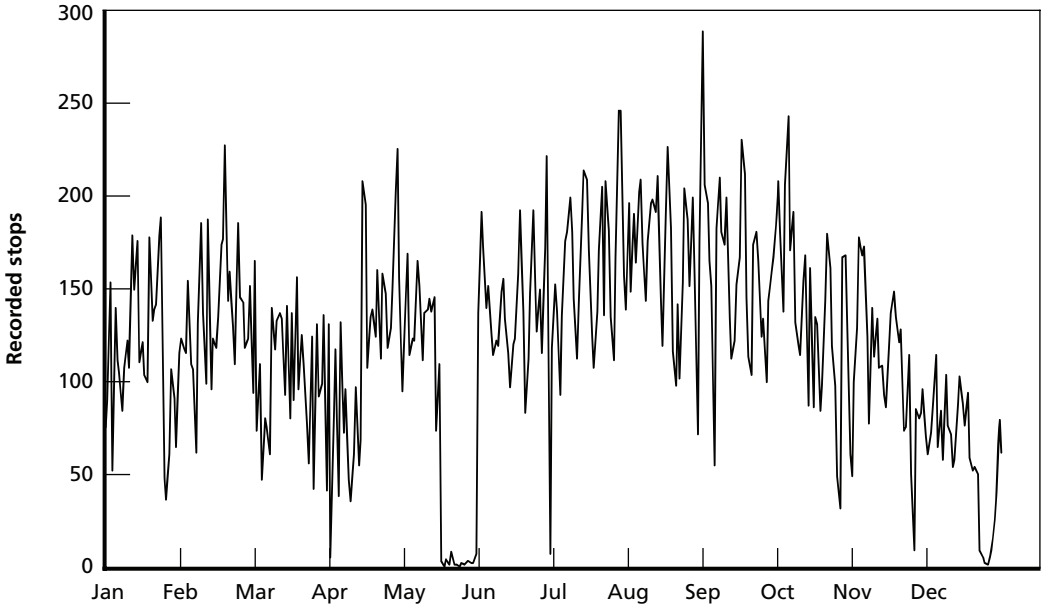
The CPD provided RAND with a geographic information system (GIS) shapefile with boundary definitions of the 53 neighborhoods. The authors mapped the address or intersection of each stop as documented on the contact cards to one of the 53 neighborhoods. Since highways are of a distinctly different nature, both in enforcement practices and driving population, the authors did not map stops occurring on highways to any of the Cincinnati neighborhoods. Instead, the authors considered each Cincinnati highway (I-471, I-71, I-74, I-75, and 562/Norwood Lateral) as a separate neighborhood. The authors mapped those vehicle stops that occurred between the highway and surface streets (e.g., I-75 OFF RAMP TO EB HOPPLE) to the first neighborhood in the description (I-75 in this example). The code violation and exposure to police most likely occurred in the first neighborhood, so mapping such stops in this way associates them with other similarly situated stops.

Data Quality Issues

For any traffic stop analysis to offer an accurate view of the CPD's policing practices, the quality of the data is of primary importance. The authors briefly discuss some issues here that potentially may be of concern.

Contact Card Completion Rates. The CPD requires documentation of all traffic stops through the contact cards (CPD, Procedure 12.554). The authors looked at the volume of contact cards recorded on each day as an initial check for regular completion of the cards. Figure 4.1 shows the number of stops on each day in 2004. The most notable feature is a nearly complete absence of stops from the middle to the end of May. In addition, the stops

Figure 4.1
Number of Contact Cards on Each Day in 2004



RAND *TR333-4.1*

toward the end of 2004 seem to taper off from the peak in September. While a "holiday season" effect may partly explain the low number of contact cards in November and December, the period in May seems peculiar. The CPD's Records Section relocated prior to this period and the forms may have been misplaced during the transition. However, the authors assume that the absence of the May stops is not likely to bias the results since it probably equally affects drivers of all races in all parts of the city.

For closer inspection of the completion rates, the authors obtained computer-aided dispatch (CAD) logs from the CPD for all traffic stops from August 2004 through December 2004. These CAD logs indicate the date and time of initiation of the stop, the completion time of the stop, the stop location including district, disposition, and an incident number. The incident numbers should match to an associated contact card (Form 534) giving additional details of the stop. For every traffic stop, CPD officers radio dispatch indicating that they are involved in a traffic stop and unavailable to be redeployed elsewhere. It is unlikely that any traffic stop would not be recorded in the CAD logs. Therefore, the authors can check whether incident numbers in the CAD logs have a matching contact card in order to estimate the completion rate of the contact cards.

At the time RAND conducted the audit with the CAD logs, the authors did not have contact cards from August 2004, so this analysis is limited to September 2004 through December 2004. After matching the 14,739 CAD log incident numbers to incident numbers in the contact card database, 10,078 of them had associated contact cards, a matching rate of 68.4 percent. There is a good chance that some of these are due to data entry errors, presumably in the contact card incident number. To allow for this, the authors took all unmatched incident numbers from the CAD logs and tried to match them approximately to

Table 4.1
Contact Card Completion Rate by Month, 2004

Completions	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Total CAD-logged traffic stops	4,825	4,705	3,350	1,859
Total with matched contact cards	3,287	3,147	2,384	1,260
Completion rate	68%	67%	71%	68%
Completion rate allowing for data entry errors	72%	70%	75%	72%

incident numbers from the contact cards that did not appear in the CAD logs. A contact card was considered approximately matched if a previously unmatched contact card matched the date of the stop, the district in which the stop took place, and if by replacing, removing, or inserting one number, the authors could find an unmatched contact card with the same incident number. For example, INCP# 42450302 matched none of the stops in the contact card database, but there is a contact card with the same date in the same district with INCP# 42450305, differing only on the last number, and this contact card previously had no match in the CAD logs. Although not used in identifying matches, the times on both of these stops were identical. Table 4.1 summarizes the estimates of completion rates by month. Experimenting with other "edit distances" (such as allowing incident numbers to differ in two places and matching to within 30 minutes of the time of the stop) did not change the rate of matches by more than 2 percent.

Several contact cards were recorded with duplicate incident numbers. It seems that officers may be using the same incident number for several stops during a shift rather than using the one recorded in the CAD logs. During data entry, the database replaces duplicate incident numbers with a unique nine-digit number that starts with a 1 so that it is distinguishable from official CPD codes; 7.5 percent of the contact cards had this code and potentially could have been merged with the CAD system had they been entered correctly.

Barring other explanations, the authors must conclude that the contact cards document about 78 to 83 percent of the stops accounting for those incident numbers with a leading 1. If the decision to complete a card is associated with both race and the study's outcome measures, then this may distort the study results. Specifically, if officers do not document the most problematic stops or the potential problem officer does not document any of his or her stops, then RAND's analyses can only describe police practices in uncontroversial stops. Unfortunately, the authors cannot rule this out and an estimated 20-percent noncompliance rate could be sufficiently large enough to change the results.

Quality of Recorded Data and Missing Attributes of Documented Stops. The remaining issues involve the quality of the data actually recorded. The time of the stop is a critical component of many of RAND's analyses. For recorded stops, the authors can compare the time of the stop recorded on the contact card with the time stamp in the CAD logs. The contact cards and CAD logs agree to within nine minutes for 95 percent of the stops, but 1.8 percent did not agree with the CAD logs to within one hour. If the CAD logs can be established as a more reliable source of information, then the contact cards' information on time, location, and length of stops can be drawn directly from them.

In addition to some missing contact cards, important items from the contact cards were also frequently missing. For example, in 2004, 16 percent of stops were missing at least one of the following: stop location, date, time, stop duration, driver age, race, or sex. Table

Table 4.2
Missing Basic Stop Information from 2004 Moving Violations

Stop Feature	Number Missing	Percent Missing
Time	252	0.6
Duration	3,178	7.5
Location	724	1.7
No information	131	0.3
Unable to geocode	593	1.4
Officer	696	1.6
Driver race	2,542	6.0
Driver sex	2,592	6.1
Driver age	2,916	6.9

NOTE: *n* = 42,272.

4.2 gives some more specific information on the types of fields that are important for RAND's analyses. Automatic checks of these fields by the CPD can improve the accuracy of analyses.

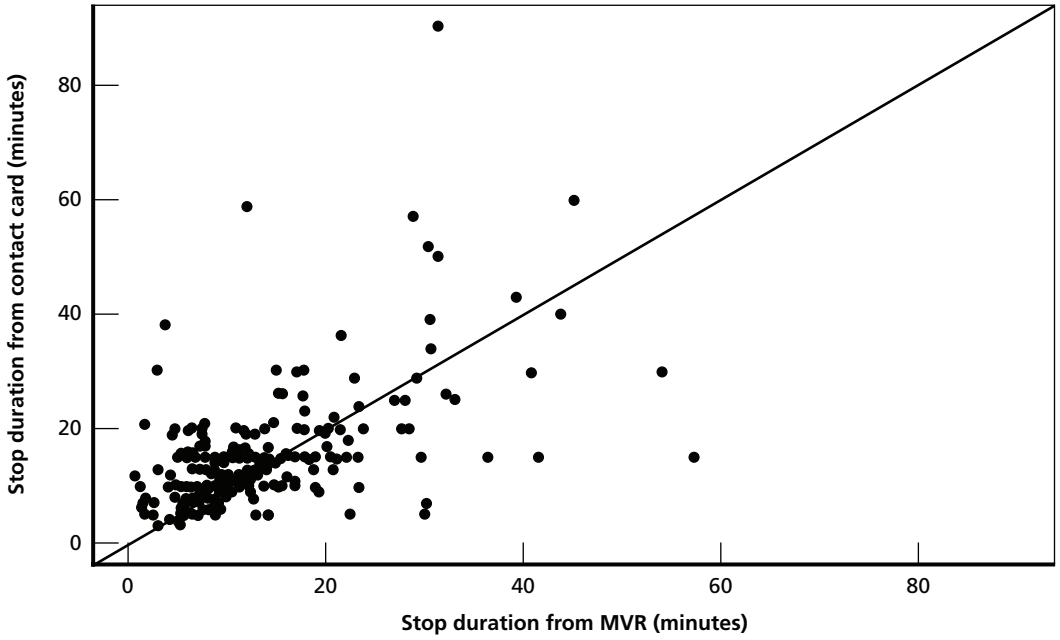
Geocoding of Addresses. Certain streets were particularly problematic to map because of missing direction (e.g., E Martin Luther King Drive and W Martin Luther King Drive), use of place names (e.g., Kroger parking lot), missing block number or cross street on streets spanning multiple neighborhoods (e.g., Vine St). Eck, Liu, and Bostaph (2003), reporting on the CPD's 2001 stop data, could not identify the location of 5 percent of the stops. In 2003, 1,491 stops (about 2.9 percent) had insufficient information to map accurately the location of the stop to a neighborhood. In 2004, 724 stops (1.7 percent) had insufficient information and the authors labeled these stops as having an unknown location. The 2004 rate shows a marked improvement over previous years.

While the number of unmappable stops is relatively small, the authors must assume that having an unmappable address is not related to *both* race and the study's outcomes of interest. Since most of these errors are likely random (e.g., failing to indicate a street direction, typos during data entry), the authors do not expect this to bias the results.

Comparison of Contact Cards to Mobile Video Recording (MVR). Several items measured from the videotapes from MVRs officers also recorded on the contact cards. These include stop duration and whether a search took place. RAND compares the two sources to assess the reliability of the data.

Figure 4.2 compares the stop duration from the MVR to the stop duration recorded on the contact cards. The figure shows that, for several stops, the reported stop durations greatly differ. The differences are particularly noticeable for stops greater than 30 minutes. However, 64 percent of the MVR-coded stop durations agree to within five minutes of the stop duration recorded on the contact card. Officers tend to record longer stops; 57 percent of the MVR-coded stop durations were less than the contact card–recorded stop durations.

Figure 4.2
Comparison of Stop Duration as Recorded on the Contact Cards with the Stop Duration as Recorded from MVRs



NOTE: The diagonal line indicates where the points would align if the data sources perfectly agreed (n = 240, r^2 = 0.60).

RAND *TR333-4.2*

Table 4.3 compares the two data sources on their recording of searches. Out of the 20 searches noted on the MVR tapes for three of them, the associated contact card did not indicate that anyone had been searched in the course of the stop. The authors checked these stops to ensure that these are correct matches. The MVRs and contact cards agreed on driver race, number of occupants, car type, estimated car year, daylight/darkness, and in two out of three incidents, the MVR coders (the analysts who viewed the tapes) correctly identified the officer's race. The MVR coders reported difficulty determining the race of drivers and officers. For one of the incidents, the contact card reports an arrest for a misdemeanor traffic violation, but does not record a search, which almost certainly took place as a result of the arrest. Interestingly, the MVR tape, which captured the entire incident, did not show an arrest occurring.

Table 4.3
Comparison of the Number of Searches as Recorded on the Contact Cards with Searches as Coded from MVRs

	Contact Card Indicates Search		
MVR Indicates Search	**No**	**Yes**	**Accuracy (%)**
No	286	7	97.6
Yes	3	17	85.0

In seven incidents, officers recorded searching but that was not recorded by the MVR. For three of these incidents, the MVR tapes ended before recording the entire incident. There was some difficulty ensuring a correct match between the remaining four MVR tapes and contact cards. One did not match to within an hour of the time of the stop. The remaining three stops matched on citation, race and sex of the drivers, and daylight/darkness, but seemed to differ on the perceived age of the vehicle. This reflects more on the difficulty of matching MVRs than on additional concern about not recording stops accurately.

For the most part, contact cards seemed to be completed correctly, at least to within an expected degree of human error. Some important incidents were not reported, such as the three search cases, which were critical components of the analysis of search rates and hit rates. RAND's analysis of stop duration divides the recorded stop durations into a small number of categories. Since officers were regularly using "15" and "20" stop durations, the authors' aggregation has little effect. Officers likely record stop duration differently than would the MVR coders, perhaps including part of the time when the officer remains in the vehicle to complete the contact card.

Ideally, future data collection processes can eliminate some of the burden from the officers, perhaps using time and location information directly from CAD logs to record such information accurately. This may result in more accurate information, decrease the rate of missing information, and speed the process of completing contact cards. At the conclusion of this section, the authors offer several recommendations for improving the data quality.

Assessing Racial Disparities in the Decision to Stop Using a Natural Experiment

The 2000 Census reports that 44 percent of Cincinnati's residents are black. In 2003, 48 percent of the stops involved black drivers and in 2004, 49 percent of the stops involved black drivers. Even though the differences between the residential census and the stop percentages differ little, these differences say little if anything about unequal treatment. For example, in the same dataset, RAND found that 69 percent of the drivers stopped were male. Even though this figure differs greatly from the residential rate of 47 percent, the authors believe that much of this difference is due to men driving in the city more often and being more likely to break traffic laws when they drive. The authors must reason in the same fashion when dealing with race rather than sex. The authors must ask whether something besides racial profiling can explain the difference between the observed rate at which black drivers are stopped and the stop rate expected if there were no bias. The difficulty in assessing a race bias in traffic stops is in developing a reasonable expected rate, often known as "the benchmarking problem."

RAND must account for three factors when comparing the race distribution of stops. Before analyzing the data, the authors did not know if any of the following factors were true in Cincinnati, but the analysis must be able to separate them in order to assess racial biases.

1. Driving behavior might vary by race. That is, black drivers may be stopped more often because they may be more likely to commit some kind of traffic infraction. This may include speeding, running stop signs, and mechanical violations. Some studies have shown differences by race in speeding (Lange, Blackman, and Johnson,

2001) and seatbelt use (Mueller, Veneziano, and Hallmark, 2004), but the authors do not know whether this is the case in Cincinnati.

2. Exposure to law enforcement might vary by race. Black drivers may be stopped more often because they are more likely to be exposed to law enforcement. They may drive more often or, more likely, in regions with greater police presence so that any infraction they make would be more likely to be noticed.
3. Police might be practicing racially biased policing. Black drivers may be stopped more often because officers are actively seeking black drivers to stop. When officers observe vehicles involved in some traffic infraction, they might be more likely to stop the vehicle if the driver is black.

Any method that aims to assess a race bias in the decision to stop a vehicle must be able to account for or rule out differences resulting from the first two items. Comparisons to the residential census are inadequate, since they do not account for either of the first two reasons. Potentially a large fraction of motorists are not even residents of the neighborhood in which police stopped them. In 2004, more than 25 percent of the drivers stopped in Cincinnati were not Cincinnati residents. Several proposed methods aim to assess the race distribution of drivers on the streets either by posting observers on street corners or by using surrogate measures such as the race distribution of not-at-fault car crashes. While these methods might adjust for differential police exposure, they do not adjust for different rates of offending. Instead such methods require the assumption that drivers of each race group have equal rates of offenses, which may or may not be true. Studies have shown that almost all drivers have some vehicle code violation while driving (Lamberth, 2003); however, police do not stop vehicles for all violations and are expected to use discretion when selecting certain offenses and certain vehicles for a traffic stop. RAND aims to assess whether this discretion differentially affects black drivers.

Methods

To assess race bias in the decision to stop, RAND uses the veil-of-darkness method described in Grogger and Ridgeway (forthcoming). Fridell (2004, Chapter Seven) also discusses this method, describing it as a method for "benchmarking with data from blind enforcement mechanisms."

In its basic form, RAND's analysis compares the race distribution of stops made during daylight to the race distribution of stops made at night. If there were a practice of targeting black drivers, then the effects of this practice would be most pronounced during daylight when the race of drivers is most visible. While the race of some nighttime drivers might be visible, the rate of police knowing the race of drivers in advance of the stop must be smaller at night than during daylight. An overly simplistic analysis compares the percentage of black drivers among those stopped during daylight with the percentage of black drivers among those stopped at night. However, things might be different during daylight versus nighttime. For example, even if there were no racially biased practices we still may observe differences in the prevalence of black drivers among those stopped, daytime versus nighttime, if the mix of black and white drivers on the road changes over the course of the day. Differences in work schedules can cause changes in the mix of black and white drivers (Hamermesh, 1996). However, every spring and fall, Cincinnati switches between Eastern Daylight Saving Time and Eastern Standard Time. Around the time these changes occur, on one

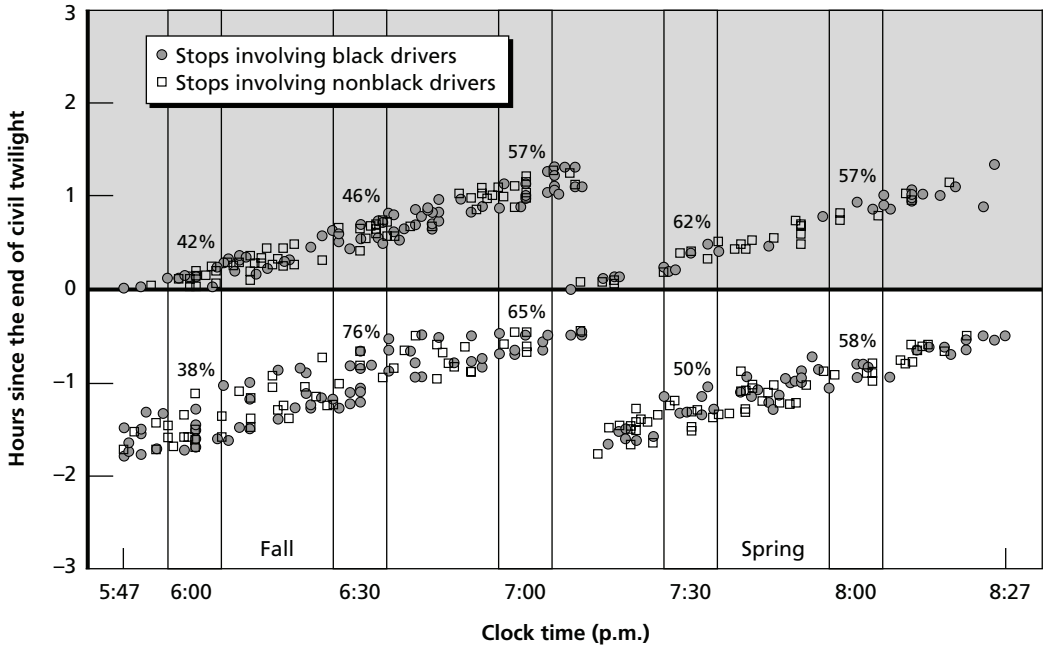
Monday it is daylight between 6 p.m. and 6:30 p.m., while the following Monday, it is dark between 6 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. During both of these periods, the authors hypothesized that the mix of black and white drivers on the road would not drastically change, the kinds of drivers who commit offenses for which police make stops would not change, and the patterns of police allocation would not change. The major difference between these two periods is the officers' ability to identify race in advance of the stop. In practice, the authors used several weeks of data on either side of the transitions to and from Daylight Saving Time. Within short time slices, the authors compared the prevalence of black drivers among all stopped drivers, daylight versus darkness.

Figure 4.3 is a scatterplot of stops by clock time and darkness that occurred within four weeks of either the 2004 spring or fall Daylight Saving Time change. A solid dot indicates a black driver and an x indicates a nonblack driver. The authors used the end of civil twilight as the technical definition of the beginning of darkness; at this point, artificial lighting is essential for most outdoor activities. Between sunset and the end of civil twilight, natural lighting is neither bright nor completely dark. Consequently, the authors dropped stops that occurred between sunset and civil twilight; hence, there are no stops within approximately 30 minutes before the end of civil twilight in RAND's analysis. The diagonal upward-sloping gap illustrates the switch to Daylight Saving Time. To explain this phenomenon, consider stops that occur at 6:30 p.m. The stops that took place one hour before darkness occurred in October. As the fall season progresses, stops at 6:30 p.m. occur closer to darkness. On October 31, 2004, Daylight Saving Time ended (when the clock is turned back one hour), resulting in stops at 6:30 p.m. to occur after darkness.

In Figure 4.3, the authors consider fall stops occurring between 5:47 p.m. and about 7:15 p.m. This is the period during which stops may occur in either daylight or darkness depending on the season. Stops before this time window always occur in daylight and after this time window are always in darkness. The authors call this time window the intertwilight period and focus the analysis on these stops. The intertwilight period is shifted later in the day in spring due to differences between spring and fall in the scheduling of Daylight Saving Time changes.

Figure 4.3 shows five time windows around every half hour between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m. Within these intervals, the authors computed the percentage of stopped drivers who were black. At 6:30 p.m., for example, 46 percent of the drivers stopped in darkness were black while 76 percent of the drivers stopped in daylight were black; statistics that imply that officers stop more black drivers when race visibility is greater. Note that both samples of stopped drivers occurred at 6:30 p.m. so that the only likely difference between the daylight and darkness groups of drivers is race visibility. While the statistics at 6:30 p.m. imply a race bias, there are too few stops to be conclusive. In addition, calculations at other time points, such at 6 p.m. and 7:30 p.m., suggest no race bias against black drivers, though the computations involve too few stops. Statistically, the authors average over all time points using logistic regression to estimate the race effect. Averaging over all time points combines all of the observations while still adjusting for clock time.

Figure 4.3
Black and Nonblack Stops, by Darkness and Clock Time (Fall and Spring 2004)



NOTES: The shaded region marks stops that occur during darkness. The vertical boxes mark the five example time intervals described in the text. Percentages are the percent of stops involving black drivers within the time interval.

RAND *TR333-4.3*

Recall that methods must be able to tease out effects of racially biased practices from racial differences in exposure to police and racial differences in driving offenses. Drivers at 6:30 p.m. are exposed to the same distribution of police on either side of the Daylight Saving Time switch. While incidents from time to time will draw police to particular locations, according to the CPD, the allocation of police effort does not suddenly change following the time change. As a result, this method is not prone to errors due to differential police exposure. The drivers who are likely to offend during the daylight are also likely to be the ones who offend at nighttime. At nighttime, the overall rate of offending might decrease (e.g., speeding in poorly lit areas might decrease). However, the authors assume that there is not a differential change in relative offending rates by race as daylight moves into nighttime. Headlight violations the authors believe to be a special case, in that they are more likely to be associated with minority drivers and are only noticed at nighttime. We removed all equipment violations from the analysis so that the method is not prone to errors due to differential offending rates. As a result, the method does not label as racial bias those differences that are due to differential exposure or due to differential offending rates. Table 4.4 shows the data used for the veil-of-darkness analysis. Clearly this analysis excludes a large percentage of the recorded stops. However, it focuses on those stops that have the greatest potential to isolate the effect of race bias. Other analyses in this report do make use of all of the available data.

Table 4.4
Count of Stops Used in the Veil of Darkness Analysis

Stops	2003	2004
Stops in dataset	41,198	41,416
Stop type and reason for moving violations	29,730	29,537
Race not missing	29,414	29,475
Date and time not missing	28,298	28,307
Evening stops (intertwilight period)	4,013	4,589
Evening spring stops (+/-4 weeks of DST)	195	147
Evening fall stops (+/-4 weeks of DST)	275	256

Results

Overall, RAND did not find strong evidence of a race bias. The analysis included evening stops that occurred within four weeks of either the spring or fall Daylight Saving Time change. RAND isolated this group of stops believing that the racial mix of drivers on the road are more similar during this limited period as compared to over the entire year. There were relatively few reported stops in the morning hours, so RAND focused exclusively on evening stops. The estimates adjust for clock time, as described in Figure 4.3, to control for the possibility that the racial mix of drivers exposed to the police may change at different clock times. The results are shown in Table 4.5.

The odds-ratio indicates how much more likely daylight stops are to involve a black driver as compared with nighttime stops. For example, in 2003, the odds that a daylight stop involved a black driver were 15 percent greater than the odds that a nighttime stop involved a black driver. In 2004, the daylight odds were 19 percent greater than the nighttime odds. This indicates that black drivers were more likely to be stopped when race was more visible. However, there is substantial uncertainty around these estimates shown by the wide 95 percent confidence intervals. This means that additional data could swing the results one way or another. Since the magnitude of the estimated effect stays at about the same level in both 2003 and 2004, the 2005 analysis will be important in determining whether these results are due to chance or indeed imply a consistent bias. At this point, the authors conclude that there is no clear evidence of bias, but the data point toward a slightly increased risk for black drivers of being stopped enough to warrant continued monitoring.

The analysis in Table 4.5 focuses on those stops in a tight period around the Daylight Saving Time changes. The aim of that narrow focus is to mitigate the risk that any observed differences might be due to seasonal differences of drivers on the road rather than racial bias (e.g., the mix of black and white drivers on the road in July may differ from the racial mix in December). While the authors believe the analysis is less prone to such errors, the price of that prudence is that it could only utilize 873 stops across two years. Large racial biases are easily detected. For example, if in reality black drivers are twice as likely to be stopped as white drivers when race is visible, then the previous analysis will detect that with probability greater than 80 percent, depending on how much darkness hides driver's race. If racial bias is not so pronounced, the analysis might not be sufficiently powerful to detect it.

Table 4.5
Comparison of Black and Nonblack Drivers Between Daylight and Dark, Seasonally Focused

Year	Odds-Ratio	95% Interval	p-value	*n*
2003	1.15	(0.79, 1.68)	0.24	470
2004	1.19	(0.79, 1.80)	0.20	403

NOTE: Includes all stops occurring within four weeks of the spring or fall Daylight Saving Time change during the evening intertwilight period.

Table 4.6
Comparison of Black and Nonblack Drivers Between Daylight and Dark, Year-Round

Year	Odds-Ratio	95% Interval	p-value	*n*
2003	1.01	(0.88, 1.16)	0.45	4,013
2004	0.98	(0.86, 1.12)	0.63	4,589

NOTE: Includes all stops during the evening intertwilight period.

RAND repeated the veil-of-darkness analysis using all stops occurring during the intertwilight period, regardless of when during the year they occurred. The result is a test that has less variance but is more sensitive to possible seasonal changes in the mix of black and white drivers exposed to police. Table 4.6 shows the results, which indicate no evidence of racial profiling. The odds-ratios in the second column are very near 1.0 for both years, indicative of drivers having an equal chance of being stopped regardless of whether or not their race was visible in advance of the stop.

Assessing Racial Disparities in the Decision to Stop Using Internal Benchmarking

The daylight/darkness analysis tests whether race bias is a departmentwide pattern of practice. If problems are not departmentwide, but rather the result of a few problem officers, the effect of their biases will likely not be large enough for the analysis in the previous section to detect the problem. In this section, the authors use an internal benchmarking approach. For each officer, the authors compare the race distribution of drivers they have stopped with the race distribution of drivers whom other officers have stopped in the same neighborhoods and at similar times. See Fridell (2004, Chapter Eight) for an overview of internal benchmarking and its use in other jurisdictions.

Methods

Table 4.7 presents an internal benchmark for a particular CPD officer (the neighborhood codes have been scrambled to de-identify the officer). Most of those stops occurred in neighborhood H (30 percent) and neighborhood J (52 percent) with some stops elsewhere in the city including some on highways, which have been coded to a separate neighborhood. Ten

Table 4.7
Example of Internal Benchmarking for a Single Officer

Stop Feature		Officer A (%)	Matched (%; n = 123)
Neighborhood	A	1	1
	B	2	2
	C	0	1
	D	0	1
	E	6	7
	F	0	0
	G	1	1
	H	30	29
	I	4	4
	J	52	50
	K	3	3
Time	(12–4 p.m.]	37	37
	(4–8 p.m.]	54	53
	(8 p.m.–12 a.m.]	9	9
Day	Mon.	22	18
	Tue.	27	30
	Wed.	18	16
	Thu.	20	19
	Fri.	13	15
	Sat.	0	1
	Sun.	1	1
Month	Jan.	11	14
	Feb.	12	7
	Mar.	4	8
	Apr.	4	2
	May	2	2
	Jun.	10	11
	Jul.	13	14
	Aug.	19	14
	Sep.	10	10
	Oct.	9	10
	Nov.	6	6
	Dec.	0	1

percent of these stops involved black drivers. While this rate is much below the representation of black drivers in the population of stopped drivers, depending on the distribution of the race of drivers committing stoppable offenses that officer A could have stopped, the 10-percent figure could be too high. If vehicle stops that other officers made in the same areas and times that officer A's stops occurred involved considerably less than 10 percent black drivers, then further investigation of officer A's stops are in order.

The authors located 123 stops that collectively have the same distribution of stop features as the stops that Officer A made. They were made in the same places and at the same times of day, same days of the week, and same months of the year. Since Officer A made almost no stops on Saturdays or in December, the matched stops also showed very few stops

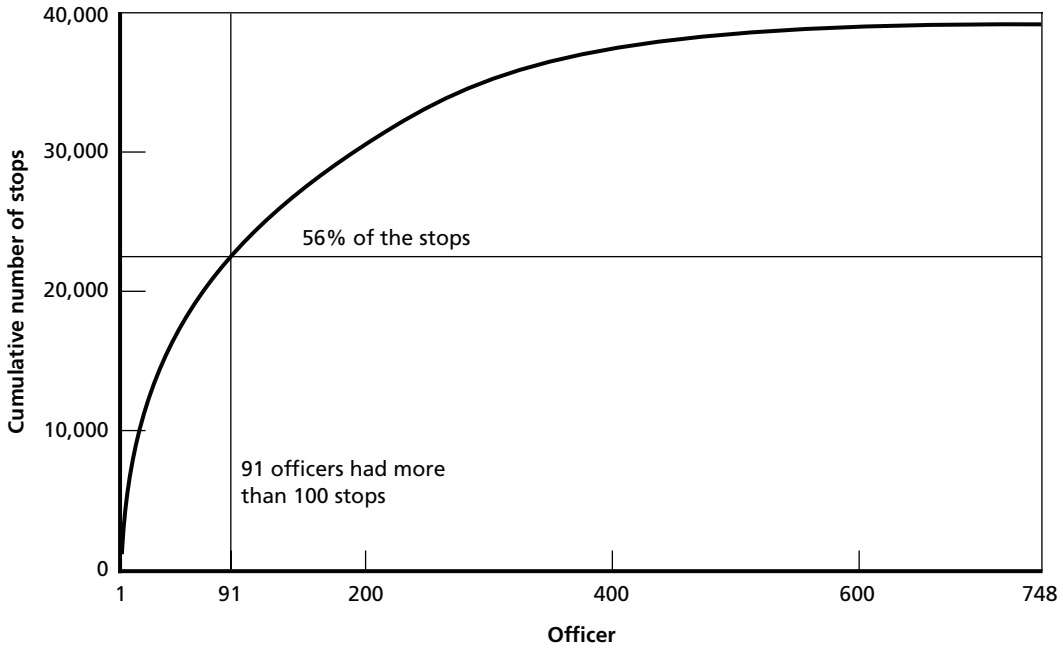
on Saturdays or in December. Importantly, the authors created the matches without looking at the race of the drivers involved in the stops.

Of the matched stops, 13 percent involved a black driver. Officer A appears to have stopped slightly fewer black drivers (10 percent) than other officers making stops in the same area. A problem officer may have been among those who made the matched stops. Therefore, the analysis assesses each officer in turn, flagging those with unusually large differences from their fellow officers.

For some stop features, Table 4.7 shows that the officer's and matched stops were not perfectly aligned. For example, the officer's stops seem more likely than the matched stops to have occurred in February. However, this is offset by imbalance in January and March so that winter stops were well matched. Such imbalances can be adjusted statistically.

The authors selected all CPD officers with more than 100 reported stops in 2004 for the analysis; 91 officers exceeded that cutoff. The 100-stop cutoff focuses the analysis on those officers most frequently interacting with drivers in Cincinnati. It also assures RAND of having at least a minimum level of statistical power for detecting differences if they exist. While it is a statistical necessity, the cutoff may also result in the analysis missing problem officers who happen to fall just below 100 stops. Full compliance with reporting improves the chances that this method will document all of the officers with regular contact with Cincinnati drivers. Figure 4.4 shows the distribution of the number of stops by officer. These 91 officers amount to 12 percent of the CPD officers who reported a stop 2004 and account for 56 percent of the 2004 stops. Appendix 4.A includes technical details on the method including references for more information.

Figure 4.4
Cumulative Number of Stops by Officer



NOTES: Seven hundred forty-eight CPD officers made a total of 39,700 analyzable stops. Twelve percent of the police force (91 officers) was responsible for 56 percent of the stops. Each of these 91 CPD officers conducted more than 100 stops, a sufficient number for the internal benchmark analysis.

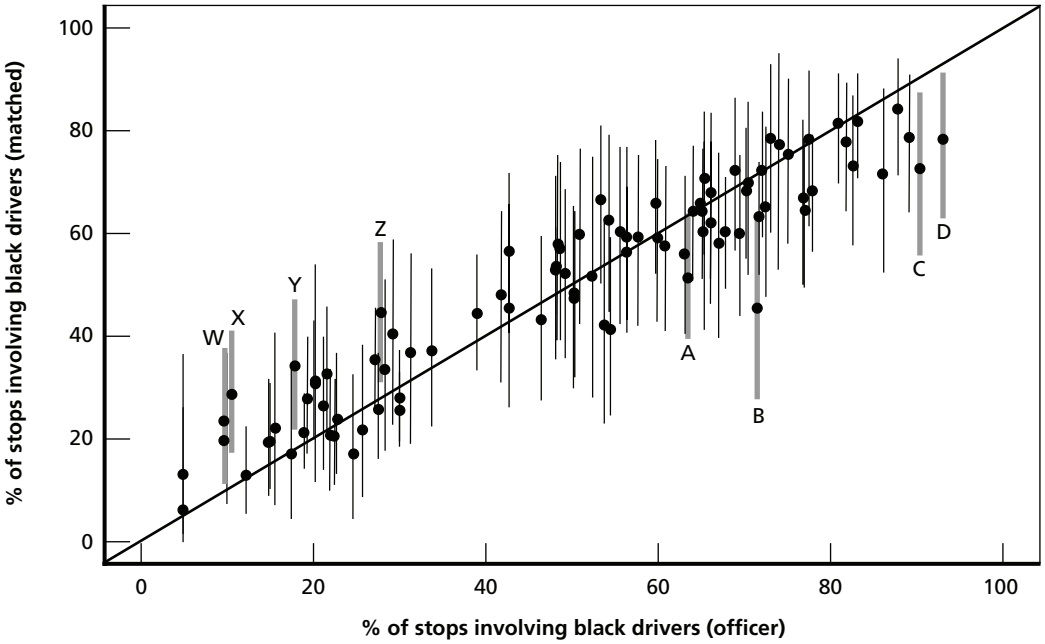
RAND *TR333-4.4*

Results

Stops were matched on month, day of the week, time of day, neighborhood (53 neighborhoods plus eight highways), and officer assignment (usually a specific district assignment but sometimes a special services or traffic assignment).

Figure 4.5 shows a graphical representation of the results. Each solid dot represents one of the 91 officers with more than 100 stops in 2004. The horizontal axis indicates the percentage of stops that the officer made that involved a black driver. The vertical axis is the same percentage of black drivers among the matched stops. In the absence of differences between officers, all of the dots would line up on the diagonal line. The authors expected some variability and the vertical lines in Figure 4.5 indicate a range of percentages that are plausible if the particular officer were not profiling. Four of the officers, marked with thick vertical lines on the right side of the figure, seem to have stopped a larger percentage of black drivers than other officers making stops at the same times and places. Each of these deserves closer analytical inspection of its stop characteristics to verify the apparent disparity. In addition to these officers who stopped more blacks than was expected, the four officers marked on the left side of the figure show a disproportionate rate of stopping nonblack drivers. These biases appear to be slightly smaller in magnitude, and they are not in the direction that was expected based on accusations of racial profiling. This report will not look individually at the stop characteristics of the officers who stopped a disproportionate number of nonblack drivers. However, we recommend that any efforts by the CPD to identify officers who have unusual stop patterns be designed to investigate both types of bias.

Figure 4.5
Internal Benchmark Comparisons for the 91 CPD Officers with More Than 100 Vehicle Stops



NOTES: The ID numbers are random identifiers and do not represent a CPD badge number. The vertical lines represent 99.9 percent confidence intervals, equivalent to a 0.05 Type I family-wise error rate, to account for the 91 comparisons.

RAND *TR333-4.5*

At this stage, the authors do not know whether there is a problem with these four officers, as RAND can only detect a disparity up to the data's resolution. That is, Officer D's assignment may be to a particular corner frequented more by black drivers than nonblack drivers, but the resolution of RAND's analysis limits the authors to neighborhood-level analyses. Also, 36 percent of Officer D's stops are for equipment violations, more than twice the rate among the matched stops. In fact, all four of the flagged officers appear to have stopped for equipment violations at a much higher rate than that found among the matched stopped.

It is impossible to determine from these data alone whether these officers are using equipment violations as a pretext to stop black drivers or whether their focus on equipment violations results in them stopping more black drivers. RAND can match stops on the reason for the stop in addition to where and when the stop took place. If the disparity still persists, then the authors know that the equipment violation explanation is an insufficient explanation. If matching on the stop reason eliminates the disparity, then the authors remain uncertain whether or not there is a race bias in the use of equipment violation as a pretext. For closer inspection, the authors individually reviewed each of the four officers and characteristics of their stops.

Officer A. Officer A recorded 251 stops, 63 percent of which involved a black driver. Among a matched set of 1,535 stops, 52 percent involved black drivers. All features of the stops were matched to within 1.6 percent. Covariate adjustment for these small differences did not change the observed disparity. This officer made stops for equipment violations at more than twice the rate of the matched stops (36 percent versus 17 percent). Matching on the reason for the stop resulted in 1,041 matched stops, 54 percent of which involved a black driver, still indicating a large race disparity.

Officer B. Officer B stopped a black driver in 71 percent of the stops, while 45 percent of 656 matched stops involved black drivers. The 656 matched stops had nearly identical features to Officer B's stops. Officer B did make slightly more stops in the evening than the matched stops (10 percent versus 8 percent), more in neighborhood 28 (4 percent versus 2 percent), and more in July (16 percent versus 14 percent). Stops in neighborhood 28 tended to be of black drivers, but the 2 percent difference between Officer B and the matched stops was not large enough to change the result. The covariate adjustment confirmed this. This officer made stops for equipment violations at twice the rate of the matched stops (53 percent versus 27 percent). Adjusting for the reason for the stop decreased the apparent race disparity by 5 percent, still leaving a 71 percent to 49 percent disparity.

Officer C. This officer stopped 25 percent more black drivers than the authors would expect based on the race distribution of drivers stopped by other officers. Officer C made 132 stops, 90 percent of which involved black drivers. Black drivers comprised 73 percent of the matched stops. All of the matched stops' features matched Officer C's stops to within 1.5 percent. Covariate adjustment for these differences did not alter the apparent disparity. This officer made stops for equipment violations at more than twice the rate of the matched stops (57 percent versus 25 percent). Matching on the reason for the stop resulted in 269 matched stops, 76 percent of which involved a black driver, still indicating a large race disparity.

Officer D. Officer D stopped a black driver in 93 percent of 111 stops, while 78 percent of the 814 matched stops involved black drivers. This officer was slightly more likely to make stops on Mondays (19 percent versus 17 percent) and in October (23 percent versus 21 percent) but adjusting for these remaining differences actually increased the apparent dispar-

ity. This officer made stops for equipment violations at more than twice the rate of the matched stops (36 percent versus 15 percent). Adjusting for the reason for the stop made no difference in the apparent race disparity.

Discussion

The internal benchmark compared each officer's stops to stops made by other officers at the same time and place. Officers patrolling the same areas at the same times will be exposed to the same population of offenders. If the officers all had the same duties, then the authors would expect the race distribution of their stops to be similar, if not the same. RAND compared the race distributions of these stops. The authors noted four officers who appeared to be stopping a much larger fraction of black drivers when compared with stops made by other officers at the same time and place. In addition, these four officers made equipment violation stops at twice the rate of other similarly situated officers. However, accounting for the reason for the stop made no change to the conclusions. That is, even among stops made for equipment violations, these officers still stopped more black drivers than other officers patrolling the same area at the same time when they made stops for equipment violations.

All RAND studies fall under an Institutional Review Board that reviews research involving human subjects, as required by federal regulations. RAND's Federalwide Assurance for the Protection of Human Subjects (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, through 2008) serves as its assurance of compliance with the regulations of 16 federal departments and agencies. According to this assurance, the Committee is responsible for review regardless of source of funding. These federal regulations prevent RAND's research from singling out specific individuals whom its research could adversely affect. The analysis in this section offers an estimate of the number of the CPD's patrol officers of concern. RAND encourages the CPD to implement a program that might offer explanations for these disparities or identify potential problem officers. Specifically, these programs should identify those officers with apparent racial disparities in their stops—either stopping more blacks or more nonblacks than similarly assigned officers—so that their supervisors can verify that they are following CPD policy and procedures. RAND would be willing to assist CPD in the design of an automated system to identify officers with unusual enforcement patterns.

Assessing Racial Disparities in Post-Stop Outcomes

This section focuses on post-stop outcomes including the decision to cite and search and the duration of the stop. RAND used a method known as propensity scoring to identify stops involving white drivers that are similarly situated to the stops involving black drivers and make post-stop comparisons between the two groups. Ridgeway (forthcoming) gives a complete technical description of the method. First, the authors address why this matching is a critical step in the analysis. Second, the authors describe how the stops were matched and their quality assessed. Third, the authors assess racial disparities in citation rates, stop duration, and high-discretion search rates.

Methods

In Cincinnati in 2004, 40 percent of stops involving black drivers lasted less than 10 minutes, while 59 percent of stops of white drivers lasted less than 10 minutes. To isolate the

effect of race on post-stop activities, RAND cannot naïvely compare 40 percent to 59 percent. On the surface, this seems to be a rather large bias. However, 26 percent of stops of black drivers occurred between midnight and 4 a.m., while only 19 percent of stops of white drivers occurred during these hours. Police patrolling at night may take more time during stops. In fact, stops between midnight and 4 a.m. last longer for both white and black drivers than at other times of the day. As a result, the authors cannot discern whether the disparity in stop duration (40 percent versus 59 percent) is attributable to the driver's race or that officers on patrol at night take more time. A proper analysis needs to compare stops of black drivers with stops of white drivers that occur at the same time and same place. Table 4.11 (in the Results section) shows a complete list of the factors for which this analysis adjusted.

To adjust for confounding factors such as time and place of the stop, RAND used a method described in detail in Ridgeway (forthcoming). Here the authors demonstrated the method considering stops occurring in only two locations at two periods, as shown in Table 4.8. While black and white drivers seem equally likely to be stopped in downtown between midnight and 4 a.m., white drivers are three times more likely to be stopped between 4 a.m. and 8 a.m. As a result, all or part of the observed differences between the race groups in stop duration could be due to differences in time and location of the stops rather than race alone.

To adjust for such differences, RAND reweighted the stops involving white drivers so that their representation by time and place matches that for black drivers. The "propensity score weight," computed and shown in the fifth column of Table 4.8, is the observation weight that makes the two groups match. For example, 25 percent of the stops involving white drivers occurred downtown between 4 a.m. and 8 a.m. If we make each of them count as one-third of a stop, then they effectively represent 25 percent $\times$ 0.32 = 8 percent of the stops, the same representation of black drivers stopped downtown between 4 a.m. and 8 a.m.

For black drivers stopped downtown or in Northside between midnight and 8 a.m., 32 percent had stops lasting less than 10 minutes. The rate for black drivers needs no further adjustment as it can be calculated directly from the stop data. The authors needed to adjust the rate for white drivers to account for differences in when and where stops occurred. To compute an adjusted rate for the white drivers, RAND counts each 12 a.m.–4 a.m. downtown white driver with a stop lasting less than 10 minutes as 1, RAND counts each 4 a.m.–8 a.m. downtown white driver with a stop lasting less than 10 minutes 0.32, and so on. Table 4.9 shows the complete calculation. For example, the 119 4 a.m.–8 a.m. downtown stops each count for 0.32 for an effective total of 38.1 4 a.m.–8 a.m. downtown stops. Similarly, the 90 4 a.m.–8 a.m. downtown stops that lasted less than 10 minutes each count for 0.32 for an effective total of 28.8 stops.

Table 4.8
Stops of Black and White Drivers by Time and Location for Demonstrating the Analysis of Post-Stop Outcomes

Time	Location	Black	White	Weight
12 a.m.–4 a.m.	Downtown	52% (248)	51% (249)	0.52/0.51 = 1.00
4 a.m.–8 a.m.	Downtown	8% (38)	25% (119)	0.08/0.25 = 0.32
12 a.m.–4 a.m.	Northside	35% (168)	21% (103)	0.35/0.21 = 1.65
4 a.m.–8 a.m.	Northside	5% (25)	3% (13)	0.05/0.03 = 1.94
	Total	100% (479)	100% (484)	

Table 4.9
Adjusting the Stop Duration for White Drivers

Time	Location	No. Stopped	No. with a Stop Shorter Than 10 Minutes	Adjusted No. of Stopped Drivers	Adjusted No. with a Stop Shorter Than 10 Minutes
12 a.m.–4 a.m.	Downtown	249	85	249 × 1.00 = 249.0	85 × 1.00 = 85.0
4 a.m.–8 a.m.	Downtown	119	90	119 × 0.32 = 38.1	90 × 0.32 = 28.8
12 a.m.–4 a.m.	Northside	103	43	103 × 1.65 = 170.0	43 × 1.65 = 71.0
4 a.m.–8 a.m.	Northside	13	4	13 × 1.94 = 25.2	4 × 1.94 = 7.8
	Total	484	222	482.3	192.6
Unadjusted rate = 222/484 = 45.9%					
Adjusted rate = 192.6/482.3 = 39.9%					

With no adjustment, the authors would conclude that 45.9 percent of white drivers had stops lasting less than 10 minutes, a substantially higher rate than the 32-percent rate for black drivers. Adjusting as RAND did in this small example for time and place resulted in an adjusted rate of short stops for white drivers of 39.9 percent. Much of the difference between the 32-percent rate and the unadjusted 45.9 percent is attributable to time and place.

Failing to adjust for factors such as time and place can overstate (or potentially understate) the race effect. Other factors such as the driver's city of residence or the number of occupants may further reduce the remaining difference between 32 percent and 39.9 percent. To isolate the effect of a race bias, RAND must adjust for all factors associated with *both* race and stop duration.

Table 4.10 shows the data used for post-stop analysis. The first row indicates the number of stops in the entire dataset. Subsequent rows remove particular stops for the reason indicated. For stop duration and searches, the authors only include drivers who were stopped for moving violations or equipment violations (excluding field interviews [FIs] and pedestrian stops as shown in the third row of Table 4.10). For the analysis of citations, RAND subsetted these drivers to include only drivers who were not searched or arrested (fifth row of Table 4.10). This focuses the analysis on a comparison of stops that are not affected by a search or arrest.

Table 4.10
Count of Stops Used in Post-Stop Analyses

Stops	2003	2004
Stops in dataset	41,198	41,416
Could be matched to driver post-stop features	37,596	40,509
Exclude FIs and pedestrian stops	35,652	39,210
Race not missing	35,256	39,111
Only moving violation, equipment violation, no arrest, no search	28,382	29,427

NOTE: Each row in the table indicates the total number of stops remaining in the dataset after dropping any stops that did not meet the specified criterion.

Results

Stop Duration. In the process of matching stops involving nonblack drivers to stops involving black drivers, RAND can determine the factors that most distinguish their stops. Table 4.11 lists the relative influence of each of the factors, essentially how much each of the factors contributed to eliminating the differences between the two groups (Friedman, 2001). Most of the difference between the features of stopped black and nonblack drivers involves differences in where they were stopped. Residence of the driver and the year of the vehicle were other factors on which the black and nonblack drivers greatly differed. The stop duration analyses adjusted for all of these factors so that any differences in stop duration cannot be attributed to any of the factors in Table 4.11.

Several race groups composed the nonblack comparison group. The comparison group was predominantly white (88.4 percent) but also includes Latino (6.8 percent), Asian (1.3 percent), and other (3.4 percent) racial groups.

Table 4.12 shows the stop durations for black and nonblack drivers. The highlighted cells mark the most important comparisons. Black drivers were less likely than nonblack drivers to have stops lasting less than 10 minutes. In both years, 40 percent of black drivers had stops lasting less than 10 minutes, while 43 percent to 44 percent of the matched nonblack drivers had stops lasting less than 10 minutes. This difference is statistically significant, implying that this difference is not due to chance or to any of the factors listed in Table 4.11. Other unmeasured factors might explain away this difference, so the 3–4 percentage point difference is likely an upper bound on the effect of race bias, as any analysis with an improved set of stop features would likely find smaller differences. However, that improved set of stop features must include features that are strongly associated with race and stop duration in order to eliminate this difference completely.

Table 4.11
2003 Relative Influence of Variables for Stop Duration

Variable	Relative Influence (%)
Neighborhood	67.9
Driver residence (Cincinnati/Ohio/not Ohio)	14.5
Car year	4.3
Time of stop	2.5
Reason for stop	2.4
Number of occupants	2.4
Arrest (yes/no)	2.3
Age of driver	1.5
License plate state	0.8
Search (yes/no)	0.6
Weekend night (yes/no)	0.4
Sex of driver	0.3
Citation issued (yes/no)	0.2
Total	100.0

Table 4.12
2003 Stop Durations for Black and Nonblack Drivers

Year	Stop Duration (Minutes)	Black Drivers (%)	Nonblack (Matched) (%)	Nonblack (Unmatched) (%)	p-value
2003		*n* = 16,708	*n* = 4,881	*n* = 18,548	
	(0,10)	40	43	56	0.00
	(10,20)	42	41	36	0.20
	(20,30)	10	9	5	0.01
	(30,360)	8	7	4	0.46
2004		*n* = 18,721	*n* = 5,190	*n* = 20,390	
	(0,10)	40	44	59	0.00
	(10,20)	43	39	33	0.00
	(20,30)	10	10	5	0.56
	(30,360)	8	7	3	0.27

Note that 56–59 percent of the unmatched stops of nonblack drivers lasted less than 10 minutes, but much of the difference between 56 and 40 percent in 2003 is due to differences in where the stop took place, the driver's residency, and other factors. As a result, the places, times, and conditions under which officers stopped black drivers tended to yield longer stops. Nonblack drivers stopped under those same conditions had essentially the same stop durations, indicating that individual officers' biases were not likely to be the causes of longer stops. Departmental policies and policing practices associated with the conditions under which black drivers were stopped were the likely causes of greater stop durations (e.g., more thorough ID checks, more caution approaching cars). Again, nonblack drivers stopped under the same conditions seem to have the same stop lengths. This means, however, that Cincinnati's black residents' interactions with the CPD are going to involve longer stops than those of Cincinnati's nonblack residents, perhaps contributing to greater police-community friction within the black communities.

Citation Rates. Table 4.13 compares citation rates for black drivers with a matched set of nonblack drivers. The authors observe no difference in citation rates between the two groups. However, the same story as stop duration repeats here; the conditions under which officers stopped black drivers differed from those conditions for nonblack drivers. With citation rates, the conditions under which officers stopped black drivers resulted in citations less frequently than for other drivers. Perhaps officers in those neighborhoods were less concerned about writing traffic tickets and more concerned about larger crime issues. This may have led to more black drivers feeling that they were stopped for no good reason though they received citations at the same rate as nonblack drivers stopped in the same neighborhoods.

Table 4.13
Citation Rates of Black Drivers with a Matched Set of Nonblack Drivers

Year	Black	Nonblack (Matched)	Nonblack (Unmatched)	p-value
2003	n = 12,064	n = 4,438	n = 16,318	0.98
	74.6%	74.6%	82.7%	
2004	n = 12,507	n = 4,386	n = 16,920	0.14
	69.2%	70.4%	79.9%	

NOTE: The shaded cells indicate the most relevant comparison.

Search. The decision to search involves many factors and different levels of officer discretion. If a search occurred, the contact card included the legal basis for the search. RAND coded the following legal bases as high discretion: consent, reasonable suspicion of weapons, dog alert, odor (alcohol/drugs), and other probable cause; and coded the following legal bases as low discretion: plain view, inventory, and incident to arrest.

Table 4.14 shows the number of searches by legal basis and race for 2003 and 2004. Searches due to an arrest accounted for half of all searches and were disproportionately associated with black drivers. However, these searches involved little officer discretion. Consent searches, the most common high-discretion search, accounted for between one-quarter and one-third of all searches.

Table 4.15 shows a comparison of the adjusted search rates broken down by level of discretion. The highlighted cells indicate the most relevant comparison. For high-discretion searches, the searches at risk for a race bias, black and matched nonblack drivers have nearly the same search rates. In both 2003 and 2004, officers were slightly more likely to search black drivers, though the practical difference appears to be small (although that the difference is statistically significant is attributable to the enormous sample size).

Table 4.14
Legal Basis for Search, by Race, 2003 and 2004

Year	Discretion	Legal Basis	Black	Nonblack	Total
2003	High	Consent	712	385	1,097
		Reasonable suspicion of weapons	58	12	70
		Dog alert	1	1	2
		Odor (alcohol/drugs)	152	91	243
		Other probable cause	61	30	91
	Low	Plain view	64	30	94
		Inventory	121	30	151
		Incident to arrest	1,175	436	1,611
		Not searched	14,360	17,529	31,889
		Total	16,704	18,544	35,248
2004	High	Consent	832	462	1,294
		Reasonable suspicion of weapons	92	41	133
		Dog alert	11	3	14
		Odor (alcohol/drugs)	202	79	281
		Other probable cause	116	65	181
	Low	Plain view	125	112	237
		Inventory	113	24	137
		Incident to arrest	1,751	664	2,415
		Not searched	15,442	18,920	34,362
		Total	18,684	20,370	39,054

Table 4.15
Searches of Black Drivers and a Matched Set of Nonblack Drivers

Year	Discretion	Black	Nonblack (Matched) (%)	Nonblack (Unmatched) (%)	p-value
2003		*n* = 16,708	*n* = 4,992	*n* = 18,548	
	High	5.9	5.4	2.8	0.00
	Low	8.1	5.5	2.7	0.00
	High or low	14.0	10.9	5.5	0.00
2004		*n* = 18,721	*n* = 5,342	*n* = 20,390	
	High	6.7	6.2	3.2	0.00
	Low	10.7	7.0	3.9	0.00
	High or low	17.4	13.2	7.1	0.00

NOTE: The shaded cells indicate the most relevant comparison, comparing black drivers to matched nonblack drivers on high-discretion searches.

Black drivers were more likely to be involved in a low officer-discretion search, but this difference is attributable to a large difference in searches that were incident to arrest as shown in Table 4.16, which shows the differences in search rates by legal basis. Our data are insufficient to determine whether there may have been a race bias in the arrest decision, but once an officer made an arrest, the CPD's policy requires a search of the arrested motorist. Hence, since more stopped black motorists were arrested as compared to stopped nonblack motorists, the authors expected this difference.

Table 4.16
Detailed Comparison of Searches of Stopped Black Drivers with a Matched Set of Nonblack Drivers

Year	Legal Basis (sorted roughly from high- to low-discretion)	Black	Nonblack (Matched) (%)	Nonblack (Unmatched) (%)	p-value
2003		n = 16,708	n = 4,992	n = 18,548	
	Consent	4.3	3.9	2.1	0.35
	Reasonable suspicion of weapons	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.54
	Dog alert	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.76
	Odor (alcohol/drugs)	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.00
	Other probable cause	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.94
	Plain view	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.17
	Inventory	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.11
	Incident to arrest	7.0	4.8	2.4	0.00
2004		n = 18,721	n = 5,342	n = 20,390	
	Consent	4.5	4.5	2.3	0.83
	Reasonable suspicion of weapons	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.25
	Dog alert	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.12
	Odor (alcohol/drugs)	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.00
	Other probable cause	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.91
	Plain view	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.97
	Inventory	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.00
	Incident to arrest	9.4	6.0	3.3	0.00

On the other hand, a search based on consent involves a high degree of discretion. Black and matched nonblack drivers were involved in consent searches at nearly the same rate. In 2004, those rates were identical.

The search rates of the unmatched nonblack drivers were lower than the black drivers regardless of the legal basis. As with the analysis of stop duration, most of the difference in search rates between black and nonblack drivers was a result of differences in nonrace features of the stop. Comparisons with unmatched nonblack drivers exaggerate the search rate disparity, conflating potential officer bias with circumstances surrounding the stop. When properly matched, the authors found that black and nonblack drivers stopped under the same conditions had the same search rates.

Police search practices, while apparently race-neutral at the officer level, put the greatest burden of search on stop conditions that were more common to black drivers. As a result, Cincinnati's black residents were more likely to be stopped under conditions, either because of neighborhood or time of day, that elevated the chance of a search.

Hit Rates

A search's success partially depends on whether contraband is found (Ayres, 2002). If police searched more drivers, their hit rates (the rate at which they recovered contraband) would likely decrease, because they would be searching drivers who are less suspicious. If the hit rate were lower for one racial group, this would provide evidence that officers searched that racial group too often compared to other racial groups. Table 4.17 shows the type of contraband found during a search across races. Most of the contraband was drugs and alcohol.

Table 4.18 separates hit rates by the level of discretion. For high-discretion searches, the hit rates for black drivers are higher than for nonblack drivers. For lower-discretion searches, the hit rates are virtually the same between black and nonblack drivers. As a result, the authors found no evidence of a race bias in searches.

Table 4.17
Contraband Found During Searches, by Race

Year	Contraband	Black	White	Hispanic	Asian	Other	Total
2003	Currency	3	1	0	0	0	4
	Drugs/alcohol/paraphernalia	465	172	9	0	4	650
	Other	3	2	0	0	0	5
	Stolen property	4	0	0	0	0	4
	Weapon	21	8	0	0	0	29
	None	1,846	738	57	7	14	2,662
	Total	2,342	921	66	7	18	3,354
2004	Currency	4	1	0	0	0	5
	Drugs/alcohol/paraphernalia	694	300	9	1	9	1,013
	Other	10	9	0	0	1	20
	Stolen property	10	2	0	0	0	12
	Weapon	27	7	0	0	0	34
	None	2,489	1,017	46	6	39	3,597
	Total	3,234	1,336	55	7	49	4,681

Table 4.18
Hit Rates, by Year and Race

Year	Discretion	Black		Nonblack		p-value
		Searches	Hit Rate (%)	Searches	Hit Rate (%)	
2003	High	982	28.0	517	22.4	0.02
	Low	1,360	16.3	495	16.2	0.96
2004	High	1,250	28.8	649	26.7	0.35
	Low	1,984	19.4	798	20.8	0.43

Even though RAND found no race bias, officers conducted 707 high-discretion searches of black drivers in 2003 and 890 high-discretion searches of black drivers in 2004.This left hundreds of black drivers feeling that officers searched them "for no good reason" and likely contributed to perceptions of unfair policing. In contrast, the number of nonblack drivers involved in high-discretion searches was half that of black drivers, so annually fewer nonblack drivers will form those same perceptions.

Comparison with Eck, Liu, and Bostaph (2003)

Eck, Liu, and Bostaph (2003) studied vehicle stops in Cincinnati in 2001. The analysis focused on two aspects of the racial profiling issue: the bias in the decision to stop and bias in the outcomes of the stops.

Decision to Stop. Eck, Liu, and Bostaph's analysis was based on comparing the race distribution of stops to a carefully constructed benchmark of the race distribution of drivers at risk of being stopped. The race distribution of stops is computable directly from the contact cards. The race distribution of at-risk drivers is defined as the race distribution of drivers exposed to the police *and* committing an infraction for which officers would initiate a stop. Their analysis is accurate to the extent that their benchmark captures the at-risk driving population.

The benchmark used observations of vehicles at 126 locations around the city in 2002 and 2003 combined with estimates of vehicle miles from the city's traffic department. From the vehicle observations, they could estimate the race distribution of drivers during rush hour. For other periods of the day, they used residential census data from 2000. The race distributions were then reweighted to account for differences by race group in the number of vehicle miles estimated from the Cincinnati City Traffic Engineering Department and 1990 census data.

Their analysis was an advance over attempts to use census data as a benchmark in that it attempted to adjust for exposure. They note, "a person driving 40 miles per day has more exposure to police than a person driving 5 miles per day" (Eck, Liu, and Bostaph, 2003, p. 27). However, police are not uniformly distributed across the city, so that driving 40 miles around Mount Washington will result in *less* exposure to police than driving five miles around Queensgate (the location of the CPD's headquarters). To adjust for this, they analyzed each neighborhood separately with the idea that exposure to the police might be uniform within a neighborhood.

Even with all of the effort and technical work, the question lingers whether the estimates really capture the race distribution of the at-risk population or whether the assump-

tions are incorrect. For example, under the following circumstances the technique may give incorrect results:

1. if the 2000 Census does not reflect the nighttime driving population
2. if there are differences in offense rates by race
3. if the race distribution observed at rush hour in spring 2002 and summer 2003 differs from the rush-hour race distribution in other seasons.

Eck, Liu, and Bostaph (2003) report 34 neighborhoods for which black drivers appear to be stopped disproportionately to their estimated number of miles driven. However, when the analysis finds large disparities, the authors still cannot attribute it to race bias by police. The authors note this confounding as, for example, "the extreme high value of CUF [Clifton Heights, University Heights, and Fairview] may be an indication of an underlying problem, but it could be due to stops along several arterial routes along its periphery, or to errors in the estimation process" (Eck, Liu, and Bostaph, 2003, p. 31).

Analysis of Stop Outcomes. Eck, Liu, and Bostaph (2003) were partially successful at looking at explanations for the racial differences in stop duration. They note several important ones including the reason for the stop, the time of the stop, and the number of occupants. They adjusted for each of these, one at a time, and noted that "these factors alone cannot account for all of the difference in times because some difference remains regardless of how we examined the data" (Eck, Liu, and Bostaph, 2003, p. 44). However, accounting for all of the factors simultaneously, as RAND did when assessing post-stop outcomes, eliminates much of the racial difference in stop duration.

Eck, Liu, and Bostph (2003) report differences in citation rates and search rates. These differences did not attempt to adjust for when, where, or why the stop took place so that, as with stop duration, there may be other nonrace factors that could explain that difference. When RAND accounted for these factors, the authors found no differences in citation rates or search rates.

According to Eck, Liu, and Bostaph (2003), in 2001, searches of black drivers were slightly more likely to yield contraband of some kind. This continues to be the case in RAND's analyses of 2003 and 2004 data. In addition, RAND found no evidence that black drivers were searched more thoroughly than white drivers based on the reported search duration. As a result, the authors agree with Eck, Liu, and Bostaph's conclusion that "such a finding is inconsistent with the hypothesis that officer bias is driving their behavior" (Eck, Liu, and Bostaph, 2003, p. 49).

Conclusions and Recommendations

RAND's analysis of vehicle stops involved three stages: assessing race bias at the department level, at the officer level, and in post-stop outcomes. The reliability of the data is a concern as an estimated 20 percent of vehicle stops are undocumented. The authors do not know whether the undocumented stops differed from the documented ones and, as a result, the conclusions of all analyses are sensitive to possible biases in reporting. The authors discuss some recommendations for improving data quality later in this section.

The first stage of the analysis examined stops occurring near the changes to and from Daylight Saving Time and found no conclusive evidence of a racial bias in the decision to stop. Black drivers were more likely to be stopped during daylight when drivers' races were more visible, 15 percent greater risk in 2003 and 19 percent greater risk in 2004, but this observed elevated risk for black drivers may have been due to chance rather than a race bias. RAND repeated the analysis including stops occurring throughout the year. This analysis was more sensitive to seasonal changes in the distribution of officers and the racial mix of drivers on the road, but it also concluded that there was no statistical evidence of racial bias in the decision to stop.

The second stage of the analysis examined each officer in turn to assess whether individual officers were stopping a disproportionate number of black drivers relative to other, similarly situated officers. Four officers stopped black drivers at substantially higher rates than other, similarly situated officers. These officers were twice as likely to use equipment violations as a reason for stopping drivers. However, even after accounting for their large number of equipment violation stops, these four still stopped a greater share of black drivers than expected.

The third stage of the analysis examined outcomes of the stop, including stop duration, citation rates, and search rates and outcomes. Black drivers were less likely than similarly situated nonblack drivers to have stops last less than 10 minutes (40 percent versus 43 percent in 2003, 40 percent versus 44 percent in 2004). The resulting 3–4 percent difference implies that roughly 600 to 700 black drivers annually had long stops that should have lasted less than 10 minutes. Black drivers and similarly situated nonblack drivers received citations at the same rate in 2003 (75 percent) and 2004 (70 percent). Officers searched black and nonblack drivers at nearly the same rate in cases when the officers had discretion (5.9 percent versus 5.4 percent in 2003, 6.7 percent versus 6.2 percent in 2004). Black drivers were more likely to be subject to low-discretion searches (8.1 percent versus 5.5 percent in 2003, 10.7 percent versus 7.0 percent in 2004). Such low-discretion situations include searches that were incident to arrest and when contraband was in plain view, so the differences could be due to difference in offending rates rather than officer biases. For high-discretion searches, such as consent searches, black drivers were more likely to be found with contraband (28 percent versus 22 percent in 2003, 29 percent versus 27 percent in 2004). This is indicative of no racial bias in search decisions. For searches involving little officer discretion, such as searches incident to arrest, recovery rates of contraband were the same (16 percent in 2003, 20 percent in 2004).

Recommendations for Improving Data Collection

Canter (2004) describes a series of steps that police departments can take to ensure that the traffic stop data accurately reflect the policing activities. He describes Baltimore County's Data Quality Control procedures, some of which the CPD has implemented already for the 2005 data collection:

1. Every traffic stop data collection form is checked for completeness and accuracy. Supervisors check and approve all traffic stop forms and make sure that the number of forms completed matches the number of stops each officer reports to CAD.
2. Assign a team to be responsible for evaluating the quality of the data collected and recorded. These teams produce regular reports and execute data quality checks.

3. Information such as date of birth, sex, and race are checked against records maintained by the state motor vehicle department. (Race is not available in Ohio from driver licensing records.)
4. Forms are randomly sampled and checked for data entry accuracy.
5. Exception reports identifying missing traffic stop data collection forms are routinely generated and sent to police commanders.
6. Programs are executed against traffic stop data to identify possible errors in data entry.
7. Inaccurate forms are sent back to the officer's supervisor for attention and correction (Canter, 2004).

This creates a system of audits to check for human error (forgetting to indicate race of driver or transposing the driver's age), for unclear or inconsistent data (location of the stop is unclear, e.g., Vine St., or search indicated but no search outcome noted), and for officers who are not completing contact cards at all.

At this stage, the authors see no reason for changing the CPD's contact card itself. Correctly completed forms have a reasonable level of detail for the analysis. The authors stress that developing a system to ensure accuracy and completeness should be the top priority. The rate of nonreporting of stops can greatly affect the results of analyses and missing items on completed contact cards further reduce the available number of stops for analysis. The addition of the neighborhood code, while technically redundant with the address or intersection of the stop, would be useful in correctly locating the stop. This is useful to the extent that address and intersection information in 2003 and 2004 was frequently difficult to locate. Neighborhood codes would not be necessary if addresses were sufficiently complete. RAND does not suggest replacing addresses with neighborhood codes; officers may not be certain about the exact boundaries of neighborhoods.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis of Videotaped Police-Motorist Interactions

Overview

In order to better understand interactions between the Cincinnati Police Department and members of the community, RAND analyzed 313 randomly sampled video records of traffic stops. An interracial group of independent, trained coders viewed these recordings and described the interactions using a wide range of measures. These included measures of the objective characteristics of the stop (e.g., duration, infraction type, time of day) as well as measures of the communication between the driver and the police officer.

This analysis revealed three key differences as a function of the officers' and drivers' races: (1) Black drivers were more likely to experience proactive policing during the stop, resulting in longer stops that were significantly more likely to involve searches; (2) The communication quality of white drivers was more positive than that of the black drivers —specifically, it was more apologetic, cooperative, and courteous; and (3) Officers' communication behavior was more positive when the officer and driver were of the same race.

This analysis is descriptive and cannot determine the causes of these racial differences—these data should not be used to test hypotheses regarding the existence of racial profiling because they cannot address the reason for the stop. However, the authors believe that reducing these racial differences is important for improving the relationship between the CPD and the community it serves. Improvements will likely require the efforts of the CPD as well as the community at large, and may require additional education or training, as well as examining the alignment between police practices and community priorities.

Background

Information from vehicle-mounted video and audio recordings can shed light on the origins of police-community conflict and dissatisfaction. Traffic stops constitute one of the most common interactions between police and community members. However, there has been very little objective information about what typically occurs in traffic stops and how this may depend on the race of the officer or driver. In the absence of any valid data, beliefs about possible racial difference in these interactions are inevitably based on anecdotes, prejudices, or fears. By having trained, independent observers carefully analyze a random sample of traffic stops, RAND is providing the needed empirical evidence to assess possible problems in these interactions. This information may also point to specific policies and procedures that can improve police-community relations.

Recent research in communications, linguistics, and psychology has focused on the processes governing interactions between individuals. One conclusion of this research is that individual behavior can be understood only as part of a reciprocal, dynamic process between the participants. Personal expectations about an interaction are transmitted through verbal and nonverbal cues that each participant is constantly interpreting. These interpretations determine behavior, and these behaviors then affect the responses of the other party (Darley and Fazio, 1980; Giles and Smith, 1979). Interactions that result in conflict can often be traced to verbal and nonverbal cues that a participant interprets (or misinterprets) as distrust, disrespect, or anger (e.g., Mehrabian, 1968; Schlenker and Leary, 1982). Neither individual may be solely to blame for a conflict; instead, each person sees his or her own behavior as a reasonable and justified reaction to the situation. Nevertheless, changes in interpersonal interaction could have prevented the conflict.

Unfortunately, intergroup and interracial interactions, even among persons harboring no prejudice against the other group, often exhibit the sort of verbal and nonverbal cues that have lead to conflict or hostile interactions (e.g., Devine and Vasquez, 1998; Hecht, Jackson, and Ribeau, 2003; Word, Zanna, and Cooper, 1974). In the absence of prejudice, interracial interactions may still go poorly because of low expectations of a pleasant interaction, misattribution of behavior to prejudice, or different cultural expectations for communication. For example, a driver of a minority race may appear irritated or defensive during a traffic stop because of a personal history of negative interactions in similar situations, and not because of any disrespect to a particular officer. Similarly, a nonprejudiced white officer may actually behave differently in interactions with blacks because of concern about being perceived as prejudiced, even though such behavioral changes may be seen as defensive, aggressive, or disrespectful (Devine, Evett, and Vasquez-Suson, 1996).

RAND's analysis of the audio and video records of traffic stops is designed to shed light on how these interactions between police and community members unfold. RAND has conducted a study that pinpoints how these interactions differ as a function of the race of both the officer and the driver. RAND has also identified aspects of the traffic stops that are associated with counterproductive or dissatisfying interactions. Finally, RAND will provide guidance on training and policies that may improve these interactions.

Because RAND's analysis is designed to better understand how typical police-motorist interactions occur, the authors have studied a probability sample of videotaped records. Because of this data source, RAND's analyses cannot address several issues, such as the role of racial profiling in the stop, violations of civil rights, inappropriate use of force, or deviations for accepted police practice. In short, this analysis is not comparing officer or driver behavior to a specific legal or moral standard. Instead, the analysis describes how typical police-motorist interactions occur as a function of race so that improvements can be made in police-community relations.

Methods

Sample of Interactions

The current study was designed to investigate the extent to which interactions between drivers and officers might be affected by the race of the officers and drivers involved. These

analyses were conducted on a stratified random sample of video records ($n = 313$) received from the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD).

The sampling frame for this sample was defined by the contact card data that was filled out by police officers. Contact cards were used to define the universe of stops because other data sources (e.g., call logs) are not linked to race data, so the race of the driver would typically be unknown. The completion of these contact cards is mandatory under CPD policy, and RAND's attempts to validate the completion rates indicate a substantial degree of compliance (see Chapter Four). However, any systematic biases in the completion of contact cards could influence the generalizability of RAND's findings. RAND's sampling frame included all incidents that (a) had contact card data associated with the incident, (b) involved a motor vehicle stop, (c) had a driver's race that the officer assessed as either "white" or "black," (d) had an officer's race that was reported as either "white" or "black" in CPD records, and (e) occurred between September 1, 2004, and December 31, 2004. Incidents were included in the sampling frame without regard to the MVR data field on the contact card, which was designed to indicate whether a video recording was made. Thus, the authors requested to see tapes even when the officer did not explicitly state that a tape existed.

Four sampling strata were created based on officer and driver races: black officer/black driver, black officer/white driver, white officer/black driver, white officer/white driver. Incidents were randomly sampled within each of these four strata using a computer-generated random number, i.e., all incidents within a racial group had an equal probability of being requested. To best achieve the goals of this task, an equal number of incidents was requested from each of the four strata. This provides the maximum analytic power (the ability to detect a difference that actually exists in the population) for describing racial differences in the interactions. By requesting an equal number of interactions from each stratum, RAND effectively oversampled incidents involving minority (black) officers and drivers. Thus, the aggregate sample is not a representative sample of all incidents involving the CPD, although it is a representative sample of incidents within each of the four race-defined strata. The authors believe that the stratified random sampling method employed resulted in the strongest possible sample for the intended goals of the study, avoiding common problems associated with convenience samples or correlated observations that plague many studies of interpersonal communication.

For each of the four months included in the sampling frame, the CPD sent RAND a data file including the relevant contact card data. RAND researchers sampled incidents from this monthly data and requested that the CPD send any video records associated with those incidents. To account for the possibility of missing data (incidents not recorded, records not found, or damaged records), the authors requested more incidents than needed for the analysis. In order to achieve the desired sample of 300 analyzable incidents, RAND included 800 incidents in the requests: 50 incidents in each of four racially defined strata in each of the four months. The incidents in each request were sequenced based on a random number, and RAND requested that the CPD send the first 25 records that were available within each stratum for each month. This yields a total request for 400 records to be sent, while allowing that up to 50 percent of incidents in a given stratum or month may have been unavailable. A total of 352 records were actually sent, because the rate at which recordings were missing was slightly higher than 50 percent in some months in some strata (see Table 5.1). RAND cannot know the precise reason for the approximately 400 incidents that were *not available* for

analysis. However, the MVR field on the contact cards indicated that 82 percent of these missing incidents had a video record associated with them.

The CPD labeled each recording with an incident number. When a recording contained more than one incident, RAND staff located the requested incident on the tape or digital recording by matching the time stamp on the recording with the time reported on the contact card. When none of the incidents occurred within one hour of the time listed on the contact card, RAND determined that a match was *not found* and that incident was coded as missing. A total of 39 incidents (11 percent) were not found (see Table 5.1). This yields a total sample of 313 incidents for analysis.

There are also several more minor types of missing information that only affect some of our measured variables. In approximately one-third of the recordings, either the video or the audio was of poor quality (e.g., camera was not aimed so that driver and officer were in the field of view, or the audio quality would not allow coders to understand the driver). For these cases, variables that could not be measured were treated as missing. In approximately 15 percent of the cases, the video record was not complete: The recording omitted the beginning, the end, or a middle portion of the incident. In the majority of these cases, the stop could have been complete, but the camera was turned off or ran out of tape before the driver or officer left the scene, so the coders could not verify that the incident was complete.

The rates of missing records (missingness) for both the incidents *not available* and the incidents *not found* were approximately equal across the racially defined strata. Because the missingness is not associated with the primary predictor variables in RAND's analyses, it is less likely to constitute a serious threat to the validity of the study. Nevertheless, missing data may be of the "non-ignorable" type (Little and Rubin, 1987) if the causes of the missing data are different for the different racial groups. Therefore, the fact that rates of missingness are equal across the different groups does not totally ensure that RAND's results are immune to problems caused by these missing data. It would be highly desirable to reduce missingness in the subsequent years of the study to reduce this threat to validity. This may require more or better MVR equipment, as well as improved record keeping and data storage techniques. The MVR technology and the tape handling procedures were relatively new to the CPD at the time these data were collected. The CPD has told RAND that some improvements have already been made that should reduce the number of missing recordings in the future.

Table 5.1
Data Quality of the Video Records

Aspect of Data Quality	%
Of incidents requested, percentage of records *not available*	55
Of tapes sent, percentage of time incident *not found* on tape[a]	11
Overall percentage of requested incidents missing	60
Of the usable records (n = 313)	
Percentage with "poor" video quality	9
Percentage in which incident is not completely recorded	15
Percentage in which the officer's voice is not audible	27
Percentage in which the driver's voice is not audible	32

NOTES: In the anticipation of missing data, RAND requested more incidents (approximately 800) than the authors would code (approximately 300). a. An incident was considered not found when the record labeled with the incident number did not contain an incident with an electronic time stamp within 60 minutes of the time marked on the contact card.

The total usable sample size of 313 is very near RAND's target of 300 coded incidents. This sample size was chosen because it provides a good balance between costs and statistical power to detect differences. It allows RAND an 83-percent chance of detecting a difference in means across two groups (using standard statistical assumptions) when the true difference is half of one standard deviation, a medium effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Codebook Development and Coder Training

The key to this analysis is the conversion of raw video and audio records into theoretically meaningful measurements, a process called coding. The finalized set measures and coding instructions, called a codebook, were developed after a review of the study's goals, an intensive review of the scientific literature, and an empirical examination of the content that could be discerned from the tapes. The actual content and quality of the tapes presented real limitations on what measures could be reliably extracted from these interactions. Specifically, the single camera position (almost always 30–50 feet behind the driver), low video resolution, single lapel-style microphone on the officer, and high ambient noise limited the measurements that could be taken from analysis of the tapes. The process of codebook development was a cycle that began with identifying the specific constructs that RAND wanted to measure followed by empirical tests to determine if those constructs could be reliably measured on the actual recordings. When multiple coders could not agree on the correct measurement for a given construct, or when a high proportion of tapes were judged to be not codable for that construct (e.g., facial expressions), the coding measures and instructions were revised. In this way, the training of the coders occurred during the process of codebook development.

Desired Measurement Constructs. Based on the goals of the study and the behavioral science literature on interracial interactions, RAND identified two broad classes of measures that the authors wanted to include in the project: (1) objective characteristics of the stop, and (2) verbal and nonverbal communication behavior that provides clues to the attitudes and emotions of the officer and the driver. Several objective characteristics of the stops were included in the codebook, including the length of time the civilian was detained, if anyone was searched, if the vehicle was searched, the time of day of the stop, the number of occupants, the stated cause for the stop, the outcome of the stop, and the type of vehicle stopped. In addition, several verbal and nonverbal aspects of communication were identified for measurement. These are drawn from theory and research on interpersonal communication and intergroup interaction (e.g., Devine, Evett, and Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Devine and Vasquez, 1998; Dovidio et al., 1988; Schlenker and Leary, 1982; Street and Giles, 1982; Word, Zanna, and Cooper, 1974). Based on this research, the authors expected that these communication factors would line up along a dimension that represents the desired social distance between the officer and driver (e.g., Street and Giles, 1982). The overall quality of the communication for each participant can vary from negative or distant (e.g., disrespectful, interruptive, ignoring, argumentative, dissimilar) to positive or close (e.g., pleasant, personal, respectful, apologetic, intimate, friendly) depending on each individual's desired level of social distance from his or her interlocutor.

Codebook Development and Testing. Four graduate students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign worked as coders during the codebook development. Individuals were recruited in the Speech Communication Department and screened to obtain those with strong academic records. The coders are from the Midwest region and the racial diversity of the coders mirrors the diversity in the recordings to be coded. To serve as a coder,

students had to master all aspects of the codebook, which defines all of the variables and measures in detail at both the conceptual and operational levels. Initial training was accomplished with approximately 30 hours of instruction in a small seminar class setting on coding interpersonal interactions, followed by extensive practice with the incident recordings. Throughout the entire training and codebook development process, coders regularly practiced applying the measures defined in the codebook by coding incidents. Feedback on these practice sessions was provided individually and to the group of coders as appropriate to the training task. Coders also contributed to the development of the codebook by identifying measurable patterns of behavior that occurred in the tapes they had viewed and that could be included in the coding procedures, and by providing comments and questions on the coding procedures. At three points during the training phase, all coders were given a set of incidents to code so that the authors could determine the interrater reliability (agreement among coders) for the proposed measures. Upon finding reliabilities lower than 0.70, the authors worked with the coders to identify the source of the disagreement. When the recordings did not routinely contain sufficient data to make a reliable judgment, the item was removed from the codebook (e.g., facial expressions). When the codebook was unclear about the definition of terms or meaning of response options, the items were changed or the instructions were elaborated. When disagreements arose from differences across the coders, additional training was provided. This development process led to substantial revisions of the codebook over the initial training period. It required three iterations of testing, revisions, and training before the codebook and training demonstrated sufficient reliability (see Appendix 5.A) to begin coding the sampled incidents.

Final coding procedures. Once training was complete, each of the 313 incidents was randomly assigned to a coder. Coders were not given information about the race of the officer or driver from the contact cards; however, racial information was often available from the tape itself at some point during the incident. Coders viewed each recording alone and could watch the entire incident, or any segment of it, as many times as necessary to make the required coding judgments. Data for most incidents were obtained from a single coder. For this reason, it was essential to demonstrate that the coding process maintained a strong and consistent level of performance over time in order to ensure reliability of the data. To assess this, all coders were asked to code a common set of 15 incidents at four points in the coding process, for a total of 60 incidents. By looking at the agreement among coders on these incidents, RAND monitored the ongoing reliability of the coding procedure. A total of 58 incidents are included in the final reliability analyses (two assigned incidents were not found). The specific techniques used to compute reliabilities and the item-by-item level of reliability are presented in Appendix 5.A. The overall results of these analyses indicated a very high level of interrater reliability on virtually all variables, with no evidence of coder fatigue over the course of the study.

Measures Included in the Final Codebook

The final codebook included an assessment of 143 variables. For convenience, the measures have been broken into conceptual categories, which are listed here with brief descriptions. More complete conceptual and operational definitions of each variable are described in the final codebook (Appendix 5.B).

CPD data for incidents. Several identifiers were used to track and locate assigned interactions. These included the *incident numbers* assigned to traffic stops, as well as the date

and time of the incidents. Although RAND headquarters maintained information regarding the race of officers and drivers, this information was not given to coders when their interactions were assigned.

Quality of tape variables. These variables were designed to measure tape quality. As stated previously, a significant number of tapes suffered from both audio and video problems. Quality was defined as the amount of information that could be gleaned from the videotape based on video and audio quality. Both dichotomous measures (i.e., *poor audio quality*, *poor video quality*, *tape ends or begins suddenly*) and continuous measures (i.e., *percentage of time primary officer was audible*, *percentage of time driver was audible*, *percentage of time communication was intelligible*) were used.

Length of time variables. A series of variables assessed various objective aspects of the videotaped interaction. These included overall interaction length of time variables such as *total time the driver was detained* and *driver wait time*.

Officer descriptors or behaviors. These variables described the behavior of the officers who were at the scene. They included whether the officer put his or her *hand on his or her gun*, *used a loudspeaker system*, *used bright lights*, *had a partner*, or *issued body commandments to the driver*; *the number of officers who approached the vehicle*; *the total officers at the scene*; and *the race of additional officers at the scene*.

Vehicle and occupant search variables. These variables were used as further descriptors of what took place during the interaction. They included several variables designed to assess the time spent searching a vehicle or individual (e.g., *visual search time*, *physical search time*, *physical vehicle search*). The search's outcome was also assessed (e.g., *illegal items found*).

Occupant description and behaviors. Several variables described the behaviors of occupants in the civilian vehicles. These variables included *number of occupants*, *race of additional occupants*, and whether the *occupants became violent*.

Vehicle descriptors. In order to document any differences in what kind of cars were stopped, the *vehicle age* and *vehicle type* were assessed. This will allow RAND to control for any effects these variables have on stop characteristics or communication.

The offense (general). General variables about the traffic stop were assessed. These variables included *justification of the stop*, *outcome of the interaction*, and *drugs mentioned in relation to the crime*.

Primary police officer characteristics and behaviors. The primary police officer was the one who first approached the vehicle. The coders made judgments regarding the officer's demographic characteristics, including *race*, *sex*, and *age*. In addition, the officer's overall behavior during the interaction was assessed, including whether the officer *greeted the driver* or *addressed the driver by name*.

Communication accommodation variables—primary officer. Communication accommodation theory suggests that individuals use communication, in part, in order to indicate their attitudes toward each other and, as such, it is a barometer of the level of social distance between them. This constant movement toward and away from others, by changing one's communicative behavior, is called *accommodation*. Communication accommodation was assessed using variables including *overall officer pleasantness*, *overall officer listening*, and *officer respect and politeness*, as well as *officer dismissiveness*, *indifference*, and *impatience*.

Emotional reactions—primary officer. Several studies also suggest that negative emotional reactions can cause an interaction to become more intense (e.g., Mehrabian, 1968;

Schlenker and Leary, 1982). Therefore, myriad variables assessed the primary officer's emotional reactions, including *aggravation* and *anger*.

Nonverbal measures—primary officer. Communication scholars have found that a significant amount of communication is derived from nonverbal behavior. Variables used to assess nonverbal behavior included *proximity of officer to driver*, and *body orientation of primary officer*.

Driver characteristics and behaviors. Several characteristics were assessed including *race*, *sex*, *age*, and *clothes type*. In addition, the driver's overall behavior during the interaction was assessed, including whether the driver *was verbally aggressive*, *threatened physical aggression*, or *threatened to complain about officer behavior*.

Communication accommodation variables—driver. Similar to the communication accommodation for the primary officer described previously, driver accommodation was assessed through myriad variables including driver *pleasantness*, *listening*, and *perspective taking*, as well as *belligerence*, *dismissiveness*, and *indifference*.

Emotional reactions—driver. The apparent emotional reactions of the driver were assessed through such variables as driver *aggravation*, *anger*, and *confusion*.

Nonverbal measures—driver. The driver's *proximity* to the officer was assessed. Given the motor vehicle stop situation, the only common method to increase proximity was to choose to get out of the vehicle.

Analysis

The basic analyses are designed to describe how a range of possible outcomes measured from the recordings were related to (a) the officer's race, (b) the driver's race, and (c) the similarity between the races of the officer and driver. For most of the objective characteristics of the stop (e.g., duration, number of vehicle occupants, infraction type, citation issued), RAND assessed these three types of racial differences for each stop characteristic. The communication measures were designed to be grouped into scales, rather than be analyzed individually. This helps to limit the number of separate statistical hypotheses that were tested—and thus limit exposure to false positive statistical errors. Four scales were created:

Officer Communication Quality is based on the average of the 20 items that measure the officers' communication accommodation and nonaccommodation (codebook items 72–91). Items that represent negative or distancing communication behavior were reverse scored prior to computing the average. It varies from 0 to 10 with higher scores representing more friendly, pleasant, and personal communication behavior.

Driver Communication Quality is based on the average of the 23 items that measure the drivers' communication accommodation and nonaccommodation (codebook items 114–137). Items that represent negative or distancing communication behavior were reverse scored prior to computing the average. It varies from 0 to 10 with higher scores representing more friendly, pleasant, and personal communication behavior.

Officer Emotional Reaction is based on the average of the five items that measure the officers' emotional state during the incident (codebook items 92–96). Items that represent negative emotions were reverse scored prior to computing the average. It varies from 0 to 10 with higher scores representing more positive emotional reactions.

Driver Emotional Reaction is based on the average of the six items that measure the drivers' emotional state during the incident (codebook items 138–143). Items that represent

negative emotions were reverse scored prior to computing the average. It varies from 0 to 10 with higher scores representing more positive emotional reactions.

RAND used a range of statistical methods to assess the associations between the racial groups and the outcomes that were coded from the recordings. For dichotomous or polytomous outcomes, RAND used the c2 test of independence and logistic regression to assess for differences as a function of the officer's race, the driver's race, and the similarity between the races of the officer and the driver. For continuous outcomes, RAND used analysis of variance (ANOVA) and analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) to assess for differences as a function of the officer's race, the driver's race, and the similarity between of the races of the officer and the driver. These are common statistical techniques used to ensure that RAND can make appropriate generalizations to a broader population given the limited sample of incidents and the reliability of the authors' measures.

In general, each type of race effect reported (mean differences across groups defined by officer race, driver race, or racial similarity) is controlling for the other two effects. For example, if RAND reports a difference in the probability of being searched across black and white drivers, that difference controls for any additional effects of officer race or racial similarity. The proper interpretation of that effect is that white and black drivers differed in the probability of being searched *regardless* of the race of the officer or racial similarity between the driver and the officer.

RAND implemented additional statistical controls when analyzing the officer's or drivers' communication quality. These communication variables are inherently reciprocal across the individual within an interaction (e.g., Giles and Smith, 1979); an individual's communication quality typically rises, or sinks, to the communication level of his or her interlocutor. Because of this interdependence, RAND always controlled for the driver's communication quality when assessing predictors of the officer's communication. Similarly, RAND controlled for the officer's communication quality when assessing predictors of the driver's communication. For example, when looking at the average communication level for black versus white drivers, RAND adjusted the results to account for the possibility that police officers could, on average, communicate differently to black versus white drivers. This ensured that black drivers were being compared to white drivers who were treated similarly by the officers. In several instances, RAND performed additional analyses that employed more complex multivariate models to better understand that nature of the observed effects.

Because of the large number of measures being examined, RAND only presents findings when statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences were found. For example, if the authors discuss a difference between black and white drivers in the proportion of stops involving searches, but do not present data on the proportion of searches as a function of the officers' race, the reader should assume that no reliable differences as a function of officers' race were found. In interpreting "nonresults," it is important to keep in mind that not finding a significant difference does not ensure that no difference exists. It is possible that differences exist in the full population of traffic stops, but were not found in the random sample of 313 records analyzed.

Results

Data Quality

Coders assessed several aspects of the quality of the audio or video recording. In the majority of sampled incidents, the interaction between officer and driver was clearly visible and their speech was audible and intelligible. However, some recording quality problems resulted in missing data on specific measures (see Table 5.1). The video quality was rated as "poor" in 9 percent of cases, often involving a camera or lights that were directed so that the interaction between the officer and the driver was not visible. A substantial number (15 percent) of recordings ended before the incident was completed. It is not clear if this was from insufficient recording media, other equipment problems, or the actions of the police officer. To ensure that the reported results are not an artifact created by particular types of recordings ending prematurely, RAND conducted two sets of statistical analyses, one including data from those incidents and one excluding those data. The omission of the data from incidents with prematurely terminated recordings does not change the conclusions the authors present. In addition, a measure of the premature termination of recording is included as a covariate in several of the analyses.

The most important recording quality problem was the intelligibility of the audio. In slightly more than one-third of the recordings, the audio did not allow measuring either the officer's or the driver's speech or both. For these cases, most of the communication and emotional reaction variables were coded as missing and these incidents are not included in the analyses of these outcomes. The sample size for these analyses is reduced to 194—divided nearly equally across the racial strata—which results in slightly less analytic power for communication outcome analyses than for the stop characteristic outcomes.

Differences in Incidents as a Function of the Driver's Race

Several differences in the circumstances of the motor vehicle stop emerged as a function of the driver's race (see Table 5.2). Black drivers were, on average, carrying more passengers, were driving older vehicles, and were more likely to be driving a car (rather than a truck, minivan, or sport-utility vehicle [SUV]) than were white drivers. The stops of black drivers were more likely to occur at night and on streets that had relatively light traffic at the time of the stop. In addition, a lower proportion of the stops of black drivers occurred due to moving violations; the likelihood of being stopped for a nonmoving violation (equipment violation or expired registration) was approximately twice as high for black drivers as for their white counterparts. The analysis cannot indicate the reasons for these different types of stops for black and white drivers. These differences could, for example, occur because white drivers had different rates of certain types of infractions, because whites were more likely to be driving in areas in which the police had different enforcement practices, or because the driver's race was influencing the officer's behavior.

Table 5.2
Differences in Stop Characteristics as a Function of Driver Race

Stop Characteristic	Black Drivers (% or mean)	White Drivers (% or mean)	*n*	Significance
Mean number of passengers	0.55	0.23	285	< 0.001
Mean vehicle age (yrs)	8.1	6.8	309	< 0.05
Vehicle type				
Car	82%	65%	310	< 0.001
Light truck, minivan, or SUV	17%	31%	310	< 0.01
Stop occurred at night	55%	42%	309	< 0.05
Level of traffic				
Pulled into alley or parking lot	3%	9%	313	<0.05
Street with light traffic	55%	36%	313	< 0.001
Street with medium traffic	16%	25%	313	< 0.05
Stop was for a moving violation	77%	89%	209	< 0.05
Mean duration of stop (minutes)	14.3	11.7	259	< 0.05
Mean number of officers at scene	1.5	1.2	307	< 0.001
Drugs mentioned in the stop	7%	1%	233	< 0.01
Officer asked about drugs or weapons	10%	2%	204	< 0.05
Officer asked passengers to leave vehicle	10%	2%	261	< 0.01
Any occupant was searched	10%	3%	302	< 0.05
Vehicle was searched	5%	1%	304	< 0.05
Officer gave his or her name to driver	22%	36%	194	< 0.05
Mean driver's communication quality	6.6	7.0	194	< 0.05

NOTES: *n* gives the number of nonmissing observations on each variable. All effects of driver race control for the officer's race and the interaction between races. Higher values of *communication quality* indicate a better communication style. The mean levels of *driver's communication quality* are adjusted for several additional factors, including the driver's age and sex and the police officer's age, sex, and communication quality.

There were also several differences in the characteristics of the stop itself for white relative to black drivers. These differences indicate that black motorists experience more proactive or intensive policing than their white counterparts. The stops of black drivers took an average of 2.6 minutes longer than for white drivers (22 percent longer), and they were more likely to involve multiple police officers. In addition, black drivers and their vehicles were more likely to be investigated for illegal items. Relative to white drivers, blacks were between three and five times more likely to (a) be asked if they were carrying drugs or weapons, (b) be asked to leave the vehicle, (c) be searched, (d) have a passenger searched, and (e) have the vehicle physically searched. In addition, officers were more likely to mention their own names at some point during the stop when the driver was white.

The observed differences in stop characteristics may not be directly caused by the race of the driver. While these results show an association with driver race, the reason for the differences could be any factor that is correlated with driver race. For example, black drivers may be more likely to be stopped in high-crime neighborhoods than their white counterparts. This could lead to higher rates of searches of black motorists, even if the officer did not consider the driver's race in the decision to search.

In addition to the effects on officer behavior, the driver's communication behavior differed significantly as a function of race. Specifically, black drivers had less positive com-

munication quality than did their white counterparts. In order to better understand the observed racial difference in *Drivers' Communication Quality*, RAND reanalyzed the data to determine if the black drivers' less positive communication would persist after controlling for the stop characteristics, individual characteristics, and data quality variables. Specifically, RAND looked at the average level of communication quality while simultaneously controlling for the driver's sex, officer's sex, driver's age, officer's age, the officer's communication quality, day versus night stop, anyone arrested, any citation issued, moving versus equipment violation, number of occupants, any illicit items found, any individual search, vehicle search, number of officers, total time of the stop, and if the tape ended before the stop was finished. The size of the difference between white and black drivers' communication quality was not significantly diminished in size after controlling for all of these factors. To better describe what this effect implies in terms of specific communication behavior, the researchers looked at the 24 individual items that are combined to create the *Drivers' Communication Quality* scale to determine which contributed the most to the observed difference. This analysis showed that, relative to white drivers, black drivers were less apologetic, less cooperative, less courteous, less pleasant, more belligerent, and less respectful (see Table 5.3). While the size of each of these effects is only medium or small by typical behavioral science standards (Cohen, 1988), there is a consistent pattern across the items, and it persists even after controlling for the behavior of the police officer and the characteristics of the stop.

Table 5.3
Specific Aspects of the Driver's Communication That Vary as a Function of Driver's Race

Item No.	Drivers' Characteristics	Quality	Black Average	White Average	Std. Dev.	Effect Size[a]
133	Apologetic	Pos.	0.25	0.87	1.74	0.36
121	Cooperative	Pos.	5.56	6.06	1.49	0.34
120	Courteous	Pos.	5.05	5.47	1.31	0.32
114	Pleasantness	Pos.	5.02	5.46	1.40	0.32
122	Belligerence	Neg.	0.66	0.30	1.31	-0.27
117	Respect and politeness	Pos.	5.14	5.46	1.21	0.26

NOTES: The listed items made the largest contribution to the observed racial difference in drivers' communication quality. a. Effect size is measured by Cohen's D, with 0.50 typically considered a medium-sized difference and 0.20 typically considered a small difference. For full definitions of specific items, see the codebook definitions included in Appendix 5.B.

Differences in Incidents as a Function of the Officer's Race

Comparisons of stops between black and white officers revealed very few differences. In general, there was a very high degree of consistency across the behavior of black and white officers. The only two outcomes that showed differences between black and white officers were the tendency to end the stop with a "good word" (e.g., "have a nice day," "take care") and how closely the officer stands to the vehicle (Table 5.4). Black officers were less likely to end the stop with a "good word" and stood, on average, two inches further from the vehicle. Given the relatively small size of these effects, and the lack of reliable differences on the broader set of items assessing officer and driver behavior, these differences between the average behavior of white officers and the average behavior of black officers do not appear to be particularly important for understanding police-community relations.

Table 5.4
Differences in Stop Characteristics as a Function of Officer's Race

Stop Characteristics	Black Officers (% or Mean)	White Officers (% or Mean)	*n*	Significance
Officer left driver with a "good word"	45%	68%	201	< 0.01
Mean proximity of officer to driver (ft)	2.01	1.82	300	< 0.05

NOTES: *n* gives the number of nonmissing observations for each variable. All effects of officer race control for the driver's race and the interaction between races.

Differences as a Function of the Racial Similarity Between Officers and Drivers

Although RAND did not find critical differences in the typical characteristics of stops as a direct function of the officers' race, there appear to be important differences in officer and driver behavior as a function of the similarity between the officer's race and the driver's race. Specifically, drivers were more willing to approach the officer (almost always by volunteering to get out of the vehicle) when they were the same race as the officer. In addition, the officer's communication quality was most positive when in same race interactions: White officers had less positive communication when they were dealing with black drivers and black officers had less positive communication when dealing with white drivers (see Table 5.5).

In order to better understand the observed racial difference in *Officers' Communication Quality*, RAND reanalyzed the data to determine if the less positive communication in interracial interactions would persist after controlling for the stop characteristics, individual characteristics, and data quality variables. Specifically, RAND looked at the average level of the officer's communication quality while controlling for the driver's sex, officer's sex, driver's age, officer's age, driver's communication quality, day versus night stop, anyone arrested, any citation issued, moving versus equipment violation, number of occupants, any illicit items found, any individual search, vehicle search, number of officers, total time of the stop, and if the video record was complete. The size of the difference in communication quality across same-race and interracial interactions was not diminished in size after controlling for all of these factors. To better describe what this effect implies in terms of specific communication behavior, RAND looked at the 20 individual items that are combined to create the *Officers' Communication Quality* scale to determine which specific items contribute the most to the observed difference. This analysis revealed that, relative to same-race interactions, officers in interracial interactions displayed more indifference to comments of the driver, were less approachable, were more dismissive of driver comments, showed a more pronounced appearance of superiority, gave less respect, and did less listening (see Table 5.6). While the size of each of these effects is only medium or small by typical behavioral science standards (Cohen, 1988), there is a consistent pattern across the items, and it persists even after controlling for the stop characteristics, the characteristics of the individuals, and the quality of the recording.

Table 5.5
Differences in Stop Characteristics as a Function of the Similarity Between Officer and Driver Race

Stop Characteristics	Same Race (% or Mean)	Different Races (% or Mean)	*n*	Significance
Driver chose to leave vehicle	20%	11%	298	< 0.05
Mean officer's communication quality	6.68	6.29	204	< 0.01

NOTES: *n* gives the number of nonmissing observations for each variable. All effects reported control for the driver's race and the officer's race. Higher values of *communication quality* indicate a better communication style. The mean levels of *officers' communication quality* are adjusted for several additional factors, including the driver's age and sex and the police officer's age, sex, and communication quality.

Table 5.6
Aspects of Officers' Communication That Vary as a Function of Racial Similarity

Item No.	Officer Characteristic	Quality	Different Race Average	Same Race Average	Std. Dev.	Effect Size[a]
83	Indifference	Neg.	2.11	1.08	2.09	-0.49
78	Approachability	Pos.	5.16	5.83	1.70	0.40
82	Dismissive	Neg.	1.17	0.59	1.62	-0.36
87	Air of superiority	Neg.	0.82	0.38	1.50	-0.29
75	Respect and politeness	Pos.	5.65	6.05	1.41	0.28
73	Overall listening	Pos.	4.84	5.29	1.68	0.27

NOTES: The listed items made the largest contribution to the observed racial difference in officers' communication quality a. Effect size is measured by Cohen's D with 0.50 typically considered a medium-sized difference and 0.20 typically considered a small difference. For full definitions of specific officer communication characteristics, see the codebook definitions included in Appendix 5.B.

Predictors of Constructive Officer-Driver Communication

To better understand the factors that are associated with pleasant and productive interactions between officers and the community, RAND explored factors that were associated with high communication quality. This was done using multivariate models in which stop characteristics, individual characteristics, and data quality factors predicted communication quality. Because it appeared that different factors were important for driver communication than for officer communication, separate models were developed for these two outcomes. Table 5.7 displays the best set of predictors for each outcome.

Although both the race and sex of the driver were associated with differences in communication quality, the best predictors of positive driver behavior are under the control of the police officer. Drivers' communications were most positive (e.g., respectful, apologetic, pleasant) when the stops were shorter, and when the officers' communications were more positive. The officers' communications were also well predicted by several factors. They were

Table 5.7
Best Predictors of Communication Quality

Predictors	Standard Regression Coefficient	Statistical Significance
Model of driver's communication quality		
Length of the stop	-0.20	< 0.05
Officer's communication quality	0.18	< 0.05
Female driver	0.17	< 0.05
White driver	0.16	< 0.05
Model of officer's communication quality		
Same race interaction	0.22	< 0.001
Driver's communication quality	0.18	< 0.01
Warning given (not citation)	0.17	< 0.05
Incident recording not complete	-0.15	< 0.05

NOTES: For drivers' model, Multiple-R = 0.35; for officers' model, Multiple-R = 0.42. The standardized regression coefficients provide a measure of the relative effect size for each predictor while controlling for the other predictors in the model.

most positive when officers were the same race as the drivers, when the drivers' communications were positive, when officers were giving a warning rather than a citation, and when the recording was complete.

It is difficult to interpret the finding that the officers' communication quality was assessed as lower in those incidents in which the recording was not complete. Typically, this means that the recording was turned off or ran out of tape before it captured either the officer or the driver leaving the scene. There are several plausible explanations of this effect. Positive communication that normally occurred at the end of a traffic stop may have been cut off in those tapes. Officers who were less diligent about maintaining adequate tape for the interaction may also have been less polite with drivers. Officers who are upset may have turned off the camera early. RAND's data do not allow the authors to choose among these plausible explanations. The authors do not think that this data quality issue is a serious threat to the validity of the study, because 85 percent of the recordings were complete and its association with officer communication quality was relatively small.

Regardless of driver and stop characteristics, drivers' communications were more positive when officers appeared to communicate with respect and listen to drivers. Similarly, officers were most pleasant and positive when drivers communicated respectfully with them.

Discussion

The random sample of video records analyzed in this study shed light on the nature of ordinary interactions between Cincinnati's citizens and its police. One key finding that sets the background for understanding these interactions is that, on average, blacks and whites experienced very different types of policing. White drivers typically experienced traffic stops that were shorter and were less likely to involve an investigation beyond the original vehicle infraction—inquiries and searches for drugs, weapons, or contraband. This finding is generally consistent with the results of the racial profiling analyses presented in Chapter Four, although the video analyses use independent observers to determine stop characteristics, rather than the officers' self-report.

Unlike the racial profiling analyses presented in Chapter Four, the current analyses do not allow RAND to determine the extent to which the driver's race caused the stop or search. RAND cannot control for many plausible alternative causes of these stops or searches given the modest number of incidents coded. For example, blacks may have been searched at higher rates entirely because they were more likely to have been driving in a high-crime region in which it was reasonable for police to suspect the presence of drugs or weapons. Alternatively, blacks and whites may have different rates of particular types of traffic infractions, resulting in differences in stop duration or searches. Because RAND cannot rule out plausible alternative causes for observed associations between drivers' races and particular policing practices, the reader should not interpret these differences as demonstrating racial profiling.

Although RAND cannot characterize the more proactive policing that blacks typically experienced as racial profiling on the basis of the data, this style of policing may have negative effects on the interactions between police and black drivers. The longer, more invasive traffic stops that black drivers more regularly experience may contribute to a more negative attitude in future traffic stops. This difference in personal history is one plausible explanation for the finding that, on average, black drivers had a more negative communication

style in traffic stops than did white drivers. Relative to blacks, white drivers were more likely to apologize for the infraction; were more likely to use phrases that indicate courteousness, politeness, respect, and cooperation; and were less likely to argue with the police. These communication differences persisted even after controlling for all of the measured stop characteristics. RAND's data do not provide any strong guidance on the causes of these racial differences in communication. These differences may have occurred because blacks and whites in Cincinnati had different levels of irritation or anger about being stopped. Given the findings of the community survey that blacks had greater dissatisfaction with the police, and the fact that traffic stops for blacks were, on average, longer and more intrusive, different levels of irritation may be expected. On the other hand, the differences in communication could reflect different cultural standards of expression, even when underlying attitudes are quite similar (e.g., Hecht, Jackson, and Ribeau, 2003). For example, whites could be more likely than blacks to apologize for behavior (e.g., speeding) that they do not, in fact, regret. Similarly, blacks' communication styles may be less likely to use honorific terms (e.g., "sir"), which could make it harder to communicate effectively their respect for the officer. Finally, the observed association between drivers' race and drivers' communication may not reflect any causal influence of race. For instance, it may reflect the influence of neighborhood-level attitudes toward police, or the number of times the driver has been stopped in the past. The current data do not allow the authors to choose among these various explanations.

The analysis of officer communication behavior was also very informative. There was no significant evidence that black drivers were treated worse, on average, than were white drivers. RAND did not find the fundamental asymmetry in outcomes that typically indicates racial discrimination against minorities. However, the behavior of police officers was not race-blind. White officers used the most positive communication when they talked to white drivers, and black officers used the most positive communication when they were talking to black drivers. In same-race interactions, officers appear to have been listening more carefully, to have been more accepting of what the drivers have to say, and to have given the impression that they were interested in hearing the drivers' comments, relative to interracial interactions. While these differences are approximately symmetrical—about the same magnitude for white and black officers—the aggregate effect may not be symmetrical because there are many more white officers than black officers in the CPD. More officers on the force typically had more positive communication with white drivers than typically had more positive communication with black drivers.

In some respects, these difficulties in interracial communication may reflect the level of racial tension in the community. However, interracial interactions are often strained even in the absence of any prejudice. In fact, nonprejudiced individuals can appear anxious, uncomfortable, and self-conscious in interracial interactions precisely because they are concerned about appearing prejudiced (Leary and Atherton, 1986; Schlenker and Leary, 1982). Similarly, minorities who are interacting with majority group members may feel stress from concern that they are being judged on their race, not their behavior (e.g., Crocker and Major, 1989), and may have low expectations of a positive interaction, which results in a less positive interaction and more social distancing (Darley and Fazio, 1980; Street and Giles, 1982).

While this study presents no evidence that the observed differences in officer communication are legally inappropriate (there is no constitutional right to an officer who is a good listener), or the result of inadequate police training, the authors do believe that they

represent a barrier to good police-community relations, and to good race relations more generally. Such effects make interracial contact more stressful and unpleasant, which may lead to a cycle in which relations get worse over time rather than improve (e.g., Stephan, 1987). Motor vehicle stops are one of the most common interactions between officers and the community. If this contact reinforces negative racial expectations of the officers and drivers, it may make subsequent interactions less likely to be positive.

Suggestions for Improvement

As with most communication problems, it is impossible to identify one of the parties as being to blame for the problems. However, it is not necessary to assign blame for past problems in order for both parties to make behavioral changes that will improve future interactions. Substantial improvements are possible if both police and community members make the effort. Education may play a role in improving these interactions, particularly educating officers and community members that their interlocutor's behavior is highly dependent on their own behavior. An individual's communication quality tends to rise or sink to the level of the person to whom he or she is talking. There is strong evidence of this in RAND's data: Officers' communication behavior was one of the best predictors of drivers' behavior and vice versa. When a driver is upset, disrespectful, or unapologetic, the officer should realize that this unpleasant behavior could be a reaction to the officer's own behavior—and that the driver's behavior is most likely to improve if he or she is treated with courtesy and respect. When an officer has been inconsiderate, argumentative, or dismissive, the driver should realize that this unpleasant behavior could be a reaction to the driver's own behavior—and that the officer's behavior is most likely to improve if he or she is treated with courtesy and respect.

In addition to improving their communication, officers may also be able to minimize the inconvenience the stop causes. The stop length was the single best predictor of the quality of the driver's communication, so efforts to expedite the stop—or to give the impression that they are trying to do so—may improve the driver's perception of the interaction.

The finding that officers treat same-race drivers more positively than different-race drivers was based primarily on specific measures related to how well they listened to the drivers and acknowledged comments made by drivers. While the authors expected that very few officers actually wanted to hear drivers' excuses for infractions—or arguments against getting a citation—listening carefully and acknowledging these comments is important for maintaining a good relationship with the community being served. Police training that improves these skills may reduce the negative interracial interactions that RAND observed.

Community members, particularly black community members, also have a role to play in the improvement of police-community relations. While the more negative communication by black drivers may be an understandable reaction to the more proactive policing they experience, it is likely to be counterproductive. The available data indicated that drivers who were argumentative did not get shorter stops, nor did they get lighter sanctions for their offenses. They did get more argumentative and less polite police officers. Individual black drivers who were unpleasant may also have made impressions on officers making it harder for other blacks to be seen as friendly, respectful, and cooperative by those officers in the future.

Finally, it may be possible to make improvements in relations between the CPD and the black community by rethinking how black neighborhoods are policed. The proactive policing of motor vehicles that occurs in these communities (longer stops, more searches) is

likely to put a high burden on law-abiding members of these communities, and it may not match the policing priorities of these communities. In other words, the high-crime neighborhoods may want more police assistance with drugs and violent crime, but what they are getting is more tickets for expired registrations and more pat-down searches. This type of policing will certainly help to apprehend a small number of offenders, but it may have high costs on community relations. Efforts should be made to identify methods of targeting the specific offenses that are a concern to the community while minimizing the impact on community members who are not involved in those offenses.

Limitations

There are limitations to RAND's analysis of the audio-video records. One primary limitation is that it uses observational data. These methods allow RAND to describe what typically occurs in these interactions, but the authors cannot know definitively why it happens. Because of this limitation, the reader should avoid assigning blame for communication problems either to the community members or to police officers. Similarly, the reader should not conclude that the police chose to search black motorists, or hold them longer, *because* they are black, simply based on the correlations that RAND observed in this study. However, by describing these interactions, the study does point out how both the community and the police can make changes that would improve police-community relations in the future.

The strength of the current study is that it looks at a random sample of each type of interaction, drawn from all motor vehicle stops that occurred between September 1 and December 31, 2004. This sampling method greatly strengthens the ability of the study to describe accurately what typically occurs in motor vehicle stops; however, there are several possible threats to the representativeness of the sample due to missing data. It is possible that a different pattern of associations between race and behavior would be found in the data we could not observe. This includes incidents in which contact cards were not filled out, incidents that could not be taped, incidents for which the recording could not be found, incidents that could not be identified on the recordings, the portion of incidents that were cut off if the recording ended prematurely, and the portion of the incidents that could not be coded due to low-quality audio or video. Fortunately, there was little evidence that any of this missingness was associated with the race of the driver or the officer. This analysis will occur annually for the next three years, and the authors hope that future samples will show a substantial decrease in missing data.

Conclusions

An analysis of 313 randomly sampled video records revealed three key differences as a function of the officers' and the drivers' races: (1) Black drivers were more likely to experience proactive policing during the stop, resulting in longer stops that were significantly more likely to involve searches; (2) White drivers' communication quality was more positive than black drivers'—specifically, it was more apologetic, cooperative, and courteous; and (3) Officers' communication behavior was more positive when officer and driver were of the same race.

These differences may be a reflection of racial tensions in the broader community; however, the authors believe that reducing these differences is important for improving the relationship between the Cincinnati Police Department and the community it serves. These improvements will likely require the efforts of the CPD as well as the community at large,

and may require additional education or training, as well as a closer alignment between police practices and community priorities.

CHAPTER SIX

Community-Police Satisfaction Survey

Overview

To examine police-community relations in the City of Cincinnati, RAND conducted a survey from a representative sample of community residents living in Cincinnati's neighborhoods. The primary purpose of the community-police satisfaction survey was to understand the dynamics of community perceptions of the Cincinnati Police Department. The community-police satisfaction survey polled 3,000 residents in Cincinnati via random-digit dialing (RDD) and list-assisted sampling methods. The sample size of 3,000 contacts was chosen to provide acceptably precise estimates of residents living in 53 Cincinnati neighborhood groups. RAND's approach involved three assessments of citizens' perceptions of police in Cincinnati: (1) an assessment of overall levels of satisfaction with the CPD and perceptions of CPD practices; (2) an assessment of how satisfaction with the CPD and perceptions of CPD practices varies by race and police reporting district; and (3) an assessment of the relationship between race and other individual- and neighborhood-level factors on satisfaction with the CPD and perceptions of CPD practices.

The analysis yielded five key findings.

- Overall, the public had favorable opinions about the quality of police services it received, police practices that it witnessed in its neighborhoods, and personal experiences it had with the police.
- There were significant racial differences in satisfaction with the CPD and perceptions of experience with the police. Blacks were more dissatisfied with the CPD and more likely than whites to think that they had been the targets of racial profiling.
- Respondents living in District 1 had significantly less favorable perceptions of the quality of police services and less favorable experience with the CPD compared to other police reporting districts.
- Racial differences in perceptions appear to have been partially the result of differences in neighborhood conditions and the perceived style of policing in specific regions of the city. Respondents who lived in neighborhoods with perceived high rates of crime and disorder had less favorable views of the CPD.
- Knowing a police officer by name or sight was related to improved perceptions of the CPD.

Background

Research indicates that American citizens, regardless of race, support the view that the criminal justice system should be fair and that people should be able to trust their local police (Weitzer, 2000). Public opinion poll data indicate that Americans in general are satisfied with the level of police protection they receive (Reisig and Parks, 2000). Favorable opinions of the police in America, however, are not universally shared across race and ethnic groups. In fact, survey research indicates that there are distinct differences between black and white perceptions of the police and the criminal justice system as a whole. Studies indicate that blacks are more likely than whites to express dissatisfaction with the police. Blacks report feeling that they have personally experienced injustices at the hands of the police and the larger criminal justice system (Decker, 1981; Flanagan and Vaughn, 1996; Weitzer and Tuch, 1999). In addition, blacks are more likely than whites to perceive that they have been victims of excessive use of police force (Flanagan and Vaughn, 1996). They report being the targets of racial profiling (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002, 2005; Lundman and Kaufman, 2003), and blacks think that police treat people differently based on race (Hagan and Albonetti, 1982; Weitzer and Tuch, 1999). For example, national public opinion poll data indicate that approximately 26 percent of blacks, compared to 7 percent of whites, think the local police have treated them unfairly (Weitzer and Tuch, 2005).

There are a variety of explanations for the racial differences in perceptions of the police in America (see Walker, 1998; Walker, Spohn, and DeLone, 2000). High-profile media cases that publicize police abuse of authority increase minorities' distrust of the police (Jefferis et al., 1997; Tuch and Weitzer, 1997; Weitzer, 2002). Aggressive arrest policies, when tied to zero-tolerance public order maintenance tactics, as well as efforts to control drug distribution, fuel resentment of the police in minority communities (see Kennedy, 1997; Meares and Kahan, 1998). Blacks are also more likely than whites to live in inner-city neighborhoods plagued by problems of poverty, joblessness, racial segregation, family disruption, community disorder, and crime (Anderson, 1990; Sampson, 1987; William J. Wilson, 1987; Skogan, 1990; Massey and Denton, 1993). Research suggests that conditions in these urban neighborhoods produce a greater fear of crime and a sense of hopelessness among residents, which, in turn, fuels cynicism toward the police (Skogan, 1990; Meares and Kahan, 1998). Another possible explanation for racial differences in the perceptions of police is that police do, in fact, treat blacks differently on the basis of their race.

A few studies indicate that neighborhood-related factors also play a role in shaping attitudes toward the police. Dunham and Alpert (1988), studying five ethnic and racially distinct neighborhoods in Miami, found a high degree of consensus within each neighborhood about the police and police practices. Residents of two distinctly different black neighborhoods (lower income versus middle income) held less favorable views on the issues of police use of discretion (whom the police would stop or arrest) and the police department's overall demeanor (respectful versus disrespectful) than did residents of white and Cuban neighborhoods. Other work also shows that a neighborhood's social class can explain differences in attitudes toward the police. For example, a study of 343 neighborhoods in Chicago found that the negative attitudes toward the police expressed by blacks could be explained by differences in levels of violent crime and concentrated disadvantage between black and white neighborhoods (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998). Weitzer's interviews with residents in three distinctly different types of neighborhoods (middle-class black, lower-class black, and mid-

dle-class white) found similar perceptions that the police engage in racially biased practices, but each neighborhood had different explanations for this bias. Black respondents, for example, living in the lower-class neighborhood thought that law-abiding blacks were unfairly targeted by the police because of the disproportionate involvement of blacks in street crime. In contrast, black respondents living in a middle-class community did not perceive racial bias by the police in their own neighborhood (Weitzer, 1999, 2000). Research conducted by Reisig and Parks (2000) in Indianapolis, Indiana, and St. Petersburg, Florida, also found that racial differences in satisfaction with the police were partially explained by the socioeconomic status of neighborhoods and perceptions of the quality of life, but that blacks continued to express greater dissatisfaction with the police even after one took into account the neighborhood context.

The preceding discussion of research on public perceptions of the police indicates that race is an important factor in satisfaction with the police, and that blacks express greater distrust of the police, independent of the neighborhoods in which they live. However, assessing the level of community trust in the police in disadvantaged communities can be one step toward improving police-community relations.

Methods

Sampling Strategy

Data collection for the community-police satisfaction survey was conducted by Schulman, Ronca, and Bucuvalas, Inc. (SRBI) survey research group using random-digit dialing (RDD) and targeted sampling methods. SRBI generated a total of 35,075 unique telephone numbers as candidates for inclusion in the community-police satisfaction survey. From this list, 27,777 phone records were randomly selected and dialed in an attempt to reach households within the Cincinnati city limits. To increase the number of respondents from neighborhoods with few residents, RAND supplemented the list of randomly selected numbers with a list of 7,298 phone records known to be connected to a household in Cincinnati. This list-assisted sample was used to focus the sampling effort on specific neighborhoods with the goal of obtaining a representative sample from each of the 53 neighborhoods that make up Cincinnati. To be included in the study, a randomly selected adult (18 years or older) had to indicate that he or she lived in one of the 53 Cincinnati neighborhoods. A quota system was established to ensure representative samples of adults that closely represented the population distribution of the 47 neighborhoods for which there was 2000 Census population information. Four designated areas fell short of the surveys needed to match the targeted quota:

1. Fairview-Clifton Heights
2. Fay Apartments
3. Queensgate
4. Sedamsville-Riverside

For Queensgate, about 83 percent of the phone numbers called were businesses, so it was extraordinarily difficult to get residential interviews in this neighborhood. For Fairview-Clifton Heights, Fay Apartments, and Sedamsville-Riverside, SRBI used the list of targeted numbers. A majority of respondents from these three neighborhood areas reported residing

in adjacent neighborhoods. These respondents may actually have lived in the target neighborhoods but said they lived in nearby areas. This is a typical pattern seen in neighborhood-based samples: Residents may not be aware of the exact geographic boundaries that comprise their neighborhoods. Further attempts to target these areas by re-identifying the residents' neighborhoods could introduce a sampling bias. Therefore, to maintain the integrity of the representative samples from each neighborhood area (quota system), SRBI stopped short the target interviews for these few areas. Table 6.1 displays the targeted sample quotas for each neighborhood area and sample obtained.

Table 6.1
Cincinnati Neighborhoods by Population and Sample

Statistical Neighborhood	Total Population	Target Quota	Sample Obtained	%
Avondale	16,298	145	146	4.9
Bondhill	9,682	88	89	2.9
California	475	4	4	0.1
Camp Washington	1,506	13	13	0.5
Carthage	2,412	22	22	0.7
CBD-Riverfront	3,189	28	28	1.0
Clifton	8,546	77	77	2.6
College Hill	15,269	136	136	4.6
Corryville	3,830	34	34	1.2
East End	1,692	15	16	0.5
East Price Hill	17,964	160	161	5.4
East Walnut Hills	3,630	37	37	1.1
Evanston-O'Bryonville	7,928	82	83	2.4
Fairview-Clifton Heights	7,366	66	50	2.2
Fay Apartments	2,453	22	21	0.7
Hartwell	4,950	44	44	1.5
Hyde Park	13,640	122	122	4.1
Kennedy Heights	5,296	47	48	1.6
Linwood	1,042	9	9	0.3
Lower Price Hill	1,309	12	12	0.4
Madisonville	10,827	96	98	3.3
Mount Adams	1,514	13	13	0.5
Mount Airy	9,710	86	86	2.9
Mount Auburn	6,516	58	60	2.0
Mount Lookout	3,236	29	29	1.0
Mount Lookout-Columbia Tusculum	3,081	27	27	0.9
Mount Washington	11,691	104	104	3.5
North Avondale-Paddock Hills	6,212	55	55	1.9
North Fairmount-English Woods	4,510	40	40	1.4
Northside	9,389	84	85	2.8
Oakley	11,244	100	101	3.4
Over-the-Rhine	7,638	68	69	2.3
Pleasant Ridge	8,872	79	80	2.7

Table 6.1—continued

Statistical Neighborhood	Total Population	Target Quota	Sample Obtained	%
Queensgate	641	6	3	0.2
Riverside-Sayler Park	1,451	13	16	0.4
Roselawn	6,806	61	61	2.1
Sayler Park	3,233	29	29	1.0
Sedamsville-Riverside	2,223	20	18	0.7
South Cumminsville-Millvale	3,914	35	35	1.2
South Fairmount	3,251	29	29	1.0
University Heights	8,753	78	78	2.6
Walnut Hills	7,790	69	71	2.4
West Price Hill	17,115	152	152	5.2
West End	8,115	72	72	2.4
Westwood	35,730	318	318	10.8
Winton Hills	5,204	46	46	1.6
Winton Place	2,337	21	24	0.7

Survey Responses

Table 6.2 presents the number of contacts successfully achieved for the survey. A total of 7,223 eligible contacts were made with households in Cincinnati by RDD and listed-number methods, and those contacted were asked to participate in the survey. Of these contacts, 2,371 interviews were terminated or screened out after learning that the respondent did not live in one of the designated neighborhoods. An additional 1,720 interviews were terminated to keep responses within the established neighborhood quota system. Of these contacts, 3,000 members of households indicated that they lived in one of the 53 neighborhoods; they completed the full questionnaire. The overall effective response rate was 41.5 percent.

While the response rate to this survey is sufficient, the authors decided it was important to check whether there were any demographic biases in the sample of respondents compared to the population of Cincinnati. Table 6.3 displays the basic demographics of the completed-survey respondents and the 2000 Census population of Cincinnati. Fifty-two percent of sampled respondents were white, 43 percent were black, and 5 percent came from other racial or ethnic groups. Asians and Hispanics comprised 15 percent and 11 percent of the "other" category, respectively. The racial characteristics of the survey's respondents closely resembled the population of Cincinnati. Women represented 63 percent of the sampled respondents compared to 53 percent of the population of Cincinnati. This shows that, in comparison to 2000 Census data, women are overrepresented in RAND's survey.

Table 6.2
Disposition of Survey Responses

Eligible Contacts	Screen Outs	Quota Outs	Total Completes	Response Rate (%)
7,223	2,371	1,720	3,000	41.5

Table 6.3
Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents and City of Cincinnati

Characteristics		Census (%)	Survey (%)
Sex			
	Male	47	37
	Female	53	63
Race			
	Black	43	43
	White	53	52
	Other	4	5

Statistical Weighting

Although women comprise 53 percent of the Cincinnati population, 63 percent of the survey respondents were women. In addition, the quota design for neighborhoods intentionally focused the sampling effort to get respondents from each of the neighborhoods. For example, 1 percent of RAND's sample respondents resided in the Mt. Lookout neighborhood, while the census indicates that 2 percent of the Cincinnati population lives there. As a result of differential response rates and the oversampling of certain neighborhoods, the collection of survey respondents, if left unadjusted, does not closely resemble Cincinnati as a whole. To correct this, RAND used standard survey reweighting that upweights male respondents and respondents from undersampled neighborhoods so that the weighted sample more accurately reflects the Cincinnati population. The racial distribution of the sample matches the racial distribution of the city without further adjustment. The following analyses incorporate these sample weights so that reported statistics accurately represent Cincinnati's neighborhoods.

Survey Questions

Appendix 6.A displays the specific survey items. Questions on the survey asked community members about their opinion of the fairness and professionalism of the CPD, their knowledge of CPD activities, their general satisfaction with CPD services, the level of crime and disorder in their neighborhoods, and the extent to which they were engaged in neighborhood social activities. These questions were developed from a systematic review of the existing research literature on police-community relations. Appendix 6.B displays the results for the individual survey items by neighborhood.

Analysis

The analyses are designed to examine citizens' perceptions of police behavior, how these perceptions varied by race and police-reporting district, and the differences between Cincinnati's neighborhoods. One police district can include several neighborhoods.

The CPD has divided Cincinnati into five large districts of roughly equal geographic size. Police districts are important because each provides an umbrella under which police

services are organized and managed. District 1 is the focus of much discussion in the survey results. It is at the city's southern end and encompasses Cincinnati's Central Business District (CBD) and Riverfront and their surrounding neighborhoods. District 1 is comprised of the following Cincinnati neighborhoods: Over-the-Rhine, Queensgate, Pendleton, the West End, and Mt. Adams.

Over-the-Rhine is a predominantly black neighborhood and the epicenter of the 2001 riots. In addition to presenting basic descriptive statistics, this report sought to fine tune data about this neighborhood and extract more information about residents' perceptions of policing. RAND used multivariate regression models to take into account the influence of the individual- and neighborhood-level factors on perceptions of police services. RAND used this method so that the authors could examine important variables such as race, the perceived conditions of neighborhoods, sex, age, and other factors.

Results

The discussion of the survey results is divided into five categories of perceptions about the police-community relations in Cincinnati:

- Quality of police services and professionalism
- Knowledge of police activities
- Fairness and respect
- Race-based police practices
- Personal experience with the police.

Results on these topics are presented by district and other aggregations in the sections that follow. Neighborhood-level tables addressing these issues can be found in Appendix 6B.

Quality of Police Services and Professionalism

Residents were asked to rate the performance of the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD) on working with residents to address local crime problems. Fifty-five percent of city residents rated the performance of the CPD as either good or excellent (see Table 6.4). Nineteen percent of respondents rated the CPD performance as poor. Residents were also asked to rate the quality of police protection in Cincinnati. Close to half of Cincinnati respondents (49 percent) thought the quality of police protection was either good or excellent. Nineteen percent rated the quality of police protection as poor. Cincinnati residents were also asked to indicate how polite or rude Cincinnati police officers were toward people. Eighty-two percent of Cincinnati residents indicated that the police acted somewhat or very politely to people like themselves.

Table 6.4
Perception of CPD Performance and Attitudes

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
How well do police address local crime problems?	*n* = 1,182	*n* = 1,428	*n* = 138	*n* = 2,745
Excellent	11	25	23	19
Good	29	43	28	36
Fair	32	19	28	26
Poor	28	12	21	19
What is the quality of police protection in Cincinnati?	*n* = 1,213	*n* = 1,483	*n* = 131	*n* = 2,827
Excellent	8	14	17	12
Good	26	46	26	37
Fair	38	28	26	32
Poor	28	12	30	19
Are police generally polite to citizens?	*n* = 1,180	*n* = 1,463	*n* = 135	*n* = 2,778
Very polite	25	53	43	41
Somewhat polite	46	37	43	41
Somewhat rude	16	7	9	11
Very rude	12	3	4	7

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Addressing crime problems: $F = 16.39$, $p < 0.01$. Quality of protection: $F = 15.92$, $p < 0.01$. Politeness: $F = 21.96$, $p < 0.01$.

The ratings varied by ethnic group. For example, 28 percent of black residents, compared to 12 percent of white residents, gave the police a rating of "poor" for working with residents to address local crime problems. Black residents were also more likely (28 percent) than white residents (12 percent) to rate the quality of police protection in Cincinnati as poor. Blacks (12 percent) were also more likely than white respondents (3 percent) to think that CPD officers were very rude. These findings are consistent with other survey research findings (from both national samples and individual cities). In other surveys, blacks are more likely than whites to have negative views of the quality of police services in their neighborhood (Weitzer and Tuch, 1999).

When analyzed district by district, the data indicated variations in how residents felt about the quality of police protection. For example, 28 percent of District 1 respondents indicated that the CPD's performance in working with residents to address local crime problems was poor (see Table 6.5). Less than 25 percent of respondents in the other four reporting districts rated the CPD's performance in addressing local crime problems as poor. Residents in these other districts were more likely to think that police performance in addressing local crime problems was excellent or good. District 1 residents (27 percent) were also more likely than other districts to rate the quality of police protection as poor. The majority of residents in all five districts indicated that Cincinnati police officers were generally "somewhat to very" polite. However, District 1 residents (12 percent) were more likely than the other four police reporting districts to indicate the police were "very rude."

These findings are not surprising, given that District 1 residents are more likely to live in neighborhoods characterized by high rates of crime. For example, statistics from the CPD indicate that 38.5 percent of homicides in Cincinnati during 2004 occurred in District 1 (CPD, "Statistics").

Table 6.5
Perception of CPD Performance and Attitudes, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
How well do police address local crime problems?	*n* = 110	*n* = 704	*n* = 931	*n* = 484	*n* = 566
Excellent	21	29	13	16	19
Good	26	43	35	33	37
Fair	25	17	17	29	25
Poor	28	11	11	22	20
What is the quality of police protection in Cincinnati?	*n* = 112	*n* = 736	*n* = 952	*n* = 497	*n* = 583
Excellent	14	15	10	9	9
Good	33	44	35	28	37
Fair	26	30	33	41	36
Poor	27	12	22	22	18
Are police generally polite to citizens?	*n* = 109	*n* = 731	*n* = 932	*n* = 484	*n* = 579
Very polite	41	55	35	31	40
Somewhat polite	36	33	44	48	42
Somewhat rude	9	8	15	11	11
Very rude	12	3	6	11	7

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Addressing crime problems: $F = 7.20$, $p < 0.01$. Quality of protection: $F = 6.17$, $p < 0.01$. Politeness: $F = 6.25$, $p < 0.01$.

Fairness and Respect

Cincinnati residents were asked several questions about their level of trust, perceived fairness of the police, and the extent to which they felt that Cincinnati police officers treated people with respect and dignity. These questions were chosen because prior research indicates that perceptions of trust, fairness, and respect are important predictors of the level of satisfaction people have with the police, as well as how likely citizens are to comply with laws (Tyler and Wakslak, 2004; MacDonald and Stokes, forthcoming).

To measure fairness and respect, residents were asked the extent to which CPD officers did the following:

- Considered the views of people involved when deciding what to do
- Understood and applied the law fairly
- Applied the law consistently regardless of someone's race
- Treated people with respect and dignity.

Response options to these questions ranged from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly." As Table 6.6 shows, the majority of residents (64 percent) indicated that they either agreed strongly or agreed somewhat that Cincinnati police officers considered the views of people involved when deciding what they would do. This was an important finding, because research indicates that people are more likely to obey the law if they feel that they have been given a chance to express their opinions (Tyler, 1990). Similarly, the majority of city residents indicated they either agreed strongly or agreed somewhat that Cincinnati police officers understand and apply the law fairly (66 percent), apply the law consistently regardless of someone's race (59 percent), and treat people with respect and dignity (71 percent).

Table 6.6
Perception of CPD Considerations and Trust

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
Do CPD officers consider the views of people involved when deciding what to do?	*n* = 1,114	*n* = 1,309	*n* = 121	*n* = 2,544
Agree strongly	11	29	15	21
Agree somewhat	37	48	46	43
Disagree somewhat	28	16	23	21
Disagree strongly	24	8	17	15
Do CPD officers understand and apply the law fairly?	*n* = 1,178	*n* = 1,435	*n* = 127	*n* = 2,740
Agree strongly	13	11	26	28
Agree somewhat	34	48	42	38
Disagree somewhat	27	41	22	18
Disagree strongly	28	8	10	16
Do CPD officers apply the law consistently regardless of race?	*n* = 1,114	*n* = 1,309	*n* = 121	*n* = 2, 652
Agree strongly	12	35	30	25
Agree somewhat	27	36	32	34
Disagree somewhat	24	14	21	18
Disagree strongly	38	11	17	23
Do CPD officers treat people with respect and dignity?	*n* = 1,180	*n* = 1,454	*n* = 134	*n* = 2768
Agree strongly	16	42	32	31
Agree somewhat	38	43	34	40
Disagree somewhat	25	9	21	16
Disagree strongly	21	6	13	13
How much do you trust CPD officers?	*n* = 1,114	*n* = 1,309	*n* = 121	*n* = 2,963
A lot	17	58	37	40
Somewhat	38	28	37	32
A little	25	8	12	15
Not at all	21	6	14	12

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Consider the views of people: $F = 22.2$, $p < 0.01$. Understand and apply the laws fairly: $F = 31.9$, $p < 0.05$. Apply the law consistently regardless of race: $F = 28.6$, $p < 0.01$. Treat people with respect and dignity: $F = 24.7$, $p < 0.05$. Trust CPD: $F = 38.1$, $p < 0.05$.

To measure trust, residents were asked to indicate how much they trust the police officers who work for the CPD. Response options ranged from "a lot" to "not at all." The majority of Cincinnati residents (72 percent) indicated that they trust the police a lot or somewhat.

Consistent with research in New York City and Oakland, California (Tyler and Wakslak, 2004), perceptions vary by race of respondent. Blacks in Cincinnati were less likely to agree strongly or somewhat with the questions regarding fairness and respect. For example, 77 percent of white respondents indicated that they either agreed strongly or somewhat with the question of whether Cincinnati police officers considered the views of the people involved when deciding what to do, compared with 46 percent of black respondents. Similarly, 89 percent of white respondents indicated that they either agreed strongly or somewhat to the statement that police officers in Cincinnati understood and applied the law fairly, compared to 47 percent of black respondents. These differences between black, white, and other ethnic groups responses were statistically significant for all of the questions measuring fairness and respect.

Blacks were also less likely than whites to trust officers working for the CPD. For example, 17 percent of black respondents, compared to 58 percent of white respondents, indicated that they trusted the police "a lot." These findings indicate that, compared to a minority of black residents, the majority of white residents trust their local police. These numbers are consistent with those found in national public opinion poll data (MacDonald and Stokes, forthcoming). The racial differences in perceptions of fairness, respect, and trust in the police in Cincinnati are not unique to this city. Indeed, they reflect a larger issue of strained police-minority relations in the United States (Kennedy, 1997).

Responses differed between police districts on the four questions regarding perceptions of fairness and respect, as shown in Table 6.7. District 1 residents were more likely than residents of the other districts to disagree strongly that CPD officers considered the

Table 6.7
Perception of CPD Consideration and Trust, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
Do CPD officers consider the views of people involved when deciding what to do?	*n* = 101	*n* = 660	*n* = 855	*n* = 442	*n* = 528
Agree strongly	25	26	19	11	21
Agree somewhat	28	45	44	40	45
Disagree somewhat	25	18	19	28	21
Disagree strongly	25	14	14	19	14
Do CPD officers understand and apply the law fairly?	*n* = 109	*n* = 709	*n* = 928	*n* = 483	*n* = 562
Agree strongly	28	41	25	15	25
Agree somewhat	35	35	41	35	42
Disagree somewhat	19	12	12	26	17
Disagree strongly	18	13	13	24	16
Do CPD officers apply the law consistently regardless of race?	*n* = 105	*n* = 698	*n* = 889	*n* = 464	*n* = 546
Agree strongly	26	31	25	16	24
Agree somewhat	35	36	33	31	30
Disagree somewhat	17	17	17	24	24
Disagree strongly	23	17	24	29	23
Do CPD officers treat people with respect and dignity?	*n* = 111	*n* = 719	*n* = 929	*n* = 486	*n* = 574
Agree strongly	32	41	30	17	31
Agree somewhat	39	39	41	41	40
Disagree somewhat	11	12	15	25	17
Disagree strongly	18	8	14	16	12
How much do you trust CPD officers?	*n* = 112	*n* = 752	*n* = 960	*n* = 506	*n* = 505
A lot	44	52	37	24	37
Somewhat	23	29	34	36	35
A little	15	11	14	25	16
Not at all	17	8	14	16	12

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Consider the views of people: $F = 3.8$, $p < 0.01$. Understand and apply the laws fairly: $F = 7.1$, $p < 0.05$. Apply the law consistently regardless of race: $F = 3.0$, $p < 0.01$. Treat people with respect and dignity: $F = 5.4$, $p < 0.05$. Trust CPD: $F = 7.4$, $p < 0.05$.

views of people involved when deciding what to do, and treated people with dignity and respect. For example, 25 percent of District 1 respondents indicated that they disagreed strongly that CPD officers considered the views of people involved in deciding what to do. District 1 and District 4 residents were also more likely than other districts to indicate that they did not trust the police at all. District 4 residents were more likely than other districts to disagree strongly that CPD officers understand and apply the law fairly (24 percent) and apply the law consistently regardless of race (29 percent).

Knowledge of Police Activities in Neighborhoods

To measure the extent to which Cincinnati residents were aware of police activities in their neighborhood, respondents were asked about the last time they saw a police officer in their neighborhood, if they knew a police officer by name or sight, and if they were aware of the Community Police Partnering Center (CPPC). Residents were also asked how often they see police officers in their neighborhood engaged in the following activities: 1) stopping and questioning motorists, 2) stopping and patting down individuals on street corners, 3) making drug arrests, and 4) talking to residents about their concerns with local crime problems.

In general, residents indicated familiarity with seeing police in their neighborhood. Approximately 42 percent of respondents indicated that they had seen a police officer in their neighborhood within the past 24 hours. Thirty-two percent of respondents indicated that they knew an officer by name or sight. The majority of Cincinnati residents (79 percent) were not aware of the CPPC. Additionally, about half of residents indicated that they had almost never seen the police in their neighborhood stopping and questioning motorists (53 percent). A majority indicated they had almost never seen the police stopping and patting down individuals on street corners (73 percent), making drug arrests (71 percent), or talking to residents about their concerns with local crime problems (67 percent). These findings suggest that residents of Cincinnati were familiar with their neighborhood police officers but rarely saw them engaged in community or proactive policing strategies, and were not generally aware of the CPPC.

There were no significant differences between black, white, and other ethnic groups in their familiarity with local police officers or their knowledge of the CPPC. While the majority of black and white respondents indicated that they almost never witnessed police engaged in community-police and proactive policing strategies, blacks were more likely than whites to indicate that they almost always witness police in their neighborhood stopping and questioning motorists, stopping and patting down individuals on street corners, and making drug arrests. This pattern of responses is consistent with the notion that street crimes vary according to the racial composition of neighborhoods (Sampson, 1987). The findings are also consistent with research that indicates that, independent of crime, police are more likely to make contact and arrest citizens in predominately black neighborhoods (Smith, 1986). As a result, blacks, more than whites or members of other ethnic groups, may be more likely to see the police engaged in proactive policing activities in their neighborhoods.

Table 6.8
Perception of Police Activities in the Neighborhood

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood stopping and questioning motorists?	*n* = 1,222	*n* = 1,499	*n* = 137	*n* = 2858
Almost never	47	58	49	53
Sometimes	32	31	40	32
Usually	6	6	9	6
Almost always	15	5	2	9
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood stopping and patting down individuals on street corners?	*n* = 1,225	*n* = 1,504	*n* = 136	*n* = 2,865
Almost never	54	87	69	73
Sometimes	25	10	21	16
Usually	5	1	7	3
Almost always	16	3	3	8
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood making drug arrests?	*n* = 1,196	*n* = 1,452	*n* = 125	*n* = 2,773
Almost never	54	84	70	71
Sometimes	27	12	22	18
Usually	5	1	6	3
Almost always	14	3	2	7
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood talking to residents about local crime problems?	*n* = 1,208	*n* = 1,465	*n* = 133	*n* = 2,806
Almost never	67	66	78	67
Sometimes	23	27	17	25
Usually	4	5	3	4
Almost always	6	2	1	4
Are you familiar with the Community Police Partnering Center?	*n* = 1,222	*n* = 1,499	*n* = 137	*n* = 2,858
Yes	22`	20	27	21
No	77	79	73	79

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Stopping and questioning motorists: $F = 6.82$, $p < 0.01$. Stopping and patting down individuals: $F = 3.11$, $p < 0.01$. Making drug arrests: $F = 23.27$, $p < 0.01$. Talking to residents about local crime problems: $F = 3.24$, $p < 0.01$. Familiarity with the CPPC: $F = 0.77$, NS.

In terms of police reporting districts, there were no substantive differences between respondents' familiarity with local police officers or their knowledge of the CPPC. A higher percentage (40 percent) of District 1 residents indicated that they knew a CPD officer by sight or name. District 1 respondents were more likely to indicate that they "almost always" witnessed police in their neighborhood stopping and questioning motorists, stopping and patting down individuals on street corners, and making drug arrests (see Table 6.9). These findings are consistent with what one would expect, given that District 1 neighborhoods have higher rates of reported crimes.

Table 6.9
Perception of Police Activities in the Neighborhood, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood stopping and questioning motorists?	*n* = 111	*n* = 751	*n* = 962	*n* = 502	*n* = 587
Almost never	53	59	46	57	50
Sometimes	29	32	32	28	37
Usually	2	6	9	6	5
Almost always	16	4	13	9	8
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood stopping and patting down individuals on street corners?	*n* = 112	*n* = 747	*n* = 969	*n* = 501	*n* = 509
Almost never	57	87	63	70	75
Sometimes	17	9	22	19	16
Usually	4	2	5	2	2
Almost always	21	3	10	9	6
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood making drug arrests?	*n* = 107	*n* = 727	*n* = 934	*n* = 487	*n* = 572
Almost never	58	87	60	69	71
Sometimes	20	9	26	19	19
Usually	2	1	6	3	3
Almost always	21	3	8	9	7
How often do you see officers in your neighborhood talking to residents about local crime problems?	*n* = 109	*n* = 730	*n* = 948	*n* = 491	*n* = 579
Almost never	57	70	52	71	66
Sometimes	35	24	25	21	25
Usually	5	4	5	4	3
Almost always	3	2	7	4	5
Are you familiar with the Community Police Partnering Center?	*n* = 113	*n* = 758	*n* = 974	*n* = 511	*n* = 595
Yes	23	25	19	20	20
No	76	75	80	79	80

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Stopping and questioning motorists: $F = 3.78$, $p < 0.01$. Stopping and patting down individuals: $F = 9.52$, $p < 0.01$. Making drug arrests: $F = 11.75$, $p < 0.01$. Talking to residents about local crime problems: $F = 1.91$, $p < 0.05$. Familiarity with the CPPC: $F = 0.90$, NS.

Perceptions of Race-Based Police Practices and Experiences with the Police

Respondents were asked several questions to assess the extent to which Cincinnati residents think that police practices were racially biased. These questions got at the heart of the issue of perceptions of racial profiling in police practices. Specifically, respondents were asked the extent to which race was a factor in deciding which cars to stop for traffic violations, which people to stop and question on the street, which people to arrest and take to jail, which people in the neighborhood to help with their problems, and which areas of the neighborhood to patrol most frequently. Response options to these questions ranged from "almost never"

to "almost always." Respondents were also asked if they ever felt that they were stopped by the CPD because of their race or ethnic background.

The majority of survey respondents indicated that race was only sometimes or almost never a factor in police decisions. For example, 64 percent of respondents stated that the police sometimes or almost never used race as a factor in deciding which cars to stop for traffic violations (see Table 6.10). Similarly, 63 percent of respondents thought that the police sometimes or almost never used race or ethnic background in their decisions about whom to stop and question on the street. The same pattern existed for perceptions of the police using

Table 6.10
Perception of Race-Based Police Practices

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
Do CPD officers consider race in deciding which cars to stop for traffic violations?	*n* = 1,140	*n* = 1,316	*n* = 123	*n* = 2,587
Almost never	12	39	25	27
Sometimes	32	43	37	38
Usually	15	12	22	13
Almost always	41	6	15	22
Do CPD officers consider race in deciding which people to stop and question on the street?	*n* = 1,141	*n* = 1,317	*n* = 121	*n* = 2,579
Almost never	11	31	22	22
Sometimes	32	48	38	41
Usually	17	15	26	16
Almost always	40	6	14	21
Do CPD officers consider race in deciding which people to arrest and take to jail?	*n* = 1,141	*n* = 1,322	*n* = 119	*n* = 2,582
Almost never	12	41	35	29
Sometimes	34	42	34	39
Usually	18	11	16	14
Almost always	36	6	15	19
Do CPD officers consider race in deciding which people in the neighborhood to help with their problems?	*n* = 1,114	*n* = 1,305	*n* = 116	*n* = 2,535
Almost never	23	46	34	36
Sometimes	38	33	41	36
Usually	13	10	14	12
Almost always	26	10	11	17
Do CPD officers consider race in deciding which areas of the neighborhood to patrol most frequently?	*n* = 1,114	*n* = 1,283	*n* = 123	*n* = 2,520
Almost never	12	26	20	20
Sometimes	24	38	31	31
Usually	15	19	18	17
Almost always	49	17	31	31
Have you been stopped by the CPD because of your race or ethnicity?	*n* = 1,247	*n* = 1,536	*n* = 140	*n* = 2,923
Yes	37	3	24	18
No	61	97	74	81

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Stop for traffic violations: $F = 40.2$, $p < 0.01$. Stop and question on the street: $F = 35.7$, $p < 0.01$. Arrest and take to jail: $F = 36.2$, $p < 0.01$. Help with problems: $F = 13.0$, $p < 0.01$. Areas of the neighborhood to patrol: $F = 21.5$, $p < 0.05$. Stopped by CPD: $F = 61.0$, $p < 0.05$.

race in deciding whom to arrest and take to jail (68 percent), whom to help with their problems (72 percent), and which areas of the neighborhood to patrol the most frequently (51 percent). In addition, the majority of Cincinnati respondents (81 percent) said that they did not feel the police had ever stopped them because of their race or ethnic background.

These opinions varied according to the respondent's race. Blacks were more likely than others, and especially whites, to perceive that race was a factor in the police decision about whom to stop for traffic violations, whom to stop and question on the street, which people to arrest and take to jail, which people in the neighborhood to help with their problems, and which areas of the neighborhood to patrol. For example, 41 percent of blacks, compared to 6 percent of whites, thought that the CPD almost always used race as a factor in deciding which people to stop for traffic violations. Approximately 40 percent of blacks, compared to 6 percent of whites, thought that the CPD used race as a factor in deciding which people to stop and question on the street. In addition, a higher percentage of blacks felt they had been stopped by the CPD in the past because of their race. Specifically, 37 percent of blacks, compared to 3 percent of white respondents, thought the police had stopped them in the past because of their race. Interestingly, across all race groups, the majority of respondents think that the police sometimes to almost always used race as a factor in their decisionmaking.

These results indicate a racial divide in how Cincinnati residents, in general, view the CPD with regard to racially biased police practices. However, blacks have more negative perceptions of the CPD than others. These differences in perceptions by race are consistent with research indicating that blacks in the United States are more likely to think that race is a factor in police decisionmaking (Walker, Spohn, and DeLone, 2000). For example, national public opinion poll data collected by Gallup in 1999 found that 40 percent of blacks, compared to only 5 percent of whites in the United States, felt they had been stopped by the police because of their race or ethnic background (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002).

The survey data also indicated differences between police districts when it came to police officers' decisionmaking. District 1 and 4 residents were more likely than those of other districts to think that police use race as a factor in deciding which people to arrest and take to jail, which cars to stop for traffic violations, which people to stop and question on the street, and which areas of the neighborhood to patrol the most frequently (see Table 6.11). For example, 27 percent of District 1 residents stated that the CPD almost always uses race or ethnic background in deciding which people to arrest and take to jail. District 4 respondents were more likely than those in other districts to think they had personally been stopped by the CPD because of their race or ethnicity. However, the majority of respondents in all districts did not think they were personally stopped by the CPD in the past because of their race or ethnicity.

Few studies have identified why blacks were more likely to perceive that race was a factor in the decision the police used to stop them. To investigate this question, respondents were asked why they thought their race was a factor in the decision the police made to stop them. Cincinnati community members listed several reasons. For ease of interpretation, RAND presents the top five reasons residents listed, along with subcategories they gave for thinking their race was a factor in the decision the Cincinnati police used to stop them.

Table 6.11
Perception of Race-Based Police Practices, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
Do officers in your neighborhood consider race when deciding which cars to stop for traffic violations?	*n* = 97	*n* = 668	*n* = 880	*n* = 458	*n* = 527
Almost never	26	35	25	18	26
Sometimes	32	40	39	35	33
Usually	14	13	13	16	14
Almost always	28	12	22	31	23
Do officers in your neighborhood consider race when deciding which people to stop and question on the street?	*n* = 99	*n* = 656	*n* = 881	*n* = 462	*n* = 525
Almost never	18	26	26	14	19
Sometimes	41	47	38	36	38
Usually	14	16	16	19	17
Almost always	27	12	20	34	26
Do officers in your neighborhood consider race when deciding which people to arrest and take to jail?	*n* = 100	*n* = 668	*n* = 876	*n* = 455	*n* = 521
Almost never	26	32	27	19	29
Sometimes	35	37	42	37	36
Usually	12	15	12	16	14
Almost always	27	18	19	28	21
Do officers in your neighborhood consider race when deciding which people in the neighborhood to help with their problems?	*n* = 96	*n* = 647	*n* = 859	*n* = 445	*n* = 528
Almost never	42	39	37	28	34
Sometimes	29	35	37	37	36
Usually	12	14	10	12	11
Almost always	17	12	17	24	18
Do officers in your neighborhood consider race when deciding which areas of the neighborhood to patrol most frequently?	n = 98	n = 648	n = 846	n = 440	n = 527
Almost never	26	21	22	15	19
Sometimes	17	36	31	28	32
Usually	22	22	14	14	15
Almost always	34	21	33	42	34
Have you been stopped by the CPD because of your race or ethnicity?	*n* = 115	*n* = 758	*n* = 974	*n* = 511	*n* = 545
Yes	20	9	22	27	17
No	80	90	77	72	82

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Stop and question for traffic violations: $F = 4.4$, $p < 0.01$. Stop and question on the street: $F = 4.7$, $p < 0.01$. Arrest and take to jail: $F = 4.6$, $p < 0.01$. Help with problems: $F = 7.0$, $p < 0.01$. Areas of the neighborhood to patrol: $F = 4.2$, $p < 0.05$. Stopped by CPD: $F = 5.5$, $p < 0.05$.

The five most common reasons citizens listed as evidence of profiling were harassment, profiling, location, police officer or department, or miscellaneous factors (see Table 6.12). Harassment was the most common reason citizens reported for being stopped by the CPD. Of those who reported harassment, respondents reported that the police had no reason

to stop them or said that the type of car they were driving was the reason they were stopped. Profiling-related factors were the next most common category respondents mentioned. Of those who suggested that they were profiled because of race, the most common response was that they were black. Location was also a common reason for respondents to think they had been profiled during a traffic stop. Of those who listed location as a reason, the most common example listed was the neighborhood in which they were driving. Typically, in these examples, respondents suggested that they were profiled because they were either in a high-crime or black neighborhood. Few respondents reported specific incidents of police action or verbal abuse that were racially based. For instance, only 8 percent of those who felt they were profiled stated that it was because a police officer was unfriendly or used racially derogatory comments.

These narrative descriptions suggest that respondents felt that the police harassed them because they were black, they were driving in the wrong neighborhood, or because of the CPD's reputation. Infrequently, respondents reported police behavior in the form of racially biased verbal abuse. The results indicated that blacks are more likely than whites to feel that they have been stopped by the CPD for unjustifiable reasons.

Table 6.12
Perception of Reasons That Individuals Gave for Thinking They Were Profiled in a Traffic Stop

Reason	Percent
Harassment	52
Stopped for no reason	15
Accused me of something I didn't do	4
Prior experience/citation with them	2
Was only a minor violation	7
Only questioned/ticketed me/other race dismissed	5
I fit the description of someone else	4
Type of car I was driving	15
All other harassment mentions	5
Location	19
Neighborhood I was in	10
Was in white/upscale neighborhood	2
Was in a predominantly black neighborhood	3
Was in drug trafficking area/suspected of drug trafficking	4
All other location mentions	1
Police Department	20
Police mistreatment/unfriendly/racial comments	8
Officers are prejudiced	5
Because it's their reputation to do so	2
All other police department mentions	6
Miscellaneous	12
Was with a person of another race	3
Time I was stopped	5
All other miscellaneous mentions	4
Don't know	1

NOTES: Percentages sum to more than 100 because of multiple responses.

Police Suspicion

In addition to gauging perceptions of race-based police activities, survey respondents were asked several questions about the use of race as it pertained to crime suspects. Respondents were asked the extent to which they thought police should consider race in their decisions of whom to stop, investigate, and talk to in their efforts to prevent and solve crimes. Specifically, residents were asked if police should be more suspicious of blacks than of whites. Response options ranged from always to never. As Table 6.13 shows, 35 percent of respondents in Cincinnati thought police should never use race as a factor in their attempts to prevent and solve crimes. Additionally, residents were asked to indicate if they thought that Cincinnati police officers treated blacks and whites with equal suspicion. Response options ranged from definitely equal to definitely unequal. Approximately 30 percent of respondents thought the police definitely treated blacks in Cincinnati with unequal suspicion. Fifteen percent of respondents thought that officers treated blacks relative to whites with definitely equal suspicion. These responses indicated that residents in Cincinnati, on average, thought police should not use race as a factor in their efforts to solve crime, but perceived that the police were typically more suspicious of blacks relative to whites.

Patterns regarding crime suspects varied according to the respondent's race. Interestingly, the data indicated that blacks were more likely than whites to think police should be more suspicious of blacks relative to whites. Roughly 12 percent of blacks, compared to 6 percent of whites, responded that police should always be more suspicious of blacks than of whites. Black respondents were also more likely than white respondents to think that police treat blacks and whites with unequal suspicion. Forty-eight percent of black respondents, compared to 17 percent of white respondents, thought that CPD officers definitely treated blacks and whites with unequal suspicion. These patterns suggest that blacks were more likely to think police should use race as a factor in forming suspicion and that police did treat blacks with greater suspicion relative to whites. Forty-one percent of whites also thought that the CPD treated blacks and whites with somewhat unequal or definitely unequal suspicion.

Table 6.13
Perception of Suspicion of Police

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
How often should police be more suspicious of blacks than of whites?	*n* = 1,240	*n* = 1,516	*n* = 139	*n* = 2,895
Always	12	6	10	8
Often	9	9	9	9
Sometimes	27	27	30	27
Rarely	10	16	3	13
Never	35	36	33	35
Don't know	6	6	16	7
Do CPD officers treat blacks and whites with equal suspicion?	*n* = 1,240	*n* = 1,516	*n* = 139	*n* = 2,895
Definitely equal	6	22	5	14
Somewhat equal	15	30	14	25
Somewhat unequal	27	24	28	27
Definitely unequal	48	17	52	33
Don't know	4	8	11	6

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Suspicious of blacks than whites: $F = 3.3$, $p < 0.01$. Treat blacks and whites with equal suspicion: $F = 20.6$, $p < 0.01$.

Table 6.14
Perception of Suspicion of Police, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
How often should police be more suspicious of blacks than of whites?	*n* = 113	*n* = 758	*n* = 974	*n* = 511	*n* = 595
Always	11	5	9	12	8
Often	10	67	10	10	9
Sometimes	27	30	26	24	27
Rarely	5	17	110	14	11
Never	38	33	37	32	38
Don't know	8	8	6	6	6
Do CPD officers treat blacks and whites with equal suspicion?	*n* = 113	*n* = 758	*n* = 974	*n* = 511	*n* = 595
Definitely equal	12	17	16	10	13
Somewhat equal	22	22	27	10	24
Somewhat unequal	24	27	23	26	26
Definitely unequal	34	22	29	41	31
Don't know	8	10	5	4	6

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. More suspicious of blacks than whites: $F = 1.9$, $p < 0.01$. Treat blacks and whites with equal suspicion: $F = 3.0$, $p < 0.01$.

In contrast to the findings with regard to race, the results indicated small, district-level differences in perceptions that the police should be more suspicious of blacks than whites and that the CPD treated blacks and whites with unequal suspicion (see Table 6.14). These results suggest that race was a primary factor in respondents' perceptions of police suspicion and that reporting districts did not explain a large share of this variation.

Quality of Life in Cincinnati Neighborhoods

In addition to personal experience with police, neighborhood conditions and quality of life are important determinants of satisfaction with police services (see Reisig and Parks, 2000, for a review). Participation in neighborhood activities can increase residents' perceptions of community cohesion. This has important public health and safety benefits: reducing neighborhood crime, violence, and disorder (Sampson, Morenoff, and Raudenbush, 2005). Therefore, to investigate quality of life in Cincinnati, neighborhood respondents were asked a series of questions. Cincinnati residents were asked to rate the quality of their neighborhoods as places to live; how serious a problem crime was in their neighborhoods; how safe they felt being alone in their neighborhoods at night; the extent to which they witnessed disorder in their neighborhoods; and if, during the last 12 months, they knew if any armed robberies, murders, sexual assaults, or burglaries had occurred in their neighborhoods. To measure participation in neighborhood activities and residential cohesion, respondents were asked questions regarding their participation in neighborhood activities, how often they got together with their neighbors, and how much they trusted people living in their neighborhoods.

Perceptions of Neighborhood Disorder and Crime

In terms of perception of their neighborhood as a place to live, the majority of Cincinnati respondents (59 percent) stated that their neighborhood was a good or excellent place to live (see Table 6.15). Forty percent thought that crime was a "serious" or "very serious" problem

in their neighborhood. Also, 62 percent of respondents stated that they felt very safe or reasonably safe alone in their neighborhood at night. Additionally, the majority of respondents were not aware of any armed robberies (70 percent), sexual assaults (78 percent), or murders (63 percent) occurring in their neighborhood in the prior 12 months. About half of residents (57 percent) were aware of a burglary in their neighborhood. These findings are consistent with research that indicates that property crimes, such as burglaries, are more frequent than violent crimes. The findings suggest that Cincinnati residents, for the most part, view their neighborhoods as decent places to live.

The pattern of responses, however, varied significantly by race. Black respondents were more likely (20 percent) than whites (8 percent) to feel that their neighborhood was a poor place to live and felt very unsafe in their neighborhood. Blacks were more likely to feel

Table 6.15
Perception of Neighborhood Crime

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
In general, how is your neighborhood as a place to live?	*n* = 1,240	*n* = 1,516	*n* = 139	*n* = 2,895
Excellent	12	30	19	22
Good	31	41	37	37
Fair	36	21	26	27
Poor	20	8	18	13
How serious is crime in your neighborhood?	*n* = 1,240	*n* = 1,516	*n* = 139	*n* = 2,895
Very serious	27	28	20	17
Serious	21	16	18	18
Somewhat serious	22	25	22	24
Not very serious	16	33	19	26
Not a problem	12	15	20	14
How safe do you feel being out alone at night?	*n* = 1,240	*n* = 1,516	*n* = 139	*n* = 2,895
Very unsafe	20	11	23	15
Somewhat unsafe	26	19	21	22
Reasonably safe	37	47	39	43
Very safe	16	21	15	19
In the past 12 months, what has occurred in your neighborhood?	*n* = 1,207	*n* = 1,474	*n* = 135	*n* = 2,816
Armed robberies				
Yes	35	26	40	30
No	65	74	60	70
Murders				
Yes	55	24	43	37
No	45	76	57	63
Sexual assaults				
Yes	24	20	17	22
No	76	80	83	78
Burglaries				
Yes	48	62	65	57
No	52	38	35	43

NOTES: Neighborhood rating: $F = 13.0$, $p < 0.01$. Neighborhood crime: $F = 9.6$, $p < 0.01$. Neighborhood safety: $F = 4.6$, $p < 0.01$. Armed robberies: $F = 59.7$, $p < 0.01$. Murders: $F = 1.97$, NS. Sexual assaults, 1.9, NS. Burglaries: $F = 12.5$, $p < 0.01$.

"very unsafe" about being alone in their neighborhood at night. These questions are strongly correlated ($r = 0.52$), meaning that respondents who thought crime was a serious problem were also more afraid to be alone outside at night.

In terms of actual crime occurrences, black respondents were also more likely than white respondents to be aware of a murder that occurred in their neighborhood. Specifically, 56 percent of blacks, compared to 24 percent of white respondents, were aware of a murder occurring in their neighborhood. In contrast, white respondents were more likely (62 percent) than blacks (48 percent) to be aware of a burglary occurring in their neighborhood in the previous 12 months.

Responses to these questions about quality of life in Cincinnati neighborhoods also varied by police reporting district. Specifically, the results indicated that respondents living in District 1 were more likely to view their neighborhood as a poor place to live. Approximately 27 percent of respondents living in District 1 said their neighborhood was a poor place to live compared to only 11 percent in District 5. Similarly, District 1 residents were more likely to view crime as a very serious problem in their neighborhood. Thirty-two percent of District 1 residents thought crime was a very serious problem in their neighborhood. These patterns are consistent with official calls for service data reported by the CPD.

The districts also varied significantly according to fear of crime and awareness of crimes occurring in the past 12 months. A lower percentage of District 2 residents, compared to other police districts, reported being aware of robberies, murders, and sexual assaults in the prior 12 months (see Table 6.16). Nineteen percent of District 2 residents, for example, compared to 45 percent of District 1 respondents, reported being aware of an armed robbery that occurred in their neighborhood during the prior 12 months.

Table 6.16
Perception of Neighborhood Crime, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
In general, how is your neighborhood as a place to live?	*n* = 113	*n* = 758	*n* = 974	*n* = 511	*n* = 595
Excellent	25	35	8	15	17
Good	22	44	34	35	41
Fair	28	16	36	39	32
Poor	25	4	22	12	10
How serious is crime in your neighborhood?	*n* = 113	*n* = 758	*n* = 974	*n* = 511	*n* = 595
Very serious	38	7	28	20	13
Serious	23	12	24	25	22
Somewhat serious	19	28	25	24	30
Not very serious	15	34	13	18	24
Not a problem	5	19	9	13	11
How safe do you feel being out alone at night?	*n* = 113	*n* = 758	*n* = 974	*n* = 511	*n* = 595
Very unsafe	26	7	27	23	15
Somewhat unsafe	22	19	26	26	30
Reasonably safe	35	50	35	39	43
Very safe	17	24	12	12	13

Table 6.16—continued

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
In the past 12 months, what has occurred in your neighborhood?					
Armed robberies	*n* = 111	*n* = 729	*n* = 951	*n* = 498	*n* = 580
Yes	44	20	42	34	42
No	56	80	58	66	58
Murders	*n* = 111	*n* = 740	*n* = 962	*n* = 504	*n* = 583
Yes	54	32	56	50	34
No	46	68	44	50	66
Sexual assaults	*n* = 109	*n* = 710	*n* = 932	*n* = 483	*n* = 564
Yes	28	15	32	24	30
No	72	84	68	76	70
Burglaries	*n* = 110	*n* = 731	*n* = 953	*n* = 488	*n* = 580
Yes	61	50	60	46	59
No	39	50	40	54	41

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Neighborhood rating: $F = 13.1$, $p < 0.01$. Neighborhood crime: $F = 125.6$, $p < 0.01$. Neighborhood: $F = 14.1$, $p < 0.01$. Armed robberies: $F = 6.0$, $p < 0.01$. Murders: $F = 15.0$, $p < 0.01$. Sexual assaults: $F = 10.0$, $p < 0.01$. Burglaries: $F = 7.3$, $p < 0.01$.

Together, the responses to these survey questions regarding perceptions of crime, fear of crime, and awareness of neighborhood crime indicated that blacks were more likely to live in neighborhoods characterized by higher rates of these social problems, and that these patterns varied by police reporting district. These findings are consistent with research nationally; blacks are more likely than other ethnic groups to live in inner-city neighborhoods with high crime rates (Sampson and Wilson, 1995).

Respondents were also asked to indicate the level of neighborhood physical and social disorder. Specifically, residents were asked to indicate how often they saw the following:

1. Garbage in the streets and empty beer bottles
2. Kids hanging out on corners without adult supervision
3. Graffiti on walls, bus stops, and mailboxes
4. Drug transactions, or activities that appear to be drug dealing
5. People acting disrespectfully toward the police.

Response options ranged from "almost never" to "almost always." In general, the findings suggested that the majority of Cincinnati residents infrequently saw disorder in their neighborhoods (see Table 6.17). For example, 70 percent of residents said they "sometimes" or "almost never" saw garbage on the streets and empty beer bottles in their neighborhoods. Approximately 83 percent of residents said they "sometimes" or "almost never" saw graffiti on walls, bus stops, and mailboxes. The majority of Cincinnati respondents (83 percent) "sometimes" or "almost never" saw people acting disrespectfully toward the police. The question regarding kids hanging out on corners without adult supervision was the most common form of disorder Cincinnati residents witnessed in their neighborhoods. Thirty-three percent of respondents indicated that they "almost always" saw unsupervised kids hanging out on corners in their neighborhoods.

Table 6.17
Perception of Neighborhood Disorder

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
In your neighborhood, how often do you see garbage in the streets and empty beer bottles?	*n* = 1,238	*n* = 1,310	*n* = 137	*n* = 2,885
Almost never	31	40	40	36
Sometimes	34	34	31	34
Usually	8	8	9	8
Almost always	27	19	20	23
In your neighborhood, how often do you see kids on the street without adult supervision?	*n* = 1,229	*n* = 1,503	*n* = 137	*n* = 2,875
Almost never	23	37	32	31
Sometimes	20	29	29	25
Usually	10	1	12	10
Almost always	47	23	27	33
In your neighborhood, how often do you see graffiti on walls, bus stops, and mailboxes?	*n* = 1,231	*n* = 1,507	*n* = 137	*n* = 2,875
Almost never	53	61	57	58
Sometimes	25	26	26	25
Usually	4	5	6	5
Almost always	10	16	8	11
In your neighborhood, how often do you see drug transactions or what appears to be drug dealing?	*n* = 1,209	*n* = 1,479	*n* = 134	*n* = 2,882
Almost never	41	63	56	54
Sometimes	22	21	14	21
Usually	8	5	12	7
Almost always	29	11	17	18
In your neighborhood, how often do you see people acting disrespectfully toward the police?	*n* = 1,202	*n* = 1,476	*n* = 134	*n* = 2,812
Almost never	60	74	61	67
Sometimes	21	16	28	18
Usually	4	3	9	4
Almost always	16	7	2	10

NOTES: Garbage in the streets: $F = 2.79$, $p < 0.01$. Unsupervised kids: $F = 13.3$, $p < 0.01$. Graffiti: $F = 3.3$, $p < 0.01$. Drug dealing: $F = 15.3$, $p < 0.01$. Disrespect of police: $F = 8.3$, $p < 0.01$.

The respondent's race was associated with perceptions of neighborhood disorder. Blacks were more likely than whites or other ethnic groups to "almost always" see kids hanging out on street corners without adult supervision (47 percent), drug transactions or activities that appear to be drug dealing (29 percent), and people acting disrespectfully toward the police (16 percent). These findings are consistent with research that blacks are more likely to live in neighborhoods characterized by higher rates of physical and social disorder (Taylor, 2001).

In terms of police reporting districts, the results also indicated significant variation in perceptions of neighborhood disorder (Table 6.18). Consistent with the finding regarding crime in neighborhoods, a high percentage of respondents in District 1 reported almost always seeing garbage on the streets and empty beer bottles (40 percent); kids hanging out on

Table 6.18
Perception of Neighborhood Disorder, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
In your neighborhood, how often do you see garbage in the streets and empty beer bottles?	*n* = 113	*n* = 757	*n* = 970	*n* = 509	*n* = 592
Almost never	26	50	23	37	36
Sometimes	25	33	37	35	34
Usually	9	8	8	5	10
Almost always	40	8	32	23	24
In your neighborhood, how often do you see kids on the street without adult supervision?	*n* = 112	*n* = 753	*n* = 970	*n* = 504	*n* = 588
Almost never	28	44	21	28	27
Sometimes	14	34	23	23	21
Usually	10	8	11	11	13
Almost always	48	13	45	38	39
In your neighborhood, how often do you see graffiti on walls, bus stops, and mailboxes?	*n* = 113	*n* = 753	*n* = 970	*n* = 504	*n* = 588
Almost never	33	72	51	59	52
Sometimes	29	22	27	26	27
Usually	11	2	7	4	6
Almost always	27	4	14	11	15
In your neighborhood, how often do you see drug transactions or what appears to be drug dealing?	*n* = 113	*n* = 757	*n* = 965	*n* = 508	*n* = 594
Almost never	45	72	40	49	52
Sometimes	12	17	27	21	23
Usually	9	5	9	7	6
Almost always	34	7	24	22	15
In your neighborhood, how often do you see people acting disrespectfully toward the police?	*n* = 111	*n* = 736	*n* = 942	*n* = 492	*n* = 585
Almost never	43	84	54	69	68
Sometimes	34	11	23	17	19
Usually	5	1	8	4	4
Almost always	17	4	15	9	9

NOTES: Garbage in the streets: $F = 12.6$, $p < 0.01$. Unsupervised kids: $F = 13.3$, $p < 0.01$. Graffiti : $F = 8.6$, $p < 0.01$. Drug dealing: $F = 12.2$, $p < 0.01$. Disrespect of police: $F = 12.2$, $p < 0.01$.

the street corners without adult supervision (48 percent); graffiti on walls, bus stops, and mailboxes (27 percent); drug transactions or activities that appear to be drug dealing (34 percent); and people acting disrespectfully toward police (17 percent).

Participation in Neighborhood Activities and Community Cohesion

To measure participation in neighborhood activities and community cohesion, residents were asked to indicate whether they participated in any neighborhood associations or activities, how often they got together with their neighbors (daily to never), and their level of trust in their neighbors (a lot to not at all). The majority of respondents in Cincinnati (73 percent) indicated that they did not participate in any neighborhood associations or activities

(see Table 6.19). Additionally, the majority of Cincinnati respondents (62 percent) indicated that they trusted their neighbors a lot or somewhat. These findings suggest that Cincinnati residents generally did not engage in neighborhood associations but were friendly with their fellow neighbors and had a fair amount of trust in them. The results from this survey are consistent with other national public opinion poll data that indicate participation in community associations is relatively rare and reflects a declining trend in community activism in the past four decades (Putnam, 2000).

There were no racial or ethnic differences between respondents in the self-reported participation in neighborhood associations or activities. Blacks and other ethnic groups were, however, more likely than whites to indicate that they never got together with their neighbors. Specifically, 34 percent of blacks, compared to only 19 percent of whites, indicated that they never got together with their neighbors. Blacks were also more likely than white to indicate that they do not trust their neighbors. For example, 32 percent of blacks, compared to only 10 percent of whites, indicated that they did not trust their neighbors at all. Taken as a whole, these findings are consistent with other findings that blacks are more likely to live in neighborhoods characterized by higher rates of distrust and lower levels of community cohesion (Sampson, 1995).

The results also indicated no substantive differences between districts in the participation in neighborhood associations or activities (see Table 6.20). Districts did appear to vary by level of neighborly get-togethers and the extent to which residents trusted their neighbors. For example, 47 percent of respondents living in District 2 indicated trusting their neighbors "a lot" compared to only 22 percent in District 4.

Table 6.19
Perception of Neighborhood Activities and Trust

Survey	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
Do you participate in neighborhood associations or activities?	*n* = 1,237	*n* = 1,513	*n* = 139	*n* = 2,889
Yes	26	27	23	27
No	74	73	77	73
How often do you get together with neighbors?	*n* = 1,238	*n* = 1,511	*n* = 138	*n* = 2,887
Daily	21	20	10	20
Once or twice a week	24	34	40	30
Less than once a month	21	27	30	25
Never	34	19	20	25
How much do you trust people in your neighborhood?	*n* = 1,216	*n* = 1,501	*n* = 135	*n* = 2,852
A lot	13	41	18	29
Somewhat	33	33	33	33
A little	21	15	29	18
Not at all	32	10	20	20

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Neighborhood activities: $F = 0.24$, NS. Getting together with neighbors: $F = 6.96$, $p < 0.01$. Trusting people: $F = 19.08$, $p < 0.01$.

Table 6.20
Perception of Neighborhood Activities and Trust, by District

Survey	District 1 (%)	District 2 (%)	District 3 (%)	District 4 (%)	District 5 (%)
Do you participate in neighborhood associations or activities?	*n* = 113	*n* = 756	*n* = 973	*n* = 510	*n* = 593
Yes	28	24	26	30	25
No	72	76	74	70	75
How often do you get together with neighbors?	*n* = 112	*n* = 756	*n* = 971	*n* = 508	*n* = 545
Daily	20	17	21	23	20
Once or twice a week	35	32	29	28	29
Less than once a month	24	32	20	23	21
Never	21	19	29	27	30
How much to you trust people in your neighborhood?	*n* = 111	*n* = 746	*n* = 962	*n* = 500	*n* = 585
A lot	27	47	17	22	25
Somewhat	28	32	35	32	33
A little	19	12	23	22	18
Not at all	25	8	25	24	24

NOTES: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Neighborhood activities: $F = 0.80$, NS. Getting together with neighbors: $F = 2.96$, $p < 0.01$. Trusting people: $F = 10.0$, $p < 0.01$.

Discussion of Survey Results

The findings from the survey of police-community relations in Cincinnati indicated that the public had favorable opinions about the quality of police services and police practices. The majority of Cincinnati respondents did believe the CPD used race at least sometimes in its decisionmaking. The public was divided on its views of the police, and the divide was starkly apparent across racial groups. Cincinnati respondents, on average, viewed their neighborhoods' quality of life favorably. A majority of those surveyed indicated that crime and disorder were not serious problems in their neighborhoods.

Blacks had a less favorable view of the police and the quality of life in their neighborhoods. Consistent with most of the published research on police-community relations (see Reisig and Parks, 2000; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005), blacks expressed less satisfaction with the quality of police services, had less trust in the police, were more likely to think that the police used race as a factor in their decisionmaking and forming of suspicion, and were more likely to believe that the police in Cincinnati had used race as a factor in the decision to stop them. Blacks were also more likely than whites to report living in neighborhoods characterized by crime, disorder, and a lack of community cohesion. These findings are consistent with several studies that find residents who live in areas with higher rates of crime and disorder have less favorable views of the police (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005).

The racial differences in perceptions of the police and community in Cincinnati are not unique to this city. Rather, the results from the current study are consistent with similar research done in New York City, Chicago, Oakland, and Los Angeles, as well as national public opinion polls (Tyler and Wakslak, 2004; MacDonald and Stokes, forthcoming). These findings reflect the racial divide in America regarding perceptions of police and com-

munity living conditions, reflective of the different neighborhood contexts in which blacks and whites dwell (Sampson and Wilson, 1995). Additionally, it is unclear whether proactive police efforts to reduce neighborhood crime and disorder may be increasing dissatisfaction with police services (Taylor, 2001).

The findings suggest that perceptions of the police and neighborhood conditions varied significantly by police district. District 1 residents, on average, had a more negative view of their neighborhood and of police services than did residents of other districts. Residents in District 1, on average, were more likely to see their neighborhood as a poor place to live; to think that crime was a serious neighborhood problem and be more fearful of crime; and to see drug dealing, unsupervised youth, and other signs of community disorder. Correspondingly, compared to other districts, respondents in District 1 reported seeing more police activity in their neighborhood, reported less satisfaction with police services, were more likely to think that the police used race in their decisionmaking, and were more likely to think that police used race as a factor in forming suspicion. Given that a disproportionate share of serious crime occurred in District 1, these findings should not be surprising and are consistent with research indicating that greater contact with the police is associated with less satisfaction with police and greater distrust (Miller et al., 2004).

Given that black citizens in Cincinnati, as in other areas of the United States, are more likely than other racial or ethnic groups to live in poverty; to live in neighborhood environments with higher rates of disorder and crime and lower levels of community cohesion; and to have a greater number of face-to-face interactions with police, these factors must be taken into account before concluding that race is the lone determinant of attitudes and beliefs.

In an effort to examine the extent to which differences in satisfaction with the police in Cincinnati are associated with race and neighborhood contexts, RAND constructed a multivariate statistical model to control for such influences.

Multivariate Analysis

Given that black citizens in Cincinnati, as in other areas of the United States, are more likely than other racial or ethnic groups to live in neighborhoods with relatively higher crime rates, and that police are likely to use different tactics in higher- than lower-crime areas, it is possible that differences in racial groups' experiences with police are attributable to these neighborhood differences. Indeed, there is evidence that in areas with higher rates of social problems, police behave differently and residents have less favorable views of the police (Smith, 1986; Reisig and Parks, 2000; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). If racial differences in experiences with police are attributable to differences in neighborhood crime and resulting differences in policing tactics, we would expect otherwise similar whites and blacks in the same neighborhoods to have comparable views of the police. In this section, we explore the influence of individual- and neighborhood-level factors on the perceptions of the police in Cincinnati.

In the following sections, the authors present an overview of RAND's construction of the outcome (dependent) variables that measure aspects of satisfaction and perceived experience with the CPD. Second, the authors present an overview of the (independent) variables that are predictors of perceptions of the police. Finally, the report presents results from a series of multivariate, random-effects regression models that take into account the influence of

the individual- and neighborhood-level factors on perceptions of police services in Cincinnati. The random-effects regression model was chosen because it specifically allows RAND to take into account the fact that respondents are clustered in any one of 53 Cincinnati neighborhoods. This multivariate approach allows us to examine the independent influence of both individual-level and neighborhood-level factors on perceptions of the CPD. The statistical model controls for differences between neighborhoods. In other words, this model takes into account respondents living in the same Cincinnati neighborhood. As a result, this model provides acceptably precise estimates based on neighborhood location.

Dependent Variables

RAND's outcome measures of interest are measures of perceptions of the police in Cincinnati. The authors grouped these perceptions into the following four categories: (1) perceptions of satisfaction with the police; (2) fairness of police and race-based police practices; (3) police suspicion; and (4) racial profiling experience. Individual items (questions) from the community survey were combined into scales to create these categories. By design, some individual survey questions were developed with the intent of measuring different aspects of the same perceptual phenomenon (e.g., satisfaction with the police). In the following section, the authors discuss the individual questions that comprise the scales and the consistency of reporting across questions (alpha reliability).

Satisfaction with police, for example, was assessed combining these five questions:

- How would you rate the performance of the CPD on working with residents to address local crime problems—would you say it is excellent, good, fair, or poor?
- In general, how would you rate the quality of police protection in Cincinnati—would you say it is excellent, good, fair, or poor?
- When it comes to getting its share of police services, would you say that your neighborhood gets more than it needs, about the right amount, or not enough?
- In your opinion, would you say the Cincinnati police officers are generally very polite toward people like yourself, somewhat polite, somewhat rude, or very rude?
- How much do you trust police officers working for the Cincinnati Police Department—a lot, somewhat, a little bit, or not at all?

Each participant's responses to these five items were combined to create a single summed scale. The alpha reliability for this scale was high (Chronbach's alpha = .83). Higher scores on this scale reflected lower levels of satisfaction with the police in Cincinnati.

Perceived fairness and respect of the police were assessed by combining four questions that asked residents to indicate the degree to which they agreed ("agree strongly" to "disagree strongly") with the following:

- CPD officers consider the views of the people involved when deciding what to do.
- CPD officers understand and apply the law fairly.
- CPD officers apply the rules consistently regardless of someone's race or ethnicity.
- CPD officers treat people with respect and dignity.

Each participant's responses to these four items were combined into a single summed scale. This scale's alpha reliability was high (Chronbach's alpha = .89). Higher scores on this scale reflected lower levels of perceived fairness and respect on the part of CPD officers.

Race-based police practices were assessed by combining five questions that asked respondents how often ("almost never" to "almost always") they thought CPD officers made decisions based on someone's race or ethnic background:

- Deciding which cars to stop for traffic violations
- Which people to stop and question on the street
- Which people to arrest and take to jail
- Which people in the neighborhood to help with their problems
- Which areas of the neighborhood to patrol the most frequently

Each participant's responses to these five questions were combined into a single summed scale. The alpha reliability for this scale was high (alpha = .86). Higher scores on this scale reflected that respondents thought the CPD used race as a factor in its practices.

Perceptions with regard to race as a deciding factor in forming suspicion were assessed with by two separate outcome measures. Citizens were asked how often police officers should be more *suspicious of blacks relative to whites*. Higher scores on this measure (suspicious of blacks) indicated a greater belief that blacks should be treated with more suspicion than whites. Citizens were also asked if they thought the *CPD officers treat blacks and whites with equal suspicion*. Higher scores on this measure (CPD use of race in suspicion) indicated that respondents were more likely to perceive that CPD officers treated blacks with greater suspicion than whites.

Perceptions of *racial profiling experience* were assessed by asking whether the respondent ever felt (1 = yes, 0 = no) that they were personally stopped by the CPD because of race or ethnic background.

Independent Variables

Race and Demographic Factors. To assess the influence of race and ethnicity on perceptions of the police, respondents were categorized into black, white, and other. Because only 5 percent of respondents in the Cincinnati survey were Hispanic or Asian, RAND focused the analysis on comparisons between black and all other ethnic groups. In addition to race, the authors also included demographic factors of age (in years); sex; education, measured on a five-point scale from less than high school diploma to graduate or professional degree; household income, measured on a six-point scale from $20,000 or less to $100,000 or more; whether the respondent owned or rented their home; and whether they were employed, either full or part-time.

Neighborhood Quality of Life. To measure neighborhood quality of life, respondents were asked to indicate their perceptions of neighborhood disorder, crime, and social cohesion. To measure *disorder*, respondents indicated how often they witnessed garbage in the streets and empty beer bottles; kids hanging out on street corners without adult supervision; graffiti on walls, bus stops, and mailboxes; drug transactions, or activities that appeared to be drug dealing; and people acting disrespectfully toward police (e.g., yelling obscenities). Response options ranged from almost never to almost always. All five items were combined into

a single summed scale. This scale's reliability was high (alpha = .81). Higher scores on this scale indicated that respondents witnessed more disorder in their neighborhood.

Three separate items measured respondents' assessment of *neighborhood crime conditions*. Respondents were asked their perception of the *seriousness of crime* through the following question: "In your opinion, how serious a problem is crime in your neighborhood: very serious, serious, somewhat serious, not very serious, not a problem?" To assess *fear of crime*, respondents were asked, "How safe would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night: very safe, reasonably safe, somewhat unsafe, very unsafe?" To assess the degree of actual *crime exposure*, respondents were asked if, during the last 12 months, they were aware of any armed robberies, murders, sexual assaults, or burglaries that occurred in their neighborhoods. Finally, three separate items were used to assess the extent of neighborhood *social cohesion*. Respondents were asked if they participated in any neighborhood associations or activities, how often they got together with neighbors (daily to never), and how much they trusted people in their neighborhood (a lot to not at all).

Experience with Police in Neighborhood. To measure perceived experience with police in one's neighborhood, respondents were asked the following two questions about their exposure to police in their neighborhood: "When was the last time you saw a uniformed officer in your neighborhood?" Possible responses ranged from within the past 24 hours to more than a month ago. They were also asked whether they knew any of the police officers in their neighborhood by name or by sight.

Additionally, respondents were asked to indicate how often they saw police officers engaging in the following *proactive behaviors* in their neighborhood: (1) stopping and questioning motorists, (2) stopping and patting down individuals on street corners, (3) making drug arrests, and (4) talking to residents about their concerns with local crime problems. Response options ranged from "almost never" to "almost always." Each participant's responses to these four items were summed to create a single scale. The reliability for this scale was sufficient (Chronbach's alpha = .67). Higher scores on this scale reflected that respondents witnessed more police activities in their neighborhood.

Table 6.21 presents descriptive statistics for all the outcome measures and independent variables. Additionally, Table 6.21 compares the average score on each of these measures between blacks and other respondents displayed in absolute t-value (or the average standardized difference). Blacks, on average, compared to other ethnic groups, reported less education and income, were older, were less likely to be married, had a larger number of children, were less likely to own their home, reported more neighborhood disorder and were more fearful of crime, were less likely to get together with and trust their neighbors, were more likely to have seen police in their neighborhood recently, and were more likely to see police in their neighborhood engage in proactive policing activities. Blacks also reported great dissatisfaction with the police and lower levels of perceived fairness and respect on the part of the police, were more likely to think the police engaged in race-based police practices, and were more likely to report being racially profiled. Blacks were also more likely to perceive that the CPD used race as a factor in determining suspicion.

Table 6.21
Descriptive Statistics of Key Measures

Measures	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	|*t*|
Outcome measures						
Satisfaction with police	2,627	11.26	3.43	5	19	18.83*
Perceived fairness and respect of police	2,444	9.15	3.56	4	16	22.41*
Race-based police practices	2,227	12.05	4.39	5	20	24.24*
Suspicion of black residents	2,770	2.59	1.40	1	5	2.29*
CPD use of race in suspicion	2,797	2.79	1.06	1	4	23.38*
Racial profiling	2,921	0.19	0.39	0	1	20.78*
Demographics						
Employed	2,934	0.65	0.48	0	1	2.02*
Education level	2,957	3.01	1.23	1	5	13.99*
Income level	2,713	2.81	1.55	1	6	15.16*
Age	2,943	48.34	17.49	18	105	5.08*
Married	2,929	0.35	0.47	0	1	12.60*
Homeowner	2,928	0.53	0.49	0	1	14.26*
Number of children	2,943	0.67	1.15	0	7	8.90*
Male	3,000	0.37	0.48	0	1	3.64*
Neighborhood quality of life						
Neighborhood disorder	3,000	0.37	0.48	0	1	6.00*
Neighborhood crime	2,827	10.02	4.22	5	20	1.69
Fear of crime	2,958	2.47	0.97	1	4	2.49*
Participation in community groups	2,994	0.25	0.43	0	1	0.76
Get together with neighbors	2,989	2.39	1.11	1	4	5.66*
Trust neighbors	2,946	2.64	1.08	1	4	15.97*
Know police officers by name or sight	2,994	0.32	0.46	0	1	0.18
How recently seen police officers in neighborhood	2,938	3.03	1.03	1	4	4.35*
Police engaged in proactive policing	2,777	6.07	2.39	4	16	11.82*

NOTES: * denotes statistically significant difference between blacks and other ethnic groups ($p < 0.05$). In this table, the *t* statistics compare blacks to whites.

Results

Tables 6.22 through 6.26 report results from the multivariate random-effects regression models that incorporate measures of individual demographic characteristics and neighborhood quality-of-life conditions. Each random-effects regression model estimated incorporates the influence of the location of 53 neighborhoods in which Cincinnati respondents reside. RAND estimates models that include all predictor variables previously discussed.

Across all outcomes, the findings indicated that race was a significant predictor of less favorable views of the police and police practices. The average black respondent had less favorable views of the police than respondents of other race and ethnic groups, holding constant the influence of other demographic factors (e.g., age, income, home ownership), neighborhood quality of life, awareness of local police activities, and residential location. These findings indicate that blacks had substantially less favorable views of the CPD than other race and ethnic groups living in the same neighborhood. Neighborhood location, therefore, does not fully explain racial differences in perceptions of the police. A substantial portion of the variation in perceptions of police in Cincinnati, however, can be accounted for as the result

of differences in the environment in which respondents live. In the following discussion, the authors present the results from each individual regression model and its interpretation.

Table 6.22 reports the effects of the predictors on satisfaction with police services in Cincinnati. The results indicate that, compared to whites, blacks were significantly less satisfied with the *quality of police services*, controlling for individual demographic and neighborhood quality-of-life factors as well as neighborhood location. The view that disorder and crime was high in one's neighborhood also increased dissatisfaction with police services. A greater distrust of one's neighbors increased dissatisfaction with the police. Home ownership was also associated with increased dissatisfaction with the CPD. The findings also indicate that exposure to officers working in the CPD significantly influenced satisfaction. Respondents who personally knew a police officer by name or sight reported higher levels of satisfaction with CPD officers. Older respondents were significantly more satisfied with the quality of police services than younger respondents. In contrast, respondents who reported seeing a police officer more recently expressed significantly less satisfaction with CPD services.

Table 6.22
Perception of Satisfaction with CPD Services

Variable	Coefficient	|z|	p-value
Black	1.759	12.56**	0.00
Other race	0.659	2.23*	0.026
Employed	0.361	2.33	0.020
Education level	-0.070	1.15	0.248
Income level	0.023	0.40	0.688
Age	-0.035	7.57**	0.000
Number of children	0.073	1.30	0.194
Married	-0.280	1.84	0.066
Homeowners	0.324	2.13*	0.033
Male	0.201	1.53	0.125
Neighborhood disorder	0.202	9.95**	0.000
Neighborhood crime	0.224	4.18**	0.000
Fear of crime	0.029	0.36	0.715
Participation in community groups	0.163	1.08	0.279
Get together with neighbors	-0.104	1.76	0.079
Trust neighbors	-0.577	7.61**	0.00
Know police officers by name or sight	-0.854	6.17**	0.000
How recently seen police officers in neighborhood	0.364	5.73**	0.000
Police engaged in proactive policing	-0.046	1.54	0.124
Constant	12.773	24.96**	

NOTES: * indicates $p < 0.05$. ** indicates $p < 0.01$. Model Chi-square = 1192.47. df = 19, $p < 0.0000$. Model includes 52 neighborhoods (n = 1951).

The crux of these results is that blacks, younger adults, homeowners, individuals who distrusted their neighbors, individuals who lived in high-crime and disorderly neighborhoods, and respondents who had recently seen a police officer in their neighborhoods were all associated with lower perceptions of police satisfaction. These findings are consistent with other literature in noting that satisfaction with the police decreases with exposure to police services and living in high-crime and low–quality-of-life areas. Being black, however, remains a significant predictor of dissatisfaction with the police, even after taking these environmental factors into account. Otherwise similar blacks and whites living in the same neighborhoods, therefore, had substantively different views of the CPD. These results are consistent with other studies in different urban areas that indicate neighborhood location does not substantially diminish racial differences in attitudes and beliefs about the police (Reisig and Parks, 2000; MacDonald and Stokes, forthcoming).

Table 6.23 summarizes results for perceptions of *fairness and respect* by CPD officers. Consistent with the earlier results, the findings indicate that being black was associated with a significantly lower perception of being treated fairly and with respect by the CPD, controlling for the influence of other demographic factors and the environment or neighborhood context in which the respondent lived. There were, however, other important predictors of the perceived fairness and respect of the CPD. The respondent's age, for example, was significantly associated with perceptions of fairness and respect. Older respondents reported

Table 6.23
Perception of Fairness and Respect by the CPD

Variable	Coefficient	|z|	p-value
Black	2.636	16.40**	0.000
Other race	0.970	2.74**	0.006
Employed	0.601	3.39**	0.001
Education level	0.126	1.82	0.069
Income level	0.112	1.75	0.081
Age	-0.024	4.39**	0.000
Number of children	0.013	0.21	0.837
Married	-0.409	2.35*	0.019
Homeowners	0.254	1.46	0.146
Male	-0.139	0.93	0.353
Neighborhood disorder	0.117	5.05**	0.000
Neighborhood crime	0.197	3.21**	0.001
Fear of crime	-0.244	2.65**	0.008
Participation in community groups	0.004	0.02	0.981
Get together with neighbors	0.004	0.06	0.953
Trust neighbors	-0.500	5.79**	0.000
Know police officers by name or sight	-0.707	4.45**	0.000
How recently seen police officers in neighborhood	0.326	4.47**	0.000
Police engaged in proactive policing	-0.014	0.41	0.679
Constant	9.634	16.53**	0.000

NOTES: * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. Model Chi-square = 733.94. df = 19, $p < 0.0000$. Model includes 52 neighborhoods (n = 1845).

significantly higher perceived fairness and respect on the part of CPD officers. Greater perceptions of neighborhood disorder and crime were associated with lower perceptions of fairness and respect on the part of CPD officers. A greater sense of distrust of one's neighbors was also associated with significantly lower perceptions of fairness and respect. Personally knowing a police officer by name or sight was associated with a greater feeling of fairness and respect on the part of CPD officers. In contrast, having more recently seen a CPD officer in one's neighborhood was associated with a lower perception of fairness and trust.

Table 6.24 reports results for perceptions that the Cincinnati police engaged in race-based policing practices. Results indicate that being black remains a significant predictor of greater perception of race-based police practices, even after incorporating the influence of community context and experience with the police and neighborhood location. The results, therefore, indicate that otherwise similar blacks and whites living in the same neighborhoods still had different perceptions of race-based practices by the CPD. These results are consistent with those reported by Weitzer and Tuch (2005), in a recent national public opinion poll survey, indicating that even after one includes neighborhood-level factors, race remains a significant factor in perceptions of racially biased policing. Other findings also emerged. Older individuals were less likely to think the CPD engaged in race-based practices. Greater perceptions of neighborhood disorder were associated with higher opinions that Cincinnati police officers engaged in race-based police practices. Importantly, knowing an officer by name or sight was related to lower perceptions that the police in Cincinnati were engaged in race-based practices.

Table 6.24
Perception of Race-Based Police Practices by the CPD

Variable	Coefficient	|z|	p-value
Black	3.659	17.15**	0.000
Other race	1.502	3.24**	0.001
Employed	0.412	1.79	0.073
Education level	-0.035	0.39	0.699
Income level	0.202	2.44*	0.015
Age	-0.021	2.95**	0.003
Number of children	-0.142	1.73	0.083
Married	-0.335	1.49	0.137
Homeowners	-0.264	1.18	0.238
Male	-0.489	2.52*	0.012
Neighborhood disorder	0.073	2.41*	0.016
Neighborhood crime	0.087	1.09	0.275
Fear of crime	-0.068	0.57	0.569
Participation in community groups	0.194	0.86	0.392
Get together with neighbors	-0.022	0.25	0.803
Trust neighbors	-0.263	2.34*	0.019
Know police officers by name or sight	-0.693	3.35**	0.001
How recently seen police officers in neighborhood	-0.11	1.19	0.234
Police engaged in proactive policing	0.126	2.88**	0.004
Constant	10.760	14.27**	0.000

NOTES: * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. Model Chi-square = 577.60. df = 19, $p < 0.0000$. Model includes 50 neighborhoods (n = 1,730).

Table 6.25 reports results from the question regarding whether police, in their efforts to prevent and solve crime, should be more suspicious of blacks relative to whites. The results indicated that, once one takes into account neighborhood-level factors and other demographic variables, being black does not significantly predict perceptions of suspiciousness of blacks relative to whites. In contrast to the results from the other models, quality of life in neighborhoods and experience with the police did not predict opinions regarding suspicion of blacks relative to whites. Older individuals were more likely to think that blacks should be treated more suspiciously than whites.

Table 6.26 reports findings from the question of whether Cincinnati police officers treat blacks and whites with equal suspicion. The results indicate that blacks were significantly more likely than whites to perceive that CPD officers treated blacks with unequal suspicion relative to whites, controlling for the influence of other individual and neighborhood-level factors. These findings indicate that otherwise similar blacks and whites living the same neighborhoods have different perceptions of how suspiciously the CPD treats blacks relative to whites. The results also indicate that respondents who resided in neighborhoods with higher perceived levels of community disorder and crime were more likely to think that Cincinnati police officers were more suspicious of blacks relative to whites. In contrast, residents who reported being more afraid of crime were more likely to think that CPD officers treated

Table 6.25
Perception of Suspicion of Blacks Relative to Whites

Variable	Coefficient	|z|	p-value
Black	-0.027	0.39	0.696
Other race	-0.081	0.53	0.596
Employed	-0.077	0.98	0.325
Education level	-0.089	2.89**	0.004
Income level	-0.012	0.41	0.684
Age	0.008	3.58**	0.000
Number of children	0.050	1.77	0.077
Married	-0.030	0.39	0.693
Homeowners	-0.095	1.25	0.211
Male	0.080	1.21	0.224
Neighborhood disorder	0.012	1.22	0.223
Neighborhood crime	0.033	1.20	0.229
Fear of crime	0.050	1.24	0.213
Participation in community groups	-0.016	0.21	0.836
Get together with neighbors	-0.046	1.55	0.122
Trust neighbors	0.003	0.09	0.931
Know police officers by name or sight	0.006	0.09	0.928
How recently seen police officers in neighborhood	0.039	1.24	0.215
Police engaged in proactive policing	0.015	0.97	0.332
Constant	2.421	9.45**	0.000

NOTES: * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. Model Chi-square = 72.77. df = 19, $p < 0.0000$. Model includes 53 neighborhoods (n = 2,038).

Table 6.26
Perception of CPD More Suspicious of Blacks Relative to Whites

Variable	Coefficient	|z|	p-value
Black	0.879	18.77**	0.000
Other race	0.377	3.74**	0.000
Employed	0.076	1.47	0.143
Education level	0.083	4.12**	0.000
Income level	0.049	2.60**	0.009
Age	-0.008	5.25**	0.000
Number of children	0.004	0.20	0.838
Married	-0.117	2.31*	0.021
Homeowners	0.009	0.18	0.859
Male	-0.084	1.92	0.055
Neighborhood disorder	0.016	2.40*	0.016
Neighborhood crime	0.053	2.93**	0.003
Fear of crime	-0.090	3.37**	0.001
Participation in community groups	0.062	1.22	0.224
Get together with neighbors	-0.052	2.62**	0.009
Trust neighbors	-0.025	1.01	0.312
Know police officers by name or sight	-0.13	3.50**	0.000
How recently seen police officers in neighborhood	0.063	3.01**	0.003
Police engaged in proactive policing	-0.001	0.13	0.896
Constant	2.798	16.47**	0.000

NOTES: * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. Model Chi-square = 641.53. df = 19, $p < 0.0000$. Model includes 53 neighborhoods (*n* = 2,046).

blacks and whites with equal suspicion. Knowing a police officer by name or sight also increased the chances that a respondent thought the police treated blacks and whites with equal suspicion. Older respondents were significantly more likely than younger respondents to think the police treated blacks and whites with equal suspicion.

Table 6.27 presents results from the perceived experience with being racially profiled. The findings indicate significant race and neighborhood differences on perceptions of policing. Regardless of other demographic or neighborhood factors, blacks were more likely than whites to think they had been stopped by the CPD because of their race or ethnic background. Neighborhood environments and neighborhood location does not explain fully the significant racial divide in the perceived experience with being racially profiled. Blacks living in the same neighborhoods as whites were more likely to think they had been racially profiled. Married people were less likely to think they had experienced racial profiling in a traffic stop. Older respondents were also less likely to perceive being racially profiled by the CPD. Respondents who indicated that they saw more proactive police activities in their neighborhood were more likely to perceive being racially profiled.

These results are consistent with studies published from nationally representative surveys that find that race is a factor in perceptions of being racially profiled, independent of the influence of individual demographic factors, as well as community context (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002, 2005; Lundman and Kaufman, 2003). In terms of actual perceptions of racial profiling, it appears that race is the dominant factor.

Table 6.27
Perceived Racial Profiling Experience

Variable	Coefficient	|z|	p-value
Black	2.422	14.07**	0.000
Other race	1.341	4.24**	0.000
Employed	0.222	1.38	0.169
Education level	0.117	1.82	0.069
Income level	0.004	0.06	0.949
Age	-0.006	1.29	0.197
Number of children	-0.007	0.13	0.900
Married	-0.438	2.66**	0.008
Homeowners	0.103	0.68	0.499
Male	0.906	6.69**	0.000
Neighborhood disorder	0.025	1.25	0.212
Neighborhood crime	0.116	2.16*	0.031
Fear of crime	-0.068	0.87	0.387
Participation in community	-0.142	0.89	0.373
Get together with neighbors	0.027	0.45	0.652
Trust neighbors	-0.207	2.82**	0.005
Know police officers by name or sight	-0.038	0.27	0.789
How recently seen police officers in neighborhood	-0.078	1.19	0.233
Police engaged in proactive policing	0.091	3.39**	0.001
Constant	-3.629	6.88**	

NOTES: * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. Model Chi-square = 329.99*. df = 19, $p < 0.0000$. Model includes 53 neighborhoods (n = 2,131).

Discussion of Multivariate Modeling

The findings from this survey of police-community relations in Cincinnati indicate large racial differences in perceptions of the quality of police services and experience with the police. Blacks were more dissatisfied with the CPD and more likely to think that they had been racially profiled than whites. While neighborhood quality-of-life conditions, age, and knowledge of police are important predictors, they cannot explain away racial differences in attitudes and perceptions of the police in Cincinnati. Blacks were more likely than whites to view crime as a serious problem in their neighborhoods and to witness social and physical disorder, but these conditions do not explain the racial divide or cynicism toward the police (see Reisig and Parks, 2000). In fact, the findings from the multivariate model indicate that blacks and whites living in the same neighborhood had significantly different perceptions of quality of police services and experience with the CPD.

However, RAND's results do indicate that in Cincinnati's urban neighborhoods, the police presence was palpable when officers were proactively policing the streets, engaging in activities such as stopping and questioning motorists, stopping and patting down individuals on street corners, and making drug arrests. While these tactics may have been seen as effective methods for combating crime, they also appeared to engender dissatisfaction with police services. In contrast, knowing police officers by name or sight was related to improved perceptions of the Cincinnati police, independent of the influence of race and a number of

other factors. These findings are important because they indicate that personal contact with the police improves police-community relations. Other research also indicates that perceived police-community partnerships improve perceptions of neighborhood civility and safety, independent of the influence of crime and poverty (Reisig and Parks, 2004).

For a variety of reasons, however, police-community partnerships tend to be implemented less effectively in disadvantaged communities (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997; Reisig and Parks, 2004). For example, in neighborhoods characterized by high rates of crime and fear of crime, it is substantially more difficult to get residents to attend community-policing meetings (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997). The findings from this study indicate that the CPD should continue to work with local residents in a fashion that increases personal contact and fosters a greater sense of trust and mutual obligation toward addressing crime and disorder.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Perceptions of Citizen Interactions with the Police in Cincinnati

Overview

RAND was tasked to conduct a survey of citizen-police interactions in the City of Cincinnati. The authors conducted a survey relying on a systematic, random sample of citizens who had an official contact with the police in 2004, either through an arrest, traffic stop, or traffic citation, or as a victim of a reported crime. The primary purpose of the citizen-police interaction survey was to understand the dynamics of daily interactions between civilians and officers working for the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD).

The sample of citizen-police contacts was drawn from police records on traffic stops, arrests, and crime incidents. The survey asked questions related to the respondent's perception of the officers' behavior during the interaction, including questions about the perceived fairness and professional standards of the police during the interaction.

Results from the complainant survey are based on the 126 citizens who had an official contact with the CPD in 2004 and who returned the citizen-police interaction survey. As only 14 percent of those surveyed responded, the authors do not draw any inferences to the population of all citizen interactions with the CPD. The analysis of this select sample of civilian respondents who had an official contact with the CPD suggests that on average these citizens were satisfied with the services they received during interactions with the CPD and felt that the police attempted to help them address their concerns. There was not a sufficient response from arrestees to compare their perceptions with other groups. As a result, RAND cannot ascertain whether people who had been arrested also had a favorable impression of their interactions with police. The results for this select sample are promising because prior research notes that impressions of the fairness and professionalism of interactions with the police are important in shaping individuals' views of the legitimacy of the law (Tyler, 1990). However, citizens who responded to these surveys may have been a select sample of individuals who were more likely to be satisfied with the CPD than those who failed to respond.

To improve the response rate to this survey in the future, the authors recommend that the parties to the collaborative agreement consider the following two approaches:

- Use local media to help advertise the study to the general public in Cincinnati and assure individuals who receive a survey that their identities will remain confidential.
- Develop an alternative approach to the current survey in collaboration with RAND and in the confines of the existing budget. One option is face-to-face interviews with a smaller sample of arrestees, citizens stopped or cited for a traffic violation, and victims of crime. Finding people who have been arrested by the police and are willing to

participate in the survey may also require interviews with individuals shortly after their arrest while they are incarcerated.

Background

Several studies have examined police-citizen interactions through surveys of civilians who had direct contact with the police. Furstenberg and Wellford (1973), for example, found that citizens who report a crime to the police are more satisfied with their interaction when the police take more time to explain the course of action they plan to take. Bordua and Tifft (1971) found that citizens expressed greater dissatisfaction in disturbance incidents than in self-initiated calls for service. Also, minority respondents were more likely to be dissatisfied with the quality of service than were whites. Dean (1980) found that individuals whose contact with the police resulted from victimization or traffic stops were less satisfied with their interaction than individuals who initiated a call for service. Research generally indicates that citizens have greater satisfaction with police when citizens initiate contact (e.g., request help) than when police initiate contact (e.g., routine traffic stops) (Decker, 1981; Ekblom and Heal, 1982; Reisig and Correia, 1997). Other research indicates that it is especially important for the police to explain in clear detail their course of action during traffic stops and other situations where the citizen did not desire the police contact (Skogan, 2005).

The most comprehensive survey of police-citizen contact data comes from the Police-Public Contact Survey—a periodic nationally representative survey of persons aged 12 or older who had a direct face-to-face contact with a police officer during the previous year. The Bureau of Justice Statistics of the U.S. Department of Justice conducts the survey. Studies on a variety of police-citizen interactions have been conducted using this survey data, including studies on racial profiling and police use of force (see Langan et al., 2001; Engel and Calnon, 2004; Durose, Schmitt, and Langan, 2005). From these data, one can generate an overall U.S. population-based estimate of the number and type of contacts that occur between police and civilians. According to 1999 and 2002 statistics, the largest percentage of contacts result from a motor vehicle stop followed by a reported crime. Blacks are slightly more likely than whites to report being stopped by the police (Langan et al., 2001; Durose, Schmitt, and Langan, 2005). Among those stopped by the police, blacks and Hispanics are more likely to report experiencing a threat or actual use of force by the police. According to both 1999 and 2002 data, the majority of those who report a threat or use of force also think that the police acted improperly (Langan et al., 2001; Durose, Schmitt, and Langan, 2005). Although a majority of all drivers report that the police behaved properly during the traffic stop interaction, black and Hispanic drivers were more likely than whites to feel that the police behaved improperly during the traffic stop. Black and Hispanic drivers in 1999 and 2002 were also more likely to be physically searched or have their motor vehicle searched during a traffic stop (Langan et al., 2001; Durose, Schmitt, and Langan, 2005).

The results from these studies on police-citizen contacts indicate that, in general, the public is satisfied with its interactions with the police when contacts are self-initiated. In addition, as the level of interaction with the police increases, citizens express greater dissatisfaction with their interactions. These latter findings follow common-sense logic. After all, longer interactions with police officers tend to occur for more serious events, and longer interactions are more likely than brief interactions to result in an arrest or citation. Results also

indicate that blacks and Hispanics are more likely to report being searched and having force used or threatened during their interactions with the police.

The preceding discussion of research on citizen-police interaction indicates that the type of interaction is an important determinant of the public's satisfaction with police encounters. Furthermore, minorities, and in particular blacks, are more likely than whites to express dissatisfaction with their interactions with the police. Like the results from general population surveys, therefore, race appears to be an important determinant of satisfaction with the police in the United States.

Method

Sampling Strategy

In an effort to examine interactions between police and the public in Cincinnati, RAND abstracted all records of vehicle stops, arrests, and victimizations reported to the CPD in 2004. From these records, RAND obtained home address information for individuals who had been stopped by the police, arrested, or who had reported a crime. From these records, approximately 1,600 cases were randomly selected. From these cases, SRBI mailed out surveys to 1,429 citizens who had contact with the police in 2004.

Questions on the survey asked citizens to report the nature of their interactions with the police and their perceptions of officers' behavior during their interactions, including perceived fairness and professionalism. These questions were developed from a systematic review of the existing research literature on police-citizen contact. Appendix 7.A contains the specific survey items.[1]

Survey Responses

Table 7.1 presents the number of survey respondents contacted and reached. A total sample of 1,429 citizens who had official police contacts in 2004 were identified as the target sample, contacted through the mail, and asked to participate in the survey. SRBI also sent multiple surveys to the same sample of citizens between August and October to encourage participation. Table 7.1 displays the dates and the number of the mailings. A total of 126 citizens returned completed surveys. Approximately 17 percent of those contacted no longer had valid addresses. Seventy percent of the arrestees sampled no longer had valid addresses. This is likely due to the fact that police records on arrested people are based on self-report and motor vehicle records, which often are not current. Additionally, despite RAND's assurances of confidentiality, citizens have few incentives to complete and return the police/citizen interaction survey. As a result, the effective response rate was 14 percent for citizens who had an official police contact.

In their efforts to increase the response rates, SRBI sent out multiple reminder postcards and followed up with phone calls to sampled citizens to encourage their participation in the survey. Table 7.2 displays the efforts SRBI made to increase the response rates.

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[1] The following sources were drawn upon to construct the survey items: Mastrofski et al. (2002); U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (2001); Miller et al. (2004); Tyler and Wakslak (2004); Pate, Hamilton, and Annan (2000).

Table 7.1
Disposition of Survey Responses

Number Contacts	First Mailing	Second Mailing	Third Mailing	% Returned Because of Bad Addresses	Total Completes	Response Rate (%)
1,429	8/11/2005	10/7/2005	10/20/2005	17.2	126	14

Table 7.2
Attempts to Increase Responses

Postcard Reminders	Reminder Phone Calls	Second Reminder Calls
8/23/2005	9/21/2005	10/13/2005

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 7.3 displays the basic demographic characteristics of those who responded to the survey. Twenty-seven percent ($n = 33$) of citizens who responded to the survey were black and 67 percent ($n = 82$) were white. The average age of citizen respondents was 41 years. Fifty-seven percent of respondents ($n = 71$) were female.

Due to the low response rate, the following results provide only a qualitative assessment of citizens' interactions with the CPD. The response rates are too low to generalize to the population of all individuals involved in official police contacts in 2004. The low response rate to this survey may lead to a statistically biased sample, such that individuals who responded are not representative of all people who had official contacts with the CPD. For example, official data from the CPD suggests that blacks are overrepresented in official contacts (e.g., stops, arrests, use of force) with the police. In contrast, the majority of those who responded to the survey were white. The views of those who responded to this survey, therefore, may be systematically different from the population of individuals who had official contact with the CPD in 2004.

In the following section, the authors discuss the qualitative aspects of the survey. In addition to describing the basic characteristics of police-citizen interactions, the authors also examine the satisfaction citizens had with police officers during their interactions. Because of the relatively small sample size in the present analysis, the authors do not present statistical comparisons across race or other demographic groups.

Table 7.3
Demographics of Respondents

Demographics	*n*	%
Black	33	27
White	82	67
Other	8	7
Male	54	43
Female	71	57

Results

Reasons for Contact and Nature of Interaction

The citizen contact survey asked individuals to describe the reasons that they had an interaction with the police and the nature of the interaction. Eighty-three percent of respondents indicated that their contact with the police was the result of a traffic stop (see Table 7.4). These results are consistent with those reported in other studies that indicate that traffic stops are the most frequent form of official contact with the police.

Sixty-eight percent of citizens involved in motor vehicle stops said the reason was for speeding and 8 percent said it was for an equipment violation. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought police had the right to stop them. The majority of the citizens who responded to the survey (86 percent) indicated that they thought the police did have the right to stop them.

The survey also asked individuals whether the police officer(s) asked permission to search their vehicles during the traffic stop, whether they gave police permission to search their vehicles, and whether their vehicles were searched. Eight percent ($n = 7$) of traffic stops involved motor vehicle searches (Table 7.5). In 3 percent of motor vehicle stops, the police officer asked for permission to search the vehicle; 4 percent ($n = 3$) of respondents indicated that they did not give the police permission to search their vehicles.

The majority of respondents (63 percent) reported that their interactions with the police resulted in a traffic ticket or written warning. Persons who reported being arrested and charged with drunk driving or another offense represented only 7 percent of these respondents. These data indicate that the majority of respondents reported police-citizen interactions for minor traffic offenses.

Table 7.4
Nature of Contact with the Police

Survey	*n*	%
What were the reasons for in-person contact with the CPD?		
In a motor vehicle stopped by the police	90	83
Contacted a police officer	7	6
Victim of a crime	18	14
Other reason	18	14
What were the reasons the police gave for stopping the vehicle?		
Speeding	55	68
Drunk driving	1	1
Vehicle defect	10	8
Other traffic offense	20	16
To check license and vehicle registration	4	3
To see if respondent was a suspect wanted for a crime	1	1
Other	15	12
Do you believe the officer had a right to stop?		
Yes	81	86
No	13	14

Table 7.5
Vehicle Searches and Outcomes of Incidents

Survey	*n*	%
Did the officer(s) ask permission to search the vehicle?		
Yes	3	3
No	92	97
Did you give the officer(s) permission to search the vehicle?		
Yes	3	4
No	78	96
Did the officer(s) search the vehicle?		
Yes	7	8
No	84	92
What was the outcome of the incident?		
Given a written warning	9	7
Given a traffic ticket	71	56
Tested for drunk driving	1	2
Arrested for and charged with drunk driving	3	2
Questioned about why in a particular area	7	6
Arrested and charged with another offense	6	5

All respondents were asked to indicate if they were searched at any time during their interactions with the police. According to respondents, 10 percent of face-to-face interactions involved a physical search (e.g., body frisk or pat-down). In approximately 5 percent of the interactions, the police asked permission prior to conducting a physical search and the citizen granted permission (Table 7.6). From these physical searches, one stop resulted in the police finding illegal weapons, drugs, alcohol, or other crime evidence.

These results indicate that for the majority of respondents, police-citizen interactions involved routine traffic stops and that the police rarely conducted searches or found criminal evidence. The response rate for this survey was too low to generalize to all police-citizen interactions. The sample of respondents may have been a select group of individuals involved in minor infractions who were more inclined to complete and return the survey.

Table 7.6
Searches of Person

Survey	*n*	%
Did officer(s) search your body, frisk you, or pat you down?		
Yes	12	10
No	82	67
Does not apply	28	23
Did the police ask permission to search, frisk, or pat you down?		
Yes	6	5
No	92	75
Does not apply	24	20
Did you give police permission to search, frisk, or pat you down?		
Yes	6	5
No	75	62
Does not apply	40	33

Satisfaction with Police Interaction

The citizen/police interaction survey also asked respondents to indicate their levels of satisfaction with the service they received from the police. For victims of crime, for example, the majority indicated that the police response time was either excellent or good (see Table 7.7).

The majority (83 percent) of all respondents indicated that police conducted themselves professionally. Respondents were also asked to indicate how seriously the officer(s) took their situation, how respectfully they had been treated by the officer(s), and how they would rate the attitude or demeanor of officer(s) during their interactions. Approximately 84 percent of respondents indicated that the police took their particular situation very seriously or somewhat seriously. Eight-seven percent of citizens also indicated that the police acted very respectfully or respectfully during their interaction. Eighty-nine percent of respondents indicated that the officer(s) acted professionally—whether friendly or unfriendly (Table 7.7).

The survey asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they felt police tried to get the facts of their situation, respected their legal rights, and accurately understood and applied the law. Seventy-two percent stated that police tried to get the facts before deciding how to act. Eighty-nine percent of respondents indicated that police respected their legal rights and 87 percent felt that police understood and applied the law accurately (Table 7.8).

Table 7.7
Nature of Interaction with Police

Survey	*n*	%
What was police response time when you were a crime victim?		
Excellent	9	8
Good	7	6
Fair	7	6
Poor	10	9
Does not apply	81	71
Did the police conduct themselves in a professional manner?		
Yes	105	83
No	21	17
How seriously did the officer(s) take your situation?		
Very seriously	61	49
Somewhat seriously	43	35
Not very seriously	6	5
Not at all seriously	14	11
How respectfully were you treated by the officer(s)?		
Very respectfully	51	41
Respectfully	57	46
Disrespectfully	8	6
Very disrespectfully	9	7
Rate the attitude or demeanor of the officer(s).		
Professional and personal or friendly	47	37
Professional but not personal or friendly	66	52
Unprofessional and unfriendly	6	5
Unprofessional and aggressive or hostile	7	6

Table 7.8
Performance of Officers

Survey	*n*	%
Did officer(s) try to get the facts before deciding how to act?		
Yes	89	72
No	35	28
Did officer(s) respect your legal rights?		
Yes	109	89
No	14	11
Did officer(s) accurately understand and apply the law?		
Yes	106	87
No	16	13

The police/citizen interaction survey also asked respondents about their perceptions of officers' levels of knowledge and clarity during their interactions, as well as the interactions' impact on their perceptions of the CPD's professionalism. Approximately 87 percent of respondents indicated that officers were very knowledgeable or somewhat knowledgeable in explaining how they should deal with the problem they were having. Additionally, 58 percent of respondents indicated that the officers were very clear in explaining to them where they could get help for the problems they were having as a result of the incident (Table 7.9).

Approximately 59 percent of respondents stated that their impressions of the CPD's level of professionalism was the same, 26 percent stated that their impression was better, and only 15 percent stated that their impression was worse than before their contact.

Table 7.9
Impressions of Police Based on Incident

Survey	*n*	%
How knowledgeably did officer(s) explain how to deal with the problem?		
Very knowledgeably	71	60
Somewhat knowledgeably	32	27
Somewhat unknowledgeably	11	9
Very unknowledgeably	5	4
How clearly did officer(s) explain where to get help?		
Very clearly	61	58
Somewhat clearly	22	18
Somewhat unclearly	5	4
Very unclearly	17	14
What is your impression of the CPD's professionalism based on the incident?		
Better	32	26
Worse	18	15
Same	72	59

Conclusions

Results for the interaction survey are based on 126 returned surveys. With such a low response rate, the authors think it is prudent not to generalize the results to the population of all citizens who had official contacts with the CPD in 2004. While the qualitative results from those who responded to the survey of citizen-police interactions in Cincinnati are consistent with other research in noting that citizens on average are satisfied with the services they receive during interactions with police and feel that police attempt to help them address their concerns, the response rate was too low to generalize to the population of all individuals who had official police contacts. The results for this select sample are promising, because prior research notes that impressions of the fairness and professionalism of interactions with police are important in shaping individuals' views of the legitimacy of the law (Tyler, 1990).

Findings from the community satisfaction survey indicated that perceptions of the CPD differed by race and age. The low response rate precludes RAND from disaggregating the results by race or age. To improve response rates in future years to this survey, RAND recommends that the parties to the collaborative agreement discuss with the evaluation team alternative approaches to sampling citizens who have had official contacts with the CPD.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Satisfaction of Police Officers Working in Cincinnati

Overview

A key objective of the evaluation was to obtain information from the police officers working for the CPD who have in their duties significant interactions with citizens. A police officer survey was developed that asked officers about personal safety, working conditions, morale, organizational barriers to effective policing, fairness in evaluation and promotion, and attitudes of citizens in Cincinnati.

RAND identified a random sample of 143 officers, who were contacted by mail and asked to respond to the police officer survey. Forty officers responded to the survey. Given the response rate (29 percent), RAND cannot generalize survey results to all officers who work for the CPD and have significant citizen interactions. Of the select group who responded to the survey, the majority were satisfied and committed to their jobs. Despite their commitment and satisfaction, the officers who responded to this survey suffered several strains from the community and citizens with whom they interacted. The majority of respondents thought that the media and black community complained unfairly about racial profiling and police abuse of authority. The majority of respondents also indicated that they had suffered a workplace injury resulting from an altercation with a resisting or attacking suspect.

The low response rate from officers precludes RAND from generalizing to all CPD officers with significant citizen contact. RAND recommends that the parties to the collaborative agreement consider an alternative approach to encourage officer participation, including distributing anonymous surveys to officers during their in-service training at the academy and asking them to mail back their responses.

Background

Several studies have been conducted on police officer job satisfaction and perceptions of community relations. Job satisfaction research in policing, however, is less voluminous than work on other occupations (see Greene, 1989; Zhao, Thurman, and He, 1999; Pelfrey, 2004). There are several reasons for this. Policing operates in a quasimilitary, structured bureaucracy where senior-level management has few incentives to ask for input from lower-level police officers. As a result, job satisfaction surveys are not commonplace (Reiss, 1992). The majority of work on job satisfaction in policing has focused on age, rank and seniority, sex, and race effects (see Zhao, Thurman, and He, 1999, for a review). There is a paucity of research on the role of the work environment in shaping how police officers view their job.

The move toward community policing in many police agencies has increased interest in understanding job satisfaction.

Studies that have examined the work environment's effect on officer morale and job satisfaction have produced interesting findings A study by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990), for example, found that officers assigned to a newly developed foot patrol unit were more satisfied with their jobs than officers assigned to traditional patrol car duties. Wycoff and Skogan (1994) found that officers involved in problem-solving projects had more positive attitudes toward the community. Similarly, Skogan and Hartnett (1997) found in their study of Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) that officers assigned to community policing districts had higher levels of satisfaction with their work than those assigned to districts with less community policing emphasis. Pelfrey's (2004) study on the Philadelphia Police Department's COPS AHEAD program (a community policing program) also found that community policing officers were more likely to perceive a positive impact of their work on the community and had higher levels of satisfaction with their work than police officers assigned to motorized patrol. Research by Zhao, Thurman, and He (1999) found that the principal source of police officer job satisfaction is the level of perceived autonomy, skill variety, and importance of the work. The ability to provide feedback to supervisors was also a significant predictor of satisfaction with police management (Zhao, Thurman, and He, 1999).

Although the body of work on the effect of work environment on police officer job satisfaction is relatively new, there are promising findings from this literature. First, it appears that satisfaction with job impact and community relations improves as officers have more direct person-to-person interaction in community policing capacities. Second, police officers who think they have more autonomy in their job duties generally feel that their work is more rewarding. Third, satisfaction with supervisors is directly related to job autonomy and feedback, suggesting that allowing officers to provide feedback is essential to positive job appraisals in policing. Although the traditional quasimilitaristic organization of police work suggests that control and close supervision are essential elements of effective policing (see Reiss, 1992, for a review), the research suggests that officers who feel they can exercise freedom of decisionmaking and get to provide feedback are more satisfied with their jobs and are more likely to think that their work has a positive impact on the community. Therefore, efforts to improve police officers' satisfaction with their work might look to models that increase community interaction, produce a sense of autonomy, and increase employee feedback.

Methods

Sampling Strategy

The CPD provided RAND with a list of 913 officers working for the CPD who had regular interactions with citizens in their daily duties. From this database, RAND extracted a random sample of 143 officers, contacted them by mail, and asked them to respond to the police officer survey. Questions for the police officer survey were developed from a review of the existing research literature on police officer job satisfaction.

The survey assessed officers' perceptions of attitudes of citizens in Cincinnati, personal safety, working conditions, morale, organizational barriers to effective policing, and fairness in evaluation and promotion.[1] Appendix 8.A contains the specific survey items.

Survey Responses

The number of survey respondents contacted and achieved is presented in Table 8.1. A total sample of 143 officers who had significant citizen interactions in their daily duties were contacted by mail and asked to participate in the survey. SRBI also sent multiple surveys to the same sample of officers between August and October to encourage participation. Table 8.1 displays the dates and the number of the mailings. A total of 40 officers returned completed surveys. Three of the officers (1 percent) contacted no longer had valid addresses. As a result, the effective response rate was 29 percent for the survey.

In its efforts to increase the response rates, SRBI sent out multiple reminder postcards and followed up with phone calls to sampled officers to encourage their participation in the survey. Table 8.2 displays the efforts SRBI made to increase the response rates. The parties to the collaborative agreement were made aware on August 24, 2005, that no officers had responded to the survey and that several officers had left messages complaining about surveys being mailed to their home addresses. On October 20, the parties to the collaborative agreement asked RAND to have SRBI stop calling the officers at their homes to remind them to participate in the survey.

Table 8.1
Disposition of Survey Responses

Number Contacts	First Mailing	Second Mailing	Third Mailing	% Returned Because of Bad Addresses	Total Completes	Response Rates (%)
143	8/12/2005	10/7/2005	10/20/2005	1	40	29

Table 8.2
Attempts to Increase Responses

Postcard Reminders	Reminder Phone Calls	Second Reminder Calls
8/23/2005	9/1/2005	10/13/2005

[1] The following sources were drawn upon to construct the survey items: Hackman and Oldham (1980), Mastrofski et al. (2002), Skogan (1995), and Weisburd et al. (2000).

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The basic demographic characteristics for the officers who responded to the survey are displayed in Table 8.3. Thirty-one percent ($n = 11$) of officers who responded to the survey were black and 69 percent ($n = 25$) were white. The average age of officer respondents was 39 years. Seventy-four percent of officer respondents ($n = 28$) were male.

Due to the low response rate, the following results provide only a qualitative assessment of perceptions of police officers who have significant contact with the public. The response rate (29 percent) is too low to generalize to the population of all police officers in the CPD who have substantial contact with citizens during their daily duties. While the demographic characteristics of the officers who responded to the survey (Table 8.3) do closely resemble the race and gender distribution of sworn staff in the CPD (Table 3.1), there may be other attributes across which respondents and nonrespondents differ.

In the following section, the authors discuss the qualitative results for police officers' perceptions of the community, their work environment, and knowledge of community policing. Because of the relatively small sample size in the present analysis, the authors do not present statistical comparisons across race or other demographic groups.

Table 8.3
Demographics of Respondents

Demographic	*n*	%
Black	11	31
White	25	69
Male	28	74
Female	10	26

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Results

Cooperation and Complaints from Citizens

The police officer survey asked several questions about the level of cooperation and complaints from citizens. Police officers were asked to rate how likely it is that citizens of Cincinnati would work with the police to try to solve neighborhood problems. Approximately 55 percent of officers who responded indicated that it was somewhat unlikely or very unlikely that citizens would work with the police to solve neighborhood problems (Table 8.4).

Police officers were also asked to rate their levels of agreement on several questions related to how much they agreed or disagreed that the black community complained unfairly about racial profiling and police abuse of authority. The majority of responding officers (81 percent) indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that the black community complained unfairly about racial profiling. Similarly, 70 percent of respondents indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that the black community complained unfairly about police abuse of authority (see Table 8.5).

Table 8.4
Cooperation Between Police and Citizens

Survey	*n*	%
Would Cincinnati citizens work with police to solve neighborhood problems?		
Very likely	2	5
Somewhat likely	16	40
Somewhat unlikely	16	40
Very unlikely	6	15

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 8.5
Complaints About Police by Blacks

Survey	*n*	%
Blacks complain unfairly about racial profiling.		
Strongly agree	13	34
Agree	17	45
Disagree	4	11
Strongly disagree	4	11
Blacks complain unfairly about police abuse of authority.		
Strongly agree	12	32
Agree	14	38
Disagree	8	22
Strongly disagree	3	8

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 8.6
Perceived Unfairness of Complaints by Media and General Community

Survey	*n*	%
The media complains unfairly about racial profiling.		
Strongly agree	12	33
Agree	20	56
Disagree	4	11
Strongly disagree	0	0
The media complain unfairly about police abuse of authority.		
Strongly agree	10	29
Agree	18	51
Disagree	7	20
Strongly disagree	0	0
The community complains unfairly about police abuse of authority.		
Strongly agree	3	8
Agree	8	22
Disagree	22	60
Strongly disagree	4	11

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Consistent with their perceptions regarding the black community, the majority of respondents indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed (89 percent) that the media complained unfairly about racial profiling, as well as police abuse of authority (80 percent) (see Table 8.6). In contrast, 30 percent of respondents indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that the general community complained unfairly about police abuse of authority.

Officers were also queried on the resistance level they face from suspects and citizens during their duties. Officers were asked, for example, how many citizens with whom they interacted on the street acted disrespectfully toward police (e.g., making hand signals, swearing). The majority of responding officers (73 percent) indicated that none or only a few

Table 8.7
Citizen Attitude and Behavior Toward Police

Survey	*n*	%
Do citizens on the street act disrespectfully toward police?		
Almost all	3	8
More than half	8	20
A few	28	70
None	1	3
Do suspects use derogatory words toward officers when questioned?		
Sometimes	28	70
Usually	10	25
Almost always	2	5
Do suspects attempt to resist arrest through the use of physical force?		
A few	37	92
More than half	3	8

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 8.8
Citizen Reactions of Officers

Survey	*n*	%
Do citizens attempt to threaten and intimidate officers?		
Almost never	14	36
Sometimes	20	51
Usually	5	13
Do citizens attempt to flee or run away?		
Almost never	1	3
Sometimes	32	80
Usually	7	17

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

citizens act in a disrespectful way on the street (Table 8.7). Officers were asked how frequently suspects use derogatory words toward police officers when questioned. Seventy percent of responding officers indicated that this sometimes happens. Officers were asked how many suspects with whom they come into contact attempted to resist arrest through physical force. Almost all respondents (92 percent) indicated that only a few suspects attempted to use force to resist arrest.

Officers were asked to indicate how often citizens with whom they come in contact attempt to threaten and intimidate them or attempt to flee or run away. Approximately 51 percent of respondents indicated that threats and intimidation sometimes occur. Eighty percent of those who responded to the survey indicated that citizens sometimes attempt to flee or run away (see Table 8.8).

Work Environment

Officers were surveyed about several aspects of their daily work environment including physical danger, training, and support from CPD management. In terms of personal safety, RAND asked officers to indicate how often they felt they were in serious danger of physical violence when they came into contact with a criminal suspect. Seventy-three percent of respondents stated that they almost never or sometimes felt they are in serious danger when they came into contact with a criminal suspect (see Table 8.9). Results from the survey indicate that all respondents (100 percent) received training on the risk of personal safety. Almost all officer respondents (96 percent) indicated that the training they received from the CPD on officer safety was excellent or good.

In terms of injuries sustained in the line of duty, the results indicate that 68 percent of officers received an injury that required medical attention due to a suspect attacking an officer or attempting to resist arrest. Approximately 35 percent of officers indicated that they had to take time off from work for a physical injury from one of these incidents (Table 8.10).

Table 8.9
Officer Safety

Survey	*n*	%
Do you feel in serious danger of physical violence from suspects?		
Almost never	4	10
Sometimes	125	63
Usually	8	20
Almost always	3	7
Rate the CPD training and procedures on officer safety.		
Excellent	21	53
Good	17	43
Fair	2	5

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 8.10
Officer Injuries

Survey	*n*	%
Have you ever been injured by a suspect attacking or resisting arrest?		
Yes	27	68
No	13	32
Have you ever missed work because of such an injury?		
Yes	14	35
No	26	65

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Officers were also asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with their work environment and the support and feedback they received from police management. In terms of job satisfaction, officers were asked to indicate the extent to which their job as a police officer was a major satisfaction in their life and if they have a personal commitment to their job. Approximately 68 percent of officers who responded to the survey indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that their jobs were major sources of satisfaction in their lives. Ninety-eight percent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they were personally committed to their jobs (see Table 8.11).

The survey asked several questions about the nature of supervision, feedback, and input in the CPD organization. Officers were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed that effective supervision could identify police officers who abused their authority. Seventy-nine percent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that effective supervision can identify abusive officers. Officers were asked to indicate how likely police management and city administration were to help fix a problem their unit identified in the community. The majority of respondents (64 percent) indicated that they agreed that police management was likely to help fix a problem that their unit identified. Seventeen percent of respondents indicated that the city administration was likely to try to help fix a problem that their unit identified (see Table 8.12).

Table 8.11
Officer Satisfaction

Survey	*n*	%
One of the major satisfactions in my life is my job.		
Strongly agree	8	22
Agree	17	46
Disagree	7	19
Strongly disagree	5	13
I have a personal commitment to my job.		
Strongly agree	16	43
Agree	20	55
Disagree	1	3
Strongly disagree	0	0

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 8.12
Officer Attitudes Toward Management and Administration

Survey	*n*	%
Effective supervision does identify officers who abuse authority.		
Strongly agree	4	16
Agree	15	60
Disagree	5	20
Strongly disagree	1	4
Police management is likely to help fix an identified problem.		
Strongly agree	0	0
Agree	16	64
Disagree	6	24
Strongly disagree	3	12
City administration is likely to help fix an identified problem.		
Strongly agree	0	0
Agree	4	17
Disagree	10	44
Strongly disagree	9	39

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

In terms of officer feedback, officers were asked to indicate how likely it was that management would publicly recognize an officer who was exceptional at his or her job, whether supervisors often provided them with feedback, the level of input they had in their jobs, and the expectations for officers for evaluations and promotions. Respondents indicated that public recognition for exceptional officers was rare. Seventy-two percent of respondents indicated that they disagreed or strongly disagreed that management was likely to recognize exceptional officers publicly. In contrast, the majority of officers who responded to the survey (76 percent) indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that supervisors often let them know how well they were performing. Similarly, 61 percent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that the CPD provided them with clear guidance on what was expected of officers for evaluations and promotion (see Table 8.13).

Table 8.13
Officer Attitudes Toward Supervisor Feedback

Survey	*n*	%
Management publicly recognizes exceptional officers.		
Strongly agree	1	3
Agree	9	25
Disagree	19	53
Strongly disagree	7	19
Supervisors often let me know how well I am performing.		
Strongly agree	4	11
Agree	24	65
Disagree	7	19
Strongly disagree	2	5
The CPD provides clear guidance on expectations for evaluations and promotions.		
Strongly agree	3	8
Agree	20	53
Disagree	11	29
Strongly disagree	4	10

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 8.14
Officer Input to Management

Survey	*n*	%
I have a lot of input into how I do my job.		
Strongly agree	4	11
Agree	21	57
Disagree	9	24
Strongly disagree	3	8
I can easily communicate suggestions to management.		
Strongly agree	2	6
Agree	14	39
Disagree	15	42
Strongly disagree	5	14

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

In terms of input into their jobs, 68 percent of respondents indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that they had a lot of input into how they did their work. The majority of respondents (56 percent) indicated that they disagreed or disagreed strongly that it was easy for them to communicate suggestions for improving their jobs (see Table 8.14).

Community Policing Knowledge

Officers were asked several questions about their knowledge of the communities in which they work and of the community policing philosophy. Approximately 40 percent of officers who responded to the survey indicated that they were familiar with the Community Police

Partnering Center. This compares with 20 percent of the general population of Cincinnati (see Chapter Six).

Officers were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed that police officers should try to solve noncrime problems in their districts, make frequent informal contact with people in their districts to establish trust and cooperation, and to find out what residents think are the neighborhood problems, in order to focus their efforts on these issues. Sixty-six percent of officers strongly agreed or agreed that police should try to solve noncrime-related problems in their district. Almost all respondents (95 percent) strongly agreed or agreed that police officers should make frequent informal contact to establish trust and cooperation with citizens. Finally, the majority (93 percent) of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that a good patrol officer will find out what residents think are neighborhood problems and then focus his or her efforts on these problems (see Table 8.15).

The police officer survey also asked respondents several questions about their levels of support for various crime control philosophies of police work. Officers were asked to indicate the extent to which they thought a good patrol officer works proactively, stopping cars, checking people out, running license checks, and so forth. Seventy-three percent of officers who responded to the survey indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that these proactive activities were signs of a good patrol officer. Officers were also asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed that enforcing the law was by far a patrol officer's most important responsibility and whether police officers had reason to be distrustful of most citizens. The majority of respondents (79 percent) indicated that they agreed or agreed strongly that enforcing the law was an officer's highest priority. Finally, officers were asked to indicate whether they should be distrustful of most citizens. The majority of respondents (77 percent) indicated that they disagreed or disagreed strongly that police officers had reason to be distrustful of most citizens (see Table 8.16).

Table 8.15
Officer Attitudes About Community Relations

Survey	*n*	%
A good officer consults with residents about problems.		
Strongly agree	17	43
Agree	20	50
Disagree	3	8
Strongly disagree	0	0
Officers should try to solve noncrime problems in their districts.		
Strongly agree	5	13
Agree	21	53
Disagree	13	33
Strongly disagree	1	3
Officers should make frequent contact with people in their districts.		
Strongly agree	22	56
Agree	15	39
Disagree	2	5
Strongly disagree	0	0

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Table 8.16
Officer Attitudes About Responsibility

Survey	*n*	%
A good patrol officer works proactively.		
Strongly agree	10	25
Agree	19	48
Disagree	10	25
Strongly disagree	1	3
Enforcing the law is an officer's most important responsibility.		
Strongly agree	9	23
Agree	22	56
Disagree	7	18
Strongly disagree	1	3
Officers have reason to be distrustful of most citizens.		
Strongly agree	0	0
Agree	9	23
Disagree	25	64
Strongly disagree	5	13

NOTE: Percentages in some cases do not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Conclusion

Results from the police officer survey are based on 40 returned surveys. With such a low response rate (29 percent), our results can only be considered qualitative. These results are not generalizable to all CPD officers with significant citizen interactions in their daily duties. For those who responded to the survey, the findings indicate a high level of commitment to their jobs, but at the same time, these officers suffer several strains from the community and citizens with whom they interact. The majority of responding officers thought that the media and the black community complained unfairly about racial profiling and police abuse of authority. It is also clear that for those who responded to the survey policing was a dangerous occupation. For example, the majority of officers who responded to the survey had suffered a workplace injury resulting from an altercation with a resisting or attacking suspect. While the results may not be generalizable to all officers working for the CPD, these findings are consistent with the workplace violence literature that indicates that policing is the most dangerous occupation in America (Warchol, 1998). On a daily basis, injuries are rare, but over the course of a career, officers are highly likely to be injured as a result of violence experienced in the workplace.

Police officers who responded to the survey also appear to have been knowledgeable about community policing. While the majority of officers who responded to the survey viewed enforcing the law as their highest priority, they were also aware that informal interactions with citizens were an important method for establishing trust and cooperation. Officers who responded to the survey also expressed a high level of agreement that community residents should help shape the priorities of police work. Specifically, the idea that residents define problems (crime and noncrime) and officers in turn help respond to them had strong support from these respondents.

CHAPTER NINE

Citizen and Officer Satisfaction with the Complaint Process

Overview

RAND was asked to conduct a survey of officers and citizens who were parties to official complaints. The survey assessed the perceived fairness of the complaint process, the level of input citizens and officers had in the process, and justifications for the final resolution. Additionally, the survey asked for input from officers and citizens on improving the internal complaint process. Because the sample size was low and because parallel complaint investigations had been filed with the Citizen Complaint Authority (CCA), the RAND research team decided that the survey should elicit information from complaints handled through the Citizen Complaint Resolution Process (CCRP), Internal Investigations Section (IIS) investigations, and the CCA.

Results from the complainant survey are based on the 34 citizen and 19 officer surveys that were returned. With such a low response rate, RAND could not draw any inferences about the population of all citizens or officers involved in official complaints. Officers and citizens who responded to the survey did not feel that their concerns had been taken into account, and they were dissatisfied with the process of their cases and their outcomes. The response rate was too low to compare CCA, IIS, or CCRP cases to each other. For those who did respond to the survey, the complaint review process appears to be following up with an investigation and contacting complainants and witnesses. In future years, the parties to the collaborative agreement should make a concerted effort to advertise that participating in this survey will give citizens and officers an additional avenue to express their concerns about the complaint process.

Without an improved response rate, it is not reasonable to draw inferences about the opinions and experiences of all citizens and officers involved in official complaints. The challenge ahead is to improve the response rate and evaluate how this information can be taken into account to improve the process for all parties involved.

Methods

Sampling Strategy

The CPD provided RAND with a list of officers and citizens involved in CCRP, CCA, and IIS complaint cases during 2004. From this list, RAND selected a random sample of matched pairs of 229 officers and citizens involved in official complaints. SRBI mailed surveys to these 229 matched pairs to assess respondents' perceived fairness of the complaint process, the level of input that citizens and officers felt they had in the process, and the final

resolution. The individual survey items were developed from a review of the literature with a particular focus on Walker's (2001) work on citizen complaint reviews.[1] Appendix 9.A displays the individual survey items.

Survey Responses

Table 9.1 presents the number of survey respondents contacted and from whom data were gathered. A total of 229 matched pairs (officers and citizens) involved in official complaints were identified as the target sample. Multiple surveys were mailed to each matched pair between August and October 2005. Fifty-five of the citizen cases had addresses that were no longer valid. As a result, the final matched-pair sample was 169 officers and citizens. SRBI also sent multiple surveys to the same sample of citizens and officers to encourage participation. Table 9.1 displays the dates and the number of mailings. A total of 34 citizens and 19 officers returned completed surveys. The effective response rate was 20 percent for citizens and 11 percent for officers.

In their efforts to increase the response rates to the survey, SRBI sent out multiple reminder postcards and followed up with phone calls to sampled citizens and officers. Table 9.2 displays the efforts SRBI made to increase the response rates. Reminder phone calls to police officers were terminated on October 20, 2005, at the request of the CPD and parties to the collaborative agreement. While the response rate for both citizens and officers was low, other evaluations of citizen-complaint processes have received response rates under 20 percent (Walker and Herbst, 2001).

Table 9.1
Disposition of Survey Responses

Population	Matched Pair Sample	Final Sample	First Mailing	Second Mailing	Third Mailing	Total Completes	Response Rate (%)
Citizens	229	169	9/8	9/21	10/12–20	34	20
Officers	229	169	—	9/21	10/12–20	19	11

Table 9.2
Attempts to Increase Responses

Population	Postcard Reminders	Reminder Phone Calls	Second Reminder Calls
Citizens	August 23	September 8	October 20
Officers	September 23	October 12	*Stopped calls

NOTE: * The parties to the collaborative agreement requested that SRBI stop reminder calls to officers on October 20, 2005.

[1] The following sources were relied on to develop the survey: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (2001); Tyler and Wakslak (2004); Walker and Herbst (1999).

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 9.3 displays the demographic characteristics of those who responded to the survey. Nineteen citizens (58 percent) who responded to the survey were black and 11 (33 percent) were white. In comparison, five officers (28 percent) who responded to the survey were black and 13 (72 percent) were white. The average age of citizen respondents was 39 years. The average age of officer respondents was 38 years.

Due to the low response rate, the following results provide only a qualitative assessment of the perceptions of those involved in the official complaint process. The response rates are too low to generalize to the population of all individuals involved in complaints. In future years, with data from an effective response rate, analyses will include comparisons between citizens' and police officers' responses, and this data can be refined according to whether the case originated with the CCA, IIS, or CCRP. In the following section, the authors discuss the qualitative results based on the nature of complaints, the review process, and the levels of satisfaction citizens had with their experiences.

Table 9.3
Demographics of Respondents

Citizen	*n*	%	Officer	*n*	%	Citizen	*n*	%	Officer	*n*	%
Black	19	58	Black	5	28	Male	18	53	Male	13	68
White	11	33	White	13	72	Female	16	47	Female	6	32
Other	3	9									

Nature and Characteristics of Complaints

First, the authors examined the nature and characteristics of complaints filed by citizens in Cincinnati. Citizen respondents were asked to indicate if they had filed their complaints as a result of face-to-face interactions with police officers and how they had filed their complaints. Thirty of the citizen respondents (88 percent) indicated that their complaints were filed because they had face-to-face interactions with police officers. Twenty-one (64 percent) of these citizens filed the complaints in person on behalf of themselves (see Table 9.4). Of those who filed the complaint for someone else, eight were filed on behalf of a child.

The majority of complaints ($n = 27$) accused the police of discourtesy or an unprofessional attitude. Only 10 citizen respondents (29 percent) reported their complaints were because of excessive force. Sixty-nine percent ($n = 27$) of the complaints filed by citizens involved one or two officers.

Table 9.4
Nature of the Complaint

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
Was the complaint filed because of a face-to-face interaction?				
Yes	30	88	15	79
No	4	12	4	21
Was the complaint in person filed on behalf of yourself?				
Yes	21	64		
No	12	36		
On behalf of a child	8			
On behalf of a spouse	2			
On behalf of a neighbor	1			
On behalf of someone else	1			
What were the reasons for complaint? (multiple)				
Discourtesy/unprofessional attitude	27	79	3	16
Lack of proper service	15	44	3	16
Excessive use of force	10	29	4	21
Criminal conduct	6	18	4	21
Improper searches and seizures	8	24		
Serious misconduct	12	35		
Improper pointing of firearm	4	12		
Discrimination	14	41		
Number of officers involved in complaint				
One	20	48	7	41
Two	7	21	3	17
Three	4	12	2	12
Five	1	3	5	29
More than ten	2	6		

Table 9.5
Injuries in Incidents That Caused Complaints

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
Were you physically injured during the interaction with the officer?				
Yes	7	21		
No	26	79	19	100
Did the injury require medical attention?				
Yes	6	18		
No	21	62		

Of those who reported filing a complaint, seven (21 percent) reported that they were physically injured during the interactions that resulted in official complaints. Six reported that the injuries required medical attention (see Table 9.5). No officers reported injuries from their interactions, nor had they filed official complaints because of receiving injuries from citizens.

Citizen complaints against the police were typically filed because of perceptions of discourtesy or unprofessional attitude, and involved a few officers per incident. Rarely did these cases involve allegations of excessive force.

Investigation of Complaints

In terms of the investigation of the complaints, the majority of citizens ($n = 30$) and officers ($n = 11$) indicated that an investigator contacted them about the complaint. Seventy-two percent of citizens ($n = 23$) indicated that they provided witnesses to the investigators (see Table 9.6).

These results suggest that the majority of complaints were investigated by the CPD or CCA and that investigations involved direct contact with the complainant. Twelve of those who claimed to provide witnesses to the case indicated that those investigating the case had not contacted the witnesses.

Table 9.6
Responses to Complaints

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
Did the investigator contact you about the complaint?				
Yes	30	88	11	58
No	4	12	8	42
Were you provided information about witnesses?				
Yes	23	72		
No	9	22		

Satisfaction with Process and Outcomes

Citizens were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with the complaint-review process. Specifically, RAND asked respondents to indicate the extent to which during the investigation and review process their views were considered and how much they thought those investigating the complaint showed care for their concerns. Twenty-three citizens (67 percent) and nine officers (50 percent) indicated that they felt their views were considered "only a little" or "not at all" by those investigating the complaint. Twenty-four citizens (70 percent) and 13 officers (72 percent) indicated they felt those investigating the complaint did not (only a little or not at all) show care for their concerns (see Table 9.7).

Additionally, the survey asked respondents to indicate whether they felt they were treated with respect and dignity during the investigation and review, whether the investigators had shown concern for their rights, and whether the investigators had treated them politely. Sixteen citizens (47 percent) and 10 officers (55 percent) who responded to the survey indicated they were treated with "a great deal" or a "fair" amount of dignity and respect.

Table 9.7
Characteristics of Investigation

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
Did investigators consider your views?				
A great deal	5	15	2	11
A fair amount	5	15	7	39
Only a little	12	35	6	33
Not at all	11	32	3	17
Did investigators show care about your concerns?				
A great deal	5	15	1	6
A fair amount	5	15	4	22
Only a little	11	32	8	44
Not at all	13	38	5	28
Were you treated with respect and dignity?				
A great deal	6	18	4	22
A fair amount	10	29	6	33
Only a little	10	29	6	33
Not at all	8	24	2	11
Were you shown concern for your rights?				
A great deal	4	13	3	17
A fair amount	8	23	5	28
Only a little	9	27	5	28
Not at all	13	37	5	28
Were you treated politely?				
A great deal	8	24		
A fair amount	13	38		
Only a little	6	18		
Not at all	7	21		

Twelve citizen (36 percent) and eight officer (45 percent) respondents felt that the review process showed a "great deal" or "fair" amount of concern for their legal rights. Thirteen citizens (37 percent) and five officers (28 percent) indicated that the review process showed "no concern" for their rights (see Table 9.7). These findings are not surprising given that outcomes of complaint reviews for those who respond to surveys are often not what individuals want (Walker and Herbst, 2001). In terms of polite treatment, 21 citizens (62 percent) felt that they had been treated with a "great deal" or "fair" amount of politeness during the investigation and review process.

Respondents were also asked to indicate their levels of agreement with statements regarding their overall treatment during the review and investigation. Specifically, respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed that they were treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation, that officials investigating the case were basically honest, that the decisions made about their complaint were based on facts, and that the process allowed them to tell their side of the story.

Results (Table 9.8) indicate that 14 citizens (46 percent) and 13 officers (73 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that they were treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation. Eight citizens (27 percent), compared to only one officer, strongly disagreed with this statement. Only six citizen respondents (19 percent) and two officers strongly agreed that the officials investigating their complaints were basically honest. However, the majority of citizens ($n = 15$) and close to half of officers ($n = 9$) agreed or strongly agreed that the decisions made about their complaints were based on fact. Nineteen citizens (69 percent) and 14 officers (83 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that the process allowed them to tell their side of the story.

Table 9.8
Treatment of Complaints

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
You were treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation.				
Strongly agree	4	13	1	6
Agree	10	33	12	67
Disagree	8	27	4	22
Strongly disagree	8	27	1	6
Officials investigating and reviewing case were honest.				
Strongly agree	6	19	2	13
Agree	8	25	10	63
Disagree	10	31	4	25
Strongly disagree	8	25		
Decisions made about complaint were based on facts.				
Strongly agree	6	19	3	18
Agree	9	29	6	35
Disagree	4	13	5	29
Strongly disagree	12	39	3	18
The process allowed you to tell your side of the story.				
Strongly agree	8	25	3	18
Agree	11	34	11	65
Disagree	7	22	2	12
Strongly disagree	6	19	1	6

These results suggest that citizen and officers who responded to the survey may not have been happy with the complaint process, but acknowledged that the process allowed them to tell their side of the story. This select sample of citizen and officer respondents believed that the complaint process did not show enough concern for their rights, and investigators did not care about their concerns.

Survey respondents were asked whether they thought that the outcome of their complaint was fair. Twenty-five citizens (76 percent) and 10 officers (55 percent) did not think (disagreed or strongly disagreed) that the outcomes of their cases were fair. They expressed similar dissatisfaction with the complaint process. Twenty-five citizens (73 percent) and 12 officers (63 percent) were unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with the complaint process (see Table 9.9). These findings are consistent with other research that finds citizens who respond to surveys on civilian review or complaint processes generally have a low level of satisfaction with the process (Walker and Herbst, 2001). On the other hand, this may reflect respondents to such surveys being a select group of complainants who are more likely to be vocal about their dissatisfaction.

The complaint survey also asked respondents to indicate their levels of acceptance of the case outcomes. Specifically, respondents were asked to indicate how much they had willingly accepted official decisions about their cases, whether they would like to see the case handled the same way in the future, and whether officials could have handled the complaint process better than they did. The findings in Table 9.10 indicate that 20 citizens (67 percent) and six officers (36 percent) did not (disagree or strongly disagreed) willingly accept the outcome of their cases. Twenty-five citizen respondents (93 percent) indicated that they strongly disagreed or disagreed that they would have liked to have seen a situation handled the same way in the future. In comparison, 13 police officer respondents (72 percent) did not willingly accept the outcomes of their cases. A majority of citizen and officer respondents also indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed that the officials handling the case could have handled the complaint process better than they did.

Table 9.9
Fairness of and Satisfaction with Complaint Process

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
The outcome was fair.				
Strongly agree	4	12	3	17
Agree	4	12	5	28
Disagree	10	30	6	33
Strongly disagree	15	46	4	22
Satisfied with the complaint process				
Very satisfied	3	9		
Satisfied	6	18	6	32
Unsatisfied	10	29	7	37
Very unsatisfied	15	44	5	26

Table 9.10
Acceptance of Decisions About Complaints

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
You accepted decisions officials made about the complaint.				
Strongly agree	2	7	5	29
Agree	8	27	6	35
Disagree	6	20	2	12
Strongly disagree	14	47	4	24
Similar future situations should be handled the same way.				
Strongly agree	2	7	2	11
Agree	3	10	3	17
Disagree	6	20	7	39
Strongly disagree	19	63	6	33

To gauge satisfaction with the complaint process, RAND also asked respondents to indicate their levels of trust for the officials investigating the complaint. The majority of citizens ($n = 22$) and officers ($n = 9$) indicated that they trusted officials investigating the complaint "only a little" or "not at all" (Table 9.11). These findings suggest that trust was low among respondents in this sample. This lack of trust may explain the relatively low levels of satisfaction that respondents had with the process. After all, several studies of those who have had experience with the criminal justice system suggest that trust, independent of the outcome of a case, is an important component of satisfaction with the justice process (see Tyler, 1990, for a review).

Table 9.11
Trust of Officials Investigating Complaints

Survey	Citizens (*n*)	%	Officers (*n*)	%
A great deal	7	21	3	17
A fair amount	5	15	6	33
Only a little	12	35	3	17
Not at all	10	29	6	33

Conclusion

Results from the complainant survey are based on a low response rate for citizens and officers involved in official complaints. With such a low response rate, the results could not be extrapolated for the population of all citizens and officers who were involved in official complaints. For those who did return surveys, the complaint-review process did appear to be working, in that investigators followed up on a majority of complaints. However, although investigators contacted complainants and witnesses, officer and citizen respondents remained dissatisfied with the extent to which their concerns were taken into account. They were unhappy with the process of their cases and their outcomes. The current response rate is too low to know how these opinions might compare between CCA, IIS, and CCRP cases.

The challenge ahead will be to increase incentives for respondents to complete surveys and to evaluate how satisfaction with the process improves over time. One option is to make satisfaction surveys a standard part of the complaint review process so that citizens and officers can immediately mail back surveys after their cases are resolved and express their opinions about the process.

CHAPTER TEN

Periodic Observations and Problem-Solving Processes

Overview

This chapter examines police-community interactions and problem-solving processes as they occur in community council meetings and Community Problem-Oriented Policing (CPOP) problem-solving projects. RAND asked participants of these meetings to complete a survey regarding their experiences and perceptions, and RAND documented its observations.

In terms of the community council meetings, RAND's research suggests that respondents typically believed the meetings were open, their opinions were valued and considered, and everyone was treated with dignity and respect. Most viewed the police as a partner, thought the community and police were responsive to each other's needs and concerns, and considered their relationships with the police as positive. CPOP meeting respondents also considered their meetings as open, and their opinions as valued by others. Generally, they judged the training they received and the police-community relationship as fairly good, and the problem-solving process mostly effective. As for the implementation of each stage of the SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment) problem-solving model, respondents were most likely to rate "very good" their application of the Response stage, followed by Scanning, Assessment, and then Analysis.

The scope of this task is rather small and significantly limits both the validity and reliability of the findings of this analysis, thereby requiring the policy implications to be interpreted with caution. The sample of periodic observations could not be randomly drawn, the sample size was necessarily small given the resources, and the response rate for the community meetings was low. These factors preclude the ability to generalize to all community meetings and CPOP projects in Cincinnati. Moreover, as requested, this analysis focuses on process, interaction, and the application of problem solving. While important, it would also be worthwhile to examine the effectiveness of problem-solving efforts in terms of problem reduction. In future analyses, the city and its partners may wish to consider investing additional resources to improve the knowledge acquired regarding both the process and outcome of these activities. Additionally, it may be worthwhile to reconsider the preferred methodological approach to this analysis and review community and CPOP meetings over time.

Introduction

In this chapter, the authors examine interactions and processes through periodic observations of community council meetings and Community Problem-Oriented Policing (CPOP) problem-solving projects. The primary purpose is to gauge police-community interaction

and the problem-solving process, and assess how they change over time as the CPD and the community work to implement the collaborative agreement. RAND asked participants of the community and CPOP meetings to complete a survey regarding their experiences, and RAND documented the authors' observations. RAND developed the surveys from the authors' knowledge of police-community interaction, problem solving, and characteristics of Cincinnati's processes, as well as by adapting questions from previous police-community and problem-solving surveys constructed by Duffee et al. (2002); Maguire, Hassell, and Uchida (2000); Knutson and Skogan (1998); and Jeremy M. Wilson and Donnermeyer (2002).

As described below, RAND conducted 16 periodic observations of community council and CPOP meetings, representing all five CPD districts. These meetings present opportunities for the CPD and the community to become proactive partners in community problem solving and to build relationships of cooperation and trust, and for the CPD to enhance the public's understanding of police policies and procedures, all of which are specific goals laid out in the collaborative agreement. Should the community and the CPD be successful in attaining these goals, over time, the authors would expect to see improvements in the ratings of police-community interaction and the problem-solving process.

The community council meetings are one form of meeting in which the CPD participates. The police participate in other meetings, but RAND chose these to review because they were the most systematic and the authors' discussions with the Community Policing Partnering Center led the authors to believe they would offer the greatest opportunity to gauge police-citizen interaction. Generally, these are community-led meetings, which focus on a host of community issues of which crime and disorder may be a small or large part. By contrast, the CPOP meetings are those in which the police and community interact for the sole purpose of addressing specific crime and disorder problems in a given location. In the following sections of this chapter, the authors describe the problem-solving process, and the sample of periodic observations on which RAND's analysis is based. The authors then turn to describing each type of periodic observation. The authors summarize the responses of those who participate in community council meetings, and then describe RAND's observations of these meetings and how they compare to the participants' responses. Next, the authors do the same for CPOP meetings—describe the responses of CPOP participants, and then compare the results to what the authors observed. The authors conclude with a summary of the findings and some policy implications for meeting the goals of the collaborative agreement.

Background

CPOP is the CPD's version of problem-oriented policing (POP). POP focuses specifically on "problems" and the routine application of problem-solving techniques. It is designed to be the end product of policing practices that deal with a wide range of social and behavioral problems. It is defined as a comprehensive plan for improving policing in which the high priority attached to addressing problems shapes the police agency and influences all changes in personnel, organization, and procedures (Goldstein, 1979, 1990).[1]

[1] POP is a response to the professional, incident-driven model of policing (i.e., focus on response time to calls for service and randomized patrol), which, as numerous studies have illustrated, has failed to address community concerns about crime,

The theory of POP is simple. Underlying conditions create problems. A problem created by these conditions may generate one or more crime incidents. While the incidents may appear different, they stem from a common source and are symptoms of the problem. By addressing the underlying conditions that create problems, the incidents will be eliminated. For example, suppose youth have few constructive options for spending their time, so they choose to hang out on the street in a business district. This "problem" may result in complaints and reports to police regarding noise, littering, property damage, or a drop in business because customers choose not to walk through the group of juveniles to enter establishments. If police work with the youth and find another activity for them (the underlying problem), the various calls for service and complaints (the symptoms of the problem) will be eliminated. In short, POP focuses efforts on the *ends* (e.g., reduction of disorder, fear, and violence) rather than the *means* (e.g., response time and arrests) of policing (Capowich and Roehl, 1994).

The key to POP is a focused, systematic problem-solving process. To guide this process, Eck and Spelman (1987) developed a four-step problem-solving model referred to as SARA: Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment. In the scanning stage, officers identify an issue and determine whether it is truly a problem. In the analysis stage, information is collected within and outside the police agency in order to learn about the problem's scope, nature, and causes. In the response stage, the police, outside organizations, and other qualified parties help develop solutions to the problem. During the assessment stage, the effectiveness of the response is evaluated. If ineffective, the results of the assessment may be used to develop a new response, and the iterative process continues until the problem is solved.

The value of POP has been demonstrated in projects ranging from reducing thefts from vehicles (Eck and Spelman, 1987) to gun violence (National Institute of Justice, 2001). Comprehensive reviews of the police literature also conclude that the evidence supports the effectiveness of POP in reducing crime and disorder (Skogan and Frydl, 2004; Weisburd and Eck, 2004). Problem solving has progressed to the point that the Office of Community-Oriented Policing Services and the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing have produced more than 30 problem-solving guides for addressing problems such as gun violence, identity theft, loud car stereos, panhandling, prescription fraud, and rave parties. Police organizations have implemented POP in a number of ways. Some have delegated POP to specific units within the organization while others expect all officers to engage in problem solving. Some police agencies apply POP to a small number of specific problems while others implement it systematically to many problems. Through various permutations, POP successes have given way to further innovations based on the philosophy.

As POP has increased in popularity, it has become embedded in the philosophy and practice of police organizations nationwide, but its implementation varies by agency. At least three differences are apparent between Cincinnati's CPOP and POP, at least as envisioned by Goldstein (1979, 1990), who is considered the father of POP. First, the community appears to take a greater role in the problem-solving process, relative to the police. This ranges from problem identification to evaluating responses. Second, there is a reliance on a third-

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disorder, and fear of victimization. For example, the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment illustrated that crime and citizen fear are unrelated to the level of randomized patrol (Kelling, 1974). A subsequent study in Kansas City demonstrated that a rapid response to calls for service did not enhance the likelihood of solvability for more than 90 percent of crimes reported (Kansas City Police Department, 1980). Such findings have led to other approaches to policing, including POP, or in Cincinnati's case, CPOP.

party organization to facilitate the problem-solving process—the Community Policing Partnering Center (CPPC). CPPC is a privately funded organization that is part of the collaborative agreement. Among other tasks, CPPC staff members offer problem-solving training to neighborhoods, serve as liaisons among agencies and stakeholders, provide technical assistance to CPOP teams, and serve as participants of and often lead CPOP teams. Finally, it is not apparent that the focus on addressing substantive problems influences all decisions that the CPD makes with regard to staff, organization, and policy. These characteristics make the CPD's role in problem solving more of support than leadership and decisionmaking.

Periodic Observation Sample

RAND conducted 16 periodic observations (i.e., including both community meetings and CPOP meetings), representing all five CPD districts from April 11 through May 12, 2005. Table 10.1 summarizes the number and type of periodic observation for each of the districts. Unfortunately, facilitators for two meetings (one each for a community and CPOP meeting) would not permit us to distribute the surveys once on-site due to time restrictions. While RAND could not obtain participant perspectives for those meetings, the authors do have our observations of those meetings. The problems addressed at CPOP meetings ranged from quality-of-life issues such as trash, loitering, and control of animals, to more criminal matters such as disorderly conduct, drug sales, and gangs.

Although RAND reviewed community and CPOP meetings in each of the five districts, the authors must caution that the sample is not necessarily representative of all community and CPOP meetings in Cincinnati and therefore may not be generalizable to them. First, the meetings were not drawn from a random sample, but were chosen so that at least one of each type of meeting could be reviewed in each district and within a brief time frame (about one month). Second, the number of meetings RAND observed is rather small. Finally, as noted below, the response rate for the community meeting surveys is fairly low. This suggests two areas of potential selection bias. Those who attend the meetings and those who complete the surveys are both self-selected, so their responses may differ from the average resident or meeting participant. Review of these meetings will therefore provide some context regarding police-community interaction and problem-solving processes and, over time in a future report, an indication of whether these are improving. However, the results must be

Table 10.1
Number of Periodic Observations, by District

	Participants Completed		Observer Completed	
District	Community Meetings	CPOP Meetings	Community Meetings	CPOP Meetings
1	2	1	2	1
2	1	3	1	3
3	2	1	2	1
4	1	1	2	1
5	1	1	1	2
Total	7	7	8	8

interpreted cautiously because the sample may not fully represent all interactions that occur between the police and the community in public meetings, all problem-solving efforts in which the community and police engage, nor those who attend the meetings and participate in problem-solving efforts.

Community Meetings: Participant Perspective

The community meeting survey's purpose was to determine awareness of, and involvement with, community-police organizations, meetings' characteristics, and interactions between community and police as described by those who attend community meetings in Cincinnati. RAND administered the survey in seven community council meetings, and 94 participants provided responses. A total of 229 individuals attended these meetings, thereby making the response rate about 41 percent. The number of meetings and the response is quite low, which does not permit the ability to suggest that these findings summarize all such interactions.

Respondent Demographics

As Table 10.2 shows, residents made up the largest category of representation, followed by neighborhood organizations and private businesses. Attendees were almost equally split between males and females, and between 30 and 59 years of age, with the median age being 48. About three-fourths were white, followed by 19 percent black, and 6 percent other ethnicities. Most (76 percent) were homeowners, and more than half had at least a college degree. The median time respondents had lived in Cincinnati was 30 years.

Table 10.2
Respondent Demographics

Demographics	Percent	Number	Sample
Representation			
Local police	6	5	84
Other law enforcement agency	2	2	84
Other government agency or service	6	5	84
Private business	14	12	84
School or education organization	1	1	84
Neighborhood organization	24	20	84
Other organization	7	6	84
Resident	39	33	84
Sex			
Male	51	46	90
Female	49	44	90
Age			
20–29	2	2	87
30–39	17	15	87
40–49	37	32	87
50–59	29	25	87
60–69	9	8	87
70–79	5	4	87
80–89	1	1	87
Race			
White	76	69	91
Black	19	17	91
Other	6	5	91
Own or rent home			
Own	76	71	93
Rent	19	18	93
Other	4	4	93
Education			
Did not finish high school	1	1	92
High school graduate or GED	15	14	92
Some college or vocational school	20	18	92
2-year college degree	10	9	92
4-year college degree	42	39	92
Graduate degree	12	11	92

CPOP Awareness and Involvement

More than half of respondents (61 percent) reported that they were aware of the CPPC. They had become aware of CPPC through a variety of ways, including brochures, contact with the partnering center staff, informational meetings, information from a CPOP team member, media stories, contact with community residents, neighborhood summits, and community events (see Table 10.3). Even more respondents (76 percent) were familiar with CPOP, and had learned about CPOP in much the same ways they had learned about CPPC.

Table 10.3
Familiarity with Community Police Partnering Center (CPPC) and Community Problem-Oriented Policing (CPOP)

Survey	Percent	Number	Sample
Are you familiar with the CPPC?	61	54	89
If yes, how did you become aware of CPPC?			
Brochure	6	3	54
Contact with the Partnering Center staff	13	7	54
Informational meetings	22	12	54
Information from CPOP team member	37	20	54
Media story	15	8	54
Community residents	15	8	54
Neighborhood summit	11	6	54
Community event	6	3	54
Other	13	7	54
Are you familiar with the CPOP?	76	68	89
If yes, how did you become aware of CPOP?			
Brochure	6	4	68
Contact with the Partnering Center staff	16	11	68
Informational meetings	25	17	68
Information from CPOP team member	25	17	68
Media story	18	12	68
Community residents	18	12	68
Neighborhood summit	16	11	68
Community event	13	9	68
Other	10	7	68

NOTE: Respondents were allowed to name multiple sources of familiarity.

Only 10 percent of respondents reported working with the CPPC, although 30 percent were participating in CPOP in their neighborhoods.

The median number of other community meetings the respondents had attended in the last 12 months was 10. Respondents had also heard about police/community meetings in a variety of ways (see Table 10.4). The most common sources of information about meetings were from a friend or neighbor, from a neighborhood police officer, and from attendance at community or council meetings. Seventy-three percent of those responding say they have interacted with other meeting attendees in the past.

Table 10.4
Source of Information About Police-Community Meetings

Source	Percent	Number	Sample
Neighborhood police officer	22	17	78
Community Police Partnering Center	6	5	78
Newspaper	10	8	78
Television	4	3	78
Posted flyer	12	9	78
A friend or neighbor	31	24	78
Web site	6	4	78
Other	53	41	78
Community or council meetings	22	18	78
Newsletter	10	8	78
Coworker	7	6	78
Mail, email	8	6	78
Friends, neighbors, relatives	4	3	78
Unspecified	3	2	78

NOTE: Respondents may name multiple sources of familiarity.

Meeting Characteristics

Residents or civil representatives most often led community meetings, or they were co-led with the police (see Table 10.5). Two-thirds of those responding said that community representatives and police were about equal in dominance of these meetings.

A large majority (86 percent) reported that the atmosphere of the meetings was open. Most respondents said some or all of their critical needs were addressed, that their opinions were valued, and their views were considered (Table 10.6). Large majorities said they trusted others at the meetings, that everyone was treated with dignity and respect, and that they were satisfied with both the format of the meetings and the issues covered. Most viewed the police as a partner, and no respondent reported feeling that the police were antagonistic. Most thought the meetings were very effective (43 percent) or somewhat effective (51 percent).

Table 10.5
Leadership and Dominance at Meetings

Party	Led (%)	Dominated (%)
Police	9	9
Community Police Partnering Center	6	—
Residents	25	15
Civic representatives	21	6
Business representatives	8	3
Co-led with police	21	1
Co-led without police	8	0
Other	1	0
No one, about equal	—	67

NOTE: $n = 81$.

Table 10.6
Police-Community Meetings

Survey	Percent	Number	Sample
What was the overall atmosphere?			
Open	86	73	85
Strained and tense	5	4	85
Disinterested	2	2	85
Combinations	7	6	85
Were critical needs addressed?			
All were addressed	52	44	84
Some were addressed	42	35	84
None were addressed	6	5	84
Were your opinions valued?			
All were valued	73	57	78
Some were valued	26	20	78
None were valued	1	1	78
Were your views considered?			
Yes	74	55	74
No	4	3	74
Somewhat	22	16	74
Did you trust those running the meeting?			
Yes	84	71	85
No	1	1	85
Somewhat	15	13	85
Was everyone treated with dignity and respect?			
Yes	95	82	86
No	5	4	86
What is the police-community relationship?			
Partners	88	72	82
Independent operators	9	7	82
Adversaries	0	0	82
Other	4	3	82
Were you satisfied with the meeting format?			
Yes	92	76	83
No	8	7	83
How effective was the meeting?			
Very effective	43	35	82
Somewhat effective	51	42	82
Somewhat ineffective	5	4	82
Very ineffective	1	1	82

When asked why they attended the meetings, 24 (26 percent) of the 94 respondents gave no reason, 29 (31 percent) mentioned concern for or the need to participate in their neighborhoods, 19 (20 percent) expressed safety-related concerns, and 17 (18 percent) said they did so in order to keep themselves informed about the neighborhood and its issues.

Police-Community Interaction

Respondents cited a number of problems in their neighborhoods, as Table 10.7 indicates. Among the most commonly named problems were litter, abandoned buildings, and drug dealing on the streets. Other problems included junk or trash in vacant lots, graffiti, burglary of homes, shooting and violence, abandoned cars, people being attacked or robbed, and gang violence. Theft from automobiles, noise problems, loitering, and panhandling were also mentioned as problems by some respondents.

Despite the existence of crime and disorder problem in their neighborhoods, respondents generally viewed the Cincinnati police in a positive light. As Table 10.8 shows, 77 percent rated their overall relationships with the police in solving problems as either good or very good. They also reported that police were responsive to community concerns, and that the community was responsive in assisting the police.

Table 10.7
Percent of Respondents Who Identified Neighborhood Problems

Problem Area	Percent
Litter	71
Abandoned buildings	62
Drug dealing on streets	59
Vacant lots filled with junk or trash	51
Graffiti	47
Burglary of homes	43
Shootings and violence	41
Abandoned cars in streets and alleys	39
People being attacked or robbed	36
Gang violence	23
Other	20

NOTE: $n = 94$.

Table 10.8
Police-Community Relationship

Survey	Percent	Number	Sample
What is your overall working relationship in solving problems?			
Very good	38	35	92
Good	39	36	92
Fair	13	12	92
Poor	9	8	92
What is police responsiveness to community concerns?			
Very responsive	53	48	91
Somewhat responsive	40	36	91
Somewhat unresponsive	7	6	91
Very unresponsive	1	1	91
What is community responsiveness in assisting police?			
Very responsive	47	40	85
Somewhat responsive	40	34	85
Somewhat unresponsive	12	10	85
Very unresponsive	1	1	85

Community Meetings: Observer Perspective

Consistent with the objectives of the community meeting survey, the authors documented observations of eight community meetings to assess their characteristics. Because the number of observations is so small (one observation for each of the eight meetings), the authors discuss the observations generally. Where appropriate, RAND indicates similarities and differences between the authors' observations and the characterizations made by the community council participants. As noted above, the observations are taken from a nonrandom sample of meetings so the findings provide examples of interactions but may not be generalizable to all such meetings.

Meeting Characteristics

Residents typically led the community meetings. In only one instance did it appear that a business representative led the meeting. There appeared to be an understood method of raising and conducting business at most meetings, and participants usually had a printed agenda to follow. The overall atmosphere of the meeting discussions was always open. Residents frequently dominated the discussion. A business representative dominated one meeting. In a few instances, the discussion was distributed equally among all attendees. In general, the meetings were somewhat to very effective at making progress. These observations generally mirror those made by the participants.

During each meeting, the participants discussed city organizations that could assist with specific problems (e.g., sanitation, traffic engineering, school system), and there was a clear indication that the appropriate people would follow up on the problems identified.

At every meeting, police participants discussed formulating policy with neighborhood or civic organizations for the delivery of needed services (e.g., outreach to faith-based organizations for assistance with homeless, delinquent youth), but in only one meeting did the participants discuss developing committees or procedures that allow residents to have input regarding police policy affecting their neighborhoods. The residents often volunteered to organize themselves into crime prevention groups or to assist in crime prevention in other ways, but in only a few instances was there a clear indication that problem-solving strategies were used to address community problems.

The police almost always provided crime maps or data to residents, and in just over half of the meetings the participants identified new problems and discussed crime prevention methods (e.g., calling in tips, locking doors, supervising children). Although the meetings usually involved two-way discussion between the police and residents, only half of the meetings offered a clear indication that the residents and police were partners in crime prevention. Very few meetings involved a proposal for ways in which the police and other participants can jointly develop crime prevention strategies. Likewise, only one meeting identified specific goals on which the police and community could work together to accomplish, and this goal could not be measured.

Problem Solving: Participant Perspective

The purpose of the problem-solving survey was to determine perceptions about the problem-solving process used in Cincinnati. RAND administered the survey at seven CPOP meetings.

A total of 55 out of 65 participants responded to the survey, making the response rate about 85 percent. Questions focused on the characteristics of meetings and perceptions about the application of the Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment (SARA) approach to solving problems. Again, the sample of problem-solving projects is quite small and may not represent the efforts of all problem-solving projects generally.

Respondent Demographics

As Table 10.9 shows, one-third of those responding represented neighborhood organizations. Several respondents also represented CPPC, the local police, and residents. Slightly more respondents were female (52 percent) than male. Roughly equal numbers of respondents were in their thirties, forties, fifties, and sixties, with a median age of 48. The median time they

Table 10.9
Respondent Demographics

Demographic	Percent	Number	Sample
Representation			
Local police	19	9	48
Community Police Partnering Center	21	10	48
Private business	2	1	48
Private service organization	4	2	48
Neighborhood organization	33	16	48
Other organization	4	2	48
Resident	17	8	48
Sex			
Male	48	26	54
Female	52	28	54
Age			
20–29	8	4	50
30–39	22	11	50
40–49	24	12	50
50–59	20	10	50
60–69	18	9	50
70–79	8	4	50
Race			
White	35	19	55
Black	62	34	55
Other	4	2	55
Own or rent home			
Own	70	38	54
Rent	30	16	54
Education			
Did not finish high school	6	3	53
High school graduate or GED	8	4	53
Some college or vocational school	23	12	53
2-year college degree	15	8	53
4-year college degree	21	11	53
Graduate degree	28	15	53

had lived in Cincinnati was 36 years. Slightly fewer than two-thirds (62 percent) were black, while whites made up a little more than a third (35 percent) of respondents. Seventy percent were homeowners. Almost half (49 percent) had at least a college degree.

Meeting Characteristics

Residents were most likely to lead meetings, followed by CPPC (see Table 10.10). About a quarter (26 percent) of those responding said that residents dominated the meetings, but roughly two-thirds (68 percent) reported that no single party dominated meetings.

A large majority (95 percent) of respondents said that the atmosphere at meetings was open (see Table 10.11). Those who responded said all (82 percent) or most (18 percent) of their opinions were valued.

Table 10.10
Leadership and Dominance at Meetings

Party	Led (%)	Dominated (%)
Police	4	0
Community Police Partnering Center	27	—
Residents	38	26
Other government agencies	2	0
Co-led with police	11	6
Co-led without police	18	0
No one, about equal	—	68

NOTE: *n* = 55.

Table 10.11
Community Meeting Environment

Survey	Percent	Number	Sample
What was the overall atmosphere?			
Open	95	52	55
Strained and tense	4	2	55
Combinations	2	1	55
Were your opinions valued?			
All were valued	82	45	55
Some were valued	18	10	55
None were valued	0	0	55

Problem-Solving Approach

Nearly all those who expressed an opinion of the quality of problem-solving training rated it good or very good (94 percent) (Table 10.12). No respondent said the training was poor. Police support to the problem-solving team was rated good or very good by 92 percent of those who responded. Problem solving was seen as a team responsibility by a majority (55 percent) of respondents. The quality of the police-community relationship was judged good or very good by 82 percent of respondents, and nearly all said the team's problem-solving process was somewhat effective (44 percent) or very effective (55 percent). Eighty-nine percent said the team had worked with the Community Police Partnering Center on the problem.

Table 10.12
Ratings of Problem Solving

Survey	Percent	Number	Sample
What was the quality?			
Very good	54	28	52
Good	40	21	52
Fair	6	3	52
Poor	0	0	52
What was the police support to the problem-solving team?			
Very good	72	39	54
Good	20	11	54
Fair	6	3	54
Poor	2	1	54
Who should be responsible for problem solving?			
Individual officers	3	1	40
Individual residents or representatives	28	11	40
Problem-solving teams	55	22	40
Other	15	6	40
What is the quality of the police-community relationship?			
Very good	49	27	55
Good	33	18	55
Fair	16	9	55
Poor	2	1	55
What is the effectiveness of the team's problem-solving process?			
Very effective	55	30	55
Somewhat effective	44	24	55
Somewhat ineffective	0	0	55
Very ineffective	2	1	55

Problem-Solving Application

Of the 55 respondents, five (9 percent) reported that they were in the scanning stage, eight (15 percent) were in the analysis stage, 33 (60 percent) were in the response stage, and seven (13 percent) were in the assessment stage. Two respondents (4 percent) did not answer the question and are not included in the following analyses. Only those who had experienced a particular stage were allowed to evaluate that stage. Thus someone working on a problem in the scanning stage, for example, would not be able to rate the succeeding (analysis, response, assessment) stages, but someone working on a problem in the assessment stage would be able to rate all four stages.

Table 10.13 shows how respondents rated each stage in which they had participated, along with the number of respondents who had participated in the stage and the number who responded to questions about each stage. The scanning stage was rated good or very good by 90 percent of respondents, while 81 percent said the analysis stage was good or very good. Eighty-seven percent rated the response stage as good or very good. Only five respondents rated the assessment stage, but all saw it as good or very good.

Respondents were also asked more detailed questions about each individual stage. As above, only those who had participated in a given stage were asked about that stage.

Scanning Stage. According to the respondents who rated the scanning stage, residents (48 percent) most often identified the problem, or some combination of residents, police officers, civic representatives, and other agencies identified the problem (Table 10.14). Problem scope was almost evenly divided among a residence or business, a neighborhood, a type of crime, or some other scope—generally more limited—people or places. In fewer instances, the problem focused on a few people. Large majorities of respondents reported that the team discussed how to measure the problem (94 percent), the consequences for community and police (92 percent), and data collection to confirm the problem (96 percent).

Table 10.13
Ratings of Stages of SARA Model

Stage	Very Poor (%)	Poor (%)	Neutral (%)	Good (%)	Very Good (%)	Number Who Had Gone Through Stage	Number Who Responded
Scanning	0	3	8	18	72	53	40
Analysis	0	3	18	28	53	48	36
Response	0	0	12	12	75	40	24
Assessment	0	0	0	40	60	7	5

Table 10.14
Scanning Stage

Survey	Percent
Who identified the problem?	
Police officers	8
Residents	48
Civic representatives	4
Other	40
Combination of all three	12
Combination of two of the three	19
Residents plus other agency	4
Other or unspecified	6
What was the primary scope of the problem?	
A few people	10
A residence or business	20
A neighborhood	22
A type of crime	26
Other	22
The team discussed how to measure the problem.	94
The team discussed the consequences for community and police.	92
The team discussed data collection to confirm the problem.	96

NOTE: $n = 40$.

Analysis Stage. As Table 10.15 shows, during the analysis stage, most respondents said the team discussed the scope of the problem (96 percent), who was involved (98 percent), and where the problem was located (98 percent). They also reported that the team determined the frequency of the problem and how long it has been occurring (96 percent), identified events or conditions that preceded or accompanied the problem (89 percent), and collected relevant data pertaining to the problem (98 percent). Several types of data were gathered, including official crime statistics, calls-for-service data, crime maps, crime surveys, surveys of beat officers, business data, other government data, and school data. Ninety-one percent of respondents reported that they analyzed relevant data, most often by examining change over time but also by comparing the problem characteristics to other problems and by comparing the problem in one area to the same problem in another area. Respondents also said the team discussed how the problem is currently being handled and the strengths and weaknesses of this approach (89 percent), and discussed research on what was known about the problem type or the idea of consulting outside sources for information (84 percent). Respondents reported that the team contacted resources (e.g., other agencies) perceived useful for understanding the problem at a greater level (86 percent). Other resources that were most often consulted included the housing department, the sanitation agency, the school system, and other agencies. Seventy percent of respondents reported that the team developed a testable theory about why the problem is occurring. Theories are important for delineating the causal process, which helps to suggest process and impact criteria and measures to assess the problem-solving process. They also help to develop new responses if the chosen one fails, and to suggest similar responses for other related problems when the response is successful.

Table 10.15
Analysis Stage

Survey	Percent
The team discussed how big the problem was.	96
The team discussed who was involved.	98
The team discussed where the problem was located.	98
The team determined frequency and duration of the problem.	96
The team identified correlates of the problem.	89
The team collected data relevant to the problem.	98
Crime maps	41
Official crime statistics	77
Crime surveys	30
Calls-for-service data	77
Survey of beat officers	25
School data	9
Business data	23
Other government data	14
Other data	21
The team analyzed relevant data.	91
Examined change over time	57
Compared to other problems	38
Compared one area to another	31
Other	13
The team discussed current approaches to the problem.	89
The team discussed research on what is known.	84
The team contacted outside resources.	86
Transportation agency	5
Sanitation agency	37
Housing department	42
School system	18
Other agencies	21
The team developed a testable theory about the problem.	70

NOTE: *n* = 36. Types of data collected, types of data analyzed, and outside agencies contacted were not mutually exclusive. Respondents could report any combination of data types or agencies.

Response Stage. During this stage, most respondents reported that the team brainstormed for new intervention ideas (98 percent), discussed case studies of what other groups have done with similar problems in the past (78 percent), and chose among a series of alternative responses (81 percent), as shown in Table 10.16. Thirty-eight percent of respondents reported that the team-selected response was law enforcement–oriented, and 97 percent said the team outlined a response plan with objectives. The most commonly mentioned objectives were elimination of the problem and reduction of the number of incidents. Slightly less common objectives were to reduce the seriousness of incidents or to develop better methods of handling incidents. No one reported removing the problem from police consideration as an objective. During the response stage, respondents also reported that the team identified specific goals or outcomes to indicate its desired result (92 percent), clearly articulated goals

Table 10.16
Response Stage

Survey	Percent
The team brainstormed for new intervention ideas.	98
The team discussed what others have done.	78
The team decided to choose among alternative responses.	81
The team chose a law enforcement–oriented response.	38
The team outlined a response plan with objectives.	97
Objective of the plan	
Eliminate the problem	53
Reduce number of incidents	53
Reduce seriousness of incidents	42
Develop better methods of handling	36
Other	8
The team identified specific goals or outcomes.	92
The team articulated goals into measurable steps.	78
The team assigned primary responsibility for response.	89
The team chose a method to measure problem reduction.	79

NOTE: *n* = 24.

into steps that could be measured (78 percent), discussed who would take primary responsibility for implementing the response (89 percent), and chose a method to measure problem reduction (79 percent).

Assessment Stage. As previously noted, only seven respondents had reached the assessment stage at the time of the survey, and only five actually responded to questions about this stage. As Table 10.17 shows, all respondents said the team determined whether the plan was implemented, collected the anticipated data, and discussed the data collected to assess the problem. Whether the goals had been achieved was determined either by quantitative means alone (according to 40 percent of respondents) or by a combination of quantitative and qualitative means. Sixty percent of respondents reported that as a result of the assessment, the team planned new strategies or responses to deal with the problem in the future, and 80 percent said the team discussed a plan to conduct follow-up to ensure continued response and its effectiveness.

Table 10.17
Assessment Stage

Survey	Percent
The team determined whether the plan was implemented.	100
The team collected the anticipated data.	100
The team discussed data collected to assess the problem.	100
The team determined whether the goals were achieved by quantitative means only.	40
The team determined whether the goals were achieved by qualitative means only.	0
The team determined whether the goals were achieved by both quantitative and qualitative means.	60
The team did not determine whether the goals were achieved.	0
The team planned new future strategies or responses.	60
The team discussed a follow-up plan for continued response.	80

NOTE: *n* = 5.

Problem Solving: Observer Perspective

As with the community meetings, RAND documented the authors' observations of eight CPOP meetings to describe the characteristics of the meetings and the problem-solving process. The authors also summarize these observations because the number of them is so small, especially when broken down by SARA stage. The authors illustrate how RAND's observations relate to those of participants where comparisons can be made. However, the small number of problems observed does not does not make RAND confident that they represent all the problem-solving projects in Cincinnati.

Meeting Characteristics

Meetings were typically co-led without the police (i.e., more than one leader, none of whom represented the CPD) or led by residents. In one instance, the CPPC led the meeting. There appeared to be an understood method of raising and conducting business at most meetings. Participants had a formal agenda to follow in half the instances. Most of the meetings were open, but the atmosphere was unsupportive and contentious in two of the meetings. Residents typically dominated the discussion, but on a few occasions, discussion seemed about equal among all who were present. By contrast, participants typically felt that no one dominated the discussion, but when it was dominated, it was by residents. In general, the meetings appeared somewhat effective at making progress.

Problem-Solving Application

The observations of the problem-solving process must be interpreted cautiously. In addition to the small number of meetings attended, two other facts significantly limit the generalizability of these findings. First, five of the problems RAND reviewed were in the response stage. This left three problems, one in each of the remaining stages. Therefore, information about three of the stages is drawn from only a single observation. Second, problem solving is a process that takes time, and a single stage of the SARA process can certainly span multiple meetings. The characteristics RAND seeks to examine were likely not present or exhibited during the meeting the authors attended but may occur at another time. Consequently, the authors must reiterate that the observations simply provide some detail and context about some problem-solving processes and are only examples of CPOP projects in Cincinnati.

Scanning Stage. Only one of the problems RAND reviewed was in the scanning stage. Community residents and the CPPC representative originally identified this problem, which affected the entire neighborhood. The team discussed the specific problem and its consequences. The participants did not discuss how the problem could be measured, but they did discuss forms of data collection to confirm the existence of the problem (i.e., crime analysis, ownership research, arrest research, and code-enforcement write-ups). The vast majority of survey respondents indicated that the team discussed both problem measurement and data collection.

Analysis Stage. As with the scanning stage, RAND's examination of analysis is limited because only one problem the authors examined was in this stage. In the meeting the authors attended, participants did not discuss how big the problem was, its frequency or duration, or any events or conditions that preceded or accompanied the problem. While the authors did not observe these discussions, nearly all participants indicated in the survey that

their team discussed these issues at some point. Participants also claimed that they discussed who was involved and where the problem was, and the authors observed these discussions.

The participants collected mostly law enforcement data regarding the problem (i.e., official crime statistics and calls for service), and they indicated this in the survey. They generally indicated that they analyzed data relevant to the problem, but this was not apparent to us. During this meeting, the team did not discuss past experience with the problem or with similar problems. For example, they did not discuss how the problem was currently being handled and the strengths of weaknesses of the approach, research on what is known about the problem type, or the idea of consulting outside sources for information (e.g., Problem Guides or other utilities from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, police experts on the monitor's team or local universities, or other police agencies). Finally, they did not identify any resources that may be useful for understanding the problem at a greater level or develop a testable theory about why the problem is occurring. The majority of CPOP participants indicated they did both.

Response Stage. Five of the problems RAND observed were in the response stage. In all but one of the meetings, the team brainstormed for new intervention ideas and chose a response among a series of alternatives. In three of the meetings, they discussed case studies of what others have done with similar problems in the past. In none of these CPOP meetings was the response chosen primarily law enforcement–oriented. These observations are consistent with what the participants reported.

The CPOP participants generally did not outline a response plan or define specific objectives for the response. In a few meetings, participants identified specific goals or outcomes to indicate a desired result, but in no instance did they clearly articulate goals into steps that could be measured or choose a method to measure problem reduction. These observations do not coincide with the CPOP participant surveys. The majority of participants indicated that the team did each of these. However, there is consistency between RAND's observations and the participants' responses in terms of delegating responsibility. In three out of the five meetings, the participants discussed who would take primary responsibility for implementing the response. In these cases, they assigned responsibility for different tasks to various people, apparently based on knowledge and experience. About 89 percent of participants advised that their team did this.

Assessment Stage. Unfortunately, the one meeting RAND could observe that was in the assessment stage invited guest speakers during the authors' visit. Therefore, the participants did not discuss the problem and RAND could not review their application of the assessment process.

Summary and Policy Implications

The few community and CPOP meetings that RAND attended appeared to be generally effective at making substantive progress. Overall, those attending the community meetings were familiar with CPOP and CPPC. Most indicated the meetings were open, their opinions were valued and considered, and everyone was treated with dignity and respect. Most viewed the police as a partner, thought the community and police were responsive to each other's needs and concerns, and considered their relationships with the police as positive.

Those attending CPOP meetings also characterized the environment as open, and their opinions as valued by others. For the most part, they judged the training they received and the police-community relationship as fairly good, and the problem-solving process mostly effective. As for each stage of the SARA model, respondents were most likely to rate as "very good" their application of the response stage, followed by scanning, assessment, and then analysis.

Despite many positive attributes, changes can be made in several areas to help improve the performance of the community meetings and CPOP projects as well as police-community relations. First, while generally positive, there is room to improve the police-community relationship. Approximately two out of five respondents who completed the community meeting survey characterized the overall police-community relationship in solving problems as "good," and the police and community as being "somewhat responsive" to each other's needs. One in three CPOP participants considered the quality of the police-community relationship "good." About 20 percent of community meeting and CPOP participants felt the working relationship was only "poor" or "fair." Based on RAND's observations of community meetings, the authors saw a clear indication the residents and police are partners in crime prevention in only half of the meetings. In addition, in only one instance did the authors observe community-meeting participants discuss developing committees or procedures that allow residents to have input into police policy affecting their neighborhoods, and the authors rarely saw a clear indication that problem-solving strategies were used to address community problems.

Second, the process of problem solving can be improved. About 46 percent of those who responded to the CPOP surveys rated the quality of their problem-solving process as "good" or less, and the effectiveness of the problem-solving process as "somewhat effective" or less. Ratings of the individual stages of the SARA problem-solving model suggest which areas have the most room to improve. Roughly three-quarters of the CPOP respondents judged their application of the scanning and response stages as "very good." Yet, 50 percent rated the analysis, and 60 percent rated the assessment, at this same level.

Third, those participating in the meetings were generally more supportive of the police, regardless of race. Both whites and blacks attended the meetings, but there was differential participation by meeting type. Community meeting participants were largely white, whereas CPOP meeting participants were largely black. Both groups were typically satisfied with the police. Therefore, police-community relations may be enhanced by encouraging those with the most critical view of the police (which on average appear to be black, based on the findings of other chapters) to participate in community and CPOP meetings. This is consistent with research indicating that residents who see community-oriented activity are more positive about the police, more likely to believe the police are responsive to their concerns, more likely to believe the police are effectively addressing crime, and more likely to feel safe from crime (Skogan and Harnett, 1997). Yet, there is also the potential of selection bias in that those who choose to work with the police are already generally supportive of them. Therefore, working with the police may improve the community's satisfaction with the police, which would suggest that community members should be encouraged to get involved with the police, and also that the police should do as much as possible to interact and collaborate with the community. However, the evidence obtained in this study cannot confirm this causal process and distinguish it from alternative explanations.

It is important to understand that the lessons drawn from the periodic observations may or may not be applicable for all the community meetings and CPOP projects. Budget constraints and the prioritization of other tasks significantly reduced the scope of the periodic observations task. The reduction in the scope of this task makes it difficult to draw overall policy implications. In addition to the nonrandom sample of periodic observations, the sample size was small and the response rate for the community meetings was low. These factors preclude the ability to generalize to all community meetings and CPOP projects in Cincinnati. The observations provide context about the process and perceived effectiveness of the meetings, and the strategies proposed from them can only help build the overall capacity for the CPD and the community to work to improve their relationships.

The experience RAND gained in this first-year report has led the authors to consider an alternative approach that may be more effective at gaining insight regarding the application of problem solving. Instead of attending one meeting for a larger (although still small without additional investment) number of CPOP projects, it may be useful in future analyses to document the problem-solving process from start to finish for a small number of problems. As discussed, observing a single meeting provided only minimal detail about the way in which the participants conducted the problem-solving process. Time constraints and meeting agendas often limited RAND's ability to gain useful information during site visits. Although possibly more difficult to implement—and the findings would still not be generalizable without significant investment—observing the actual problem-solving process would provide rich detail about its implementation over time throughout the entire process. This approach may be useful for the community meetings as well.

Renaur, Duffee, and Scott (2003) compared the relative advantages and disadvantages of these two approaches to assess police-community interactions. They determined that global measures (i.e., summaries of interactions that occurred throughout the meeting) of police-community interactions and periodic observations of police-community meetings, as conducted here, are helpful to understand variation in meetings and the effectiveness of implementing collaborative strategies. However, continuous observations with issue-specific (i.e., individual action items that occur in meetings) coding strategies are necessary to understand the cause-and-effect relationship between police-community collaboration and community improvement. Executing this second strategy in the next assessment of community and CPOP meetings would complement the current analysis. It would illustrate how interactions and problem-solving processes develop over time within groups of police-community members working together.

As requested, this analysis focused mostly on process, interaction, and the application of problem solving. It largely leaves unanswered the extent to which the problem-solving efforts effectively addressed their corresponding problems. RAND urges the parties to determine which aspects of these activities are most important to them—process, outcome, or both—and expanding the scope of work to explore them more fully.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Summary and Conclusions

Overview

The purpose of this first-year evaluation report was primarily to establish the baseline from which future progress toward or regression from the goals of the collaborative agreement can be measured. As such, RAND can offer only preliminary comment on progress toward achievement of the goals spelled out in the collaborative agreement:

- Ensure that police officers and community members…become proactive partners in community problem solving.
- Build relationships of respect, cooperation, and trust within and between police and communities.
- Improve education, oversight, monitoring, hiring practices, and accountability of the CPD.
- Ensure fair, equitable, and courteous treatment for all.
- Create methods to establish the public's understanding of police policies and procedures and recognition of exceptional service in an effort to foster support for the police (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, undated, pp. 3–4).

The complexity—and difficulty—of the tasks facing the parties is best summarized by juxtaposing two findings from RAND's evaluation: Substantial majorities of black respondents think race is a factor in their perceived poorer treatment by police, yet RAND found no systemic pattern of the CPD targeting blacks for differential treatment based on their race. How can these seemingly irreconcilable facts be squared? Moreover, what does this pattern suggest for the coming years of the collaborative agreement? The overall story with respect to attainment of the goals established in the collaborative agreement process is complicated but, in the end, one for which there is some hope of achievement. After a brief review of data issues, the balance of this concluding chapter is organized around the goals of the collaborative agreement.

Data Issues

RAND would be remiss if the authors concluded this first annual report without mentioning some critical data issues that need to be addressed.

- **Improve the rate at which surveys are returned.** At the time this report was completed, only 29 percent (40 of 143 officers surveyed) had responded to the police officer survey. The Principal Investigator (Jack Riley) received numerous calls from officers who were concerned about the survey. A letter or communication from CPD command staff and the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) to the members of the force might increase the compliance rate. More generally, with the exception of the community survey, the response rates to the surveys were low. In order to avoid a repeat of these problems in the later years of the contract, RAND will have to develop alternative approaches to these surveys in collaboration with the parties.
- **Improve documentation of vehicle stops, including the completion of information on the contact cards.** Approximately 20 percent of the vehicle stops are not being documented and 16 percent of the contact cards are missing important information. Baltimore County (Canter, 2004) has established data quality control procedures that offer a potential validation and audit model that might improve compliance.
- **Reduce the volume of video- and audiotapes with missing or unintelligible information.** There are two types of missing information for the video record analysis: records *not available* and records *not found*. Records not available were those that RAND requested but that the CPD could not locate. Records not found were those in which the identified incident could not be located on the tape. Overall, 60 percent of the requested incidents were missing. Among the viewed records, there were problems with the audio quality on approximately one-third of the tapes, and approximately 15 percent of the tapes ended before the incident was complete. The authors realize that some of these problems are due to limitations of the equipment itself in this difficult operational environment. However, it appears that substantial improvements could be achieved by ensuring that officers are using the equipment correctly and that existing departmental policies are enforced.

Progress Toward the Goals of the Collaborative Agreement

Proactive Partners in Community Problem Solving

There is evidence from the periodic observations that the CPD has implemented the CPOP process to a considerable degree. Respondents describe the community council and CPOP meetings as generally open forums where diverse views are tolerated and accepted. RAND's observations verify these perceptions. In addition, the CPOP process has been used to address a wide variety of community concerns, ranging from trash and loitering to drug sales and gangs. However, despite these achievements, two elements of the CPOP process require attention: problem definition and community participation. Without improvements in these areas, it seems unlikely that the parties will achieve the goal of becoming proactive partners in community problem solving. With respect to problem definition, the authors saw little indication that problem-solving processes are explicitly being used to address community problems.

There is the further, specific problem of engaging the black community. Research in Chicago indicates that increased civic engagement and attendance at community meetings improves perceptions of the police even in high-crime neighborhoods (Skogan and Harnett, 1997). RAND notes similar findings: Results from the authors' observations of community

policing meetings indicate that attendees express a high degree of satisfaction with the police and the community policing meetings. In addition, results from RAND's study indicate that knowing police officers by name or sight is related to improved perceptions of the Cincinnati police. Police-community relations may be enhanced by encouraging those with the most critical view of the police (blacks) to participate in community and CPOP meetings. However, the challenge lies in engaging the black community on these dimensions of police-community relations.

Build Relationships Between Police and Communities

As demonstrated by the surveys, overall there is community support for the police. This support, however, is tempered by much lower levels of support in specific parts of the city. The parts of the city expressing the least support for the police have the largest black populations. It seems evident from the surveys that there is a long way to go in building trust and positive relations between the police and segments of the community.

Perhaps the most important finding is that these perceptions are not matched by a clear pattern of racial bias in motorist stop and post-stop activity. Rather, perceptions appear to be partially driven by differences in neighborhood quality conditions and the style of policing in specific regions of the city. Blacks are more likely than whites to view crime as a serious problem in their neighborhoods and to witness social and physical disorder. While some research indicates that proactive policing behavior in the form of aggressive traffic enforcement has at least a temporary impact on crime (see Sampson and Cohen, 1988; James Q. Wilson and Boland, 1980; Sherman, 1992), this approach also engenders greater distrust of the police (Taylor, 2001), because it presents an added burden to law-abiding citizens living in or traveling through high-crime neighborhoods. Police, for example, are more likely to stop vehicles for equipment violations and run warrant checks in high-crime neighborhoods in Cincinnati. These decisions do not appear to be a function of officer bias, since whites driving in these same neighborhoods face a similar probability as blacks of being stopped. Black residents are, however, more likely to reside in these high-crime neighborhoods where this kind of proactive policing occurs. Thus, to some unknown degree, the burden of proactive policing gets enforced on blacks.

Unfortunately, resolving the issue of the disproportionate impact that proactive policing has on the black community defies simple solution. Indeed, many communities around the United States are struggling with the same problem. A policing style that promotes joint (police and community) crime prevention and restores trust in the police is a valuable goal for the CPD to pursue. The parties should seek answers to two critical questions in this regard. First, how can Cincinnati build an effective policing model without an enforcement pattern that differentially affects the black community? Second, when effective policing does appear to affect the black community disproportionately, what tools are at the parties' disposal to ensure that reasons for the policing policies are effectively communicated to community members? In short, the city needs to avoid the assumption that effective law enforcement and good community relations are mutually exclusive goals, and to work to find policies that can maximize both outcomes. The CPOP programs that were implemented following the collaborative agreement may be one way to do this; however, additional efforts may be required.

Staffing is another, more indirect way in which the goal of building relations between the police and community might be met. As noted previously, blacks and women are gener-

ally underrepresented in civilian and sworn roles in the CPD. While it is unclear what short-term impact reducing this disparity will have on black perceptions of the CPD, it seems likely that the disparity raises questions about the CPD's legitimacy and inhibits its ability to improve its interaction with the community.

Improve Education, Oversight, Monitoring, Hiring Practices, and Accountability of the CPD

National public opinion poll data indicates that citizens in general support community policing and efforts at police reform including (1) methods of monitoring officer behavior, (2) sanctions for officers who engage in misconduct, (3) installing video cameras in police cars, (4) early warning systems to flag officers who receive several complaints from citizens, and (5) a policy of recording information including race by all motorists stopped by officers (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). The Cincinnati Police Department is currently engaged in these reform efforts, yet the extent to which the public and blacks in particular have been made aware of their efforts is unclear. Thus, one significant step toward reaching this objective may simply be to increase communication on these topics.

Ensure Fair, Equitable, and Courteous Treatment

The message on this topic is mixed. On the one hand, there is no clear evidence of racial profiling in the traffic stops or post-stop activity. Reports obtained from participants in community council and CPOP meetings, verified by RAND's independent observations, indicate that the atmosphere at these meetings is considered fair and equitable. However, the videotape analyses suggest that there are differences in the oral communication styles between officers and suspects of different races. Unpleasant driver behavior is more likely with longer or more invasive traffic stops. While it is beyond the scope of RAND's data, it is reasonable to suspect that the greater distrust of the police that blacks expressed in RAND's public opinion survey would translate into more tense interactions between blacks and Cincinnati police officers during police-citizen encounters.

The good news is that the problem of differences in the oral communication styles between officers and suspects of different races can likely be addressed through changes in training or policies. Improving the skill and confidence with which officers of all races deal with suspects from other races will, over time, help improve the relationships between the police and the community. This will not be an easy task to undertake, but it is a concrete and identifiable step that the parties can undertake to achieve the goal of fair, equitable, and courteous treatment for all.

Create Methods to Foster Support of the Police

As stated in the agreement, the fifth goal of the agreement is to "create methods to establish the public's understanding of police policies and procedures and recognition of exceptional service in an effort to foster support of the police" (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, undated, p. 4). The results from the officer survey indicate that the officers perceive little community willingness to work with officers on problem solving and the perception that blacks complain and the media report unfairly about racial profiling and police abuse of authority. Still, officers maintain high degrees of personal commitment to the job, though nearly one-third reported that the job is not a source of satisfaction. In short, while the majority of officers appear to be satisfied with the work, they also suffer significant strains from the job.

There are no easy solutions to these strains. However, some of the suggestions provided earlier also apply to this goal. At a minimum, more effective communication of CPD goals, policies, and strategies through channels that community members trust, would create opportunities to increase support. Similarly, providing training on interacting with suspects of a different race can be expected to increase the officers' confidence and skill in such interpersonal situations. As they are more effectively able to interact with people of other races the authors can expect that they might begin to perceive less community resistance and, perhaps, more community support.

APPENDIX 4.A

Technical Details on Propensity Score Weighting

We used propensity score weighting to reweight stops made by other officers so that they have the same distribution of features as the stops of the target officer (Officer A in the preceding example). We use the term "matching" in the results section since it conveys the essential idea that the distribution of features are matched. However, technically the individual stops are weighted rather than individually included or excluded from the sample.

Let $f(\mathbf{x}|A)$ represent the distribution of features of officer A's stops and $f(x|\sim A)$ represent the distribution of features of other officers' stops. We want to weight the distribution of the other officers' stops so that

$$f(\mathbf{x} \mid A) = w(\mathbf{x}) f(\mathbf{x} \mid \sim A)$$

where $w(\mathbf{x})$ is the weighting function of interest to us. Solving for $w(\mathbf{x})$ and applying Bayes' Theorem to the numerator and denominator yields

$$w(\mathbf{x}) = K \frac{f(A \mid \mathbf{x})}{f(\sim A \mid \mathbf{x})} \propto \frac{\text{\% of stops with features x involving officer A}}{\text{\% of stops with features x involving not officer A}}$$

where K is a constant that will later drop out of the analysis. This indicates that for a stop not made by officer A with features $\mathbf{x}$ we should apply a weight equal to the odds that a stop with features $\mathbf{x}$ was made by officer A. Note that if officer A rarely made a stop in neighborhood 32 then all stops made by other officers in neighborhood 32 will receive a weight near 0. On the other hand, stops made by other officers with features much like officer A's stops will receive large weights. We use a nonparametric version of logistic regression to compute these weights. See McCaffrey et al. (2004) for complete details.

We evaluate the quality of the weights by how well the distribution of the features match between the target officer and the weighted stops made by other officers. For example, comparing the third and fourth columns in Table 4.8 indicates that the computed weights align the distributions of stop features.

Since we compute confidence intervals for 91 officers, we created Bonferroni-corrected confidence intervals by setting $\alpha = 1 - \sqrt[91]{0.95} = 0.0005$. Individual intervals, therefore, are 99.9-percent confidence intervals with 5-percent error rate over all 91. This results in conservative estimates of the number of potentially problematic officers. The confidence intervals themselves are computed from the quantiles of the beta-binomial distribution to account for skewness in some of the distributions and uncertainty in the rate of black drivers stopped in the matched sample group.

1. McCaffrey, D., G. Ridgeway, Andrew Morral (2004). "Propensity Score Estimation with Boosted Regression for Evaluating Adolescent Substance Abuse Treatment," *Psychological Methods* 9(4):403–425.

APPENDIX 5.A

Reliability of Audio/Video Coding

Computation of Reliabilities

The coding scheme contains both dichotomous and interval measures. As a result, the reliability calculations for each were done separately. The reliability for interval and ratio measures used estimates of Cronbach's alpha and/or interclass correlations for each variable. For dichotomous variables, the process was somewhat more complex. We first identified the modal response. A percentage of agreement was computed by dividing the number of coders at the mode by the total number of coders. Each line of the matrix was examined for its modal value. All coders at the modal value were counted and this number was recorded in the margin. These margin numbers were summed down all the rows of a matrix. This sum was divided by all the decisions reflected in the matrix, and the resulting fraction was the percentage of agreement among coders on that variable.

For each line in each matrix, the modal value is identified; thus the reliability testing is based on a norm determined by the coders, not a prescribed criterion value. The number of coders selecting the modal value is entered in the margin of the matrix. These margin numbers (one for each interaction) are summed and then divided by the number of cells in the matrix. This proportion is the percentage of agreement. These percentages of agreement were then converted into reliability coefficients by using a PRE (proportional reduction of error) procedure. Although percentage of agreement is often a useful indicator of consistency, it is an incomplete measure, particularly for complex judgments. With complex measures, some context is needed to better interpret the meaning of the statistic. Therefore, we employed a proportional reduction of error technique, which relies on Cohen's Kappa (Cohen, 1960). This technique was chosen due to the number of coders employed in the study. Cohen's Kappa is commonly viewed as a version of Scott's Pi that corrects for chance error in the consistency ratings of multiple coders, and it is considered a standard proportional reduction of error technique in content analysis studies (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

Results of Reliability Testing

The reliability on each of the variables was quite high as indicated by the overall median range of agreement that ranged from .52 to 1.0. Out of the 143 variables, less than 8 percent (12) failed to reach conventional levels of reliability (.70). Out of these, eight variables appeared to suffer persistent problems with coder consistency. These included officer pleasantness, officer impatience, officer rigidity, officer proximity, officer expressiveness, officer authoritativeness, driver respect and politeness, and driver submissiveness. These variables

reflect more subjective decisions than other variables and training did not appear to fully address the inconsistency among the coders. Due to the slightly lower reliabilities on these items, we have slightly less power for detecting differences on these outcomes that we do on other outcomes. This effect is substantially mitigated, however, because most of these items are designed to be part of a larger scale in which any individual item plays a small role. Overall, the interrater reliability assessments appear to establish strong confidence in the consistency of coder assessment in this study (see Table 5.A.1).

Consistency over time in coding practices is essential for establishing the data's reliability. Therefore, a continual check was conducted to spot instances of coder fatigue as soon as possible and to make any necessary corrections. Using the same reliability data as that reported in the preceding section, the performance of the overall group of coders was assessed.

If a particular coder was observed to have made a high number of decisions that were inconsistent with the decisions of the total group of coders, they were identified for retraining. Coders were retrained in the areas where they were diagnosed as having difficulty making decisions. In all cases, the subsequent coding work was found to be consistent. No coders were removed from the project.

Table 5.A.1
Interrater Reliability Coefficients for Individual Codebook Items

Measures	Reliability Coefficient
Video quality (prvideo)	0.96
Audio quality (praudio)	0.93
Primary officer audible (poaudibl)	0.96
Driver audible (draudibl)	0.97
Tape ends/begins suddenly (tapend)	0.96
Overall intelligibility (intlgbl)	0.95
Total time detained (tltime)	0.98
Total wait time (cwaitime)	0.93
Total talk time PO (potlkdrv)	0.86
Total interruptions by PO (pointrpt)	0.90
Total talk time DR (drtlkdrv)	0.92
Total interruptions by DR (drintrpt)	0.92
Hand on gun (handgun)	0.97
Loud speaker system (speaker)	0.91
PO walking backward (pobkwalk)	0.91
Use of bright lights (blights)	0.79
Officer partner (partner)	0.96
# of officers approach (ofaprch)	0.94
Total officers at scene (tofscene)	0.90
Race of additional officers (racothof)	0.88
Other PO verbal/physical aggression (ooagress)	0.87
Officer body commandments (ofbodcom)	0.83
Presearch for probable cause (presrch)	0.91
Visual search time (vsrchtme)	0.95
Consent for search (cnsrchd)	0.92
Consent for search implied (cnsrchi)	0.91
Driver searched (search)	0.97

Table 5.A.1—continued

Measures	Reliability Coefficient
Anyone searched (searchan)	0.98
More than one officer search (mposerch)	0.77
Searched standing or against vehicle (poserch)	0.99
Total time occupant searched (srchotim)	0.85
Vehicle search (vhcserch)	0.93
Vehicle search time (srchvtim)	0.90
Illegal items found on occupant (illitem)	0.91
Number of occupants (numoc)	0.84
Race of additional occupants (racothdr)	0.85
PO requests passengers leave vehicle (lvehclpa)	0.86
Other occupant license check (oolicns)	0.88
Other occupant violence (ocviol)	0.84
Vehicle age (veage)	0.81
Vehicle class (vetype)	0.89
Nature of stop (natstop)	0.87
Outcome of interaction (outcome)	0.92
Car towed (cartow)	0.93
Bystanders (bystand)	0.96
Drugs mentioned (drugsmen)	0.91
Traffic flow (traffic)	0.75
Light conditions of stop (light)	0.99
Phenotypical of race PO (phporace)	0.88
Sex/gender of PO (sexof)	0.95
Age group of PO (agegspo)	0.81
PO greeting (greetpo)	0.89
PO address DR by first name (namepo)	0.95
Primary officer reason for stop (reasonpo)	0.90
Gang behavior mentioned (gang)	0.94
Negative term used by PO (negterm)	0.94
Negative term used by PO on radio (ngtrmrad)	0.94
PO interrogation question (qustinpo)	0.96
PO interrogation answer (ansrpo)	0.84
PO incriminating search question (icrmqst)	0.92
PO offers a break (break)	0.87
PO good word (goodwrd)	0.89
PO introduced him/herself (nameof)	0.95
PO verbal aggression (vagrspo)	0.94
PO threat of physical aggression (tpagrspo)	0.95
PO physical aggression (panwpnpo)	0.86
Officer pleasantness (cplsntpo)	0.58
Officer listening (calstnpo)	0.65
Officer perspective taking (caviwspo)	0.72
Officer politeness and respect (capolit)	0.70
Officer explanations (cxplnpo)	0.79
Officer helpfulness (helpflpo)	0.77
Officer approachability (aprochpo)	0.69

Table 5.A.1—continued

Measures	Reliability Coefficient
Officer gave advice (advicepo)	0.86
Officer self-disclosed (slfdispo)	0.91
Officer courtesy (courtypo)	0.52
Officer dismissiveneses (dismispo)	0.70
Officer indifference (indifpo)	0.68
Officer impatience (impatpo)	0.65
Officer rigid (rigidpo)	0.62
Officer patronizing (patronpo)	0.84
Officer air of superiority (superpo)	0.75
Officer interruptions (intrptpo)	0.76
Officer insulting (insltpo)	0.96
Officer disconfirming (dscnfrpo)	0.83
Officer sarcasm (sarcpo)	0.89
Officer aggravation (poaggrv)	0.93
Officer apologetic (poapolog)	0.96
Officer anxious (anxiuspo)	0.85
Officer anger (angrpo)	0.89
Officer humor (pohumor)	0078
Proximity of PO to DR (poclose)	0.65
Body orientation of PO to DR (pobdor)	0.72
Officer expressiveness (poexpres)	0.59
Primary officer authoritativeness (authpo)	0.54
Primary officer complacence (complapo)	0.74
Phenotypical race driver (phdrace)	0.87
Sex/gender of driver (sexdrvr)	0.93
Age group of driver (agegrpdr)	0.85
Clothing of driver (clothes)	0.88
Driver hand cuffed (hand)	0.91
PO requests DR to leave vehicle (lvehclpo)	0.89
Driver verbal aggression (vagsdr)	0.94
Driver threat of physical aggression (tpagrsdr)	0.97
Driver aggression (panwpndr)	0.89
Driver threatened complaint (drthrete)	0.96
Driver implicitly threatened complaint (drthreti)	0.95
Driver incriminating answer (icrmansr)	0.87
Driver pleasantness (caplesdr)	0.71
Driver listening (calistdr)	0.60
Driver perspective taking (caviwdr)	0.59
Driver respect and politeness (carsptdr)	0.60
Driver explanations (caxpnldr)	0.82
Driver self-disclosure (slfdisdr)	0.89
Driver courtesy (courtydr)	0.68
Driver cooperativeness (coopdr)	0.55
Driver belligerence (beligdr)	0.91
Driver dismissiveness (dismisdr)	0.75
Driver indifference (indifdr)	0.77

Table 5.A.1—continued

Measures	Reliability Coefficient
Driver impatience (impatdr)	0.75
Driver argumentativeness (arguedr)	0.60
Driver submissiveness (submitdr)	0.56
Driver excuses (excusedr)	0.75
Driver air of superiority (superdr)	0.95
Driver interruptions (intrptdr)	0.85
Driver insulting (insltdr)	0.93
Driver trivialized offense (trivdr)	0.96
Driver apologetic (apologdr)	0.83
Driver suspicious (suspdr)	0.97
Driver feels they are being profiled (profildr)	0.96
Driver sarcasm (sarcdr)	0.88
Driver begs (beggdr)	0.96
Driver crying (crydr)	0.95
Driver aggravation (draggrv)	0.72
Driver humor (drhumor)	0.93
Driver confusion (drconfus)	0.85
Driver anxiousness (dranxuos)	0.74
Driver anger (angrdr)	0.85
Proximity of DR to PO (drclose)	0.88

APPENDIX 5.B

Police-Civilian Videotaped Interactions Codebook

RAND-Cincinnati Police Department 2005 Police-Civilian Videotaped Interactions Codebook (Form D)

RAND-CPD Identifiers for Contacts

RAND Corporation and CPD (Cincinnati Police Department) use a number of identifiers in order to track interactions. Use these in order to track the specific stops that are coded. Some of these include demographic information on the occupants and officers. All of this information is contained on the contact report spreadsheet used by RAND.

1. **Form (form):** This is the form used for the week's coding.
   1 = Form A
   2 = Form B
   3 = Form C
   4 = Form D
2. **Incident Report# (incp):** This is the random number assigned to all traffic stops. Although we have tapes that contain multiple incidents, RAND has identified the specific stops that we will investigate based upon incident/contact reports that must be filed by officers for all interactions they have with citizens. In most cases these numbers will be sequential, and at other times they will not be sequential.
3. **Date of Incident (date):** Record information about the date of the incident using the standard format of MM/DD/YYYY.
4. **Time of Incident (time):** Record the time of the incident using military time 0:00 to 24:00 hours.

Quality of Tape Variables

5. **Poor video quality (prvideo):** The quality of the video was such that it rendered many of the variables of interest essentially uncodeable. This would include cameras that were not focused properly or were pointed in the wrong direction. In addition, video quality that was hampered because of poor lighting would also be included here. As a rule of thumb, we will say that if 20–30 percent of the interaction cannot be seen, code the interaction as a 1.
   0 = not poor video quality; 1 = poor video quality
6. **Poor audio quality (praudio):** The quality of the audio was such that it rendered many of the variables of interest essentially uncodeable. This would include audio that was severely hampered by the noise of passerby traffic. Poor quality would also be indicated with difficulty to hear the speech of the primary officer (officer who

approaches the driver) and/or the driver of the vehicle. As a rule of thumb here, we will say that if 20–30 percent of the interaction cannot be heard, code the interaction as a 1.
0 = not poor audio quality; 1 = poor audio quality

7. **Primary officer audible (poaudibl):** To what extent was the primary officer audible on the tape? This would the percentages of her/his utterances that were understandable WHILE interacting with the civilian.
not at all audible; 0%; 10%; 20%; 30%; 40%; 50%; 60%; 70%; 80%; 90%; 100% audible
8. **Driver audible (draudibl):** To what extent was the driver audible on the tape? This would the percentages of her/his utterances that were understandable WHILE interacting with the primary officer.
not at all audible; 0%; 10%; 20%; 30%; 40%; 50%; 60%; 70%; 80%; 90%; 100% audible
9. **Tape ends or begins suddenly (tapend):** The tape clearly ended before the interaction is complete OR begins suddenly in the middle of an interaction.
0 = tape does not begin or end suddenly; 1 = tape begins or ends suddenly
10. **Overall intelligibleness (intlgbl):** Overall, how intelligible was the tape? Consider the audio quality, video quality, camera angles, etc. in your decision.
not at all intelligible; 0%; 10%; 20%; 30%; 40%; 50%; 60%; 70%; 80%; 90%; 100% intelligible

Length of Time Variables

For each of the following variables do your best to estimate the time that each took. The best method for undertaking this is to use a stop watch. You should also feel free to use the time stamp information provided by RAND. Each of the behaviors that should be timed are detailed below.

11. **Total time the civilian was detained in seconds (tltime):** The beginning of the detention begins once both the civilian and police officers cars have stopped. This estimate will end when the civilian drives away. Please use the video time stamp to record the time of this variable.
12. **Civilian wait time in seconds (cwaitime):** How long does the civilian wait in the car before the officer approaches? This estimated count should begin after the civilian and police officer have pulled over and stopped. This time should end when the officer begins to speak. Please use your stopwatch to record the time on this variable.

Estimate the length of time for each of the following for the primary officer in seconds. Please use standard rounding rules. Anything below .49 rounds down, anything above .50 rounds up. (primary officer is the officer that approaches the driver of the car)

13. **Talk time total for the primary officer directed toward the driver (potlkdrv):** You should let the timer run during pauses that occur because an officer is thinking about what to say next during an interaction. Additionally, even if you cannot tell what the primary officer and driver are saying, but you can tell the differences between the two voices, code the amount of time the officer is speaking and record it here.
9999 = not applicable/cannot be coded

14. How many times did the officer interrupt the driver (pointrpt): An interruption includes when one cannot get his or her thought to completion before someone else begins speaking.
    9999 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Estimate the length of time for each of the following for the driver in seconds

15. **Talk time total for the driver directed toward the primary officer (drtlkdrv):** If you cannot tell what the primary officer and driver are saying, but you can tell the differences between the two voices, code the amount of time the driver is speaking and record it here.
    9999 = not applicable/cannot be coded
16. **How many times did the driver interrupt the primary police officer (drintrpt):** An interruption includes when one cannot get his or her thought to completion before someone else begins speaking.
    9999 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Description of Event Variables

Officer Descriptors/Behaviors

17. **Hand on gun (handgun):** Did the primary officer at the scene have his or her hand on his or her gun at any point during the interaction? Hand on gun would include officers who have released their safety catch, are resting their hands on their weapon, or have their gun at the ready whether or not it is in response to aggression.
    0 = hand not on gun; 1 = hand on gun
18. **Officer loudspeaker system (speaker):** The officer used his or her loudspeaker system while pulling the car over.
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable
19. **Walking backwards (pobkwalk):** Did the officer walk backwards when moving from the civilian car to his/her police cruiser? The officer needs to make a conscious effort to walk backwards. We will consider a police officer as walking backwards if he walked backwards to at least the end of the civilian's car. CHANGE: THE "99=SOMEONE WAS ARRESTED OR YOU CANNOT SEE HOW THE OFFICER WALKED" WAS ADDED IN FORM C, AND CONTINUED IN FORM D.
    0 = does not walk backward; 1 = walked backward; 99 = someone was arrested or you cannot see how the officer walked
20. **Officer bright lights (blights):** Does the officer use floodlights during the interaction?
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable
21. **Officer partner (partner):** The primary officer had a partner. If no one gets out of the car and you do not hear the primary officer speaking to someone other than the dispatcher, this should be coded as a 1 for "no."
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable
22. **Officers who approach (ofaprch):** How many officers approached the vehicle? This would include all officers who actually got out of their car to assist during the interaction. This would NOT apply to officers who just stopped by the scene and

asked other officers if they needed assistance. It would also NOT apply to officers who responded but never left their police vehicles.
1 = 1; 2 = 2; 3 = 3; 4 = 4+; 99 = not determinable

23. **Total officers at scene (tofscene):** How many total officers were at the scene whether or not they took part in the interaction? This would include all officers who actually got out of their car to assist during the interaction or who just stopped by to offer assistance to the officers at the scene. It would also apply to officers who responded but never left their police vehicles. Use the majority rule when determining this variable.
_ _ (two digits); 99 = not determinable
24. **Race of additional officers (racothof):** Not counting the primary officer who initially approaches the driver what was the predominate race of the other officers at the scene?
0 = no other officers at the scene; 1 = black; 2 = white; 3 = other; 99 = not determinable/applicable
25. **Other officer verbal or physical aggression (ooagress):** Were any of the officers verbally or physically aggressive towards any of the occupants? Verbal aggression would include the use of insults, and ethnic characterizations often associated with the possibility of escalating physical aggression. Verbal aggression would include anything the officer says that is rude or potentially offensive to the civilian. Physical aggression at the very least could be represented by an officer putting his or her hands on a civilian at any point during a stop (with the exception of a standard non-invasive search or a friendly gesture such as a handshake). This is not a judgment of whether physical or verbal aggression was necessary or appropriate. It is only a judgment of whether the aggression occurred. CHANGE: FORM A AND B HAD THE FOLLOWING RESPONSES: 0= OTHER OFFICERS WERE AGGRESSIVE; 1=OTHER OFFICERS WERE NOT AGGRESSIVE; 99=NOT APPLICABLE/DETERMINABLE. THE RESPONSES BELOW STARTED IN FORM C, AND CONTINUED IN FORM D.
0 = no other officers at the scene; 1 = other officers were not aggressive; 2 = other officers were aggressive; 99 = not applicable/determinable
26. **Officer body commandments (ofbodcom):** Did any of the officers at the scene order any of the passengers out of the car or to move their bodies in a particular fashion (e.g., out of the car, hands on top of the vehicle)? This does NOT include any discussion regarding the occupant's speech or talking. This should only be regarding the occupant's body movements.
0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not applicable/determinable (only if the coder cannot see or hear)

Vehicle and Occupant Search Variables

27. **Probable cause search (pre-search) (presrch):** Do any of the officers at the scene including the primary officer attempt to do a preliminary search of the car? Usually the officers will be close to the car. The search is not simply a glance. It is an attempt to find probable cause for a more in-depth search. The specific behaviors involved in a pre-search would include: 1) looking intently through the windows of

the car – with attention directed to the backseat; 2) use of a flashlight to intently locate any items apparently visible in the vehicle without moving any materials.
0 = no probable cause search conducted; 1 = probable cause search undertaken; 99 = not determinable/applicable

28. **Visual search time (vsrchtme):** How much time is spent on the visual (pre-search) of the vehicle (see question above)? If the car is not visually searched, visual time will be 0. Coders should use their stopwatches to make this determination.
_ (in seconds)
29. **Consent for search direct (cnsrchd):** Do any of the officers ask for permission to physically search either the vehicle or occupants? This would not refer to situations where the officer asks whether the occupants have illegal materials on them. This is a request to search the occupants or vehicle.
0 = not asked; 1 = occupant was asked and said no; 2 = were asked and said yes; 99 = not determinable/ applicable (e.g., there is no sound or tape ends suddenly)
30. **Consent for search implied (cnsrchi):** Do any of the officers indirectly ask for permission to physically search either the vehicle or occupants? At times, officers ask indirectly whereby the request appears implied (e.g., do you have a latch for your trunk?; are you carrying anything in your trunk?; are you storing anything underneath your seat?).
0 = not asked indirectly; 1 = occupant was asked indirectly and said no; 2 = were asked indirectly and said yes; 99 = not determinable/applicable (e.g., there is no sound or tape ends suddenly)
31. **Driver search (search):** Was the driver personally searched by the primary officer during the traffic stop?
0 = driver not searched; 1 = driver searched; 99 = not applicable/not determinable
32. **Anyone searched (searchan):** Was anyone searched during the traffic stop?
0 = no one searched; 1 = someone searched; 99 = not applicable/ not determinable
33. **More than one officer search (mposerch):** Multiple officers searched the driver or other occupants simultaneously.
0 = there was no multiple officer search; 1 = there was a multiple officer search; 99 = not applicable/determinable
34. **Searched standing up or against vehicle (poserch):** If any of the occupants are searched, were they searched standing up or against the vehicle? CHANGE: FORM B ADDED RESPONSE "0=NO ONE SEARCHED". THIS CONTINUED IN FORMS C & D.
0 = no one searched; 1 = standing up; 2 = against the vehicle; 3 = both; 99 = not applicable/determinable (e.g., they did not get out of the vehicle)
35. **Amount of time spent physically searching the occupants in seconds (srchotim):** Estimate how much time is spent on inspection by officers. This involves a physical search for alcohol, illegal drugs, or weapons. If no time was spent searching the occupants then this variable will be coded as 0. Please use your stopwatch to record the time on this variable.
_ (in seconds)
36. **Vehicle searched (vhcserch):** Was the vehicle searched during the interaction? This would NOT include the time that occupants are searched. This only refers to physical searches of the vehicle whereby the officer enters the car or opens the trunk

and looks for illegal items. This would also NOT include time spent on visual (pre-searches).
0 = no; 1 = yes

37. **Amount of time spent physically searching the vehicle in seconds (srchvtim):** Estimate how much time is spent on inspection by officers. This involves a physical search for alcohol, illegal drugs, or weapons. If no time was spent searching the vehicle then this variable will be coded as 0. Please use your stopwatch to record the time on this variable.
_ (in seconds)
38. **Illegal items are found on occupant (illitem):** Do any of the officers recover any illegal weapons or drugs (including drug paraphernalia) from anyone in the car? CHANGE: THIS VARIABLE MOVED TO THIS POSITION UNDER "SEARCH VARIABLES" IN FORM C AND CONTINUED TO FORM D. IT HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN UNDER "OCCUPANT DESCRIPTION AND BEHAVIORS" IN FORMS A AND B BETWEEN VARIABLES "OOLICNS" AND "OCVIOL."
0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not applicable/determinable

Occupant Description and Behaviors

39. **Number of occupants (numoc):** Besides the driver, how many other occupants are in the car? If there are clearly none or there is no indication that there are additional drivers based on what can be seen or heard, then zero should be indicated
_ _
40. **Race of additional occupants (racothdr):** Not counting the driver what was the predominate race of the other occupants of the vehicle that is stopped?
0 = no other occupants at the scene; 1 = black; 2 = white; 3 = other; 99 = not determinable/applicable
41. **An officer request for passengers to leave the vehicle (lvehclpa):** Did an officer ask any passengers (excluding the driver) to get out of the vehicle? CHANGE: THERE WAS A "99=NOT APPLICABLE/DETERMINABLE" IN FORMS A & B BUT NOT C & D.
0 = no; 1 = yes
42. **Other occupant license check (oolicns):** The primary officer or another officer at the scene requested the licenses of other occupants in the vehicle besides the driver. CHANGE: THERE WAS A "99=NOT APPLICABLE/DETERMINABLE" IN FORMS A, B & C BUT NOT D.
0 = no other passenger licenses requested; 1 = other passenger licenses requested
43. **Other occupant violence (ocviol):** Did any of the occupants besides the driver engage in any verbal or physical violence towards any of the police officers at the scene?
0 = no physical or verbal violence; 1 = physical or verbal violence; 99 = not applicable/determinable

Vehicle Descriptors

44. **Vehicle age (veage):** Estimate in number of years how old the car seems to be:
_ (years)

45. **Vehicle type (vetype):** What type of vehicle was stopped?
    1 = car; 2 = truck; 3 = SUV; 4 = semi truck; 5 = motorcycle; 6 = van/minivan; 7 = other

The Offense (General)

46. **The nature of the stop (natstop):** What reason eventually emerged as the justification for the stop? Use the entire interaction to make a determination, but much of your decision will rely on what is offered by the officer as the reason. If the driver was stopped for multiple reasons, code the one that is mentioned first by the officer and or the one for which a citation is issued.
    1 = expired registration/tags; 2 = "fix it" ticket (e.g., tail lights out); 3 = warrant for an arrest or suspicion of committing a crime; 4 = traffic violation (speeding); 5 = traffic violation (all others beside speeding); 6 = drunk driving; 7 = other; 99 = not determinable
47. **The outcome of the interaction (outcome):** How did the interaction end? What is the end result? Pay special attention here to what happens regarding the driver. If the driver receives more than one of the options below, code for the most severe punishment. CHANGE: FORM B ADDED THE "99=NOT DETERMINABLE/APPLICABLE", CONTINUED IN FORMS C & D.
    1 = no warning; 2 = verbal warning; 3 = written warning; 4 = citation (i.e., ticket); 5 = arrest; 6 = expressed concern for driver's/passenger's welfare; 99 = not determinable/applicable (e.g., there is no sound or tape ends suddenly)
48. **Was the car towed (cartow):** Was the civilian's car towed at any point during the interaction? Use all ways of knowing whether or not the car was towed to determine this outcome. For example, if you hear the officer state to the driver that his or her car is being towed, but actually do not see it, code it as being towed. If the officer gives the driver the option of having someone pick the car up instead of it being towed, and the driver says that is her plan, code that as the car not being towed. CHANGE: THIS VARIABLE WAS ADDED IN FORM D AND NOT CODED IN ANY OTHER FORM.
    0 = car was not towed; 1 = car was towed
49. **Were there bystanders (bystand):** Were there bystanders or people apparently present or walking around during the traffic stop? Bystanders will be defined as those who are intentionally watching the interaction, or gawkers.
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable
50. **Drugs mentioned in relation to the crime (drugsmen):** Drugs were mentioned in connection with the crime. CHANGE: FORM B ADDED THE "99=NOT DETERMINABLE/APPLICABLE", CONTINUED IN FORMS C & D.
    0 = drugs were NOT mentioned; 1 = drugs were mentioned; 99 = not determinable/applicable (e.g., there is no sound or tape ends suddenly)
51. **Traffic flow (traffic):** What was the level of traffic on the street where the vehicle was pulled over? CHANGE: THE RESPONSE OF "0=DRIVER PULLED INTO ALLEY, ETC." WAS ADDED IN FORM C AND CONTINUED IN FORM D.
    0 = driver pulled into an alley or parking lot where traffic would naturally be low; 1 = light (hardly any cars); 2 = medium (there is a break between cars going by); 3 = heavy (constant flow of cars); 99 = not determinable

52. **Light conditions during stop (light):** Did the stop occur during daylight or at night?
    0 = day; 1 = night; 99 = not determinable

Primary Interaction Variables (Primary Officer and Driver)

Some interactions contain multiple officers and civilians, but all interactions contain at least one interaction between the primary officer on the scene and a driver. Therefore, the following variables will attempt to assess the characteristics of such an interaction.

Primary Police Officer Characteristics and Behaviors

53. **Phenotypical race of primary officer (phporace):** This is the race of the officer based on how they look to you. Do NOT use the RAND log book. Instead, base your decision on the appearance of the officer.
    1 = black; 2 = white; 3 = other; 99 = not determinable
54. **Sex/gender of the primary officer (sexof):** Indicate the gender/sex of the primary officer who approaches the vehicle of the car.
    1 = male; 2 = female; 99 = not given/determinable
55. **Approximate age of the primary officer (agegspo):** Use all of the indicators (visual, voice etc.) in order to make your guess about this. CHANGE: FORM A USED THE FOLLOWING RESPONSES: 1=20s; 2=30s; 3=40s; 4=50s; 5=60s; 6=70s; 7=80s; 99=not applicable/ determinable. FORMS B, C AND D USED THE RESPONSES BELOW.
    1 = 20s; 2 = 30s–40s; 3 = 50s–60s; 4 = over 60s; 99 = not applicable/not determinable
56. **Primary officer greeting (greetpo):** The primary officer greeted the driver at the start of the interaction. A typical greeting would involve an attempt to "break the ice" with the driver. It is more than a rhetorical question or salutation. In the most typical case, an officer would pause or wait for a response to the greeting before proceeding on with the "business" surrounding the stop (e.g., "good evening sir/maam;" "how are you doing this evening?").
    0 = officer did not greet; 1 = officer greeted; 99 = not determinable
57. **Primary officer addresses driver by name (namepo):** After the driver identified herself or himself, the primary officer addressed her or him by name.
    0 = primary officer did not use name; 1 = primary officer used name; 99 = not determinable
58. **Primary officer reason for stop (reasonpo):** The primary officer offered the driver a reason for the stop during the interaction.
    0 = primary officer did not offer reason; 1 = primary officer offered reason; 99 = not determinable
59. **Gang-behavior mentioned (gang):** Primary officer described the driver as linked to gang behavior. The officer need only mention or say the word gang during the stop in order for this variable to be coded as 1. This would include saying the name of a gang or mentioning a gang.
    0 = not explicitly linked to gang behavior; 1 = explicitly linked to gang behavior; 99 = not determinable

60. **Negative term (negterm):** The primary officer used a negative term or insult to describe the driver (e.g., "thug," "criminal element," "threat to society") at any point during the interaction.
    0 = negative term not used; 1 = negative term used; 99 = not determinable
61. **Specific negative term (spngtrm):** What specific negative term is used to describe the driver? Write it here:
    _; 99 = not determinable/not applicable
62. **Negative term radio (ngtrmrad):** Did the officer use a negative term or insult to describe any civilians while using the police radio (e.g., "thug," "criminal element," "threat to society;" "bozo," "idiot")?
    0 = negative term not used on the radio; 1 = negative term used on the radio; 99 = not determinable
63. **Primary officer interrogation question (qustinpo):** Did the primary officer ask the driver "Do you know why you were pulled over?"
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable/not applicable
64. **Primary officer interrogation answer (ansrpo):** If asked, did the primary officer allow the driver to respond to the following question before cutting them off: "Do you know why you were pulled over?"
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable/not applicable
65. **Primary officer incriminating question (icrmqst):** Does the primary police officer ask the driver whether or not they have any drugs or weapons on them? (e.g., "Do you have anything on you that you shouldn't?")
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = undeterminable
66. **The primary officer offers a break (break):** Did the primary officer offer a break to the driver (e.g., lessening a speeding penalty from 40 mph to 35 mph to avoid a higher fine)?
    0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable/not applicable
67. **Primary officer good word (goodwrd):** The primary officer left the driver with a good word. This is NOT facetious or sarcastic. The officer appears to offer a sincere discursive pleasantry to the driver (e.g., "Have a nice day; "I hope your day gets better;" "I hope the rest of your trip goes well;" "You take care now").
    0 = good word not left;
68. **Primary officer name (nameof):** The officer introduces himself and provides his name to the driver, during the initiation of the interaction.
    0 = officer does not introduce himself; 1 = driver introduces himself; 99 = not determinable/not applicable
69. **Officer verbal aggression (vagrspo):** An officer was verbally aggressive towards the driver. These are noxious symbolic messages containing criticism, insults (including racial epithets), cursing, or objects the person relates to. These do NOT constitute direct threats to harm, but they do typically include words that are designed to emotionally harm the hearer. Examples include: "You are one of the worst driver's I've ever seen!" or "Stop lying to me, either you're stupid, or you must think I'm stupid!"
    0 = no verbal aggression; 1 = verbal aggression; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

70. **Primary officer threat of physical aggression (tpagrspo):** Did the primary officer threaten physical aggression against the driver. This is deliberately endangering the physical well-being of another person, or warnings of intentions to cause physical harm to a person. Instances include physically menacing a person, holding a knife or gun toward a person, or issuing verbal threats such as "If you don't comply with my legal requests/commands, I might have to hurt you to get you to comply" or "Stop or I'll shoot."
    0 = no threat of physical aggression; 1 = physical aggression threatened; 99 = not applicable/not determinable
71. **Primary officer physical aggression with or without a weapon (panwpnpo):** Did the primary officer actually engage in physical aggression toward the driver? This includes the attack of one human being toward another that involves contact with any body part with or without the assistance of a weapon. Physical aggression at the very least could be represented by an officer putting his or her hands on a civilian at any point during a stop (with the exception of a standard non-invasive search or a friendly gesture such as a handshake). Physical aggression includes any attempt to physically intimidate, subdue, or inflict harm on a suspect. Acts can be coded as physically aggressive whether or not they may be justified by the circumstances.
    0 = no physical aggression without a weapon; 1 = physical aggression without a weapon; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

Communication Accommodation Variables—Primary Officer

CAT suggests that individuals use communication, in part, in order to indicate their attitudes toward each other and, as such, it is a barometer of the level of social distance between them. This constant movement toward and away from others, by changing one's communicative behavior, is called accommodation. Among the different accommodative strategies that speakers use to achieve these goals, convergence has been the most extensively studied—and can be considered the historical core of CAT (Giles, 1973). It has been defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic (e.g., speech rate, accents), paralinguistic (e.g., pauses, utterance length), and nonverbal features (e.g., smiling, gazing) in such a way as to become more similar to their interlocutor's behavior. (Giles, et al., in press).

FOR EACH OF THE COMMUNICATION VARIABLES (ACCOMMODATION, NON-ACCOMODATION ETC.) ONLY CHOOSE 99 IF YOU CAN HEAR/AND OR SEE LESS THAN 50% OF THE CONVERSATION DURING THE INTERACTION, OTHERWISE MAKE A CHOICE USING THE PROVIDED SCALES NOTE: THIS WAS ADDED IN FORM B, AND CONTINUED IN FORMS C & D.

72. **Primary officer overall pleasantness (cplsntpo):** How pleasant did the primary officer seem when her or she interacted with the driver? Overall pleasantness is typically used in an effort to calm and put the driver at ease. It will be evident through both language and paralanguage. An officer would most likely be rated as pleasant if they introduced themselves and attempted to remain personable throughout the interaction or perhaps they gave the driver heart felt and useful advice for avoiding future tickets. In addition, officers who are pleasant are also very likely to be engaging, non-monotone, and expressive speakers. Officers who are NOT pleasant

are likely to NOT engage the civilian on a personal level. They would distance themselves through the use of commands and a police script. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all pleasant 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 10 pleasant; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

73. **Primary officer overall listening (calstnpo):** Overall how well do you think that the primary officer listened to the driver during the interaction? An officer would score high on this variable if they allowed the driver to tell their own story/side of the events. The primary officer was attentive to the driver's communication. An officer would receive a score of 10 if: 1) they tended to NOT interrupt the driver when they spoke, 2) they yielded to the driver when they spoke, and 3) they asked thoughtful clarification questions when they did not follow the rationale of the driver. Non-verbally an officer would receive a 10 if they consistently nodded their head in recognition of what the driver was saying, and engaged in "back-channeling" (e.g., uh huh, OK, yes). Officers who are NOT good listeners will frequently interrupt the driver, and may NOT give the driver an opportunity to speak. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
did not listen 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 listened; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

74. **Primary officer perspective taking (caviwspo):** Overall, how well did the primary police officer take into account the views, needs, and perspectives of the driver involved and take into account the emotional state of the driver? Police officers would be scored as taking the drivers perspective if they: 1) decided to not give a ticket because they saw that a couple was rushing to the hospital for a baby delivery; 2) made statements about how difficult it must be to have to deal with_____; and 3) offering help to deal with any special factors that might face the driver including disabilities; 4) having a mother step away from her car so that her children will not hear negative information about her. An example of an officer who would be rated high (around 8) on perspective taking would be one who writes the drivers speed as being less than it actually was so the driver does not have to go to court. Officers who do NOT perspective take will lean heavily on the "police script" regardless of the unique circumstances of the driver. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all 01 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10; took driver's perspective; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

75. **Primary officer respect and politeness (capolit):** In general how respectful and polite was the primary officer toward the driver? Does the officer show regard for the civilian through speech, manners and behavior. An exceptionally polite officer will attempt to make sure that the driver feels comfortable during the interaction by using both verbal and non-verbal messages. For example, a police officer could say "please" and "thank you" rather than just instructing the civilian what he or she needs. The officer could also be seen as polite by using differential language to refer to the driver (e.g., "sir," "madam," "first name"). Impolite and disrespectful officers will tend to be rude and curt. They will treat the civilian simply as a threat or an "offender" [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

not at all polite 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 polite; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

76. **Primary officer overall explanations (cxplnpo):** How well did the primary police officer explain things to the driver and in ways they could understand (i.e., talk to people in ways that "sit right" with them, and that they understand)? This would include officers who use verbal clarification questions to make sure that civilians understand their options (e.g., "Do you have any questions for me?" "Is there anything else I could help you with today?"). These officers would go through a step by step process of explaining what they are doing and why. These officers will NOT rush through their explanations, but will take their time. Officers who score low on this scale will tend to rush through explanation, stick to the "script" without regard for whether the civilian follows what is happening to them and why. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
   no explanation 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 explanation; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
77. **Primary officer helpfulness (helpflpo):** The primary officer took into consideration the driver's characteristics (e.g., race, age, disability) in a helpful way. The primary officer who is helpful will tend to do the following: 1) point to where a civilian should sign on a citation or warning; or 2) offer the citizen directions or some useful information not associated with the stop. An example of an officer who would be high on the scale of being helpful (around an 8) would be one who offered to show a lost driver how to arrive at a destination by actually leading the driver there. Officers who are NOT helpful will tend to NOT provide any additional assistance to the driver beyond what is required to undertake the stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
   not helpful 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 helpful; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
78. **Primary officer approachability (aprochpo):** The primary officer appeared approachable while interacting with the driver. Approachable officers will tend to 1) have a relaxed tone in their voice, 2) stand where the driver can see their face, and 3) allow the conversation to stray momentarily from the specifics of the stop. Officers that are NOT approachable will tend to be rigid in tone and body posture. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
   not approachable 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 approachable; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
79. **Primary officer useful advice (advicepo):** The primary officer appeared to offer useful advice and counsel to the driver. An example of an officer who would receive a 10 for useful advice would include a policeman who tells a driver that they will be stopping people in a given area, so the driver might want to warn his friends and family. Officers who also offer advice about the condition of their car (without writing a citation) would also be consider to have given useful advice. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
   did not offer useful advice 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 offered useful advice; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
80. **Officer self-disclosure (slfdispo):** The primary officer engages in some form of self-disclosure while interacting with the driver. Primary officers who reveal anything

personal about themselves would be counted as self-disclosing. Statements that count as self-disclosure would include: 1) "I have actually been stopped for speeding before on this road," 2) "You go to school?! My daughter attends there!;" 3) "You sell Cutco knives, I have some of those. They are great knives." [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
0 = officer does not self-disclose; 1 = officer self-discloses; 99 = not applicable/determinable

81. **Primary officer courteous (courtypo):** The primary officer appeared to be extremely courteous towards the driver. An officer who is courteous will remain polite throughout the interaction by minding their manners, avoiding interrupting the driver and overall listening. They will tend to take a positive approach to the interaction regardless of the behavior of the driver. A primary officer who is NOT courteous will be rude throughout the interaction through the use of 1) frequent interruptions and, 2) a general lack of manners towards the driver by ignoring questions posed by the driver. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all courteous 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 courteous; 99 not applicable/cannot be coded

Nonaccommodation Variables—Primary Officer

82. **Primary officer is dismissive (dismispo):** To what extent did the primary officer dismiss the arguments and communication exhibited by the driver? In many cases, an officer will hear an excuse for the offense and will reject that excuse as invalid. An officer who is dismissive of the driver might say the following: "I've heard that one before" or "That's the oldest one in the book." Another example of dismissiveness might be the reaction of an officer who hears from a new dad that he is rushing to the hospital to see his new baby. The officer might say to the new dad, "I am happy you are a new father, but we want to make sure you get to the hospital in one piece" or "We want to make sure you get to actually be a dad to your child." An officer who is NOT dismissive will be responsive to the excuses or protests of the driver. They will listen and at least hear the driver out. Perhaps, they will reduce the penalty for what they may consider a valid excuse. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent – this would include cases where the driver does not offer any explanations for their behavior]
not dismissive 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 dismissive; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
83. **Primary officer indifference (indifpo):** To what extent was the primary officer indifferent to the driver? A primary officer who is indifferent will say that he or she does not care regardless of the circumstances. The officer will bring up to the driver that they are in the wrong and in most circumstances they will issue a ticket to the driver. These officers will typically apply a strict code of enforcement regardless of the personal circumstances of the driver. An officer who is NOT indifferent will listen to the concerns of the driver and will behave as if they actually care. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not indifferent 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 indifferent; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

84. **Primary officer impatience (impatpo):** To what extent was the primary officer impatient with the driver? A primary officer who is impatient will rush through the interaction with the driver. An impatient officer may be less thorough in his/her explanations and may not listen well to the needs and questions of the primary driver. Officers who are highly impatient may be visibly so through fidgeting, nonverbal gestures with their hands to hurry the driver, insistence that the driver facilitate the stop by quickly offering their identification or signature for paperwork. An officer who is NOT impatient will appear quite relaxed and NOT frustrated with the driver regardless of how long the interaction takes. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
    not at all impatient 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 impatient; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
85. **Primary officer rigidity (rigidpo):** The primary officer appeared to be rigid towards the driver. A primary officer who is rigid will most likely not take any excuse that a driver has to offer. Rigid officers are inflexible. Rigid officers will remain very textbook and rely on the "script" and laws to mandate the outcome of the interaction. They tend to take on a more rigid posture and tone in their voice. An officer who is NOT rigid will remain more relaxed and receptive to the driver. Their overall tone tends to be warm and receptive. They are also more likely to offer the driver more options instead of simply the most punitive outcome associated with the stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
    not rigid 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 rigid; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
86. 86. Primary officer patronizing (patronpo): The primary officer spoke to the driver in a patronizing manner. An officer who is patronizing will use his or her position as an officer to belittle and degrade the less authoritative position of the driver. This may entail referring to a clearly older male as "boy," or telling a blonde woman that she just must have been suffering "from a blonde moment when you made that turn without seeing the 'No Turn On Red' sign." A patronizing officer may "dumb down" his or her speech and/or purposely offer an overly simple explanation, perhaps in a tone as if speaking to a child. An officer who is NOT patronizing will NOT use his or her position of authority to remind the driver that they lack power during the stop. A non-patronizing officer will speak to the driver as an adult who is fully capable of understanding the situation. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
    not at all patronizing 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 patronizing; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
87. **Primary officer air of superiority (superpo):** The primary officer spoke to the driver with an air of superiority. A primary officer who speaks with an air of superiority will use his or her tone in a belittling manner. These officers may rely on jargon filled language when speaking to the driver. Typically, the officer uses both nonverbal and verbal communication to put a hierarchical social distance between himself/herself and the driver. An officer who does NOT speak with an air of superiority will NOT use this jargon filled language when offering explanations and will make an effort to speak to the driver using every day language the common layman would understand. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

no air of superiority 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 air of superiority; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

88. **Primary officer interruptions (intrptpo):** The primary officer appeared interruptive of the driver. Interruption includes when one cannot get his or her thought to completion before someone else begins speaking. An officer who is interruptive will frequently not allow the driver to finish his or her thoughts before beginning to speak. Interruptive officers who cut the driver off more than three or four times during an interaction would typically be coded as interruptive. In addition, primary officers who interrupt drivers at crucial times during the interaction (e.g., when the driver is giving an excuse for why they were speeding) would also be coded as interruptive. An officer who is NOT interruptive will frequently allow the driver to completely finish his or her thoughts before beginning to speak. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all interruptive 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 interruptive; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
89. **Primary officer insulting (insltpo):** The primary officer insulted the driver. An officer who insults a driver may insult many different things about the driver. This officer may make a derogatory comment regarding an occupant's driving skills, poor excuse for the violation, race, age or sex. Insulting remarks will always be very personal. For example, "You have to be able to come up with a better excuse than that," or "Well, I have been watching you for awhile because you aren't the best driver on the road, and I knew if I gave you time, you'd do something wrong." An officer who is insulting may also resort to name calling like, "idiot" or "moron." An officer who is NOT insulting will refrain from any derogatory remarks regarding the driver. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
did not insult 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 insulted; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
90. **Primary officer disconfirming (dscnfrpo):** The primary officer appeared disconfirming of the ideas put forth by the driver. An officer who is disconfirming will reject any idea or excuse a driver is attempting to make. Disconfirming officers will not be willing to believe the driver and may show this through statements like, "Sure, whatever you say, you are still getting a ticket," or "I saw you make the illegal turn, anything you say now is just digging yourself deeper." An officer who is NOT disconfirming will be willing to listen to the ideas and comments made by the unique situation of the driver. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all disconfirming 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 disconfirming; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
91. **Primary officer sarcasm (sarcpo):** The police officer expressed sarcasm during the traffic stop. A primary officer who is sarcastic will use ironic comments in combination with tone to purposefully rebut the driver's position. For example, "So, where's the fire?" Or the driver may offer an excuse and the officer may come back with something like "right…and I can do a handspring off the hood of my cruiser." An officer who is NOT sarcastic will remain straightforward within his or her language and paralanguage. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all sarcastic 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 sarcastic; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Emotional Reactions—Primary Officer

92. **Primary police officer aggravation (poaggrv):** The primary officer appeared very aggravated during the encounter. A primary officer who appears aggravated may 1)become rushed during his or her speaking, 2) change tone, or 3) pause a lot and start over again signaling that they are becoming frustrated with the way the interaction is going. An aggravated police officer may be fidgety and make several sighs during the interaction displaying their aggravation. A primary officer that is NOT aggravated will remain calm throughout the interaction. They will typically have a calm tone and demeanor throughout the entire interaction regardless of what happens during the stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
    not at all aggravated 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 aggravated; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
93. **Primary police officer apologetic (poapolog):** The primary officer seemed genuinely apologetic or remorseful during the interaction. This could be expressed by saying something like "I am sorry I have to give you this ticket, but it is my job…" or "I am sorry that I said that you went through a light, when I meant to say stop sign." Non-verbal communication could also indicate an apologetic orientation (e.g., an officer "sounds" sorry for a mistake he makes that causes a ticket to be re-issued) An officer who is NOT apologetic will in no way admit fault for anything at any point during the interaction. DO NOT count as apologetic officers who say "I'm sorry" or "pardon me" as they seek clarification for something said by the driver during the interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
    not at all apologetic 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 apologetic; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
94. **Primary officer anxiousness (anxiuspo):** The primary officer appeared anxious during the interaction. A primary officer who is anxious will seem unable to stand still during the interaction. He or she may fiddle a lot with the equipment on his or her belt. These officers may not have a strong, steady voice, but may waiver instead. These officers may seem particularly focused on the threat that the driver might pose to them. An officer who is NOT anxious will remain steady and unwavering throughout the interaction. They would appear to be rather relaxed during the traffic stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent] NOTE: THE EMPHASIS ON "THREAT" WAS ADDED IN FORM B, AND CONTINUED IN FORMS C & D.
    not at all anxious 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 anxious; 99 = not applicable
95. **Primary officer anger (angrpo):** The primary officer appeared angry during the traffic stop. A primary officer who is angry will raise their voices, shout, yell, or become very stern through tone of voice. These officers will demonstrate disgust toward the driver usually through both verbal and non-verbal behavior. An officer who is NOT angry will most likely NOT yell and appear rather calm during the interaction.
    not at all angry 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 angry; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded
96. **Primary police officer humor (pohumor):** The primary police officer showed his or her humorous side during the interaction with the driver. A primary officer who is

humorous would show this by laughing, or chuckling and/or making jokes. For example, a humorous officer may laugh with the driver about something said during the interaction. In this context, humor must remain light hearted and fun. Humor is not an officer laughing at a driver, or laughing as a means of dismissing a driver's excuse. The humor will always occur during the interaction with the driver. Comments and laughter made in the cruiser will not be coded as humorous. An officer who is NOT humorous will not joke or laugh during any part of the interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

0 = not at all humorous; 1 = officer humorous; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Nonverbal Measures—Primary Officer

For the following measures, consider the relationship of the primary officer to the driver.

97. **Proximity of the primary officer relative to the driver (poclose):** How close, in feet was the primary officer to the vehicle during the interaction with the driver? As an indication of proximity, estimate the distance between the torso of the officer and the door/window of the driver. If the civilian exited the car, this estimate should be based on the time before the civilian exited. This should be an average estimate based on the entire incident. CHANGE: THIS VARIABLE USED TO BE A "WRITE IN" FOR FORMS A & B. FORMS C & D USED THE RESPONSES BELOW.

    0 = less than 1 feet; 1 = 1 feet; 2 = 2 feet; 3 = 3 feet; 4 = more than 3 feet

98. **What was the body orientation of the primary officer towards the driver (pobdor):** During the majority of the interaction, did the officer position himself in front of the driver, besides the driver or behind the driver? In general, being besides the driver facilitates greater face-to-face interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

    1 = the officer was standing in front of the driver (behind the side mirror); 2 = the officer was standing directly beside the driver and making eye contact; 3 = the officer was standing behind the driver; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded (in general only when the camera angle or size of vehicle does not permit)

99. **The primary officer was very animated and expressive while speaking with the driver (poexpres):** An expressive and animated officer will use a lot of hand gestures and body movement to get his or her thoughts across while speaking to the driver (not while the driver was talking). In addition, the primary officer would be likely to use animated paralanguage (e.g., fluctuations in tone and speed of delivery). An officer who is NOT expressive will NOT "talk with his or her hands" and will keep their body quite still. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

    not at all expressive 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 expressive; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Officer Safety Variables

100. **Primary officer authoritativeness (authpo):** The primary officer appeared very authoritative during the interaction. The primary officer demonstrated a command presence during the interaction. This can be demonstrated through appearance (e.g., confident posture) and non-verbal behaviors (e.g., stern tone) within

the interaction. An officer who is authoritative will typically remind the driver both through non-verbal and verbal statements that they are in charge during the stop. These messages are designed to reinforce to the driver that they are in subordinate position in authority to the officer. An officer who is NOT authoritative will tend to treat the driver as if they are a complete equal. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

not at all authoritative 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 authoritative; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

101. **Primary officer complacence (complapo):.** The primary officer appeared complacent, casual, or nonchalant during the interaction. A primary officer who is complacent will seem free of worry about the traffic stop. These officers will most likely remain in a relaxed stance with a relaxed tone and pace. They will communicate with the driver with ease, almost as if speaking to a friend. An officer who is NOT complacent will seem more concerned with safety issues during the interaction. These officers may stand more rigid and communicate in a more curt manner, sticking to the "script." [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

not at all complacent 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complacent; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Driver Characteristics and Behaviors

102. **Phenotypical race of the driver (phdrace):** This is the race of the driver based on how they look to you. Do not use the RAND log book. Instead, base your decision on the appearance of the driver based on the videotape.

1 = black; 2 = white; 3 = other; 99 = not determinable

103. **Sex of the driver (sexdrvr):** Indicate the gender/sex of the driver of the vehicle. Use any possible indicators for this variable including voice of the occupant.

1 = male; 2 = female; 99 = not given/determinable

104. **Age group of the driver (agegrpdr):** What age group would best describe the driver during the interaction? Use all of the indicators (visual, voice etc.) in order to make your guess about this.

1 = teen; 2 = adult; 3 = elderly; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

105. **Driver's clothes (clothes):** Was the accused well dressed or not [Note: Well dressed for men will be operationalized as one or more of the following - 1) A suit, 2) collard shirt and suit/sports jacket, 3) a collard shirt, 4) T-shirt and suit/sports jacket. For women well dressed includes: 1) Dress pants suit, 2) skirt with blouse or blazer. Well dressed is NOT for men and women - 1) T-shirt, or 2) Sweatshirt CHANGE: FORM A USED THE FOLLOWING RESPONSES: 0=DRIVER NOT WELL DRESSED; 2=DRIVER WELL DRESSED; 99 = NOT APPLICABLE/NOT DETERMINABLE. FORMS B, C, & D USED THE RESPONSES BELOW.

0 = driver does not get out of the car; 1 = driver not well dressed; 2 = driver well dressed; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

106. **Driver handcuffed (hand):** Was the driver handcuffed?

0 = driver is NOT handcuffed; 1 = driver is handcuffed; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

107. **An officer requests that the driver leave the vehicle (lvehclpo):** Did an officer ask the driver to get out of the vehicle?
0 = no; 1 = yes; 99 = not determinable/not applicable

108. **Driver verbal aggression (vagrsdr):** The driver was verbally aggressive towards the primary officer. These are noxious symbolic messages containing criticism, insults (including racial epithets), cursing, or objects the person relates to. These do NOT constitute direct threats to harm, but they do typically include words that are designed to emotionally harm the hearer. Examples include: "You are one of the worst officer's I've ever seen!" or "Stop lying to me, either you're stupid, or you must think I'm stupid!"
0 = no verbal aggression; 1 = verbal aggression; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

109. **Driver threat of physical aggression (tpagrsdr):** Did the driver threaten physical aggression against the primary officer? This is deliberately endangering the physical well-being of another person, or warnings of intentions to cause physical harm to a person. Instances include physically menacing a person, holding a knife or gun toward a person, or issuing verbal threats such as "I could beat your head in if you weren't wearing that uniform."
0 = no threat of physical aggression; 1 = physical aggression threatened; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

110. **Driver physical aggression with or without a weapon (panwpndr):** Did the driver engage in physical aggression toward the primary officer? This includes the attack of one human being toward another that involves contact with any body part with or without the assistance of a weapon. Physical aggression at the very least could be represented by the driver putting his or her hands on the officer at any point during a stop (with the exception of a friendly gesture such as a handshake). Physical aggression includes any attempt to physically intimidate, subdue, or inflict harm on an officer.
0 = physical aggression without a weapon; 1 = physical aggression without a weapon; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

111. **Explicit driver complaint (drthrete):** The driver threatened to complain about the behavior of the officer. This is not a veiled threat. The driver usually suggests that: 1) the officer's behavior is inappropriate and 2) that they will or should complain about it. In many cases, the driver may ask for the officer's name and badge number in order to follow-up on the complaint.
0 = the driver does not explicitly threaten to complain about the officer; 1 = the driver explicitly threatens to complain about the officer; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

112. **Implicit driver complaint (drthreti):** The driver implicitly threatens to complain about the officer's behavior usually through a request for the officer's name and badge number. However, they never explicitly say that they plan on making a complaint (see above). Instead, they simply begin asking for information that may assist in lodging the complaint (e.g., name, badge number, prior stops made).
0 = the driver does not implicitly threaten to complain about the officer; 1 = the driver implicitly threatens to complain about the officer; 99 = not applicable/not determinable

113. **Driver incriminating answer (icrmansr):** How does the driver respond to the question of whether or not he or she is carrying illegal drugs or weapons? CHANGE: FORM C ADDED TO THE RESPONSES "0=DRIVER IS NOT ASKED BY THE POLICE OFFICER" THIS WAS CONTINUED IN FORM D. THIS WAS NOT FOUND IN FORMS A OR B.
0 = driver is not asked by the police officer; 1 = driver admits to carrying something illegal; 2 = driver denies carrying anything illegal; 3 = driver avoids responding to the question; 99 = not determinable

Communication Accommodation Variables—Driver

CAT suggests that individuals use communication, in part, in order to indicate their attitudes toward each other and, as such, it is a barometer of the level of social distance between them. This constant movement toward and away from others, by changing one's communicative behavior, is called accommodation. Among the different accommodative strategies that speakers use to achieve these goals, convergence has been the most extensively studied—and can be considered the historical core of CAT (Giles, 1973). It has been defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic (e.g., speech rate, accents), paralinguistic (e.g., pauses, utterance length), and nonverbal features (e.g., smiling, gazing) in such a way as to become more similar to their interlocutor's behavior. (Giles, et al., in press)

FOR EACH OF THE COMMUNICATION VARIABLES (ACCOMODATION, NON-ACCOMODATION ETC.) ONLY CHOOSE 99 IF YOU CAN HEAR/AND OR SEE LESS THAN 50% OF THE CONVERSATION DURING THE INTERACTION, OTHERWISE MAKE A CHOICE USING THE PROVIDED SCALES NOTE: THIS WAS ADDED IN FORM B, AND CONTINUED IN FORMS C & D.

114. **Overall driver pleasantness (caplesdr):** How pleasant did the driver seem while interacting with the primary officer? Overall pleasantness is typically used in an effort to engage the police officer and keep the interaction de-escalated. It will be evident through both language and paralanguage. A driver would most likely be coded as pleasant if they introduced themselves and attempted to remain personable throughout the interaction or perhaps they gave the officer a heart felt excuse and apology. In addition, drivers who are pleasant are also very likely to be engaging, non-monotone, and expressive speakers. Drivers who are NOT pleasant are likely to NOT engage the officer. They would distance themselves from the officer through avoiding any attempt to be warm. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all pleasant 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 pleasant; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

115. **Driver overall listening (calistdr):** Overall how well do you think that the driver listened to the primary police officer during the interaction? A driver would score high on this variable if they allowed the officer to finish before trying to speak. A driver would be scored as listening if: 1) he or she tended to not interrupt the officer when the officer spoke, 2) the driver yielded to the officer when he or she spoke, and 3) the driver did not interject with "but I was just…" or "but wait, that's not what I did…" Non-verbally a driver would receive a 10 if they consistently engaged in "back-channeling" (e.g., uh huh, OK, yes). Drivers who are

NOT good listeners will frequently interrupt the officer, and may NOT give the officer an opportunity to speak because they are consistently interjecting and trying to get an excuse or some unique information on the table. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

did not listen 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 listened; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

116. **Driver perspective taking (caviwdr):** Overall, how well did the driver take into account the views, and job-perspective of the officer involved? Drivers would be rated as taking the officer's perspective if: 1) the driver made statements about how difficult it must be to have to deal with being an officer 2) the driver told the officer something along the lines of "look officer, I know you saw me speeding, I can't argue with that, I probably shouldn't have done that". An example driver who would receive a high score (around 8) on perspective taking may tell the officer not to apologize that he/she was just doing his/her job. Drivers who do NOT perspective take may frequently ask the officer to make exceptions for his or her personalized situation. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 took officer's perspective; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

117. **Driver general respect and politeness (carsptdr):** In general how respectful and polite was the driver toward the officer? Does the driver show regard for the officer through speech, manners and behavior? An exceptionally polite driver will attempt to make sure that the officer is aware that they are not going to escalate the situation by using both verbal and non-verbal messages. For example, a driver could say "please" and "thank you" rather than seeming harsh or jaded because they are getting a ticket. The driver could also be seen as polite by using differential language to refer to the officer (e.g., "sir," "madam," "Officer Wilson"). Impolite and disrespectful drivers will tend to be rude and curt. They will treat the officer simply as a jerk in uniform. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

not at all respectful 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 respectful; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

118. **Driver overall explanations (caxpnldr):** How well did the primary driver explain things to the officer in ways they could easily understand (i.e., talk to the officer in ways that "sit right" with them, and that they comprehend)? This would include drivers who take their time in explaining exactly what is unique to their situation so that the officer has a thorough understanding of what they are talking about. Drivers who are low on this scale may simply blurt argumentative statements like "that wasn't me" or "you saw the wrong person". They will make no effort to thoroughly explain themselves with little regard for whether or not they are making sense or if the officer is following their story (or lack thereof). [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

no explanation 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 explanation; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

119. **Driver self-disclosure (slfdisdr):** The driver engaged in some form of self-disclosure while interacting with the primary officer. Drivers who reveal anything personal about themselves would be counted as self-disclosing. Statements that count as self-disclosure would include: 1) "I am a Democrat!" 2) "I think our chil-

dren go to the same school," 3) "I voted for the referendum that would give the police officers more holiday break time."
0 = driver does not self-disclose; 1 = driver self-discloses; 99 = not applicable/determinable

120. **Primary driver courteous (courtydr):** The driver appeared to be extremely courteous towards the police officer. A driver who is courteous will remain polite throughout the interaction by minding their manners, avoiding interrupting the officer and overall listening. They will tend to take a positive approach to the interaction regardless of the behavior of the officer. A driver who is NOT courteous will be rude throughout the interaction through the use of 1) frequent interruptions and, 2) a general lack of manners towards the officer by avoiding answering questions posed by the officer. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all courteous 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 courteous; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

121. **Driver cooperativeness (coopdr):** The driver was extremely cooperative with the primary officer. The driver complied with all of the officer requests. In addition, the driver did whatever he or she could to facilitate the process of the stop. A driver who is cooperative might already have identification ready before the officer approaches the car. A driver who is NOT cooperative will try and resist complying with some or all of the primary officer's requests. They will typically be slower as they respond. In addition, they would be more likely to question the officer or the rationale for the stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all cooperative 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 cooperative; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Nonaccommodation Variables—Driver

122. **Driver belligerence (beligdr):** To what extend did the driver display belligerence towards the primary officer? Examples of belligerence would include drivers who demonstrate adamant hostility towards the primary officer (e.g., "you stupid cop, why did you pull me over!?"). Belligerence is often demonstrated through an abrasive tone or verbal jabbing. A non-belligerent driver will not question the primary officer's authority or reason for the stop. They would not be hostile, but will be fully cooperative with the primary officer. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all belligerent 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 belligerent; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

123. **Driver is dismissive (dismisdr):** To what extent did the driver dismiss the arguments and communication exhibited by the primary officer? In many cases, a driver will hear the reason why he or she was pulled over and then reject the reasoning of the officer. For example a driver might say, "I was not speeding, your radar actually clocked a driver who was passing me." A highly dismissive person will insist throughout the interaction that the officer's reasoning is flawed. A driver who is NOT dismissive will accept the officer's reasoning for the stop and interrogation. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all dismissive 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 dismissive; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

124. **Driver indifference (indifdr):** To what extent was the driver indifferent to the primary police officer? A driver who is indifferent will not make an effort to change the outcome of the stop. If the officer raises safety issues with the driver they will not be attuned to them. They simply express a nonchalant attitude toward the officer and the circumstances of the stop. They have a "whatever" attitude. A driver who is NOT indifferent will listen to the officer and will behave as if they actually care about the outcome of the stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all indifferent 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 indifferent; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

125. **Driver impatience (impatdr):** To what extent was the driver impatient with the primary officer? A driver who is impatient will rush through the interaction with the officer. An impatient driver may be less thorough in his/her explanations and may not listen well to the needs and questions of the primary officer. An impatient driver is likely to mention that he or she is late for something or in a rush to get somewhere. The driver might suggest that the officer "Hurry up." Drivers who are highly impatient may be visibly so through fidgeting or non-verbal gestures with their hands to hurry the officer, or they may request that the officer write the ticket quickly. A driver who is NOT impatient will appear quite relaxed and NOT frustrated with the officer regardless of how long the interaction takes. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all impatient 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 impatient; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

126. **Driver argumentativeness (arguedr):** The driver was argumentative with the primary officer. Drivers who are argumentative will tend to escalate the confrontation with the officer (e.g., "I can't believe you pulled me over!"). They will tend to raise their voices, be more expressive, animated and passionate about their argument, and they tend to either contradict or resist the officer's understanding of the situation or event. Drivers who are NOT argumentative will be much more cooperative and respectful of the officers. They will also be more pliable during the interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all argumentative 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 argumentative; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

127. **Driver submissiveness (submitdr):** The driver was submissive to the primary officer. Driver's who are submissive will tend to be fully compliant with all of the officer's requests and arguments. Submissive drivers are completely accepting of the officer's authority. They will not argue back during the interaction. Drivers who are NOT submissive will tend to challenge the officer's authority and judgment. In addition, they will consistently reiterate their point of view during the interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all submissive 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 submissive; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

128. **Driver engages over-emphasizes their excuse (excusedr):** The driver appeared to spend an excessive amount of time providing excuses for why he or she might have been pulled over and detained. The occupant focuses on these excuses because they expect them to eventually be accepted by the officer as valid. During the course of an interaction, the driver who over-emphasizes their excuses will con-

tinually repeat them and elaborate on them. Drivers who do NOT over-emphasize their excuses either 1) offer no excuse for their behavior or 2) mention an excuse in passing ONLY once. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

did not make excuses 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 excuses made; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

129. **Driver has air of superiority (superdr):** A driver who speaks with an air of superiority will use his or her tone in a belittling manner. These drivers may emphasize their social or educational status to belittle the officer (e.g., you cops don't know much, I know that most of you don't have more than a high school diploma;" or "I am an educated man"). Typically, the driver uses both non-verbal and verbal communication to put a hierarchical social distance between himself/herself and the driver. A driver who does NOT speak with an air of superiority will NOT refer to his or her relative social status or education in relationship to the officer. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

no air of superiority 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 air of superiority; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

130. 130. Driver interruptions (intrptdr): The driver appeared interruptive of the primary officer. Interruption includes when one cannot get his or her thought to completion before someone else begins speaking. A driver who is interruptive will frequently not allow the primary officer to finish his or her thoughts before beginning to speak. Interruptive drivers who cut the primary officer off more than two or three times during an interaction would typically be coded as 10. In addition, drivers who interrupt primary officers at crucial times during the interaction (e.g., when the police officer is explaining why the driver was pulled over) would also be coded as interruptive. A driver who is NOT interruptive will frequently allow the officer to completely finish his or her thoughts before beginning to speak. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

not at all interruptive 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 interruptive; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

131. **Driver insulting (insltdr):** The driver insulted the primary officer. A driver who insults an officer may insult many different things about the officer. The driver may make a derogatory comment regarding the police officer's occupation (e.g., you pig), race, age or sex (e.g., "stone cold Steve Annie"). Insulting remarks will always be very personal. A driver who is insulting may also resort to name calling like, "idiot" or "moron." A driver who is NOT insulting will refrain from any derogatory remarks regarding the officer. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]

did not insult 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 insulted; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

132. **Driver trivialized the offense (trivdr):** The driver appeared to trivialize the offense during the traffic stop. Trivializing the offense would include a number of comments about how the cops are wasting time by pulling over and/or citing the driver for the traffic violation. Examples would include the following: 1) "I can't believe you pulled me overfor ," 2) "Don't you have anything better to do?" 3) "There are rapists out there, why are you here writing tickets?!" A driver who is

NOT trivializing the offense will make no attempts to demean why they were stopped. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
did not trivialize 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 trivialized; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

133. **Driver apologetic (apolgydr):** The driver seemed genuinely apologetic during the interaction. This could be expressed by saying something like "I am so sorry, I didn't even see that stop sign." "I am very sorry for speeding; I don't usually do things like this." A driver who is NOT apologetic will in no way admit fault for anything at any point during the interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all apologetic 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 apologetic; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

134. **Driver suspicion (suspdr):** The driver expressed a belief that they were the target of some unlawful or suspicious monitoring (e.g., speed trap etc.). For example: 1) "I can't believe you were hiding there! That's sneaky," 2) "That's no fair, you were in an undercover car"; 3) "You only pulled me over to make your ticket quota." A driver who does NOT express a belief in suspicion will not suggest that the officer has done something unethical in pulling them over. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all suspicious 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 suspicious; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

135. **Driver profiling (profildr):** The driver expressed a belief that they were the target of racial or ethnic profiling. For example, "You are a racist White pig. That's why you pulled me over!" or "You stopped me because I am Black," or "Is it a crime to drive around if you are Black in this neighborhood?!" or "It's interesting that out of everyone on the road, you pulled ME over." Typically White drivers will NOT complain of racial profiling. In addition, if the driver does not mention his or her race at all during the interaction in relationship to the stop, this should be coded as 0. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all profiled 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 profiled; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

136. **Driver sarcasm (sarcdr):** The driver expressed sarcasm during the traffic stop. A driver who is sarcastic will use ironic comments in combination with tone to purposefully rebut the officer's position. Usually the driver will use the sarcasm to express suspicion of the officer's motives. In addition, sarcasm is often expressed through the use of paralanguage or sarcastic tone. For example, "Yeah I am SURE that's the reason I was pulled over (sarcastic tone)." A driver who is NOT sarcastic will remain straightforward within his or her language and paralanguage. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all sarcastic 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 sarcastic; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

137. **Driver begging (beggdr):** The driver begged the officer either not to give him a citation or arrest him. This is NOT a denial that the driver committed the offense. It is an acknowledgement of wrong-doing with a pleading for the officer not to punish the driver. For example: "Officer I have two tickets already, if I get another one, my insurance costs will be unbearable." "Please don't give me a ticket.

My parents will kill me if I get another one." "Please don't give me a ticket; I've already gotten a ticket today." A driver who does NOT beg will not ask the officer to ignore their offense. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
did not beg 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 begged;
99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Emotional Reactions—Driver

138. **Driver cry (crydr):** At some point during the interaction, the driver began to cry, was on the brink of tears or had watery eyes that suggested crying was or would take place:
0 = the driver did not cry; 1 = the driver did not cry; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

139. **Driver aggravation (draggrv):** The driver appeared very aggravated during the encounter. A driver who appears aggravated may 1) become rushed during his or her speaking, 2) change tone, or 3) pause a lot and start over again signaling that they are becoming frustrated with the way the interaction is going. An aggravated driver may be fidgety and make several sighs during the interaction displaying their aggravation. A driver that is NOT aggravated will remain calm throughout the interaction. He or she will typically have a calm tone and demeanor throughout the entire interaction regardless of what happens during the stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all aggravated 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 aggravated;
99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

140. **Driver humor (drhumor):** The driver showed his or her humorous side during the interaction with the officer. A driver who is humorous would show this by laughing, or chuckling and/or making jokes. For example, a humorous driver may laugh with the officer about something said during the interaction. In this context, humor must remain light hearted and fun. Humor is not a driver laughing at an officer, or laughing as a means of dismissing an officer's reasoning for the stop. The humor will always occur during the interaction with the officer. A driver who is NOT humorous will not joke or laugh during any part of the interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent] CHANGE: FORMS A & B USED A SCALED RESPONSE FROM "0=NOT AT ALL HUMOROUS" TO "10=HUMOROUS". FORMS C & D USED THE RESPONSES BELOW.
0 = not at all humorous; 1 = officer humorous; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

141. **Driver expressed confusion (drconfus):** The driver expressed confusion during the interaction with the primary police officer. Usually this confusion occurs during the point during the stop when punishment is meted out to the civilian. Confusion might be represented by the use of multiple clarification questions during the interaction. For example: "Can you repeat that again?" or "What am I supposed to be doing with this paperwork?" "Am I gonna be arrested?" A driver who does NOT express confusion will not ask any clarification questions, especially when being administered a citation. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all confused 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 confused;
99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

142. **The driver appeared anxious (dranxuos):** During the interaction, the driver appeared nervous or anxious. Usually this surrounds the outcome (e.g., citation) associated with the stop. Often times this will be expressed as worry about the implications of the outcome (e.g., tarnished driving record etc.) In many cases, there will be crackling, strained, and unsteady voices coming from drivers who are anxious. A driver who is NOT anxious will remain steady and unwavering throughout the interaction. They would appear to be rather relaxed during the traffic stop. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all anxious 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 anxious; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

143. **Driver anger (angrdr):** The driver appeared angry during the traffic stop. A driver who is angry will raise their voices, shout, yell, or become very stern through tone of voice. These driver's will demonstrate disgust toward the officer usually through both verbal and non-verbal behavior. A driver who is NOT angry will most likely NOT yell and appear rather calm during the interaction. [Code as 0 if the characteristic is totally absent]
not at all angry 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 angry; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

Nonverbal Measures—Driver

For the following measures, consider the relationship of the driver to that of the primary officer.

144. **Proximity of the driver relative to the police officer (drclose):** Does the driver remain in his or her seat throughout the interaction, or do they ever leave their car without being asked by the officer to disembark from their vehicle. If the driver leaves his or her seat without being asked at any point, code this as 1.
0 = driver never left his or her seat; 1 = the driver got out of his/her seat; 99 = not applicable/cannot be coded

APPENDIX 6.A

Community-Police Survey

Police-Community Satisfaction Survey

Hello. My name is . I am conducting a survey about community perceptions of the police community relations in Cincinnati. This survey is being conducted by RAND, an independent, non-profit institution that is working with community groups and the City of Cincinnati. Participation is completely confidential and I would really appreciate your help.

S1: To start, how many adults age 18 or older live in your household?
Range (1-7)
DK/Refused=9 (Screen-out S1: DK/Ref screener)
[IF S1=2-7]

S2: Since we can interview only one person in each household, may I please speak to the person who had his/her birthday most recently? Please include anyone at least 18 years old or older who lives at your house, whether they are at home now or not.
1>Designated respondent currently on phone
2>Designated respondent was brought to phone (REINTRODUCE, CONFIRM THAT RESPONDENT IS 18+ AND CONTINUE)
3>Designated respondent not available (Schedule Callback)
4>Designated respondent refuses to come to the phone (Respondent Soft refusal)

S3: Are you/or may I speak to the person age 18 or older?
1>Designated respondent currently on phone
2>Designated respondent was brought to phone (REINTRODUCE, CONFIRM THAT RESPONDENT IS 18+ AND CONTINUE)
3>Designated respondent not available (Schedule Callback)
4>Designated respondent refuses to come to the phone (Respondent Soft refusal)

1. First, I have a few questions about life in your neighborhood….
What is the name of the neighborhood you live in? (e.g., Pleasant Ridge, East Price Hill, Walnut Hills, Camp Washington).
1. AVONDALE
2. BONDHILL
3. C.B.D./RIVERFRONT
4. CALIFORNIA
5. CAMP WASHINGTON
6. CARTHAGE

7. CLIFTON
8. CLIFTON/UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS
9. COLLEGE HILL
10. COLUMBIA/TUSCULUM
11. CORRYVILLE
12. EAST END
13. EAST PRICE HILL
14. EAST WALNUT HILLS
15. EAST WESTWOOD
16. ENGLISH WOODS
17. EVANSTON
18. FAIRVIEW
19. FAY APARTMENTS
20. HARTWELL
21. HYDE PARK
22. KENNEDY HEIGHTS
23. LINWOOD
24. LOWER PRICE HILL
25. MADISONVILLE
26. MILLVALE
27. MOUNT ADAMS
28. MOUNT AIRY
29. MOUNT AUBURN
30. MT. LOOKOUT
31. MT. WASHINGTON
32. NORTH AVONDALE
33. NORTH FAIRMOUNT
34. NORTHSIDE
35. OAKLEY
36. O'BRYONVILLE
37. OVER THE RHINE
38. PADDOCK HILLS
39. PENDLETON
40. PLEASANT RIDGE
41. QUEENSGATE
42. RIVERSIDE
43. ROSELAWN
44. SAYLER PARK
45. SEDAMSVILLE
46. SOUTH CUMMINSVILLE
47. SOUTH FAIRMOUNT
48. WALNUT HILLS
49. WEST END
50. WEST PRICE HILL 51.
52. WESTWOOD
53. WINTON HILLS

54. WINTON PLACE
97 Other-SPECIFY -------DISCONTINUE SCREEN OUT- OTHER NB AFTER ASKING Q1a.
98 Don't Know DISCONTINUE SCREEN OUT- DK NB-AFTER ASKING Q1 a
99 Refused DISCONTINUE SCREEN OUT- REF NB-AFTER ASKING Q1A.

ASK, IF Q1= 97, 98, 99

1 a. Do you live within the city limits of Cincinnati?
1. Yes ---- SCREEN OUT Q1
2. No S/O-1
8. Don't Know S/O-1
9. Refused S/O-1

2. Enter respondent's gender?
1. MALE
2. FEMALE

3. When you think of the neighborhood where you live, do you think of:
1. YOUR BLOCK
2. A FEW BLOCKS AROUND YOUR HOUSE
3. A SECTION OF THE CITY
4. DK (vol.) (PROBE: "General size of your neighborhood")
5. REF (vol.)

4. How many years have you lived in this neighborhood?
_____ _____ (range 0-90) (Enter 0 if less than one year)
98. Don't Know
99. Refused

5. In general, how would you rate your neighborhood as a place to live? (read list)
1. EXCELLENT
2. GOOD
3. FAIR
4. POOR
8. (vol) DK
9. (vol) REF

6. In your opinion, how serious a problem is crime in your neighborhood? (Read list)
1. VERY SERIOUS
2. SERIOUS
3. SOMEWHAT SERIOUS
4. NOT VERY SERIOUS
5. NOT A PROBLEM
8. (vol) DK
9. (vol) REF

7. How safe would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night… very safe, reasonably safe, somewhat safe, or very unsafe? (Read list)
1. VERY SAFE

2. REASONABLY SAFE
3. SOMEWHAT UNSAFE
4. VERY UNSAFE
8. (vol) DK (PROBE: "In general…"),
9. (vol) REF

8. I'm going to read some things you may or may not see in your neighborhood, please tell me whether you almost never, sometimes, usually, or almost always see the following in your neighborhood. In your neighborhood, how often do you see…….Almost Never, Sometimes, Usually, Almost Always? (Randomize a-e)

1. Almost Never
2. Sometimes
3. Usually
4. Almost Always
8. Don't Know
9. Refused

	AN	S	U	AA	DK	RF
a. Garbage in the streets and empty beer bottles?						
b. Kids hanging out on street corners without adult supervision?						
c. Graffiti on walls, bus stops, and mailboxes?						
d. Drug transactions, or activities that appear to be drug dealing?						
e. People acting disrespectfully toward the police? (e.g., yelling obscenities)						

9. During the last 12 months which of the following have occurred in your neighborhood that you know of?

a. armed robberies
b. murders
c. sexual assaults
d. burglaries
1. YES
2. NO
8. DK (PROBE: "Hear of anything…")
9. REF

10. Do you participate in any neighborhood associations or activities?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DK
9. REF

11. About how often, do you get together with your neighbors? (Read list)

1. DAILY
2. ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK
3. LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH
4. NEVER
8. (vol) DK
9. (vol) REF

12. How many of your relatives, not including those who live in your house, live in your neighborhood? (Read list)

1. ALMOST ALL
2. MORE THAN HALF
3. A FEW
4. NONE
8. (vol.) DK (PROBE: "In general..")
9. (vol) REF

13. How much do you trust people in your neighborhood? (read list)
    1. A LOT
    2. SOMEWHAT
    3. A LITTLE BIT
    4. NOT AT ALL
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE: "In general…")
    9. (vol) REF

Next, I'd like to ask you a few questions about the police in your neighborhood.

14. How would you rate the performance of the Cincinnati Police on working with residents to address local crime problems – would you say it is excellent, good, fair, or poor?
    1. EXCELLENT
    2. GOOD
    3. FAIR
    4. POOR
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE—"In general..")
    9. (vol) REF
15. In general, how would you rate the quality of police protection in Cincinnati – would you say it's excellent, good, fair, or poor?
    1. EXCELLENT
    2. GOOD
    3. FAIR
    4. POOR
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE: "Just your general impression)
    9. (vol) REF
16. When was the last time you saw a uniformed police officer in your neighborhood? (READ LIST)
    1. WITHIN THE PAST 24 HOURS
    2. WITHIN THE PAST WEEK
    3. WITHIN THE PAST MONTH
    4. MORE THAN A MONTH AGO
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE)
    9. (vol) REF
17. Do you know any of the police officers that work in your neighborhood by name or by sight?
    1. YES
    2. NO
    8. (vol) DK
    9. (vol) REF

18. When it comes to getting its share of police services, would you say that your neighborhood gets, more than it needs, about the right amount, or not enough?
    1. MORE THAN IT NEEDS
    2. ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT
    3. NOT ENOUGH
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE: "In general…")
    9. (vol) REF
19. Are you familiar with the Community Police Partnering Center?
    1. YES
    2. NO
    8. Don't know
    9. REF
20. I'm going to read some things you may or may not see police officers doing in your neighborhood, please tell me whether you almost never, sometimes, usually, or almost always see police officers doing the following in your neighborhood. How often do you see police officers in your neighborhood ……Almost Never, Sometimes, Usually, Almost Always? (Randomize a-d)
    1. Almost Never
    2. Sometimes
    3. Usually
    4. Almost Always
    8. (vol) Don't Know
    9. (vol) Refused

	AN	S	U	AA	DK	RF
a. Stopping and questioning motorists						
b. Stopping and 'patting down' individuals on street corners						
c. Making drug arrests						
d. Talking to residents about their concerns with local crime problems						

21. In your opinion, would you say the Cincinnati police officers are generally very polite toward people like yourself, somewhat polite, somewhat rude, or very rude?
    1. VERY POLITE
    2. SOMEWHAT POLITE
    3. SOMEWHAT RUDE
    4. VERY RUDE
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE: "In general…")
    9. (vol) REF
22. I'm going to read some statements that may or may not be used to describe the Cincinnati Police Department. For each one, please tell me whether you Agree Strongly, Agree somewhat, Disagree somewhat, or Disagree Strongly?
    The first/next statement is…….do you
    1. Agree Strongly
    2. Agree Somewhat
    3. Disagree Somewhat
    4. Disagree Strongly

5. (vol) Neither Agree/Disagree
8. (vol) Don't Know
9. (vol) Refused

(RANDOMIZE A-D)

a. CPD officers consider the views of the people involved when deciding what to
b. CPD officers understand and apply the law fairly
c. CPD officers apply the rules consistently regardless of someone's race or ethnicity
d. CPD officers treat people with respect and dignity

23. In their attempts to prevent and solve crimes, officers often have to choose who to stop, investigate, or talk to. How often should police officers be more suspicious of, Blacks relative to Whites? Always, often, sometimes, rarely, never
    1. ALWAYS
    2. OFTEN
    3. SOMETIMES
    4. RARELY
    5. NEVER
    8. (vol) Don't Know
    9. (vol) Refused
24. Do you think that Cincinnati police officers treat Blacks and Whites with equal suspicion? Would you say, the treatment is definitely equal, somewhat equal, somewhat unequal, or definitely unequal?
    1. DEFINITELY EQUAL
    2. SOMEWHAT EQUAL
    3. SOMEWHAT UNEQUAL
    4. DEFINITELY UNEQUAL
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE: "In general…)
    9. (vol) REF
25. Next, I'm going to read some decisions the CPD makes, please tell me if you think the CPD makes these decisions based on someone's race or ethnic background, almost never, sometimes, usually, or almost always?

    In your opinion how often does the CPD make the following types of decisions based on someone's race or ethnic background?

    ……Almost Never, Sometimes, Usually, Almost Always? (Randomize a-e)

    1. Almost Never
    2. Sometimes
    3. Usually
    4. Almost Always
    8. (vol) Don't Know
    9. (vol) Refused

	AN	S	U	AA	DK	RF
a. Deciding which cars to stop for traffic violations.						
b. Which people to stop and question on the street.						
c. Which people to arrest and take to jail.						
d. Which people in the neighborhood to help with their problems.						
e. Which areas of the neighborhood to patrol the most frequently.						

26. How much do you trust the police officers that work for the Cincinnati Police Department? (Read list)
    1. A LOT
    2. SOMEWHAT
    3. A LITTLE BIT
    4. NOT AT ALL
    8. (vol) DK (PROBE: "In general…")
    9. (vol) REF
27. Have you ever felt that you were personally stopped by the CPD because of your race or ethnic background?
    1. YES
    2. NO
    8. Don't Know
    9. REF
28. If yes, why do you think that your race was a factor in the decision to stop you? OPEN ENDED RESPONSE

    Our last few questions are used to ensure that our sample for this survey accurately reflects the population of Cincinnati as a whole.

29. First, in what year were you born?
    19 (range 00-87) 98. Don't Know
    99.Refused
30. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed? (Read if necessary)
    1. LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL (Grade 11 or less)
    2. HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR GED (including GED)
    3. SOME COLLEGE
    4. ASSOCIATE DEGREE OR TECHNICAL TRAINING (2 year)
    5. BACHELORS DEGREE
    6. GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE
    8. (vol) Don't Know
    9. (vol) REF
31. What race do you consider yourself to be? (Read list)
    1. ASIAN
    2. BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN
    3. HISPANIC
    4. WHITE
    5. OTHER
    8. (vol) Don't Know
    9. (vol) REF

32. What category best describes your annual HOUSEHOLD income? (Read list)
    1. $20,000 or less
    2. Over $20,000 but than $30,000
    3. $30,000 but less than $50,000
    4. $50,000 but less than $75,000
    5. $75,000 but less than $100,000
    6. $100,000 or more
    8. (vol) DK
    8. (vol) RF
33. Which category best describes your current work status? (read list)
    1. EMPLOYED FULL OR PART-TIME
    2. STUDENT
    3. UNEMPLOYED/IN BETWEEN JOBS
    4. NOT WORKING/NOT LOOKING FOR WORK
    5. RETIRED
    8.(vol.) Don't know
    9. (vol) Refused
34. What is your current marital status? (read list)
    1. MARRIED
    2. LIVING WITH PARTNER
    3. SEPARATED
    4. DIVORCE
    5. WIDOWED
    6. NEVER MARRIED
    8. (vol) Don't Know
    9. (vol) Refused
35. Do you or your family own the place where you are living now, or do you rent?
    1. OWN
    2. RENT
    8. Don't Know
    9. REF
36. How many children, aged 17 or younger, live in your household?
    NUMBER (range 0-7, enter 7 for 7+)
    98. Don't Know
    99. Refused

That completes my interview thank you for speaking with me today.

APPENDIX 6.B

Neighborhood Tables

Table 6.B.1
Racial Distribution, by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Other	Black	White
Avondale	3.0%	87.0%	10.1%
Bondhill	4.5%	85.4%	10.1%
C.B.D./Riverfront		11.1%	88.9%
Camp Washington		7.7%	92.3%
Carthage	4.5%	22.7%	72.7%
Clifton	6.6%	26.3%	67.1%
Clifton/University H	6.5%	19.5%	74.0%
College Hill	3.8%	54.5%	41.7%
Columbia/Tusculum	7.7%	15.4%	76.9%
Corryville	15.2%	45.5%	39.4%
East Price Hill	5.1%	17.2%	77.7%
East Walnut Hills	5.6%	38.9%	55.6%
Evanston	4.9%	90.2%	4.9%
Fairview	8.0%	20.0%	72.0%
Fay Apartments	5.0%	95.0%	
Hartwell	4.5%	20.5%	75.0%
Hyde Park	4.2%	5.8%	90.0%
Kennedy Heights	2.1%	59.6%	38.3%
Linwood		22.2%	77.8%
Lower Price Hill		30.0%	70.0%
Madisonville	5.2%	49.0%	45.8%
Mount Adams			100.0%
Mount Airy	4.7%	47.1%	48.2%
Mount Auburn	7.0%	70.2%	22.8%
Mt. Lookout	10.3%		89.7%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	4.1%	3.3%	92.7%
North Fairmount/English Woods	7.7%	64.1%	28.2%
Northside	6.0%	31.0%	63.1%
Oakley	7.1%	19.4%	73.5%
O'bryonville	4.5%	63.6%	31.8%
Other	6.5%	41.3%	52.2%
Over The Rhine	2.9%	72.5%	24.6%
Paddock Hills	3.3%	80.0%	16.7%
Pleasant Ridge	1.3%	32.9%	65.8%

Table 6.B.1—continued

Neighborhood	Other	Black	White
Riverside/Sedamsville	2.9%	14.7%	82.4%
Roselawn	1.7%	85.0%	13.3%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	5.9%	76.5%	17.6%
Sayler Park	3.4%		96.6%
South Fairmount	7.4%	22.2%	70.4%
Walnut Hills	4.3%	73.9%	21.7%
West End/Queensgate	4.1%	76.7%	19.2%
West Price Hill	5.4%	10.7%	83.9%
Westwood	4.8%	43.5%	51.7%
Winton Hills	6.7%	73.3%	20.0%
Winton Place	4.3%	56.5%	39.1%
Total	4.8%	42.8%	52.4%

NOTE: *n* = 2,944.

Table 6.B.2
Perception of Neighborhood as a Place to Live, by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Avondale	11.2%	28.4%	40.8%	19.5%
Bondhill	14.6%	34.8%	36.0%	14.6%
C.B.D./Riverfront	42.9%	32.1%	21.4%	3.6%
Camp Washington		36.4%	54.5%	9.1%
Carthage	9.1%	40.9%	40.9%	9.1%
Clifton	37.7%	41.6%	16.9%	3.9%
Clifton/University H	14.1%	35.9%	44.9%	5.1%
College Hill	16.3%	49.6%	26.7%	7.4%
Columbia/Tusculum	40.7%	44.4%	11.1%	3.7%
Corryville	11.8%	29.4%	41.2%	17.6%
East Price Hill	4.3%	23.6%	37.9%	34.2%
East Walnut Hills	21.6%	48.6%	27.0%	2.7%
Evanston	3.3%	31.1%	45.9%	19.7%
Fairview	16.0%	48.0%	30.0%	6.0%
Fay Apartments	9.5%	4.8%	28.6%	57.1%
Hartwell	9.1%	50.0%	36.4%	4.5%
Hyde Park	73.8%	26.2%		
Kennedy Heights	16.7%	58.3%	22.9%	2.1%
Linwood	22.2%	33.3%	22.2%	22.2%
Lower Price Hill		16.7%	58.3%	25.0%
Madisonville	9.3%	47.4%	34.0%	9.3%
Mount Adams	84.6%	15.4%		
Mount Airy	10.5%	48.8%	34.9%	5.8%
Mount Auburn	10.0%	31.7%	53.3%	5.0%
Mt. Lookout	79.3%	20.7%		
Mt. Washington/East End/California	36.6%	47.2%	14.6%	1.6%
North Fairmount/English Woods		30.8%	43.6%	25.6%
Northside	9.4%	31.8%	38.8%	20.0%

Table 6.B.2—continued

Neighborhood	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Oakley	38.0%	54.0%	6.0%	2.0%
O'bryonville	22.7%	63.6%	9.1%	4.5%
Other	26.1%	30.4%	28.3%	15.2%
Over The Rhine	5.8%	18.8%	36.2%	39.1%
Paddock Hills	58.1%	32.3%	6.5%	3.2%
Pleasant Ridge	30.0%	53.8%	13.8%	2.5%
Riverside/Sedamsville	17.6%	38.2%	20.6%	23.5%
Roselawn	13.1%	47.5%	37.7%	1.6%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	2.9%	20.0%	48.6%	28.6%
Sayler Park	24.1%	55.2%	17.2%	3.4%
South Fairmount		20.7%	34.5%	44.8%
Walnut Hills	1.4%	38.0%	49.3%	11.3%
West End/Queensgate	5.3%	44.0%	30.7%	20.0%
West Price Hill	7.3%	32.5%	35.8%	24.5%
Westwood	11.3%	41.5%	34.0%	13.2%
Winton Hills	13.0%	23.9%	37.0%	26.1%
Winton Place	33.3%	25.0%	25.0%	16.7%
Total	18.6%	37.7%	30.3%	13.4%

NOTE: *n* = 2,991.

Table 6.B.3
Perception of Crime in Neighborhood, by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Very serious	Serious	Somewhat serious	Not serious	Not a problem
Avondale	34.1%	24.6%	22.8%	6.6%	12.0%
Bondhill	19.3%	33.0%	21.6%	13.6%	12.5%
C.B.D./Riverfront	12.0%	28.0%	24.0%	28.0%	8.0%
Camp Washington	9.1%	27.3%	36.4%	27.3%	
Carthage	4.8%	19.0%	38.1%	28.6%	9.5%
Clifton	2.6%	16.9%	31.2%	36.4%	13.0%
Clifton/University H	13.0%	31.2%	29.9%	22.1%	3.9%
College Hill	11.9%	18.7%	32.1%	26.9%	10.4%
Columbia/Tusculum		15.4%	34.6%	30.8%	19.2%
Corryville	8.8%	20.6%	29.4%	32.4%	8.8%
East Price Hill	43.8%	25.6%	16.9%	9.4%	4.4%
East Walnut Hills	10.8%	24.3%	37.8%	21.6%	5.4%
Evanston	25.4%	28.8%	25.4%	15.3%	5.1%
Fairview	12.0%	22.0%	38.0%	20.0%	8.0%
Fay Apartments	57.1%	14.3%	19.0%	4.8%	4.8%
Hartwell	11.4%	15.9%	31.8%	29.5%	11.4%
Hyde Park	.8%	4.1%	23.1%	44.6%	27.3%
Kennedy Heights	8.3%	25.0%	33.3%	16.7%	16.7%
Linwood	11.1%	11.1%	33.3%	33.3%	11.1%
Lower Price Hill	45.5%	45.5%	9.1%		
Madisonville	17.7%	22.9%	33.3%	11.5%	14.6%

Table 6.B.3—continued

Neighborhood	Very serious	Serious	Somewhat serious	Not serious	Not a problem
Mount Adams	7.7%	7.7%	23.1%	53.8%	7.7%
Mount Airy	9.4%	24.7%	23.5%	22.4%	20.0%
Mount Auburn	21.7%	28.3%	23.3%	20.0%	6.7%
Mt. Lookout			6.9%	58.6%	34.5%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	2.4%	4.9%	20.3%	52.8%	19.5%
North Fairmount/English Woods	20.0%	35.0%	17.5%	17.5%	10.0%
Northside	15.5%	26.2%	35.7%	16.7%	6.0%
Oakley	1.0%	3.0%	31.3%	39.4%	25.3%
O'bryonville	4.5%	4.5%	40.9%	31.8%	18.2%
Other	17.8%	15.6%	17.8%	33.3%	15.6%
Over The Rhine	55.1%	24.6%	14.5%	2.9%	2.9%
Paddock Hills	3.2%	6.5%	12.9%	38.7%	38.7%
Pleasant Ridge	2.5%	13.8%	33.8%	31.3%	18.8%
Riverside/Sedamsville	14.7%	11.8%	23.5%	35.3%	14.7%
Roselawn	10.0%	30.0%	23.3%	20.0%	16.7%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	26.5%	29.4%	20.6%	20.6%	2.9%
Sayler Park	7.1%	7.1%	35.7%	28.6%	21.4%
South Fairmount	39.3%	21.4%	25.0%	14.3%	
Walnut Hills	22.5%	35.2%	23.9%	14.1%	4.2%
West End/Queensgate	32.0%	17.3%	32.0%	9.3%	9.3%
West Price Hill	30.3%	24.3%	26.3%	9.9%	9.2%
Westwood	21.3%	23.5%	29.8%	13.3%	12.1%
Winton Hills	37.8%	22.2%	11.1%	17.8%	11.1%
Winton Place	20.8%	8.3%	33.3%	16.7%	20.8%
Total	18.7%	20.7%	26.3%	21.6%	12.6%

NOTE: *n* = 2,965.

Table 6.B.4
Neighborhood Safety at Night, by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Very safe	Safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe
Avondale	9.0%	31.9%	31.9%	27.1%
Bondhill	12.5%	43.2%	21.6%	22.7%
C.B.D./Riverfront	10.7%	46.4%	25.0%	17.9%
Camp Washington	15.4%	46.2%	23.1%	15.4%
Carthage	4.5%	45.5%	27.3%	22.7%
Clifton	26.3%	40.8%	23.7%	9.2%
Clifton/University H	7.8%	46.8%	29.9%	15.6%
College Hill	12.3%	40.8%	35.4%	11.5%
Columbia/Tusculum	25.9%	66.7%	7.4%	
Corryville	15.6%	46.9%	28.1%	9.4%
East Price Hill	6.3%	31.4%	22.6%	39.6%
East Walnut Hills	5.6%	52.8%	33.3%	8.3%
Evanston	15.5%	36.2%	24.1%	24.1%

Table 6.B.4—continued

Neighborhood	Very safe	Safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe
Fairview	8.0%	60.0%	20.0%	12.0%
Fay Apartments	14.3%	33.3%	23.8%	28.6%
Hartwell	13.6%	47.7%	18.2%	20.5%
Hyde Park	37.2%	51.2%	9.9%	1.7%
Kennedy Heights	20.8%	37.5%	31.3%	10.4%
Linwood	22.2%	44.4%		33.3%
Lower Price Hill	25.0%	16.7%	16.7%	41.7%
Madisonville	13.4%	42.3%	29.9%	14.4%
Mount Adams	46.2%	38.5%	15.4%	
Mount Airy	13.3%	41.0%	34.9%	10.8%
Mount Auburn	10.0%	30.0%	21.7%	38.3%
Mt. Lookout	41.4%	48.3%	10.3%	
Mt. Washington/East End/California	22.1%	57.4%	17.2%	3.3%
North Fairmount/English Woods	5.1%	28.2%	23.1%	43.6%
Northside	10.6%	36.5%	35.3%	17.6%
Oakley	30.7%	51.5%	15.8%	2.0%
O'bryonville	18.2%	59.1%	18.2%	4.5%
Other	26.1%	39.1%	21.7%	13.0%
Over The Rhine	14.9%	28.4%	20.9%	35.8%
Paddock Hills	33.3%	50.0%	10.0%	6.7%
Pleasant Ridge	21.3%	51.3%	17.5%	10.0%
Riverside/Sedamsville	21.2%	39.4%	24.2%	15.2%
Roselawn	11.5%	42.6%	29.5%	16.4%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	20.0%	25.7%	37.1%	17.1%
Sayler Park	24.1%	58.6%	17.2%	
South Fairmount	7.1%	25.0%	14.3%	53.6%
Walnut Hills	8.5%	28.2%	39.4%	23.9%
West End/Queensgate	17.3%	40.0%	25.3%	17.3%
West Price Hill	9.3%	32.7%	28.0%	30.0%
Westwood	13.4%	38.7%	25.2%	22.7%
Winton Hills	6.7%	42.2%	17.8%	33.3%
Winton Place	8.3%	33.3%	37.5%	20.8%
Total	15.6%	40.8%	24.7%	18.8%

NOTE: *n* = 2,958.

Table 6.B.5
Garbage in the Streets and Empty Beer Bottles

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	24.7%	35.3%	5.9%	34.1%
Bondhill	38.6%	40.9%	10.2%	10.2%
C.B.D./Riverfront	53.6%	32.1%	7.1%	7.1%
Camp Washington	46.2%	15.4%		38.5%
Carthage	22.7%	31.8%	9.1%	36.4%
Clifton	51.3%	27.6%	7.9%	13.2%

Table 6.B.5—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Clifton/University H	23.1%	29.5%	11.5%	35.9%
College Hill	44.4%	32.6%	8.1%	14.8%
Columbia/Tusculum	33.3%	44.4%	7.4%	14.8%
Corryville	24.2%	27.3%	9.1%	39.4%
East Price Hill	17.5%	21.9%	12.5%	48.1%
East Walnut Hills	45.9%	35.1%	10.8%	8.1%
Evanston	23.0%	36.1%	16.4%	24.6%
Fairview	20.4%	28.6%	18.4%	32.7%
Fay Apartments	14.3%	42.9%		42.9%
Hartwell	45.5%	34.1%	2.3%	18.2%
Hyde Park	64.8%	32.8%	1.6%	.8%
Kennedy Heights	45.8%	37.5%	2.1%	14.6%
Linwood	22.2%	22.2%	22.2%	33.3%
Lower Price Hill	8.3%	25.0%	16.7%	50.0%
Madisonville	33.7%	30.6%	7.1%	28.6%
Mount Adams	30.8%	38.5%	23.1%	7.7%
Mount Airy	46.5%	32.6%	7.0%	14.0%
Mount Auburn	21.7%	36.7%	8.3%	33.3%
Mt. Lookout	62.1%	34.5%		3.4%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	54.8%	30.6%	8.9%	5.6%
North Fairmount/English Woods	25.6%	35.9%	7.7%	30.8%
Northside	21.2%	28.2%	16.5%	34.1%
Oakley	58.4%	26.7%	9.9%	5.0%
O'bryonville	36.4%	45.5%	13.6%	4.5%
Other	54.3%	26.1%	2.2%	17.4%
Over The Rhine	7.2%	13.0%	7.2%	72.5%
Paddock Hills	64.5%	29.0%		6.5%
Pleasant Ridge	49.4%	36.7%	3.8%	10.1%
Riverside/Sedamsville	17.6%	47.1%	2.9%	32.4%
Roselawn	49.2%	36.1%	6.6%	8.2%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	25.7%	28.6%	11.4%	34.3%
Sayler Park	39.3%	39.3%	7.1%	14.3%
South Fairmount	13.8%	24.1%	13.8%	48.3%
Walnut Hills	25.7%	35.7%	11.4%	27.1%
West End/Queensgate	26.7%	40.0%	8.0%	25.3%
West Price Hill	22.4%	28.9%	10.5%	38.2%
Westwood	35.5%	34.6%	10.7%	19.2%
Winton Hills	41.3%	34.8%	4.3%	19.6%
Winton Place	25.0%	33.3%	8.3%	33.3%
Total	35.6%	32.1%	8.7%	23.6%

NOTE: *n* = 2,990.

Table 6.B.6
Kids Hanging Out on Street Corners Without Adult Supervision

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	22.2%	17.4%	12.0%	48.5%
Bondhill	20.5%	27.3%	6.8%	45.5%
C.B.D./Riverfront	33.3%	25.9%	11.1%	29.6%
Camp Washington	25.0%	16.7%	16.7%	41.7%
Carthage	14.3%	19.0%	14.3%	52.4%
Clifton	43.2%	31.1%	10.8%	14.9%
Clifton/University H	43.6%	21.8%	7.7%	26.9%
College Hill	24.6%	23.9%	16.4%	35.1%
Columbia/Tusculum	29.6%	25.9%	22.2%	22.2%
Corryville	18.2%	21.2%	15.2%	45.5%
East Price Hill	11.2%	14.9%	8.7%	65.2%
East Walnut Hills	22.2%	38.9%	11.1%	27.8%
Evanston	14.8%	13.1%	19.7%	52.5%
Fairview	40.0%	24.0%	10.0%	26.0%
Fay Apartments	9.5%	19.0%	9.5%	61.9%
Hartwell	39.5%	20.9%	14.0%	25.6%
Hyde Park	62.0%	33.9%	4.1%	
Kennedy Heights	29.2%	25.0%	2.1%	43.8%
Linwood	22.2%		11.1%	66.7%
Lower Price Hill	8.3%	16.7%		75.0%
Madisonville	17.3%	17.3%	15.3%	50.0%
Mount Adams	100.0%			
Mount Airy	32.9%	28.2%	7.1%	31.8%
Mount Auburn	13.3%	20.0%	6.7%	60.0%
Mt. Lookout	65.5%	34.5%		
Mt. Washington/East End/California	50.0%	36.9%	5.7%	7.4%
North Fairmount/English Woods	35.9%	15.4%	12.8%	35.9%
Northside	12.9%	16.5%	16.5%	54.1%
Oakley	55.0%	40.0%	2.0%	3.0%
O'bryonville	63.6%	27.3%	4.5%	4.5%
Other	50.0%	17.4%	4.3%	28.3%
Over The Rhine	14.5%	5.8%	10.1%	69.6%
Paddock Hills	41.9%	41.9%	3.2%	12.9%
Pleasant Ridge	25.0%	45.0%	12.5%	17.5%
Riverside/Sedamsville	38.2%	26.5%	14.7%	20.6%
Roselawn	32.8%	26.2%	11.5%	29.5%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	22.9%	14.3%	5.7%	57.1%
Sayler Park	6.9%	41.4%	10.3%	41.4%
South Fairmount	7.1%	14.3%	7.1%	71.4%
Walnut Hills	16.9%	28.2%	15.5%	39.4%
West End/Queensgate	8.0%	24.0%	9.3%	58.7%
West Price Hill	15.8%	27.0%	12.5%	44.7%
Westwood	27.8%	21.2%	10.4%	40.5%
Winton Hills	21.7%	21.7%	4.3%	52.2%
Winton Place	37.5%	8.3%	4.2%	50.0%
Total	28.6%	24.1%	10.0%	37.3%

NOTE: *n* = 2,976.

Table 6.B.7
Graffiti on Walls, Bus Stops, or Mailboxes

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	49.7%	28.4%	4.7%	17.2%
Bondhill	61.4%	28.4%	5.7%	4.5%
C.B.D./Riverfront	50.0%	28.6%	14.3%	7.1%
Camp Washington	38.5%	46.2%		15.4%
Carthage	50.0%	31.8%	4.5%	13.6%
Clifton	39.5%	31.6%	11.8%	17.1%
Clifton/University H	34.6%	25.6%	9.0%	30.8%
College Hill	72.8%	18.4%	2.2%	6.6%
Columbia/Tusculum	74.1%	18.5%	3.7%	3.7%
Corryville	33.3%	39.4%	3.0%	24.2%
East Price Hill	40.3%	33.3%	11.3%	15.1%
East Walnut Hills	58.3%	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%
Evanston	53.3%	31.7%	3.3%	11.7%
Fairview	34.0%	30.0%	10.0%	26.0%
Fay Apartments	35.0%	35.0%	5.0%	25.0%
Hartwell	61.4%	31.8%		6.8%
Hyde Park	80.3%	18.0%	1.6%	
Kennedy Heights	72.3%	21.3%	2.1%	4.3%
Linwood	44.4%	22.2%	11.1%	22.2%
Lower Price Hill	25.0%	41.7%	8.3%	25.0%
Madisonville	50.5%	36.1%	6.2%	7.2%
Mount Adams	53.8%	46.2%		
Mount Airy	76.7%	19.8%	2.3%	1.2%
Mount Auburn	36.7%	30.0%	5.0%	28.3%
Mt. Lookout	86.2%	10.3%		3.4%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	75.0%	21.0%	.8%	3.2%
North Fairmount/English Woods	66.7%	23.1%	5.1%	5.1%
Northside	31.8%	38.8%	9.4%	20.0%
Oakley	70.3%	23.8%	2.0%	4.0%
O'bryonville	85.7%	14.3%		
Other	73.9%	8.7%	2.2%	15.2%
Over The Rhine	17.4%	21.7%	10.1%	50.7%
Paddock Hills	87.1%	6.5%	6.5%	
Pleasant Ridge	67.9%	26.9%	3.8%	1.3%
Riverside/Sedamsville	55.9%	23.5%	11.8%	8.8%
Roselawn	67.2%	24.6%	3.3%	4.9%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	40.0%	34.3%	2.9%	22.9%
Sayler Park	75.9%	13.8%	3.4%	6.9%
South Fairmount	41.4%	34.5%	6.9%	17.2%
Walnut Hills	50.7%	33.3%	4.3%	11.6%
West End/Queensgate	50.7%	26.7%	6.7%	16.0%
West Price Hill	51.3%	25.0%	8.6%	15.1%
Westwood	59.4%	27.0%	5.1%	8.6%

Table 6.B.7—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Winton Hills	60.9%	19.6%	4.3%	15.2%
Winton Place	50.0%	33.3%	12.5%	4.2%
Total	56.4%	26.3%	5.4%	11.8%

NOTE: *n* = 2,980.

Table 6.B.8
Drug Transactions or What Appears to Be Drug Dealing

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	37.4%	24.5%	9.8%	28.2%
Bondhill	39.5%	31.4%	7.0%	22.1%
C.B.D./Riverfront	67.9%	21.4%	3.6%	7.1%
Camp Washington	50.0%	25.0%	8.3%	16.7%
Carthage	38.1%	33.3%	4.8%	23.8%
Clifton	76.3%	14.5%	1.3%	7.9%
Clifton/University H	58.7%	24.0%	8.0%	9.3%
College Hill	57.7%	23.1%	6.2%	13.1%
Columbia/Tusculum	63.0%	22.2%	7.4%	7.4%
Corryville	43.8%	37.5%		18.8%
East Price Hill	32.1%	23.9%	11.9%	32.1%
East Walnut Hills	55.6%	19.4%	11.1%	13.9%
Evanston	29.3%	19.0%	10.3%	41.4%
Fairview	51.1%	34.0%	6.4%	8.5%
Fay Apartments	20.0%	35.0%	15.0%	30.0%
Hartwell	65.1%	14.0%	4.7%	16.3%
Hyde Park	95.0%	4.2%	.8%	
Kennedy Heights	40.4%	29.8%	14.9%	14.9%
Linwood	55.6%	22.2%	11.1%	11.1%
Lower Price Hill	41.7%	25.0%		33.3%
Madisonville	33.3%	22.9%	9.4%	34.4%
Mount Adams	84.6%	15.4%		
Mount Airy	63.5%	18.8%	4.7%	12.9%
Mount Auburn	21.7%	30.0%	13.3%	35.0%
Mt. Lookout	89.7%	6.9%		3.4%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	81.0%	14.9%		4.1%
North Fairmount/English Woods	30.8%	33.3%	7.7%	28.2%
Northside	33.3%	27.4%	14.3%	25.0%
Oakley	77.2%	16.8%	4.0%	2.0%
O'bryonville	54.5%	31.8%	9.1%	4.5%
Other	71.7%	4.3%	2.2%	21.7%
Over The Rhine	23.2%	5.8%	11.6%	59.4%
Paddock Hills	82.1%	10.7%		7.1%
Pleasant Ridge	58.8%	27.5%	3.8%	10.0%
Riverside/Sedamsville	50.0%	26.5%	8.8%	14.7%
Roselawn	51.7%	23.3%	5.0%	20.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	38.7%	16.1%	3.2%	41.9%

Table 6.B.8—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Sayler Park	44.8%	41.4%	10.3%	3.4%
South Fairmount	27.6%	13.8%	10.3%	48.3%
Walnut Hills	33.8%	29.4%	10.3%	26.5%
West End/Queensgate	38.4%	23.3%	9.6%	28.8%
West Price Hill	51.4%	23.0%	6.8%	18.9%
Westwood	50.3%	25.5%	6.5%	17.7%
Winton Hills	45.5%	11.4%	4.5%	38.6%
Winton Place	47.8%	30.4%	4.3%	17.4%
Total	51.3%	22.1%	6.9%	19.7%

NOTE: *n* = 2,926.

Table 6.B.9
People Acting Disrespectfully Toward the Police

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	58.5%	20.7%	4.3%	16.5%
Bondhill	59.1%	27.3%	3.4%	10.2%
C.B.D./Riverfront	50.0%	39.3%	7.1%	3.6%
Camp Washington	69.2%	23.1%		7.7%
Carthage	70.0%	20.0%	5.0%	5.0%
Clifton	81.6%	13.2%	2.6%	2.6%
Clifton/University H	71.4%	19.5%		9.1%
College Hill	79.4%	13.7%	1.5%	5.3%
Columbia/Tusculum	72.0%	24.0%		4.0%
Corryville	64.5%	29.0%		6.5%
East Price Hill	48.4%	20.3%	9.8%	21.6%
East Walnut Hills	82.9%	11.4%	2.9%	2.9%
Evanston	74.5%	9.1%	3.6%	12.7%
Fairview	67.3%	22.4%	4.1%	6.1%
Fay Apartments	38.1%	23.8%	4.8%	33.3%
Hartwell	85.4%	7.3%	2.4%	4.9%
Hyde Park	98.3%	.8%		.8%
Kennedy Heights	77.1%	14.6%	2.1%	6.3%
Linwood	22.2%	44.4%	11.1%	22.2%
Lower Price Hill	58.3%	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%
Madisonville	58.1%	28.0%	2.2%	11.8%
Mount Adams	76.9%	15.4%		7.7%
Mount Airy	66.7%	20.2%	6.0%	7.1%
Mount Auburn	44.1%	39.0%	6.8%	10.2%
Mt. Lookout	96.6%	3.4%		
Mt. Washington/East End/California	86.8%	9.1%		4.1%
North Fairmount/English Woods	71.1%	15.8%	2.6%	10.5%
Northside	51.8%	24.7%	10.6%	12.9%
Oakley	90.0%	8.0%		2.0%
O'bryonville	90.5%	9.5%		
Other	68.9%	22.2%		8.9%

Table 6.B.9—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Over The Rhine	35.3%	30.9%	4.4%	29.4%
Paddock Hills	93.5%	6.5%		
Pleasant Ridge	78.5%	16.5%		5.1%
Riverside/Sedamsville	61.8%	20.6%	11.8%	5.9%
Roselawn	74.1%	13.8%	6.9%	5.2%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	64.7%	14.7%	5.9%	14.7%
Sayler Park	65.5%	20.7%	3.4%	10.3%
South Fairmount	27.6%	27.6%	10.3%	34.5%
Walnut Hills	52.2%	29.0%	5.8%	13.0%
West End/Queensgate	39.1%	39.1%	7.2%	14.5%
West Price Hill	54.1%	22.3%	6.1%	17.6%
Westwood	59.7%	20.1%	6.5%	13.6%
Winton Hills	65.2%	15.2%	4.3%	15.2%
Winton Place	62.5%	16.7%	4.2%	16.7%
Total	65.9%	19.2%	4.2%	10.7%

NOTE: *n* = 2,914.

Table 6.B.10
Neighborhood Crime in Past 12 Months

Neighborhood	Armed robbery (N=2917)	Murder (N=2947)	Sexual assault (N=2845)	Burglary (N=2908)
Avondale	36.7%	68.6%	28.0%	44.4%
Bondhill	26.1%	62.9%	14.1%	35.4%
C.B.D./Riverfront	44.4%	33.3%	26.9%	66.7%
Camp Washington	33.3%	15.4%	23.1%	61.5%
Carthage	40.0%	9.5%	10.5%	50.0%
Clifton	40.0%	17.1%	27.3%	52.7%
Clifton/University H	64.1%	28.6%	39.2%	70.1%
College Hill	34.8%	41.5%	24.2%	56.1%
Columbia/Tusculum	13.0%	12.0%	4.0%	60.0%
Corryville	40.6%	34.4%	29.0%	54.5%
East Price Hill	54.4%	66.5%	44.7%	69.8%
East Walnut Hills	36.1%	45.7%	18.2%	62.9%
Evanston	33.3%	66.1%	12.3%	43.1%
Fairview	58.3%	34.0%	39.1%	66.0%
Fay Apartments	55.6%	70.0%	15.8%	68.4%
Hartwell	34.1%	14.0%	14.0%	54.5%
Hyde Park	16.2%	62.5%	22.0%	60.9%
Kennedy Heights	17.4%	38.3%	21.7%	39.1%
Linwood	25.0%	33.3%	44.4%	77.8%
Lower Price Hill	50.0%	41.7%	58.3%	58.3%
Madisonville	21.3%	34.7%	17.6%	38.9%
Mount Adams	30.8%	15.4%		69.2%
Mount Airy	26.5%	20.7%	18.8%	50.6%

Table 6.B.10—continued

Neighborhood	Armed robbery (N=2917)	Murder (N=2947)	Sexual assault (N=2845)	Burglary (N=2908)
Mount Auburn	40.0%	59.3%	34.5%	56.9%
Mt. Lookout	7.1%	31.0%	7.1%	51.7%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	18.9%	1.6%	9.2%	57.7%
North Fairmount/English Woods	29.7%	42.1%	20.0%	42.1%
Northside	43.9%	44.6%	47.0%	64.6%
Oakley	12.1%	16.3%	9.3%	42.7%
O'bryonville	27.3%	27.3%	10.0%	40.9%
Other	33.3%	31.8%	22.7%	41.9%
Over The Rhine	48.5%	72.1%	34.3%	58.8%
Paddock Hills	6.5%	9.7%	3.4%	36.7%
Pleasant Ridge	28.6%	26.0%	17.3%	44.9%
Riverside/Sedamsville	11.8%	26.5%	34.4%	67.6%
Roselawn	38.6%	41.7%	33.3%	47.5%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	21.2%	31.3%	21.2%	54.5%
Sayler Park	10.7%		17.2%	65.5%
South Fairmount	65.5%	39.3%	28.6%	69.0%
Walnut Hills	49.3%	64.8%	32.9%	54.3%
West End/Queensgate	39.7%	69.3%	20.5%	56.8%
West Price Hill	53.4%	62.9%	43.1%	70.9%
Westwood	36.7%	55.1%	27.3%	52.6%
Winton Hills	39.1%	56.5%	26.1%	58.7%
Winton Place	29.2%	33.3%	19.0%	56.5%
Total	35.2%	44.2%	25.7%	54.8%

NOTE: Columns indicate percentages who said yes.

Table 6.B.11
Percent Who Participate in Neighborhood Associations or Activities

Neighborhood	Yes
Avondale	28.2%
Bondhill	27.3%
C.B.D./Riverfront	25.0%
Camp Washington	23.1%
Carthage	4.5%
Clifton	26.3%
Clifton/University H	28.2%
College Hill	26.5%
Columbia/Tusculum	37.0%
Corryville	29.4%
East Price Hill	25.5%
East Walnut Hills	32.4%
Evanston	28.3%
Fairview	32.0%
Fay Apartments	14.3%

Table 6.B.11—continued

Neighborhood	Yes
Hartwell	22.7%
Hyde Park	32.2%
Kennedy Heights	31.3%
Linwood	11.1%
Lower Price Hill	8.3%
Madisonville	24.5%
Mount Adams	46.2%
Mount Airy	15.1%
Mount Auburn	30.0%
Mt. Lookout	34.5%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	16.1%
North Fairmount/English Woods	12.5%
Northside	24.7%
Oakley	14.9%
O'bryonville	18.2%
Other	21.7%
Over The Rhine	27.5%
Paddock Hills	67.7%
Pleasant Ridge	33.8%
Riverside/Sedamsville	35.3%
Roselawn	18.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	37.1%
Sayler Park	34.5%
South Fairmount	27.6%
Walnut Hills	28.2%
West End/Queensgate	30.7%
West Price Hill	21.1%
Westwood	17.0%
Winton Hills	15.2%
Winton Place	43.5%
Total	25.1%

NOTE: *n* = 2,994.

Table 6.B.12
How Often Get Together with Neighbors

Neighborhood	Daily	1 or 2 times a week	Less than once a month	Never
Avondale	22.5%	23.7%	23.1%	30.8%
Bondhill	24.7%	29.2%	16.9%	29.2%
C.B.D./Riverfront	7.4%	44.4%	29.6%	18.5%
Camp Washington	23.1%	15.4%	23.1%	38.5%
Carthage	9.5%	28.6%	9.5%	52.4%
Clifton	18.2%	28.6%	27.3%	26.0%
Clifton/University H	16.7%	30.8%	21.8%	30.8%
College Hill	24.3%	29.4%	19.1%	27.2%

Table 6.B.12—continued

Neighborhood	Daily	1 or 2 times a week	Less than once a month	Never
Columbia/Tusculum	25.9%	29.6%	29.6%	14.8%
Corryville	35.3%	29.4%	11.8%	23.5%
East Price Hill	24.4%	27.5%	25.0%	23.1%
East Walnut Hills	16.2%	18.9%	43.2%	21.6%
Evanston	36.1%	26.2%	4.9%	32.8%
Fairview	18.0%	32.0%	14.0%	36.0%
Fay Apartments	14.3%	19.0%	19.0%	47.6%
Hartwell	20.5%	40.9%	13.6%	25.0%
Hyde Park	14.8%	36.9%	33.6%	14.8%
Kennedy Heights	19.1%	27.7%	27.7%	25.5%
Linwood	33.3%	22.2%	22.2%	22.2%
Lower Price Hill	25.0%	25.0%	16.7%	33.3%
Madisonville	16.3%	26.5%	24.5%	32.7%
Mount Adams	25.0%	33.3%	41.7%	
Mount Airy	11.6%	25.6%	20.9%	41.9%
Mount Auburn	20.0%	18.3%	31.7%	30.0%
Mt. Lookout	10.3%	41.4%	37.9%	10.3%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	16.9%	32.3%	31.5%	19.4%
North Fairmount/English Woods	7.5%	35.0%	10.0%	47.5%
Northside	20.0%	34.1%	21.2%	24.7%
Oakley	23.0%	30.0%	26.0%	21.0%
O'bryonville	13.6%	18.2%	31.8%	36.4%
Other	13.0%	30.4%	13.0%	43.5%
Over The Rhine	27.5%	27.5%	15.9%	29.0%
Paddock Hills	26.7%	26.7%	30.0%	16.7%
Pleasant Ridge	15.0%	26.3%	31.3%	27.5%
Riverside/Sedamsville	35.3%	26.5%	17.6%	20.6%
Roselawn	24.6%	23.0%	23.0%	29.5%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	17.1%	25.7%	22.9%	34.3%
Sayler Park	20.7%	44.8%	24.1%	10.3%
South Fairmount	27.6%	24.1%	13.8%	34.5%
Walnut Hills	16.9%	23.9%	23.9%	35.2%
West End/Queensgate	21.6%	25.7%	27.0%	25.7%
West Price Hill	23.2%	33.1%	18.5%	25.2%
Westwood	16.7%	27.1%	16.4%	39.7%
Winton Hills	8.7%	17.4%	17.4%	56.5%
Winton Place	20.8%	20.8%	25.0%	33.3%
Total	19.9%	28.4%	22.4%	29.2%

NOTE: *n* = 2,989.

Table 6.B.13
Trust People in the Neighborhood

Neighborhood	A lot	Some-what	A little	Not at all
Avondale	18.1%	39.8%	20.5%	21.7%

Table 6.B.13—continued

Neighborhood	A lot	Some-what	A little	Not at all
Bondhill	32.1%	39.3%	21.4%	7.1%
C.B.D./Riverfront	16.7%	25.0%	16.7%	41.7%
Camp Washington	10.0%	30.0%	35.0%	25.0%
Carthage	40.0%	37.3%	14.7%	8.0%
Clifton	19.2%	41.0%	28.2%	11.5%
Clifton/University H	35.1%	28.2%	14.5%	22.1%
College Hill	34.6%	38.5%	15.4%	11.5%
Columbia/Tusculum	20.6%	32.4%	29.4%	17.6%
Corryville	8.9%	36.1%	23.4%	31.6%
East Price Hill	28.6%	40.0%	20.0%	11.4%
East Walnut Hills	12.5%	42.9%	16.1%	28.6%
Evanston	26.0%	42.0%	20.0%	12.0%
Fairview		19.0%	14.3%	66.7%
Fay Apartments	20.5%	36.4%	29.5%	13.6%
Hartwell	70.5%	25.4%	3.3%	.8%
Hyde Park	31.3%	41.7%	14.6%	12.5%
Kennedy Heights	22.2%	33.3%	33.3%	11.1%
Linwood		41.7%	25.0%	33.3%
Lower Price Hill	21.1%	42.1%	22.1%	14.7%
Madisonville	92.3%	7.7%		
Mount Adams	23.5%	35.3%	23.5%	17.6%
Mount Airy	13.3%	26.7%	35.0%	25.0%
Mount Auburn	79.3%	10.3%	6.9%	3.4%
Mt. Lookout	52.5%	30.3%	10.7%	6.6%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	17.1%	31.4%	22.9%	28.6%
North Fairmount/English Woods	15.7%	34.9%	16.9%	32.5%
Northside	34.0%	45.0%	12.0%	9.0%
Oakley	27.3%	59.1%	9.1%	4.5%
O'bryonville	17.4%	34.8%	15.2%	32.6%
Other	7.5%	25.4%	22.4%	44.8%
Over The Rhine	60.0%	23.3%	3.3%	13.3%
Paddock Hills	41.3%	32.5%	15.0%	11.3%
Pleasant Ridge	26.5%	41.2%	23.5%	8.8%
Riverside/Sedamsville	20.0%	33.3%	25.0%	21.7%
Roselawn	17.1%	37.1%	22.9%	22.9%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	17.1%	37.1%	22.9%	22.9%
Sayler Park	35.7%	39.3%	25.0%	
South Fairmount	6.9%	34.5%	24.1%	34.5%
Walnut Hills	7.1%	34.3%	32.9%	25.7%
West End/Queensgate	20.3%	35.1%	14.9%	29.7%
West Price Hill	21.1%	31.6%	19.7%	27.6%
Westwood	21.3%	33.7%	20.6%	24.4%
Winton Hills	10.9%	26.1%	15.2%	47.8%
Winton Place	16.7%	37.5%	20.8%	25.0%
Total	25.5%	34.1%	19.2%	21.2%

NOTE: n = 2,946.

Table 6.B.14
How Well Police Address Local Crime Problems

Neighborhood	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Avondale	12.6%	28.9%	29.6%	28.9%
Bondhill	11.8%	27.1%	32.9%	28.2%
C.B.D./Riverfront	32.1%	35.7%	14.3%	17.9%
Camp Washington	16.7%	58.3%	25.0%	
Carthage	19.0%	28.6%	47.6%	4.8%
Clifton	20.5%	37.0%	30.1%	12.3%
Clifton/University H	17.3%	33.3%	32.0%	17.3%
College Hill	23.1%	32.3%	34.6%	10.0%
Columbia/Tusculum	16.7%	50.0%	20.8%	12.5%
Corryville	12.5%	31.3%	31.3%	25.0%
East Price Hill	16.1%	31.0%	29.7%	23.2%
East Walnut Hills	14.3%	42.9%	22.9%	20.0%
Evanston	12.3%	29.8%	33.3%	24.6%
Fairview	20.0%	44.4%	28.9%	6.7%
Fay Apartments	4.8%	19.0%	47.6%	28.6%
Hartwell	21.4%	28.6%	33.3%	16.7%
Hyde Park	47.2%	34.3%	13.9%	4.6%
Kennedy Heights	17.4%	34.8%	32.6%	15.2%
Linwood		33.3%	44.4%	22.2%
Lower Price Hill		30.0%	30.0%	40.0%
Madisonville	17.4%	43.5%	27.2%	12.0%
Mount Adams	30.8%	61.5%		7.7%
Mount Airy	16.7%	40.5%	28.6%	14.3%
Mount Auburn	8.5%	32.2%	33.9%	25.4%
Mt. Lookout	42.9%	35.7%	10.7%	10.7%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	33.6%	46.6%	11.2%	8.6%
North Fairmount/English Woods	9.4%	28.1%	34.4%	28.1%
Northside	16.9%	34.9%	24.1%	24.1%
Oakley	30.4%	42.4%	22.8%	4.3%
O'bryonville	20.0%	55.0%	15.0%	10.0%
Other	19.6%	39.1%	19.6%	21.7%
Over The Rhine	10.6%	12.1%	34.8%	42.4%
Paddock Hills	25.0%	60.7%	10.7%	3.6%
Pleasant Ridge	20.8%	48.1%	20.8%	10.4%
Riverside/Sedamsville	18.8%	43.8%	18.8%	18.8%
Roselawn	12.1%	39.7%	32.8%	15.5%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	11.8%	35.3%	14.7%	38.2%
Sayler Park	21.4%	46.4%	17.9%	14.3%
South Fairmount	3.4%	37.9%	24.1%	34.5%
Walnut Hills	7.1%	31.4%	30.0%	31.4%
West End/Queensgate	8.2%	24.7%	41.1%	26.0%
West Price Hill	16.3%	40.8%	23.1%	19.7%
Westwood	17.5%	37.6%	24.4%	20.5%
Winton Hills	19.5%	29.3%	19.5%	31.7%
Winton Place	26.1%	34.8%	21.7%	17.4%
Total	18.6%	36.1%	26.4%	18.9%

NOTE: *n* = 2,844.

Table 6.B.15
Quality of Police Protection

Neighborhood	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Avondale	10.4%	25.2%	35.0%	29.4%
Bondhill	8.0%	29.9%	40.2%	21.8%
C.B.D./Riverfront	25.9%	37.0%	22.2%	14.8%
Camp Washington		53.8%	30.8%	15.4%
Carthage	14.3%	33.3%	47.6%	4.8%
Clifton	12.2%	35.1%	40.5%	12.2%
Clifton/University H	7.7%	37.2%	37.2%	17.9%
College Hill	9.6%	35.6%	37.0%	17.8%
Columbia/Tusculum	11.5%	46.2%	30.8%	11.5%
Corryville	9.1%	21.2%	42.4%	27.3%
East Price Hill	10.8%	34.2%	34.8%	20.3%
East Walnut Hills	11.1%	27.8%	44.4%	16.7%
Evanston	3.5%	26.3%	49.1%	21.1%
Fairview	6.3%	52.1%	27.1%	14.6%
Fay Apartments	9.5%	28.6%	28.6%	33.3%
Hartwell	6.8%	27.3%	54.5%	11.4%
Hyde Park	19.3%	47.9%	24.4%	8.4%
Kennedy Heights	10.9%	30.4%	43.5%	15.2%
Linwood		25.0%	62.5%	12.5%
Lower Price Hill		25.0%	41.7%	33.3%
Madisonville	9.3%	46.4%	32.0%	12.4%
Mount Adams	7.7%	53.8%	38.5%	
Mount Airy	9.4%	40.0%	37.6%	12.9%
Mount Auburn	5.0%	35.0%	36.7%	23.3%
Mt. Lookout	14.3%	39.3%	35.7%	10.7%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	26.1%	49.6%	15.1%	9.2%
North Fairmount/English Woods		32.4%	38.2%	29.4%
Northside	8.6%	37.0%	29.6%	24.7%
Oakley	17.0%	48.0%	27.0%	8.0%
O'bryonville	9.5%	47.6%	33.3%	9.5%
Other	8.7%	41.3%	30.4%	19.6%
Over The Rhine	7.2%	26.1%	24.6%	42.0%
Paddock Hills	7.1%	32.1%	53.6%	7.1%
Pleasant Ridge	10.1%	49.4%	26.6%	13.9%
Riverside/Sedamsville	8.8%	44.1%	26.5%	20.6%
Roselawn	11.5%	23.0%	45.9%	19.7%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	3.0%	33.3%	30.3%	33.3%
Sayler Park	11.1%	48.1%	29.6%	11.1%
South Fairmount	6.9%	41.4%	20.7%	31.0%
Walnut Hills	8.7%	24.6%	44.9%	21.7%
West End/Queensgate	5.3%	30.7%	32.0%	32.0%
West Price Hill	11.3%	37.3%	32.7%	18.7%
Westwood	14.1%	36.4%	30.7%	18.8%

Table 6.B.15—continued

Neighborhood	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Winton Hills	11.1%	24.4%	33.3%	31.1%
Winton Place	4.2%	33.3%	54.2%	8.3%
Total	11.0%	36.4%	33.8%	18.8%

NOTE: *n* = 2,929.

Table 6.B.16
Last Time Saw a Uniformed Officer in the Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Last 24 hours	Last week	Last month	More than a month
Avondale	53.6%	28.6%	5.4%	12.5%
Bondhill	40.7%	30.2%	11.6%	17.4%
C.B.D./Riverfront	57.1%	21.4%	10.7%	10.7%
Camp Washington	54.5%	45.5%		
Carthage	36.4%	18.2%	27.3%	18.2%
Clifton	51.4%	32.4%	6.8%	9.5%
Clifton/University H	37.2%	37.2%	11.5%	14.1%
College Hill	32.6%	40.0%	10.4%	17.0%
Columbia/Tusculum	26.9%	30.8%	30.8%	11.5%
Corryville	64.7%	11.8%	11.8%	11.8%
East Price Hill	52.2%	32.1%	7.5%	8.2%
East Walnut Hills	24.3%	48.6%	13.5%	13.5%
Evanston	57.4%	26.2%	6.6%	9.8%
Fairview	42.6%	31.9%	23.4%	2.1%
Fay Apartments	71.4%	23.8%	4.8%	
Hartwell	20.9%	37.2%	18.6%	23.3%
Hyde Park	37.8%	32.8%	13.4%	16.0%
Kennedy Heights	31.3%	25.0%	14.6%	29.2%
Linwood	55.6%	11.1%	22.2%	11.1%
Lower Price Hill	50.0%	25.0%	16.7%	8.3%
Madisonville	45.8%	34.4%	8.3%	11.5%
Mount Adams	46.2%	46.2%	7.7%	
Mount Airy	34.5%	35.7%	11.9%	17.9%
Mount Auburn	29.3%	44.8%	10.3%	15.5%
Mt. Lookout	51.7%	37.9%	6.9%	3.4%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	30.3%	29.4%	21.8%	18.5%
North Fairmount/English Woods	47.5%	25.0%	12.5%	15.0%
Northside	52.4%	36.9%	6.0%	4.8%
Oakley	29.9%	39.2%	11.3%	19.6%
O'bryonville	31.8%	27.3%	13.6%	27.3%
Other	48.9%	31.1%	8.9%	11.1%
Over The Rhine	66.7%	21.2%	6.1%	6.1%
Paddock Hills	40.0%	30.0%	16.7%	13.3%
Pleasant Ridge	29.1%	29.1%	20.3%	21.5%
Riverside/Sedamsville	35.3%	35.3%	5.9%	23.5%
Roselawn	33.9%	30.5%	18.6%	16.9%

Table 6.B.16—continued

Neighborhood	Last 24 hours	Last week	Last month	More than a month
S Cumminsville/Millvale	45.7%	31.4%	11.4%	11.4%
Sayler Park	34.5%	37.9%	17.2%	10.3%
South Fairmount	44.8%	24.1%	17.2%	13.8%
Walnut Hills	51.4%	28.6%	7.1%	12.9%
West End/Queensgate	49.3%	38.4%	6.8%	5.5%
West Price Hill	46.4%	27.8%	9.9%	15.9%
Westwood	41.4%	32.6%	12.1%	14.0%
Winton Hills	43.2%	36.4%	9.1%	11.4%
Winton Place	37.5%	33.3%	25.0%	4.2%
Total	42.7%	32.1%	11.6%	13.6%

NOTE: *n* = 2,938.

Table 6.B.17
Know Any Police Officers in Neighborhood by Name or by Sight

Neighborhood	Yes	No
Avondale	29.4%	70.6%
Bondhill	31.5%	68.5%
C.B.D./Riverfront	21.4%	78.6%
Camp Washington	30.8%	69.2%
Carthage	18.2%	81.8%
Clifton	27.6%	72.4%
Clifton/University H	35.9%	64.1%
College Hill	22.8%	77.2%
Columbia/Tusculum	37.0%	63.0%
Corryville	38.2%	61.8%
East Price Hill	43.5%	56.5%
East Walnut Hills	32.4%	67.6%
Evanston	26.2%	73.8%
Fairview	34.0%	66.0%
Fay Apartments	38.1%	61.9%
Hartwell	11.4%	88.6%
Hyde Park	26.2%	73.8%
Kennedy Heights	37.5%	62.5%
Linwood	44.4%	55.6%
Lower Price Hill	50.0%	50.0%
Madisonville	49.5%	50.5%
Mount Adams	75.0%	25.0%
Mount Airy	20.9%	79.1%
Mount Auburn	36.7%	63.3%
Mt. Lookout	24.1%	75.9%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	29.8%	70.2%
North Fairmount/English Woods	17.5%	82.5%
Northside	37.6%	62.4%
Oakley	21.8%	78.2%

Table 6.B.17—continued

Neighborhood	Yes	No
O'bryonville	18.2%	81.8%
Other	43.5%	56.5%
Over The Rhine	41.2%	58.8%
Paddock Hills	40.0%	60.0%
Pleasant Ridge	32.5%	67.5%
Riverside/Sedamsville	38.2%	61.8%
Roselawn	32.8%	67.2%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	45.7%	54.3%
Sayler Park	44.8%	55.2%
South Fairmount	41.4%	58.6%
Walnut Hills	39.4%	60.6%
West End/Queensgate	48.0%	52.0%
West Price Hill	36.2%	63.8%
Westwood	27.7%	72.3%
Winton Hills	26.1%	73.9%
Winton Place	47.8%	52.2%
Total	32.8%	67.2%

NOTE: *n* = 2,994.

Table 6.B.18
How Much Police Services in the Neighborhood

Neighborhood	More than needed	About right	Not enough
Avondale	7.1%	40.4%	52.6%
Bondhill	4.8%	38.6%	56.6%
C.B.D./Riverfront		72.0%	28.0%
Camp Washington		40.0%	60.0%
Carthage		35.0%	65.0%
Clifton	10.7%	72.0%	17.3%
Clifton/University H	6.5%	53.2%	40.3%
College Hill	5.6%	61.3%	33.1%
Columbia/Tusculum	3.8%	61.5%	34.6%
Corryville	9.7%	58.1%	32.3%
East Price Hill	1.9%	36.9%	61.1%
East Walnut Hills	6.3%	59.4%	34.4%
Evanston	5.4%	39.3%	55.4%
Fairview	2.3%	68.2%	29.5%
Fay Apartments	5.0%	35.0%	60.0%
Hartwell		48.8%	51.2%
Hyde Park	12.0%	82.1%	6.0%
Kennedy Heights	4.3%	54.3%	41.3%
Linwood	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%
Lower Price Hill		16.7%	83.3%
Madisonville	3.1%	44.8%	52.1%
Mount Adams		92.3%	7.7%

Table 6.B.18—continued

Neighborhood	More than needed	About right	Not enough
Mount Airy	1.3%	69.6%	29.1%
Mount Auburn	5.1%	33.9%	61.0%
Mt. Lookout	17.2%	65.5%	17.2%
Mt. Washington/East End/California		77.3%	22.7%
North Fairmount/English Woods		29.4%	70.6%
Northside	2.4%	47.6%	50.0%
Oakley	5.3%	74.7%	20.0%
O'bryonville	4.5%	77.3%	18.2%
Other	8.9%	60.0%	31.1%
Over The Rhine	5.9%	25.0%	69.1%
Paddock Hills	3.6%	85.7%	10.7%
Pleasant Ridge	7.7%	65.4%	26.9%
Riverside/Sedamsville	3.0%	51.5%	45.5%
Roselawn	3.5%	56.1%	40.4%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	8.6%	31.4%	60.0%
Sayler Park		40.7%	59.3%
South Fairmount	3.4%	24.1%	72.4%
Walnut Hills	1.5%	43.9%	54.5%
West End/Queensgate	6.9%	40.3%	52.8%
West Price Hill	5.3%	38.7%	56.0%
Westwood	4.0%	47.7%	48.3%
Winton Hills		65.1%	34.9%
Winton Place		65.2%	34.8%
Total	4.7%	52.3%	42.9%

NOTE: *n* = 2,847.

Table 6.B.19
Familiar with the Community Police Partnering Center

Neighborhood	Yes	No
Avondale	19.8%	80.2%
Bondhill	23.9%	76.1%
C.B.D./Riverfront	22.2%	77.8%
Camp Washington	23.1%	76.9%
Carthage	9.1%	90.9%
Clifton	6.5%	93.5%
Clifton/University H	18.2%	81.8%
College Hill	22.2%	77.8%
Columbia/Tusculum	25.9%	74.1%
Corryville	32.4%	67.6%
East Price Hill	22.5%	77.5%
East Walnut Hills	33.3%	66.7%
Evanston	24.6%	75.4%
Fairview	12.0%	88.0%
Fay Apartments	35.0%	65.0%

Table 6.B.19—continued

Neighborhood	Yes	No
Hartwell	13.6%	86.4%
Hyde Park	21.3%	78.7%
Kennedy Heights	22.9%	77.1%
Linwood	11.1%	88.9%
Lower Price Hill	8.3%	91.7%
Madisonville	32.0%	68.0%
Mount Adams	30.8%	69.2%
Mount Airy	17.4%	82.6%
Mount Auburn	23.3%	76.7%
Mt. Lookout	13.8%	86.2%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	27.6%	72.4%
North Fairmount/English Woods	12.5%	87.5%
Northside	21.2%	78.8%
Oakley	20.8%	79.2%
O'bryonville	13.6%	86.4%
Other	8.7%	91.3%
Over The Rhine	21.7%	78.3%
Paddock Hills	32.3%	67.7%
Pleasant Ridge	16.3%	83.8%
Riverside/Sedamsville	18.2%	81.8%
Roselawn	18.0%	82.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	14.3%	85.7%
Sayler Park	13.8%	86.2%
South Fairmount	32.1%	67.9%
Walnut Hills	16.9%	83.1%
West End/Queensgate	18.9%	81.1%
West Price Hill	16.6%	83.4%
Westwood	19.2%	80.8%
Winton Hills	17.4%	82.6%
Winton Place	20.8%	79.2%
Total	20.2%	79.8%

NOTE: *n* = 2,983.

Table 6.B.20
Police Stop and Question Motorists

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	47.0%	35.4%	5.5%	12.2%
Bondhill	55.1%	31.5%	5.6%	7.9%
C.B.D./Riverfront	63.0%	37.0%		
Camp Washington	58.3%	33.3%	8.3%	
Carthage	61.9%	28.6%		9.5%
Clifton	52.7%	37.8%	5.4%	4.1%
Clifton/University H	52.6%	35.9%	1.3%	10.3%
College Hill	57.5%	31.3%	2.2%	9.0%
Columbia/Tusculum	59.3%	25.9%	7.4%	7.4%

Table 6.B.20—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Corryville	41.2%	50.0%	5.9%	2.9%
East Price Hill	46.9%	35.0%	8.1%	10.0%
East Walnut Hills	64.9%	21.6%	8.1%	5.4%
Evanston	50.0%	35.0%		15.0%
Fairview	55.1%	36.7%	6.1%	2.0%
Fay Apartments	15.8%	42.1%	15.8%	26.3%
Hartwell	72.7%	15.9%	9.1%	2.3%
Hyde Park	66.1%	30.6%	3.3%	
Kennedy Heights	50.0%	37.5%	2.1%	10.4%
Linwood	44.4%	33.3%	22.2%	
Lower Price Hill	33.3%	41.7%		25.0%
Madisonville	48.5%	41.2%	7.2%	3.1%
Mount Adams	92.3%	7.7%		
Mount Airy	48.2%	44.7%	2.4%	4.7%
Mount Auburn	43.3%	41.7%	8.3%	6.7%
Mt. Lookout	62.1%	34.5%	3.4%	
Mt. Washington/East End/California	59.0%	31.1%	5.7%	4.1%
North Fairmount/English Woods	55.0%	25.0%	10.0%	10.0%
Northside	41.2%	43.5%	5.9%	9.4%
Oakley	63.0%	31.0%	4.0%	2.0%
O'bryonville	77.3%	18.2%	4.5%	
Other	53.3%	33.3%	2.2%	11.1%
Over The Rhine	39.7%	26.5%	2.9%	30.9%
Paddock Hills	70.0%	26.7%		3.3%
Pleasant Ridge	51.9%	38.0%	3.8%	6.3%
Riverside/Sedamsville	52.9%	20.6%	11.8%	14.7%
Roselawn	63.3%	20.0%	6.7%	10.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	44.1%	41.2%	2.9%	11.8%
Sayler Park	75.9%	24.1%		
South Fairmount	37.9%	48.3%	6.9%	6.9%
Walnut Hills	40.0%	37.1%	11.4%	11.4%
West End/Queensgate	45.9%	33.8%	10.8%	9.5%
West Price Hill	50.3%	35.1%	6.6%	7.9%
Westwood	50.8%	36.1%	5.1%	8.0%
Winton Hills	45.7%	39.1%	8.7%	6.5%
Winton Place	62.5%	25.0%	4.2%	8.3%
Total	52.6%	34.1%	5.4%	7.9%

NOTE: *n* = 2,961.

Table 6.B.21
Police Stop and Pat Down Individuals on Street Corners

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	56.7%	26.8%	3.0%	13.4%
Bondhill	52.9%	29.9%	5.7%	11.5%
C.B.D./Riverfront	85.7%	10.7%		3.6%

Table 6.B.21—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Camp Washington	92.3%	7.7%		
Carthage	76.2%	9.5%	9.5%	4.8%
Clifton	77.6%	18.4%	1.3%	2.6%
Clifton/University H	81.8%	18.2%		
College Hill	74.6%	12.7%	3.0%	9.7%
Columbia/Tusculum	73.1%	23.1%		3.8%
Corryville	64.7%	26.5%		8.8%
East Price Hill	56.3%	25.0%	6.9%	11.9%
East Walnut Hills	72.2%	16.7%	5.6%	5.6%
Evanston	41.4%	41.4%	3.4%	13.8%
Fairview	73.5%	22.4%	2.0%	2.0%
Fay Apartments	33.3%	33.3%	4.8%	28.6%
Hartwell	88.6%	9.1%		2.3%
Hyde Park	95.9%	4.1%		
Kennedy Heights	62.5%	20.8%	10.4%	6.3%
Linwood	66.7%	11.1%		22.2%
Lower Price Hill	58.3%	33.3%	8.3%	
Madisonville	59.8%	32.0%	3.1%	5.2%
Mount Adams	100.0%			
Mount Airy	84.9%	11.6%	2.3%	1.2%
Mount Auburn	55.0%	31.7%	3.3%	10.0%
Mt. Lookout	96.6%	3.4%		
Mt. Washington/East End/California	95.1%	3.3%	.8%	.8%
North Fairmount/English Woods	82.5%	12.5%	2.5%	2.5%
Northside	72.9%	17.6%	3.5%	5.9%
Oakley	93.0%	4.0%	1.0%	2.0%
O'bryonville	90.9%	4.5%	4.5%	
Other	80.4%	8.7%	2.2%	8.7%
Over The Rhine	25.0%	25.0%	7.4%	42.6%
Paddock Hills	87.1%	3.2%	3.2%	6.5%
Pleasant Ridge	80.8%	11.5%	1.3%	6.4%
Riverside/Sedamsville	88.2%	8.8%		2.9%
Roselawn	76.7%	15.0%	1.7%	6.7%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	54.3%	20.0%	11.4%	14.3%
Sayler Park	93.1%	6.9%		
South Fairmount	57.1%	21.4%	3.6%	17.9%
Walnut Hills	50.7%	31.0%	4.2%	14.1%
West End/Queensgate	40.0%	34.7%	9.3%	16.0%
West Price Hill	65.6%	23.8%	3.3%	7.3%
Westwood	67.1%	23.1%	3.5%	6.3%
Winton Hills	56.5%	28.3%	6.5%	8.7%
Winton Place	79.2%	16.7%		4.2%
Total	69.8%	19.2%	3.3%	7.7%

NOTE: n = 2,968.

Table 6.B.22
Police Make Drug Arrests in Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	54.7%	26.4%	3.8%	15.1%
Bondhill	58.0%	29.5%	4.5%	8.0%
C.B.D./Riverfront	88.5%	7.7%		3.8%
Camp Washington	69.2%	23.1%		7.7%
Carthage	78.9%	15.8%		5.3%
Clifton	86.8%	10.5%	2.6%	
Clifton/University H	77.9%	19.5%	2.6%	
College Hill	74.4%	16.3%	1.6%	7.8%
Columbia/Tusculum	80.8%	11.5%		7.7%
Corryville	54.5%	33.3%	3.0%	9.1%
East Price Hill	56.4%	30.9%	4.0%	8.7%
East Walnut Hills	68.6%	20.0%	5.7%	5.7%
Evanston	52.7%	29.1%	5.5%	12.7%
Fairview	60.9%	28.3%	4.3%	6.5%
Fay Apartments	40.0%	40.0%	10.0%	10.0%
Hartwell	90.2%	9.8%		
Hyde Park	95.8%	4.2%		
Kennedy Heights	64.4%	20.0%	4.4%	11.1%
Linwood	66.7%	22.2%		11.1%
Lower Price Hill	50.0%	41.7%	8.3%	
Madisonville	58.5%	30.9%	3.2%	7.4%
Mount Adams	100.0%			
Mount Airy	79.0%	18.5%		2.5%
Mount Auburn	51.8%	39.3%	3.6%	5.4%
Mt. Lookout	96.6%	3.4%		
Mt. Washington/East End/California	92.3%	5.1%		2.6%
North Fairmount/English Woods	67.6%	23.5%	2.9%	5.9%
Northside	60.7%	29.8%	7.1%	2.4%
Oakley	96.0%	3.0%		1.0%
O'bryonville	81.0%	14.3%		4.8%
Other	78.3%	10.9%	6.5%	4.3%
Over The Rhine	25.8%	33.3%	1.5%	39.4%
Paddock Hills	96.8%			3.2%
Pleasant Ridge	85.7%	13.0%		1.3%
Riverside/Sedamsville	79.4%	11.8%	2.9%	5.9%
Roselawn	75.0%	15.0%	5.0%	5.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	47.1%	38.2%	8.8%	5.9%
Sayler Park	89.7%	10.3%		
South Fairmount	44.4%	37.0%		18.5%
Walnut Hills	50.0%	26.5%	7.4%	16.2%
West End/Queensgate	45.2%	26.0%	13.7%	15.1%
West Price Hill	65.1%	26.2%	4.0%	4.7%
Westwood	68.4%	19.2%	4.6%	7.8%
Winton Hills	55.8%	32.6%	2.3%	9.3%
Winton Place	69.6%	26.1%		4.3%
Total	69.0%	20.7%	3.3%	7.1%

NOTE: *n* = 2,876.

Table 6.B.23
Police Talk to Residents About Local Crime Problems

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	70.7%	20.1%	4.9%	4.3%
Bondhill	69.0%	24.1%	3.4%	3.4%
C.B.D./Riverfront	51.9%	40.7%	7.4%	
Camp Washington	66.7%	33.3%		
Carthage	70.0%	20.0%	5.0%	5.0%
Clifton	51.4%	43.2%	1.4%	4.1%
Clifton/University H	65.8%	26.3%	2.6%	5.3%
College Hill	66.9%	25.4%	4.6%	3.1%
Columbia/Tusculum	65.4%	23.1%	11.5%	
Corryville	64.7%	26.5%	5.9%	2.9%
East Price Hill	64.3%	20.8%	9.1%	5.8%
East Walnut Hills	66.7%	22.2%	8.3%	2.8%
Evanston	62.5%	23.2%	5.4%	8.9%
Fairview	62.5%	33.3%	4.2%	
Fay Apartments	45.0%	25.0%		30.0%
Hartwell	78.0%	17.1%	2.4%	2.4%
Hyde Park	75.4%	21.2%	2.5%	.8%
Kennedy Heights	63.8%	27.7%	2.1%	6.4%
Linwood	50.0%	37.5%		12.5%
Lower Price Hill	66.7%	25.0%	8.3%	
Madisonville	66.7%	27.1%	5.2%	1.0%
Mount Adams	53.8%	38.5%		7.7%
Mount Airy	75.3%	20.0%	2.4%	2.4%
Mount Auburn	62.7%	32.2%	3.4%	1.7%
Mt. Lookout	82.1%	14.3%	3.6%	
Mt. Washington/East End/California	69.4%	25.6%	1.7%	3.3%
North Fairmount/English Woods	75.7%	21.6%		2.7%
Northside	64.7%	23.5%	2.4%	9.4%
Oakley	71.9%	27.1%		1.0%
O'bryonville	86.4%	13.6%		
Other	62.8%	27.9%	7.0%	2.3%
Over The Rhine	62.1%	28.8%	4.5%	4.5%
Paddock Hills	70.4%	25.9%	3.7%	
Pleasant Ridge	69.7%	23.7%	2.6%	3.9%
Riverside/Sedamsville	64.7%	26.5%	8.8%	
Roselawn	71.2%	18.6%	3.4%	6.8%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	62.9%	31.4%		5.7%
Sayler Park	62.1%	34.5%		3.4%
South Fairmount	72.4%	20.7%	6.9%	
Walnut Hills	65.7%	21.4%	11.4%	1.4%
West End/Queensgate	66.7%	16.7%	8.3%	8.3%
West Price Hill	65.8%	26.2%	2.7%	5.4%
Westwood	70.3%	19.0%	4.8%	5.8%

Table 6.B.23—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Winton Hills	80.0%	13.3%	4.4%	2.2%
Winton Place	50.0%	33.3%	4.2%	12.5%
Total	67.5%	24.1%	4.2%	4.1%

NOTE: *n* = 2,903.

Table 6.B.24
Politeness of Cincinnati Police Officers

Neighborhood	Very polite	Polite	Rude	Very rude
Avondale	29.9%	43.9%	13.4%	12.7%
Bondhill	25.6%	45.3%	20.9%	8.1%
C.B.D./Riverfront	61.5%	26.9%	7.7%	3.8%
Camp Washington	38.5%	53.8%	7.7%	
Carthage	36.4%	36.4%	22.7%	4.5%
Clifton	46.6%	39.7%	9.6%	4.1%
Clifton/University H	38.5%	48.7%	9.0%	3.8%
College Hill	42.0%	40.5%	9.2%	8.4%
Columbia/Tusculum	52.0%	24.0%	20.0%	4.0%
Corryville	25.8%	45.2%	19.4%	9.7%
East Price Hill	43.4%	41.4%	8.6%	6.6%
East Walnut Hills	51.4%	34.3%	11.4%	2.9%
Evanston	29.4%	43.1%	17.6%	9.8%
Fairview	46.8%	38.3%	12.8%	2.1%
Fay Apartments	30.0%	45.0%	20.0%	5.0%
Hartwell	32.6%	51.2%	9.3%	7.0%
Hyde Park	64.4%	27.1%	6.8%	1.7%
Kennedy Heights	39.6%	45.8%	12.5%	2.1%
Linwood	22.2%	44.4%	11.1%	22.2%
Lower Price Hill	9.1%	36.4%	36.4%	18.2%
Madisonville	37.4%	41.8%	17.6%	3.3%
Mount Adams	100.0%			
Mount Airy	44.7%	32.9%	15.3%	7.1%
Mount Auburn	32.2%	45.8%	11.9%	10.2%
Mt. Lookout	58.6%	27.6%	6.9%	6.9%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	62.0%	32.2%	4.1%	1.7%
North Fairmount/English Woods	39.4%	33.3%	18.2%	9.1%
Northside	33.7%	43.4%	14.5%	8.4%
Oakley	54.1%	36.7%	7.1%	2.0%
O'bryonville	33.3%	57.1%	9.5%	
Other	39.1%	39.1%	13.0%	8.7%
Over The Rhine	17.6%	45.6%	14.7%	22.1%
Paddock Hills	36.7%	53.3%	3.3%	6.7%
Pleasant Ridge	53.2%	35.4%	6.3%	5.1%
Riverside/Sedamsville	46.9%	40.6%	9.4%	3.1%
Roselawn	30.4%	50.0%	10.7%	8.9%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	18.8%	50.0%	21.9%	9.4%

Table 6.B.24—continued

Neighborhood	Very polite	Polite	Rude	Very rude
Sayler Park	55.2%	34.5%	6.9%	3.4%
South Fairmount	37.9%	41.4%	10.3%	10.3%
Walnut Hills	31.9%	44.9%	11.6%	11.6%
West End/Queensgate	26.8%	42.3%	22.5%	8.5%
West Price Hill	41.1%	42.5%	12.3%	4.1%
Westwood	38.7%	43.5%	11.3%	6.5%
Winton Hills	37.8%	37.8%	8.9%	15.6%
Winton Place	45.8%	41.7%	8.3%	4.2%
Total	40.8%	40.7%	11.8%	6.8%

NOTE: *n* = 2,878.

Table 6.B.25
CPD Officers Consider the Views of the People Involved When Deciding What to Do

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Avondale	8.5%	37.3%	31.7%	22.5%
Bondhill	11.1%	38.3%	30.9%	19.8%
C.B.D./Riverfront	57.1%	19.0%	19.0%	4.8%
Camp Washington	25.0%	66.7%	8.3%	
Carthage	23.8%	33.3%	33.3%	9.5%
Clifton	25.4%	42.9%	20.6%	11.1%
Clifton/University H	17.4%	55.1%	13.0%	14.5%
College Hill	22.9%	34.7%	21.2%	21.2%
Columbia/Tusculum	30.4%	34.8%	21.7%	13.0%
Corryville	21.4%	35.7%	21.4%	21.4%
East Price Hill	21.3%	49.6%	16.3%	12.8%
East Walnut Hills	11.8%	47.1%	23.5%	17.6%
Evanston	16.3%	28.6%	18.4%	36.7%
Fairview	28.6%	38.1%	23.8%	9.5%
Fay Apartments	11.1%	27.8%	50.0%	11.1%
Hartwell	16.7%	38.9%	30.6%	13.9%
Hyde Park	32.4%	42.2%	15.7%	9.8%
Kennedy Heights	16.3%	41.9%	32.6%	9.3%
Linwood	37.5%	12.5%	12.5%	37.5%
Lower Price Hill		45.5%	18.2%	36.4%
Madisonville	16.3%	46.7%	18.5%	18.5%
Mount Adams	33.3%	58.3%	8.3%	
Mount Airy	26.8%	40.2%	23.2%	9.8%
Mount Auburn	24.5%	37.7%	17.0%	20.8%
Mt. Lookout	18.2%	45.5%	22.7%	13.6%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	37.1%	44.8%	10.5%	7.6%
North Fairmount/English Woods	17.9%	35.7%	14.3%	32.1%
Northside	13.2%	44.7%	26.3%	15.8%
Oakley	23.4%	53.2%	13.8%	9.6%
O'bryonville	5.6%	55.6%	33.3%	5.6%

Table 6.B.25—continued

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Other	23.8%	38.1%	14.3%	23.8%
Over The Rhine	7.7%	26.2%	30.8%	35.4%
Paddock Hills	12.5%	54.2%	16.7%	16.7%
Pleasant Ridge	18.6%	44.3%	24.3%	12.9%
Riverside/Sedamsville	25.0%	53.6%	7.1%	14.3%
Roselawn	10.5%	40.4%	31.6%	17.5%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	13.3%	33.3%	30.0%	23.3%
Sayler Park	32.0%	48.0%	16.0%	4.0%
South Fairmount	17.9%	46.4%	25.0%	10.7%
Walnut Hills	10.9%	56.3%	25.0%	7.8%
West End/Queensgate	12.7%	38.1%	27.0%	22.2%
West Price Hill	24.3%	51.4%	20.0%	4.3%
Westwood	25.2%	42.9%	16.0%	16.0%
Winton Hills	16.3%	44.2%	23.3%	16.3%
Winton Place	17.4%	60.9%	13.0%	8.7%
Total	20.6%	42.9%	21.1%	15.4%

NOTE: *n* = 2,631.

Table 6.B.26
CPD Officers Understand and Apply the Law Fairly

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Avondale	13.8%	32.7%	24.5%	28.9%
Bondhill	11.9%	36.9%	26.2%	25.0%
C.B.D./Riverfront	44.4%	40.7%	11.1%	3.7%
Camp Washington	27.3%	54.5%		18.2%
Carthage	33.3%	28.6%	23.8%	14.3%
Clifton	28.2%	45.1%	18.3%	8.5%
Clifton/University H	18.2%	51.9%	16.9%	13.0%
College Hill	27.0%	35.7%	16.7%	20.6%
Columbia/Tusculum	32.0%	40.0%	4.0%	24.0%
Corryville	19.4%	35.5%	19.4%	25.8%
East Price Hill	30.1%	42.5%	15.7%	11.8%
East Walnut Hills	16.7%	66.7%	8.3%	8.3%
Evanston	9.6%	32.7%	26.9%	30.8%
Fairview	35.6%	42.2%	15.6%	6.7%
Fay Apartments	14.3%	47.6%	23.8%	14.3%
Hartwell	21.4%	40.5%	31.0%	7.1%
Hyde Park	40.5%	39.7%	12.1%	7.8%
Kennedy Heights	18.2%	50.0%	15.9%	15.9%
Linwood	12.5%	37.5%	12.5%	37.5%
Lower Price Hill		66.7%	8.3%	25.0%
Madisonville	27.7%	34.0%	19.1%	19.1%
Mount Adams	53.8%	46.2%		

Table 6.B.26—continued

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Mount Airy	28.0%	42.7%	13.4%	15.9%
Mount Auburn	11.9%	35.6%	25.4%	27.1%
Mt. Lookout	45.8%	20.8%	25.0%	8.3%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	54.7%	29.1%	7.7%	8.5%
North Fairmount/English Woods	21.2%	36.4%	33.3%	9.1%
Northside	21.0%	39.5%	23.5%	16.0%
Oakley	35.4%	42.7%	13.5%	8.3%
O'bryonville	27.3%	40.9%	22.7%	9.1%
Other	25.6%	37.2%	16.3%	20.9%
Over The Rhine	12.1%	25.8%	27.3%	34.8%
Paddock Hills	13.8%	34.5%	34.5%	17.2%
Pleasant Ridge	30.7%	37.3%	16.0%	16.0%
Riverside/Sedamsville	21.9%	56.3%	15.6%	6.3%
Roselawn	8.6%	37.9%	27.6%	25.9%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	18.2%	33.3%	12.1%	36.4%
Sayler Park	59.3%	25.9%	7.4%	7.4%
South Fairmount	34.5%	27.6%	20.7%	17.2%
Walnut Hills	22.4%	43.3%	17.9%	16.4%
West End/Queensgate	13.9%	34.7%	25.0%	26.4%
West Price Hill	32.9%	43.2%	16.4%	7.5%
Westwood	31.7%	34.0%	21.2%	13.1%
Winton Hills	17.4%	39.1%	19.6%	23.9%
Winton Place	30.4%	47.8%	13.0%	8.7%
Total	26.6%	38.4%	18.7%	16.2%

NOTE: *n* = 2,837.

Table 6.B.27
CPD Officers Apply the Rules Consistently Regardless of Someone's Race or Ethnicity

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Avondale	13.5%	33.5%	19.4%	33.5%
Bondhill	13.1%	28.6%	22.6%	35.7%
C.B.D./Riverfront	42.3%	42.3%	7.7%	7.7%
Camp Washington	16.7%	50.0%	33.3%	
Carthage	35.0%	25.0%	20.0%	20.0%
Clifton	22.2%	26.4%	29.2%	22.2%
Clifton/University H	23.6%	31.9%	23.6%	20.8%
College Hill	24.4%	29.3%	18.7%	27.6%
Columbia/Tusculum	26.1%	21.7%	30.4%	21.7%
Corryville	10.3%	37.9%	27.6%	24.1%
East Price Hill	27.7%	37.2%	16.9%	18.2%
East Walnut Hills	20.0%	31.4%	25.7%	22.9%
Evanston	15.4%	17.3%	19.2%	48.1%
Fairview	26.8%	41.5%	12.2%	19.5%

Table 6.B.27—continued

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Fay Apartments	15.8%	31.6%	21.1%	31.6%
Hartwell	27.5%	30.0%	35.0%	7.5%
Hyde Park	34.2%	30.7%	19.3%	15.8%
Kennedy Heights	15.6%	40.0%	22.2%	22.2%
Linwood	25.0%	12.5%	12.5%	50.0%
Lower Price Hill	9.1%	27.3%	36.4%	27.3%
Madisonville	21.7%	31.5%	20.7%	26.1%
Mount Adams	38.5%	46.2%	15.4%	
Mount Airy	28.9%	30.1%	20.5%	20.5%
Mount Auburn	19.0%	24.1%	19.0%	37.9%
Mt. Lookout	33.3%	33.3%	16.7%	16.7%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	39.1%	41.7%	9.6%	9.6%
North Fairmount/English Woods	25.8%	22.6%	25.8%	25.8%
Northside	19.0%	22.8%	26.6%	31.6%
Oakley	29.2%	35.4%	25.0%	10.4%
O'bryonville	19.0%	28.6%	33.3%	19.0%
Other	22.5%	30.0%	17.5%	30.0%
Over The Rhine	14.1%	21.9%	21.9%	42.2%
Paddock Hills	4.2%	29.2%	33.3%	33.3%
Pleasant Ridge	28.8%	35.6%	16.4%	19.2%
Riverside/Sedamsville	29.0%	41.9%	12.9%	16.1%
Roselawn	18.5%	25.9%	22.2%	33.3%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	15.6%	34.4%	15.6%	34.4%
Sayler Park	46.4%	32.1%	7.1%	14.3%
South Fairmount	30.8%	38.5%	15.4%	15.4%
Walnut Hills	17.2%	46.9%	14.1%	21.9%
West End/Queensgate	13.2%	20.6%	26.5%	39.7%
West Price Hill	32.1%	38.0%	15.3%	14.6%
Westwood	27.7%	29.7%	18.6%	24.0%
Winton Hills	23.8%	26.2%	31.0%	19.0%
Winton Place	22.7%	31.8%	36.4%	9.1%
Total	24.4%	31.8%	20.2%	23.6%

NOTE: *n* = 2,745.

Table 6.B.28
CPD Officers Treat People with Respect and Dignity

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Avondale	13.8%	41.9%	25.0%	19.4%
Bondhill	16.3%	39.5%	26.7%	17.4%
C.B.D./Riverfront	46.4%	39.3%	3.6%	10.7%
Camp Washington	23.1%	61.5%	15.4%	
Carthage	45.5%	22.7%	18.2%	13.6%
Clifton	34.2%	54.8%	6.8%	4.1%

Table 6.B.28—continued

Neighborhood	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Clifton/University H	32.9%	43.4%	14.5%	9.2%
College Hill	32.6%	31.8%	17.1%	18.6%
Columbia/Tusculum	43.5%	30.4%	13.0%	13.0%
Corryville	16.1%	51.6%	16.1%	16.1%
East Price Hill	35.7%	43.3%	10.2%	10.8%
East Walnut Hills	22.9%	45.7%	25.7%	5.7%
Evanston	16.7%	27.8%	24.1%	31.5%
Fairview	38.3%	46.8%	10.6%	4.3%
Fay Apartments	19.0%	38.1%	23.8%	19.0%
Hartwell	22.7%	45.5%	22.7%	9.1%
Hyde Park	44.8%	33.6%	15.5%	6.0%
Kennedy Heights	16.7%	52.1%	20.8%	10.4%
Linwood	22.2%	44.4%	11.1%	22.2%
Lower Price Hill	8.3%	58.3%		33.3%
Madisonville	22.1%	48.4%	18.9%	10.5%
Mount Adams	46.2%	46.2%		7.7%
Mount Airy	33.3%	42.9%	15.5%	8.3%
Mount Auburn	24.1%	34.5%	25.9%	15.5%
Mt. Lookout	41.7%	37.5%	12.5%	8.3%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	50.0%	38.1%	6.8%	5.1%
North Fairmount/English Woods	25.8%	32.3%	22.6%	19.4%
Northside	22.6%	40.5%	23.8%	13.1%
Oakley	40.4%	38.4%	14.1%	7.1%
O'bryonville	28.6%	52.4%	19.0%	
Other	26.7%	37.8%	13.3%	22.2%
Over The Rhine	19.1%	32.4%	19.1%	29.4%
Paddock Hills	17.9%	35.7%	42.9%	3.6%
Pleasant Ridge	36.4%	36.4%	20.8%	6.5%
Riverside/Sedamsville	36.4%	45.5%	9.1%	9.1%
Roselawn	14.0%	45.6%	21.1%	19.3%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	16.1%	35.5%	29.0%	19.4%
Sayler Park	55.6%	29.6%	14.8%	
South Fairmount	28.6%	50.0%	7.1%	14.3%
Walnut Hills	23.2%	46.4%	11.6%	18.8%
West End/Queensgate	21.1%	39.4%	21.1%	18.3%
West Price Hill	39.3%	40.7%	10.3%	9.7%
Westwood	33.0%	41.2%	15.4%	10.5%
Winton Hills	25.0%	36.4%	22.7%	15.9%
Winton Place	33.3%	45.8%	12.5%	8.3%
Total	30.1%	40.6%	16.8%	12.5%

NOTE: n = 2,867.

Table 6.B.29
How Often Should Police Officers Be More Suspicious of Blacks, Relative to Whites?

Neighborhood	Always	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never
Avondale	8.6%	1.2%	38.3%	8.6%	43.2%
Bondhill	4.3%	17.4%	21.7%	4.3%	52.2%
C.B.D./Riverfront	7.7%	15.4%	15.4%		61.5%
Camp Washington	10.0%	15.0%	35.0%	10.0%	30.0%
Carthage	4.5%	9.0%	23.9%	14.9%	47.8%
Clifton	8.3%	9.7%	36.1%	8.3%	37.5%
Clifton/University H	8.9%	10.5%	29.8%	12.1%	38.7%
College Hill	3.8%	3.8%	30.8%	19.2%	42.3%
Columbia/Tusculum	10.0%	10.0%	33.3%	3.3%	43.3%
Corryville	9.3%	8.0%	32.0%	16.0%	34.7%
East Price Hill	2.9%	11.4%	37.1%	22.9%	25.7%
East Walnut Hills	18.9%	5.7%	32.1%	5.7%	37.7%
Evanston	9.1%	11.4%	22.7%	15.9%	40.9%
Fairview	23.8%	4.8%	19.0%	4.8%	47.6%
Fay Apartments	9.3%	2.3%	25.6%	16.3%	46.5%
Hartwell	1.0%	8.6%	30.5%	8.6%	51.4%
Hyde Park	2.2%	6.5%	45.7%	6.5%	39.1%
Kennedy Heights	25.0%		12.5%	12.5%	50.0%
Linwood			44.4%	22.2%	33.3%
Lower Price Hill	7.8%	2.2%	28.9%	8.9%	52.2%
Madisonville	25.0%	16.7%	25.0%	8.3%	25.0%
Mount Adams	13.6%	2.5%	32.1%	12.3%	39.5%
Mount Airy	12.1%	8.6%	27.6%	5.2%	46.6%
Mount Auburn	3.8%	7.7%	26.9%	26.9%	34.6%
Mt. Lookout	6.3%	7.2%	35.1%	20.7%	30.6%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	8.3%	19.4%	30.6%	5.6%	36.1%
North Fairmount/English Woods	4.9%	6.1%	29.3%	12.2%	47.6%
Northside	4.2%	5.3%	25.3%	12.6%	52.6%
Oakley		10.0%	45.0%	15.0%	30.0%
O'bryonville	16.3%	4.7%	27.9%	7.0%	44.2%
Other	16.4%	6.0%	34.3%	7.5%	35.8%
Over The Rhine	7.1%	10.7%	25.0%	25.0%	32.1%
Paddock Hills	4.1%	6.8%	28.4%	16.2%	44.6%
Pleasant Ridge		12.5%	21.9%	15.6%	50.0%
Riverside/Sedamsville	9.1%	18.2%	21.8%	18.2%	32.7%
Roselawn	18.2%	3.0%	33.3%	12.1%	33.3%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	17.1%	2.9%	31.4%	11.4%	31.4%
Sayler Park	15.4%	3.8%	30.8%	3.8%	46.2%
South Fairmount	16.0%	16.0%	24.0%	8.0%	36.0%
Walnut Hills	4.7%	12.5%	35.9%	17.2%	29.7%
West End/Queensgate	10.1%	11.6%	27.5%	14.5%	36.2%
West Price Hill	4.8%	18.4%	34.7%	12.2%	29.9%
Westwood	7.7%	10.0%	29.3%	12.3%	40.7%
Winton Hills	6.8%	9.1%	27.3%	6.8%	50.0%
Winton Place	4.3%	17.4%	34.8%	26.1%	17.4%
Total	8.4%	9.2%	30.4%	12.3%	39.7%

NOTE: *n* = 2,770.

Table 6.B.30
Do Cincinnati Police Officers Treat Blacks and Whites with Equal Suspicion?

Neighborhood	Definitely equal	Somewhat equal	Somewhat unequal	Definitely unequal
Avondale	11.3%	15.7%	25.2%	47.8%
Bondhill	8.1%	17.4%	23.3%	51.2%
C.B.D./Riverfront	16.7%	37.5%	16.7%	29.2%
Camp Washington	9.1%	63.6%	27.3%	
Carthage		22.2%	66.7%	11.1%
Clifton	14.5%	23.2%	29.0%	33.3%
Clifton/University H	10.7%	29.3%	29.3%	30.7%
College Hill	13.2%	21.7%	27.1%	38.0%
Columbia/Tusculum	18.2%	22.7%	31.8%	27.3%
Corryville		9.4%	40.6%	50.0%
East Price Hill	21.6%	33.8%	25.0%	19.6%
East Walnut Hills	2.9%	14.3%	54.3%	28.6%
Evanston	7.0%	15.8%	22.8%	54.4%
Fairview	15.9%	31.8%	31.8%	20.5%
Fay Apartments	10.0%	30.0%	15.0%	45.0%
Hartwell	20.9%	32.6%	25.6%	20.9%
Hyde Park	15.3%	30.6%	32.4%	21.6%
Kennedy Heights	6.5%	15.2%	45.7%	32.6%
Linwood	14.3%		14.3%	71.4%
Lower Price Hill		27.3%	36.4%	36.4%
Madisonville	12.0%	23.9%	26.1%	38.0%
Mount Adams	25.0%	33.3%	33.3%	8.3%
Mount Airy	16.0%	18.5%	22.2%	43.2%
Mount Auburn	8.6%	13.8%	20.7%	56.9%
Mt. Lookout	25.0%	16.7%	25.0%	33.3%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	27.2%	34.2%	24.6%	14.0%
North Fairmount/English Woods	11.4%	14.3%	40.0%	34.3%
Northside	12.7%	20.3%	34.2%	32.9%
Oakley	20.7%	29.3%	27.2%	22.8%
O'bryonville	5.0%	10.0%	45.0%	40.0%
Other	11.6%	20.9%	34.9%	32.6%
Over The Rhine	7.7%	13.8%	27.7%	50.8%
Paddock Hills		13.3%	46.7%	40.0%
Pleasant Ridge	17.6%	20.3%	32.4%	29.7%
Riverside/Sedamsville	21.2%	30.3%	21.2%	27.3%
Roselawn	3.3%	31.1%	16.4%	49.2%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	6.1%	24.2%	33.3%	36.4%
Sayler Park	40.7%	37.0%	7.4%	14.8%
South Fairmount	35.7%	28.6%	10.7%	25.0%
Walnut Hills	10.6%	21.2%	40.9%	27.3%
West End/Queensgate	5.3%	21.3%	26.7%	46.7%
West Price Hill	23.4%	43.3%	19.9%	13.5%

Table 6.B.30—continued

Neighborhood	Definitely equal	Somewhat equal	Somewhat unequal	Definitely unequal
Westwood	17.1%	26.5%	23.8%	32.6%
Winton Hills	11.4%	22.7%	22.7%	43.2%
Winton Place	8.7%	26.1%	26.1%	39.1%
Total	14.5%	24.9%	27.5%	33.1%

NOTE: *n* = 2,797.

Table 6.B.31
CPD Officers Consider Race in Deciding Which Cars to Stop for Traffic Violations

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	15.4%	34.2%	17.4%	32.9%
Bondhill	12.2%	26.8%	13.4%	47.6%
C.B.D./Riverfront	27.8%	38.9%	22.2%	11.1%
Camp Washington	30.0%	60.0%		10.0%
Carthage	19.0%	42.9%	19.0%	19.0%
Clifton	21.9%	37.5%	21.9%	18.8%
Clifton/University H	32.9%	45.2%	8.2%	13.7%
College Hill	19.7%	39.3%	16.4%	24.6%
Columbia/Tusculum	26.1%	56.5%	8.7%	8.7%
Corryville	15.4%	26.9%	30.8%	26.9%
East Price Hill	34.0%	41.0%	10.4%	14.6%
East Walnut Hills	24.2%	36.4%	9.1%	30.3%
Evanston	9.4%	18.9%	22.6%	49.1%
Fairview	26.3%	42.1%	13.2%	18.4%
Fay Apartments	22.2%	16.7%	11.1%	50.0%
Hartwell	32.5%	40.0%	10.0%	17.5%
Hyde Park	35.9%	38.8%	11.7%	13.6%
Kennedy Heights	22.2%	20.0%	24.4%	33.3%
Linwood	12.5%	25.0%	12.5%	50.0%
Lower Price Hill		30.0%	20.0%	50.0%
Madisonville	20.9%	34.1%	19.8%	25.3%
Mount Adams	41.7%	41.7%	16.7%	
Mount Airy	33.3%	29.5%	9.0%	28.2%
Mount Auburn	22.4%	29.3%	15.5%	32.8%
Mt. Lookout	40.0%	32.0%	24.0%	4.0%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	42.1%	43.9%	10.3%	3.7%
North Fairmount/English Woods	8.8%	41.2%	17.6%	32.4%
Northside	23.7%	32.9%	21.1%	22.4%
Oakley	33.7%	44.9%	7.9%	13.5%
O'bryonville	25.0%	35.0%	15.0%	25.0%
Other	22.7%	43.2%	9.1%	25.0%
Over The Rhine	20.0%	26.2%	10.8%	43.1%
Paddock Hills	11.5%	46.2%	11.5%	30.8%
Pleasant Ridge	26.8%	35.2%	12.7%	25.4%
Riverside/Sedamsville	30.3%	54.5%	6.1%	9.1%

Table 6.B.31—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Roselawn	14.3%	33.9%	16.1%	35.7%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	9.7%	38.7%	22.6%	29.0%
Sayler Park	57.1%	32.1%	10.7%	
South Fairmount	29.6%	40.7%	11.1%	18.5%
Walnut Hills	19.7%	36.4%	16.7%	27.3%
West End/Queensgate	10.6%	37.9%	13.6%	37.9%
West Price Hill	40.0%	41.5%	10.4%	8.1%
Westwood	26.2%	34.8%	15.2%	23.8%
Winton Hills	18.2%	27.3%	13.6%	40.9%
Winton Place	27.3%	36.4%	13.6%	22.7%
Total	25.5%	36.5%	14.3%	23.8%

NOTE: *n* = 2,677.

Table 6.B.32
CPD Officers Consider Race in Deciding Which People to Stop and Question in the Street

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	12.0%	33.3%	18.7%	36.0%
Bondhill	10.7%	29.8%	23.8%	35.7%
C.B.D./Riverfront	15.8%	57.9%	15.8%	10.5%
Camp Washington	36.4%	45.5%	18.2%	
Carthage	25.0%	55.0%	10.0%	10.0%
Clifton	14.9%	49.3%	13.4%	22.4%
Clifton/University H	22.2%	47.2%	13.9%	16.7%
College Hill	16.7%	31.7%	18.3%	33.3%
Columbia/Tusculum	23.8%	42.9%	19.0%	14.3%
Corryville	14.3%	35.7%	10.7%	39.3%
East Price Hill	29.9%	36.8%	13.2%	20.1%
East Walnut Hills	8.6%	54.3%	14.3%	22.9%
Evanston	17.6%	23.5%	13.7%	45.1%
Fairview	15.0%	52.5%	17.5%	15.0%
Fay Apartments	25.0%	20.0%	30.0%	25.0%
Hartwell	23.8%	42.9%	19.0%	14.3%
Hyde Park	28.3%	50.9%	13.2%	7.5%
Kennedy Heights	9.5%	28.6%	23.8%	38.1%
Linwood	11.1%	44.4%	11.1%	33.3%
Lower Price Hill	10.0%	20.0%	30.0%	40.0%
Madisonville	15.3%	40.0%	20.0%	24.7%
Mount Adams	18.2%	54.5%	27.3%	
Mount Airy	27.6%	30.3%	11.8%	30.3%
Mount Auburn	16.1%	32.1%	14.3%	37.5%
Mt. Lookout	25.0%	45.8%	25.0%	4.2%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	33.0%	50.0%	13.2%	3.8%
North Fairmount/English Woods	18.2%	39.4%	6.1%	36.4%
Northside	14.7%	34.7%	22.7%	28.0%
Oakley	30.8%	47.3%	12.1%	9.9%

Table 6.B.32—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
O'bryonville	21.1%	31.6%	15.8%	31.6%
Other	22.7%	43.2%	2.3%	31.8%
Over The Rhine	17.9%	26.9%	13.4%	41.8%
Paddock Hills	7.4%	51.9%	22.2%	18.5%
Pleasant Ridge	13.4%	44.8%	14.9%	26.9%
Riverside/Sedamsville	35.5%	48.4%	6.5%	9.7%
Roselawn	12.7%	32.7%	14.5%	40.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	10.3%	37.9%	20.7%	31.0%
Sayler Park	48.1%	44.4%	7.4%	
South Fairmount	23.1%	50.0%	15.4%	11.5%
Walnut Hills	12.3%	40.0%	20.0%	27.7%
West End/Queensgate	5.9%	39.7%	22.1%	32.4%
West Price Hill	35.6%	43.2%	11.6%	9.6%
Westwood	24.6%	37.7%	14.1%	23.6%
Winton Hills	9.3%	30.2%	16.3%	44.2%
Winton Place	23.8%	52.4%	9.5%	14.3%
Total	20.9%	39.5%	15.6%	24.0%

NOTE: *n* = 2,670

Table 6.B.33
CPD Officers Consider Race in Deciding Which People to Arrest and Take to Jail

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	11.9%	39.7%	17.2%	31.1%
Bondhill	13.8%	26.3%	16.3%	43.8%
C.B.D./Riverfront	26.3%	47.4%	15.8%	10.5%
Camp Washington	45.5%	36.4%	9.1%	9.1%
Carthage	15.0%	50.0%	25.0%	10.0%
Clifton	31.3%	32.8%	17.2%	18.8%
Clifton/University H	32.9%	42.9%	10.0%	14.3%
College Hill	23.5%	32.8%	15.1%	28.6%
Columbia/Tusculum	28.0%	40.0%	28.0%	4.0%
Corryville	10.3%	55.2%	13.8%	20.7%
East Price Hill	36.1%	37.4%	13.6%	12.9%
East Walnut Hills	20.6%	38.2%	8.8%	32.4%
Evanston	7.7%	19.2%	19.2%	53.8%
Fairview	26.8%	51.2%	12.2%	9.8%
Fay Apartments	21.1%	36.8%	15.8%	26.3%
Hartwell	36.6%	36.6%	12.2%	14.6%
Hyde Park	41.1%	40.2%	11.2%	7.5%
Kennedy Heights	20.9%	27.9%	23.3%	27.9%
Linwood	28.6%	28.6%	28.6%	14.3%
Lower Price Hill	11.1%	33.3%	22.2%	33.3%
Madisonville	27.6%	33.3%	16.1%	23.0%
Mount Adams	50.0%	41.7%	8.3%	
Mount Airy	34.7%	28.0%	17.3%	20.0%

Table 6.B.33—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Mount Auburn	19.6%	25.0%	10.7%	44.6%
Mt. Lookout	36.0%	36.0%	24.0%	4.0%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	48.1%	38.7%	8.5%	4.7%
North Fairmount/English Woods	14.7%	55.9%	5.9%	23.5%
Northside	22.1%	35.1%	19.5%	23.4%
Oakley	38.7%	38.7%	10.8%	11.8%
O'bryonville	20.0%	35.0%	25.0%	20.0%
Other	28.9%	37.8%	8.9%	24.4%
Over The Rhine	19.4%	26.9%	13.4%	40.3%
Paddock Hills	20.8%	45.8%	12.5%	20.8%
Pleasant Ridge	27.5%	30.4%	13.0%	29.0%
Riverside/Sedamsville	41.9%	38.7%	9.7%	9.7%
Roselawn	16.7%	31.5%	16.7%	35.2%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	3.2%	48.4%	16.1%	32.3%
Sayler Park	53.8%	34.6%	7.7%	3.8%
South Fairmount	25.0%	37.5%	16.7%	20.8%
Walnut Hills	21.2%	45.5%	12.1%	21.2%
West End/Queensgate	7.5%	46.3%	16.4%	29.9%
West Price Hill	40.7%	39.3%	8.6%	11.4%
Westwood	27.1%	38.7%	13.7%	20.4%
Winton Hills	25.0%	36.4%	6.8%	31.8%
Winton Place	35.0%	45.0%	15.0%	5.0%
Total	27.2%	37.1%	13.9%	21.7%

NOTE: *n* = 2,668.

Table 6.B.34
CPD Officers Consider Race in Deciding Which People in the Neighborhood to Help with Their Problems

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	22.7%	39.3%	10.0%	28.0%
Bondhill	17.7%	41.8%	20.3%	20.3%
C.B.D./Riverfront	40.0%	25.0%	15.0%	20.0%
Camp Washington	45.5%	45.5%		9.1%
Carthage	31.6%	47.4%	15.8%	5.3%
Clifton	30.9%	39.7%	20.6%	8.8%
Clifton/University H	38.6%	41.4%	12.9%	7.1%
College Hill	33.6%	30.3%	10.9%	25.2%
Columbia/Tusculum	28.6%	33.3%	19.0%	19.0%
Corryville	18.5%	40.7%	18.5%	22.2%
East Price Hill	37.9%	31.7%	12.4%	17.9%
East Walnut Hills	38.7%	35.5%	12.9%	12.9%
Evanston	19.1%	31.9%	12.8%	36.2%
Fairview	50.0%	35.7%	7.1%	7.1%
Fay Apartments	35.0%	30.0%	20.0%	15.0%
Hartwell	34.2%	31.6%	13.2%	21.1%

Table 6.B.34—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Hyde Park	44.0%	37.0%	10.0%	9.0%
Kennedy Heights	23.3%	20.9%	20.9%	34.9%
Linwood	50.0%		12.5%	37.5%
Lower Price Hill	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%
Madisonville	32.1%	37.0%	17.3%	13.6%
Mount Adams	61.5%	23.1%	15.4%	
Mount Airy	38.7%	40.0%	5.3%	16.0%
Mount Auburn	34.0%	35.8%	7.5%	22.6%
Mt. Lookout	36.0%	32.0%	24.0%	8.0%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	41.7%	41.7%	8.3%	8.3%
North Fairmount/English Woods	21.9%	46.9%	15.6%	15.6%
Northside	26.6%	39.2%	15.2%	19.0%
Oakley	42.4%	33.7%	12.0%	12.0%
O'bryonville	27.8%	27.8%	33.3%	11.1%
Other	40.9%	36.4%	2.3%	20.5%
Over The Rhine	35.5%	33.9%	9.7%	21.0%
Paddock Hills	32.0%	44.0%	8.0%	16.0%
Pleasant Ridge	38.4%	34.2%	11.0%	16.4%
Riverside/Sedamsville	53.3%	33.3%	6.7%	6.7%
Roselawn	33.3%	38.9%	14.8%	13.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	21.4%	35.7%		42.9%
Sayler Park	61.5%	30.8%	7.7%	
South Fairmount	36.0%	36.0%	12.0%	16.0%
Walnut Hills	19.0%	54.0%	7.9%	19.0%
West End/Queensgate	15.4%	43.1%	13.8%	27.7%
West Price Hill	47.1%	30.4%	10.1%	12.3%
Westwood	34.2%	39.2%	11.9%	14.7%
Winton Hills	35.6%	31.1%	4.4%	28.9%
Winton Place	36.8%	52.6%	10.5%	
Total	34.2%	36.7%	12.0%	17.1%

NOTE: *n* = 2,622.

Table 6.B.35
CPD Officers Consider Race in Deciding Which Areas of the Neighborhood to Patrol the Most Frequently

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Avondale	13.2%	30.6%	14.6%	41.7%
Bondhill	10.7%	21.3%	26.7%	41.3%
C.B.D./Riverfront	28.6%	19.0%	42.9%	9.5%
Camp Washington	41.7%	33.3%	8.3%	16.7%
Carthage	5.0%	55.0%	15.0%	25.0%
Clifton	24.6%	26.2%	26.2%	23.1%
Clifton/University H	15.5%	52.1%	15.5%	16.9%
College Hill	15.1%	26.9%	21.0%	37.0%
Columbia/Tusculum	13.0%	56.5%	13.0%	17.4%

Table 6.B.35—continued

Neighborhood	Almost never	Some-times	Usually	Almost always
Corryville	6.7%	30.0%	23.3%	40.0%
East Price Hill	22.2%	31.1%	12.6%	34.1%
East Walnut Hills	18.8%	31.3%	21.9%	28.1%
Evanston	14.0%	18.0%	16.0%	52.0%
Fairview	23.8%	35.7%	16.7%	23.8%
Fay Apartments	25.0%		20.0%	55.0%
Hartwell	27.0%	29.7%	16.2%	27.0%
Hyde Park	30.4%	33.3%	16.7%	19.6%
Kennedy Heights	11.1%	28.9%	22.2%	37.8%
Linwood			14.3%	85.7%
Lower Price Hill		70.0%	10.0%	20.0%
Madisonville	21.2%	22.4%	30.6%	25.9%
Mount Adams	41.7%	25.0%	25.0%	8.3%
Mount Airy	14.5%	32.9%	13.2%	39.5%
Mount Auburn	26.8%	17.9%	7.1%	48.2%
Mt. Lookout	12.0%	44.0%	40.0%	4.0%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	24.8%	37.6%	21.8%	15.8%
North Fairmount/English Woods	6.9%	37.9%	3.4%	51.7%
Northside	16.9%	26.0%	15.6%	41.6%
Oakley	27.8%	30.0%	14.4%	27.8%
O'bryonville	20.0%	25.0%	20.0%	35.0%
Other	14.6%	26.8%	14.6%	43.9%
Over The Rhine	18.8%	12.5%	12.5%	56.3%
Paddock Hills	12.5%	37.5%	8.3%	41.7%
Pleasant Ridge	25.0%	25.0%	16.2%	33.8%
Riverside/Sedamsville	35.7%	39.3%	3.6%	21.4%
Roselawn	11.1%	22.2%	13.0%	53.7%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	10.7%	25.0%	21.4%	42.9%
Sayler Park	25.9%	48.1%	14.8%	11.1%
South Fairmount	19.2%	23.1%	23.1%	34.6%
Walnut Hills	14.8%	41.0%	14.8%	29.5%
West End/Queensgate	10.9%	29.7%	20.3%	39.1%
West Price Hill	27.6%	31.3%	15.7%	25.4%
Westwood	18.2%	28.4%	18.6%	34.7%
Winton Hills	14.3%	26.2%	7.1%	52.4%
Winton Place	26.1%	30.4%	8.7%	34.8%
Total	19.2%	29.9%	17.4%	33.5%

NOTE: *n* = 2,603.

Table 6.B.36
How Much Do You Trust the Police Officers That Work for the Cincinnati Police?

Neighborhood	A lot	Some-what	A little bit	Not at all
Avondale	17.2%	37.3%	27.2%	18.3%
Bondhill	20.5%	42.0%	22.7%	14.8%
C.B.D./Riverfront	64.3%	21.4%	7.1%	7.1%

Table 6.B.36—continued

Neighborhood	A lot	Some-what	A little bit	Not at all
Camp Washington	38.5%	53.8%	7.7%	
Carthage	36.4%	31.8%	18.2%	13.6%
Clifton	42.7%	37.3%	10.7%	9.3%
Clifton/University H	38.5%	35.9%	15.4%	10.3%
College Hill	34.8%	36.4%	16.7%	12.1%
Columbia/Tusculum	51.9%	25.9%	11.1%	11.1%
Corryville	32.4%	35.3%	23.5%	8.8%
East Price Hill	45.3%	32.3%	12.4%	9.9%
East Walnut Hills	40.5%	40.5%	13.5%	5.4%
Evanston	13.8%	43.1%	25.9%	17.2%
Fairview	44.9%	32.7%	20.4%	2.0%
Fay Apartments	20.0%	40.0%	25.0%	15.0%
Hartwell	34.1%	38.6%	20.5%	6.8%
Hyde Park	63.9%	24.6%	8.2%	3.3%
Kennedy Heights	29.2%	33.3%	22.9%	14.6%
Linwood	22.2%	33.3%	11.1%	33.3%
Lower Price Hill	18.2%	18.2%	45.5%	18.2%
Madisonville	30.9%	36.1%	22.7%	10.3%
Mount Adams	84.6%	15.4%		
Mount Airy	38.8%	32.9%	14.1%	14.1%
Mount Auburn	20.3%	32.2%	25.4%	22.0%
Mt. Lookout	44.8%	44.8%	3.4%	6.9%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	69.1%	17.9%	7.3%	5.7%
North Fairmount/English Woods	25.0%	38.9%	22.2%	13.9%
Northside	30.6%	36.5%	18.8%	14.1%
Oakley	49.0%	37.0%	8.0%	6.0%
O'bryonville	27.3%	40.9%	27.3%	4.5%
Other	37.0%	30.4%	10.9%	21.7%
Over The Rhine	23.5%	22.1%	25.0%	29.4%
Paddock Hills	33.3%	33.3%	30.0%	3.3%
Pleasant Ridge	51.3%	27.5%	13.8%	7.5%
Riverside/Sedamsville	50.0%	32.4%	8.8%	8.8%
Roselawn	26.7%	33.3%	18.3%	21.7%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	25.7%	40.0%	5.7%	28.6%
Sayler Park	60.7%	28.6%	7.1%	3.6%
South Fairmount	50.0%	32.1%	7.1%	10.7%
Walnut Hills	37.1%	31.4%	12.9%	18.6%
West End/Queensgate	18.9%	41.9%	23.0%	16.2%
West Price Hill	48.7%	32.0%	8.7%	10.7%
Westwood	41.1%	32.3%	16.8%	9.8%
Winton Hills	26.7%	28.9%	20.0%	24.4%
Winton Place	47.8%	30.4%	13.0%	8.7%
Total	38.6%	33.2%	16.2%	12.0%

NOTE: *n* = 2,964.

Table 6.B.37
Have You Ever Felt That You Were Personally Stopped by the CPD Because of Your Race?

Neighborhood	Yes	No
Avondale	29.8%	70.2%
Bondhill	39.8%	60.2%
C.B.D./Riverfront	7.1%	92.9%
Camp Washington		100.0%
Carthage	4.5%	95.5%
Clifton	22.1%	77.9%
Clifton/University H	12.8%	87.2%
College Hill	18.4%	81.6%
Columbia/Tusculum		100.0%
Corryville	24.2%	75.8%
East Price Hill	15.1%	84.9%
East Walnut Hills	16.2%	83.8%
Evanston	34.4%	65.6%
Fairview	20.0%	80.0%
Fay Apartments	42.9%	57.1%
Hartwell	9.1%	90.9%
Hyde Park	4.1%	95.9%
Kennedy Heights	14.6%	85.4%
Linwood	11.1%	88.9%
Lower Price Hill	33.3%	66.7%
Madisonville	25.5%	74.5%
Mount Adams		100.0%
Mount Airy	30.2%	69.8%
Mount Auburn	31.0%	69.0%
Mt. Lookout	3.4%	96.6%
Mt. Washington/East End/California	5.7%	94.3%
North Fairmount/English Woods	28.9%	71.1%
Northside	13.1%	86.9%
Oakley	10.1%	89.9%
O'bryonville	27.3%	72.7%
Other	19.6%	80.4%
Over The Rhine	34.8%	65.2%
Paddock Hills	22.6%	77.4%
Pleasant Ridge	15.0%	85.0%
Riverside/Sedamsville	2.9%	97.1%
Roselawn	31.0%	69.0%
S Cumminsville/Millvale	37.1%	62.9%
Sayler Park		100.0%
South Fairmount	10.7%	89.3%
Walnut Hills	18.3%	81.7%
West End/Queensgate	33.8%	66.2%
West Price Hill	9.4%	90.6%
Westwood	17.1%	82.9%
Winton Hills	20.0%	80.0%

Table 6.B.37—continued

Neighborhood	Yes	No
Winton Place	12.5%	87.5%
Total	18.8%	81.2%

NOTE: *n* = 2,975.

APPENDIX 7.A

Citizen-Police Interaction Survey

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

RAND, a nonprofit company that does research, would like to invite you to be a part of a research study of police/community relations in Cincinnati, OH.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine the nature of citizen's interactions with police officers and their level of satisfaction with the Cincinnati police officers they've had contact with. You have been selected to participate in this research because you had contact with a police officer in Cincinnati within the past 12 months. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. Choosing not to participate in the study will in no way affect your current or future interactions with the Cincinnati police.

II. PROCEDURES

We are asking you to participate in a study by answering a series of questions about your recent interaction with Cincinnati police officers. The survey will take you about 20 minutes to complete. We will ask you questions about your interaction with the police, what events transpired, and your level of satisfaction with the police. We will also ask some questions about your basic background, education, and employment. You may skip any question in the survey you prefer not to answer. Your individual answers will not have any legal impact on a current or future case with the Cincinnati Police Department, and will not be revealed to the Cincinnati Police Department.

III. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Some of the questions you will be asked in this survey are about your personal experience with Cincinnati police officers. We recognize some of these questions might make you feel nervous, embarrassed, or upset. You can skip any question if it makes you uncomfortable, or to stop filling out the survey at any time.

IV. POTENTIAL BENEFITS

By participating in this study you will be able to provide input on your experience with the Cincinnati police officers. Your honest opinions about your experience with the Cincinnati police may be helpful in improving the level of professionalism of Cincinnati police officers in the future.

V. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will use the information you give us for research only. We will not reveal your name or any other information that identifies you to anyone outside of the research study. We will store your answers under a code number, not your name, and store all information that could identify you in locked cabinets or on secure computers under password protection. After completion of the study, any information we have that personally identifies you will be destroyed. Data that cannot identify you may be used for other purposes besides this project in the future.

VI. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the research study is completely voluntary. This means it is up to you to decide if you want to take part in the study. It also means that you can refuse to answer any question in the survey you are not comfortable answering.

WHOM TO CONTACT

If you have any questions about the survey you can call collect to speak with Dr. K. Jack Riley, RAND, (412) 683-2300 during business hours 9am to 5pm Monday through Friday.

CONSENT

My signature indicates that I have read this consent form. I understand the information it contains, and that I willingly agree to take part in this research study.

Signature :_____ Da

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY

PIN# 9999999999

We have some questions about your arrest on [DATE] by the Cincinnati Police Department.

Please mark (X) in the box ~ to indicate your answer.

1. Was your contact with a CPD officer a face-to-face interaction?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

2. How would you best describe the reason or reasons for your in-person contact with the Cincinnati Police?

a. Mark (X) for all that apply to this event.

❑1 You were in a motor vehicle stopped by the police

❑2 You contacted a police officer

❑3 You were the victim of a crime

❑4 Describe any other reason

_____

b.

If the police officer contacted you was it because:

❑1 You were involved in a traffic stop

❑2 You were cited for a traffic violation

❑3 You were cited for another type of offense

❑4 You were arrested for a crime

❑5 You were a witness to a crime

❑6 Describe any other reason_____

3. How many police officers were involved in your interaction?

❑1 One
❑2 Two
❑3 Three
❑4 Four
❑5 Five
❑6 Six
❑7 Seven
❑8 Eight
❑9 Nine
❑10 Ten
❑11 More than ten

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY

4. If only one officer, what was the race of the police officer?

❑1 WHITE ❑4 ASIAN

❑2 BLACK ❑5 SOME OTHER RACE

❑3 HISPANIC ❑6 DON'T KNOW

5. If more than one officer, what was the race of the police officers? (Your best estimate is fine).

	Number of officers
WHITE	_____
BLACK	_____
HISPANIC	_____
ASIAN	_____
OTHER	_____
NOT SURE (number unsure)	_____
TOTAL (should equal answer at 3)	_____

The following questions only apply to those involved in incidents with the Cincinnati Police Department that involved traffic stops or traffic citations. If your incident did not involve being stopped by the police as a driver or passenger of a motor vehicle GO TO QUESTION 13.

6. Did the police officer(s) give a reason for stopping the vehicle?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

7. What was the reason or reasons the police gave you for stopping the vehicle?

Mark ALL that apply

❑1 Speeding

❑2 Drunk driving

❑3 A vehicle defect, such as an expired tag or a burned out tail light

❑4 Some other traffic offense

❑5 To check license and vehicle registration

❑6 To see if you were a suspect wanted for a crime

❑7 Some other reason (EXPLAIN)

_____

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY

8. In your opinion, would you say the police officer(s) had a right to stop you?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

9. At any time during this incident did the police officer(s) ask your permission to search the vehicle?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

10. Did you give the police officer(s) permission to search your vehicle?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

11. Did the police officer(s) search your vehicle?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

12. During this incident were you:
Mark ALL that apply

❑1 Given a written warning

❑2 Given a traffic ticket

❑3 Tested for drunk driving

❑4 Arrested and charged for drunk driving

❑5 Questioned about what you were doing in a particular area

❑6 Arrested and charged with any other offense

13. At any time during this incident, did the police ask permission to search, frisk, or pat you down?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

❑3 DOESN'T APPLY

14. At any time during this incident did you give the police permission to search, frisk, or pat you down?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

❑3 DOESN'T APPLY

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY

15. At any time during the incident, did the police officer(s) search your body, frisk you, or pat you down?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

❑3 DOESN'T APPLY

16. Did the police officer(s) find any of the following items on or near you during their search?
Mark ALL that apply

❑1 Illegal weapons

❑2 Illegal drugs

❑3 Open containers of beer, wine, or other alcohol

❑4 Any other crime evidence (Please explain) _____

❑5 Doesn't apply

17. If you were the VICTIM OF A CRIME, how would you rate the time it took the police to respond to the situation?

❑1 EXCELLENT

❑2 GOOD

❑3 FAIR

❑4 POOR

❑5 DOESN'T APPLY

18. Looking back at this incident, do you think the police conducted themselves in a professional manner?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

19. How seriously did the officer(s) take your particular situation?

❑1 VERY SERIOUSLY

❑2 SOMEWHAT SERIOUSLY

❑3 NOT VERY SERIOUSLY

❑4 NOT AT ALL SERIOUSLY

20. How respectful would you say that you were treated by the officer(s)?

❑1 VERY RESPECTFUL

❑2 RESPECTFUL

❑3 DISRESPECTFUL

❑4 VERY DISRESPECTFUL

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY

21. How would you rate the attitude or demeanor of the officer(s)?

❑1 PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL OR FRIENDLY

❑2 PROFESSIONAL BUT NOT PERSONAL OR FRIENDLY

❑3 UNPROFESSIONAL AND UNFRIENDLY

❑4 UNPROFESSIONAL AND AGGRESSIVE OR HOSTILE

22. Based on your experience in this incident would you say that the Cincinnati police officer(s):

a) Tried to get the facts in a situation before deciding how to act

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

If no, how didn't the officer(s) try and get the facts before deciding how to act?

_____

_____

_____

b) Respected your legal rights

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

If no, what didn't the officer(s) do to respect your rights?

_____

_____

c) Accurately understood and applied the law

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

If no, how did the officer(s) inaccurately understand and apply the law?

_____

23. During this incident, how knowledgeable were the police officer(s) in explaining how you should deal with the problem you were experiencing?

❑1 VERY KNOWLEDGEABLE

❑2 SOMEWHAT KNOWLEDGEABLE

❑3 SOMEWHAT UNKNOWLEDGEABLE

❑4 VERY UNKNOWLEDGABLE

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY

24. How clear were the police officer(s) in explaining where you could get help for problems you might have as a result of this incident?

❑1 VERY CLEAR

❑2 SOMEWHAT CLEAR

❑3 SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR

❑4 VERY UNCLEAR

25. Based on your interaction with the Cincinnati police officer(s) in this incident, would you say your impression of the level of professionalism of the Cincinnati Police Department is better, worse, or the same as before this contact?

❑1 BETTER

❑2 WORSE

❑3 THE SAME

26. Is there anything that the Cincinnati police officer(s) could have done differently in handling your situation?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

If yes, please explain. _____

_____

The following questions will help us better understand information on the people that the CPD interacts with. All responses will be kept completely confidential.

27. In what year were you born?

19_____

28. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

❑1 Less than high school (Grade 11 or less)

❑2 High school diploma (including GED)

❑3 Some college

❑4 Assoc. degree (2 year) or specialized technical training

❑5 Bachelor's degree

❑6 Graduate or professional degree

CITIZEN CONTACT SURVEY

29. What race do you consider yourself to be?

- ❑1 ASIAN
- ❑2 BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN
- ❑3 HISPANIC
- ❑4 WHITE
- ❑5 OTHER

30. What is your gender?

- ❑1 MALE
- ❑2 FEMALE

31. Which category best describes your current work status?

- ❑1 EMPLOYED FULL OR PART-TIME
- ❑2 UNEMPLOYED
- ❑3 STUDENT

32. What is your current marital status?

- ❑1 MARRIED
- ❑2 LIVING WITH PARNTER
- ❑3 SEPARATED
- ❑4 DIVORCED
- ❑5 WIDOWED
- ❑6 NEVER MARRIED

Thank you for participating in this survey.

Please return this survey in the enclosed pre-addressed, pre -paid envelope to:
Joe Blechman - **SRBI**
145 E 32nd St, Suite 500, New York, NY 10016

APPENDIX 8.A

Police Officer Survey

POLICE OFFICER SURVEY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

RAND, a nonprofit company that does research, would like to invite you to be a part of a research study of police/community relations in Cincinnati, OH.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine officers' perceptions about working in the Cincinnati Police Department and their interactions with civilians. You have been selected to participate in this research because you are a police officer who has significant interaction with civilians during your daily duties. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate in the study, the status of your employment will not be affected.

II. PROCEDURES

We are asking you to participate in a study by answering a series of questions about your experience as a police officer working in the community. The survey will take you about 20 minutes to complete. We will ask you questions about the general public and daily interactions you have with civilians. We will also ask some questions about your basic background. You may skip any question in the survey you prefer not to answer. Your individual answers will not affect your employment, and will not be revealed to the Cincinnati Police Department.

III. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Some of the questions you will be asked in this survey are about your personal experience as a police officer. We recognize some of these questions might make you feel nervous, embarrassed, or upset. You can skip any question if it makes you uncomfortable, or to stop filling out the survey at any time.

IV. POTENTIAL BENEFITS

By participating in this study you will be able to provide input on police officers' views working in the Cincinnati Police Department. Your honest opinions about your experience working with citizens in Cincinnati and as a police officer maybe be helpful for improving the working conditions for officers in the future.

V. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will use the information you give us for research only. We will not reveal your name or any other information that identifies you to anyone outside of the research study. We will store your answers under a code number, not your name, and store all information that could identify you in locked cabinets or on secure computers under password protection. After completion of the study, any information we have that personally identifies you will be destroyed. Data that cannot identify you may be used for other purposes besides this project in the future.

VI. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the research study is completely voluntary. This means it is up to you to decide if you want to take part in the study. It also means that you can refuse to answer any question in the survey you are not comfortable answering.

WHOM TO CONTACT

If you have any questions about the survey you can call collect to speak with Dr. K. Jack Riley, RAND, (412) 683-2300 during business hours 9am to 5pm Monday through Friday.

CONSENT

My signature indicates that I have read this consent form. I understand the information it contains, and that I willingly agree to take part in this research study.

Signature : _____ Date : _____

2

POLICE OFFICER SURVEY

PIN#
9999999999

The following questions ask you about your experience as a police officer in Cincinnati.
Please mark (X) in the box ~ to indicate your answer.

1. How often do you think citizens call the police to report something suspicious?

❑1 ALMOST ALWAYS

❑2 USUALLY

❑3 SOMETIMES

❑4 ALMOST NEVER

2. How often do the citizens of Cincinnati provide information about a crime when they know something and are asked about it by the CPD?

❑1 ALMOST ALWAYS

❑2 USUALLY

❑3 SOMETIMES

❑4 ALMOST NEVER

3. What district do you work in?

❑1 DISTRICT ONE

❑2 DISTRICT TWO

❑3 DISTRICT THREE

❑4 DISTRICT FOUR

❑5 DISTRICT FIVE

4. What shift do you generally work?

❑1 FIRST SHIFT

❑2 EARLY POWER

❑3 SECOND SHIFT

❑4 LATER POWER

❑5 THIRD SHIFT

5. How likely are the citizens of Cincinnati to work with the police to try to solve neighborhood problems?

❑1 VERY LIKELY

❑2 SOMEWHAT LIKELY

❑3 SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY

❑4 VERY UNLIKELY

6. Are you familiar with the Community Police Partnering Center?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

7. In the area you work there are people who repeatedly cause trouble. How many of these troublemakers would you recognize by sight and name if you saw them on the street?

❑1 ALMOST ALL

❑2 MORE THAN HALF

❑3 A FEW

❑4 NONE

8. How many of the citizens you interact with on the street act disrespectfully towards the police (e.g., making hand signals, swearing, etc.)?

❑1 ALMOST ALL

❑2 MORE THAN HALF

❑3 A FEW

❑4 NONE

9. How likely is it that suspects will use derogatory words towards police officers when questioned?

❑1 ALMOST NEVER

❑2 SOMETIMES

❑3 USUALLY

❑4 ALMOST ALWAYS

10. How many of the suspects you come into contact with attempt to resist arrest through the use of physical force?

❑1 NONE

❑2 A FEW

❑3 MORE THAN HALF

❑4 ALMOST ALL

11. How often do citizens you come into contact with attempt to threaten and intimidate the police officers?

❑1 ALMOST NEVER

❑2 SOMETIMES

❑3 USUALLY

❑4 ALMOST ALWAYS

POLICE OFFICER SURVEY

12. How often do citizens you come into contact with attempt to "flee" or "run away"?

❑1 ALMOST NEVER

❑2 SOMETIMES

❑3 USUALLY

❑4 ALMOST ALWAYS

13. When you come into contact with a criminal suspect, how often do you feel you are in serious danger of physical violence?

❑1 ALMOST NEVER

❑2 SOMETIMES

❑3 USUALLY

❑4 ALMOST ALWAYS

14. Does the CPD train officers and counsel them on the risks of personal safety?

~1 YES

~2 NO

15. How would you rate the CPD training and procedures on officer safety?

❑1 EXCELLENT

❑2 GOOD

❑3 FAIR

❑4 POOR

16. Have you ever received an injury that required medical attention due to a suspect attacking you or resisting arrest?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

17. Have you ever received an injury due to a suspect attacking you or resisting arrest that required you to take time off from work?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

18. Is there anything additional the CPD should do to improve police officer safety?
PLEASE EXPLAIN

_____

_____

POLICE OFFICER SURVEY

19.

The following statements ask you to rate your level of AGREEMENT or DISAGREEMENT based on your personal experience as a police officer in Cincinnati.

		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
a	"A good patrol officer will try to find out what residents think the neighborhood problems are and then will focus his/her efforts on these issues."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
b	"Police officers should work with citizens to try and solve crime related problems in their district."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
c	"Enforcing the law is by far a patrol officer's most important responsibility."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
d	"Police officers have reason to be distrustful of most citizens."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
e	"A good patrol officer is one who works proactively stopping cars, checking people out, running license checks, and so forth."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
f	"Police officers should try to solve non-crime problems in their district."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
g	"The African American community complains unfairly about racial profiling."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
h	"The African American community complains unfairly about police abuse of authority."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
i	"The media complains unfairly about racial profiling."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
j	"The media complains unfairly about police abuse of authority."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
k	"The general community complains unfairly about police abuse of authority."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
l	"Currently, it is too easy for a citizen to file a complaint against a police officer."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
m	"There are clear guidelines in the CPD that define what reasonable suspicion is and indicate when officers are allowed to stop and question citizens."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
n	"In order for police officers to effectively fight street crime, some innocent citizens will have to experience the occasional inconvenience of being stopped or questioned by the police because they fit the description of a possible suspect or for other factors possibly linking them to the incident."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
o	"Police officers should make frequent informal contact with people in their district to establish trust and cooperation."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4

POLICE OFFICER SURVEY

20. The following statements ask you to rate your level of AGREEMENT or DISAGREEMENT about work conditions in the CPD based on your personal experience as a police officer in Cincinnati.

		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
a	"Effective supervision does identify police officers who abuse their authority."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
b	"When my unit identifies a problem, the police management is likely to help fix the problem."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
c	"When my unit identifies a problem, the city administration is likely to help fix the problem."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
d	"When the CPD identifies a problem in the community, the city council and mayor are likely to help fix the problem."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
e	"Management is likely to publicly recognize a police officer that is exceptional in his/her job."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
f	"My supervisors often let me know how well I am performing."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
g	"The CPD protects its officers from unreasonable lawsuits and accusations."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
h	"In general, I have a lot of input into how I go about doing my job."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
i	"One of the major satisfactions in my life is my job."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
j	"I have a personal commitment to my job."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
k	"If I had a suggestion for improving my job in some way, it is easy for me to communicate my suggestions to management in the CPD."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
l	"The CPD provides clear guidance on what is expected of officers for evaluations and promotions."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4

POLICE OFFICER SURVEY

20. The following statements ask you to rate the relationship between supervisors and officers in the CPD based on your personal experience as a police officer in Cincinnati.

		ALMOST ALWAYS	USUALLY	SOMETIMES
m	"From my experience, supervisors treat officers quite well."	❑1	❑2	❑3
n	"Supervisors let officers know what is expected of them ahead of time."	❑1	❑2	❑3

Our last few questions are used to ensure that our sample for this survey accurately reflects the population of Cincinnati police officers.

21. In what year were you born?

19___ ____

22. What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?

❑1 High school diploma (including GED)

❑2 Some college

❑3 Assoc. degree (2 year) or specialized technical training

❑4 Bachelor's degree

❑5 Graduate or professional degree

23. What race do you consider yourself to be?

❑1 ASIAN

❑2 BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN

❑3 HISPANIC

❑4 WHITE

❑5 OTHER

24. What is your gender?

❑1 MALE

❑2 FEMALE

25. What is your current marital status?

- ❑1 MARRIED
- ❑2 LIVING WITH PARTNER
- ❑3 SEPARATED
- ❑4 DIVORCED
- ❑5 WIDOWED
- ❑6 NEVER MARRIED

26. How many years have you been a Cincinnati Police Officer? _____

27. What is your current rank in the CPD? _____

Thank you for participating in this survey.

Please return this survey in the enclosed pre-addressed, pre -paid envelope to:

Joe Blechman - **SRBI**
145 E 32nd St, Suite 500, New York, NY 10016

APPENDIX 9.A

Complaint/Internal Review Survey

CITIZEN COMPLAINT REVIEW SURVEY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

RAND, a nonprofit company that does research, would like to invite you to be a part of a research study of police/community relations in Cincinnati, OH.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine the nature of citizen complaints against police officers in Cincinnati and the level of satisfaction citizens have with the complaint review process. You have been selected to participate in this research because you filed a complaint against a Cincinnati police officer on behalf of yourself or someone else. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate in the study, the status of your complaint will not be affected.

II. PROCEDURES

We are asking you to participate in a study by answering a series of questions about the complaint that you filed against a Cincinnati police officer. The survey will take you about 20 minutes to complete. We will ask you questions about the complaint, the investigation process, and the outcome of the complaint case. We will also ask some questions about your basic background, education, and employment. You may skip any question in the survey you prefer not to answer. Your answers will not affect the complaint case, and will not be revealed to the Cincinnati Police Department or the Citizen Complaint Authority.

III. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Some of the questions you will be asked in this survey are about your personal experience that led to the filing of the citizen complaint. We recognize some of these questions might make you feel nervous, embarrassed, or upset. You can skip any question if it makes you uncomfortable, or to stop filling out the survey at any time.

IV. POTENTIAL BENEFITS

By participating in this study you will be able to provide input on your experience with the citizen complaint process. Your honest opinions about your experience with the complaint process may be helpful in improving the process for other citizens in the future.

V. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will use the information you give us for research only. We will not reveal your name or any other information that identifies you to anyone outside of the research study. We will store your answers under a code number, not your name, and store all information that could identify you in locked cabinets or on secure computers under password protection. After completion of the study, any information we have that personally identifies you will be destroyed. Data that cannot identify you may be used for other purposes besides this project in the future.

VI. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the research study is completely voluntary. This means it is up to you to decide if you want to take part in the study. It also means that you can refuse to answer any question in the survey you are not comfortable answering.

WHOM TO CONTACT

If you have any questions about the survey you can call collect to speak with Dr. K. Jack Riley, RAND, (412) 683-2300 during business hours 9am to 5pm Monday through Friday.

CONSENT

My signature indicates that I have read this consent form. I understand the information it contains, and that I willingly agree to take part in this research study.

Signature : _____ Date : _____

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CITIZEN COMPLAINT REVIEW SURVEY

PIN# 9999999999

We have some questions about your complaint of [Allegation] filed on [Date] filed with the Cincinnati Police Department. The following questions refer only to the Citizen Complaint Authority (CCA) investigation of Officer [Officer First Name] [Officer Last Name].

Please mark (X) in the box ~ to indicate your answer.

1. How did you file the complaint?

- ❑1 In person
- ❑2 By mail (pre-paid postage supplied by CPD)
- ❑3 By mail (your own postage)
- ❑4 By Email
- ❑5 Telephone call
- ❑6 Other (please specify) _____

2. Did you file the complaint on behalf of yourself?

- ❑1 YES –SKIP TO 4.
- ❑2 NO

3. If you filed the complaint on behalf of someone else, what relation does this person have to you?

- ❑1 Child
- ❑2 Spouse
- ❑3 Relative
- ❑4 Neighbor
- ❑5 Other (please specify) _____

4. Did the person who took the complaint act professionally?

- ❑1 YES
- ❑2 NO

5. Was the complaint filed because of a face-to-face interaction with a CPD officer?

- ❑1 YES
- ❑2 NO

6. Were you or the person you filed the complaint for physically injured during the interaction with the police officer that caused you to file the complaint?

- ❑1 YES
- ❑2 NO

7. If you or the person you filed the complaint for were injured, did the injury require medical attention (e.g., visit to a doctor)?

- ❑1 YES
- ❑2 NO

8. Were there any witnesses to the complaint?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

9. How would you best describe the reason or reasons for your complaint?

Mark (X) next to ALL that apply to your complaint situation.

❑1 Discourtesy/unprofessional attitude

❑2 Lack of proper service

❑3 Criminal conduct

❑4 Sexual misconduct

❑5 Serious misconduct (e.g. severe nature or pattern of procedural violations, lack of service, etc.)

❑6 Excessive use of force

❑7 Unnecessary pointing of firearms at persons

❑8 Improper searches and seizures

❑9 Discrimination

❑10 Any other reason (DESCRIBE) _____

10. Please explain the complaint with the police officer(s) in your own words.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11.
How many police officers were involved in the complaint?

❑1 One

❑2 Two

❑3 Three

❑4 Four

❑5 Five

❑6 Six

❑7 Seven

❑8 Eight

❑9 Nine

❑10 Ten

❑11 More than ten

12. If only one officer, what was the race of the police officer?

- ❑1 WHITE
- ❑2 BLACK
- ❑3 HISPANIC
- ❑4 ASIAN
- ❑5 SOME OTHER RACE
- ❑6 DON'T KNOW

13. If more than one officer, what was the race of the police officers?

	Number of officers
WHITE	_____
BLACK	_____
HISPANIC	_____
ASIAN	_____
OTHER	_____
NOT SURE (number unsure)	_____
TOTAL (should equal answer at Q11)	

Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your experiences with the investigation of the complaint.

14. Did an investigator contact you about the complaint?

- ❑1 YES
- ❑2 NO

15. Did you provide information about any witnesses to the investigator?

- ❑1 YES
- ❑2 NO

16. Do you know if the investigator contacted any witnesses to the complaint?

- ❑1 YES, witness(es) were contacted
- ❑2 NO, witness(es) were not contacted
- ❑3 DOESN'T APPLY (There were no witnesses)
- ❑4 DON'T KNOW (Whether witnesses were contacted)

17. During the investigation and review process, how much did those investigating the complaint consider your views?

- ❑1 A GREAT DEAL
- ❑2 A FAIR AMOUNT
- ❑3 ONLY A LITTLE
- ❑4 NOT AT ALL

CITIZEN COMPLAINT REVIEW SURVEY

18. During the investigation and review process, how much did those investigating the complaint show care about your concerns?

❑1 A GREAT DEAL
❑2 A FAIR AMOUNT
❑3 ONLY A LITTLE
❑4 NOT AT ALL

19. How much did you trust the officials investigating the complaint?

❑1 A GREAT DEAL
❑2 A FAIR AMOUNT
❑3 ONLY A LITTLE
❑4 NOT AT ALL

20. Did you have a face-to-face meeting or did the interview take place over the phone?

❑1 FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW
❑2 PHONE INTERVIEW
❑3 OTHER (PLEASE DESCRIBE) _____

21. During the investigation and review process of the complaint, how much do you feel that you were treated with respect and dignity?

❑1 A GREAT DEAL
❑2 A FAIR AMOUNT
❑3 ONLY A LITTLE
❑4 NOT AT ALL

22. During the investigation and review process of the complaint, how much do you feel that you were shown concern for your rights?

❑1 A GREAT DEAL
❑2 A FAIR AMOUNT
❑3 ONLY A LITTLE
❑4 NOT AT ALL

23. During the investigation and review process of your complaint, how much do you feel you were treated politely?

❑1 A GREAT DEAL
❑2 A FAIR AMOUNT
❑3 ONLY A LITTLE
❑4 NOT AT ALL

24. How much do you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements about the citizen complaint process?

		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
a	"I was treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
b	"The officials investigating and reviewing my case were basically honest."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
c	"The decisions made about my complaint were based on facts."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
d	"The process allowed me to tell my side of the story."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4

25. How much do you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statement concerning the outcome of the complaint?

"The outcome was fair."

❑1 STRONGLY AGREE

❑2 AGREE

❑3 DISAGREE

❑4 STRONGLY DISAGREE

26. Overall, how satisfied are you with the complaint process?

❑1 VERY SATISFIED

❑2 SATISFIED

❑3 UNSATISFIED

❑4 VERY UNSATISFIED

27. What areas, if any, could be improved in the complaint review process?

_____

28.
How were you notified about the outcome of the complaint? (PLEASE MARK THE MOST APPROPRIATE ANSWER)

❑1 I attended a resolution meeting

❑2 I received a letter that explains the outcome of my complaint

❑3 Other (please describe)

_____

CITIZEN COMPLAINT REVIEW SURVEY

28b. What was the outcome of your complaint? (PLEASE MARK THE MOST APPROPRIATE ANSWER)

❑1 The officer(s) received a disciplinary action

❑2 The officer(s) did not receive a disciplinary action

❑3 Other (please describe)

_____

29. How much to do you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements regarding the outcome of the complaint?

		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
a	"I willingly accepted the decisions the officials made about my complaint."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
b	"In a similar situation in the future, I would like to see the situation handled the same way."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
c	"The officials could have handled my complaint process better than they did."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4

30. Please describe in your own words any other outcome you would like to have occurred.

_____

The following questions will help us better understand information on the people who have filed complaints against officers in the Cincinnati Police Department. All your responses will be kept completely confidential.

31. In what year were you born?

19 ___ ___

32. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

❑1 LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL (Grade 11 or less)

❑2 HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR GED (including GED)

❑3 SOME COLLEGE

❑4 ASSOCIATE DEGREE OR TECHNICAL TRAINING (2 year)

❑5 BACHELORS DEGREE

❑6 GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE

CITIZEN COMPLAINT REVIEW SURVEY

33. What race do you consider yourself to be?

- ❑1 ASIAN
- ❑2 BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN
- ❑3 HISPANIC
- ❑4 WHITE
- ❑5 OTHER

34. What is your gender?

- ❑1 MALE
- ❑2 FEMALE

35. Which category best represents the TOTAL combined income of all members of your HOUSEHOLD during the past 12 months?

- ❑1 $20,000 or less
- ❑2 Over $20,000 but less than $30,000
- ❑3 Over $30,000 but less than $50,000
- ❑4 Over $50,000 but less than $75,000
- ❑5 Over $75,000 but less than $100,000
- ❑6 $100,000 or more

36. Which category best describes your current work status?

- ❑1 EMPLOYED FULL OR PART-TIME
- ❑2 UNEMPLOYED
- ❑3 STUDENT

37. What is your/the complainant's current marital status?

- ❑1 MARRIED
- ❑2 LIVING WITH PARTNER
- ❑3 SEPARATED
- ❑4 DIVORCE
- ❑5 WIDOWED
- ❑6 NEVER MARRIED

38. Do you or your family own the place where you are living now, or do you rent?

- ❑1 OWN
- ❑2 RENT

39. How many children, aged 17 or younger, live in your household? _____ NUMBER

Thank you for participating in this survey.

Please return this survey in the enclosed pre-addressed, pre -paid envelope to:
Joe Blechman - **SRBI**
145 E 32nd St, Suite 500, New York, NY 10016

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

RAND, a nonprofit company that does research, would like to invite you to be a part of a research study of police/community relations in Cincinnati, OH.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine the nature of citizen complaints against police officers in Cincinnati and the level of satisfaction police officers have with the complaint review process. You have been selected to participate in this research because a complaint was filed against you by a Cincinnati resident. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate in the study, the status of the complaint will not be affected.

II. PROCEDURES

We are asking you to participate in a study by answering a series of questions about the complaint that was filed against you as a police officer. The survey will take you about 20 minutes to complete. We will ask you questions about the complaint, the investigation process, and the outcome of the complaint case. We will also ask some questions about your basic background. You may skip any question in the survey you prefer not to answer. Your individual answers will not affect the complaint case or your employment, and will not be revealed to the Cincinnati Police Department or the Citizen Complaint Authority.

III. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Some of the questions you will be asked in this survey are about your personal experience that led to the filing of a citizen complaint. We recognize some of these questions might make you feel nervous, embarrassed, or upset. You can skip any question if it makes you uncomfortable, or stop filling out the survey at any time.

IV. POTENTIAL BENEFITS

By participating in this study you will be able to provide input on your experience with the citizen complaint process. Your honest opinions about your experience with the complaint process may be helpful in improving the process for other accused police officers in the future.

V. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will use the information you give us for research only. We will not reveal your name or any other information that identifies you to anyone outside of the research study. We will store your answers under a code number, not your name, and store all information that could identify you in locked cabinets or on secure computers under password protection. After completion of the study, any information we have that personally identifies you will be destroyed. Data that cannot identify you may be used for other purposes besides this project in the future.

VI. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the research study is completely voluntary. This means it is up to you to decide if you want to take part in the study. It also means that you can refuse to answer any question in the survey if you are not comfortable answering.

WHOM TO CONTACT

If you have any questions about the survey you can call collect to speak with Dr. K. Jack Riley, RAND, (412) 683-2300 during business hours 9am to 5pm Monday through Friday.

CONSENT

My signature indicates that I have read this consent form. I understand the information it contains, and that I willingly agree to take part in this research study.

Signature : _____ Date : _____

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POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

PIN# 9999999999

We have some questions about the complaint of [Allegation] on [Date] filed by a citizen of Cincinnati that was investigated by the The District Citizen Complaint Review Process. The following questions refer only to the District Citizen Complaint Review Process investigation.

Please mark (X) in the box ~ to indicate your answer where applicable.

1. **How were you notified of the complaint filed against you?**

   ❑1 In person

   ❑2 By mail

   ❑3 By Email

   ❑4 Telephone call

   ❑5 Other (Specify) _____

2. **Was your complaint filed as a result of a face-to-face interaction with a civilian?**

   ❑1 YES

   ❑2 NO

3. **Were you injured during your interaction with the civilian(s) who filed the complaint against you?**

   ❑1 YES

   ❑2 NO

4. **If you were injured, did you seek medical attention?**

   ❑1 YES

   ❑2 NO

5. **Other than the person who filed the complaint, were there any other civilian witnesses to the complaint accusation?**

   ❑1 YES

   ❑2 NO

6. **Were there any police officers that served as witnesses for your case?**

   ❑1 YES

   ❑2 NO

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

7. How would you best describe the reason or reasons for the citizen filing the complaint?
Mark (X) next to ALL that apply to your complaint situation.

❑1 Discourtesy/unprofessional attitude

❑2 Lack of proper service

❑3 Criminal conduct

❑4 Sexual misconduct

❑5 Serious misconduct (e.g. severe nature or pattern of procedural violations, lack of service, etc.)

❑6 Excessive use of force

❑7 Unnecessary pointing of firearms at persons

❑8 Improper searches and seizures

❑9 Discrimination

❑10 Any other reason (DESCRIBE)

_____

_____

8. Please
explain the complaint in your own words.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. H
ow many police officers were involved in the complaint?

10. How many civilians were involved in the filed complaint?

❑1 One
❑2 Two
❑3 Three
❑4 Four
❑5 Five
❑6 Six
❑7 Seven
❑8 Eight
❑9 Nine
❑10 Ten
❑11 More than ten

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

11. If only one civilian, what was the race of the civilian?

❑1 WHITE

❑2 BLACK

❑3 HISPANIC

❑4 ASIAN

❑5 OTHER RACE

12. If more than one civilian, what was the race of the civilians?

	Number of civilians
WHITE	_____
BLACK HISPANIC	_____
ASIAN MIXED	_____
SOME OTHER RACE	_____
NOT SURE (number unsure)	_____
TOTAL (should equal answer at Q10)	_____

Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your experiences with the investigation and hearing of the complaint case.

13. Did a [CPD/CCA] investigator contact you about the complaint?

❑1 YES

❑2 NO

❑3 DOESN'T APPLY

14. Did the investigator contact any witnesses to the complaint (e.g., other officers or civilians)?

❑1 YES, witness(es) were contacted

❑2 NO, witness(es) were not contacted

❑3 DOESN'T APPLY (There were no witnesses)

❑4 DON'T KNOW (Whether witnesses were contacted)

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
15. During the investigation and review process how much did those investigating the complaint consider your views?	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
16. During the investigation and review process how much did those investigating the complaint act impartially?	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
17. During the investigation and review process how much did those investigating the complaint show care about your concerns?	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
18. How much did you trust the officials investigating the complaint?	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
19. During the investigation and review process of the complaint how much do you feel you were treated with respect and dignity?	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
20. During the investigation and review process of the complaint how much do you feel you were shown concern for your rights?	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4

21. How much do you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements about the citizen complaint process?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
a "I was treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
b "The officials investigating and reviewing my case were basically honest."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
c "The decisions made about my complaint were based on facts."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
d "The process allowed me to tell my side of the story."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
e "The outcome was fair."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

22. Overall, how satisfied are you with the complaint review process?

~1 VERY SATISFIED

~2 SATISFIED

~3 UNSATISFIED

~4 VERY UNSATISFIED

23. What areas if any could be improved in the complaint review process?

_____

_____

24.

What was the outcome of the complaint? (PLEASE MARK THE MOST APPROPRIATE ANSWER)

~1 I received disciplinary action (If so, please describe) _____

_____

_____

~2 I did not receive disciplinary action

~3 Other (Please explain)

_____

25. How much to you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements regarding the outcome of the complaint?

		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
a	"I willingly accepted the decisions the officials made about the complaint."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
b	"In a similar situation in the future, I would like to see the situation handled the same way."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4
c	"The officials could have handled the complaint process better than they did."	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

26. Please describe in your own words any other outcome you would like to have occurred.

_____

_____

_____

_____

The following questions will help us better understand information on the officers that have had complaints filed against them.

27. In what year were you born?

19 ___ ___

28. What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?

- ❑1 High school diploma (including GED)
- ❑2 Some college
- ❑3 Assoc. degree (2 year) or specialized technical training
- ❑4 Bachelor's degree
- ❑5 Graduate or professional degree

29. What race do you consider yourself to be?

- ❑1 ASIAN
- ❑2 BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN
- ❑3 HISPANIC
- ❑4 WHITE
- ❑5 OTHER

30. What is your gender?

- ❑1 MALE
- ❑2 FEMALE

POLICE OFFICER COMPLAINT SURVEY

31. What is your current marital status?

- ❑1 MARRIED
- ❑2 LIVING WITH PARTNER
- ❑3 SEPARATED
- ❑4 DIVORCE
- ❑5 WIDOWED
- ❑6 NEVER MARRIED

32. How many years have you been a Cincinnati Police Officer? _____

33. What is your current rank in the CPD? _____

Thank you for participating in this survey.

Please return this survey in the enclosed pre-addressed, pre -paid envelope to:
Joe Blechman - **SRBI**
145 E 32nd St, Suite 500, New York, NY 10016

APPENDIX 10.A

Community Meeting Survey

Consent to Participate in Research

RAND, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research organization, would like to invite you to be a part of a research study on police performance in Cincinnati, OH.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine perceptions about the police community meetings in Cincinnati. We are interested in your opinions since you are attending a community meeting.

II. PROCEDURES

We are asking you to participate in a study by answering a series of questions about your experience and perception of these community meetings. The survey will take about 15 minutes to complete. You may skip any question in the survey you prefer not to answer.

III. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Some of the questions you will be asked in this survey are about your personal experience living in the community and attending community meetings. You may skip any question if it makes you uncomfortable, or stop filling out the survey at any time.

IV. POTENTIAL BENEFITS

By participating in this study you will be able to provide input as to police-community interaction in Cincinnati. Your honest opinions about your experience will be helpful in improving the structure and content of police-community meetings.

V. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will use the information you give us for research only. We will not ask for your name or collect information that identifies you to anyone. We will store your answers under a code number, not your name. The data from your responses, therefore, can in no way identify you. Your completion of this survey indicates your consent to participate.

VI. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the research study is completely voluntary. This means it is up to you to decide if you want take part in the study. It also means that you can refuse to answer any question in the survey you are not comfortable answering. There will be no negative consequences should you choose not to participate in this survey.

VII. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

For additional information about this research project you may contact Dr. K. Jack Riley. For specific questions pertaining to this survey please contact Dr. Jeremy M. Wilson. Either may be reached at (412) 683-2300.

Community Meeting Survey

The following interview instrument is designed to evaluate the extent to which community members feel that community/police meetings capture the goals of the community. Unless otherwise noted, check the best answer that applies.

GENERAL MEETING CODING

1. Date:

2. Police District:

3. Neighborhood:

4. Name of meeting:

PERSONAL INFORMATION

5. What category below best describes your representation? (check one)

_____ Local police
_____ Other law enforcement agency
_____ Other criminal justice agency
_____ Non-criminal justice government agency/service
_____ Private business, commerce, real estate, economic development
_____ School, educational or training organization
_____ Faith based organization, church
_____ Private social service, health, mental health, treatment organization
_____ Neighborhood organization
_____ Other organization
_____ Resident

6. Are you

_____ Male
_____ Female

7. What is your age?

_____

8. What is your ethnicity?

_____ Black/African American
_____ Latino/Hispanic American
_____ White/Caucasian
_____ Asian
_____ Other (please specify)

9. Do you own or rent your home?

_____ Own
_____ Rent
_____ Other (please specify)

10. What is your level of education?

_____ Did not finish high school
_____ High school graduate or GED
_____ Some college or vocational training
_____ 2-year college degree
_____ 4-year college degree
_____ Graduate degree

11. How many years have you been a resident of or worked in Cincinnati?

_____

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MEETING AND PARTICIPANTS

12. Are you familiar with the Community Police Partnering Center?

____ Yes
____ No

13. If yes, how did you become aware of the Community Police Partnering Center?

____ Brochure

____ Contact with the Partnering Center staff
____ Informational Meetings
____ Information from CPOP team member
____ Media Story
____ Community Residents
____ Neighborhood Summit
____ Community Event (Please describe _____)
____ Other (Please Describe_____)

14. Are you familiar with Community Problem Oriented Policing (CPOP)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

15. If yes, how did you become aware of the Community Problem Oriented Policing (CPOP)?

____ Brochure
____ Contact with the Partnering Center staff
____ Informational Meetings
____ Information from CPOP team member
____ Media Story
____ Community Residents
____ Neighborhood Summit
____ Community Event (Please describe _____)
____ Other (Please Describe_____)

16. Have you participated, or are you currently participating in a CPOP effort in your neighborhood?
_____ Yes
_____ No
17. Besides the meeting tonight, how many other police/community meetings of any kind have you attended during the past 12 months?
_____
18. How did you learn when and where these meetings are held? (check all that apply)
_____ Neighborhood police officer
_____ Community Police Partnering Center
_____ Newspaper
_____ Television
_____ Posted flyer
_____ A friend or neighbor
_____ Website (please specify)
_____ Other (please specify)

19. Have you interacted with other meeting attendees in the past?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, in what capacity?

20. How would you rate the overall atmosphere (feeling) of the meeting discussion?
_____ Open and supportive
_____ Strained and tense
_____ Disinterested
_____ Other (please specify)

21. Who led the meeting? (check two if co-led)

_____ Police officers
_____ Community Policing Partnering Center
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies

22. Overall, did any of the following generally dominate the discussion?
_____ Police officers
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies
_____ No, it was about equal

23. To what extent do you feel that your most critical needs were addressed at this meeting?
_____ Needs were addressed
_____ Some needs were addressed
_____ Needs were not addressed
Please explain

24. To what extent do you feel that your opinions were valued at this meeting?
_____ Opinions were valued
_____ Some opinions were valued
_____ Opinions were not valued
Please explain

25. Were your views considered during this meeting?
_____ Yes
_____ No
_____ Somewhat
26. Do you trust the officials running this community meeting?
_____ Yes
_____ No
_____ Somewhat

If no, please explain

27. Do you feel that everyone was treated with respect and dignity during this meeting?
_____ Yes
_____ No
If no, please explain

28. Which of the following best describes the police/community relationship at this meeting?
_____ Partners
_____ Independent operators
_____ Adversaries
_____ Other (please explain)

29. Were you satisfied with the meeting format?

_____ Yes
_____ No
If no, please explain

30. Were you satisfied with the issues covered in this meeting?

_____ Yes
_____ No
If no, please explain

31. How would you rate the effectiveness of this meeting?

_____ Very effective
_____ Somewhat effective
_____ Somewhat ineffective
_____ Very ineffective

32. What was your primary reason(s) for attending this community/police meeting? Please list.

33. Are any of the following problems in this neighborhood? (check all that apply)

_____ Abandoned cars in the streets and alleys
_____ Abandoned buildings
_____ Graffiti (that is, writing or painting on walls or buildings)
_____ People breaking in or sneaking into homes to steal things
_____ Shootings and violence
_____ Gang violence
_____ Drug dealing on the streets
_____ People being attacked or robbed
_____ Vacant lots filled with junk or trash
_____ Litter
_____ Other (please specify)_____

34. How would you rate the working relationship between the police and community in terms of solving problems in your neighborhood?

_____ Very good
_____ Good
_____ Fair
_____ Poor
_____ Don't know

35. How responsive are the police in this neighborhood to community concerns?

_____ Very responsive
_____ Somewhat responsive
_____ Somewhat unresponsive
_____ Very unresponsive

36. How responsive is the community in this neighborhood to providing assistance to the police (e.g., provide information on crimes or serve as witnesses for court)?

_____ Very responsive
_____ Somewhat responsive
_____ Somewhat unresponsive
_____ Very unresponsive

37. Have you worked with the Community Policing Partnering Center?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, how?

38. Please provide any additional comments you have about the community meeting on the back of this survey.

APPENDIX 10.B

Observations of Community Meetings in the City of Cincinnati

The following instrument is an observational guide for evaluating the extent to which community meetings capture the goals of community and problem-oriented policing. During the meeting and shortly after reviewing the documentation of the meeting, please answer the following questions. Unless otherwise noted, check the best answer that applies.

GENERAL MEETING CODING

1. Date:

2. Observer:

3. Location of meeting:

4. Police District:

5. Neighborhood:

6. Time meeting began:

7. Time meeting ended:

QUESTIONS ON MEETING PARTICIPANTS

8. How many people attended the meeting?

_____

9. What types of participants were present (check all that apply and, where identifiable, provide number of attendees)?

_____ Local police _____
_____ Other law enforcement agencies _____
_____ Other criminal justice agencies _____
_____ Non-criminal justice government agencies/services _____
_____ Private business, commerce, real estate, economic development _____
_____ Schools, educational or training organizations _____

_____ Faith-based organizations, churches _____
_____ Private social service, health, mental health, treatment organizations _____
_____ Resident organizations _____
_____ Other organizations _____
_____ Residents ____
_____ Could not determine _____

10. What was the ethnic composition of (indicate approximate proportion of each):

a. the police?

_____ White
_____ Black
_____ Other

b. the residents?

_____ White
_____ Black
_____ Other

c. the others?

_____ White
_____ Black
_____ Other

QUESTIONS ON MEETING FORMAT AND PARTICIPATION

11. Who led the meeting? (check two if co-led)

_____ Police officers
_____ Community Police Partnering Center
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies

12. Does there appear to be an understood method of raising and conducting business?

_____ Yes
_____ No

13. Was there a meeting agenda that was printed for the group to follow?

_____ Yes
_____ No

14. What was the atmosphere (feeling) of the general meeting discussion?

_____ Open and supportive
_____ Strained and tense
_____ Disinterested
_____ Other (please specify)

15. Overall, did any of the following groups generally dominate the discussion?

_____ Police officers
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies
_____ No, it was about equal

16. Was there discussion of city organizations that could assist with specific community problems (e.g., sanitation, traffic engineering, school system, etc.)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

17. Was there a clear indication the appropriate people would follow-up on the problems raised?

_____ Yes
_____ No

18. During the meeting did the police discuss formulating policy with neighborhood or civic organizations for the delivery of needed services (e.g., outreach to faith-based organizations for assistance with homeless, delinquent youth, etc.)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

19. During the meeting was there a clear indication that residents are partners with the police in crime prevention?

_____ Yes
_____ No

20. During the meeting was there discussion of methods that could be used to prevent crime (e.g., calling in tips, locking doors, supervising children)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

21. Did the police provide maps or data on crime in the community to residents?

_____ Yes
_____ No

22. Did the meeting participants identify new problems in need of attention?

_____ Yes
_____ No

23. Did the meeting participants identify a specific set of goals on which the police and community could work together to accomplish?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, could the goals be measured (e.g., prostitution in X neighborhood)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

24. Was there any discussion of developing formal committees or procedures that allow residents to have input in police policy affecting their neighborhood?

_____ Yes
_____ No

25. Did the meeting involve a two-way discussion between the police and residents?

_____ Yes
_____ No

26. Did any residents volunteer to organize themselves into crime prevention groups or to assist in crime prevention in other ways (e.g., neighborhood watch, graffiti cleanup, citizen patrol, etc.)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

27. Did the police and other participants propose ways in which they can jointly develop crime prevention strategies?

_____ Yes
_____ No

28. Was there a clear indication that problem-solving strategies were used to address community problems?

_____ Yes
_____ No

29. How would you rate the effectiveness of this meeting?

_____ Very effective
_____ Somewhat effective
_____ Somewhat ineffective
_____ Very ineffective

30. What are your general observations of the meeting?

APPENDIX 10.C

Problem Solving Survey

Consent to Participate in Research

RAND, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research organization, would like to invite you to be a part of a research study on police performance in Cincinnati, OH.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine perceptions about the problem solving process used in Cincinnati. You have been selected to participate in this research because you are involved with problem-solving meetings.

II. PROCEDURES

We are asking you to participate in a study by answering a series of questions about your experience working on problem solving tasks. The survey will take about 15 minutes to complete. We will ask questions about you and your perception of the activities involved in the problem-solving meetings. You may skip any question in the survey you prefer not to answer.

III. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Some of the questions you will be asked in this survey are about your personal experience. We recognize some of these questions might make you feel nervous, embarrassed, or upset. You may skip any question if it makes you uncomfortable, or stop filling out the survey at any time.

IV. POTENTIAL BENEFITS

By participating in this study you will be able to provide input as to the community problem-solving process in the city of Cincinnati. Your honest opinions about your experience will be helpful in improving the problem solving process.

V. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will use the information you give us for research only. We will not ask for your name or collect information that identifies you to anyone. We will store your answers under a code

number, not your name. The data from your responses, therefore, can in no way identify you. Your completion of this survey indicates your consent to participate.

VI. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the research study is completely voluntary. This means it is up to you to decide if you want take part in the study. It also means that you can refuse to answer any question in the survey you are not comfortable answering. There will be no negative consequences should you choose not to participate in this survey.

VII. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

For additional information about this research project you may contact Dr. K. Jack Riley. For specific questions pertaining to this survey please contact Dr. Jeremy M. Wilson. Either may be reached at (412) 683-2300.

Problem Solving Survey

The following instrument will help to assess the community problem-solving process in the city of Cincinnati. Unless otherwise noted, check the best answer that applies. If the team is conducting multiple problem-solving projects simultaneously, restrict your answers to the specific problem identified for review by the survey administrator.

GENERAL MEETING CODING

1. Date:

2. CPOP Case #:

3. Police District:

4. Neighborhood:

PERSONAL INFORMATION

5. What category below best describes your representation? (check one)

_____ Local police
_____ Community Police Partnering Center
_____ Other law enforcement agency
_____ Other criminal justice agency
_____ Non-criminal justice government agency/service
_____ Private business, commerce, real estate, economic development
_____ School, educational or training organization
_____ Faith based organization, church

_____ Private social service, health, mental health, treatment organization
_____ Neighborhood organization
_____ Other organization
_____ Resident

6. Are you

_____ Male
_____ Female

7. What is your age?

_____

8. What is your ethnicity?

_____ Black/African American
_____ Latino/Hispanic American
_____ White/Caucasian
_____ Asian
_____ Other (please specify)

9. Do you own or rent your home?

_____ Own
_____ Rent
_____ Other (please specify)

10. What is your level of education?

_____ Did not finish high school
_____ High school graduate or GED
_____ Some college or vocational training
_____ 2-year college degree
_____ 4-year college degree
_____ Graduate degree

11. How many years have you been a resident of or worked in Cincinnati?

_____

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MEETING AND PARTICIPANTS

12. Who led the meeting? (check two if co-led)

_____ Police officers

_____ Community Police Partnering Center
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies

13. How would you rate the overall atmosphere (feeling) of the meeting discussion?

_____ Open and supportive
_____ Strained and tense
_____ Disinterested
_____ Other (please specify)

14. Overall, did any of the following generally dominate the discussion?

_____ Police officers
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies
_____ No, it was about equal

15. To what extent did you feel that your opinions were valued at this meeting?

_____ Opinions were valued
_____ Some opinions were valued
_____ Opinions were not valued

Please explain

QUESTIONS ON PROBLEM-SOLVING APPROACH

16. How would you rate the problem-solving training offered to the team?

_____ Very good
_____ Good
_____ Fair
_____ Poor
_____ Don't know

17. How would you rate the amount of police support offered to the problem solving team in regard to this problem?

_____ Very good
_____ Good
_____ Fair
_____ Poor
_____ Don't know

18. Who do you think should be responsible for individual problem-solving efforts?

_____ Individual officers
_____ Individual residents or business/civic representatives
_____ Problem solving teams
_____ Other municipal agencies
_____ Other (please specify)

19. How would you rate the working relationship between the police and community in terms of addressing this problem?

_____ Very good
_____ Good
_____ Fair
_____ Poor
_____ Don't know

20. Has the team worked with the Community Police Partnering Center on this problem?

_____ Yes
_____ No

IF YES, HOW?

21. How would you rate the effectiveness of the team's problem-solving process with regard to this problem?

_____ Very effective
_____ Somewhat effective
_____ Somewhat ineffective
_____ Very ineffective

22. Please provide any additional comments you have about problem-solving or the functioning of the problem-solving team on the back of this survey.

QUESTIONS ON PROBLEM-SOLVING APPLICATION

23. At what stage in the problem-solving process is this problem?

_____ Scanning
_____ Analysis
_____ Response
_____ Assessment

24. On a scale of 1 to 5 (1=very poor, 5=very well), how would you rate the application of each stage of the SARA model by the problem-solving team? (Please provide a response for each stage that has been completed)

_____ Scanning
_____ Analysis
_____ Response
_____ Assessment

Scanning

25. Who originally identified the problem and brought it to police attention?

_____ Police officers
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies
_____ Other (please specify)

26. What was the primary scope of the problem?

_____ A few people
_____ A residence or business
_____ A neighborhood
_____ A type of crime (no specific geography)
_____ Other (please specify)

27. Did the team discuss how the problem could be measured?

_____ Yes
_____ No

28. Did the team discuss the consequences of the problem for the community and the police?

_____ Yes
_____ No

29. Did the team discuss some form of data collection to confirm that the problem exists (e.g., crime analysis, survey of residents)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

Please explain in detail.

** STOP HERE IF YOUR TEAM IS IN THE SCANNING STAGE **

Analysis

30. Did the team discuss:

a. How big the problem is?
_____ Yes
_____ No

b. Who is involved?
_____ Yes
_____ No

c. Where the problem is located?
_____ Yes
_____ No

31. Did the team determine how frequently the problem occurs and/or how long it has been occurring?

_____ Yes
_____ No

32. Did the team identify any events or conditions that preceded or accompanied the problem (e.g., athletic event at night leading to unsupervised youth)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

33. Did the team collect relevant data pertaining to the problem?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, what data were collected? (check all that apply)

_____ Crime maps
_____ Official crime statistics
_____ Crime surveys
_____ Calls-for-service
_____ Survey of beat officers
_____ School data
_____ Business data
_____ Other government data
_____ Other (please specify)

34. Did the team analyze relevant data pertaining to the problem?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, how were the data analyzed? (check all that apply)

_____ Examine change over time
_____ Compare problem characteristics to other problems
_____ Compare problem in one area to the same problem in another area
_____ Other (please specify)

35. Did the team discuss how the problem is currently being handled and the strengths and weaknesses of this?

_____ Yes
_____ No

36. Did the team discuss any research on what is known about the problem type or the idea of consulting outside sources for information (e.g., Police Executive Research Forum, Problem Guides or other utilities from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, or other police agencies)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, what specific research or outside sources were discussed?

37. Did the team contact any resources (e.g., other agencies) perceived useful for understanding the problem at a greater level?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, which ones (check all that apply)

_____ Transportation agency
_____ Sanitation agency
_____ City code enforcement
_____ Housing department
_____ School system
_____ Other (please specify)

38. Did the team develop a testable theory about why the problem is occurring?

_____ Yes
_____ No

** STOP HERE IF YOUR TEAM IS IN THE ANALYSIS STAGE **

Response

39. Did the team brainstorm for new intervention ideas?

_____ Yes
_____ No

40. Did the team discuss any case studies of what others have done with similar problems in the past?

_____ Yes
_____ No

41. Did the team decide to choose among a series of alternative responses?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, please explain in detail

42. Was the response primarily law enforcement-oriented?

_____ Yes
_____ No

43. Did the team outline a response plan and define specific objectives for the response?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If yes, was the objective to:

_____ Eliminate the problem
_____ Reduce the number of incidents it creates
_____ Reduce the seriousness of incidents it creates
_____ Design better methods for handling the incidents
_____ Remove the problem from police consideration
_____ Other (please specify)

44. Did the team identify specific goals or outcomes to indicate its desired result?

_____ Yes
_____ No

45. Did the team clearly articulate goals into steps that could be measured (e.g., prostitution in X neighborhood)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

46. Did the team discuss who would take primary responsibility for implementing the response?

_____ Yes
_____ No

47. Did the team choose a method to measure the problem reduction?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, please describe in detail

** STOP HERE IF YOUR TEAM IS IN THE RESPONSE STAGE **

Assessment

48. Did the team determine whether the plan was implemented?

_____ Yes
_____ No

49. Did the team collect the anticipated data?

_____ Yes
_____ No

50. Did the team discuss data that was collected to assess the problem?

_____ Yes
_____ No

51. What type of determination did the team make in regard to whether the goals of the response were achieved?

_____ Quantitative
_____ Qualitative
_____ Both quantitative and qualitative
_____ No determination was made

52. As a result of the assessment, were any new strategies or responses planned to deal with the problem in the future?

_____ Yes
_____ No

53. Was there any discussion in the project meeting for a plan to conduct follow-up to ensure continued response and its effectiveness?

_____ Yes
_____ No

APPENDIX 10.D

Observations of Problem-Solving Project Meetings in Cincinnati Police Department

The following instrument is an observational guide for evaluating the extent to which Problem-Solving Project meetings involve the use of the SARA model (Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment).

During the meeting and shortly after reviewing the documentation of the meeting, please answer the following questions. Unless otherwise noted, check the best answer that applies. If the team is conducting multiple problem-solving projects simultaneously, restrict your answers to the specific problem identified for review.

GENERAL MEETING CODING

1. Date:

2. CPOP #:

3. Observer:

4. Location of meeting:

5. Police District:

6: Neighborhood:

7. Time meeting began:

8. Time meeting ended:

QUESTIONS ON MEETING PARTICIPANTS

9. How many people attended the meeting?

_____

10. What types of participants were present? (check all that apply and, where identifiable, provide number of attendees)?

_____ Local police _____
_____ Other law enforcement agencies _____
_____ Other criminal justice agencies _____
_____ Non-criminal justice government agencies/services _____
_____ Private business, commerce, real estate, economic development _____
_____ Schools, educational or training organizations _____
_____ Faith-based organizations, churches _____
_____ Private social service, health, mental health, treatment organizations _____
_____ Neighborhood organizations _____
_____ Other organizations _____
_____ Residents _____
_____ Could not determine _____

11. What was the ethnic composition of the problem-solving team? (indicate approximate proportion of each)

_____ White
_____ Black
_____ Other

QUESTIONS ON MEETING FORMAT AND PARTICPATION

12. Who led the meeting? (check two if co-led)

_____ Police officers
_____ Community Police Partnering Center
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies

13. Does there appear to be an understood method of raising and conducting business?

_____ Yes
_____ No

14. Was there a meeting agenda that was printed for the team to follow?

_____ Yes
_____ No

15. What was the atmosphere (feeling) of the meeting discussion?

_____ Open and supportive
_____ Strained and tense
_____ Disinterested
_____ Other (please specify)

16. Overall, did any of the following generally dominate the discussions?

_____ Police officers
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies
_____ No, it was about equal

QUESTIONS ON PROBLEM-SOLVING APPROACH

17. At what stage in the problem-solving process is this problem?

_____ SCANNING, go to question 18
_____ ANALYSIS, go to question 24
_____ RESPONSE, go to question 33
_____ ASSESSMENT, go to question 42

Scanning

18. Who originally identified the problem and brought it to police attention?

_____ Police officers
_____ Residents
_____ Civic representatives
_____ Business representatives
_____ Other government agencies
_____ Other (please specify)

19. Did the team discuss the specific problem that was in need of police attention?

_____ Yes
_____ No

20. What was the primary scope of the problem?

_____ A few people
_____ A residence or business
_____ A neighborhood
_____ A type of crime (no specific geography)

_____ Other (please specify)

21. Did the team discuss how the problem could be measured?

_____ Yes
_____ No

22. Did the team discuss the consequences of the problem for the community and the police?

_____ Yes
_____ No

23. Did the team discuss some form of data collection to confirm that the problem exists (e.g., crime analysis, survey of residents)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

Please explain in detail.

GO TO QUESTION 48

Analysis

24. Did the team discuss:

a. How big the problem is?
_____ Yes
_____ No

b. Who is involved?
_____ Yes
_____ No

c. Where the problem is located?
_____ Yes
_____ No

25. Did the team determine how frequently the problem occurs and/or how long it has been occurring?

_____ Yes

_____ No

Please explain in detail.

26. Did the team identify any events or conditions that preceded or accompanied the problem (e.g., athletic event at night leading to unsupervised youth)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

27. Did the team collect relevant data pertaining to the problem?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, what data were collected? (check all that apply)

_____ Crime maps
_____ Official crime statistics
_____ Crime surveys
_____ Calls-for-service
_____ Survey of beat officers
_____ School data
_____ Business data
_____ Other government data
_____ Other (please specify)

28. Did the team analyze relevant data pertaining to the problem?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, how were the data analyzed? (check all that apply)

_____ Examine change over time
_____ Compare problem characteristics to other problems
_____ Compare problem in one area to the same problem in another area
_____ Other (please specify)

29. Did the team discuss how the problem is currently being handled and the strengths and weaknesses of this?

_____ Yes

_____ No

30. Did the team discuss any research on what is known about the problem type or the idea of consulting outside sources for information (e.g., Police Executive Research Forum, Problem Guides or other utilities from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, or other police agencies)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, what specific research or outside sources were discussed?

31. Did the team identify any resources (e.g., other agencies) that may be useful for understanding the problem at a greater level?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, which ones (check all that apply)

_____ Transportation agency
_____ Sanitation agency
_____ City code enforcement
_____ Housing department
_____ School system
_____ Other (please specify)

32. Did the team develop a testable theory about why the problem is occurring?

_____ Yes
_____ No

GO TO QUESTION 48

Response

33. Did the team brainstorm for new intervention ideas?

_____ Yes
_____ No

34. Did the team discuss any case studies of what others have done with similar problems in the past?

_____ Yes

_____ No

35. Did the team decide to choose among a series of alternative responses?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, please explain in detail

36. Was the response primarily law enforcement-oriented?

_____ Yes
_____ No

37. Did the team outline a response plan and define specific objectives for the response?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, was the objective to:

_____ Eliminate the problem
_____ Reduce the number of incidents it creates
_____ Reduce the seriousness of incidents it creates
_____ Design better methods for handling the incidents
_____ Remove the problem from police consideration
_____ Other (please specify)

38. Did the team identify specific goals or outcomes to indicate its desired result?

_____ Yes
_____ No

39. Did the team clearly articulate goals into steps that could be measured (e.g., prostitution in X neighborhood)?

_____ Yes
_____ No

40. Did the team discuss who would take primary responsibility for implementing the response?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If yes, who was designated and why?

41. Did the team choose a method to measure the problem reduction?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If yes, please describe in detail

GO TO QUESTION 48

Assessment

42. Did the team determine whether the plan was implemented?

_____ Yes
_____ No

43. Did the team collect the anticipated data?

_____ Yes
_____ No

44. Did the team discuss data that was collected to assess the problem?

_____ Yes
_____ No

45. What type of determination did the team make in regard to whether the goals of the response were achieved?

_____ Quantitative
_____ Qualitative
_____ Both quantitative and qualitative
_____ No determination was made

46. As a result of the assessment, were any new strategies or responses planned to deal with the problem in the future?

_____ Yes
_____ No

47. Was there any discussion in the project meeting for a plan to conduct follow-up to ensure continued response and its effectiveness?

_____ Yes
_____ No

GENERAL QUESTIONS

48. Overall, did the team appear to follow the SARA problem-solving model?

_____ Yes
_____ No

49. How would you rate the effectiveness of the problem-solving meeting?

_____ Very effective
_____ Somewhat effective
_____ Somewhat ineffective
_____ Very ineffective

50. What are your general observations of the problem-solving project meeting?

APPENDIX C

Comments from the Parties and Monitor on the Report

The following appendix contains comments from the parties and the monitor on this report. Per the provisions of the evaluation contract, the comments have been printed as received and were not edited; they were formatted only to make them readable in our publication. The order of the four responses was decided by random draw.

Response of Queen City Lodge No. 69, Fraternal Order of Police, to Final Draft Report of RAND Corporation Relating to Police-Community Relations in Cincinnati

Queen City Lodge No. 69, Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), was one of the three original parties that helped draft, and then signed, the 2002 Collaborative Agreement. It did so in an effort to afford all sworn members of the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD) the opportunity to be consulted about and participate in efforts to improve Community-Police Relations in Cincinnati.

One of the major sections of the Collaborative Agreement focused on the goal of Mutual Accountability. Not only were the members of the CPD to be held accountable for their actions through the creation of a civilian complaint review process and installation of an employee tracking system, but the community at large was to be held accountable for its actions in seeking to improve relationships with the CPD.

Unfortunately, accountability has been directed almost exclusively at the sworn members of the CPD, while the "community" remains virtually unaccountable. The final draft report does touch on the issue of accountability, but fails to measure the efforts of the community to improve relationships.

In addition to the above, the FOP desires to make the following comments relating to sections of the Final Draft Report of RAND Corporation relating to police-community relations in Cincinnati:

Summary:

The statement that use-of-force incidents "disproportionately" occurred in high crime areas seems to be at odds with the fact that the communities having the most calls for service, reported crimes, and arrests, are within those same high crime areas. The necessity for the police to use force to make arrests in high crime areas is not disproportionate.

Staffing and Personnel Actions in the Cincinnati Police

The two current existing consent decrees (one federal and one state) covering hiring, promotion, assignments and other employment policies of the CPD require that in determining whether the goals of the decrees have been met, the "appropriate standard of comparison is the proportion of qualified blacks and women in the labor force of the City of Cincinnati . . ." Since 1981, the U.S. Department of Justice has had the ability to receive and review all of the records of the City of Cincinnati relating to the race and sex of all persons applying for sworn positions in the CPD, passing and/or failing each step of the selection process, and receiving appointments to or promotions to all sworn positions in the CPD. The Justice Department also has access to complete information as to those members of the CPD leaving the CPD, the reason for their leaving, and a full accounting as to persons in each job classification.

RAND's report suggests that information is not available to determine the proportion of "qualified" blacks and women in the labor force of the City of Cincinnati, and have therefore instead chosen to use the latest U.S. Census figures as a baseline for reaching conclusions regarding staffing within the CPD. The FOP suggests that the U.S. Census cannot be used as a baseline, and that the information needed to determine the proportion of qualified blacks and females in Cincinnati's labor force is available through use of the reports submitted to the Justice Department, as well as documents from Cincinnati's Civil Service Commission and the Department of Personnel.

Satisfaction of Police Officers Working in Cincinnati

It is unfortunate that only 40 of the 143 members of the CPD receiving the survey forms responded to the survey. This should not be surprising since the FOP cautioned that mailings to the officers' home addresses would not be well received. The further use of the officers' telephone numbers in an attempt to increase the rate of response caused even more agitation with those who did not want their home telephone numbers released.

The survey document clearly stated "Your participation in the research study is completely voluntary. This means it is up to you to decide if you want [sic] take part in the study."

RAND suggests that in the future the CPD and the FOP should have communications with members of the CPD that "might increase the compliance rate. The survey was intended to be voluntary in nature, not mandated, as suggested by the words "compliance rate."

Citizen and Officer Satisfaction With the Complaint Process

Again, it is regrettable that only 34 citizens and 24 police officers responded to the 229 matched citizen/police survey forms. The low response of the police officers was again the use of their home addresses and home telephone numbers. In addition, those police officers receiving the survey forms were only informed that RAND had some questions relating to a complaint that had been filed on a particular date. The name of the complainant and the date of the actual incident were not disclosed. The failure to include that information caused unnecessary confusion and distrust of the process.

Analysis of Videotaped Police-Motorist Interactions

The FOP believes this effort was at best, experimental. The experiment should be eliminated and more of the remaining time and resources should be directed to more important segments of the existing contract.

CONCLUSION

It appears that a number of essential benchmarks were not established in this initial effort. The report clearly documents that Community-Police Relations need improvement and suggests some ways this may be done. The FOP remains firm in its position that racial profiling within the CPD is an undocumented perception – not a reality.

Independent Monitor's Comments on RAND's Year One Evaluation Report: Police Community Relations in Cincinnati

I. Importance and Role of Evaluation Protocol

The Collaborative Agreement is designed to build trust and create partnerships between the police and the community, and promote bias-free policing. One unique aspect of the Collaborative Agreement (CA) is that it includes as a requirement of the Agreement a broad review of whether the goals of the Collaborative are being achieved. The Evaluation Protocol calls for an extensive research effort, including four types of surveys, an analysis of traffic stops to determine whether there are any patterns of racial bias, reviews of a videotaped interactions between police and motorists during traffic stops, periodic observations of CPOP (community problem-oriented policing) meetings, and a review of police statistical data and staffing.

The Parties brought in the RAND Corporation as a national expert to conduct the Evaluation Protocol. As noted in the RAND Year One Report, the CA provisions call for a comprehensive approach to evaluation that is broader than efforts in most other cities.

- **The efforts undertaken in this first year of the Evaluation Protocol and the results of RAND's research has provided valuable information and lessons learned, that now need to be used to improve police-community relations and advance the goals of the Collaborative Agreement.**
- **The Monitor is convinced that the results of the Year One Evaluation Report reinforce and validate the CA's approach that problem solving must be the principal strategy for addressing crime and disorder in Cincinnati.**

We include in these comments our recommendations for actions to be taken by the City of Cincinnati and the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD), the Parties to the CA, and by the community at large.

At the same time, we note that the Evaluation Protocol is complicated and difficult, as evidenced by the fact that some of the research efforts conducted by RAND did not produce scientifically valid results. Both RAND and the Parties to the CA agree that the response rate in three of the surveys was insufficient, so that the results from those surveys cannot be used as a benchmark to measure progress in future years. The Monitor includes

recommendations for actions that the Parties and RAND can take to address these research issues going forward.

II. Results of RAND Research

The results of the *community police satisfaction survey* show that the general public has a favorable opinion of the quality of police service in Cincinnati. African American residents in Cincinnati, however, have a less favorable view; there is less satisfaction with the quality of police service, less trust in the police and blacks are more likely than whites to think that race played a factor in police decisions. RAND reports that these views appear to be driven at least in part by "differences in neighborhood quality conditions and the style of policing in specific regions of the city [p. 242]." Black residents are more likely than whites to live in neighborhoods characterized by crime and disorder, and residents in high-crime neighborhoods in Cincinnati are more likely to see "proactive policing" such as aggressive traffic enforcement, and stopping and patting down individuals on the street corner.

RAND's review of CPD's statistical data also supports this finding. Reported crime, calls for police service, and arrests are geographically clustered in the same Cincinnati neighborhoods, and these neighborhoods are predominantly black. Five neighborhoods comprise 31 percent of Cincinnati's reported crimes and 37 percent of the CPD's arrests. We do note, however, that the percent and distribution of reported crime is not always the same as the percent and distribution of arrests in a neighborhood; for example, Over-the-Rhine represented seven percent of Cincinnati's reported crime, but over twice that percentage (16%) of Cincinnati's arrests; conversely, Westwood also represented seven percent of Cincinnati's reported crime, but only three percent of Cincinnati's arrests.

One of the key findings in the RAND Year One Report is that the vehicle stop analysis showed no clear evidence of a pattern of racial bias on the part of CPD officers. Just as important, however, is that the RAND report did show that traffic stops in Cincinnati had an impact on the black community because of the different strategies and type of policing in high crime, black neighborhoods. RAND found that traffic stops for black motorists were more likely to be longer than for white motorists, and more likely to involve additional investigation.

RAND's review of in-car camera videotapes of traffic stops reinforces the results from the traffic stop and statistical analysis. In this analysis, stops that involved black drivers were more likely: to take longer, to involve more officers, to include inquiries about drugs or whether the car could be searched, to involve equipment violations or expired tags, to include a search for contraband, or to have the driver be asked to exit the vehicle. As RAND notes, proactive policing of this sort puts a high burden on law-abiding black drivers.

Another very important aspect of RAND's review of traffic stop videos is the correlation between the officer's communications and the driver's actions and the correlation of the driver's communications with the officer's actions. For example, the best predictor of the quality of a driver's communications was the length of the stop, and vice versa (more argumentative drivers correlated to longer stops; a less communicative officer and longer stops correlated with lower quality of the driver's response; driver's communications were most positive, e.g. respectful, pleasant, when the stops were shorter and the officer's communications were positive). RAND also found that the officer's communication tended to be more positive when the officer and the driver were of the same race; white officers listened more carefully, and were more accepting of what the driver was saying, when it was a

white driver; black officers' communications were more positive with black drivers. Because there are more white officers than black officers, white drivers get more positive communications, which for black drivers may reinforce negative racial expectations and make subsequent interactions less likely to be positive. In terms of the quality of the driver's communications, RAND found that white drivers were more positive than black drivers, in terms of being more apologetic, cooperative or courteous.

III. Monitor's Challenge to the Parties and the Community

The purpose of the Evaluation Protocol is to measure whether the goals of the CA are being achieved. Under the CA, the Parties are to meet with the Monitor to study the results of the evaluation instruments and determine what changes, if any, in the Agreement or in the Parties' actions should be pursued in light of the evaluation results. Therefore, we set out below recommendations for actions that the Parties and the Cincinnati community should take.

1. One area that has a significant prospect for improvement in police-citizen relations is communications in traffic stop encounters. As RAND states:

- **"Substantial improvements are possible if both police and community members make the effort [p. 108]."**

For CPD, training should incorporate additional opportunities for improving communications skills. Officers should be alerted to the fact that drivers' behavior is highly dependent on their own: when a driver is upset, disrespectful, unapologetic, this behavior could be a reaction to the officer's communications, and that the driver's behavior is most likely to improve if he or she is treated with respect and courtesy. Efforts to expedite the stop also may improve the driver's perception of the interaction. The Monitor also endorses RAND's suggestion that police training that improves officers' listening skills may reduce the negative interracial interactions that RAND observed. When the driver was not of the same race, the officer's communications reflected more indifference to the comments of the driver, and the officer appeared less approachable, more dismissive, and listening less.

As stated in the RAND Report, "community members, particularly black community members, also have a role to play in the improvement of police-community relations [p.109]." Cincinnati residents need to know that drivers who are argumentative do not get shorter stops or lighter sanctions, but can have the opposite reaction. More education is one action that needs to be taken, and the Monitor will work with the Parties to craft steps that should be done. As a first step, we believe the Sentinels could play a constructive role in outreach to the black community.

2. Cincinnati also needs a larger dialogue about how black neighborhoods are policed. Aggressive traffic enforcement may engender greater distrust, and may not be effective in reducing crime or improving traffic safety. The City leadership also needs to examine how and where arrests are being made and how they correlate to reported crime. Discussions regarding incorporating problem solving and CPOP into hot spot/crime sweep efforts need to take place.

The RAND citizen survey demonstrates the wide gap in perceptions between whites and blacks in Cincinnati that must be addressed. These gaps must be reduced in future years for the CA to be successful and its goals to be achieved. The RAND report, particularly the

traffic stop and video analysis, suggests that the principal problem is not officer-bias and the attitudes of individual police officers. It is instead the impact on the black community of decisions about police strategy. The right police strategy is one that effectively reduces crime, makes people feel safer, and reduces perceptions of police unfairness and bias. As noted by RAND, police research has shown that proactive policing can create frustration and distrust of the police, and its effectiveness is questionable.[1] This is why the CA emphasizes problem solving and problem-oriented policing. Research shows that CPOP is effective policing.

IV. Research Action Plan

The Parties and RAND must work together to develop a cost effective strategy to obtain all of the necessary information to determine whether the goals of the Collaborative Agreement are being achieved. Therefore, we set out below recommendations for actions the Parties and RAND should take.

1. For the Police Officer Survey: RAND should conduct a new survey in 2006 (year two of the RAND contract), using the FOP and the CPD to help distribute the surveys to officers, possibly as part of in-service training. This should improve the officers' response rate. When the data is collected, RAND will conduct the analysis.

2. For the Complaint Survey: In 2006 (year two), the Parties and RAND should work with the CCA and the City to distribute the complaint survey to complainants and involved officers at the same time that they send the complainants and officers the resolution letters, informing them of the results of the complaint investigation.

3. For the Police-Citizen Interaction Survey: The Parties should examine whether the larger public survey (community police satisfaction survey) already has sufficient information on the perceptions of those involved in traffic stops, so that a mail survey of those stopped for traffic violations may not be needed. If that is the case, funding could be available for other methods for surveying a sample of those arrested and those who are victims of crime. This could include face-to-face interviews or phone surveys.

4. The Monitor Team will continue to monitor and evaluate CPOP and problem solving efforts. Given this, RAND would not need to conduct the periodic observation of CPOP and Community Council meetings in year four of its contract, so that part of the Evaluation Protocol budget can be used for other parts of RAND research.

5. The Monitor will work with RAND and the Parties on research issues, data problems, and where the methodology could be adjusted to get better results within the current budget.

SAUL GREEN
MONITOR

RICHARD JEROME
DEPUTY MONITOR

Plaintiff's Comments to Rand Year One Report

Having reviewed the Year One Evaluation Report, Plaintiffs join the Monitor in its comments to this report. The evaluation component presents a tremendous opportunity for the Parties to the Collaborative Agreement and the members of our community generally, to

[1] See *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence*, National Research Council of the National Academies, Wesley Skogan and Kathleen Frydl, eds., (National Academy Press, Washington, DC, 2004) at 228-230;

assess the impact of this agreement over the past several years. Plaintiffs agree with the Monitor with respect to improvements we hope to see in the evaluation effort as it proceeds over the next several years. On balance, however, we find this report useful in that it challenges the Parties and their various constituencies to work more diligently to realize the goal of substantially improving police/community relations in Cincinnati. Moreover, Plaintiffs to the Collaborative Agreement will make every effort to cooperate with the Parties to implement those recommendations of the Rand Report noted by the Monitor as Challenges to the Parties and the Community.

Cincinnati Police Department's Response to RAND

The City of Cincinnati is encouraged by Rand's assessment of our progress toward achievement of the goals set forth in the Collaborative Agreement as presented in the year one evaluation report.

We are pleased that this intensive evaluation has determined that the Police Department has implemented Community Problem Oriented Policing (CPOP) to a considerable degree and that the participants in the process find they are treated with dignity and respect and feel their opinions are valued. In addition, we are encouraged that those participating in the process express a high degree of satisfaction with the police and the community-policing meetings. It is the Department's intention to grow this success in the continued expansion of CPOP.

The Police Department is also pleased by the amount of community support as recorded in the responses to the community satisfaction surveys. We recognize the challenges that lie ahead in broadening this perspective to all segments of the community, particularly the African-American community. We hope that through effectively communicating Rand's findings in this report; we can dispel misperceptions and achieve greater cooperation from all segments of our community.

As indicated in the report, the Cincinnati Police Department has taken steps to improve the quality of data and will continue to review our processes and procedures to provide the most accurate information possible for all future years of evaluation. As this is a continuous improvement effort, we expect there will be improvements in data quality with each reporting period.

We do however share concerns with the other parties to the agreement; that portions of the evaluation will not serve their intended purpose in that several of the components are not of the quality contracted to be produced. In particular, several of the surveys were designed to serve as benchmarks, only to be repeated one additional time, at the end of the agreement. Response rates to these surveys were not sufficient for appropriate analysis. Rand has expressed, in their report, some willingness to rectify these issues however, we want to insure there is no additional financial burden placed on the citizens of Cincinnati to achieve the product expected under the contract. To that end, we will work with Rand and the parties to address these concerns over the coming months.

We look forward to discussion of the issues and suggestions covered in the report and are hopeful future reports will be even more positive.

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