

# DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY (FY 2018)

Findings and Statistics – Final Report

## Criminal Justice Coordinating Council

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**March 29, 2019**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<b>Executive Summary .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Chapter I: Introduction and Background .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background.....	1
1.2.1 Contextual Framework.....	1
1.2.2 Survey Goal and Objectives.....	5
<b>Chapter II: Methodology .....</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1 Instrument Design and Development.....	6
2.2 Sampling Design and Strategy.....	7
2.3 Survey Administration.....	7
2.4 Description of Survey Sample .....	9
2.5 Statistical Analysis Procedures.....	11
2.6 Notes Regarding the Methodology .....	12
<b>Chapter III: Findings .....</b>	<b>13</b>
3.1 Overview of Research Objectives and Findings.....	13
3.2 Impressions of the Police and How They Are Formed.....	14
3.3 Construct One: Community Policing.....	17
3.4 Construct Two: Procedural Justice .....	28
3.5 Construct Three: Police Legitimacy .....	42
3.6 Understanding Relationships between the Constructs and Outcomes.....	49
<b>Chapter IV: Conclusions and Recommendations.....</b>	<b>53</b>
4.1 Overall Conclusions.....	53
4.2 Opportunities for Addressing Issues Identified in the Survey, Best Practices, and Associated Recommendations.....	64
4.2.1 Research and Data Collection.....	64
4.2.2 Training and Policy.....	67
<b>References.....</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Technical Appendices .....</b>	<b>78</b>
A: Survey/Construct Matrix.....	79
B: Survey Instruments.....	82
B1 – IVR Survey Questionnaire .....	83
B2 – SMS Survey Questionnaire .....	91
B3 – Live Operator (Cell Phone) Survey Questionnaire .....	99
C: Methodology-Related Details .....	107
D: Statistical Tables .....	113

## Executive Summary

### Introduction

A growing body of research demonstrates the importance of the relationship between law enforcement and the communities they serve in co-production of community safety and quality of life.<sup>1</sup> Research has stressed the importance of strong police-community relationships in controlling crime, engendering support for and cooperation with the police, especially when considering marginalized groups.<sup>2</sup> Many scholars and public administrators have recommended that cities routinely gauge community sentiment toward the police.<sup>3</sup> In the District of Columbia, the Neighborhood Engagement Achieves Results Amendment Act of 2016 (NEAR) required the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC) to conduct a survey of District of Columbia (D.C.) residents to obtain their perspectives on police-community relations.

In June 2018, CRP, Incorporated (CRP) was awarded the contract with CJCC to plan and implement all aspects of the survey, including the design and development of the survey instrument, as well as the survey administration among a representative sample of D.C. residents, and to develop a comprehensive report and summary document available to the D.C. Council and the Mayor. CRP's study team included Karen L. Amendola, PhD - a nationally-recognized expert in policing research and practice, and Chism Strategies. In order to effectively carry out its mission, CRP conducted a comprehensive literature review, worked with experts to design a scientifically valid survey tapping the most important aspects of police-community relations, administered the survey, analyzed the results, and is making recommendations related to the key findings.

There is a large body of scientific literature outlining what matters in policing. Traditional measures such as crime and disorder remain as critical aspects of policing success, however, today most policing leaders and scholars recognize the importance of community dimensions of police effectiveness. Specifically, community policing, procedural justice, and police legitimacy have dominated the scientific literature as they are all key factors in shaping residents' perceptions of the police. Related areas including accountability, oversight, and police management strategies, while also important, are not the subject of this report.

Reliable and valid scientific methods served as the basis for implementing this survey. A sampling strategy was used to achieve a representative sample of D.C. residents. Survey responses were then

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Gau, 2010; Percy, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Fontaine, Leitson, Jannetta, & Paddock, 2017; Jetelina, Jennings, Bishopp, Piquero, & Reingle Gonzalez, 2017; Kruger et al., 2016; Nadal and Davidoff, 2015; Nalla, Meško, & Modic, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> The U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs' National Institute of Justice and Office of Community Oriented Policing Services; the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; and Lum & Nagin, 2017.

weighted to best reflect the population demographics of D.C., consistent with 2014<sup>4</sup> population estimates by the D.C. Office of Planning that provided ward-level data. In total, 2,103 surveys were completed using three survey methods: 1) 1,010 live interviews by cell phone, 2) 690 short message service (SMS) text messages linking to an online survey, and 3) 403 interactive voice response (IVR) phone interviews using landline phones.

While residents were asked about exposure and experiences with various law enforcement agencies having jurisdiction in D.C., approximately three fourths of respondents reported having the most contact with officers from the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD).

## **Survey Content**

The survey instrument comprised 25 questions, including screen questions to ensure the respondent was a resident of D.C., at least 18 years of age. Additional questions in the instrument captured the respondent's demographic characteristics: residence (ward), race/ethnicity, age, gender, and household income. The remaining content consisted of questions related to the agencies with whom the residents had the most contact, perceptions of overall fairness, the factors that most shape their opinions of the police (emergency and non-emergency interactions with police, stops by police, and/or the media), as well as questions related to community policing, procedural justice, and police legitimacy.

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office), community policing emphasizes proactive problem solving.<sup>5</sup> “Community policing is, in essence, a collaboration between the police and the community that identifies and solves community problems, the Community Policing Consortium wrote.”<sup>6</sup> In a recent systematic review of community policing, researchers found that community policing strategies have positive effects on citizen satisfaction, perceptions of disorder, and police legitimacy, but limited effects on crime and fear of crime, despite earlier modest findings related to fear reduction.<sup>7</sup>

Procedural justice “describes the idea that how individuals regard the justice system is tied more to the perceived fairness of the process and how they were treated rather than the perceived fairness of the outcome,” according to the COPS Office.<sup>8</sup> An extensive body of research provides compelling evidence regarding the importance of procedural justice in understanding police-community interactions, public perceptions of the police, and perceptions about police legitimacy.<sup>9</sup> Experimental research has demonstrated that when individuals experience procedurally just

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<sup>4</sup> The most recent year for which detailed ward-specific data were available.

<sup>5</sup> COPS Office, 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Community Policing Consortium, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994.

<sup>7</sup> Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, & Bennett, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> COPS Office, 2013.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Gold, 2013; La Vigne et al., 2017; Nadal, Davidoff, Allicock, Serpe, & Erazo, 2017; Nix, Pickett, Wolfe, & Campbell, 2017; Owens, Weisburd, Amendola, & Alpert, 2018; Peterson, Reichert, & Konefal, 2017; Wolfe, Nix, Kaminski, & Rojek, 2016.

behavior by the police, they are more likely to view the police as legitimate.<sup>10</sup> One unique summary of procedural justice was presented as a training program in the Seattle Police Department using the tag line—LEED or “Listen and Explain with Equity and Dignity.”<sup>11</sup>

Police legitimacy is shaped by public opinions and beliefs generated from public trust and confidence in the police, a sense of obligation and responsibility to accept police authority, and a belief that police actions are morally justified and appropriate to the circumstances.<sup>12</sup> Notably, the National Research Council of the National Academies of Science has described legitimacy as one of the most socially and politically important outcomes of policing.<sup>13</sup> Police depend heavily upon legitimacy as a means of securing the public’s cooperation, compliance, and support, and evidence has demonstrated that people who think highly of the police are more likely to report that they would cooperate with officers, offer information that they had about crimes or suspected offenders, participate in community-policing efforts, accept officers’ decisions, comply with officers’ commands, and obey the law.<sup>14</sup>

## Results

**Generally Positive Findings.** Several key findings demonstrate that the public has a positive perception of the police in DC with respect to Community Policing, Procedural Justice, and Police Legitimacy. Almost three-fourths of respondents rated their interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations as positive. In addition, 83% of respondents also reported that they would be likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood with the police, suggesting a sense of trust in the police. Furthermore, among the 55% of respondents who reported requesting assistance from the police, 83% felt the officers adequately addressed their concerns. Finally, just over half (51.3%) of respondents felt that the police share necessary and relevant information with residents. These findings are consistent with existing literature; since the late 1960s research has generally found that about 80% of the public express favorable impressions of the police (see e.g., Huebner, Schafer, & Bynum, 2004). Although still favorable, perceptions by African Americans have been shown to be as much as 20-25% lower than those of Whites (Huang & Vaughn, 1996; Reisig & Parks, 2000).

Overall, over two-thirds of survey respondents (67.9%) found the police with whom they had the most contact to be fair and unbiased. Among those who reported being stopped by the police in the past year (n = 325), almost two-thirds (64.9%) agreed that officers who stopped them clearly explained the reason for the stop and 68.7% believed the outcome of the stop was fair. Furthermore, six of every 10 D.C. respondents (59.9%) stopped by an officer felt that the officer listened somewhat or very carefully to their concerns, explanation, or version of events. Finally,

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<sup>10</sup> Murphy, Mazerolle, and Bennett, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Rahr, Diaz, & Hawe, 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Tyler & Fischer, 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Skogan & Frydl, 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Gau, 2013.

slightly *over half* of D.C. respondents (53.6%) who reported being stopped by the police in the past 12 months, felt that the officer's actions were fair and justified.

Moreover, the majority of respondents in found the police to be legitimate sources of authority and were willing to comply with lawful requests by police. More than 85% of respondents agreed they have an obligation to obey the police and they should comply with lawful police requests, although the latter is lower among younger respondents (18–34 years old).

**Racial Differences.** While there are many positive findings with regard to community members' views about and experiences with police in D.C., there were significant differences in perspectives based on race, consistent with scientific findings to this effect across the U.S. In this survey, African Americans were significantly less likely than Whites or Asians to believe that the police do a good job of working with the community to solve problems, an important aspect of community policing. They were also somewhat less likely than White residents to believe that police share relevant information with them. Furthermore, while just over 15% of all respondents reported being stopped by the police in the past year, African American respondents were overwhelmingly more likely to have reported being stopped by police as compared to Whites (22% vs. 7%), a difference that is substantially greater than that reported in a recent national report issued by the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (9.8% for Blacks vs. 8.6% for Whites).<sup>15</sup> Moreover, African-American residents who responded to this survey were statistically less likely to find the police to be fair and unbiased than White or Asian residents, and residents from two predominantly African-American wards (Ward 4 and Ward 7) were also less likely than those in wards that have fewer African-American residents to find the police fair and unbiased. Further, African Americans from the youngest age group (18–34) felt considerably more strongly that they should comply with lawful requests by police, compared to White residents of the same age group. While African American young adults did not significantly differ from White young adults in terms of their belief that they have an obligation to obey the police, the fact that African American young adults are much more likely to comply with lawful police requests than their White counterparts suggests that they may be more concerned about the consequences of failing to comply with police.

African Americans were also considerably less likely than Whites and Asians to agree that officers' actions in stops were fair and justified and were also significantly less likely than Whites to believe that the police clearly explained the reasons for the stop. However, African Americans were equally likely as other groups to find the outcomes of stops to be unfair. Among the 15.4% (n=324) respondents who reported being stopped by police, 47.5% (n=150) reported they were profiled for at least one reason. Of those 150 residents who felt profiled, 56 felt they were profiled based on race alone and 78 felt they were profiled for more than one reason.

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<sup>15</sup> Davis, Whyde, & Langton, 2018.

These findings are generally consistent with existing research on racial differences in perceptions of the police. Research suggests that residents of color are less likely to report positive relationships with the police<sup>16</sup> and African Americans have, across studies, generally reported lower levels of satisfaction, trust, and confidence in police than Whites, Hispanics, and Asians.<sup>17</sup>

**Relationships Among Our Key Constructs.** The results from our statistical analyses revealed that when residents believe that the police are generally fair and unbiased, the more likely they are to feel that officers act fairly if they are stopped by police and that the outcomes of those stops are fair. Furthermore, perceptions of community policing seem to matter as well; when residents feel the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems, they are also more likely to find that officers act fairly when they are stopped by the police and that the outcomes of those stops are fair. This indicates that there is a benefit to officers who do a good job engaging the community to solve problems in that residents who are subsequently stopped by police are more likely to find the officer behaved in a fair and unbiased manner and more fairly resolved the stop.

One of the significant findings of this report is that when officers are perceived as providing clear explanations for stops, residents are also very likely to believe that officers' actions in these stops are fair, and their general perceptions that police are generally fair and unbiased will also be enhanced. These findings demonstrate the importance of procedural justice in police stops, especially as it relates to officers providing clear explanations to residents. It was clear that African Americans were less likely to feel that officers clearly explained the reasons for the stop.

**Opportunities for Addressing Issues Identified in the Survey, Best Practices, and Associated Recommendations.** In the final section of this report, we present a number of steps that could be taken (or may already be underway) to address issues raised in the survey, as well as best practices and associated recommendations for additional research, including undertaking further analysis of these data and conducting additional data collection efforts. Specifically, we recommend more routine community surveys capturing the same variables over time.

We have also offered policy and training opportunities or best practices, including but not limited to, a short listening skills training program for officers and training and/or modeling of procedural justice similar to that recently employed in Seattle, Washington.<sup>18</sup> We also recommend that the results of this study be shared with relevant stakeholders, and especially MPD police commanders and Police Service Area (PSA) personnel. Importantly, the recommendations are made with the understanding that some related activities or initiatives may currently be underway in the MPD or other agencies, since this study did not include an operational review of existing or planned activities in the agencies.

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<sup>16</sup> Berthelot, McNeal, & Baldwin, 2018; Cera & Coleman, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Berthelot, et al., 2018; Huggins, 2012; Nadal & Davidoff, 2015.

<sup>18</sup> See Owens, Weisburd, Amendola, & Alpert, 2018.

# Chapter I: Introduction and Background

## 1.1 Introduction

The Neighborhood Engagement Achieves Results Amendment Act of 2016 (NEAR) requires the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC), an independent agency within the District of Columbia government, to conduct a survey of District of Columbia residents to obtain their perspectives on police-community relations. In June 2018, CRP, Incorporated (CRP) was awarded the contract with CJCC to plan and implement all aspects of the survey, including the design and development of the survey instrument, as well as the survey administration among a representative sample of D.C. residents, and to develop a comprehensive report and summary document available to the D.C. Council and the Mayor. CRP's study team included Karen L. Amendola, PhD - a nationally-recognized expert in policing research and practice, and Chism Strategies

This report, which presents the results of the *District of Columbia Police-Community Relations Survey (FY 2018)*, consists of an Executive Summary and four chapters. Chapter 1 presents the study background, including highlights from a literature review of relevant research and the study purpose and objectives. Chapter 2 provides a description of the study design, including the methods used for sampling as well as for collecting and analyzing the data. Descriptive findings and other analyses are examined in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 offers conclusions derived from the research effort, with recommendations for policy, practice, training, and future research. However, a review of the policies, practices, or initiatives of any of the police agencies in the District was not conducted and was beyond the scope of this study. Supporting technical appendices to the report include detailed tables for all questions, survey instruments, and other supplemental materials.

## 1.2 Background

**1.2.1 Contextual Framework.** As part of its continuing efforts to promote positive police-community relationships, the District of Columbia passed legislation in 2016 to conduct a city-wide opinion survey exploring the community's perceptions of D.C. law enforcement agencies to assess the current state of affairs. The goal of the survey and the corresponding methodology are to produce actionable information that can not only inform current policy and practice, but also serve as benchmark information as the city works toward continuous improvement in its justice system. Accordingly, the District of Columbia is interested in better understanding the relationship between residents and the police, and where necessary, improving it. The *District of Columbia Police-Community Relations Survey (FY 2018)* will thereby inform the District of Columbia's understanding of the relationship between police and District of Columbia residents, and identify policing strengths, examine differences between various population subgroups such as place of

residence (at the Ward level), race, age, sex, and household income categories, as well as identify opportunities for improvement.

***The Survey in Brief.*** An important point of reference for the survey was the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (May 2015), which provided a roadmap for the future of policing and police-community relations. The report noted that a positive relationship between the law enforcement and civilians is the “key to the stability of our communities, the integrity of our criminal justice system, and the safe and effective delivery of policing services.” The survey’s research design was guided by a quantitative descriptive research approach, aimed at developing solutions for improving police-community relations in the District of Columbia spanning three dimensions: policy, practice, and research.

The survey, conducted over a six-month period, deployed a multi-phased rigorous, methodologically sound, and well-designed quantitative process encompassing all aspects of the survey lifecycle. Initially, an in-depth review of the literature and research identified and elucidated three constructs critical to an examination of police-community relations: (1) community policing, (2) procedural justice, and (3) police legitimacy. Conceptualization of these constructs informed the development of a 25-item survey instrument, which was administered using a mixed-mode methodology that featured data collection techniques incorporating the latest innovations and trends in telephone survey research: interactive voice response (IVR), short message service (SMS) linked to an online survey, and cell phones. The survey sample consisted of 2,103 adult D.C. residents; weighted survey results were representative of and generalizable to the District’s population.

Descriptive analyses were framed around two tiers of inquiry: (1) exploring the intersection of ward, age, gender, race/ethnicity, and household income across the constructs; and (2) measuring the differences across the demographic groups. The dataset from which descriptive analyses were generated consisted of more than 140 tables (see **Appendix D** for a compendium of the tables). Descriptive statistics and investigative methods were applied to uncover observable patterns in the data that conveyed the most meaningful and important information. For the purposes of this survey, such results were defined as “statistically significant” relationships. Any group comparisons that did not produce statistically significant differences were not included in this report. For the purposes of reporting results, the findings section contains each of the identified constructs: community policing, procedural justice and legitimacy, with the same format throughout. Specifically, when examining differences across groups of respondents on key demographic variables (ward, race, gender, age, and income level), each variable is discussed, even when no statistically significant group differences were found. While no claims of causation were made, results may serve as a basis for generating hypotheses. Statistical adjustments, notably regression modeling, further clarified relationships among the multiple variables.

Intended audiences that will find this report useful include policymakers, law enforcement professionals, other criminal justice practitioners and administrators, community leaders,

researchers and community members. A key take-away from the report is that findings and conclusions demonstrated a solid foundation of support on which to build public trust. As noted, the results of this first *District of Columbia Police-Community Relations Survey (FY 2018)* may serve as a benchmark on which strengths, opportunities, and challenges may be measured for improving the police-community relationship in the District.

***The Survey's Theoretical and Research Underpinning.*** A comprehensive review of the research literature was conducted to (a) identify important dimensions of police-community relationships, and (b) determine which constructs and variables should be measured to best address those dimensions. In outlining the scientific evidence on the most important dimensions of public perceptions of police, the literature review informed the development of the survey questionnaire and its substantive content to ensure that it was evidence-based. In addition, the literature review allowed for the identification of existing community surveys and associated items or scales on police-community relations that tap the primary dimensions of satisfaction with the police and other important aspects of their performance, especially those with sufficient reliability and/or validity evidence, and that have been commonly used in valid studies in other jurisdictions.

The review of the research literature shed light on the relationship between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve and protect, which is the focus of a growing body of discourse, research, and policy review. Many scholars and practitioners have called upon the research community to “measure what matters,” instead of focusing on traditional measures such as crime rates, arrests, and clearances, which according to Dennis P. Rosenbaum and colleagues (2015) have frustrated many who are much more interested in improved police-community relations and the processes of policing (see, e.g., Maguire, 2018; Tyler, Goff, & MacCoun, 2015). In examining the relationship between police and the community, the contemporary research and scientific literature highlighted key constructs and factors that influence perceptions of police performance, which is clearly multi-dimensional.

These key constructs (dimensions) of police-community relations are rooted in Sir Robert Peel's<sup>19</sup> nine policing principles. Specifically, Peel (1829) argued that in order for the police to do their jobs, they must: a) have public approval, b) secure the willing cooperation and respect of the public, c) demonstrate impartial service to the law, and d) maintain a relationship with the public that recognizes that the police are the public and the public are the police, among others. As such, these important, interrelated constructs include community policing, procedural justice, and police legitimacy. In reviewing the definitions of each construct, it is important to understand that the research in these three areas is to a great extent in its infancy,<sup>20</sup> though considerable data have demonstrated their interrelationships with each other and to other important outcomes such as compliance and cooperation with the police, satisfaction with the police, beliefs about whether the police are fair and trustworthy, and to a lesser extent, crime and violence. It is also important to

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<sup>19</sup> Sir Robert Peel is considered the father of modern, democratic policing.

<sup>20</sup> Most of these constructs have only begun to be empirically tested in the past two decades.

consider the relative influence of these constructs after accounting for demographic variables that have been associated with perceptions of the police. In order to examine the role of some of these factors, the collection of demographic variables enabled analytical comparisons of various subgroups of the population, by considering their race/ethnicity, age, gender, and neighborhood of residence (Ward).

The important constructs of community policing, procedural justice, and police legitimacy were defined as follows. Community policing involves police outreach to, and engagement of the community and joint problem solving. Procedural justice is a construct that emphasizes that the processes, rather than outcomes, of encounters between police and members of the public shape public perceptions, and in the policing context, is often characterized by listening to residents, explaining actions to them, and treating them fairly, as well as with dignity and respect. Legitimacy is a term that refers to the right of the police to exercise authority (Tankebe, 2013), yet extends beyond a legal right, but rather a right afforded by the will of the people.

Whereas, community policing focuses on the ways in which police engage the community in its efforts to solve community problems and engage in quality of life efforts such as crime prevention, much of what is known about procedural justice and legitimacy comes from data regarding specific encounters with the police (where residents are stopped by police or call the police for service). Nevertheless, those who have not had recent encounters with the police are likely to also have more generalized views about the police that may be shaped from their impressions formed when relying on community policing efforts, media sources, vicarious experiences (those shared by relatives, friends, and/or neighbors), or experience with the police.

This review of the scientific literature demonstrated that community surveys have included information related to general perceptions about the police and their performance (e.g., crime prevention, order maintenance, visibility), and the extent to which these factors may impact citizens' overall feelings of safety, as well as details about aspects of actual encounters with police that may influence citizens' sense of procedural justice and contribute to their perceptions of police legitimacy. In many cases, these perceptions are a function of individual officer behavior and performance and may also reflect leadership and organizational performance overall (e.g., how much and what type of information the police share with the public).

Given Peel's principles of policing, much of the scientific literature is focused on community policing, procedural justice, and legitimacy because components of these have all been demonstrated to be linked to positive perceptions of the police and their behavior/performance, greater compliance with police requests, and higher levels of trust (Mazerolle, Bennett, Antrobus, & Eggins, E., 2012; Mazerolle, Bennett, Manning, Ferguson, & Sargeant, 2012; Mazerolle, Bennett, Davis, Sargeant, & Manning, 2013; Walters & Bolger, 2018). Furthermore, it is important to know how these perceptions are formed, because most people are not stopped by police in any given year according to researchers (Durose & Langton, 2013), but rather may form

their perceptions in any number of ways. For example, people have contact with the police via 911 calls or emergency responses by police (e.g., in traffic collisions), as well as in routine encounters in daily life (e.g., at a shop or park). Many have also argued that the media influences the public's perception of the police although it can be unreliable or misleading (Rosenbaum, Lawrence, Hartnett, McDevitt, & Posick, 2015), and even negatively impact officers' exercise of duty (Nix & Wolfe, 2017). Furthermore, stops by police tend to generate the most controversy nationwide, with concerns of racial profiling, pretext stops, and use of force prevailing in the media coverage of police. Stops by police are often scrutinized as they generate warnings, citations, tickets, and/or summonses, searches (of persons and vehicles), and arrests, not to mention physical clashes (like assaults on police) and/or use of force by police.

It is also quite clear from existing scientific evidence in the U.S., that various factors such as race, ethnicity, age, educational level, and socio-economic status are predictors of important policing outcomes such as perceived fairness, effectiveness, and legitimacy, and as such are typically included in surveys to examine the role that these demographic groupings play in responses across groups. Accordingly, this survey includes some of those variables so that general and specific impressions associated with police-community relationships, interactions with the police, and perceived legitimacy of the police can be examined broadly, as well as across sub-groups.

**1.2.2 Survey Goal and Objectives.** Against this contextual backdrop, the goal of the survey was to explore and document opinions and perceptions of D.C. residents on police-community relations. The two objectives associated with the goal were to measure:

- (1) on a city-wide scale, residents' perceptions of trust and procedural fairness about the police agencies with jurisdiction in the city; and
- (2) the opinions of residents who have or have not had recent contact with MPD and other police agencies with jurisdiction in the District.

The CRP research team suggested that the issues of trust and procedural fairness and more broadly "opinions and perceptions" from the project goal would best be operationalized (or measured) over three predominant scientific constructs associated with police-community relations: community policing, procedural justice, and perceived legitimacy of the police, because much of the existing scientific literature on police-community relations covers these broader areas.

## Chapter II: Methodology

### 2.1 Instrument Design and Development

While numerous instruments have been developed at both the national and local levels to address perceptions of the police, many have specific areas of focus or reflect events germane to the communities being served. The construction of the 25-question police-community relations survey instrument was guided by the survey goal and objectives and the associated research literature. The survey was designed to more broadly measure residents' perceptions of police agencies in D.C. including community policing performance (transparency, outreach and communications, quality of interactions, and trust), procedural justice (fairness, equity, and experiences in interactions), and police legitimacy (trust, confidence, willingness to comply, acceptance of police authority, and a belief that police actions are morally justified and appropriate to the circumstances).

There is substantial scientific evidence as to the influence of these dimensions in predicting positive community perceptions of the police. A list of constructs used to delineate the rationale for question item selection and ensure alignment of the survey questions with scientific evidence on these important constructs is provided in **Appendix A (Survey Measurement Matrix)**. Design of the instrument emphasized closed-ended questions that offered respondents an explicit set of mutually exclusive responses from which to choose.

More specifically, the survey contained questions about residents' interactions with police (whether initiated by police or residents), generalized perceptions about police effectiveness via community policing and procedural justice (both of which involve engendering trust and fairness), public confidence in the police, and beliefs about the legitimacy of the police (see **Appendix B: Survey Instruments**) during the past 12 months. The instrument consisted of several questions related to procedural justice and legitimacy (including fairness, willingness to cooperate, listening to residents, and explaining actions), both more broadly as well as in encounters with the police.

The instrument also sought more general impressions from those who have had recent involvement with the police (either through police stops, emergency responses, routine non-emergency interactions, requests for information, or stops by residents), as indicators of police effectiveness in preventing crime, feelings of safety, and trust in the police agencies overall. Most successful policing occurs not by action of the police department in isolation, but through mutual trust, cooperation, and collaboration with various groups, subgroups, neighborhoods, business, and organizations, which are central to addressing crime, crime prevention, and building quality of life. As such, the survey instrument featured a specific number of questions related to community policing, procedural justice, and police legitimacy (e.g., transparency, outreach and

communications, quality of interactions, and trust, among others). **Appendix B** contains the three survey instruments customized to the multiple survey modes the study employed.

## 2.2 Sampling Design and Strategy

The sampling plan for the survey was based on population estimates of the District’s 2014 adult population, the most recent year for which detailed ward-specific data were available. The sample size for the survey was 2,103 adult residents, 18 years of age and older. The margin of error for the unweighted sample was +/- 2.13%, with a 95% confidence level. A proportionate stratified probability sampling design was used to maximize both the representativeness of the survey results and the ability to assess the accuracy of estimates obtained from the survey.

The sampling frame for the survey was a national database, which included a total of 119,922 landline and cell phone numbers for District of Columbia households. Random samples of telephone numbers were generated from the database, which is described in **Appendix C**. Through a process of verification, telephone records were matched with physical addresses. All nonworking telephone records and those that were not registered to a physical address in D.C. were discarded. Demographic quotas were subsequently developed for the landline subsample, followed by the SMS and cell phone sample components, respectively. During survey administration, daily monitoring around meeting demographic goals for each Ward ultimately resulted in the 2,103 completed questionnaires that constituted the survey sample. Additional information on the sampling strategy can be found in **Appendix C**.

Research on various survey methods reveals unique advantages and disadvantages of a variety of methods, including in-person surveys, mail surveys, web-based/internet surveys, interactive phone surveys, and text surveys using SMS or “short messaging service” (see, e.g., Ansolabehere & Schaffner, 2014; Couper & Miller, 2008; Gallup, 2014; Yeager et al., 2011). As a result of these various advantages and disadvantages, to include tapping different subgroups of the population (e.g., age groups), and with input from our national polling expert, we determined that we would rely on several of these methods for this citywide survey process.

## 2.3 Survey Administration

The survey was administered September 19 to October 12, 2018, using a mixed-mode survey methodology or typology of three survey approaches:

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| • Interactive voice response (IVR) – landline phones     | Subsample size: 403   |
| • Short message service (SMS) linked to an online survey | Subsample size: 690   |
| • Cell phones  | Subsample size: 1,010 |

The multi-modal approach aimed to ensure that all segments of the target population were included in the sample. Mixed survey modes recognize that fewer people are using landline telephones and that increasing numbers of adults in D.C. and nationally are using cell phones exclusively.

**IVR Survey Mode (Subsample Size: 403).** The IVR subsample consisted of 403 completed survey questionnaires. IVR surveys are quick, accurate, and cost-effective alternatives to live polling. IVR surveys use recorded voices to obtain responses to survey questions. IVRs use random sample dialing from a pool of landline telephone numbers. Participants use their telephone keypad to respond to questions. IVR surveys eliminate interviewer bias as every respondent hears the same questions read the same way. IVR surveys have been used in American survey research for more than 15 years.

**SMS Survey Mode (Subsample Size: 690).** A text message was created with the appropriate character lengths and inclusive of the necessary opt out language that also provided a link to an online survey form. The survey included the same logic as the IVR survey. Respondents who clicked on the link received the same series of questions that required responses before continuing to the next question in the survey. Respondents were asked age, ethnicity, gender, and ward information in the survey instrument to determine the appropriate sample for the final wave in the live cell phone interviews.

**Cell Phone Survey Mode (Subsample Size: 1,010).** The list of records in the sample was dialed by human interviewers taking care to note the number of completed responses by demographic targets each day. After reaching targeted quotas for each demographic target, dialing that subgroup was ceased and efforts concentrated on other target quotas not yet filled. Progress toward those goals was reviewed daily and, if necessary, remaining data by target were utilized to replenish the number of targets for the survey. The script for the cell phone instrument included appropriate introductory language describing the goal of the project and the safeguards associated with dialing mobile phones (e.g., confirmation that the respondent was not driving, was able to answer a survey of this length, etc.)

**Response Rates.** The overall response rate for the survey was 1.6%. The response rate, however, varied by mode: 2.3% for the cell phone subsample, 1.3% for the landline sample component and 1.3% for the SMS subsample. The response rates are typical of declining response rates for telephone surveys, which have been reported for decades. The Pew Research Center, however, has reported that response rates have stabilized to around nine percent in recent years (Keeter, Hatley, Kennedy, & Lau, 2017). The Gallup Organization recently reported an average response rate of seven percent for its surveys in 2017, compared to 28 percent in 1997 (Marken, 2018). Details on how the response rates were calculated can be found in **Appendix C**.

**Hard-to-Reach Populations.** Special procedures were implemented to maximize response rates and ensure that “hard-to-reach” populations were included in the survey. For the landline or IVR subsample component, hard-to-reach respondents were defined as D.C. residents who were moderate to lower-income people of color. For the SMS and cell phone samples, hard-to-reach populations were millennials and D.C. residents of color of lower socio-economic status. Low-income residents of color and millennials (ages 18–34) were identified as hard-to-reach because of the methodological challenges associated with obtaining their participation in population

surveys. Millennials, today’s most digitally-connected generation, along with minority low-income residents, also have lower response rates than other groups (see, e.g., Bosch, Revilla, & Paura, 2018; Haan, Ongena & Aarts, 2014; Miller, 2018). A detailed description of efforts CRP performed to ensure coverage of hard-to-reach populations is provided in **Appendix C**.

## 2.4 Description of Survey Sample

The *District of Columbia Police-Community-Relations Survey (FY2018)* was conducted using a mixed-mode survey approach among a random sample of 2,103 adults, 18 years or older residing in D.C. As described in this section, the sample was weighted to be comparable to D.C. population estimates by ward, race, age, and gender. The weighted responses enabled descriptive statistics to be reported throughout the analyses that follow. In this first section, characteristics of the survey sample are provided by ward, race/ethnicity, age group, gender, and total household income level.

Weighted topline results can be found in **Appendix D (Statistical Tables)**.

**Ward-Level Representation.** While weighting will never be perfect, as **Table A** shows, the weighted survey population was comparable to actual population estimates across all wards.

**Table A. Survey Respondents by Ward**

Area	2014 Pop. Est.	Weighted Proportion
Ward 1	13.08%	13.10%
Ward 2	12.64%	12.00%
Ward 3	12.96%	13.60%
Ward 4	13.98%	14.00%
Ward 5	13.93%	13.90%
Ward 6	13.19%	13.70%
Ward 7	10.04%	9.70%
Ward 8	10.17%	10.00%
Total	100.00%	100.00%

**Race and Ethnicity.** As in the ward results, the weighted distributions for race and ethnicity were comparable to population estimates. African American residents made up almost half (48.7%) of the residents in the 2014 population estimates and the same proportion of the weighted sample, followed by similar matched proportions for Whites (35.4%) and Hispanics (9.9%). See **Table B**.

**Table B. Survey Respondents by Race and Ethnicity**

Ethnicity	2014 Pop. Est.	Weighted Proportion
African American	48.70%	48.70%
White, Non- Hispanic	35.40%	35.40%
Hispanic	9.90%	9.90%
Asian	3.60%	3.60%
Other	2.40%	2.40%

**Age.** **Table C** shows that weighted distributions and population estimates were comparable for this demographic indicator. While the largest pool of residents in the 2014 population estimate was from the 18 to 34 years of age category, it is important to note that this group covers a wider age span (n=17 unique ages) than all other groups (10 separate ages in each). The 18 to 34 age cohort was also particularly noteworthy as an analytical focus of interest for the purposes of this survey because previous surveys have found that millennials have less trust in the police than those from older age groups (Diehl, 2015). Moreover, Sheila E. Isong and Nicholas Kitchel (2016) reported that younger people are killed by police at higher rates than other age groups.

**Table C. Survey Respondents by Age**

Age Group	2014 Pop. Est.	Weighted Proportion
18 to 34 years	41.90%	40.30%
35 to 44 years	16.20%	18.20%
45 to 54 years	14.20%	14.60%
55 to 64 years	12.50%	12.30%
65 and over	15.20%	14.70%

**Gender.** As is typical in household and population surveys, females tend to respond more than males. However, the number of residents in the weighted sample distribution by gender in D.C. was only slightly higher (51.6%) for females, most likely due to their current representation in the D.C. population (See **Table D**). It is important to note that just over 1% of residents in the weighted sample reported a non-binary gender. While this may seem a low number, it does speak to the fact that there is a group of individuals who do not identify with the typical dichotomization of male and female.

**Table D. Survey Respondents by Gender**

Gender	2014 Pop. Est.	Weighted Proportion
Male	47.30%	47.30%
Female	52.70%	51.60%
Non-Binary		1.10%

**Household Income.** To minimize complexity in the survey’s weighting procedures, household income was not included as one of the weighting variables. **Table E** compares 2014 American Community Survey (ACS) population estimates and weighted proportions by household income. While household income was not included in the weighting procedure, the weighted proportion is comparable to 2014 ACS estimates, except for the lowest income (under \$25,000) group (U.S. Bureau of Census, 2015). This may indicate that those from lower-income households are harder to reach (may not have telephones or texting capacity or other factors).

**Table E. Survey Respondents by Household Income**

<b>Income</b>	<b>2014 ACS Pop. Est.*</b>	<b>Weighted Proportion</b>
Under \$25,000	22.20%	9.8%
\$25,001 to \$50,000	16.50%	15.1%
\$50,001 to \$75,000	14.30%	15.6%
\$75,001 to \$100,000	11.00%	13.5%
\$100,001 to \$150,000	15.10%	16.5%
\$150,001 to \$200,000	8.10%	8.7%
Over \$200,000	12.80%	13.6%
Do not want to answer this question		7.2%

\*2014 Population estimates archived from [www.factfinder.census.gov](http://www.factfinder.census.gov)

**Survey Weighting Strategy.** The survey data were weighted to be representative of the D.C. population. A collected sample should be representative of the target population from which it came. However, in practice, individuals with certain characteristics are not as likely to respond to the survey, which is commonly known as non-response, resulting in groups that may be over- or under-represented. To ensure that the survey sample was representative of D.C.’s population, a weighting adjustment technique was used. **Appendix C** provides a detailed description of how the weights were calculated.

## **2.5 Statistical Analysis Procedures**

An analysis plan was developed, which served as a roadmap to how the survey data were organized and analyzed. Survey findings emphasized salient variables or key constructs and concepts that influence police-community relations, particularly community policing, procedural justice, and police legitimacy, all of which are associated with community perceptions of the police. Descriptive statistics (e.g., frequency and percentage distributions, mean, median, and standard deviation) summarized or described the survey results. Additional information on the descriptive statistics, cross tabulation tables, regression modeling, and the survey’s other statistical procedures are presented in **Appendix C**.

The methodology used for both analysis and presentation of findings consisted of the following three approaches:

- (1) Assess and present the data on residents’ impressions, opinions, and perceptions of police;<sup>21</sup>
- (2) Conduct statistical analyses of whether residents’ perceptions varied with regard to: a) recent (within the past year) contact<sup>22</sup> with the police, b) place of residence (by ward), c) race/ethnicity, d) gender, e) age group, and f) household income; and

<sup>21</sup> Reported police agency with whom each resident had the most contact or exposure.

<sup>22</sup> Called the police, were stopped by the police, or had other non-emergency contact with the police.

(3) Present results of differences between groups for which the analyses were statistically significant (i.e., very likely due to real differences between groups other than mathematical chance).

## **2.6 Notes Regarding the Methodology**

**Non-Response Bias.** As response rates to surveys have dwindled over time, there is growing concern about non-response bias i.e., that non-respondents differ from respondents on some key characteristics, leading to a less representative sample (Brick & Williams, 2013). A collected sample should be representative of the target population from which it came. In order to minimize non-response bias, multiple modes of survey administration were used (Peytchev, 2013) and population-based weighting was implemented to further reduce bias in survey estimates (Lynn, 1996). Although non-responses bias is not erased, the multiple modes of survey administration, weighting procedure, the resulting representative sample, and low margin of error have minimized the likelihood of non-response bias.

**Caveat to the Findings and Recommendations.** The methodology produced findings and a portfolio of recommended evidence-based best practices and strategies that may serve as collaborative opportunities between the MPD and District residents, particularly communities of color, for strengthening police-community relationships. The recommendations offered build on current initiatives aimed at forging strong relationships of mutual trust between law enforcement and the District communities they serve. It should be noted that survey findings underscored that MPD was the agency with which residents had the most contact or interaction. However, as a caveat to the recommendations, a review of existing practices, operations, or policies of MPD or other law enforcement agencies was beyond the scope and charge of this study. The recommendations were generated without any knowledge of the policies, practices, or current initiatives of any of the policing agencies in DC, other than those that were explicitly outlined in the NEAR Act.

**Statistical Significance Defined.** Statistical significance refers to at least a 95% chance that the differences between groups are due to something other than mathematical chance. In a sample as large as the one obtained, it is very likely that the results reported as statistically significant are likely to be found if a full population survey were conducted. Note that statistical “significance” is differentiated from the other terms such as “considerable” and “overwhelming,” which are used in the report later to refer to the extent or magnitude of the group differences or differences that are descriptive in nature. It is important to note that just because group differences are statistically significant does not mean they are practically important. For example, a quarter inch of height difference may be statistically significant between teams of basketball players, but it is not likely to be easily discernable by observers. As such, the reader should be attentive to the magnitude or size of the group differences, e.g., whether or not an approval rating of 80% versus 83% seems important, regardless of whether or not it is not likely due to chance.

Additional, detailed information on the survey methodology can be found in **Appendix C: Methodology-Related Details.**

## Chapter III: Findings

### 3.1 Overview of Research Objectives and Findings

This analysis details the findings associated with our survey goal and objectives. Restated, the goal of the survey was to explore and document opinions and perceptions of D.C. residents on police-community relations. Specifically, the opinions and perceptions cover the three areas identified as important to police-community relations: community policing, procedural justice, and perceived legitimacy of the police. The three primary methods for presenting the study's analyses and results are to (1) assess and present data on residents' impressions, opinions, and perceptions of police;<sup>23</sup> (2) conduct statistical analyses of whether residents' perceptions varied with regard to: a) whether or not they had recent (within the past year) contact<sup>24</sup> with the police, b) place of residence (by ward), c) race/ethnicity, d) age group<sup>25</sup>, e) gender<sup>26</sup>, and f) household income; and (3) present results of differences between groups for which the analyses were statistically significant (i.e., very likely due to real differences between groups other than mathematical chance).<sup>27</sup>

To address the objectives, we begin by examining the factors influencing perceptions of police in D.C. overall and by race, followed by whether residents had contact with the police and the agencies with whom they had the most contact. Subsequently, we present perceptions about community policing, procedural justice, and police legitimacy overall, along with statistically significant findings from group comparisons across demographic variables. For each question within each category, we compare group differences based on race/ethnicity, gender, age, and ward, as well as consider household income. While the data for each group are presented in the tables (all of which are included in the appendices to the report), we conducted statistical tests to identify meaningful differences between groups. These statistical tests included *chi square* analysis (proportions tests) to examine the relationships between the demographic variables and the item responses, and where the group proportions were statistically unequal, we followed with post-hoc significance testing of subgroup differences. This final statistical analysis allows us to point out the specific group comparisons that represent mean differences that are significantly

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<sup>23</sup>Reported police agency with whom each resident had the most contact or exposure.

<sup>24</sup> Called the police, were stopped by the police, or had other non-emergency contact with the police.

<sup>25</sup> All comparisons referencing the age group from 18–34 years represent considerably more people because it includes a 17-year age range compared to most others that cover a 10-year range (except for those 65+); however, the response rate for that age group was considerably lower).

<sup>26</sup> This includes female, male, and non-binary.

<sup>27</sup> Statistical significance refers to a finding for which there is at least a 95% chance that the mean differences between groups are due to something other than mathematical chance (an actual meaningful difference). In a sample as large as the one obtained, it is very likely that the results reported as statistically significant are the only ones that represent actual group differences.

different from each other. Statistically significant, meaningful differences<sup>28</sup> generated from these post-hoc tests are reported as *Z* statistics, followed by their statistical probability (*p*) values. Any group comparisons that did not produce statistically significant differences were not included in this report.

### 3.2 Impressions of the Police and How They Are Formed

Much of this survey of D.C. residents focuses on their perceptions of police, both those generally held, those formed from interactions with the police (whether they be in routine encounters, emergency situations, requests for information or assistance, or police stops), and/or impressions from the media. In this section, we address those influences, in order to understand the context surrounding respondents’ overall views and experiences.

#### Factors Influencing Perceptions of Police in D.C.

Given the small proportion of those who have been stopped by police in D.C. in the past year (15.4%), it is important to understand the basis by which residents form their opinions of the police in D.C. As such, we asked residents about the factors most likely to shape their opinions of police operating in D.C. overall (see **Table F**). While many law enforcement professionals and scholars have argued that the media highly influences people’s perceptions of the police, the extent to which media influences community residents is largely unknown. It has been argued that attitudes are formed via a complex process involving both direct and indirect police contact (see, e.g., Oliveira & Murphy, 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

Among D.C. residents responding to this survey, just over one in three<sup>29</sup> felt that “impressions from the media” played at least some role in shaping their opinions of police; however, just 7.4% indicated that it was the only factor that shaped their opinions. Indeed, the most frequently cited influence (on residents’ perceptions) was “non-emergency interactions with officers.”

**Table F. Factor(s) that Most Shape(s) Opinion About Police in D.C.**

Responses	Weighted Proportion
Non-emergency interactions	33.4%
Emergency interactions	20.8%
Impressions from the media	7.4%
Police stops	8.6%
All of the above	27.8%
None of the above	2.0%
Total	100.0%

*The table excludes “unsure” responses (n = 45)*

<sup>28</sup> For some analyses, we identified statistically significant differences, but because we either did not find them particularly meaningful or found it difficult to explain the meaning of the differences, we did not discuss them in the report, but they are included as notes in the statistical result tables.

<sup>29</sup> Includes those who responded, “impressions from the media” plus those who selected “all of the above.”

**Group Differences in How Perceptions of Police are Shaped.** Overall, just over 35% of residents noted that stops by police had at least some influence on their impressions of the police. However, African Americans were *more likely* (12.0%) than Whites (4.6%) to report that stops were the sole factor in shaping their views about police, but they were also three times as likely than White residents to have reported being stopped by the police, as will be discussed in the **Procedural Justice** section. Both groups also had relatively high proportions of respondents who reported that all types of interactions and the media shaped their opinions of police (30.6% of African Americans and 25.2% of Whites).

**Police Contact or Exposure**

As a very large proportion of residents (90.6%)<sup>30</sup> formed their opinions of police through at least one form of interaction with the police, it is important to detail the proportion of those having various types of contact with police in the past year, as well as the agencies with whom they had the most contact.

**Proportion of Residents Who Had Some Contact with or Exposure to Police in D.C.**

Overall, about 17 of every 20 (84.1%) D.C. residents reported some contact or exposure to police agencies in D.C. About three of every four (74.1%) respondents reported some contact or exposure with MPD, whereas just 10.0% reported some contact or exposure with a police agency other than the MPD, such as US Capitol Police, Metro Transit Police, etc. (See **Table G**). Those reporting contacts or exposure to police include those who were stopped by the police, those that requested assistance via 911 or contacted (e.g., ‘flagged down’) a police officer in the field, or who had other non-emergency encounters. The following is a list of the agencies with whom residents reported having the most contact:

**Table G. Police Agency Contact**

Responses	Weighted Proportion
Metropolitan Police Department	74.10%
US Capitol Police	3.60%
Metro Transit Police	3.00%
US Park Police	1.40%
Housing Authority Police	0.30%
Different Agency	1.70%
Unsure	1.60%
No Contact with Police	14.30%
Total	100.00%

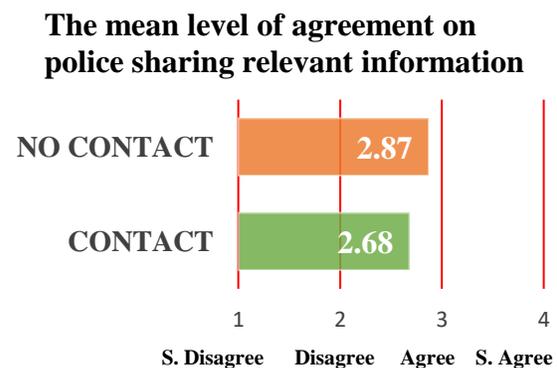
<sup>30</sup> See Table 6: Sum of non-emergency, emergency, and police stops as well as the “all of the above” category.

**Group Differences in Police Contact or Exposure.** Displayed in **Table H** are the proportions of residents from each race/ethnicity who reported the primary agency with whom they had the most contact. Across all races, residents reported the most contact with MPD over other agencies (ranging from 67.1% of Asians to 78% of African Americans). Our post-hoc comparison demonstrated that Asians were *more likely* (27.6%) than African Americans (12.6%) to have reported that they have had no contact with police agencies,  $z = 3.23, p < .01$ .

**Table H. Police Agency Contact by Race/Ethnicity (Q4)**

Race/ Ethnicity	MPD	US Capitol	Metro Transit	Park Police	Housing Police	Different Agency	No Contact	Total
White	539 73.5%	43 5.9%	20 2.7%	9 1.2%	0 0.0%	7 1.0%	115 15.7%	733 100.0%
African American	783 78.0%	24 2.4%	31 3.1%	11 1.1%	3 0.3%	25 2.5%	127 12.6%	1,004 100.0%
Asian	51 67.1%	2 2.6%	0 0.0%	2 2.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	21 27.6%	76 100.0%
Hispanic	149 72.0%	4 1.9%	11 5.3%	6 2.9%	3 1.4%	4 1.9%	30 14.5%	207 100.0%
Other	36 72.0%	3 6.0%	1 2.0%	1 2.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 18.0%	50 100.0%
Total	1,558 75.3%	76 3.7%	63 3.0%	29 1.4%	6 0.3%	36 1.7%	302 14.6%	2,070 100.0%

In subsequent sections where community policing and procedural justice are described, many of the questions relate to the agencies identified for whom the respondents had the most contact. This section has demonstrated that just over three-fourths of respondents reported having dealt with MPD the most (had the most exposure to or contact with). For the remaining respondents (n =512), the majority were more likely to have had no police contact at all (59%) than to have had contact with a different law enforcement agency in the District. (41%). As such, it is reasonable to interpret the findings in subsequent sections as being associated primarily with contact with MPD and/or its officers. While 10.1% of responses relate to other agencies operating in DC, those responses should not be generalized to any of those agencies due to the small number of individuals reporting primary contact with any of those agencies. No one agency other than the MPD had enough responses to conclude that they were representative of those agencies, and for MPD it would be worthwhile to re-run the analysis



while excluding respondents who reported their primary experience with the police to be from an agency other than the MPD.

When comparing those who have had contact with the police to those who have not, there were only a handful of questions that we could examine because many related to specific aspects of various types of contacts. Most of the comparisons were not statistically significant except one: for those who have had contact with the police, they were slightly less likely to believe that police share relevant information as compared to those who have not had such contact,  $t = -2.93$ ,  $df (1,641)$ ,  $p < .001$ . The differences were between 2.68 for those who have had contact versus 2.87 for those who have not, which reflects a small effect (magnitude of difference) in statistical terms.<sup>31</sup>

Below, we describe the overall results and demographic group comparisons across all three relevant constructs related to public opinion of the police.

### **3.3 Construct One: Community Policing**

Community policing is defined by the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office) as "a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime" (COPS Office, 2014, p. 1). Having its roots in Sir Robert Peel's principles, the scientific literature and underpinnings came from early work by the Police Foundation during the 1970s to 1980s<sup>32</sup> which has been followed by a significant amount of research over the past three decades by scholars at numerous organizations and institutions.

Generally, community policing requires that police engage community members in decision-making processes and work collectively with them to solve problems via a shared set of values and understanding. Community policing, then, involves mutual trust, joint problem-solving, mutual respect, and perceptions of fair and reasonable actions by the police. Community policing was assessed via questions 6–8, 12, and 21. The examination of fairness and equity are addressed in the procedural justice section. However, it is important to note that ratings of both community policing and legitimacy are influenced by perceptions of fairness and equity as well.

#### **Overview of Results Regarding Community Policing**

Overall, just over half of residents (54%) who responded to the survey felt the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems (with 15.5% being unsure). Older residents and those from Ward 3 were the most likely to report that police do a good job working with the community. After removing the responses from those who were unsure, respondents who believed the police do a good job working with the community ranged from 56% to 86%. The

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<sup>31</sup> The effect size for this comparison was  $d = 0.22$ , which according to Sawilowski (2009) is a small effect.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, the Newark Fear Reduction Study (Kelling, Pate, Ferrara, Utne, & Brown, 1981) and the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment (Kelling, Pate, Dieckman, & Brown, 1974).

proportion of African American residents (56%) who believed the police do a good job working with the community was significantly lower than Whites (72%) and Asians (86%).

A similar pattern emerged regarding impressions about whether police share necessary and relevant information. For example:

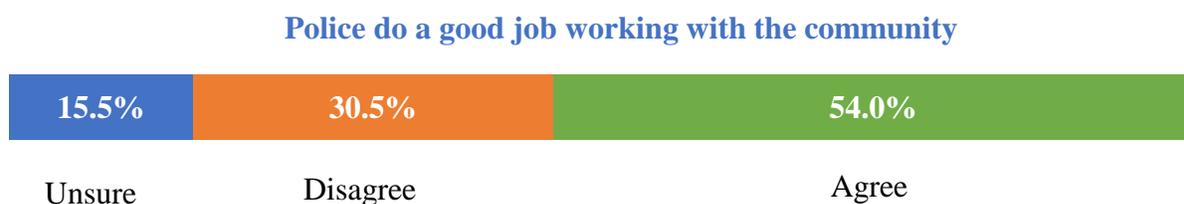
- Only about half (51%) of respondents felt that the police share necessary and relevant information with residents, and those in Ward 3 were more likely to agree (59%) as compared to those from several other wards. Again, African Americans were significantly more likely to disagree (32%) that police shared information with the public, as compared to Whites (21%).
- Almost three-fourths of respondents rated their interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations as positive, although African Americans again were slightly more likely than Whites (14% vs. 8%) to rate these encounters negatively.
- A high proportion of respondents (83%) also reported that they were likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood with the police.
- Of the 1,160 (55.2%) respondents who reported requesting assistance from the police, 83% felt the officers adequately addressed their concerns.

Finally, when it comes to requesting assistance from the police in the past year (55% of respondents reported that they did), the vast majority (94%) reported that the assistance was requested from the MPD.

### Detailed Findings Related to Community Policing

#### A. Perceptions of residents on whether they think that police from agencies identified do a good job working with the community to solve local problems (*problem solving*).

**Survey Question 6.** I think that the police from the agency I identified earlier *do a good job working with the community to solve local problems*. Using the same scale as before, do you: 1) Strongly Agree? 2) Agree? 3) Disagree? 4) Strongly Disagree? or 5) Are you unsure?<sup>33</sup>



<sup>33</sup> The descriptive statistics presented in the graphs and the tables include “unsure” as a response option. As a result, the reader is provided with proportions of unsure responses, whereas unsure is excluded from the group differences (inferential statistics) for the purposes of comparing the responses across groups.

**Results:** Overall, about eleven of every 20 residents (54.0%) agreed or strongly agreed that police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems (See **Table I**).

**Table I. Extent of Agreement on Police Doing a Good Job**

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
280	180	369	702	270	1,801
15.5%	10.0%	20.5%	39.0%	15.0%	100.0%

However, there was considerable variability across demographic categories. Variations were found by ward, race/ethnicity, and age, using a chi square analysis.

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, gender, age, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across specific wards, race, and age, but not for gender or household income. All results are presented in Tables 2a through 2g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>34</sup>

*Ward-level Analysis (see Table 2a)*

- The proportion of residents in each ward who reported that they agree police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems ranged from 53.8% to 81.1%<sup>35</sup>. Respondents in Ward 3 were *more likely* (81.1%) than those in all other wards to agree that the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems.
- The other notable difference in residents’ perceptions that the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems was between Ward 1 (53.8%) and Ward 4 (69.1%),  $z = 2.53, p < .05$ .

*Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 2b)*

- The proportion of residents in each race who reported that they agree police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems ranged from 56.3% to 86.0%. Asian and White residents were *more likely* (71.6 % and 86.0%, respectively) than African-American residents (56.3%) to agree that the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems,  $z = 4.50, p < .001$  and  $z = 3.77, p < .001$ , respectively.

<sup>34</sup> These analyses exclude unsure responses (n = 280).

<sup>35</sup> For all analyses comparing group differences, “agree” and “strongly agree” were collapsed into one category called “agree” and “disagree” and “strongly disagree” were collapsed into one category called “disagree,” and unsure was coded as missing.

*Gender Analysis (see Table 2c)*

- The proportion of residents in each gender who reported that they agree police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems ranged from 60.9% to 68.0%.<sup>36</sup> There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

*Age Group Analysis (see Table 2d)<sup>37</sup>*

- The proportion of residents in each age group who reported that they agree police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems ranged from 54.1% to 78.4%. Residents 65 years old and older were more likely (78.4%) than residents aged 18–34 (54.1%) and 35–44 (61.8%) to agree that the police do a good job working with the local community to solve problems,  $z = 5.45, p < .001$  and  $z = 3.45, p < .001$ , respectively.<sup>38</sup>

*Income Group Analysis (see Table 2e)*

- The proportion of residents in each income level who reported that they agree police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems ranged from 56.6% to 72.1%. There were no statistically significant differences by income.

**B. Perceptions of residents on whether police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community (information sharing and cooperation).**

**Survey Question 7:** The police in D.C. *share necessary and/or relevant information with the community –through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television or radio.* Using the same scale as before, do you: 1) Strongly Agree? 2) Agree? 3) Disagree? 4) Strongly Disagree? or 5) Are you unsure?

**Police share necessary and/or relevant information with the community**



<sup>36</sup> This analysis only included male and female due to the small number of those responding as “non-binary.”

<sup>37</sup> All comparisons referencing the age group from 18–34 years represent considerably more people because it includes a 17-year age range compared to most others that cover a 10-year range (except those 65+; however, the response rate for that age group was considerably lower).

<sup>38</sup> Those in the 35 to 44 age group (61.8%) were more likely to see the police as doing a good job, but this comparison did not reach statistical significance.

**Results:** A little over half (51.3%) of D.C. residents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community (See Table J).

**Table J. Extent of Agreement on Police Sharing Necessary and/or Relevant Information**

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
460	177	388	819	260	2103
21.9%	8.4%	18.4%	38.9%	12.4%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, gender, age, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across some wards and race, but not for gender, age, or household income. All results are presented in Tables 3a through 3g (see Appendix D), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>39</sup>

*Ward-level Analysis (see Table 3a)*

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who agree police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television or radio, ranged from 55.0% to 76.1%. Importantly, respondents across all wards (except 3) had 30% or higher disagreement rates. However, over one-fifth (21.8%) of the respondents were unsure. Respondents from Ward 3 were *more likely* (76.1%) than those from Ward 4 (60.5%) and Ward 8 (55.0%) to agree that the police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community (by whatever means),  $z = 3.03, p < .01$  and  $z = 3.53, p < .001$ , respectively.

*Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 3b)*

- The proportion of respondents in each race who agree police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community –through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television or radio, ranged from 51.3% to 73.8%. While African Americans predominantly agreed that police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community, their rate of agreement was *significantly lower* (60.2%) than that of White residents (72.5%),  $z = 3.86, p < .001$ .

*Gender Analysis (see Table 3c)*

- The proportion of respondents in each gender who agree police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community –through outreach,

<sup>39</sup> These analyses exclude unsure responses (n = 458)

social media, or other local media, such as television or radio, ranged from 64.6% to 67.3%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

**Age Group Analysis** (see Table 3d)

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who agree police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community – through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television or radio, ranged from 63.0% to 71.4%. There were no statistically significant differences by age group.

**Income Group Analysis** (see Table 3e)

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who agree police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community – through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television or radio, ranged from 55.7% to 76.0%. There were no statistically significant differences by age group.

**C. Perceptions of residents on whether their interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations were positive or negative.**

**Survey Question 8<sup>40</sup>:** How would you describe your interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations, such as asking for directions or at a public or community event? 1) very positive; 2) somewhat positive; 3) somewhat negative; 4) very negative; or 5) have not had enough experience to form an opinion.

**Ratings of interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations**



**Table K. Interactions with Police Officers in Routine, Non-emergency Situations**

NE Experience	Very Negative	SW Negative	SW Positive	Very Positive	N
337	57	174	815	719	2103
16.0%	2.7%	8.3%	38.8%	34.2%	100.0%

NE Experience = Not enough experience, SW Negative = Somewhat Negative, SW Positive = Somewhat Positive

<sup>40</sup> Question 8 also reflects an aspect of procedural justice in routine, non-emergency situations.

**Results:** Overall, close to three in four (73.0%) D.C. residents have experienced *positive* interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations (see **Table K**). Group differences were found by ward as well as by race/ethnicity, as detailed below.

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across some wards and race, but not for gender, age, or household income. All results are presented in the appended tables 4a through 4g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>41</sup>

*Ward-Level Analysis (see Table 4a)*

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who reported that they have positive interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations ranged from 81.7% to 92.2%. The vast majority of residents across all wards (> 81%) report positive interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations.
- Respondents in Ward 3 (92.2%) were *more* likely than those in Ward 7 (81.7%) to report positive interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations ( $z = 2.98, p < .01$ ), which was the only statistically significant ward difference. Nevertheless, this again may underscore the significance of race as a factor because Ward 7 residents are predominantly African American.

*Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 4b)*

- The proportion of respondents in each race who reported that they have positive interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations ranged from 82.9% to 90.6%. African Americans, while also reporting positive interactions (83.6%) with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations, were statistically *less likely* than Whites (90.6%) to do so,  $z = -3.71, p < .001$ .

*Gender Analysis (see Table 4c)*

- The proportion of residents in each gender who reported that they have positive interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations ranged from 87.2% to 87.8%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

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<sup>41</sup> These analyses exclude “unsure” responses (n = 337)

*Age Group Analysis (see Table 4d)*

- The proportion of residents in each age group who reported that they have positive interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations ranged from 84.2% to 90.7%. There were no statistically significant differences by age.

*Income Group Analysis (see Table 4e)*

- The proportion of residents in each income group who reported that they have positive interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations ranged from 80.5% to 91.8%. There were no statistically significant differences by income.

**D. Perceptions of residents about likelihood of *providing information about criminal activity to the police (information sharing).***

**Question 12:** How likely are you to provide information about criminal activity in your neighborhood to the police? Are you: 1) Very likely to provide information? 2) Likely to provide information? 3) Unlikely to provide information? 4) Very unlikely to provide information? or 5) Are you unsure?

**Likely to provide information about criminal activity to police**



**Results:** Overall, over eight out of every ten (82.5%) respondents reported being likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police (see **Table L**). Variations were found by ward, race/ethnicity, and age group, using a chi square analysis. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table L. Extent of Likelihood of Providing Information About Criminal Activity to Police**

Unsure	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely	N
118	93	157	654	1080	2103
5.6%	4.4%	7.5%	31.1%	51.4%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across some wards, race, and age, but not for gender or household income. All results are presented in the appended tables 8a

through 8g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>42</sup>

#### *Ward-Level Analysis (see Table 12a)*

- The proportion of residents in each ward who are likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police ranged from 78.1% to 95.8%. Respondents from Ward 2 (95.8%) were *more likely* than those from all other wards (except for Ward 3, 92.1%) to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police,  $z = 1.69$ ,  $p = .09$ .
- In addition, those from Ward 4 (78.1%) were *less likely* than residents from Ward 3 (92.1%) and Ward 5 (91.1%) to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police,  $z = -4.35$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $z = -3.97$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively. It should be noted that Wards 4 and 5 are made up of predominantly African-American residents.

#### *Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 12b)*

- The proportion of residents in each race who are likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police ranged from 84.8% to 98.6%. Asians and Hispanics (98.6% and 93.9%, respectively) were *more likely* than African Americans (85.1%) to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police,  $z = 3.14$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $z = 3.18$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively.

#### *Gender Analysis (see Table 12c)*

- The proportion of residents in each gender who are likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police ranged from 86.7% to 89.3%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

#### *Age Group Analysis (see Table 12d)<sup>43</sup>*

- The proportion of residents in each age group who are likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police ranged from 81.1% to 95.6%. Older residents (aged 45–54, 54–64, and 65+) were statistically *more likely* (92.8%, 93.7%, and 95.6%, respectively) than the younger residents (18–34, 35–44) to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police (81.1% and 85.4%, respectively).

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<sup>42</sup> These analyses exclude “unsure” responses (n = 118).

<sup>43</sup> All comparisons referencing the age group from 18–34 years represent considerably more people because it includes a 17-year age range compared to most others that cover a 10-year range (except those 65+; however, the response rate for that age group was considerably lower).

*Income Group Analysis (see Table 12e)*

- The proportion of residents in each income level who are likely to provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhood to the police ranged from 74.0% to 95.1%. There were no statistically significant differences by income.

**E. Perceptions of whether the officer adequately addressed their concerns (cooperation). \***

*\*if requested police assistance in the past 12 months—most recent request*

**Question 21:** Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: “*During my most recent request for assistance, the officer adequately addressed my concerns.*” Do you: 1) Strongly agree? 2) Agree? 3) Disagree? 4) Strongly Disagree? or 5) Are you unsure?

**Officer adequately addressed my concerns in recent request for assistance**



**Results:** Of the 1,160 respondents indicating they requested assistance from the police, 78.5% agreed that the officer adequately addressed their concerns (see **Table M**). Sub-group comparisons only revealed a few differences across demographic groups including household income. The statistically significant results are detailed below.

**Table M. Extent of Agreement on Officer Adequately Addressing their Concerns**

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
68	72	110	448	463	1160
5.8%	6.2%	9.5%	38.6%	39.9%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across income and race/ethnicity by income group, but not for wards, race/ethnicity, gender or age. All results are presented in the appended tables 15a through 15g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>44</sup>

*Ward-level Analysis (see Table 15a)*

- The proportion of residents in each ward who agreed that the officer adequately addressed their concerns ranged from 77.8% to 89.0%. There were no statistically significant differences by ward.

<sup>44</sup> These analyses exclude “unsure” responses (n = 68)

***Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 15b)***

- The proportion of residents in each race who agreed that the officer adequately addressed their concerns ranged from 65.5% to 88.6%. There were no statistically significant differences by race.

***Gender Analysis (see Table 15c)***

- The proportion of residents in each gender who agreed that the officer adequately addressed their concerns ranged from 80.9% to 86.0%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

***Age Group Analysis (see Table 15d)***

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who agreed that the officer adequately addressed their concerns ranged from 81.0% to 85.2%. There were no statistically significant differences by age.

***Income Group Analysis (see Table 15e)***

- The proportion of residents in each income level who agreed that the officer adequately addressed their concerns ranged from 75.1% to 90.3%. While residents from all income categories agreed that the officer adequately addressed their concerns (> 75%), those from the lowest income category were significantly *less likely* (75.3%) than those from the \$100,001–\$150,000 income category (90.3%) to feel that way,  $z = 2.95, p < .01$ .
- Those in the highest income category (over \$200,000) also were significantly less likely (77.4%) than those from the \$100,001–\$150,000 to feel the officers adequately addressed their concerns,  $z = 2.97, p < .01$ .

***Differences within Race/Ethnicity and Household Income Groups (see Table 15g)***

- Among those with household incomes under \$50,000, White respondents (55.0%) were *less likely* than African-Americans (84.2%) to agree that the officer adequately addressed their concerns during their most recent request for assistance,  $z = -2.43, p < .05$ .

**F. *Police agency from which respondents most recently requested assistance within the past 12 months.***

**While this question is not a direct indicator of community policing, it does provide context for interpretation of the prior questions about whether the police adequately addressed concerns.**

**Question 20:** In thinking about the past 12 months, from which of the following police agencies have you most recently requested assistance, such as by either calling 911, or stopping or flagging down an officer on the street? 1) Was it the Metropolitan Police Department? 2) Was it a different police agency? or 3) You did NOT request assistance in the past 12 months.

#### Police agency from which residents most recently requested assistance



**Results:** 1,160 of the respondents requested help from the police in the past 12 months (55.2%). While just 15.4% of respondents reported being stopped by the police, this question reveals that considerably more individuals have contact with the police than just those who have been stopped by police.

Among the more than 55% of respondents who reported requesting assistance from the police in the last year, most had requested that assistance from the Metropolitan Police Department (n = 1,089 or 93.9%) versus any other agency (n = 71 or 6.1%).

### 3.4 Construct Two: Procedural Justice

Procedural justice is a term that is used to “describe the idea that how individuals regard the justice system is tied more to the perceived fairness of the *process* and how they were treated rather than the perceived fairness of the *outcome*” (COPS Office, 2013, p. 1). It consists of (1) treating people with dignity and respect, (2) giving individuals “voice” during encounters, (3) being neutral and transparent in decision making, and (4) conveying trustworthy motives (President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015). Some have noted that procedural justice is displayed when officers “listen and explain, with equity and dignity” otherwise known as L.E.E.D. principles (Owens, Weisburd, Amendola, & Alpert, 2018). We were able to capture procedural justice related to encounters in stops as well as general beliefs about whether the police from the agency with which they had the most contact are fair and unbiased. The questions making up this construct are 5 and 15–19 (see **Appendix B, Survey Instruments**). Most of the questions about procedural justice have to do with police stops, as opposed to routine non-emergency encounters. However, we start this section with a broader question about general impressions about whether police with whom they have the most contact are generally fair and unbiased, which, as will be shown, has an impact on procedural justice impressions in police stops as well.

## Overview of Results Related to Procedural Justice

Overall over two-thirds of respondents (67.9%) found the police with whom they had the most contact to be fair and unbiased. However, there appear to be some disparities in procedural justice, particularly when it concerns race. African-American respondents (67.0%) were statistically less likely to find the police to be fair and unbiased than Whites (81.4%) or Asians (88.2%), and respondents from two predominantly African-American wards (Ward 4 and Ward 7) were also less likely than those in wards that have fewer African American residents to find the police fair and unbiased.

When considering respondents who reported being stopped by police (15.4%), the same pattern emerged; African Americans (48.6%) were significantly *less likely* than Whites (73.1%) and Asians (100%) to agree that officers' actions in stops were fair and justified. Regarding perceptions of profiling in these stops, almost half (47.5%, n = 150 of the 324 respondents who reported that they had been stopped by the police in the past year believed they were profiled for at least one reason. Furthermore, among those 150 respondents who believed they were profiled, over half (52%, n = 78) believed they were profiled for more than one reason, whereas 56 (37.3%) of those respondents believed they were stopped solely based on race. Considering that the 'equity' aspect of procedural justice deals with perceptions of fairness, both actual stops and general impressions of survey respondents suggest room for improvement in officers' demonstration of procedural justice.

Moreover, the importance of "explaining" the reasons for the stop should not be underestimated. African Americans (60.9%) who responded that they had been stopped by police were significantly less likely to believe that police clearly explained the reasons for the stop than were White residents (82.7%). When considering the question of whether individuals felt the police listened to them, there were no *statistically significant* race differences related to perceptions that officers listened to individuals they stopped.<sup>45</sup> However, it should be noted that over one-fourth of African Americans stopped by police indicated that the police "didn't listen *at all*" (n = 63, 28.1%) which is higher than that of all other groups. This finding did not reach statistical significance, perhaps due to the limited number of individuals stopped by the police, but it follows a similar pattern of less favorable experiences by African Americans stopped by police.

## Detailed Findings Related to Procedural Justice

### A. General perceptions of residents that police are *fair and unbiased*:

**Survey Question 5:** I'm going to read you several statements and ask that you tell me how much you agree or disagree. The scale ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree. *I believe that the police from the agency with which I have had the most contact are generally*

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<sup>45</sup> Likely not significant due to small numbers of stops, leading to smaller numbers in comparison groups.

*fair and unbiased.* Do you: 1) Strongly agree? 2) Agree? 3) Disagree? 4) Strongly Disagree? or 5) Are you unsure?

### Believe the police are generally fair and unbiased



**Results:** Respondents generally had favorable perceptions on whether police are fair and unbiased. Overall, close to seven of every ten (67.9 %) respondents agreed or strongly agreed that police from the agency with which they have had the most contact are fair and unbiased (see **Table N**). However, variations were found by ward, race/ethnicity, age, and household income, using a chi square analysis. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table N. Extent of Agreement on Fair and Unbiased**

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
152	155	273	758	464	1801
8.4%	8.6%	15.2%	42.1%	25.8%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across wards, race, age, income, race by age group and race by income group, but not gender. All results are presented in the appended tables 1a through 1e (see **Appendix D**) and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>46</sup>

#### *Ward-Level Analysis (see Table 1a)*

- While response differences across wards may have multiple causes and/or explanations, when examining ward differences throughout this study, it is important to note that Wards 4, 5, 7, and 8 are predominantly made up of African-American residents. As such, sometimes ward differences *may* reflect racial differences in perceptions of police.
- The proportion of respondents in each ward who reported that they agree police officers from the agency with which they have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased ranged from 62.3% to 86.1%. Respondents from Ward 1 were significantly *more likely* (80.6%) to rate police as fair and unbiased than those from Ward 4 (63%),  $z = 3.50, p < .001$  or from Ward 7 (62.3%),  $z = 3.15, p < .001$ .

<sup>46</sup> These analyses exclude “unsure” responses (n = 152)

- Respondents from Ward 3 were significantly *more likely* (86.1%) to rate the police as fair and unbiased than were those from Ward 7 (62.3%):  $z = 4.52, p < .001$  or from Ward 4 (63%):  $z = 5.03, p < .001$ .

***Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 1b)***

- The proportion of respondents from each race/ethnicity who reported that they agree police officers from the agency with which they have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased ranged from 67.0% to 88.2%. White and Asian respondents were *more likely* (81.4% and 88.2%, respectively) than African-Americans (67.0%) to agree that the police are fair and unbiased ( $z = 5.22, p < .001$ ;  $z = 2.95, p < .01$ , respectively).

***Gender Analysis (see Table 1c)***

- The proportion of respondents in each gender who reported that they agree police from the agency with which they have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased ranged from 73.2% to 75.6%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

***Age Group Analysis (see Table 1d)<sup>47</sup>***

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who reported that they agree police from the agency with which they have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased ranged from 68.6% to 83.8%. Almost eight of ten respondents in the older age brackets (45 and up) agreed that the police are fair and unbiased (79.6%).
- While the majority of respondents between 18 and 34 years of age reported that the police are fair and unbiased (68.6%) as did those in the older age categories, they tended to agree less so than those in the 55 to 64 (79.8%) and 65 and older (83.8%) age groups ( $z = -2.67, p < .001$ ;  $z = -4.04, p < .001$ , respectively).

***Household Income Analysis (see Table 15e)***

- The proportion of respondents in each income bracket who reported that they agree police from the agency with which they have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased ranged from 64.9% to 84.9%. Respondents from the two highest income brackets (\$150,001–\$200,000 and over \$200,000) were *more likely* (83.8%

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<sup>47</sup> All comparisons referencing the age group from 18–34 years represent considerably more people because it includes a 17-year age range compared to most others that cover a 10-year range (except those 65+; however, the response rate for that age group was considerably lower).

and 84.9%, respectively) to agree that the police were fair and unbiased than those from the:

- \$25,000–\$50,000 bracket (64.9%),  $z = -3.51$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $z = -4.38$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively; and the
- \$75,001–\$100,000 bracket (67.7%),  $z = -3.05$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $z = -3.84$ ,  $p < .001$ .

***Differences within Specific Age and Race/Ethnicity Categories (see Table 1f)***

- There were no significant race/ethnicity differences in perceptions of the police as fair and unbiased for the 18–34 age category.
- Among respondents in the 35 to 44 age category, African Americans were *less likely* (61.0%) than their Asian counterparts (100%) to agree that the police are fair and unbiased ( $z = -3.65$ ,  $p < .001$ ).
- Among respondents in the 65 and older age category, Whites were *more likely* (93.3%) than their African-American counterparts (76.9%) to agree that the police are fair and unbiased ( $z = 3.01$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

***Differences within Specific Income and Race/Ethnicity Groupings (see Table 1g)***

- White respondents with household incomes below \$50K generally *did not* find the police to be fair and unbiased, with an agreement rate of just 48.5%.
- Lower-income African-American respondents (household incomes below \$50K annually) were significantly *more likely* (73.5%) to report that the police were fair and unbiased than Whites (48.5%) from the same income bracket ( $z = 3.30$ ,  $p < .001$ ).<sup>48</sup>

**B. Perceptions of Procedural Justice in Police Stops**

**Survey Question 13:** In the past 12 months, have you been stopped by a police officer in D.C. while you were walking, in a vehicle, or on your bike?

**Stopped by a Police Officer in D.C.**



<sup>48</sup> African Americans appeared more likely to be unsure (15.4%) than were Whites (3.8%), although this difference is not statistically significant.

**Results.** Overall, just 15.4% of respondents (n = 325) reported being stopped by police (while walking, in a vehicle, or on their bike) in the last 12 months. However, as will be further detailed, the proportion of respondents having other forms of contact with the police (calling 911, stopping an officer in public, informally meeting with police in public places, etc.) is much higher (> 50%).

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across race, age, and gender, but not ward and income. All results are presented in the appended tables 16a through 16e (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.

*Ward-level Analysis (see Table 16a)*

- The proportion of respondents in each Ward who were stopped by a police officer in D.C. ranged from 9.5% to 19.9%. There were no statistically significant differences by ward.

*Race/Ethnicity Analysis*

- The proportion of respondents in each race who were stopped by a police officer in D.C. ranged from 7.0% to 22.0%. As shown in **Table O**, significantly more African Americans were stopped by police (22.0%) as compared to Whites (7.0%), a difference that is statistically significant ( $z = 2.48, p < .05$ ).

**Table O. Stopped by Police Officer (Q13) by Race/Ethnicity**

Race/Ethnicity	No	Yes
White	693 93.0%	52 7.0%
African American	799 78.0%	225 22.0%
Asian	68 89.5%	8 10.5%
Hispanic	176 84.6%	32 15.4%
Other	43 86.0%	7 14.0%
Total	1,779 84.6%	324 15.4%

*Gender Analysis (see Table 1c)*

- Males were significantly more likely to be stopped by the police than females (20.1% vs. 11.0%, respectively,  $z = 2.11$ ,  $p < .05$ ).<sup>49</sup>

### *Age Group Analysis*

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who were stopped by a police officer in D.C. ranged from 4.9% to 20.4%. Consistent with similar studies, respondents aged 65 and older were less likely than those in other age brackets to be stopped by police officers as shown in **Table P**. Driving cessation often occurs after age 65, depending on physical and cognitive limitations or other factors. As such, we cannot discern from these data if the much lower rate of stops for the eldest group in the survey was due to lower rates of driving or some other factor.

**Table P. Stopped by a Police Officer Overall by Age (Q13)**

Age Range	No	Yes
18–34	674 79.6%	173 20.4%
35–44	327 85.6%	55 14.4%
45–54	260 84.7%	47 15.3%
55–64	224 86.8%	34 13.2%
65+	294 95.1%	15 4.9%
Total	1,779 84.6%	324 15.4%

### *Income Group Analysis (see Table 8e)*

- The proportion of respondents in each income level who were stopped by a police officer in D.C. ranged from 9.8% to 33.8%. There were no statistically significant differences by income level.

<sup>49</sup> This finding is also consistent with other research (see, e.g., Durose, Smith, & Langan, 2007).

***Police Agencies Making Stops***

- If residents reported being stopped by the police in D.C. in the last 12 months, they were asked to indicate the agency with which that officer was affiliated (Question 14). Among the 312 responses provided to this question, below are the primary agencies with whom the officers were reported to be affiliated:
  1. Metropolitan Police Department (MPD): 276 (88.5%)
  2. U.S. Park Police: 15 (4.8%),
  3. Metro Transit Police: 9 (2.9%)
  
- When considering questions related to procedural justice in encounters, it is important to note that approximately 89% of responses are associated with contacts with officers from the MPD.

**C. Perceptions by residents that the officer *clearly explained* the reason for the stop.**

*(if stopped by police within the past 12 months)*

**Survey Question 15:** Thinking about this stop, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statement: ***The officer clearly explained the reason for the stop.*** Do you: 1) Strongly agree? 2) Agree? 3) Disagree? 4) Strongly Disagree? or 5) Are you unsure?

**Extent of agreement on officer clearly explaining the reason for the stop**



**Results:** Overall, more than six of ten (64.9%) respondents agreed that officers who stopped them clearly explained the reason for the stop (See **Table Q**). Variations were found by ward, race/ethnicity, age, and household income, using a chi square analysis. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table Q. Extent of Agreement on Officer Clearly Explaining the Reason for the Stop\***

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
2	65	47	94	116	324
0.6%	20.0%	14.5%	29.1%	35.8%	100.0%

\*This was only answered by those who indicated that they were stopped by the police in the past year.

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across wards, race, and age, but

not gender and income. All results are presented in the appended tables 16a through 16g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>50</sup>

#### ***Ward-level Analysis (see Table 10a)***

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who agreed that the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop ranged from 43.9% to 96.3%. Respondents from Ward 1 (78.2%) were *more likely* than those from Ward 2 (43.9%) and Ward 4 (50.0%) to agree that officers clearly explained the reason for the stop ( $z = -2.62, p < .05$  and  $z = -2.51, p < .05$ , respectively).
- Respondents from Ward 3 (96.3%) were *more likely* than those from Ward 2 (43.9%), Ward 4 (50.0%), and Ward 6 (57.8%) to agree that officers clearly explained the reason for the stop ( $z = -3.90, p < .01$ ;  $z = -3.83, p < .001$ ; and  $z = -3.30, p < .01$ , respectively).

#### ***Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 10b)***

- The proportion of respondents in each race who agreed that the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop ranged from 57.1% to 87.5%. While the majority of respondents across all racial/ethnicity groups agreed that officers clearly explained the reason for the stop, the only statistically significant difference in this perception was between African Americans (60.9%) and Whites (82.7%);  $z = 2.64, p < .05$ .

#### ***Gender Analysis (see Table 10c)***

- The proportion of respondents in each gender who agreed that the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop ranged from 64.0% to 68.1%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity

#### ***Age Group Analysis (see Table 10d)***

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who agreed that the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop ranged from 52.7% to 86.7%. While the majority of respondents across all age categories tended to agree that officers clearly explained the reason for the stop, those aged 35–44 (52.7%) were less likely than those aged 45–55 (80.4%) to agree that the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop ( $z = -2.40, p < .05$ ).

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<sup>50</sup> These analyses exclude unsure responses (n = 2)

*Income Group Analysis (see Table 10e)*

- The proportion of respondents in each income level who agreed that the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop ranged from 45.5% to 86.4%. There were no meaningful statistically significant differences by income.

**D. Residents’ beliefs that they were *profiled* on some basis.**

*(if stopped by police in the past 12 months)*

**Survey Question 16:** Do you believe you were stopped primarily due to one or more of the following: your race, ethnicity, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or immigration status? 1) NOT stopped due to one of these reasons; 2) More than one of these reasons; 3) Due to race; 4) Due to ethnicity; 5) Due to religion; 6) Due to age; 7) Due to sexual orientation; 8) Due to gender identity; or 9) Due to immigration status.

**Results:** Only 325 of the total residents responding to the survey reported being stopped by police in the past year (15.4%). However, *almost half* of them believed that they had been stopped (*profiled*) for at least one of the reasons above (46.5%, see Table R). Among those 150 residents, the two most frequent reasons cited regarding their belief about why they were stopped were “race” (56 individuals or 37.2%) and “more than one of these reasons” (78 individuals or 52.1%).

**Table R. Reason for Stop**

Responses	Proportion
Do not believe you were stopped because of any of these reasons	53.50%
More than one of these reasons	24.20%
Race	17.30%
Ethnicity	2.20%
Religion	0.00%
Age	0.90%
Identity	0.80%
Sexual orientation	0.70%
Immigration status	0.30%

**E. Perceptions about the degree to which officer’s actions in the encounter were seen as *fair and justified*.**

*(if stopped by police in the past 12 months)*

**Survey Question 17:** Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement regarding the officer’s actions in this stop. *The officer’s actions in this encounter were fair and justified.* Do you: Strongly agree? Agree? Disagree? Strongly Disagree? or Are you unsure?

### Extent of agreement on officer clearly explaining the reason for the stop



**Results:** Overall, slightly *over half* of D.C. respondents who reported being stopped by the police (n = 325) in the past 12 months, felt that the officer’s actions were fair and justified (53.6%), whereas 44.0% *disagreed* (see **Table S**). Variations were found by ward, as well as race/ethnicity, using a chi square analysis. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table S. Extent of Agreement on Officer’s Actions in this Encounter Being Fair and Justified**

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
8	67	76	79	94	324
2.5%	20.6%	23.4%	24.5%	29.1%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across wards and race, but not age, gender, and income. All results are presented in the appended tables 12a through 12g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>51</sup>

#### *Ward-level Analysis (see Table 12a)*

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who agreed that the officer’s actions in this encounter were fair and justified ranged from 38.2% to 96.3%. Respondents from Ward 3 were statistically *most likely* (96.3%) to feel the officers’ actions were fair and justified; however, it is important to note that this is based on just 26 total respondents.

#### *Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 12b)*

- The proportion of respondents in each race who agreed that the officer’s actions in this encounter were fair and justified ranged from 56.3% to 100%. African Americans (48.6%) were *less likely than Whites* (73.1%) and *Asians* (100.0%) to agree that officers’ actions were fair and justified ( $z = -2.61, p <.05$  and  $z = -2.81, p <.01$ , respectively).

<sup>51</sup> These analyses exclude unsure responses (n = 8)

*Gender Analysis (see Table 12c)*

- The proportion of respondents in each gender who agreed that the officer’s actions in this encounter were fair and justified ranged from 55.2% to 55.9%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

*Age Group Analysis (see Table 12d)*

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who agreed that the officer’s actions in this encounter were fair and justified ranged from 37.7% to 73.9%. There were no statistically significant differences by age.

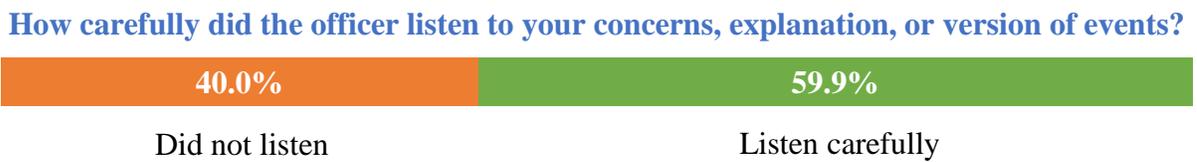
*Income Group Analysis (see Table 12e)*

- The proportion of respondents in each income level who agreed that the officer’s actions in this encounter were fair and justified ranged from 22.7% to 73.0%. There were no statistically significant differences by income.

**F. Perceptions about *how carefully officers listened to concerns, explanations, or resident’s versions of the events***

*(if stopped by the police in the past 12 months).*

**Survey Question 18.** During this encounter, how carefully did the officer listen to your concerns, explanation, or version of events? Do you feel the officer: 1) Listened very carefully? 2) Listened somewhat carefully? 3) Did not listen very carefully? or 4) Did not listen at all?<sup>52</sup>



<sup>52</sup> Listened carefully included both “listened *somewhat* carefully” and “listened *very* carefully.”

**Results.** Overall, six of every ten D.C. (59.9%) respondents stopped by an officer felt that the officer listened somewhat or very carefully to their concerns, explanation, or version of events (see **Table T**). Variations were found by ward using a chi square analysis. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table T. Officer’s Level of Care in Listening to Your Concerns, Explanation, or Version of Events**

Not at all	Not Very Carefully	Somewhat Carefully	Very Carefully	N
80	50	84	111	324
24.6%	15.4%	25.8%	34.1%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across wards, but not for race, age, gender, and income. All results are presented in the appended tables 13a through 13g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.

*Ward-level Analysis (see Table 13a)*

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who reported that the officer carefully listened to their concerns, explanation, or version of events ranged from 43.9% to 100%. Respondents from Ward 3 were *most likely* (100%) to believe that the officer listened carefully to their concerns, explanation or version of events.

*Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 13b)*

- The proportion of respondents in each race who reported that the officer carefully listened to their concerns, explanation, or version of events ranged from 42.9% to 100%. There were no statistically significant differences in respondents’ perceptions that the police listened to them carefully as a function of race/ethnicity.
- African Americans were somewhat split on their perceptions (*see Table 13b in Appendix D*), with 55.4% responding that the police listened carefully and 44.6% saying they did not listen carefully. Over 28% of African American respondents said the police “didn’t listen *at all*” (n = 63).

*Gender Analysis (see Table 13c)*

- The proportion of respondents in each gender who reported that the officer carefully listened to their concerns, explanation, or version of events ranged from 53.5% to 71.7%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

**Age Group Analysis** (see Table 13d)

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who reported that the officer carefully listened to their concerns, explanation, or version of events ranged from 49.1% to 76.6%. There were no statistically significant differences by age.

**Income Group Analysis** (see Table 13e)

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who reported that the officer carefully listened to their concerns, explanation, or version of events ranged from 30.0% to 86.4%. There were no statistically significant differences by income.

**G. Perceptions about fairness of the outcome of the stop.**

(if stopped by the police in the past 12 months)

**Survey Question 19:** To what extent do you believe the outcome of the stop was fair, even if you were unhappy with it? The scale ranges from very fair to very unfair. Was the outcome: 1) Very fair? 2) Somewhat fair? 3) Somewhat unfair? 4) Very unfair? or 5) Are you unsure?<sup>53</sup>

**Extent of belief that the outcome of the stop was fair**



**Results:** Overall, close to seven of every ten (68.7%) D.C. respondents stopped by a police officer within the past 12 months believed the outcome of the stop was fair (see **Table U**). Variations were found by ward, as well as household income, using a chi square analysis. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table U. Extent of Belief that the Outcome of the Stop Was Fair**

Unsure	Very Unfair	SW Unfair	SW Fair	Very Fair	N
0	62	39	112	111	324
0.2%	19.1%	12.1%	34.6%	34.1%	100.0%

SW Unfair = Somewhat Unfair, SW Fair = Somewhat Fair

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across wards, but not regarding race, age, gender, and income. All results are presented in the appended tables 14a through

<sup>53</sup> There were no unsure responses for this question.

(see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.

#### ***Ward-level Analysis (see Table 14a)***

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who believed the outcome of the stop was fair ranged from 48.1% to 96.3%. Respondents from Ward 3 (96.3%) were *more likely* than those from Wards 5 (54.9%), 7 (57.9%), and 8 (48.1%) to believe that the outcome of the stop was fair ( $z = 3.50, p <.01$ ;  $z = 2.98, p <.01$ ;  $z = 3.56, p <.01$ , respectively).
- Respondents from Ward 6 (88.9%) were *more likely* than respondents from Wards 5 (54.9%) and 8 (48.1%) to believe that the outcome of the stop was fair ( $z = 3.18, p <.01$  and  $z = 3.13, p <.01$ , respectively).

#### ***Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 14b)***

- The proportion of respondents in each race who believed the outcome of the stop was fair ranged from 57.1% to 87.5%. There were no statistically significant differences by race.

#### ***Gender Analysis (see Table 14c)***

- The proportion of respondents in each gender who believed the outcome of the stop was fair ranged from 67.2% to 70.1%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

#### ***Age Group Analysis (see Table 14d)***

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who believed the outcome of the stop was fair ranged from 64.8% to 73.9%. There were no statistically significant differences by age.

#### ***Income Group Analysis (see Table 14e)***

- The proportion of respondents in each income level who believed the outcome of the stop was fair ranged from 27.5% to 85.6%. There were no statistically significant differences by income.

### **3.5 Construct Three: Police Legitimacy**

Legitimacy is a concept that addresses the public's willingness to comply with authority figures and their sense that it is their obligation to obey the police. It reflects the belief that the police should be afforded the opportunity (not just by official right or position) to exercise their authority to maintain social order and fight crime, something that often results from trust. When the people

are willing to be governed by the police (i.e., feel the police are a legitimate authority), compliance with laws is greater and there are generally higher levels of confidence in the police. Many have also argued that legitimacy is the result of the public’s belief that police behavior is morally justified and appropriate to the circumstances. The questions making up this construct are 10 and 11 (see **Appendix B, Survey Instruments**).

### Overview of Results Related to Police Legitimacy

Overall, police legitimacy was demonstrated to be high among respondents in D.C. with more than 90% of respondents agreeing that they have an obligation to obey the police and that they should comply with lawful police requests. Those in the younger age group (18–34 years old), were least likely to believe they had an obligation to obey or comply with lawful requests, but they still had 85% agreement or more. While there were differences by age, there were no meaningful differences by race alone.<sup>54</sup> While there were no racial differences in feeling compelled to comply, when considering age and race together there is a large effect. African Americans from the youngest age group (18–34) felt considerably more strongly that they should comply with lawful requests by police, as compared to Whites of the same ages. This important finding represents an interaction between race and age.

### Detailed Findings Related to Police Legitimacy

#### A. Perceptions of residents on whether people have an *obligation to obey* the police.

**Survey Question 10:** Let’s shift to your general impressions about police authority. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: People generally have an obligation to obey the police? Do you: 1) Strongly agree? 2) Agree? 3) Disagree? 4) Strongly Disagree? or 5) Are you unsure?

#### Extent of agreement on obligation to obey the police



**Results:** Overall, respondents strongly and overwhelmingly endorsed the belief that they have an obligation to obey the police. District-wide, close to nine of every ten respondents (86.4%) agreed with this proposition (see **Table V**). Variations were found by ward, race/ethnicity, age,

<sup>54</sup> There was one statistically significant difference in obligation to obey, but it was between a very high rating by African Americans (89%) and even higher for Asians who had 100% compliance. This may stem from a cultural difference among many Asians whose heritage is from countries in which compliance with the police is unquestioned and other possible reasons should be explored.

and household income, using a chi square analysis. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table V. Extent of Agreement on Obligation to Obey the Police**

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
100	38	148	1039	779	2103
4.8%	1.8%	7.0%	49.4%	37.0%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across wards, race, age, and income but not for gender. All results are presented in the appended tables 6a through 6g (see **Appendix D**). and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>55</sup>

*Ward-Level Analysis (see Table 6a)*

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who agreed that people generally have an obligation to obey the police ranged from 87.1% to 96.0%. While the vast majority of respondents across all wards (87% or higher) agreed that people have an obligation to obey the police, the largest and only statistically significant difference in this perception was between respondents from Wards 2 (96.0%) and 5 (87.1%),  $z = 3.50$ ,  $p < .001$ . However, it is important to note that this is a difference between high and very high, and therefore neither should raise concerns.

*Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 6b)*

- The proportion of respondents in each race who agreed that people generally have an obligation to obey the police ranged from 88.9% to 100%. While the vast majority of respondents across all racial groups (88% and higher) agree that people have an obligation to obey the police, the largest and only statistically significant difference in this perception was between African-American (88.9%) and Asian (100%) respondents,  $z = -2.94$ ,  $p < .01$ . Again, this is a difference between very high and the highest possible, so this should not be interpreted as problematic.

*Gender Analysis (see Table 6c)*

- The proportion of respondents in each gender who agreed that people generally have an obligation to obey the police ranged from 89.0% to 92.9%. There were no statistically significant differences by gender identity.

<sup>55</sup> These analyses exclude unsure responses (n = 100).

*Age Group Analysis (see Table 6d)*

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who agreed that people generally have an obligation to obey the police ranged from 85.3% to 95.6%. While those in the 18–34 age group<sup>56</sup> were still highly inclined to believe they have an obligation to obey the police as were their counterparts in the other age groups (over 85.3%), they were the *least likely* to agree as compared to those aged:
  - 35–44 (92.5%),  $z = -3.28, p < .001$ ;
  - 45–54 (95.6%),  $z = -4.52, p < .001$ ;
  - 55–65 (94.4%),  $z = -3.67, p < .001$ ; and
  - 65 + (95.2%),  $z = -4.32, p < .001$ .

*Income Group Analysis (see Table 6e)*

- The proportion of respondents in each income level who agreed that people generally have an obligation to obey the police ranged from 82.1% to 95.5%. A statistically significant difference in the belief that respondents should obey the police was found between respondents in the \$100,001–\$150,000 (95.5%) and \$150,001–\$200,000 (86.7%) income brackets,  $z = 3.46, p < .001$ , demonstrating slightly less agreement in the higher-income bracket.

**B. Residents’ beliefs on whether they *should comply with a lawful request*.**

**Survey Question 11:** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: When a police officer makes a lawful request of someone, I believe it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don’t agree with it/ like it. Do you: 1) Strongly agree? 2) Agree? 3) Disagree? 4) Strongly Disagree? or 5) Are you unsure?

**Extent of agreement on appropriateness for a person to comply**



**Results:** Similar to the results for obligation to obey the police, respondents offered strong support for complying with an officer’s request. Overall, close to nine of every ten (86.2%) respondents believed people should comply with lawful requests (see **Table W**). Variations

<sup>56</sup> All comparisons referencing the age group from 18–34 years represent considerably more people because it includes a 17-year age range compared to most others that cover a 10-year range (except for those 65+; however, the response rate for that age group was considerably lower).

were found by ward, race/ethnicity, gender, age, and household income. The statistically significant findings are detailed below.

**Table W. Extent of Agreement on Appropriateness for a Person to Comply**

Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N
141	25	126	1072	739	2103
6.7%	1.2%	6.0%	51.0%	35.2%	100.0%

**Group Differences:** In examining differences across wards, race, age, gender, and household income, we found statistically significant group differences across wards, age, income, race by age, and race by income but not for race. All results are presented in the appended tables 7a through 7g (see **Appendix D**), and the statistically significant differences are detailed below under each header.<sup>57</sup>

*Ward-Level Analysis (see Table 7a)*

- The proportion of respondents in each ward who agreed it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don't agree with it/like it, ranged from 85.0% to 99.6%. The vast majority of respondents (85% or more) from all wards believe people should comply with lawful requests made by police officers.
- Although respondents across all wards felt strongly (85% to 99%) that people should comply with lawful requests made by police, some wards had statistically higher levels of agreement than others, as shown below.
  - Respondents living in Ward 3 were significantly *more likely* (99.6%) than those living in the following wards to believe people should comply with lawful requests made by police officers:
    - Ward 1 (92.1%),  $z = 4.09, p < .001$ ;
    - Ward 4 (85.0%),  $z = 5.96, p < .001$ ;
    - Ward 7 (89.4%),  $z = 4.84, p < .001$ ; and
    - Ward 8 (94.2%),  $z = 3.35, p < .001$ .
- While these differences were demonstrated, it is important to emphasize the fact that even the statistically significant differences are between gradations of high and higher.
- Respondents living in Ward 4 were significantly *less likely* (85.0%) than those living in Wards 2 (95.5%) and 6 (95.7%) to believe people should comply with

<sup>57</sup> These analyses exclude unsure responses (n = 141).

lawful requests made by police officers ( $z = -3.83, p < .001$  and  $z = -4.11, p < .001$ , respectively), but again, their level of agreement was very high.

#### ***Race/Ethnicity Analysis (see Table 7b)***

- The proportion of respondents in each race who agreed it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don't agree with it/like it, ranged from 90.0% to 97.3%. Across all race/ethnicities, most respondents *strongly believed* (> 90%) they should comply with lawful requests by police. There were no statistically significant differences in this belief across the various race and ethnicity groups.

#### ***Gender Analysis (see Table 7c)***

- The proportion of respondents from each of three gender categories who believed they should comply with lawful police requests ranged from 52.2% to 95.6%. Males and females were considerably *more likely* (95.6% and 90.0%, respectively) than those non-binary identified individuals (52.2%) to agree that it is appropriate to comply with a lawful request by a police officer, even if they do not agree with it ( $z = 6.82, p < .001$  and  $z = 4.24, p < .001$ , respectively).
- While both males and females were highly likely to agree that it is appropriate to comply with lawful requests, even when they do not agree with it, males were slightly, but significantly *more likely* than females to feel this way,  $z = 4.60, p < .001$ .

#### ***Age Group Analysis (see Table 7d)***

- The proportion of respondents in each age group who agreed it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don't agree with it/like it, ranged from 87.2% to 96.0%. Across all age groups, respondents very much agreed that people should comply with lawful requests by officers (> 87%).
- While also agreeing at a high rate, respondents aged 18–34 were significantly less likely (87.2%) than members of all other age groups to agree that it is appropriate to comply with a lawful request by a police officer, as follows.<sup>58</sup>
  - 35–44 (94.8%),  $z = -3.80, p < .001$
  - 45–54 (95.9%),  $z = -4.1, p < .001$
  - 55–64 (96.0%),  $z = -3.80, p < .001$
  - 65 + (95.7%),  $z = -3.87, p < .001$

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<sup>58</sup> All comparisons referencing the age group from 18–34 years represent considerably more people because it includes a 17-year age range compared to most others that cover a 10-year range (except for those 65+; however, the response rate for that group was considerably lower).

### *Household Income Analysis (see Table 7e)*

- The proportion of respondents in each income level who agreed it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don't agree with it/like it, ranged from 84.5% to 96.6%. Respondents with household incomes between \$25,001 and \$50,000 annually were *least likely* to feel they should comply with police (84.5%) than those in all other income categories (including those making under \$25,000 annually), and all these comparison(s) were statistically significant,  $z = 1.96$ ,  $p = .05$ , except for the lowest income bracket.<sup>59</sup>
  - \$50,000–\$75,000: 90.3%
  - \$75,000–\$100,000: 95.0%
  - \$100,000–\$150,000: 96.6%
  - \$150,000–\$200,000: 94.6%
  - Over \$200,000: 95.9%

### *Differences Within Specific Age and Race/Ethnicity Categories (see Table 7f)*

- While we noted the fact that there were no racial differences in feeling compelled to comply, when considering age and race together, there is a large effect. African Americans from the youngest age group (18–34) felt considerably more strongly (92.9%) that they should comply with lawful requests by police (even when they disagree with them), as compared to White respondents of the same age group (78.6%),  $z = 5.08$ ,  $p < .001$ .

This suggests the possibility that African-American youths have had different experiences or teachings when it comes to interacting with police. When a lawful request is made by police, even if younger African Americans do not agree with it, they are much more likely to comply than are their White peers. It is possible that young African Americans have experienced (personally or vicariously<sup>60</sup>) negative consequences of failure to comply with police locally, regionally, and/or nationally, and therefore may have either greater fear or concern about their safety or well-being in contacts with police.

It could also be that African-American youth receive more instruction from parents or other adults about the need to comply with the police because other adults or parents have warned them based on similar fears or concerns (also possibly rooted in their own or others' experiences) and/or media exposure about actual events

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<sup>59</sup> Those in the lowest income bracket (under \$25,000) were also slightly more likely to feel the need to comply than those in the in the \$25,001–\$50,000 group (90.9% vs. 84.5%)’ however, that comparison didn’t reach statistical significance.

<sup>60</sup> Vicarious experience may be through others they know, or what they see on the internet and tv, especially highly publicized incidents of police brutality against younger, African Americans (especially males).

where African Americans are treated more harshly by some police officers than those of other racial or ethnic groups, especially Whites and Asians.

*Differences Within Specific Income and Race/Ethnicity Categories (see Table 7g)<sup>61</sup>*

- African American and Hispanic respondents with household incomes under \$50,000 were *more likely* (93.0% and 97.6%, respectively) than White respondents (67.8%) to agree that it is appropriate to comply with a lawful request by a police officer, even if they do not agree with it ( $z = 5.94, p < .001$ , and  $z = 3.70, p < .001$ , respectively). The extent to which various lower-income individuals from specific racial groups feel a need to comply with the police is consistent with past studies indicating that race and socio-economic status explain differences in perceptions and legitimacy of the police (see, e.g., Weitzer, 2010; Warren et al., 2006; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009).

### **3.6 Understanding Relationships between the Constructs and Outcomes**

Throughout this report, we have presented respondents' perceptions of police, including the extent to which: 1) respondents find the police to be fair and unbiased, 2) respondents feel the police adequately address their concerns and provide problem-solving assistance, 3) respondents feel the police display procedural justice, and 4) respondents perceive police as legitimate authority figures. We outlined why these are important dimensions of public trust and accountability. In this section, we use the responses from the surveys among D.C. residents to establish the degree to which various behaviors by police influence residents' opinions, as well as the extent to which residents' general perceptions impact their evaluations of outcomes of their encounters with the police. These findings underscore the importance of various factors in obtaining positive outcomes with the police in D.C.

In this section we use a statistical approach called regression modeling that allows us to interpret how various factors may influence outcomes, so that we can better estimate how specific groups of residents are likely to respond in the future based on the results reported herein. This will also allow integration of these findings with research conducted elsewhere that would indicate how the constructs we measured relate to various important outcomes and measures in policing.

We conducted analyses to confirm our expectations that information about several variables should allow us to increase our ability to predict specific outcomes for any given subgroup of individuals or the sample overall. We based these hypotheses on prior research as cited throughout the literature review and the definitions of the variables and constructs in this report.

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<sup>61</sup> The number of residents in the Asian and other groups, with annual incomes under \$50,000 were too low to include in the analysis.

The *outcome variables of interest* included:

- Whether or not residents believed the outcome of the stop was fair (Q19);
- Whether interactions with officers were positive or negative (Q8);
- Residents' perceptions about legitimacy of the police (Q10 and Q11);
- How likely it was that residents would provide information about criminal activity in their neighborhoods (Q12);
- Whether or not residents believe that police are fair and unbiased (Q5); and
- Whether or not residents believed the officer's actions were fair (Q17).

In these analyses, we are assessing whether certain beliefs, experiences, or attitudes can help to explain differences in outcomes (known as dependent variables). The resulting statistic, called an  $R^2$  is reported here to indicate the amount of change in the outcome variable that was explained by the predictor(s) variables over and above the amount explained by the demographic variables. This is a form of correlation or association between two variables, but in this regression analysis, you can learn about which factors lead to various outcomes, as opposed to just understanding that they are somehow related.

For example, height and weight of humans is generally correlated to some extent, meaning the shorter you are, the more likely you are to weigh less than someone much taller (but as you might guess this is not a perfect relationship). However, while they are related, it is far more likely that the height is leading to weight (as you get taller you are likely to weigh more), but the opposite is not likely, that weight is causing height (gaining weight does not make you taller). The  $R^2$  statistic can be converted to a convenient 0–100% scale, by multiplying the value by 100, to provide a sense of the strength of the relationship between the predictors and outcome variables. Given this explanation, we have expectations (hypotheses) about factors we believe would cause the outcomes/dependent variables to go up or down.

**Results:** We have controlled for race, age, income, and gender, so the effects reported represent findings not already accounted for by those variables (i.e., these results are over and above those predicted by demographics). A helpful guide for interpretation of these findings follows:<sup>62</sup>

$R^2$  values that are below .10 = very weak relationships; (results not provided here);  
 $R^2$  values between .10–.29 = weak relationships;  
 $R^2$  values between .30–.49 = moderately strong relationships; and  
 $R^2$  values of .50 and above = strong to very strong relationships.

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<sup>62</sup> These squared correlations are based on adjusted  $R^2$  and the rule of thumb interpretations by Cohen (1992), and later revised by Sawilowsky (2009). However, there has been considerable debate about effect size interpretation in recent years.

**Question 1:** To what extent do beliefs that police are generally fair and unbiased (Q5) impact the perceptions that:

- Officers' actions in stops are fair (Q17)?
  - i. Result:  $R^2 = .37$ ,  $p < .001$
  - ii. Effect size: Moderately strong relationship

Interpretation: This finding indicates that the extent to which one believes that police are generally fair and unbiased is likely to affect his or her evaluation that officers behave in a fair manner when they have encounters with them. This confirmed the hypothesis that one's general beliefs about the police would influence how they interpret subsequent behavior by the police.

Perceptions about fairness also impacted the likelihood that someone would feel that the outcome of a police stop is fair, but to a much lesser extent.

**Question 2:** To what extent do beliefs about the police doing a good job working with the community to solve local problems (Q6) impact:

- Beliefs that officers' actions in encounters were fair? (Q17)
  - i. Result:  $R^2 = .30$ ,  $p < .001$
  - ii. Effect size: Moderately strong relationship

Interpretation: This finding indicates that when residents feel the police do a good job working with the community to solve problems, that they are more likely to find an officer's actions in an encounter to be fair.

- Beliefs that outcomes of stops were fair? (Q19)
  - i. Result:  $R^2 = .35$ ,  $p < .001$
  - ii. Effect size: Moderately strong relationship

Interpretation: This finding indicates that those who feel the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems are subsequently more likely to find the outcome of a stop by police to be fair.

**Question 3:** To what extent do officers' provisions of clear explanations for stops (Q15) impact:

- Perceptions that officer's actions were fair? (Q17)

i. Result:  $R^2 = .46$ ,  $p < .001$

ii. Effect size: Moderately strong to strong relationship

Interpretation: This finding indicates that when officers provide clear explanations (as perceived by residents), the residents will be much more likely to rate officers' actions in subsequent stops to be fair. This underscores the importance of officers providing explanations for stops, as it appears to enhance feelings of procedural justice.

- Beliefs that the police are generally fair and unbiased? (Q5)

i. Result:  $R^2 = .32$ ,  $p < .001$

ii. Effect size: Moderately strong relationship

Interpretation: This finding indicates that when officers provide clear explanations (as perceived by residents), the residents will be more likely to believe that the police are generally fair and unbiased. Again, this underscores the importance of clear relationships to improving perceptions of police overall.

## **Chapter IV: Discussion of Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations**

### **4.1 Discussion of Findings and Conclusions**

The relationship between law enforcement and the communities they serve has been the focus of a growing body of research that demonstrates its importance in co-production of community safety (Gau, 2010; Percy, 1978). “Co-production might entail preventive measures, such as putting locks on doors and alarm systems in cars, but it also means reporting crime, providing information to police, and serving as witnesses” (Sabet, 2014, p. 4). Research has also stressed the importance of a strong police-community relationship in crime control (Fontaine, Leitson, Jannetta, & Paddock, 2017; Jetelina et al., 2017; Nalla, Meško, & Modic, 2018) and individuals’ willingness to report crimes to police as well as to assist and cooperate with law enforcement personnel (Kruger et al., 2016), especially for those in certain racial/ethnic groups (Nadal & Davidoff, 2015).

Over the past 20 years, the emphasis on what matters in measuring police performance has been evolving. In 1999, while focusing on “measuring what matters” in policing, Wesley Skogan emphasized crime, disorder, and fear of victimization, and to a lesser extent visibility of police and objective aspects of encounters, as the key elements. However, in that same report, Skogan was among the earlier scholars to note that quality of policing was important, noting that “remarkably little attention has been focused on developing measurements of public assessment of police service” (Skogan, 1999, p. 51). He noted that in his work in Chicago, they had begun to ask about “how good a job” residents felt the police do, how satisfied they are with the police, and how well police behave toward people in their neighborhoods. Interestingly, he reported that about 15 to 20 percent of respondents who assert that they “don’t know” are older, have not had recent contact with the police, generally don’t watch televisions, and/or are uninvolved in their neighborhoods. Shortly after that, the National Institute of Justice published a report on what matters to residents in terms of satisfaction with the police (Reisig & Parks, 2002), noting that “law enforcement administrators have long been concerned about the level of public satisfaction with police. Such sensitivity is especially appropriate in community policing jurisdictions that emphasize interaction with community members, seeking their trust, cooperation, and assistance” (p. 1).

Perhaps not surprisingly, today the dimensions of police performance dominating the scientific literature focus on the quality of policing—specifically community policing (including perceptions about fair and unbiased policing), procedural justice in encounters, and legitimacy—all key factors in shaping various groups’ perceptions of the police. As such, the questions selected for the citywide survey of residents in D.C. reflect these important aspects of police-community relations, consistent with the scientific literature on what matters in policing (Blumstein, 1999; Davis et al., 2015; Kelling, 1999; van Dijk, 2015).

The survey responses were weighted to best reflect the population demographics of D.C. and are therefore likely to be representative of the population, with 2,103 surveys completed. While residents were asked about exposure and experiences with various law enforcement agencies

having jurisdiction in D.C., the vast majority of respondents reported having the most contact with officers from the MPD.

## Community Policing

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office), community policing emphasizes proactive problem solving (COPS Office, 2018). “Community policing is, in essence, a collaboration between the police and the community that identifies and solves community problems” (Community Policing Consortium, 1994). In a recent systematic review of community policing, researchers found that community policing strategies have positive effects on citizen satisfaction, perceptions of disorder, and police legitimacy, but limited effects on crime and fear of crime, despite earlier modest findings related to fear reduction (Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, & Bennett, 2014).



**Figure 1:** Components of Community Policing<sup>63</sup>

For example, regarding community policing, respondents were asked about their willingness to provide information about crime and criminal activity to the police, an important aspect of community policing as it demonstrates community members’ role in co-production of community safety. Similarly, respondents were asked about whether the police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with them via outreach, social media, or other local media, to demonstrate the willingness of the police to provide information that the community deems important. Other key aspects of community policing were also tapped by this survey, including perceptions of community members’ interactions during routine, non-emergency contacts with the police, and the extent to which residents believe that officers adequately address concerns raised by them when requesting assistance from the police.

The COPS Office suggests that “Community policing emphasizes proactive problem solving in a systematic and routine fashion. Rather than responding to crime only after it occurs, community policing encourages agencies to proactively develop solutions to the immediate underlying conditions contributing to public safety problems” (COPS Office, 2019a). Accordingly, respondents were asked about whether they believe the police with whom they have the most contact do a good job working with the community to solve local problems, one of the primary functions of community policing.

The National Institute of Justice, the scientific arm of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), has also recently emphasized the need to promote research to build trust and confidence between police and communities (NIJ, 2017). Additionally, the COPS Office, another arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, has emphasized that community policing begins with “a commitment to building trust and mutual respect between police and communities. It is critical to public safety, ensuring that all

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<sup>63</sup> COPS Office, 2019b

stakeholders work together to address our nation's crime challenges” (COPS Office, 2019b). Importantly, researchers have found that when residents feel that they have been treated with respect and fairness by the police, they are generally more cooperative and compliant with the police (see, e.g., Meares 2013, 2015; Murphy & Gaylor, 2010; Tyler, 2001; and Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

Some researchers have found that police working in predominantly minority communities where crime is higher may have little time to engage in community policing as they are busy responding to calls for service and crime.

### ***Discussion of Findings Regarding Community Policing***

*Mutual information-sharing.* When considering community members’ willingness to share information about criminal activity with the police, the vast majority of respondents (82.4%)<sup>64</sup> said they are either likely or very likely to do so. However, when examining the extent to which respondents felt the police share necessary and/or relevant information with the community, just over half (51.4%)<sup>65</sup> agreed that the police do so, with more than one-fifth (21.8%) unsure. The level of uncertainty suggests that respondents may not be aware of the communications provided by the police. The results, however, do not include reasons for these responses, which limited the ability of the authors to elaborate on possible explanations for the accompanying uncertainty about the police sharing information. Moreover, as noted previously, this survey did not include a review of police communications methods or content.

When considering group differences, respondents from Ward 4, while being likely (78%) to provide information about criminal activity to the police, were somewhat less likely to do so than residents from Ward 3 (92%) and Ward 5 (91%). Importantly, the population in both Wards 4 and 5 consists of a majority of African-American residents, although this is not true for Ward 3. It is not clear, then, what the ward-level differences may indicate. However, it may indicate the complex intersection of race and neighborhood of residence. Is it possible that respondents from Ward 4 have had slightly less-positive interactions with the police, or that their neighborhood context may lead to fear of retaliation from criminals in their neighborhoods? These types of questions cannot be answered from the data generated by this survey but may be the subject of consideration by command staff and Police Service Area (PSA) personnel whose areas of responsibility include residents in Ward 4.

Also, African-American respondents (60%) were less likely than Whites (73%) to believe that the police share necessary and relevant information with residents. While the reasons behind this finding are unknown, one possibility is that the communication sources relied upon by those in the African-American community may differ from those in which the police disseminate information.

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<sup>64</sup> Includes unsure responses; with such responses excluded the total percentage increases to 87.4%.

<sup>65</sup> This figure includes unsure responses; with such responses excluded the total percentage increases to 65.6%.

*Addressing concerns when assistance was requested.* Of the 1,160 (55.2%) respondents that reported requesting assistance from the police, 83% felt the officers adequately addressed their concerns, with no significant differences by race. However, there were some differences across income groups. Importantly, respondents across all income groups were at least 75% in agreement that officers adequately addressed their concerns, suggesting that the differences were just between high and even higher levels of agreement, with the lowest level coming from those in the lowest income bracket and the significant difference being only when compared to the group earning \$100,001 to \$150,000 annually. While the fact that the group difference did not extend to those in even higher income categories makes this finding hard to interpret, it might suggest that those in the lowest income category have a large number of needs, not all of which can be addressed by the police or that police are not willing or able to address some of the concerns raised by this disadvantaged group. Another interesting group difference regarding income is the fact that those in the highest income category (over \$200,000) were somewhat less likely than those from the \$100,001 to \$150,000 group to feel the officers adequately addressed their concerns, (77% vs. 87%, respectively). While the reason is unclear, the finding may reflect a greater level of expectation by those individuals or an expectation that the police will provide them with increased attention, as they may be accustomed to in other settings. Alternatively, it is also possible that officers may not be as able or willing to provide a sufficient resolution for whatever reason.

*Working with the community to solve problems.* Over half (54%)<sup>66</sup> of respondents felt the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems, although it is most notable among older respondents. Specifically, residents who were 65 or older were more likely (78.4%) than residents in the two youngest age brackets (18–34 and 35–44) to agree that the police do a good job working with the local community to solve problems (78.4% vs. 54.1% and 61.8%, respectively). Asian and White residents were significantly *more likely* (86.0% and 71.6 %, respectively) than African-American residents (56.3%) to agree that the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems.

While a number of other questions related to fairness and equity relate to community policing, procedural justice, and legitimacy, they are being discussed under the procedural justice section for the purposes of the report, and are reflected in the survey matrix as such. These findings follow.

## **Procedural Justice**

Procedural justice “describes the idea that how individuals regard the justice system is tied more to the perceived fairness of the process and how they were treated rather than the perceived fairness of the outcome” (COPS Office, 2013). An extensive body of research provides compelling evidence for the importance of procedural justice in understanding police-community interactions, public perceptions of the police, and perceptions about police legitimacy (see, e.g., Gold, 2013; La Vigne et al., 2017; Lum et al., 2016; Nadal et al., 2017; Nix, Pickett, Wolfe, & Campbell, 2017;

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<sup>66</sup> Includes unsure responses; with such responses excluded the total percentage increases to 63.9%.

Owens, Weisburd, Amendola, & Alpert, 2018; Peterson, Reichert, & Konefal, 2017; Wolfe, Nix, Kaminski, & Rojek, 2016). In an experimental study, researchers reported that individuals who experience procedurally fair treatment are more likely to view the police as legitimate compared to individuals who receive neutral or procedurally unfair treatment (Murphy, Mazerolle, and Bennett, 2014). The idea of procedural justice was perhaps best encapsulated by training in the Seattle Police Department, summarized in the training titled “Listen and Explain with Equity and Dignity” or LEED (Rahr, Diaz, & Hawe, 2012).

### ***Discussion of Findings Regarding Procedural Justice***

*Agreement that police clearly explained reason for stop.* As two key dimensions of procedural justice are listening and explaining, the importance of “explaining” the reasons for the stop cannot be overstated. About 65% of respondents reported that police clearly explained the reasons for the stop. However, African Americans who were stopped by police were significantly less likely to believe that police clearly explained the reasons for the stop than were White respondents (61% vs. 83%, respectively).

*Extent to which officers listened to respondents’ concerns, explanations, or version of events.* Further, over a fourth of African Americans stopped by police indicated that the police “didn’t listen *at all*” (n = 63, 28.1%) which is higher than that of all other groups. Although this finding should be interpreted with caution since it was not statistically significant, it does follow a similar pattern of less favorable experiences by African Americans when being stopped by police. In a recent study in Kansas City, researchers found that the perceived effectiveness of public communication by the police has a more substantial impact on public satisfaction with police protection and crime prevention than neighborhood crime rates and broken windows factors (Ho & Cho, 2017), suggesting that improved communication by the police in individual encounters as well as more broadly may improve quality of life for residents.

*Describing interactions in routine, non-emergency situations.* Almost three-fourths (73%)<sup>67</sup> of respondents rated their interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations as positive. While these ratings were high across all comparison groups, the primary group difference that was statistically significant was between African Americans and Whites, with Whites being slightly more likely to report that these interactions were positive.

*Beliefs about police being generally fair and unbiased.* Overall, just over two-thirds (67%) of respondents found the police (with whom they had the most contact) to be fair and unbiased. Younger respondents (ages 18–34) were somewhat less likely (69%) than those from the two eldest groups (80–84%) to find the police to be generally fair and unbiased.

Consistent with existing research on procedural justice, there are differences in residents’ perceptions about procedural fairness based on race and ethnicity. African-American residents

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<sup>67</sup> Includes unsure responses; with such responses excluded the total percentage increases to 86.9%.

who responded to this survey were statistically less likely (67%) to find the police to be fair and unbiased as compared to White or Asian respondents (81% and 88%, respectively), and respondents from two predominantly African-American wards (Ward 4 and Ward 7) were also less likely than those in wards that have fewer African American residents to find the police fair and unbiased.

*Fairness and disproportionality of stops.* The way in which “stops” are defined can vary across studies. In our study, the definition was very clear (“In the past 12 months, have you been stopped by a police officer in D.C. while you were walking, in a vehicle, or on your bike?”) African-American respondents were significantly more likely to report having been stopped by police as compared to Whites (22% vs. 7%), a rate which is substantially more variable than that found among national statistics, most of which have been collected at the State or Highway Patrol level.

However, when considering a broader array of agencies at the local levels in the nationally representative Bureau of Justice Statistics’ report (2015)<sup>68</sup>, African-Americans were only slightly more likely than Whites to be contacted<sup>69</sup> by police (11.3% vs. 11.2%, respectively). Also, African Americans (9.8%) were only somewhat more likely than Whites (8.6%) to be the driver in a traffic stop. A larger difference was found when considering street stops where 1.5% of African-Americans were stopped on the street compared to just 0.9% of Whites; a statistically significant difference (Davis, Whyde, & Langton, 2018). Studies in comparable cities also confirm a lower disparity in stops between African Americans and Whites. For example, in San Diego (CA), a city with over 1.4 million residents, African Americans were 50% more likely to be stopped than were Whites (Bejarano, 2001), which is significantly lower than that found in this study. In metropolitan Nashville, a jurisdiction of roughly 692,000<sup>70</sup>, African-American drivers were stopped 44% more often than Whites (Chohlas-Wood, Goel, Shoemaker, & Shroff, R., 2018), again a lower discrepancy than in DC. However, we did find one comparable city for which there was a higher disparity rate than that in DC, Oakland (CA) with a population of roughly 425,000. In Oakland, stop rates consisted of 13% for Whites, vs. 59.8% for African Americans (Hetey et al., 2016).

Comparisons of stop rates based on vehicular versus pedestrian stops is an important comparison to make when considering whether profiling is occurring, as are the outcomes of stops (e.g., rates at which residents of different races/ethnicities are searched, ticketed, arrested, etc.), officer characteristics, and other factors when making determinations about disproportionality. The fact that more African Americans were stopped by police in D.C. does represent a disparity in stop rates. However, it does not necessarily infer that racial profiling is an issue; such a determination would require substantially more data about the stops than we were able to collect as well as a

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<sup>68</sup> Generated from the Police-Public Contact Survey, a supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey.

<sup>69</sup> Being stopped by police while in a public place or a parked vehicle (i.e., street stop), being stopped by police while driving a motor vehicle (i.e., traffic stop), riding as a passenger in a car that was stopped by police, being arrested, or being stopped or approached by police for some other reason.

<sup>70</sup> Metropolitan Nashville is considerably larger.

much more thorough analysis.<sup>71</sup> In fact, an analysis of the appropriate benchmark for comparing stops needs to be considered in the analysis (census representation is no longer seen as a relevant benchmark, with some studies using the driving population as a comparison, accident rates, or other more sensitive measures).

*Beliefs about bias and profiling by police.* Among the 325 respondents who reported that they had been stopped by the police in the past year, about half believed they were profiled for at least one reason. More than half of those individuals felt that they were profiled for more than one reason, and 37.3% believed they were stopped solely based on race. Considering that the “equity” aspect of procedural justice deals with perceptions of fairness, both general impressions as reported, and actual stops of residents suggest that African Americans’ level of satisfaction with procedural justice was lower than that of other groups.

*Beliefs that officers’ actions and outcomes in stops are fair and justified.* When considering residents stopped by police (15.4%), just over half (54%) of respondents felt the actions of the police were fair and justified. Also, African Americans (49%) were significantly less likely than Whites (73%) and Asians (100%) to agree that officers’ actions in stops were fair and justified. When considering whether the outcomes of the stops were considered fair, even if the residents were unhappy with them, over two-thirds (69%) of respondents agreed that the outcomes were fair. However, other than a few differences among wards, there were no statistically significant group differences on other variables such as race and age. This finding suggests that experiences by African American respondents differ from other groups in terms of perceptions about the behavior of the police, but not the outcomes, suggesting the importance of procedural justice in establishing racial equity.

## **Legitimacy**

Legitimacy has been defined as the approval of the authority of police because of who they are and how they act (Tyler & Jackson, 2014), and most scholars generally concur that police legitimacy is shaped by public opinions and beliefs generated from public trust and confidence in the police, a sense of obligation and responsibility to accept police authority, and a belief that police actions are morally justified and appropriate to the circumstances (Tyler & Fischer, 2014). Jacinta M. Gau (2013) suggested that police depend heavily upon legitimacy as a means of securing the public’s cooperation, compliance, and support, and noted that evidence has demonstrated that people who think highly of the police are more likely to report that they would cooperate with officers, offer information that they had about crimes or suspected offenders, participate in community-policing efforts, accept officers’ decisions, comply with officer

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<sup>71</sup> A determination of profiling by police cannot be based on these data alone, but would require an assessment across all racial groups (or at least between African Americans and Caucasians) that would take into account all stops (not just those of respondents), the reasons for the stops, whether the individuals or their property were searched, and the outcomes (warning, ticket/summons, contraband found, arrests made, etc.) across comparison groups to assess patterns for stops, searches, and various outcomes by group.

commands, and obey the law. Notably, the National Research Council has described legitimacy as one of the most socially and politically important outcomes of policing.

Compliance can be the result of respect and deference to authority, or it can be due to concern or fear about the consequences of non-compliance. From the standpoint of legitimacy, compliance would result from the degree of respect for authority and the law, rather than fear which is characteristic of authoritative and/or corrupt justice officials. As such, it is important that compliance be examined from both the perspective of respect (an aspect of police legitimacy) as well as from the perspective of coercion, as compliance may be the result of both approaches. In this study, we did not examine these specific perspectives and as such must carefully examine possible reasons for compliance by various groups, as opposed to simply focusing on willingness to comply in various contexts.

### ***Discussion of Findings Regarding Legitimacy***

This survey of policing in D.C. suggests that respondents generally found the police to be a legitimate authority. Over 85% of respondents felt that they have an obligation to obey the police and a willingness to comply with lawful requests by police. Although all age groups were highly inclined to believe they have an obligation to obey police and comply with their lawful requests, those in the youngest age group (18–34 years old), were significantly less likely to hold these views.

While we noted that there were no racial differences in feeling compelled to comply, when considering age and race together there is a large effect. Specifically, Whites from the youngest age group (18–34) felt considerably less strongly (79%) that they should comply with lawful requests by police (even when they disagree with them), as compared to African-American respondents of the same age group (93%). We did not identify scientific literature that examined the relationship between race and age when considering compliance with the law. However, interpreting this finding may prove somewhat complex. Given the fact that compliance may stem from respect for (and legitimacy of) police, fear, or feelings of coercion, these findings should be interpreted with caution. Possible explanations are provided below.

Additionally, when considering gender, the willingness to comply with lawful police requests ranged from 52.2% to 95.6%. Males and females were considerably *more likely* (95.6% and 90.0%, respectively) than those non-binary identified individuals (52.2%) to agree that it is appropriate to comply with a lawful request by a police officer, even if they do not agree with it ( $z = 6.82, p < .001$  and  $z = 4.24, p < .001$ , respectively). These large differences in compliance between males and females vs. those with a non-binary gender suggests a concern about non-binary individuals' relationship with the police. It is possible that it stems from experience and/or lack of trust. This raises questions about compliance and what that may represent to non-binary individuals. Our data does not provide enough detail for us to answer this question or identify an underlying cause for the substantially lower number. However, this finding is perhaps not

surprising when considering the research literature. When it comes to sexual minority groups, many studies report that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals were more likely to report a negative experience with police officers than heterosexuals (Nadal, Skolnik, & Wong, 2012; Stoudt, Fox, & Fine, 2012).

### **Racial Differences in Public Perceptions of the Police**

Overall, the findings related to differences between African Americans and others (mostly White residents) are certainly consistent with existing research on racial differences in perceptions of the police. Respondents of color are less likely to express positive community-police relationships (Cera & Coleman, 2014; Berthelot, McNeal, & Baldwin, 2018). More specifically, African Americans have shown less satisfaction, trust, and confidence in police than Whites, Hispanics, and Asians (Berthelot, et al., 2018; Huggins, 2012; Nadal & Davidoff, 2015; Reisig & Parks, 2002). Furthermore, while researchers have demonstrated that police enjoy high levels of overall community satisfaction, levels of satisfaction are consistently lower among African-American and Hispanic communities, and *especially* among younger minority males who have greater contact with the police (Lum & Nagin, 2017).

Nevertheless, in this study, African Americans rated their interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations as positive (84%), although the difference may seem slight but it is large enough to be considered a statistically significant difference when compared to Whites (91%). And, African American respondents reported being very likely to provide information about criminal activity to the police (85.1%), although they were slightly – but significantly – less likely to do so than Asians and Hispanics (98.6% and 93.9%, respectively), but not Whites.

Importantly, in this survey, African-American respondents were significantly more likely to report being stopped by police in the past year as compared to Whites (22% vs. 7%), a rate which is substantially more variable than that of other nationally based statistics. Specifically, in a recent Bureau of Justice Statistics report, African Americans were only slightly more likely than Whites to be stopped by police (9.8% vs. 8.6%), although a larger difference was found when considering street stops where 1.5% of blacks were stopped on the street compared to just 0.9% of Whites (Davis et al., 2018).

It is important to also point out that when considering previous data on stops in D.C., a study conducted about 10 years ago demonstrated a smaller group difference than that demonstrated in the current survey. In that study, African Americans were only *slightly* more likely than Whites to report being stopped (20% vs. 17%), although that study focused solely on motor vehicle stops (Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008), whereas the current survey also included pedestrian stops. However, an earlier study of “biased policing” conducted with the MPD by Karen L. Amendola and Edwin E. Hamilton (2004) found no statistically significant differences in likelihood of being stopped (while driving) by race. However, the researchers found a significant difference regarding frequency of stops. Specifically, 17 percent of African American respondents reported being

stopped *three or more times* compared to just 4.3 percent of White respondents who were stopped that frequently. These inconsistent findings over time suggest the need for more consistent, longer-term assessments of racial disparities in vehicular and pedestrian stops. Importantly, Avdi S. Avdiya (2010) suggested that African Americans may be more likely to display negative attitudes toward the police due to frequency of contacts with law enforcement, as they are more likely to be stopped, searched, and mistreated by the police.

While there were no statistically significant differences between White and African-American young adults in terms of obligation to obey the police, there was a difference in willingness to comply, despite both items representing different aspects of police legitimacy. Specifically, White youth were considerably less likely to be willing to comply with lawful requests of police (79%) as compared to African Americans from the same age group (92.9%), even when they disagree with them. If compliance was the result of legitimacy beliefs, we would expect the responses to both questions to be quite consistent across both dimensions of legitimacy (obligation to obey and willingness to comply). However, the fact that young African Americans did not differ from Whites regarding feeling an obligation to obey the police, and yet had significantly higher ratings of willingness to comply suggests that this finding may be more readily explained by fear or concern than legitimacy.

Just what may account for concern of fear-based compliance among African-American young adults might be explained at least in part by several considerations, given the past literature on racial disparities among this population. First, it is certainly possible that African-American young adults have had different experiences or teachings when it comes to interacting with police. As noted, when a lawful request is made by police, even if younger African Americans do not agree with the requests, they are much more likely to comply than are their White peers. It is possible that young African Americans have experienced (personally or vicariously<sup>72</sup>) negative consequences of failure to comply with police locally, regionally, and/or nationally, and therefore may have either greater fear or concern about their safety or well-being in contacts with police. It is also possible that African-American young adults receive more instruction from parents or other adults about the need to comply with the police because of those adults' experiences and/or media exposure about actual events where African Americans appear to have been treated more harshly by some police officers than those of other racial or ethnic groups, especially Whites and Asians. While we cannot be certain about the explanation, interviews with young African Americans and Whites would likely shed light on this issue.

This study pointed out a few additional meaningful differences when comparing responses from African Americans to White respondents, not typically reported in other studies. African Americans stopped by the police were significantly less likely than White respondents to agree that officers clearly explained the reason for the stop (61% vs. 83%, respectively), which as a

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<sup>72</sup> Vicarious experiences may be those reported by friends, neighbors, and relatives, or observed in the media (television, internet, or news reports).

matter of procedure, may account for some of the more negative perceptions overall. In the next section, we describe that when officers are perceived as providing clear explanations for stops, residents are very likely to believe that officers' actions in these stops are fair, and it will also enhance their perceptions that police are generally fair and unbiased as demonstrated in this study. Furthermore, we found that over a fourth of African-American respondents who reported being stopped by police indicated that the police "didn't listen *at all*" (28.1%, n = 63) which is higher than that of all other groups.<sup>73</sup>

### **Why Perceptions Matter**

Emily Owens, David Weisburd, Karen L. Amendola, and Geoffrey P. Alpert (2016, 2018) argued that: (a) higher levels of police legitimacy predict increased rates of citizen compliance, cooperation, and law abidingness; (b) feelings about procedural justice most powerfully predict legitimacy when compared to feelings about favorability and fairness of outcomes (distributive justice); and (c) citizens' personal experiences of police processes have a strong impact on their general assessments of police legitimacy. Accordingly, we were interested in examining the relationships between these important variables.

As such, we examined the extent to which knowledge regarding certain factors can help to explain two important outcomes: whether residents feel officers behave fairly in stops and whether residents feel the police are generally fair and unbiased. We controlled for key demographic variables (race, age, income, and gender), so these findings about police being fair and unbiased are important, independent of those demographic characteristics. We found clear relationships among some of these variables as follows:

- The more strongly that the residents believe the police are generally fair and unbiased, the more likely they will be to feel that officers act fairly if they are stopped by police, and to a lesser extent feel that the outcomes of those stops are fair.
- The more strongly that residents feel the police do a good job working with the community to solve local problems, the more likely they will be to feel that officers act fairly if they are stopped by the police, and they will also be more likely to feel the outcomes of those stops are fair. This indicates that there is a benefit to officers who do a good job engaging the community to solve problems in that residents who are subsequently stopped by police are more likely to find the officer to behave in a fair and unbiased manner and more fairly resolve the stop.
- When officers are perceived as providing clear explanations for stops, residents are also very likely to believe that officers' actions in these stops are fair, and their general perceptions that police are generally fair and unbiased will be enhanced. These findings

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<sup>73</sup> While this result is not statistically significant, that is likely due to the small cell sizes for the other groups; among all comparison groups, 9 or fewer individuals (down to zero) reported that the police didn't listen at all.

demonstrate the importance of procedural justice in police stops, especially as it relates to officers providing clear explanations to residents.

**4.2 Opportunities for Addressing Issues Identified in the Survey, Best Practices, and Associated Recommendations.** The suggestions and recommendations below are based on information generated from this study and existing scientific literature and evidence-based best practices. Because we did not conduct a review of existing practices or policies of the MPD (or other law enforcement agencies operating in D.C.), some of the research, training, and policy recommendations address concerns raised in the report, but in most cases do not take into consideration current police agencies' policies, practices, or training or any planned activities in the police agencies.

#### ***4.2.1 Research and Data Collection***

- Because the responses reflect a high proportion of interactions with MPD as compared to other agencies operating in D.C., an analysis of all survey data for MPD alone may shed more light on specific challenges and opportunities for the MPD without conflating findings or responses relevant to other agencies. While we would not expect the patterns of results to change significantly in this analysis, it would provide more clarity and certainty that the results generated from this study are relevant strictly to the MPD and its officers and eliminate concerns that may have been relevant only to other agencies.
- While the analysis conducted herein considered differences across wards, we discovered that some of these differences could be accounted for by the combination of race and ward of residence. As such, a more in-depth analysis of the response differences between wards in which the majority of residents are African American compared to the remaining wards (in which the majority of residents are White) may reveal more specific actionable data related to neighborhood context. A number of studies demonstrate that perceptions of the police vary not only by race, but race and neighborhood of residence (in terms of disadvantaged or higher crime neighborhoods). The current analysis of wards in D.C. compares each of the wards to each other for the specific questions. However, because the patterns suggest that wards whose composition is majority African American tend to have more negative attitudes and experiences with police, we think it is important to examine race within neighborhood context. There is considerable research suggesting that the neighborhood of residence among African Americans plays a role in explaining variations in the African American experience of police. As such, an analysis of group differences between wards with predominantly African American residents as compared to those with predominantly White residents may provide insights about neighborhood context, and whether certain neighborhood characteristics or officer behavior or interaction styles influence resident

perceptions, thereby allowing the police to better address these discrepancies, where found.

- While the NEAR Act requires data collection on stops by the MPD, it is important that an up-to-date *analysis* of police stops be conducted to assess profiling and/or disproportionate stops of certain subgroups. Such an analysis should cover about three years' worth of data, so the outcome would be several years down the road. However, if the relevant data outlined in the NEAR Act (or at minimum, some of the key data categories) are available for stops from the past three years, we would highly recommend a baseline analysis be done for that period (2015–2018) by a team of policing experts. This would allow for an assessment of disproportionality regarding specific actions across various demographic categories, but especially across race, ethnicity, and age of those stopped.

It is also important to note that officer factors such as age, years of experience, race, ethnicity, and gender as well as shift worked, and average hours worked, including overtime and off-duty employment, should be added to the retrospective analysis, if possible, and most certainly for the prospective data collection effort. Research has demonstrated that some of those factors may be important to the assessment of disproportionality and the types of officers prone to make disproportional stops.

- Due to the significant difference between African Americans and Whites from the 18–34 age group in terms of feeling compelled to obey the police, despite their disagreement with a request or order, it is suggested that a series of separate focus groups be conducted with young African American adults and young White adults to better understand their perceptions and experiences with regard to police stops. The goal would be to obtain a greater understanding of the context of both groups' behaviors, beliefs, and experiences if/when stopped by police (in vehicles or on foot/bicycle). This would allow for a greater understanding about why White residents do not feel as strongly compelled to obey the police (e.g., perhaps they may not perceive the consequences of non-compliance as being detrimental, or some other explanation) and why African-American young adults reported feeling more strongly compelled to comply with police (e.g., it is possible that these residents have concerns about the consequences of not doing so, or some other reason). The collection of this information will better inform the police about the expectations of younger residents and their perceptions about compliance.
- In conducting comparisons across race/ethnicity for different responses, and despite the relatively large sample, the number of Hispanic and Asian respondents to the survey was often too low to demonstrate statistical differences across groups. As such, very

little interpretation of how these groups may differ in their perceptions was captured. Accordingly, we suggest that a series of meetings, focus groups, and/or community meetings be conducted with residents of these communities to more closely examine their perceptions of the police, to ensure that their concerns, if any, are sufficiently addressed.

- Those reporting non-binary as their gender were significantly less likely to be willing to comply with lawful requests by the police than males or females, and as such, more information should be sought from this under-represented group through outreach and if plausible, via focus groups. While the number of respondents identifying as non-binary gender was relatively low, it is possible that additional differences in perceptions may have been identified, if there were more respondents.
- The President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing suggested the following:

Law enforcement agencies should also track and analyze the level of trust communities have in police just as they measure changes in crime. This can be accomplished through consistent *annual* community surveys. [emphasis added] (President’s Task Force, 2015, p. 2 and recommendation 1.7, p. 86)

In response to the President’s Task Force report, Cynthia Lum and Daniel S. Nagin (2017) also noted that “police should routinely, systematically, and rigorously survey citizens on their reactions to policing in general and to specific tactics and regularly report results and actions that will be taken to foster favorable citizen responses and remediate negative responses” (p. 343).

As such, more frequent surveying of community perceptions would be consistent with these best practice recommendations. At a minimum, a similar survey should be conducted at least every three to five years to assess progress and compare to the benchmarks established herein.

While annual surveys can be cost prohibitive, alternatives for collecting data more routinely do exist. Specifically, the *National Law Enforcement Applied Research and Data Platform* provides a no-cost opportunity for both gathering information and comparison to other similarly situated agencies. Established at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the National Institute of Justice sponsored Research Platform is now managed by the National Police Foundation in Washington, D.C., and participation is free to agencies, since it is supported by the National Institute of Justice. There is a community survey that could be administered on behalf of the MPD. In the past year, the original lengthier surveys have been replaced with shorter versions. The benefit of participation in the Platform is benchmarking both internally and with comparison agencies that may be similarly situated. Further information can be found at:

<https://www.policefoundation.org/projects/national-law-enforcement-applied-research-data-platform/>

- While the public's perceptions are important to collect on a routine basis, so too are officers' perceptions about internal procedural justice (such as those associated with promotional processes and disciplinary actions), as well as differential addressing of resource needs, etc. An emerging approach for assessing internal procedural justice like that demonstrated by the Seattle model or available through internal surveys of the *National Law Enforcement Applied Research Data Platform* would allow police agencies to consider officers' perceptions and opinions as well.

#### **4.2.2 Training and Policy**

- Given that procedural justice and legitimacy are important for police in gaining cooperation, compliance, and engendering trust, a small change in procedure in stops may have beneficial results for the police and the community, specifically requiring that police articulate their reasons for stops (both traffic and pedestrian stops). The survey demonstrated that the extent to which officers clearly explain the reasons for the stop<sup>74</sup>, improved perceptions of procedural justice and fairness, which if heeded could go a long way in improving African American residents' feelings that police demonstrate procedural justice and enhance legitimacy. It is recommended that this policy be adopted, if it is not already a standard required practice among MPD officers.
- Due to the importance of procedural justice in building public trust, confidence, and cooperation, and the room for improvement demonstrated in the areas of listening and explaining by police, specific training on these two skills, as opposed to broader communication training, would likely be helpful to officers in obtaining the outcomes and compliance they seek from the public. It is recommended that MPD consider training in procedural justice built on the simplified model as outlined by Sue Rahr and colleagues (see Zaki, 2015) to emphasize the importance of perceptions of procedural justice in being able to gain the public's confidence, trust, and cooperation, if that is not already being done.

While the NEAR Act prescribes community policing training, among other training content, community policing as a concept and philosophy is so broad that training could take a number of forms and perhaps only address some of the distinct content areas (problem solving), which may not be as useful as skills training in the very discrete and

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<sup>74</sup> This is consistent with recommendations made by RAND in their report to the NYPD about pedestrian stops (Ridgeway, 2007).

important dimensions of “listening and explaining with equity and dignity” as espoused in the Seattle model (Rahr et al., 2011) . It is likely that one to two hours of instruction should be enough to enhance these specific skills, and underscore their importance in gaining compliance, cooperation, and establishing better rapport with residents. This could become routine practice if the agency/agencies in D.C. would establish a best practice guideline to provide explanations when making stops (traffic or pedestrian). Routine roll call training may also reinforce this training. There is sufficient scientific evidence and results from this study to suggest that these two critical communication skills (listening and explaining) are essential components of procedural justice and are important for gaining desirable outcomes for police officers and agencies.

- Recent research suggests that modeling procedural justice within the agency is a means to promoting procedural justice in the field (see Owens et al., 2018). In the most recent study referenced herein, a low-cost intervention with command staff and supervisors (training them on how to model procedural justice in routine interactions with their subordinates) may translate to reduced use of force and fewer discretionary arrests which can promote a stronger sense of procedural justice and legitimacy among the community. It is suggested that the MPD participate in a similar study (replication) and/or employ a similar training for its command staff and supervisors. Participation in such a study is a first step, as it would provide a test of whether implementing the training would have sustainable effects on officers and the community.
- The results of this survey should be shared with MPD police district commanders who should be advised to review the findings and come up with a relevant plan (if deemed necessary) for addressing the concerns and findings of the report. The MPD could determine if and how they would address some of the concerns in a way that can be operationalized at both the district and Police Service Area (PSA) level by examining the correspondence with ward-level results.
- MPD’s District Commanders should also share the results of the survey with PSA personnel<sup>75</sup> and residents during at least one of their upcoming monthly<sup>76</sup> meetings. It should be noted that in January 2019, the MPD implemented new boundary definitions for police districts and PSAs (see <https://mpD.C..D.C..gov/node/1364926>). This effort would increase transparency and may therefore enhance the perception that police share relevant information with the public, a concern identified in the report.

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<sup>75</sup> Every D.C. resident lives in a Police Service Area (PSA) and every PSA has a team of police officers and officials assigned to it. Each police district has between seven and nine PSA, with a total of 57 PSAs in the District of Columbia as per the MPD website (2019); see <https://mpD.C..D.C..gov/page/police-districts-and-police-service-areas>.

<sup>76</sup> Every PSA generally holds meetings once per month. Residents can receive information about these meetings from their community outreach coordinators, as listed on the MPD website under their police district’s roster.

- A summary of these results should be shared with the other primary law enforcement agencies operating in D.C. as defined by the responses to this survey, specifically, U.S. Capitol Police, Metro Transit Police, and U.S. Park Police. As these organizations were the primary agencies (other than MPD) for whom residents reported the most contact, it may be of interest to them. The numbers of respondents reporting the most contact with these agencies are U.S. Capitol Police (n = 76), Metro Transit Police (n = 63), and U.S. Park Police (n = 29). It would be useful to offer a breakdown of the results (cross-tabulation tables) for each of these agencies; however, it is unlikely that group differences would reveal any statistically significant differences due to the small numbers.
  
- Current IACP model policies and other available resources of the IACP’s Law Enforcement Policy Center may prove useful in addressing some of the concerns raised in the report. If the MPD has not already done so, the following model policies (best practices model) should be reviewed<sup>77</sup> for the purposes of determining whether any existing MPD policies should be updated to consider any new information contained in these resources, as deemed relevant or necessary:
  - Arrests (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/arrest> )
  - Corruption Prevention (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/corruption-prevention> )
  - Field Interviews and Pat Down Searches (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/field-interviews-and-pat-down-searches> )
  - Motor Vehicle Searches (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/motor-vehicle-searches> )
  - Motor Vehicle Stops (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/motor-vehicle-stops> )
  - Police-Citizen Contacts (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/police-citizen-contacts> )
  - Interactions with Transgender and Gender Non-conforming Individuals (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/transgender> )
  - Unbiased Policing (see <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/policy-center-resource/unbiased-policing> )

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<sup>77</sup> These resources are only accessible to IACP sworn members and not the general public. It is likely that the MPD and other DC law enforcement agencies are already members of the IACP, a professional association of Chiefs

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# TECHNICAL APPENDICES

# **Appendix A**

## **Survey/ Construct Matrix**

**Measurement Matrix for Survey Items: CJCC Police – Community Relations Survey**  
**(Questionnaire Specifications Table)**

Item	Description	Alignment with Survey Objectives			Alignment with Relevant Police-Community Relations Survey Constructs	
		Objective 1: Measures residents' perceptions of trust and procedural fairness about police agencies within D.C.	Objective 2a: Measures opinions of those who <i>have had</i> recent contact with police.	Objective 2b: Measures opinions of those who <i>have not had</i> recent contact with police	Relationship of survey question to construct(s)/ concept(s) to be measured (e.g., police legitimacy, procedural justice, etc.)	Rationale for survey question selection (research and other evidence)
<b>1</b>	Screeners for eligibility: Screener to ensure an adult is the participant					
<b>2</b>	Screeners for eligibility: Screener to ensure participant lives in D.C.	<b>X</b>				
<b>3</b>	This item will allow for comparisons across wards, and/or for those who do not know their ward, but it will not eliminate them.					
<b>4</b>	Which agency dealt with the most? This will allow for comparisons between MPD and other policing agencies operating in D.C.					
<b>5</b>	Fair/unbiased	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	Procedural justice (dignity, respect)	4–6, 11, 16–19, 21–22, 25
<b>6</b>	Work with residents to solve problems	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	Community policing (problem solving)	9, 18–19
<b>7</b>	Police share information with public		<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	Community policing (cooperation, outreach, communication)	7
<b>8</b>	Describe interactions in routine, non-emergency situations	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	Community policing (trust and confidence) Procedural justice (dignity, respect)	4–6, 9, 11, 16–19, 21–22, 24
<b>9</b>	Things that shape opinions about police	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	Influences on perceptions	No supporting literature identified
<b>10</b>	Obligation to obey	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	Police legitimacy	4–6, 11, 16–20, 22
<b>11</b>	Compliance	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	Police legitimacy	4–6, 11, 16–20, 22

## Measurement Matrix for Survey Items: CJCC Police – Community Relations Survey (Contd.)

Item	Description	Alignment with Survey Objectives			Alignment with Relevant Police-Community Relations Survey Constructs	
		Objective 1: Measures residents' perceptions of trust and procedural fairness about police agencies within D.C.	Objective 2a: Measures opinions of those who <i>have had</i> recent contact with police.	Objective 2b: Measures opinions of those who <i>have not had</i> recent contact with police	Relationship of survey question to construct(s)/ concept(s) to be measured (e.g., police legitimacy, procedural justice, etc.)	Rationale for survey question selection (research and other evidence)
<b>12</b>	Likelihood of providing information about criminal activity	X	X	X	Community policing (trust, confidence, cooperation)	20–26
<b>13</b>	Stopped by police	X	X			
<b>14</b>	Stop: by MPD or other?	X	X			
<b>15</b>	Officer explained reason for stop	X	X		Procedural justice (explain/transparency)	4, 11–13, 16–19, 21–22, 24
<b>16</b>	Perceptions of profiling	X	X		Procedural justice (equity/fairness)	3, 5, 11–13, 16–19, 21–22, 24
<b>17</b>	Actions by police fair and justified	X	X		Procedural justice (fairness)	5, 11–12, 16–19, 21–22, 24
<b>18</b>	Officer listened	X	X		Procedural justice (listening)	5, 11–13, 16–19, 21–22, 24
<b>19</b>	Outcome was fair/justified	X	X		Procedural justice and overall perceptions	20, 25
<b>20</b>	Requested assistance/which agency	X	X		Resident initiated	
<b>21</b>	Address resident concerns	X	X	X	Community policing (care about community)	10, 18–19
<b>21</b>	Officer listened	X	X		Procedural justice (listening)	5, 11–13, 16–19, 21–22, 24
<b>22</b>	Race	X	X	X	Demographics	1, 2, 8–9, 15, 21
<b>23</b>	Gender	X	X	X	Demographics	9, 14
<b>24</b>	Age	X	X	X	Demographics	9, 14
<b>25</b>	Income	X	X	X	Demographics	8–9

# **Appendix B**

## **Survey Instruments**

# **Appendix B1**

## **IVR Survey Questionnaire**



**POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

*[Intro] Hello, I'm calling on behalf of the D.C. Government with a seven-minute survey about police-community relations. We will report our findings to the Mayor, City Council and to the residents of the District of Columbia. This survey is voluntary, confidential and your individual responses will not be attributed to you personally.*

1. First please tell us if you are at least 18 years old?

Press 1 for Yes [**CONTINUE**]

Press 2 for No [**TERMINATE**]

2. Do you live in the District of Columbia?

Press 1 for Yes [**CONTINUE**]

Press 2 for No [**TERMINATE**]

Press 3 for Not Sure [**TERMINATE**]

3. Which Ward in D.C. do you live in?

Press 1 for Ward 1

Press 2 for Ward 2

Press 3 for Ward 3

Press 4 for Ward 4

Press 5 for Ward 5

Press 6 for Ward 6

Press 7 for Ward 7

Press 8 for Ward 8

Press 9 if you do not know your Ward

*We would like to understand your feelings about the police agency in D.C. with which you have had the most contact or exposure. Please listen carefully to each of the following questions.*

4. There are many police agencies operating within the District of Columbia. Please tell me which police agency you have dealt with the most. We are going to list several of them, so please listen to all of the options before responding.

Press 1 for Metropolitan Police Department, commonly known as MPD

Press 2 for US Capitol Police

Press 3 for Metro Transit Police

Press 4 for US Park Police



**POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Press 5 for Housing Authority Police

Press 6 for a different police agency or

Press 7 if you have not had any contact with the police (**SKIP TO Q7**)

Press 8 for unsure

5. I'm going to read you a statement and ask that you tell me how much you agree or disagree. The responses range from strongly agree to strongly disagree. ***I believe that the police from the agency with which I have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased.***

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure

6. Using the same response scale, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: ***I think that the police from the agency I identified earlier do a good job working with the community to solve local problems.***

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure

7. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: ***The police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community -- like through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television or radio.***

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure



**POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

8. How would you describe your interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations, such as asking for directions or at a public or community event? The responses range from very positive to very negative.

Press 1 for very positive

Press 2 for somewhat positive

Press 3 for somewhat negative

Press 4 for very negative

Press 5 if you have not had enough experiences to form an opinion

9. Which of the following are most likely to shape your opinions about police in D.C. overall, would they be non-emergency interactions, emergency interactions, media, police stops, or all of these?

Press 1 for nonemergency interactions with police

Press 2 for emergency interactions with police

Press 3 for impressions from the media

Press 4 for police stops

Press 5 for all the above

Press 6 for none of the above

Press 7 if you are unsure

10. Let's shift to your general impressions about police authority. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: ***People generally have an obligation to obey the police?***

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure

11. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: ***When a police officer makes a lawful request of someone, I believe it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don't agree with it/like it.***

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure



**POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

12. How likely are you to provide information about criminal activity in your neighborhood to the police? The scale ranges from very likely to very unlikely to provide information.

Press 1 if you are very likely to provide information

Press 2 if you are likely to provide information

Press 3 if you are unlikely to provide information

Press 4 if you are very unlikely to provide information

Press 5 if you are unsure

13. In the past 12 months, have you been stopped by a police officer in D.C. while you were walking, in a vehicle, or on your bike?

Press 1 for yes [*CONTINUE TO NEXT QUESTION, #14*]

Press 2 for no [*SKIP TO Q20*]

14. For your most recent interaction with a police officer, please tell me which agency the officer was from.

Press 1 for Metropolitan Police Department, commonly known as MPD

Press 2 for US Capitol Police

Press 3 for Metro Transit Police

Press 4 for US Park Police

Press 5 for Housing Authority Police

Press 6 for a different police agency or

Press 7 if you are unsure

15. Thinking about this stop, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: *the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop.*

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure

16. Do you believe you were stopped primarily due to one or more of the following: your race, ethnicity, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or immigration status?

Press 1 if you do NOT believe you were stopped due to one of these reasons.

Press 2 if you believe you were stopped due to more than one of these reasons.

Press 3 if you believe you were stopped due to your race.



**POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Press 4 if you believe you were stopped due to your ethnicity.

Press 5 if you believe you were stopped due to your religion.

Press 6 if you believe you were stopped due to your age.

Press 7 if you believe you were stopped due to your sexual orientation.

Press 8 if you believe you were stopped due to your gender identity.

Press 9 if you believe you were stopped due to your immigration status.

17. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement regarding the officer's actions in this stop:  
***The officer's actions in this encounter were fair and justified.***

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure

18. During this encounter, how carefully did the officer listen to your concerns, explanation, or version of events? The scale ranges from listened very carefully to did not listen at all.

Press 1 if the officer listened very carefully

Press 2 if the officer listened somewhat carefully

Press 3 if the officer did not listen very carefully

Press 4 if the officer did not listen at all

19. To what extent do you believe the outcome of the stop was fair, even if you were unhappy with it? The scale ranges from very fair to very unfair.

Press 1 for very fair

Press 2 for somewhat fair

Press 3 for somewhat unfair

Press 4 for very unfair

Press 5 if you are unsure

20. In thinking about the past 12 months, from which of the following police agencies have you most recently requested assistance, such as by either calling 911, or stopping or flagging down an officer on the street?

Press 1 if yes for the Metropolitan Police Department [***GO TO NEXT QUESTION***]

Press 2 if yes for a different police agency [***GO TO NEXT QUESTION***]

Press 3 if you did NOT request assistance in the past 12 months [***SKIP TO Q22***]



**POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

21. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: *During my most recent request for assistance, the officer adequately addressed my concerns.*

Press 1 for strongly agree

Press 2 for agree

Press 3 for disagree

Press 4 for strongly disagree

Press 5 if you are unsure

***FINALLY, we would like to ask a few questions to make sure we have a good cross section of adults residing in the District of Columbia. As a reminder, your individual responses will remain confidential and will be combined with those of other residents in the final report. Your individual responses will not be attributed to you personally.***

22. How would you describe your race and ethnicity? Please listen carefully to each option.

Press 1 for White or Caucasian, and NOT of Hispanic origin

Press 2 for White or Caucasian, and of Hispanic origin

Press 3 for Black or African American, and NOT of Hispanic origin

Press 4 for Black or African American, and of Hispanic origin

Press 5 for Asian or Pacific Islander

Press 6 for Native American or Alaska Native

Press 7 for mixed race and/or ethnicity

Press 8 if your race and/or ethnicity is not captured in these categories

23. What is your gender?

Press 1 for Male

Press 2 for Female

Press 3 for Non-Binary

24. What is your age range?

Press 1 for ages 18-24

Press 2 for ages 25-34

Press 3 for ages 35-44

Press 4 for ages 45-54

Press 5 for ages 55-64

Press 6 for 65+



**POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

25. Which of the following represents your total annual household income?

Press 1 for under \$25,000

Press 2 for \$25,001 - \$50,000

Press 3 for \$50,001 - \$75,000

Press 4 for \$75,001 - \$100,000

Press 5 for \$100,001 - \$150,000

Press 6 for \$150,001 - \$ 200,000

Press 7 for over \$200,000

Press 8 if you do not want to answer this question

Thank you very much for your participation. This concludes our survey.

# **Appendix B2**

## **SMS Survey Questionnaire**

### SMS Online Survey Content

Thanks for participating in this survey about police-community relations on behalf of the D.C. Government. We will report our findings to the Mayor, City Council and to the residents of the District of Columbia. This survey is voluntary, confidential and your individual responses will not be attributed to you personally.

**1. First please tell us if you are at least 18 years old?**

- Yes
- No

**2. Do you live in the District of Columbia?**

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

**3. Which Ward in D.C. do you live in?**

- Ward 1
- Ward 2
- Ward 3
- Ward 4
- Ward 5
- Ward 6
- Ward 7
- Ward 8

**We would like to understand your feelings about the police agency in D.C. with which you have had the most contact or exposure. Please carefully read each of the following questions.**

**4. There are many police agencies operating within the District of Columbia. Please tell us which police agency you have dealt with the most.**

- Metropolitan Police Department, commonly known as MPD
- US Capitol Police
- Metro Transit Police
- US Park Police
- Housing Authority Police
- Different police agency
- I have not had any contact with the police
- Unsure

**5. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: I believe that the police from the agency with which I have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**6. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: I think that the police from the agency I identified earlier do a good job working with the community to solve local problems.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**7. Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: The police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community -- like through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television, or radio.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**8. How would you describe your interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations, such as asking for directions or at a public or community event?**

- Very positive
- Somewhat positive
- Somewhat negative
- Very negative
- Have not had enough experiences to form an opinion

**9. Which of the following are most likely to shape your opinions about police in D.C. overall?**

- Non-emergency interactions with police
- Emergency interactions with police
- Impressions from the media
- Police stops
- All of the above
- None of the above
- Unsure

**10. Let's shift to your general impressions about police authority. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: People generally have an obligation to obey the police.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**11. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: When a police officer makes a lawful request of someone, I believe it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don't agree with it/like it.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**12. How likely are you to provide information about criminal activity in your neighborhood to the police?**

- I am very likely to provide information
- I am likely to provide information
- I am unlikely to provide information
- I am very unlikely to provide information
- Unsure

**13. In the past 12 months, have you been stopped by a police officer in D.C. while you were walking, in a vehicle, or on your bike?**

- Yes
- No

**14. For your most recent interaction with a police officer, please tell me which agency the officer was from.**

- Metropolitan Police Department, commonly known as MPD
- US Capitol Police
- Metro Transit Police
- US Park Police
- Housing Authority Police
- Different police agency
- Unsure

**15. Thinking about this stop, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: The officer clearly explained the reason for the stop.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**16. Do you believe you were stopped primarily due to one or more of the following: your race, ethnicity, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or immigration status?**

- No
- I believe I was stopped due to more than one of these reasons.
- I believe I was stopped due to my race.
- I believe I was stopped due to my ethnicity.
- I believe I was stopped due to my religion.
- I believe I was stopped due to my age.
- I believe I was stopped due to my sexual orientation.
- I believe I was stopped due to my gender identity.
- I believe I was stopped due to my immigration status.

**17. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement regarding the officer's actions in this stop: The officer's actions in this encounter were fair and justified.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**18. During this encounter, how carefully did the officer listen to your concerns, explanation, or version of events?**

- The officer listened very carefully
- The officer listened somewhat carefully
- The officer did not listen very carefully
- The officer did not listen at all

**19. To what extent do you believe the outcome of the stop was fair, even if you were unhappy with it?**

- Very fair
- Somewhat fair
- Somewhat unfair
- Very unfair
- Unsure

**20. In thinking about the past 12 months, from which of the following police agencies have you most recently requested assistance, such as by either calling 911, or stopping or flagging down an officer on the street?**

- Metropolitan Police Department
- Different police agency
- Did NOT request assistance in the past 12 months

**21. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: During my most recent request for assistance, the officer adequately addressed my concerns.**

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

**FINALLY, we would like to ask a few questions to make sure we have a good cross section of adults residing in the District of Columbia. As a reminder, your individual responses will remain confidential and will be combined with those of other residents in the final report. Your individual responses will not be attributed to you personally.**

**22. How would you describe your race and ethnicity? Please read each option carefully.**

- White or Caucasian, and NOT of Hispanic origin
- White or Caucasian, and of Hispanic origin
- Black or African American, and NOT of Hispanic origin
- Black or African American, and of Hispanic origin
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Native American or Alaska Native
- Mixed race and/or ethnicity

My race and/or ethnicity is not captured in these categories

**23. What is your gender?**

- Male
- Female
- Non-Binary

**24. What is your age range?**

- Age 18 to 24
- Age 25 to 34
- Age 35 to 44
- Age 45 to 54
- Age 55 to 64
- Age 65 or older

**25. Which of the following represents your total annual household income?**

- Under \$25,000
- \$25,001 to \$50,000
- \$50,001 to \$75,000
- \$75,001 to \$100,000
- \$100,001 to \$150,000
- \$150,001 to \$ 200,000
- Over \$200,000
- Do not want to answer this question

**26. So we can ensure we don't contact you again, please enter the 10-digit cell number we used to text you. Please enter numbers only without any dashes or spaces.**

# **Appendix B3**

## **Live Operator (Cell Phone) Survey Questionnaire**



**Live Operator Instrument Criminal Justice Coordinating Council  
POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

*Hello. My name is FIRST NAME ONLY. Is this \_\_\_\_\_? I'm calling long distance from \_\_\_\_\_. I'M NOT SELLING ANYTHING. We are conducting a seven-minute survey about police-community relations in Washington D.C.. We will report our findings to the Mayor, City Council and to the residents of the District of Columbia. This survey is voluntary, confidential and your individual responses will not be attributed to you personally. Are you currently in a position to talk safely?*

*If no – What's a better day and time for us to call you back?*

*If yes – [continue with script]*

- 1. First please tell us if you are at least 18 years old?

Yes [CONTINUE]

No [TERMINATE]

- 2. Do you live in the District of Columbia?

Yes [CONTINUE]

No [TERMINATE]

Not Sure [TERMINATE]

- 3. Which Ward in D.C. do you live in?

RECORD RESPONSE (1 Through 8) [CONTINUE]

Unsure (If you do not know your Ward) [CONTINUE]

*We would like to understand your feelings about the police agency in D.C. with which you have had the most contact or exposure. Please listen carefully to each of the following questions.*

- 4. There are many police agencies operating within the District of Columbia. Please tell me which police agency you have dealt with the most. We are going to list several of them, so please listen to all of the options before responding. Is it the:

Metropolitan Police Department, commonly known as MPD?

US Capitol Police?

Metro Transit Police?

US Park Police?

Housing Authority Police?



A different police agency? or

Have not had any contact with the police (**SKIP TO Q7**)

Are you unsure?

5. I'm going to read you several statements and ask that you tell me how much you agree or disagree. The scale ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree. ***I believe that the police from the agency with which I have had the most contact are generally fair and unbiased.*** Do you:

Strongly agree?

Agree?

Disagree?

Strongly Disagree? or

Are you unsure?

6. Next statement: ***I think that the police from the agency I identified earlier do a good job working with the community to solve local problems.*** Using the same scale as before, do you:

Strongly Agree?

Agree?

Disagree?

Strongly Disagree? or

Are you unsure?

7. Here is another statement: ***The police in D.C. share necessary and/or relevant information with the community – like through outreach, social media, or other local media, such as television or radio.*** Using the same scale as before, do you:

Strongly Agree?

Agree?

Disagree?

Strongly Disagree? or

Are you unsure?



8. How would you describe your interactions with police officers in routine, non-emergency situations, such as asking for directions or at a public or community event? Would you say they are:

Very positive?

Somewhat positive?

Somewhat negative?

Very negative? or

Have not had enough experiences to form an opinion

9. Which of the following are most likely to shape your opinions about police in D.C. overall?

Nonemergency interactions with police

Emergency interactions with police

Impressions from the media

Police stops

All the above

None of the above

Are you unsure?

10. Let's shift to your general impressions about police authority. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: *People generally have an obligation to obey the police?* Do you:

Strongly agree?

Agree?

Disagree?

Strongly Disagree? or

Are you unsure?



11. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: *When a police officer makes a lawful request of someone, I believe it is appropriate for a person to comply, even if they don't agree with it/ like it.* Do you:

- Strongly agree?
- Agree?
- Disagree?
- Strongly Disagree? or
- Are you unsure?

12. How likely are you to provide information about criminal activity in your neighborhood to the police? The scale ranges from very likely to very unlikely to provide information. Are you:

- Very likely to provide information?
- Likely to provide information?
- Unlikely to provide information?
- Very unlikely to provide information? or
- Are you unsure?

13. In the past 12 months, have you been stopped by a police officer in D.C. while you were walking, in a vehicle, or on your bike?

- Yes **[CONTINUE TO NEXT QUESTION, #14]**
- No **[SKIP TO Q20]**

14. For your most recent interaction with a police officer, please tell me which agency the officer was from. Was it the:

- Metropolitan Police Department, commonly known as MPD?
- US Capitol Police?
- Metro Transit Police?
- US Park Police?
- Housing Authority Police?
- A different police agency or
- Are you unsure?



15. Thinking about this stop, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statement: *the officer clearly explained the reason for the stop.* Do you:

- Strongly agree?
- Agree?
- Disagree?
- Strongly Disagree? or
- Are you unsure?

16. Do you believe you were stopped primarily due to one or more of the following: your race, ethnicity, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or immigration status?

- No, you do NOT believe you were stopped due to one of these reasons.
- Were stopped due to more than one of these reasons
- Were stopped due to your race
- Were stopped due to your ethnicity
- Were stopped due to your religion
- Were stopped due to your age
- Were stopped due to your sexual orientation
- Were stopped due to your gender identity
- Were stopped due to your immigration status

17. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement regarding the officer's actions in this stop: *The officer's actions in this encounter were fair and justified.* Do you:

- Strongly agree?
- Agree?
- Disagree?
- Strongly Disagree? or
- Are you unsure?

18. During this encounter, how carefully did the officer listen to your concerns, explanation, or version of events? The scale ranges from listened very carefully to did not listen at all. Do you feel the officer:

- Listened very carefully?
  
- Listened somewhat carefully?



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Did not listen very carefully? or

Did not listen at all?

19. To what extent do you believe the outcome of the stop was fair, even if you were unhappy with it? The scale ranges from very fair to very unfair. Was the outcome:

Very fair?

Somewhat fair?

Somewhat unfair?

Very unfair? or

Are you unsure?

20. In thinking about the past 12 months, from which of the following police agencies have you most recently requested assistance, such as by either calling 911, or stopping or flagging down an officer on the street?

Was it the Metropolitan Police Department? **[GO TO NEXT QUESTION]**

Was it a different police agency? **[GO TO NEXT QUESTION]**

You did NOT request assistance in the past 12 months **[SKIP TO Q22]**

21. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following: ***“During my most recent request for assistance, the officer adequately addressed my concerns.”*** Do you:

Strongly agree?

Agree?

Disagree?

Strongly Disagree? or

Are you unsure?

***FINALLY, we would like to ask a few questions to make sure we have a good cross section of adults residing in the District of Columbia. As a reminder, your individual responses will remain confidential and will be combined with those of other residents in the final report. Your individual responses will not be attributed to you personally.***

22. How would you describe your race and ethnicity? Please listen carefully to each option. Are you:

White or Caucasian, and NOT of Hispanic origin?

White or Caucasian, and of Hispanic origin?

Black or African American, and NOT of Hispanic origin?



Black or African American, and of Hispanic origin?

Asian or Pacific Islander?

Native American or Alaska Native?

Mixed race and/or ethnicity? or

Is your race and/or ethnicity not captured in these categories?

23. What is your gender? Are you:

Male?

Female? or

Non-binary?

24. What is your age range? Are you between:

Ages 18-24?

Ages 25-34?

Ages 35-44?

Ages 45-54?

Ages 55-64? or

65 or older?

25. Which of the following categories represents your total annual household income?

Under \$25,000

Between \$25,001 - \$50,000

Between \$50,001 - \$75,000

Between \$75,001 - \$100,000

Between \$100,001 - \$150,000

Between \$150,001 - \$200,000

Over \$200,00

Refused to answer

Thank you very much for your participation. This concludes our survey.

# **Appendix C**

## **Methodology-Related Details**

## **Appendix C:      METHODODOLOGY-RELATED DETAILS**

### **Sampling Design and Strategy**

A probability sampling method was appropriate for this survey because results needed to be generalized to the target population. Probability sampling techniques include proportionate stratified probability sampling in which each member of the target population has an equal chance of being selected. The stratified sampling design divided the District's population into eight (8) wards or strata. Within each ward or strata, the numbers of completed survey questionnaires were proportional to the ward's population size when compared to the overall population.

**Sampling Frame.** The sampling frame for the survey was a national database, including a total of 119,922 phone numbers for District of Columbia households. Roughly 52.7% of these phone numbers were for mobile devices, and the balance were landline numbers. These phone numbers were obtained using several methods, including but not limited to, automatic number identification that occurs when a person with a mobile device calls a toll-free number; credit bureau records; donation records from charities; inadvertent disclosure when signing up for a contest or drawing; information on customer warranties; and standard requests for information. After phone records were verified, demographic information for District of Columbia households were matched against consumer behavior statistics, available public records, and census data to produce reliable matches by gender, age, ethnicity, and other personal information. All records that were not registered to a physical address in the District of Columbia were discarded. In addition, all survey questionnaires included a residency verification question.

### **Pretest**

To ensure that the design, layout, and construction of the survey instrument led to valid and reliable results, it was pretested with a small number of respondents and CJCC staff before it was administered in the field. The pretest, implemented August 27 to September 7, 2018, assessed the data collection systems (e.g., computer technology and equipment) required to administer the survey to ensure that the instruments performed as required and that the data were accurately captured. Furthermore, the pretest assessed the reliability and validity of the 25 survey questions by identifying questions that respondents did not understand or were subject to multiple interpretations. The survey questionnaire, which consisted primarily of Likert-type question items and demographic information, required an average of seven to 10 minutes to complete. Pretest results indicated that respondents had no problems with the wording of the questions.

### **Calculation of Response Rates**

Response rates were computed based on the total universe of phone numbers constituting the sampling frame. The mathematical formulas used to calculate the response rate by mode are as follows:

## **Response Rate by Mode Based on the Total Universe**

### **Live Cell Phone**

(Number of completions):  $\frac{1,010}{43,470} = 2.3\%$   
(Total universe) 43,470

### **IVR (Landline)**

(Number of completions):  $\frac{403}{31,960} = 1.3\%$   
(Total universe) 31,960

### **SMS**

(Number of completions):  $\frac{690}{53,217} = 1.3\%$   
(Total universe) 53,217

Overall response rate based on the total universe: **1.6%**

## **Hard-to-Reach Populations**

Special procedures implemented to ensure that hard-to-reach populations were included in the survey are summarized as follows. Representativeness can be threatened at various stages of the survey design process. Accordingly, the priority was to remain mindful of who may be excluded in the design and employ strategies to prevent this problem. To ensure that the survey sample was representative of the population under study, a thorough callback method was deployed. Typically, a minimum of four (4) callbacks was established before a single phone number was deleted from the sampling frame. In addition, interviewing hours and days were varied to allow for representation from all groups. Someone who works a night shift, for example, may not have been able to take the survey during weeknight calling. Interviewing hours on weekends were included to address this issue. To further ensure that hard-to-reach populations were included in the sample, a callback strategy was executed that varied the calling window nightly. For example, if a respondent was initially attempted to be reached at 7 p.m. on a Tuesday and the attempt was unsuccessful, an attempt was made again the next day at 5:30 p.m., then on Friday at 8 p.m., and again on Saturday at 2 p.m. This callback strategy provided respondents with several opportunities to participate in the survey at varied times and days, thereby increasing the chances of reaching them at home or on their cell phone. For the IVR sample calls, a vanity read-out name was used. A D.C. area code, without a name, appeared on the cell phone respondent's caller-ID. An intensive level of effort was maintained to contact hard-to-reach residents over the course of the survey administration. After each night of telephone interviewing, geographic and demographic variables (e.g., ward residence, race/ethnicity, gender, and age) were tracked to ensure that respondents were captured falling within the appropriate proportions/estimates as compared with the District's overall population.

## **Confidentiality of Data**

To obtain informed consent and protect the data obtained from respondents, each telephone interview began with a script in which the respondent was assured of his or her confidentiality while participating in the survey. The confidentiality, privacy, and security of respondents' data

was maintained and assured. Only CJCC and the study team have access to the data files, including individual-level data, which are securely stored on servers.

### **Statistical Analysis Procedures**

Descriptive statistics (e.g., frequency and percentage distributions, mean, median, and standard deviation) summarized or described the survey results. Descriptive statistics highlighted the prevalence of demographics dyads in the perceptions of trust and procedural fairness about the MPD and other police agencies with jurisdiction in the District. Descriptive statistical results were generated, including frequency counts and cross tabulations, as well as separate statistics broken down by wards, race/ethnicity, gender, age group, and annual household income. Survey responses included items exploring the perceptions of trust and procedural fairness about the MPD and other police agencies. Cross-tabulation tables were used to describe distribution of and differences between and/or among survey subgroups. Cross-tabulation tables also combined major demographics characteristics and survey responses. In addition, the proportions of subgroups were compared with each other (pairwise) using a Z-test. Only proportions that were statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) were reported. The responses for unsure or unknown categories were coded as missing for calculating the means (M), standard deviations (SD), and other statistical analysis. However, the overall frequencies of unsure or unknown categories were included in the table.

To compare the opinions of persons who have or have not had recent or any contact with MPD and other police agencies with jurisdiction in the District, data were categorized into two groups: those who have had recent contact and those who did not have recent contact. Separate descriptive statistics on measures (questionnaire items) will be provided for each group. Chi-square methods were used to compare frequency occurrence of nominal responses, and t-tests statistics were used to compare Likert-type scale variables. Responses for each group were aggregated. In addition to between-group comparisons, within-group analysis was conducted to explore differences in opinions among various groups (race/ethnicity, gender, age group, and annual household income). Analysis of variance (ANOVA) and t-tests statistics were used to report such differences. Only differences that are statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) were reported.

### **Interaction Effects and Regression Analysis**

As an individual's opinion can be influenced by various factors, the interaction effects of major factors that may influence opinion were explored. Interaction effects represent the combined effects of factors on the dependent measure (Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2016). When there is a significant interaction effect, the interpretation of the main effect (independent variables) can be misleading. Therefore, factorial ANOVA was conducted to explore the interaction effects of exposure with MPD and other police agencies by race/ethnicity, gender, age group, and annual household income. Statistical tools, such as SPSS, were used to conduct the descriptive and statistical analysis.

In addition, it is hypothesized that several items and combinations of items may be predictive of various outcomes and dependent measures. Accordingly, regression analysis was performed to enable CJCC to better understand how various factors may influence outcomes. More specifically,

regression analysis (hierarchical or stepwise) was conducted to test for dependent variables, including outcome of stop fair (Q19), positive or negative interactions (Q8), likely to provide information (Q12), and officer's actions fair (Q17). Regression modeling explored several questions of possible interest to CJCC, notably:

- To what extent do beliefs that police are fair and unbiased (Q5) impact the perceptions that: 1) officers' actions in stops are fair (Q17); 2) outcomes of stops are fair (Q19); and 3) that they are likely to provide information to the police (Q12)? Items 1–3 are dependent variables, and beliefs about fair and unbiased officers is the independent or predictor variable.
- To what extent do beliefs about the police doing a good job working with the community to solve local problems (Q6) impact perceptions about: 1) police in routine encounters (Q8); 2) police legitimacy (Q10 and Q11 combined); 3) willingness to provide information to the police (Q12); 4) beliefs that officers' actions in encounters were fair (Q17); and 5) beliefs that outcomes of stops were fair (Q19)?
- To what extent does the provision of reasons or explanations for stops (Q15) and beliefs about profiling (Q16) impact the perception that an officer's actions were fair (Q17), the outcome was fair (Q19), and the police are generally fair and unbiased (Q5)?

### **Survey Weighting Strategy**

The survey data were weighted to be representative of the District of Columbia's population. A collected sample should be representative of the target population from which it came. However, in practice, individuals with certain characteristics are not as likely to respond to the survey, which is commonly known as non-response. Therefore, there would be groups that are over- or under-represented. To ensure that the survey sample was representative of D.C.'s population, a weighting adjustment technique was used. The weighting adjustment procedure assigned weights to each survey participant. A participant in an under-represented subgroup was assigned a weight larger than 1, whereas a participant in an over-represented group was assigned a weight smaller than 1. In order to produce representative or generalizable results, four demographic characteristics were used: ward, gender, age, and ethnicity for the weighting procedure. There are eight different wards, two genders, five age groups, and five ethnic groups as shown below.

**Figure 2: Demographic Characteristics**

Ward	Gender	Age	Ethnicity
Ward 1	Male	18 to 34 years	African American
Ward 2	Female	35 to 44 years	White, Non-Hispanic
Ward 3		45 to 54 years	Hispanic
Ward 4		55 to 64 years	Asian
Ward 5		65 and over	Two or more races
Ward 6			
Ward 7			
Ward 8			

With eight wards, two genders, five age groups, and five ethnic groups, 400 different subgroups were created ( $8 \times 2 \times 5 \times 5 = 400$ ). For each subgroup, estimated proportions of participants were calculated by cross-tabbing the population estimate of the four demographic variables mentioned. For example, the estimated proportion of African Americans, aged 18–34, who were female from Ward 1 is 0.014. For the sample to be representative of the population, there should be 0.014 proportions of participants who are African American, aged 18–34, female, and from Ward 1.

For every subgroup, observed proportions were calculated. Observed proportions are the proportion of residents who participated in the survey. For example, there were six African American females, aged 18–34, from Ward 1. The observed proportion for this subgroup is  $6/2103 = 0.00285$ . The weight was calculated by dividing the estimated proportion by the observed proportion. For example, the weight for the aforementioned subgroup is  $0.014/0.00285 = 4.9$ . Similar procedures were applied for all 400 subgroups. When there were no respondents in the subgroups, the weights were added to closet subgroups. For example, no respondents were found for Asian females, aged 35 to 44, from Ward 1. Therefore, the weight was transferred to the closet subgroup (Asian, age group 55 to 64, female from Ward 1).

# Appendix D

## Statistical Tables

Available as a separate document because of file size.