IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO
EASTERN DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	)	CASE NO.: 1:15-CV-01046
	)	
Plaintiff,	)	
	)	JUDGE SOLOMON OLIVER, JR.
vs.	)	
	)	**MOTION REGARDING BIENNIAL**
CITY OF CLEVELAND	)	**COMMUNITY SURVEY OF DETAINED**
	)	**ARRESTEES**
Defendant.	)	
	)	
	)	

Pursuant to Paragraph 363(b) of the Consent Decree, the Monitoring Team submits "Experiences and Perceptions of the Police in Cleveland," a report authored by Todd Foglesong, Ron Levi, Holly Campeau, and Claire Wilmot of the Global Justice Lab at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs, attached hereto as Exhibit A. The report uses interviews with detainees in the Cleveland City Jail shortly after their arrest to understand people's experiences and perceptions of the police, as well as their ideas about how to improve relations between residents and the police in Cleveland. Findings from the report were presented by Todd Foglesong to the City of Cleveland and the Cleveland Division of Police on October 31, 2017.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Matthew Barge

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<u>CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE</u>

I hereby certify that on November 6, 2017, I served the foregoing document entitled Motion Regarding Biennial Community Survey of Detained Arrestees via the court's ECF system to all counsel of record.

/s/ Matthew Barge
MATTHEW BARGE

EXHIBIT A

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EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE IN CLEVELAND

A Report for the Monitor
Based on Interviews with Arrested Detainees

Abstract

Arrested suspects are not a common source of advice about how to improve policing in the United States and yet they have a great range of experience with policing -- as victims, suspects, defendants, witnesses, observers, and callers for service. This report uses interviews with detainees in the Cleveland City Jail shortly after their arrest to understand change in people's experiences and perceptions of the police and also their ideas about how to improve relations between residents and the police in Cleveland.

Todd Foglesong, Ron Levi, Holly Campeau, Claire Wilmot
Global Justice Lab, http://munkschool.utoronto.ca/gjl/

Executive Summary

This report uses interviews with 53 detainees shortly after they were arrested by the Cleveland Police Department to gain insight into the current practice of policing and how it might be improved. We treated people who have involuntary contacts with the police and who live in neighborhoods that generate a lot of police work as experts in policing and public safety. We asked them a battery of questions about change over time in their experiences of policing and the character of relations between residents and the police. We solicited their views about the greatest priority for policing in their community, and we asked what they would do first if they were chief of police. When respondents reported a specific encounter with the police that was negative, we asked: "what could the officer have done differently to make that a better experience?" The goal of the research, in other words, was not to ascertain the incidence of force or violence during the course of arrest or to otherwise document dissatisfaction with policing in Cleveland but rather to use the experiences of arrested suspects as a source of advice about how to make the police department better.

Main Findings

Most suspects were disappointed with the police, though they appeared to be less upset by their arrest or things the police did to them in the course of their arrest than what the police were <u>not</u> doing in their community – namely, stopping violence, reducing crime, listening to resident's needs, treating others with respect. Many suspects said they were frightened by the violence in their neighborhoods and expected more from police. "You'd think there'd be less crime, but there's more," one person said. "There'll be five bank robberies, seven tomorrow. How can you not stop this?! There's enough manpower out there. I've been seeing a lot of cop cars, but some of them just be chilling, for real." Several suspects told us they thought the police "don't care" about them. One said the police had "given up on our city."

Many suspects said that reducing crime should be the main priority for the city and they want policing to be part of the solution. In fact, despite negative encounters with the police, a majority of the interviewees said they want *more* policing as well as better policing in Cleveland. One suspect who reported being slammed against the hood of a police car during his arrest told us: "I'll just say the best thing to do is hire more police. More good, professional police. So they can give more real help. So they can get the real, true criminals off the street." Another said: "if you had more cops doing their job, we'd be more crime free. You know, I'm not a cop fan, but right is right, however you cut it. If we had more officers out there, it would calm a lot of crime in the area."

More than half of the suspects we interviewed say they "always" respect the police, and several registered empathy for the police, despite personal disappointment. "I still respect them," one person said. "They human beings; they not perfect." Another person said: "I think they're getting tired of dealing with shitheads all the time and that's mostly what they deal with." Still another said: "I think they're burned out and some people shouldn't even be in this line of work. They don't feel like they're making a difference, and they're not."

Frustration with policing in Cleveland extends beyond disappointment with the persistence of crime. Many interviewees said they felt "harassed" and "profiled" by the police, that their situation or side of a story and conflict was ignored, especially in cases of domestic violence, and that they were often "treated like shit." Many were dismayed by the use of force – knees to the back of the neck, faces shoved into the pavement, guns pointed into faces. "Why you gotta punch me, buddy?" one suspect asked, recalling an arrest two years ago. "They just disrespecting me," he concluded. Some suspects believe the police are indifferent to the consequences of law enforcement; several speculated that there are arrest quotas which cause the police to detain people indiscriminately, regardless of the situation and the facts. Others thought the police are working to rule. "They just at work," said one person. "They job is to come on the street. So they come on the street. It's not like they want to save the neighborhood."

Although some suspects had such bitter experiences and perceptions of the police that there was "nothing to be done," only a few detainees thought policing in Cleveland could not be improved or that "the feds" should take over or that another police department in Ohio should institute reforms. Many suspects had specific suggestions for how to improve policing. "Stop assuming everybody's criminals," one person advised, "and that everyone wants to be a bad person. Stop assuming that because my cousin do this, I do this. Treat me like a human, like I wanna be treated." Another said: "Interact with the citizens more. Like on a social level, not on a police level. Like I shouldn't have to see my police in uniform every time. I should be able to go shoot a hoop or at least have a personal conversation with them."

Some suspects also had suggestions about how the Cleveland Police Department could realign its priorities with those of the community: "I would get people's opinions," said one suspect. "I would get research done. If you had a thing that ten people wanted and one that two people wanted, then you do the thing that ten people wanted." Another suspect said the police should seek their advice because "we know everything that's going on in our community. We can give them ideas, to help them help us." When asked to imagine being chief of police, another person said, "The first thing I would do is hold a city hall meeting, to give me insight about what's going on with my police department. That's important. Once the community can give you insight, then you can start working on something. And not just stopping crime, but you can work on police brutality, you can work on relations."

Several suspects recalled periods of better policing in the past. One person told us that "CPD officers were way better in the 90s, and that's sad.… It took a big drop in the 2000s." Another said: "Before we had people who would talk to us." Some suspects were nostalgic about "corner police," "little depots in the community," and bicycle gift programs for kids that generated positive feelings about the police.   Not all suspects believed policing had deteriorated. Two of the 53 suspects thought it was "much improved" and another 18 thought it was "somewhat improved." In other words, 37 percent of respondents believed there had been at least some forward progress in policing over the last two years.

As this summary indicates, arrested suspects often have constructive ideas about policing, not just raw criticism of the department. They have hope for the future, alongside concern and worry about the vitality and security of their neighborhoods, and they want the best version of policing for the city of Cleveland. A regular review of their experiences and perceptions might positively supplement other sources of insight about community priorities in policing and the performance of the Department, including the bi-annual survey of residents' opinions about policing and public safety, which was first administered in June 2016 and will be repeated in 2018. That survey solicited opinions about the police from a representative sample of *all* residents, regardless of the extent and cause of their contact with the CPD.[1] By contrast, the detainees we spoke to in the Cleveland jail had recent, direct, and mostly involuntary experiences of policing.[2] It may make strategic sense to pay attention to what they have to say, especially if interactions with arrested detainees as suspects, victims and seekers of police services comprise a substantial portion of the Department's work and they influence expectations about policing in neighborhoods with the greatest needs.

OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

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[1] Less than half of all respondents in that survey reported having <u>any</u> contact with the police; less than one-fifth said they had "frequent" contact with the police, and the majority of these respondents said that they rather than the police had "mostly initiated the contact."

[2] Three of the respondents in our sample had in some way initiated or "caused" the contact with the police – for example, by calling the police in to report a domestic dispute or by being interviewed first as a victim or witness and subsequently being arrested. See Appendix 2 for a description of the sample.

1. General Perceptions of the Police

The first question we asked suspects was: "overall, how well do you think the Cleveland Police Department is doing its job today?" We posed this general question first, before asking about any specific experiences of the police, in order to encourage detainees to exercise civic judgment and put them in a position of authority. As you can see in Figure 1 below, none of the 53 interviewees said they thought the police are doing an "excellent" job, but nearly a quarter of the detainees thought the CPD is doing a "good job." Still, the overall appraisal of the performance of the police department was not favorable. Over a third of interviewees said the job the CPD was doing was "neither good nor bad." Seventeen percent said it was doing a "bad" job. Nearly a quarter said it was "terrible."

Figure 1. Responses to Question 1, Global Justice Lab Interview Protocol, Cleveland
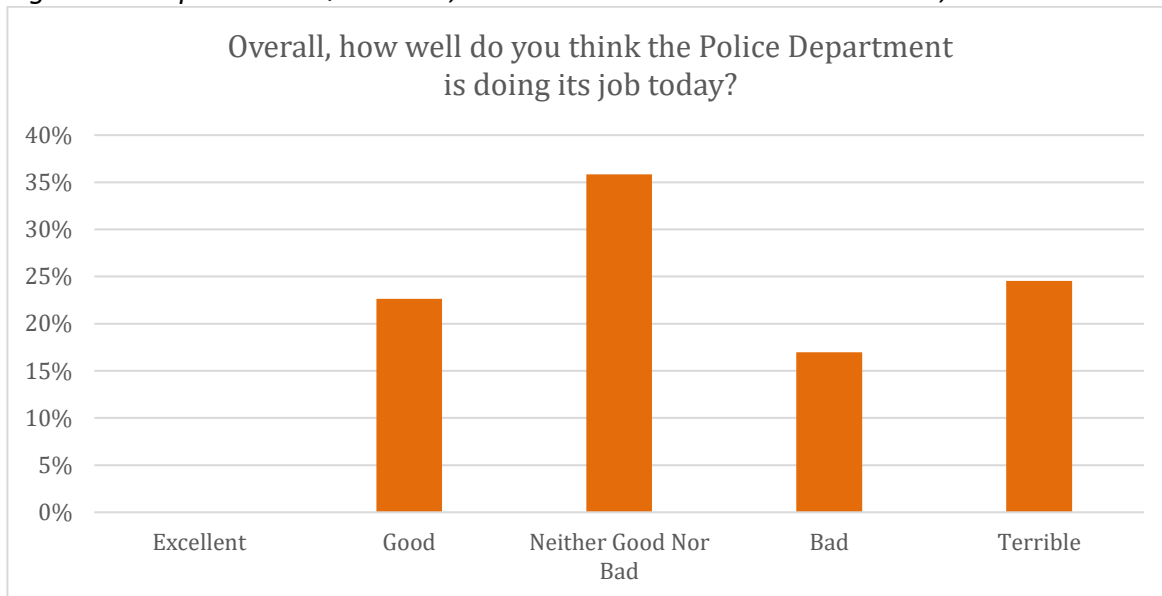
It is worth emphasizing that the modal response to this question was ambivalent. For many suspects, the department's performance was "neither good nor bad." When asked to explain this response, one person said: "Like sometimes it's not good or bad. Sometimes they do it right, sometimes they don't. Sometimes they confused on what they want to do." Another person who responded this way said: "because sometimes they respond quickly and some-times they don't. It's random. Period." A third said: "I say you got some good ones, and you got some bad ones." In other words, while some suspects' experiences of police were evenly split between good ones and bad ones, or good cops and bad cops, others had too many different kinds of experiences with the police to reconcile them into one feeling or opinion.

So, how should we interpret these results? Should we expect negative, mixed, or favorable assessments of the police from people in custody? Can we treat responses to this question as a reliable measure of their estimation of the overall quality of policing? How might their current circumstances and the conditions of confinement have affected their views?

Some suspects complained about the unhealthy conditions in the jail and ascribed responsibility for this to the police, believing that corrections officers were police employees. We corrected this misapprehension whenever it arose, reminding suspects that we wanted to know their experiences and views of Cleveland police department officers only. Nevertheless, several suspects complained about bugs and filth as well as delays in response to their questions and needs by jail staff, and this experience may have influenced their responses to at least some of our questions about the police.

Some detainees also may have treated the interview in general as an opportunity to express anger about the police department or frustration about their current situation rather than reflect on their experience as citizens and share an informed judgement about policing. We cannot exclude this possibility. And yet most suspects responded to all of our questions calmly; some asked us to repeat the scale of possible responses in order to calibrate their answers. The fact that 13 of the 53 interviewees (25%) said at the end of the interview that they were "satisfied" with this most recent experience of the police, and another 2 (4%) said they were "very satisfied" suggests to us that the responses to the interview questions were considered and sincere, not jaundiced by current conditions or prejudiced by their arrest.

Even if we assume the responses to all questions were honest, however, it is difficult to interpret the answers and response patterns without a baseline measure of such opinions or a point of comparison. Against what set of expectations should these responses be measured?

At this stage, we only have two possible points of comparison: first, responses to a similar question in the Cleveland Community Survey of June 2016; second, responses to an identical question posed to suspects in the Los Angeles city jail in 2009.[3] Neither comparison is ideal. Only the regular administration of the same interview protocol in Cleveland over time would help the city understand how unusual or common these appraisals are. Nevertheless, in order to contextualize the responses in the Cleveland jail, we compare the findings from these two sources of insight about resident's perceptions of the police below.

In the June 2016 community survey of a representative sample of all residents, respondents were asked the following question: "*When it comes to the Police Department, do you think they are doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job?*" The response scale in that survey is different from the one we used in the interview protocol; the preface "when it comes to the police department" is also distinct. So the comparison is inexact. Nevertheless, as you can see in Figure 2 (next page), 18 percent of the respondents in that survey said they thought the CPD was doing an "excellent job," and another 37 percent said it was doing a "good job."

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[3] We know of only one other instance of research that asked arrested suspects about their opinions and experiences of policing. For an account of the responses to questions posed to arrested suspects in Los Angeles in 2009, see "Policing Los Angeles Under a Consent Decree: The Dynamics of Change in the LAPD," Chris Stone, Todd Foglesong, Christine M. Cole, available at: http://assets.lapdonline.org/assets/pdf/Harvard-LAPD%20Study.pdf

*Figure 2. Responses to Question 2C in the 2016 Community Survey*
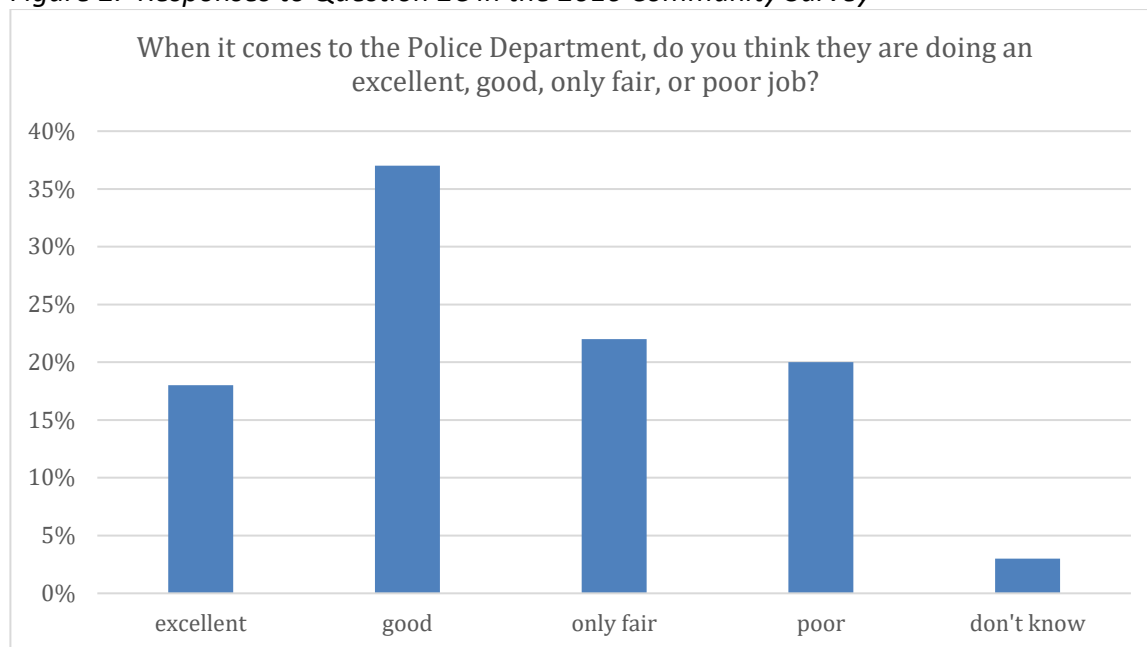
The differences in the phrasing of the question and the response scale complicate the use of this survey as a point of comparison, but the Cleveland Police Department still could use the contrast to generate a partial and imperfect gauge of progress in the future. For example, going forward, a reduction in the magnitude of the difference in the responses between arrested suspects and residents might provide the city with one indication of change in the actual experience of policing rather than fluctuations in public opinion and perceptions. A further comparison between the 168 residents in the community survey that reported a "significant interaction" with the police in the last twelve months that was "mostly initiated by the police," on the one hand, and those that have been recently arrested on the other, could help ground this analysis. It therefore may make sense to harmonize the response scales in the next community survey and arrested detainees study.[4]

What about comparing the responses of arrested suspects in Cleveland with other cities? How unusual are the views of arrested suspects in Cleveland? No two cities are alike, of course, and residents and police departments in Los Angeles and Cleveland might be very unlike one another. Nevertheless, below we compare the response pattern in Cleveland to the responses given to an identical question in Los Angeles in the spring of 2009 – that is, nearly 7 years after the signing of the consent decree in that city. In Los Angeles, as you can see in figure 3 (next page), fifteen percent of arrested suspects thought the LAPD was then doing an "excellent" job, and another 41 percent said it was doing a "good" job. A quarter of arrested suspects in Los Angeles were ambivalent, responding "neither good nor bad." Just under 10 percent, respectively, thought the LAPD was doing a "bad" or "terrible" job.

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[4] In the Cleveland research, we decided to use the five point scale that was originally devised for detainees in Los Angeles in order to be able to make consistent and reliable comparisons with Cleveland.

Figure 3. Responses to Questions 1 & 13, Arrested Suspects Interview Protocol, LA and Cleveland
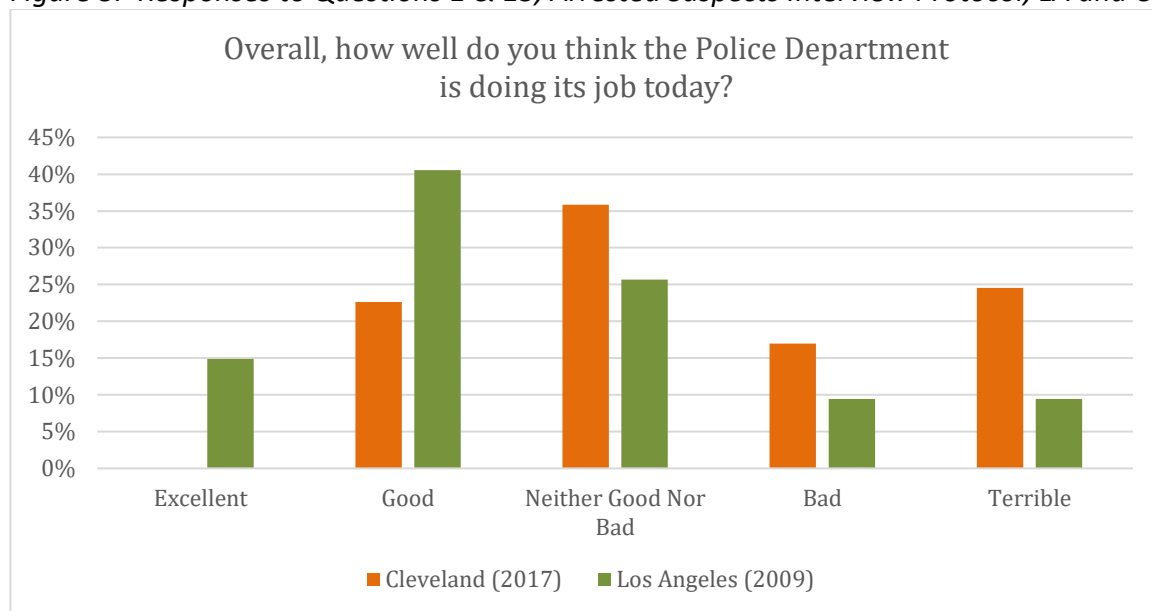
But what is the use of this comparison if the history of policing in Los Angeles as well as the demographics and socio-economic status of its residents are quite different from Cleveland? What meaning can be attached to different estimations of police performance in these cities?

First, the comparison shows that it is not unrealistic for arrested suspects to recognize excellence in the work of a police department, despite their present situation. Second, if two years from now even a very small percentage of arrested detainees in Cleveland says the police department is doing an excellent job, or some portion of the responses move from ambivalent ("neither good nor bad") to positive ("good"), then there will be credible signs of improvement in the experience of policing among a section of the population that is particularly susceptible to harm and also very knowledgeable about policing. So long as the positive responses are not limited to one district or part of the city, the Monitor and CPD might then reasonably infer from such a result that the changes in perceptions of the police reflect genuine improvements in the work of the police rather than changes in the mass or social media or other influences on residents' views.

Additional Comparisons with Los Angeles

The two charts below contrast responses to other questions we posed to arrested detainees in Los Angeles in 2009 and Cleveland in 2017, using nearly identical phrasing.[5] They show marked differences in the assessments of the quality or character of community "relations" with the police and also the "professionalism" of policing. Notice that the magnitude of the difference between the responses in Los Angeles and Cleveland is smaller for the question

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[5] In Cleveland, we substituted the word "neighborhood" for "community," believing that the former would be more familiar to residents and that the latter might sound ideological or linked with a particular philosophy of policing advocated by officials or outsiders.

about relations between the community and the police (figure 4) than it was for the degree of professionalism in the conduct of policing (figure 5). One possibility is that the relations between the police and community in Cleveland were never as bad as they were in Los Angeles. Another possibility is that they have already improved in Cleveland. Yet another is that there is a sharp difference in the meaning, experience, and expectation of "professionalism" in policing in the two cities.

Figure 4. Assessment of Relations with the Police Department, Cleveland and Los Angeles
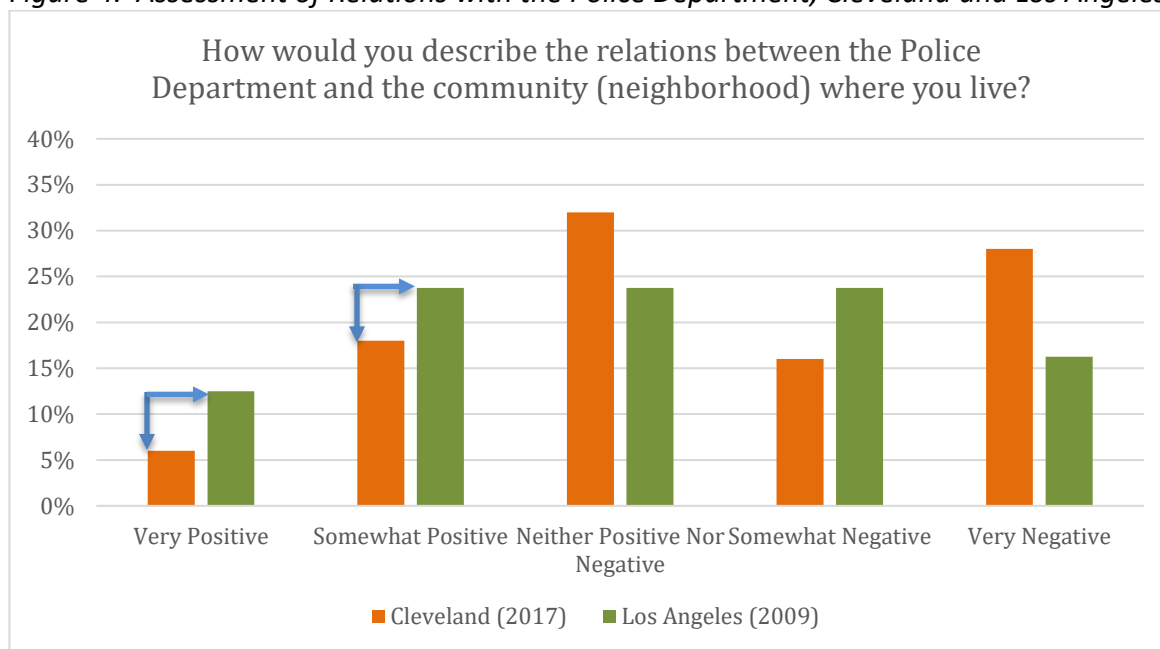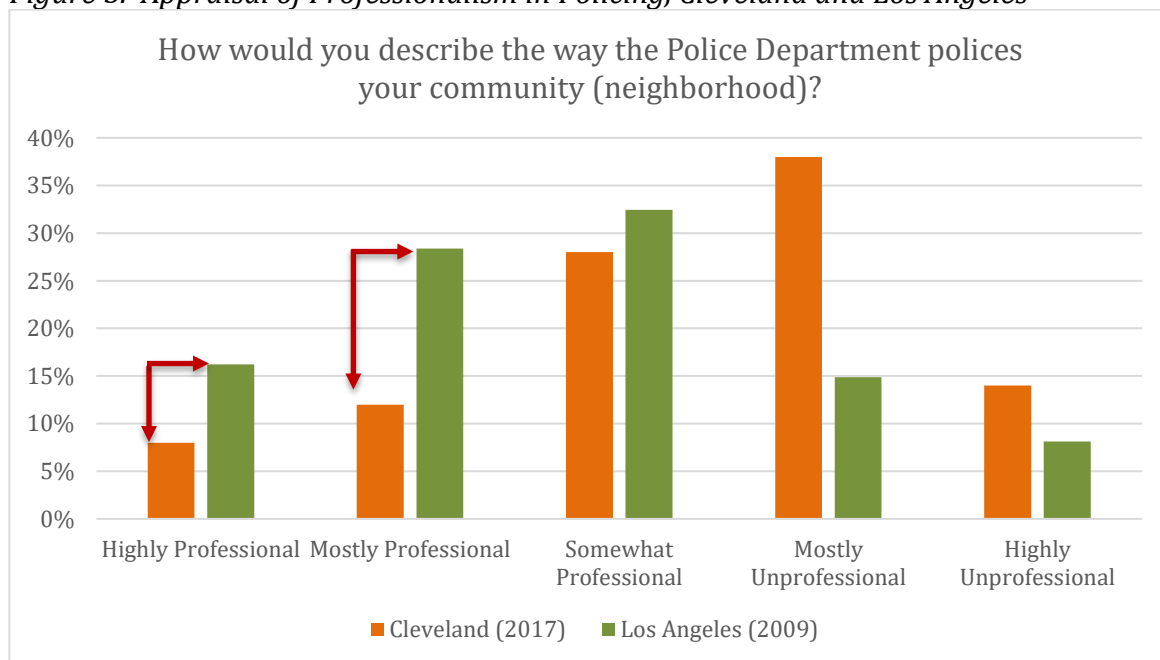

Figure 5. Appraisal of Professionalism in Policing, Cleveland and Los Angeles

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The different appraisal of the degree of professionalism in policing in the two cities, captured in Figure 5 above, may create another useful baseline from which to detect and reward improvements in policing in Cleveland. Incremental increases in the appraisal of police professionalism in Cleveland, especially among detained suspects, will likely reflect real changes in the experience and practice of policing. These increases also may be easier to detect than changes in perceptions of the quality of "relations" with the community, an important but more nebulous concept. Furthermore, as we describe below in this report, it was the professional comportment of cops and the effects of their work on crime and violence in neighborhoods that appeared to matter most to the arrested suspects we interviewed.

2. The Use of Force, Fear of Police Violence, and Restraint in Policing

The responses to questions about fear of crime and fear of policing in the Cleveland community survey in June 2016 suggest that a majority of residents in the city at that time were more fearful of becoming a victim of "excessive force" by the police than of crime. That survey also found a large difference in the extent of this fear among black and white residents. As figure 6 shows, nearly 40 percent of black respondents in the community survey said they were "very afraid" of being a victim of excessive force, compared to 10 percent of white respondents. An even greater degree of disparity was found in levels of fear of being shot by the police, with nearly 4 times as many black residents as whites saying they were "very afraid" of this possibility.[6]

Figure 6. Fear of Crime and Fear of Police Violence, Cleveland Community Survey, June 2016
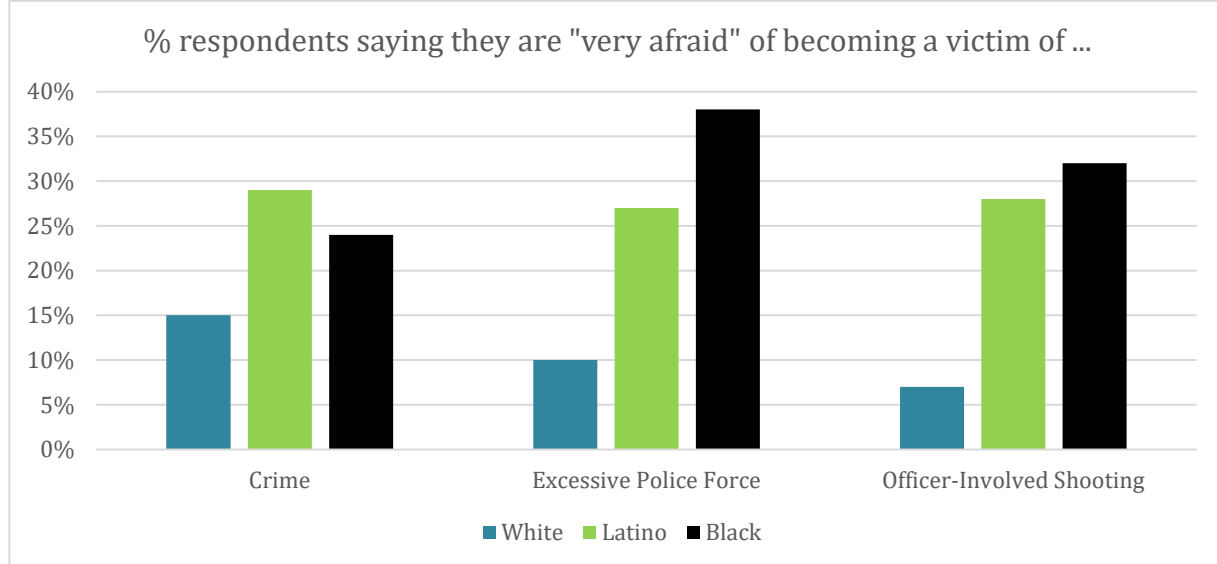
[6] This finding should be considered in light of research that found negligible or non-existent differences in the experience of lethal force by minorities, combined with marked disparities in the experience of non-lethal force. See, for example, Roland Fryer, An Empirical Analysis of Racial Differences in Police Use of Force, NBER Working Paper 22399, July 2016. By contrast, a study conducted by the Center for Policing Equity found that white suspects arrested for a violent offense were significantly more likely than blacks to experience violence or force during their detention. See "The Science of Justice: Race, Arrests, and Police Use of Force, July 2016, available at: http://policingequity.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/CPE_SoJ_Race-Arrests-UoF_2016-07-08-1130.pdf;

We asked no specific questions about the use of force in our interviews; nor did we try to gauge the validity of the findings from the community survey. And yet suspects brought up the subject, particularly in response to questions about professionalism, relations with the police, and their best and worst experiences with the police in Cleveland. For example, when we asked one suspect why he thought the police were "less professional" today, he replied:

> *"I think it got worse because more people starting to die from the police. Like sometimes they think people have guns and they don't even have guns. You see more on TV about this stuff. You can get killed for no reason."*

Some of the perceptions about the incidence or appropriateness of the use of force by the police were influenced by the media, as this remark indicates. Other perceptions, however, seem to have been rooted in personal observation and experience. "They not so violent anymore," one person said. "When they go to arrest people, or when they pull people over, they're not as violent. ... They take more caution with their job, they not so quick to pull tasers, or to pull guns."

While we cannot gauge the incidence of the use of force during arrest from these interviews, nor calibrate the degree of fear of police violence among arrested detainees, the interviews do generate an impression of how an experience of the use of force, as well as observations of police violence and the exercise of restraint by police in situations that are fraught with violence, affect residents' relations with and perceptions of the police. For example, several of the detainees we interviewed said that they were "scared" to call the police for help for fear of violence or an escalation of a conflict. One detainee told us*:*

> *I'm only 18 and I haven't seen much. But we are scared [of the police]. And we need protection. It's crazy that people get scared when the police come around -- it's not supposed to be like that. They afraid of the police. … We get scared when we see police now. It's always crazy when they come. You got your guard up.*

Two suspects raised the specter of vigilantism in response to fear. One said: "Sometimes you be scared to call because of the aftermath if they come. People get scared because a lot of them are aggressive, for no reason. A lot of people try to take matters into their own hands be-cause of that." Another said: "other people think we can't call the police because they shoot at us, too. Now we got to carry guns to protect ourselves not only from the streets but from the police." "I need to arm myself, said another, "'cause I don't feel protected by the police no more."

Still, fear of police and fear of police violence does not appear to be determinative of people's perceptions of the department and the quality of policing in Cleveland. Only one of the 18 detainees who said policing in Cleveland was "somewhat worse" or "much worse" today emphasized the use of force, and just two of the 15 people who said policing in Cleveland was "somewhat improved" or "much improved" over the past two to three years specifically cited changes in police violence when explaining their views. Moreover, the detainee with the

clearest statement about the value of a reduction in police violence connected that reduction to important changes in the life of the city overall.

"I feel it improved 'cause—police brutality. They somewhat improved, even though it's still bad. … I haven't gotten beaten up by the police. That's an improvement. It's all about force. It's improved since what's been going on in the streets."

One possibility for the low salience of police violence and use of force in response to our question about improvement or deterioration in police performance over the last two to three years is that violence may have been common, or expected, in the distant past. One detainee said:

"Like when I was young it was nothing for the police to come and take you down to the lake and beat the hell outta you. That's just how it was. They wasn't going to take you to jail or nothing."

Another possibility is that some residents expect rough treatment by the police and have become inured to violence in the course of encounters with the police. For example, one detainee, whom we quote below, said he had been slammed against the car by the arresting officer and yet nevertheless reported being "satisfied" with this experience of policing.

*"They're not too hard on you. But like one of the cops yesterday, he grabbed me and slammed me, I had my hands up there like [*shows position of hands*], and he grabbed me and slammed me, and like I don't know if that's necessary but… I really don't know too much. This is [just] my second time."*

Our sense from these statements and others is that perceptions of the use of force as a problem are connected to a negative view of the effectiveness of the police overall, and in particular the degree of professionalism in their work. Most comments about use of force and police violence occurred in response to interview questions 3 and 4, which were about police "professionalism."

The concern about police violence among arrested suspects also seems to be less about the actual use of force than a posture of aggressiveness in the conduct of law enforcement. For example, one interviewee who said policing in Cleveland today is "somewhat worse" than it was two to three years ago struggled to define what exactly was worse. How he eventually explained his response suggests to us that dismay at the "aggressiveness" of the police may be linked to a sense of the ability of police to be discerning in their efforts to fight crime and catch criminals, and also to exercise restraint and discretion in the course of their work.

Question. Why do you think it's gotten worse?

Answer. Cause they just… I don't know, they just got hard. A little bit. I don't know.

Question: What do you mean, "they go hard"? Like, they go rough?

Answer. Yeah. A little too aggressive. They arresting the wrong people, like they going after us and not getting the people they should be going to get.

One detainee described physical aggression in policing and the failure to exercise restraint as a moral and professional failing:

… when I was in the 10th grade, there was a situation. My friends were fighting and it got out of hand and one of the girls got hit with a bat. They came in they swept up everybody. They put them all on the ground really hard. Put them on the ground, fine, put them in the back of a car, fine. But why are you gotta slam people on the ground? Why you gotta push their face in the pavement? Why do you have to use derogatory words? That's not right.

The same detainee explicitly connected violence to "professionalism" and wanted officers to distinguish themselves from residents by not using force or contributing to "aggression."

Professionalism may have went out the door when they got aggressive. Abuse of authority and all of that. I understand that sometimes crazy shit happens but in some situations you're supposed to make people feel secure. You were called, so you're supposed to be a police officer and not an asshole. I never had a situation where we called and they help. They always be making the situation worse. We didn't call you to an aggressive situation to add to the act of aggression.

Q. Was there anything the officer could have done to make that experience better?

A. The officer could've kept his cool. Just like my sister could have but like I said she's 16! But you're a grown man and a police officer! You're supposed to know better! You're supposed to keep it together.

Several interviewees expressed admiration for the police when they demonstrated restraint; some defined it as professionalism. For example, one woman with multiple prior arrests, most of which she said involved a physical altercation with the police, said that the policing in Cleveland today was "somewhat improved" and cited the restraint displayed by the arresting officer: "this time I was going off on him," she said, "But he stood there and took it. He dealt with me." Another said: "professionalism is not about how you look, professionalism is about what comes out of my mouth and how you respond to things."

The use of force may be more important to people's perceptions of the police than we realize or can tell with these interviews. Still, rarely did suspects treat the use of force as a sole reason for discontent or separate it from other concerns about policing. One suspect said, "There's been less force but no change in relations." Another person said:

"The beating everyone up and shouting, that's improved. But not the lying. Force got better, too, but the way they doing their job is worse."

3. Reducing Crime as a Top Priority for the City

After the first two days of interviews in the jail, we added two questions to the interview protocol, both about the future, both requiring an expression of political preference or priority. One asked suspects what *should* be the top priority for the city, and another asked suspects what they *would* do if they were chief of police. We describe responses to the latter question at the end of this report, since it includes suggestions about how the Department might improve policing in the future. Here we analyze the responses to questions about what should be the top priority for the city, now.

As the data in Figure 7 below indicate, reductions in police violence are a significant concern for detainees, but it is not the greatest preoccupation for residents that have a lot of contact with policing. Only 13 percent of our interviewees said that reducing police violence should be the top priority for the city of Cleveland. Over a third of respondents said "reducing crime," should be the highest priority for the city of Cleveland, compared to 28 percent for "ensuring the police treat all people with respect," and 23 percent for "ensuring the community is heard by the police."

Figure 7. What should be the highest priority for the city of Cleveland?
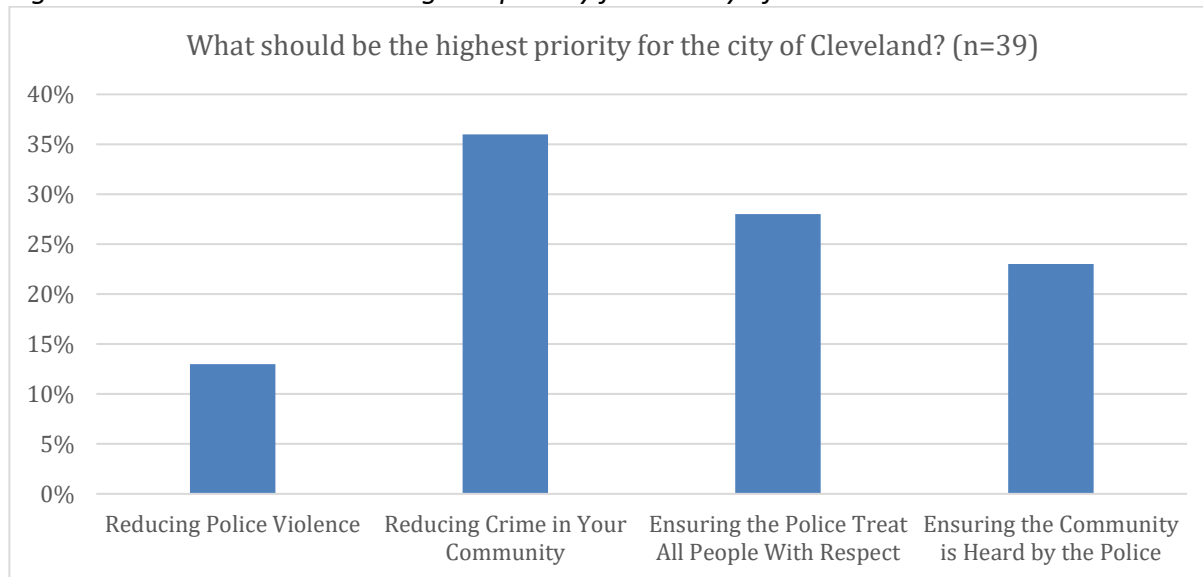
Forcing suspects to choose a priority may have been a mistake; several detainees had difficulty choosing between the four objectives and many saw them as intimately connected. "Ah, it's so hard," said one detainee, "they like equally the same; all the main problems right there." Another detainee refused to choose and insisted on "all of the above." Even when suspects expressed a clear preference for one objective, their explanations exposed their interconnectedness. For example, one suspect who chose "reducing police violence" answered our follow-up question "why is that so important to you?" this way:

> *Because if you did that the community would be more willing to interact with the police. Right now with us and the police, it's us against them. That kind of mentality.*

For some suspects, reducing crime was especially important in order to improve their own sense of security. For example, when we asked "why is reducing crime important to you?," one suspect replied: "because I feel less protected." Many others, however, said that reducing crime was important to them because of concern with the conditions of life in their community. "Just 'cause I'm in jail don't mean I don't know, like, what's good and what's bad and everything," one person said, explaining their priority. Another person said:

> I just think that too many kids are involved. There's no reason they should have to be raised where there's all this killing, all this violence. Kids be getting killed. People's lives would be a whole lot better.

For many suspects, the persistence of crime, especially shootings and other forms of violence, was tightly related to their appraisal of police performance. One person told us early in the interview when we asked for an assessment of the job being performed by the Department: "In my neighborhood we don't like the police because they don't do their job. People out there getting killed." Another measured the deterioration in police performance by gun crime: "Now there are more shootings and stuff. So, it's worse." Yet another said:

> "It's much worse. Cleveland police don't prevent nothing from happening. … Like, I live right around the corner from a police station. They don't make me feel safe. I still feel like something could happen to me. And stuff be happening. I still hear gunshots every night. People still getting robbed. I don't know what they do, to be honest. But they ain't making things better. More people getting killed, more stuff getting robbed, that's why I say it's worse."

Several suspects thought the police had intentionally withdrawn from their communities and "don't care" about what happens there. One person said he believed that volatility in police presence and perhaps even a withdrawal from critical areas, was to be blame.

> They there but then they ain't there. Like I live in the C. area. They take a long time to come and help. Like the Subway just got robbed, like that should never have happened and there used to be police all near so that it wouldn't have happened. There's a decrease in policing."

Not all suspects attributed the persistence of violence and crime to poor policing. One made it clear that she thought the responsibility lay in the community itself: "they make it that way," she said, referring to her neighbors. Another added: "well, I mean in the hood … they gotta do what they gotta do to make money, and sometimes making money in the ghetto means breaking the law." But the majority of suspects believed that the police were not being sincere in their efforts to reduce crime. Some said the police are "just lazy." Another person said: "All they care about is getting their checks and meeting their quotas." In fact, many suspects believed police were being perfunctory in the performance of their job -- in effect, working to rule:

They don't do anything but write reports and go home…. They write a report, they do nothing. It wasn't helpful. They feel like they just doing their job, not trying to feel out what really happening.

Recently someone broke into my house. They come over to talk to you and then they leave. Nothing. No reassurance. They just write down the report and then they leave. They didn't help me at all.

They not going after the people doing all the stupid stuff. I mean, the first person you encounter is the suspect?

Some suspects insinuated more cynical reasons for what they considered ineffective police work. "They out harassing people but they ain't arresting them," said one person, referring to people who commit violent crimes. "Most of the time they search you and they take your money and your drugs and then they let you go," said another person, upset by the seizure of her possessions. "It seems like they just waiting," said another. "They want you to do the crime, to bring you to jail. That's what they most concerned of. They more concerned about bringing people to jail that actually stopping stuff from happening."

Some of these explanations sounded self-serving. "They arresting the wrong people," claimed one detainee, "like they going after us and not getting the people they should be going to get." And yet these same complaints may have reflected a sense of insecurity and a belief that reducing violence was not a police priority. "See me, our stuff," one person, explained, "it ain't serious. The serious stuff they ignore." Another said: they don't arrest anybody they supposed to be arresting. Same fools running around doing the same shit."

I mean, to me, why they don't stop things from happening is that they be harassing people. They be too busy on petty stuff. They be pulling up on us and stuff, and when something do happen, they too busy. Like when there's a shooting, they messing with me over something petty.

Several people thought there was insufficient incentive for police to be effective in reducing crime. "If they really want you, they get you," said one suspect. "But mostly they just drive on past. They effective when they want to be effective." Another suspect said virtually the same thing: "they only catch who they want to catch. If it's an easy catch they gonna catch him. But there are so many murderers on the loose in Cleveland it don't make no sense." Another added: "If something gets on TV, they gotta put in the effort."

At least two people thought fear played a role in the ineffectiveness of the police. "I think they scared, and the community scared of them," one person said. "Every day you see there is a police shooting." Another said: "Like, where I was staying recently, they were selling a lot of drugs over there. And it was right by the playground. And the school. The police wouldn't do nothing. The police see a big group of guys, and it's like they scared of them. They won't even break them up."

But despite largely negative appraisals of police performance and the tinge of cynicism behind some analyses, most suspects still yearned for more policing in their areas as well as better policing. "I never really see cop cars around where I live," lamented one person who described the police as "mostly unprofessional." But, he added: "There should be more. There are lots of shootings. Where *are* they?!" Even some suspects who treated themselves as part of the problem with crime suggested that the police could solve this problem by "getting in the community. Because that's where it starts at."

> *…let me put it like this. The thing about the police… if you can stop it in the community, you can stop it everywhere else. Like, if people see in the community… like I'll be honest with you. If I was in the streets, let's say, like we would all make phone calls to each other saying yeah, the police are out here, don't come out for the day. Don't do nothing. People know when the police are out. They notice that. So, that's what they need to keep doing. Just make the community… As long as the people see the police everywhere… who will want to do something stupid with police everywhere? Some people deserve to be in jail, but people aren't going to do stupid things if they see police everywhere they go.*

We were surprised by these remarks, coming from someone who wanted to evade law enforcement. But in fact several detainees who acknowledged having offended nevertheless wanted greater police presence in their community. Sometimes this desire was expressed haltingly, with ambivalence, as if they were aware of some contradiction in their views. For example, when we asked what two things the police could do better, one person replied:

> *I don't know if I want to say put more police on the streets … but … yeah, patrolling the city. Because sometimes police are nowhere. For example, there are no fucking police on Superior and I can do 50 down there and there's nobody. I guess I'd probably say put more police on the streets because there just aren't enough out there."*

The desire for more and better policing, as this remark suggests, did not simply stem from a belief in the crime-suppressing potential of police. Indeed, many suspects had a more complex theory of crime and its solution. One suspect told us:

> *A lot of the criminals are uneducated; they have been alienated by the system in some way. A lot of criminals I knew were practically illiterate. So that's the only business they know. That's the problem. They've learned this business from their parents and it's all they can do. It's kind of fucked up, but that's the way it is.*

The desire for more and better policing was also for many suspects a bit of bind, even an agonizing dilemma. They didn't like the current practice of policing and its consequences, but they also wanted the best policing imaginable. "They lock you up, the police," said one person, who said he was being forced to snitch on a friend and expected to pay for it with his life later, after he got out of prison. But when we asked: what one thing could the police do to improve life in your neighborhood," he said:

> *"Be there. And be there more often. Be out when the Browns are on. They're like ghosts when the Browns are playing."*

It is difficult to explain or reconcile these views. Suspects were clearly frustrated with the police, and yet they seemed to want to protect the only respectable source of support and safety they could think of. For this reason, the recommendation to put more police on the streets and be more present in their neighborhoods probably should not be read as a request for more law enforcement services; it also seemed like more than just street-wise advice about how to reduce crime. It might be best understood as an expression of a belief about what a good city and community look like, and what role the police could and should play in that ideal.

4. Improving Police-Community Relations

We do not have a reliable way to gauge the extent of the gulf in relations that appears to separate police and residents, but many suspects believe the gap in social understanding and recognition is wide. "Police don't know half of what goes on," one person said, "and people are scared to talk. Police don't understand the position that people are in. They may fear for their life." Another person said: "There's a lot of tension. Race and the people and their idea of what the police are there for. There's a huge social misunderstanding, big disconnect."

Some suspects thought the breach in relations was the result of prejudice: "they already got their mind made up when they see me," said one person. "You always fit the description." Prejudice wasn't always racialized, however. One person told us: "When I see a cop approaching—black or white—I'm not thinking protect and serve, I'm thinking he thinks I'm doing something wrong, and he's coming to harass me, profile me. I'm not thinking 'how you doing officer? What's your name?' No. I don't do that with Cleveland police." Others attributed the gulf in relations to a difference in social class. "They feel like we not nothing good 'cause we be in the projects," said one suspect. "I don't know. We lower class hoods, so I don't know. Not everybody gonna grow up to be rich."

Most suspects said they wanted improved relations with the police, and thought that being heard and treated with respect were an important means of achieving this improvement. Of course, some people wanted better rapport and open lines of communication in order to be able to convey information to the police, either to help identify culprits or more effectively communicate their own needs. But closer relations with the police seemed to be part of suspects' vision of what policing *should* be like, not just part of a strategy for achieving instrumental goals, such as reducing crime. For example, one person, who lamented the purely formal interactions with cops he had, described what he wanted from "my police."

> Like I shouldn't have to see my police in uniform every time. I should be able to go shoot a hoop or at least have a personal conversation with them. Like, "yeah man, things aren't going so good at home, me and my girl, I don't want this situation to get nasty man, do you have any advice, or can you be on standby for me if I need you?" None of that. You wouldn't even know a Cleveland police outside his uniform… that's how unfamiliar they are. They have different district and different wards, but like each district should have a convention, just something to bring the community and the police together because they have to trust each other.

When we asked this suspect "why do you think the police aren't doing these things today?," he replied:

> *They're going to say because of the funds. That's what they say. They say that the CPD spent all their money on body cameras, or new cars or something. And that's… you wouldn't need the body cameras if you had the trust with the citizens, and if people weren't getting killed.*

Suspects proposed several tactics for improving relations. Providing simple forms of assistance was one way. For example, one person who told us she had a positive experience of the police after calling to get help after being locked out of their house by their partner. "Why was that a good experience?," we asked. She replied: "Because he helped me get back into the house."

Being polite was another way. One person who reported a very positive recent experience with the police said: "the cops were really nice that did come." Being rude, by contrast, left a lasting negative impression. For example, one person described what happened after she had called the police for help during an "altercation with my significant other."

> *The officer came to my door and said 'can I come in?' and I said 'no' so he stood on my doorstep and said 'why do you keep calling if you ain't ever gonna let us in or press charges?' So, then he wanted back out onto my porch and he started saying all this shit to me. Like, 'women like you just waste our time, why do you stay with him? You know* [rehearsing her retort to the officer] *you may not have to deal with shit like this or you many never had to grow up hearing shit like this, but I do. So just help me. He stepped off the porch and said all kinds of ignorant shit to me.*

When we asked this suspect "was there anything the officer could have done to make that experience better?," she replied:

> *I would've felt better if he said 'Well, Miss B. we get a lot of calls from you and we can't help you if you don't want to help yourself.' I'm not dumb. I may do dumb shit but I'm not dumb. So don't make me feel like a fucking dumbass.*

Brusque explanations of police decisions and actions were especially alienating. "To be honest, for me, the way that went," said one person, recalling her arrest, "he coulda explained to me what's going on instead of just throw me in the back of the car." Several suspects said they were confused and upset by the uncertainty over what would happen next to them in their case, especially if they had to wait for a detective to show up. "The cops don't explain nothin," complained one person. When asked to describe the worst experience he had with the Cleveland Police, another person said: "Last night. When I got arrested, I felt like they should explained things to me because this is my first time, I've never been arrested before. This is my first time and hopefully my last. But they should've explained what was happening to me."

The main way that suspects believed relations with the police could be improved was by having them listen – especially to their own accounts of the conflicts that led to an arrest. One person who ended up in custody after calling the police for help said: "I was satisfied with this experience because they wanted to hear my side of the story." Another explained what made for a good experience with the police: "just when they talk to me properly, you know what I mean? We just get along cool. See eye to eye. He talk to me. I talk to him. He understand where I coming from."

As this last remark suggests, "listening" usually meant more than just hearing both sides of a story. Being listened to and heard was a sign of professionalism; it also appeared to indicate a form of mutual social recognition.

> I think if they just listened to what people had to say, you know, talk it out, and get some kinda patience, 'cause it's your job. Make sure everyone listens, has a better understanding. Conversation. Understanding.

Some suspects thought that being "heard" went both ways, and it might even diffuse conflict and improve relations. "Because if the police is heard by the community there wouldn't be so much police brutality. There wouldn't be so much killing, you know?" Conversely, not being listened to could entrench a sense of alienation, reinforcing the breach between police and community. One person described a negative interaction with an officer this way:

> As soon as he came to my house he was just rude and was like "y'all better get it together or I'm gonna turn this house upside down!" So I was like "if that's how you're gonna be when I called you, you can just leave my house and I can just call somebody else."

Another person who wanted the police to be "more understanding about the people and the neighborhood you're in," had this advice: "You're not in the fuckin' suburbs so don't act like you are. You've got to give respect to get respect."

5. Respect and Recognition

There is an urban legend about the meaning of "respect" for the police in poor communities that suggests it must be reciprocal -- that it has to be given in order to be got.[7] So, we asked arrested suspects two questions about giving and getting "respect" to and from the police. The first was "Would you say that Cleveland Police officers that you encounter treat you with respect – always, most of the time, sometimes, rarely, or never?" The second was: "Would you say that you respect the Cleveland Police officers you encounter -- always, most of the time, some of the time, rarely, or never"?

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[7] For a recent discussion of the role of respect in police-community relations, see Andres Rengifo and Morgan McCallin, "You Don't Get Respect if You Give No Respect": How Black and Latino Youth Make Sense of Encounters with Police," *Sociological Focus*, v. 50, no. 1 (2017).

As the data in figure 8 below show, over half of all suspects we interviewed said they "always" treated Cleveland police officers with respect. Another 18 percent said they did so "most of the time." A much smaller proportion of suspects thought the police treated them with respect always or most of the time, suggesting there is considerable imbalance in the relationship of respect for and from the police.

Figure 8. Responses to Questions about Respect for and from the Cleveland Police
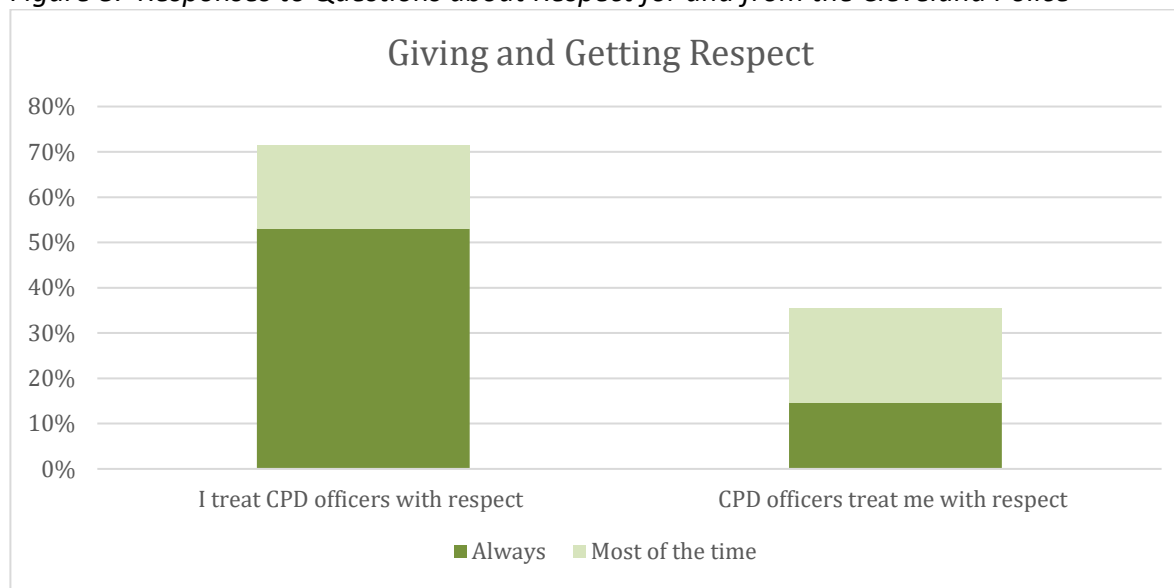
When we asked suspects to explain this asymmetry, some people said they were taught as children to respect others, "including the police," so their respect was automatic.   Other suspects said they respected the police out of fear. "Because they'll just shoot you!", said one person, when we asked why she gave respect despite not getting it in return. Another person added: "People might respect the police better if they didn't fear for their lives. If you didn't fear you might get beat up and killed." Still another feared the legal repercussions of disrespect. "If you the law, I ain't about to mouth off and get another case on me."
Most of the suspects described a grudging and transactional form of respect – "you only give back what you get." But the balance was precarious and easily upset by a police officer.

> *If I respect them it's because they respect me. …Police going to tell me to shut up? I'm not going to shut up. So it escalates."*

> *As long as I'm being respected I will respect you. I will respect any individual but just wearing a uniform doesn't get you respect.*

> *I talk to them respectful and all that but if they disrespect me… Even when the police be angry, I still try to be nice to them. But I ain't going to say all the time. If they disrespect me, I disrespect them right back.*

Sometimes the language and tone of voice used by police could indicate disrespect. "Just stop talking disrespect," one person advised, "and you might get a better result. You can't come off like that to people, that ain't cool. I'm a grown ass man just like you, you just got a badge." Other suspects said aggressive policing was a form of disrespect that breached the pact. "I mean, if you treat people with respect, you'll get it," one person said. "But when you come at them all crazy, you make a person irate." Another person explained this problem in detail.

> I mean, it's like, they worried they not getting respect, and you have to give respect. When I first start walking and talking I was taught to respect people. And you know, you're going to get respect. But if you don't give respect you're not going to get it. How can police expect to be treated with respect with the way they come at you? You know they jump out the car calling you all types of assholes… what do you expect from me to come back at you with?

Some suspects said that officers also could upset the non-aggression respect pact by accentuating the difference in power between officer and resident. "Because they think that just because they have authority they can do and say whatever they want," one person complained, explaining the imbalance in the relationship of respect. "Because they got that badge, they feel like they higher than us," said another. Yet another explained:

> Most of the time they come in and it's like "I have the upper hand!" and they decide what happens. Like they come in with their authority and say that whatever I think happened is what I'm going go back and tell my chief." Authority always have the upper hand. But sometimes authority has the wrong uniform on the wrong person."

But respect also appeared to mean a recognition of the racial and social divide between the communities inhabited by cops and arrested suspects:

> I mean, it's just in the black neighborhoods, you get … not to be, well, … white cops don't treat black … neighborhoods the way they should sometime; it's like you automatically guilty and then you try to explain it, like what's really going on, and they just see their side.

6. If You Were Chief of Police

The final question we asked suspects was: "if you were chief of police, what's the first thing you would do?" The range of responses was wide. Two said "I'd resign." One of the suspects who said this, however, then said that the second thing he'd do is "change the relationship between the police and the public." When we asked how he would do that, he said: "I would get out on the streets more myself, and I'd watch what my cops are doing. I wouldn't just be going by like, 'hey, something on the news today' this and that." The other person who said he'd resign seemed daunted by the scale of the task:

If it were me, I would be looking at the job I've been doing, … I'd quit. I'd resign. I could not do that job knowing this is the kind of think I could be a part of. Oh, geez. They'd have to be fucking superhuman. Everything is just so broken. Everything is so broken and they fix one thing and then something else breaks.

Several suspects imagined their first step as changing personnel. One suspect said: "I'd fire the police officers and get new ones. And like, police officers who are really police officers, not just in it for the money. Ones that really care about what's going on and everything." Another suspect said he'd fire everyone, and not just the police. "Fire every police officer on the force and hire new ones. … Fire down the judges, too." Another person was more circumspect, and said he would align changes in personnel with signs of trouble, such as complaints.

I would keep the best ones but fire all the others. The ones that been getting complaints. People don't complain about nothing. I get rid of them. Keep the ones that loyal and do the job like they should do. And get rid of the ones that's not.

Several suspects said they would import new practices and good ideas from neighboring cities, such as Euclid or Cleveland Heights. Another thought that the police in Independence, Ohio could serve as a model, mentor, and perhaps monitor for the Cleveland Police.

I would take the Independence Police Department. Independence Ohio is the best police department. They have the lowest crime rate. I would take their coordinators, whoever's teaching their cops to do what they're doing, we need them to come to Cleveland and show our cops that type of police or whatever you guys are doing.

The majority of respondents saw potential in the existing department, however, and said they would focus first on forging closer collaborations with the community. One said he would "hire more police officers" and buy more cars so that "officers could be on the streets more." Another said: "I would have the police work in their own communities instead of working in other communities. Because they know those people, they know their own community. People would feel safer, they would have someone to go to." Another person said he would "get more involved with the community. You need to get back to a place where the police can still walk down the street, go into stores, talk to people. That's how you learn what's going on."

We wondered what explained this faith in community policing, despite the gulf in understanding, the asymmetry in respect, and the perceived shortcomings in the performance of the Department in controlling crime, listening to people's needs. Some suspects, we think, simply believed that Department lacked an understanding of the true needs of residents and suggested that the chief needed to discover them. For example, imagining himself in the role of chief, one suspect said: "I would try to get people's opinions. I would get research done. Kind of like what you guys are doing here now." Another said: "I would set up a big meeting where everybody gets to come up and speak about how things are going." Yet another said:

I would sit down with my workers and talk to them about what's going on in the streets. I'd tell them to go see about that. … The police don't know. I guess the chief don't care either. Shit is worse than 3 and a half years ago. When I got out of prison half my friends were dead.

One suspect couldn't imagine that the chief of police was unaware of the extent of the problems in policing.

Q. If you were the chief of police, what's the first thing you would do?

A: If I knew what was really going on?

Q: Do you think they don't know what's going on?

A: Of course they don't, or they would try to change it. They couldn't know. If they do know… [raises eyebrows, shakes his head somewhat incredulously]… If they know, we need to change them.

Another suspect thought there was insufficient knowledge about what officers were doing "on the street" as well as a deficit of demandingness.

"I think the people who are higher up should be more aware of what the officers on the street are doing. Demand more out of them. Because there must not be no repercussions for them, for real. Cause, it's terrible in Cleveland. You can see by the statistics. This city isn't getting better, it's getting worse, year after year. … I mean, it's just, the chief need to make sure that they people that they hire, be doing what they need to be doing. I think more of the higher ups need to be out there making sure that what needs to be done is being done."

7. Conclusion

This research is exploratory; we know of only one prior study of this kind. Its main purpose is to provoke new ideas for the city, Department, and the Monitor about the experience of policing among residents that generate a lot of police work, and how to better relate to their needs, interests, and views. Because there is little foundation in policy or academic research to draw on, it would be imprudent to draw firm conclusions about the relationship between suspects' experiences and perceptions of the police, and in particular about the influence of the instant arrest on their views of the police Department.

The size of the sample of suspects we interviewed is too small to ascertain whether negative or positive impressions of police performance and relationships with the community are stronger in some districts than others. It is also too small to sustain strong inferences about the relationships between responses to different questions. So, for example, we cannot say that respondents with more favorable appraisals of police performance tend to have had fewer contacts with the police in the past, or that they more often report mutual or "symmetrical" relations of respect with the police. If the city and Monitor wish to be able to make such inferences, we would have to double the sample size next time.

The search for such inferences, or causal relationships, might be misguided, even with a larger sample. We left our interviews impressed by how interconnected and complicated people's views of the police are, and also by how much the lives of arrested suspects appear to be imbricated with the police. The responses to any one question we asked exposed merely a slice of that relationship; people's views of the police and opinions about their performance were suffused with feelings about their life, family, friends, and neighborhood as well as their theories of crime and notions of justice. Genuine insights into the sources of residents' hopes for renewal therefore might be missed by trying to isolate a measure of satisfaction with police performance. No single question, we believe, can generate an indicator of police community relations.

The next iteration of the study should be shaped by how the city and Monitor wish to use the results. One possibility is that the next study of arrested suspects might be used to help distinguish high and low performing police districts. Another possibility is that the next iteration would help clarify the relationship between the instant arrest, on the one hand, and some other variable of acute interest to the city on the other, such as perceptions of police professionalism or satisfaction with the most recent experience of the police. A third possibility is to understand the detainee discount in perceptions of the quality of the police department – that is, how different appraisals of the police are among arrested suspects and other residents of Cleveland. A final possibility is that we invite suspects to give more concrete advice to the Department on issues of current concern, such as drug policy or use of force, or to propose more specific solution to existing problems, such as relations with the police. We could imagine more detailed questions about a range of policy concerns; a less structured interview protocol that permitted more follow-up questions in order to elucidate the theories and reasoning behind certain preferences and opinions.

Appendix: 1. Methodology

Interview Protocol

This research used a semi-structured interview protocol, in which closed-ended questions in fixed sequences were followed by possible prompts and follow-up questions, which were posed at the discretion of the interviewer. We used a modified version of the interview protocol that was used by the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management at the Harvard Kennedy School in its research on the Los Angeles Police Department in 2009. We also added many open-ended questions that invited respondents to explain their reasoning, such as "why do you think that is important?" and "why do you think the police do that?"

Interview Teams

Instead of conducting the interviews one-on-one, with just one researcher in the room, we used two interviewees, one who posed the questions in the protocol and another who took contemporaneous notes. This tactic permitted us to take fulsome notes and also follow closed-ended questions with additional prompts – such as "why do you think that happened?"

Recruitment and Response Rates

We recruited participants (research subjects) from a list of inmates in custody on the morning of each day in which we planned to conduct interviews. From this list we removed as ineligible to participate any detainee whom the staff of the jail had identified as psychologically unstable, combative, or in need of medical attention. We also did not attempt to recruit anyone who was sleeping. One member of the team walked up to the cell holding the individual whose name appeared next on the list; s/he explained the purpose of the research, including the conditions of consent and guarantees of confidentiality and then invited the detainee to an interview room. Roughly 20 percent of the detainees declined to participate – some because we could not offer any assistance, others for no declared reason. We suspended the interview in one case, when one of the participants (research subjects) became disoriented and confused.

Interview Timing and Duration

All interviews took place within 24 hours of the detainee arriving at the Cleveland Jail. Most interviewees had spent the night in the jail before we interviewed them. The average duration of interviews was 25 minutes. No interview exceeded 30 minutes. Most detainees wanted to talk for the full length of the interview, mainly because of the animated stories and experiences they wished to tell. About 15 percent of the interviews were brief, lasting only 15 minutes, because the participants had little to say. We offered interviewees a glass of water during the interview; upon its completion we offered them one donut. We do not believe the prospect of this reward influenced their responses, at least not any more than the prospect of remaining outside of a cell.   In two cases, participants said they wanted to talk further because they didn't wish to return to the cell.

Appendix 2. Sample

We did not strive to obtain a representative sample of arrested suspects. That is, we did not stratify the sample according to statistical information about the profile of inmates booked into jail in the first three months of 2017. Instead, we recruited participants from the list of detainees provided to us by the jail supervisor every morning. We have not yet attempted to measure the degree to which the resulting sample, depicted in Figure A1 below, corresponds to the race, sex, and residence of all suspects arrested by the Cleveland Police, although we know already that the proportion of females in our sample is unusually high. This was a result of the composition of our interview teams, two of whom were female, and who were not permitted to recruit male interview suspects.

Figure A1. Composition of the Sample

	SAMPLE		Residence				
			District 1 (N)	District 2 (N)	District 3 (N)	District 4 (N)	District 5 (N)
Race/Sex	N	%					
Black Male	30	56.6	1	5	1	13	7
White Male	6	11.3	1	3	1	0	0
Hispanic Male	2	3.8	0	1	0	1	0
Black Female	11	20.7	0	0	3	1	3
White Female	3	5.7	1	2	0	0	0
Hispanic Female	1	1.9	0	1	0	0	0
TOTAL	53	100%	3	12	5	15	10

A much smaller portion of our sample had a lot of previous contact with the police department than we expected. As the data in Figure A2 shows, only a third of the interviewees said they had been arrested more than once in the prior 12 months. With additional data from the jail and police department, we would be able to ascertain just how unrepresentative our sample is compared to the average suspect booked in a calendar year.

Figure A2. Previous Contact with the Cleveland Police Department

	Number of arrests in the last 12 months					
	One		Two		Three or More	
Race/Sex	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black Male	17	57%	7	23%	3	10%
White Male	5	83%	1	17%	0	0%
Hispanic Male	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%
Black Female	9	82%	2	18%	0	0%
White Female	2	67%	1	33%	0	0%
Hispanic Female	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%
TOTAL	36	68%	11	21%	3	6%