



Coming of Age with Stop and Frisk:

Experiences, Perceptions, and Public Safety
Implications

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Executive Summary

Amid the debate about stop and frisk, its relationship to reductions in crime, and concerns about racial profiling, one question has to date gone largely unexplored: How does the being stopped by police, and the frequency of those stops, affect those who experience these stops at a young age?

This is a highly consequential question because a body of research indicates that negative encounters with police during an individual's developmental years can erode his or her confidence in the justice system. In New York City, at least half of all recorded stops annually involve those between the ages of 13 and 25. In 2012, the most recent year for which data is available, just over 286,000 young people in this age group were stopped.

The Vera Institute of Justice—which has a long history of working with the New York City Police Department (NYPD) on criminal justice system reform (see the introduction on page 1)—launched a study in the fall of 2011 to examine this question. Focused exclusively on young people in highly patrolled, high-crime areas who have been stopped by police at least once, the study surveyed roughly 500 people between the ages of 18 and 25 and conducted in-depth interviews with a smaller sample of 13-to-21 year-olds. (The study does not evaluate the efficacy of stop and frisk in terms of its ability to suppress crime, nor does it assess whether or not the NYPD is conducting stops within the scope of what is permitted under the law. See page 7 of this report for a description of the study methodology.)

The findings do not tell us how New Yorkers, in general, experience stop and frisk, or feel about the police. They do, however, reveal a great deal about experiences and perceptions of young New Yorkers who are most likely to be stopped.

This report describes findings from the study and offers a series of recommendations.

Key survey findings include:

- > For many young people, stops are a familiar and frequent experience and also perceived to be unjustified and unfair.
 - 44 percent of young people surveyed indicated they had been stopped repeatedly—9 times or more.
 - Less than a third—29 percent—reported ever being informed of the reason for a stop.
- > Frisks, searches, threats, and use of force are common.
 - 71 percent of young people surveyed reported being frisked at least once, and 64 percent said they had been searched.
 - 45 percent reported encountering an officer who threatened them, and 46 percent said they had experienced physical force at the hands of an officer.
 - One out of four said they were involved in a stop in which the officer displayed his or her weapon.

- > Trust in law enforcement and willingness to cooperate with police is alarmingly low.
 - 88 percent of young people surveyed believe that residents of their neighborhood do not trust the police.
 - Only four in 10 respondents said they would be comfortable seeking help from police if in trouble.
 - Only one in four respondents would report someone whom they believe had committed a crime.

- > Young people who have been stopped more often in the past are less willing to report crimes, even when they themselves are the victims. Each additional stop in the span of a year is associated with an eight percent drop in the person's likelihood of reporting a violent crime he or she might experience in the future.

- > Half of all young people surveyed had been the victim of a crime, including 39 percent who had been the victim of a violent crime.

- > Young people are self-confident and optimistic.

Recommendations

Vera has a long history of working with the New York Police Department, with much of this work focused on improving police-community relations. In this spirit of collaboration, Vera recommends that the NYPD consider the following steps to address the collateral consequences of stop and frisk that this study reveals:

- > In light of the fact that it decreased stops by 22 percent while the crime rate held steady, the NYPD should continue to recalibrate its stop and frisk practices so as to remedy the serious consequences to police-community relations and public safety that this study reveals.

- > Expand upon existing trainings to encourage respectful policing that makes people feel they are treated fairly (including informing them of the reason for the stop), and emphasize strategies aimed at reducing the number of stops that escalate to the point where officers make threats and use physical force.

- > Collaborate with the predominately black and Hispanic/Latino communities where stop and frisk has been concentrated to improve relationships by finding tangible strategies to put into practice.

- > Partner with researchers to better understand the costs and benefits of various proactive policing strategies as well as individual practices such as stop and frisk.

Foreward

In 2011, the Pipeline Crisis, which studies and seeks solutions to issues that hold young black men back from their potential, reached out to the Vera Institute of Justice about doing a study on how these young men experience stop and frisk. The need for the research seemed critical, given that stops had escalated from 160,000 in 2003 to close to 700,000 in 2011, and there was increasing public anger about the high volume and disproportionate use of this policing strategy. There was descriptive and demographic research about the aggregate numbers of stop and frisks; detailed breakdowns on where they occurred; the race, ethnicity and age of those who were stopped; and the outcomes of those stops. But there was little to nothing about how the practice was experienced by those young adults of color (who are the overwhelming majority of those who are stopped) and, importantly, what this might mean for public safety.

At the time, I was Vera's president and director, and knew that we could contribute to the knowledge about stop and frisk and its potential 'costs' by doing this research. Just as importantly, because of Vera's history of work on community policing—much of it with the New York City Police Department—I knew that the NYPD was likely to engage with us around what we found, and that the research could help foster the kind of behind-the-scenes dialogue that leads to the justice system change that Vera has engaged in with government partners for more than half a century.

A lot has happened since we began the study. The NYPD has reduced stops significantly, by nearly a quarter over the past year, and crime has continued to decline. As the research was winding down last spring, I left Vera to start a new institute at the City University of New York. Vera found a stellar new leader in the ranks of its alumni—Nicholas Turner, who joined in August. Federal Judge Shira A. Scheindlin ruled that stop and frisk as practiced in New York City was unconstitutional. And in early September, Judge Scheindlin appointed my successor as facilitator to work with stakeholders and a federal monitor in seeking remedies for the way stop and frisk is practiced in New York City.

The findings of this study—most significantly, that the City's practice of stop and frisk has unintended adverse consequences resulting in a lack of trust in police and a clear unwillingness to report crimes and provide information to law enforcement—is a starting place for rebuilding trust between those communities and law enforcement. Indeed, by the time this report has been released, Vera will already have briefed the NYPD, the Mayor's Office of the Criminal Justice Coordinator, and community-based organizations in the neighborhoods studied in an effort to start that dialogue.

Like all of Vera's work, this research is meant to help improve the systems that people rely on for justice and safety. New York City, thanks in no small measure to the New York Police Department, is after two decades of crime reduction the safest big city in America. It is in everyone's—communities as well as the police that work in those communities—interest for that trend to continue AND for people to feel they are treated fairly and respectfully by their police force. It is my hope that this research can play a part in starting to rebuild that trust and sense of legitimacy which is essential for fair and effective policing.

Michael Jacobson

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Introduction: The Study in Context

This study explores stop and frisk from the perspective of young people living in some of the highest crime and most highly patrolled neighborhoods in New York City, all of whom have been stopped by police at least once.

We undertook this research because we felt the need for it was evident—in poor, high-crime neighborhoods it seems as if an entire generation of young people has grown up with stop and frisk. Prior research shows that their experiences with police matter for many reasons. In particular, prior studies in the area of procedural justice show that when individuals, especially young people, perceive encounters with police to be procedurally fair and conducted in a professional manner, they are more likely to come away with positive perceptions of the police, regardless of the outcome of the encounter.^{1 2} Moreover, individuals who have more favorable views of police are more likely to report crimes and to cooperate with police investigations and other law enforcement activities.³ There's reason to believe that being stopped can also influence young people's self-perceptions, potentially causing them to see themselves as deviant and to actually commit delinquent acts.⁴ The present study builds on this body of research by focusing on young people and examining the relationship between being stopped and frisked and a young person's perceptions of police, willingness to cooperate with law enforcement, and perceptions of self. The present study does *not* evaluate the efficacy of stop and frisk in terms of its ability to suppress crime, test its legality, or assess whether it is practiced in a way that disproportionately impacts people of color.

For the Vera Institute of Justice, this study is part of a long history of work focused on understanding and improving police-community relations. In the early 1980s Vera partnered with the NYPD to develop the Community Patrol Officer Program (CPOP), one of the first and the largest community policing programs in the country. Vera's 1999 study of two police precincts in the South Bronx shifted the focus of policing minority communities to focus on respectfulness and effectiveness and changed the conversation in New York City and nationally. Vera's creation in 2001 of the Police Assessment Resource Center helped to significantly advance civilian oversight of police. And in the wake of 9/11, Vera and the NYDP held a series of forums with Arab-Americans, African immigrants, and members of nascent Latin American communities to strengthen relations between police and these new immigrant communities. Currently, a separate project examines ways in which law enforcement can engage Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian communities in preventing crime. These are just several examples among many.

This study is also situated within Vera's longstanding concerns about the large and growing number of racial and ethnic minorities who come into contact with the criminal justice system. Our work historically in the area of policing includes efforts focused specifically on bias and racial

¹ Jason Sunshine and Tom Tyler, "The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing," *Law and Society Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 513-548.

² Jamie Flexon, Arthur Lurigio, and Richard Greenleaf, "Exploring the Dimensions of Distrust Among Chicago Juveniles" *Journal of Criminal Justice* 37 (2009): 180-189.

³ Tom Tyler and Jeffrey Fagan, "Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?" *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 6 (2008): 231-275.

⁴ Stephanie A. Wiley and Finn-Aage Esbensen, "The Effect of Police Contact: Does Official Intervention Result in Deviance Amplification?" *Crime & Delinquency* (2013).

profiling. Vera’s current array of projects includes one that examines the role that race plays in the decisions prosecutors make, as well as a project that aims to administer justice in a very different and more effective way to victims and perpetrators of violent crime, nearly all of whom are young, black, and male.

Stop and Frisk: Legal Parameters, Support, and Opposition

The legal parameters governing what has come to be called “stop, question and frisk,” or more often just “stop and frisk,” are rooted in the United States Supreme Court’s 1968 landmark decision in *Terry v. Ohio*, which expanded police powers within the confines of the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Fourth Amendment protects people from unreasonable “search and seizure of their persons, houses, papers, and effects” by government. Prior to the Court’s decision in *Terry*, the Fourth Amendment was understood to prohibit law enforcement officers from detaining and searching someone unless they had grounds to make an arrest—referred to as “probable cause” in legal parlance—or had a court-ordered search warrant.

Terry and subsequent related court cases allow police officers to stop and question a person with “reasonable suspicion”—a standard less than “probable cause”—that the person has committed, is committing, or is about to commit a crime. If, in addition, the officer believes the suspect “may be armed and dangerous,” the officer may quickly search the person’s outer clothing for weapons.⁵ These searches, often referred to as “pat-downs” or “frisks,” are permitted only to protect the officer from harm. For this reason, the belief that a person may be armed and dangerous must be based on more than the officer’s “hunch”; it must be grounded in “specific and articulable facts,” such as seeing a bulge that might be a firearm. In a *Terry* stop, officers are not permitted to routinely turn out a suspect’s pockets or rifle at random through his or her bags looking for contraband. Nor may an officer frisk other individuals who happen to be in close proximity to the suspect.⁶ Following the Supreme Court’s decision in *Terry*, rules governing stop and frisk were codified in New York State’s Criminal Procedure Law Section 140.50.

For years police officers in New York City conducted street stops with little external scrutiny. That changed in 1999 when several residents sued the City, alleging that they had been stopped and frisked merely on the basis of their race or ethnicity. *Daniels, et al. v. City of New York, et al.* was settled in December 2003, and the settlement agreement and subsequent court orders related to it required the NYPD to record details of each and every stop and frisk encounter and provide anonymous data on these stops to the plaintiffs on a quarterly basis, and eventually to the public annually. Annual datasets of all stops dating back to 2003 are now publicly available.⁷

With nearly a decade of data in hand, certain trends are clear. Street stops became more numerous over the years. The number of stops recorded annually increased from 160,851 in 2003 to a high of 685,724 in 2011, with a slight decline in 2012. The data also show that stops are much more prevalent in some New York City neighborhoods than others. In 2010 when researchers at Vera were designing this study, 25 percent of the 601,285 stops that year occurred in just eight of the 76 NYPD

⁵ *Terry v. Ohio* (1968), 392 U.S. 1.

⁶ *U.S. v. Cortez* (1981), 449 U.S. 411, 418.

⁷ New York Police Department (NYPD), “Stop, Question and Frisk Database,” http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/analysis_and_planning/stop_question_and_frisk_report.shtml (accessed June 25, 2013)

precincts, all of them in high-crime neighborhoods whose residents are mainly poor and non-white. Moreover, regardless of a neighborhood's racial composition, blacks and Hispanics are more likely to be stopped than whites.⁸ For every year since the data have been collected and published, blacks and Hispanics make up the vast majority of individuals stopped. In 2010, for example, 91 percent of all recorded stops involved non-white suspects. More than half (54 percent) involved black suspects—although blacks comprise less than a quarter (23 percent) of the total population.⁹ Among those stopped, many are young (at least 50 percent of stops in recent years are of people 25 years old or younger) and male.

Those who support the use and scale of stop and frisk credit the technique with getting weapons off the streets—780 guns attributed to street stops in 2011, for example—and functioning as an essential law enforcement strategy in high-crime neighborhoods.¹⁰ In their view, concentrating street stops and targeting the use of limited police resources in high crime neighborhoods deters crime and protects those who are most at risk of being victimized. They maintain that people choose not to carry guns on the street, for example, because they are afraid of being stopped by police.¹¹

Critics of the practice say it casts too wide a net, and emphasize the small proportion of stops that culminate in an arrest or a summons (14 percent in 2010, for example) and smaller proportion of stops that lead to the recovery of contraband of any kind—typically less than two percent. They also argue that there is no proof that stop and frisk increases public safety and considerable evidence that it leads to unconstitutional intrusions in the lives of those who have done nothing wrong, as well as longer-term harmful effects for this largely minority population. In August 2013, as researchers at Vera were finalizing this report, a federal judge ruled that the NYPD's practice of stop and frisk is unconstitutional because officers indirectly and unfairly target black and Hispanic/Latino New Yorkers, stopping and sometimes also frisking and searching them without sufficient reason.^{12 13} The

⁸ Jeffrey Fagan, and Garth Davies, "Street Stops and Broken Windows: Terry, Race, and Disorder in New York City," *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 28, (2000): 457-504.

⁹ New York City Department of Planning, "2010 Census: Population, 2010 Demographic Tables," http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/census/demo_tables_2010.shtml (accessed June 25, 2013).

¹⁰ Al Baker and Joseph Goldstein, "2 Opinions on Stop and Frisk Report," *The New York Times*, May 9, 2012.

¹¹ Heather Macdonald, "Stop and Frisk Facts: It's all about guns, not race," *New York Post*, May 21, 2012; Courtney Gross, "Stop and Frisk Debate Stretched from the Church to a Parade," *NY1*, June 10, 2012.

¹² *Floyd, et al., v. City of New York, et al.*, <http://ccrjustice.org/files/Floyd-Liability-Opinion-8-12-13.pdf>

¹³ The plaintiffs in *Floyd, et al. v. City of New York, et al.*, a federal class-action lawsuit filed in 2008, claimed that the NYPD has continued to make stops without reasonable suspicion and that race is often used as a pretext for these stops. The plaintiffs' argued that police rely on a quota system embodied in NYPD Operations Order 52, which stresses the importance of "proactive enforcement activities," including "the stopping and questioning of suspicious individuals" and states that "department managers can and must set performance goals." Source:

http://www.nyclu.org/files/releases/NYPD_Operations_Order_52_10.27.11.pdf

Lawyers at the Center for Constitutional Rights who represent the plaintiffs in the class action lawsuit argued in court that performance goals are the practical equivalent of a quota system and that officers, under pressure to make the quota, resort to stopping individuals whom they have no reason to suspect of wrongdoing. Representing the City's perspective, NYPD Deputy Commissioner for Labor Relations John Beirne testified in court that the Department's performance goals do not violate a state law forbidding the NYPD from retaliating against officers for not making a certain minimum number of street stops. Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/30/nyregion/to-defend-police-city-cites-officers-laziness.html?src=recg>

city maintains that the Police Department's practice of stop and frisk is both legal and essential to public safety, and plans to appeal the decision.¹⁴

As is well known by now, the past 20 years were a time of declining violent crime and homicide rates nationwide, although nowhere as dramatic as in New York City.¹⁵ The number of homicides citywide dropped steadily from 2,245 in 1990 to 536 in 2012, with the most significant decrease occurring in the first decade—by 2000 the number of murders was down to 673. During the years from 2003 to 2011 when the NYPD was stopping and sometimes frisking people with increased frequency the city stayed remarkably safe, and the number of murders annually continued to decline, albeit at a slower pace.¹⁶

Yet in recent years, the poorest and most violent neighborhoods where police are stopping people at the highest frequencies, including the neighborhoods we studied, have not always experienced gains in safety. For example, in the 81st precinct in Brooklyn, which includes the neighborhood of Bedford-Stuyvesant, the number of murders increased from 12 in 2011 to 16 in 2012. In the South Bronx's 41st precinct, the number of murders increased from 5 in 2011 to 8 in 2012, and the total number of murders, rapes, robberies, and felony assaults increased from 754 to 897, or by 19 percent. In the same time period, the 23rd precinct in East Harlem saw the total number of murders, rapes, robberies, and felony assaults increase from 482 to 554, or 15 percent.¹⁷

Despite strong opinions about the positive influence of stop and frisk on public safety, there is no research evidence that either demonstrates or disproves an *isolated and causal* link between stop and frisk and continued declines in crime citywide or crime rates in particular neighborhoods.¹⁸ There has never been a systematic, empirically rigorous evaluation of the efficacy of stop and frisk in New York City, and this study does not fill that gap.

Vera's Study

Nearly 10 years of data on stop and frisk encounters in New York City reveal a great deal about this law enforcement practice. But the data don't paint a complete picture, and they raise many questions, even beyond fundamental questions about the relationships between stop and frisk and levels of crime.

¹⁴ Christie Smythe and Patricia Hurtado, "New York City Appeals Rulings Attacking Stop and Frisk," retrieved August 16, 2013 from Bloomberg.com, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-08-16/new-york-city-appeals-rulings-attacking-stop-and-frisk.html>; On September 4, 2013, in the final days of this report's preparation, Nicholas Turner, who in August became Vera's president and director, was named facilitator in the Floyd case by Judge Shira A. Scheindlin. Mr. Turner was not involved in the research described herein

¹⁵ New York Police Department (NYPD), Mayor Bloomberg and Police Commissioner Kelly Announce New York City Remains the Safest Big City in America according to FBI Uniform Crime Report," accessed June 25, 2013. <http://www.nypdrecruit.com/news/mayor-bloomberg-and-police-commissioner-kelly-announce-new-york-city-remains-safest-big-city>

¹⁶ U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics* (Clarksburg, VA: FBI, 2010).

¹⁷ New York Police Department (NYPD) CompStat Unit, "Crime Prevention: Crime Statistics," http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/crime_prevention/crime_statistics.shtml (accessed June 25, 2013).

¹⁸ Two prior studies have examined the impact of stop and frisk on precinct-level robbery and burglary rates (see Smith and Purcell, 2008, and Rosenfeld and Fornango, 2011) and reached conflicting conclusions, likely due to limitations in the available data and methodologies, and an inability to measure for effects of the practice at a unit smaller than the precinct level. Most importantly, as Rosenfeld points out, "Ideally, one would evaluate SQF through random assignment of the policy in areas across the city", which neither study does. Richard Rosenfeld and Robert Fornango, "The Impact of Police Stops on Precinct Crime Rates in New York City, 2003-2011." Prepared for presentation at the conference on Understanding the Crime Decline, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, NY: September 2011.

We know, for example, that a very large number of stops every year involve non-white New Yorkers, most of them young and male, but we don't know how many times on average a young man in highly patrolled neighborhood has been stopped by police. Once? Twice? Ten times?

Even more important, we don't know how the experience of being stopped, especially repeatedly, might affect a young person—or the potential effects of merely witnessing this kind of police activity over and over again. Does this kind of police presence make young people feel safer where they live? Do they restrict their activity to avoid the police? Is being stopped or witnessing these encounters related in any way to a young person's views of the police and willingness to cooperate with law enforcement? Does a young person's opinion of whether or not he or she was doing anything wrong prior to being stopped mitigate the potential effects in any way? In particular, are young people who feel they were stopped without sufficient reason more likely to have negative views of the police? And since we are talking about young people, are stop and frisk experiences related in any way to how young people view themselves and imagine their future?

In October, 2011 a group of researchers at the Vera Institute of Justice set out to answer these questions by designing a study that would explore and measure the experiences of young New Yorkers who had been stopped by police in neighborhoods where street stops are concentrated: East New York and Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn; East Harlem; the South Bronx; and Jackson Heights and Jamaica, in Queens. Over the course of a year, Vera researchers surveyed 543 young people, interviewed 43 other youth and their families, and conducted focus groups with community leaders. The findings from this study, while not definitive, provide important evidence—quantitative and qualitative data—about how *individuals* experience stop and frisk, and the complex ways in which their experiences might affect public safety.

This study builds on two important studies that recently examined New Yorkers' experiences with stop, question, and frisk beyond what is possible using NYPD UF-250 data alone. Stoudt, et al.'s 2011 study measured the extent and impact of young people's interactions with the police, concluding that many youth have had negative experiences with the NYPD, and these experiences cause them to avoid the police and make them less likely to seek help when needed.¹⁹ Researchers at the Center for Court Innovation surveyed a sample of youth and adult residents in Brownsville, Brooklyn, about several aspects of their heavily patrolled community, including stop and frisk. They found that the Brownsville sample had been stopped an average of five times each. In addition, while study participants recognized the need for police to deal with guns and other crime in the neighborhood, roughly half of people surveyed (52 percent) categorized the relationship between residents and the police as a negative one. Furthermore, only 19% of respondents agreed that the police "treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are," and only a third (32 percent) agreed that the police "can be relied on to be there when you need them."²⁰

The present study also builds on prior research in the areas of labeling and procedural justice.

¹⁹ Brett Stoudt, Michelle Fine, and Madeline Fox, "Growing up Policed in the Age of Aggressive Policing Policies," *New York Law School Review* 56: (2011/2012): 1331:1370.

²⁰ Suvi Hynynen, *Community Perceptions of Brownsville: A Survey of Neighborhood Quality of Life, Safety and Services*. (New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation, 2011).

As mentioned above, labeling theory posits that individuals can become deviant because somebody labels them as such; they adapt their self-perception to the label and start to act accordingly.²¹ For example, researchers at the University of Missouri-St. Louis followed roughly 2,600 youth in seven cities over several years and found that those who were stopped by police early on in the study period committed more delinquent acts on average. They concluded that contacts with the police had a direct effect on a young person's likelihood of offending.²² New York City provides an obvious test of this theory. In 2012, the police stopped 288,631 people age 25 and under, arresting less than six percent of them, and finding contraband in only 1.6 percent of the stops. The present study tests whether young people who've been stopped by the police in the past, especially repeatedly, are more likely to label themselves as deviants and are less likely to think favorably about their future opportunities.

The body of research on procedural justice tests two related assumptions: First, people abide by the law and cooperate with the justice system when they believe the system is fair, effective, and legitimate. Second, if people have little or no trust in the justice system, they are less likely to cooperate with the police, even when they are in danger or have been the victim of crime.²³ And prior research shows that young people in high-crime neighborhoods are at high risk of victimization.²⁴ From a public safety perspective, they are precisely the people police need to work with in order to keep neighborhoods safe. The present study tests the relationship between stops, perceived legitimacy of the police, and likelihood of crime reporting—hypothesizing that young people who've been stopped much more often in the past and also feel as though the stops weren't justified will be more likely to view the police as illegitimate and, therefore, less likely to report crimes. Prior research highlights the potentially far-reaching public safety implications of such a trend, suggesting that crime suppression effects of intensive police strategies may be short-lived.²⁵ In other words, intensive policing can actually “backfire” and weaken conventional norms among residents²⁶ and their willingness to cooperate with police,²⁷ eventually leading to higher levels of crime, particularly if fear of stigmatization dissipates with heightened enforcement patterns.²⁸

²¹ Howard Becker, *Outsiders*, (New York: Free Press, 1963); Glen Loury *The anatomy of racial inequality*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

²² Wiley, Stephanie A., and Finn-Aage Esbensen. "The Effect of Police Contact: Does Official Intervention Result in Deviance Amplification?" *Crime & Delinquency* (2013).

²³ Allan Lind and Tom Tyler, *The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice*, (New York: Plenum Publishing Corporation, 1988); Jason Sunshine and Tom Tyler, "The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing," *Law & Society Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 513-548; Tyler, Tom R. "Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law," *Crime and Justice* 30, (2003): 283-357.

²⁴ Scott Menard and David Huizinga, "Repeat Victimization in a High-Risk Neighborhood Sample of Adolescents," *Youth & Society* 32, no. 4 (2001): 447-472; National Institute of Justice, "Victims and Victimization," <http://www.nij.gov/topics/victims-victimization/> (accessed July 22, 2013).

²⁵ Robert Sampson and Jacqueline Cohen, "Deterrent effects of the Police on Crime. A replication and theoretical extension," *Law and Society Review* 22, no. 1 (1998): 163-190; Richard Rosenfeld, Robert Fornango, and Andres Rengifo, "The impact of order-maintenance policing on New York City robbery and homicide rates: 1988-2001," *Criminology* 45, no. 2 (2007): 355-384.

²⁶ Robert Sampson and Dawn Bartush, "Legal Cynicism and (Subcultural?) Tolerance of Deviance: the Neighborhood Context of Racial Differences" *Law and Society Review* 32, 777-804 (1998).

²⁷ Tyler 2004; Carr et al 2003

²⁸ Daniel Nagin, "Criminal deterrence research at the outset of the twenty-first century," *Crime and Justice*, 23, (1998): 1-42; Lawrence Sherman, "Policing Communities: What Works?" in *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 8, *Communities and Crime*, edited by Richard Vogel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Methodology

Overview

The aim of the present study is to explore how young people in highly patrolled New York City neighborhoods experience stop and frisk, and whether those experiences are related to their perceptions of police, their sense of safety, their likelihood of reporting crimes and cooperating with law enforcement, and how they see themselves and their future.

We took a multi-methods approach to the design and implementation of the study. We began by analyzing administrative data maintained by the New York Police Department (NYPD) to assess where stops of young people documented by law enforcement are spatially concentrated. Based on our data analysis, we selected six study sites—Bedford-Stuyvesant and East New York in Brooklyn, Jamaica and Jackson Heights in Queens, East Harlem in Manhattan, and the South Bronx—neighborhoods that are among the most highly patrolled in the city. The study itself features a written survey administered to young adults between the ages of 18 and 25 who were randomly intercepted on the streets in each study site; semi-structured interviews with 43 youth aged 13-21 and, separately, with at least one parent or caretaker from each family; and a focus group with a small number of community leaders in each of the study sites. We began these activities in October 2011 and finished gathering data in April 2013.

The primary research questions guiding every aspect of this study are the following:

1. How frequently are young residents of highly patrolled neighborhoods who have directly experienced police stops in their lifetimes being stopped? What happens during these encounters and what are the outcomes?
2. How frequently do these same young people observe police and police activity, including stops, in their neighborhoods?
3. How do these young people perceive the officers who have stopped them and the police in general? Is there any relationship between their views and how often they have been stopped by police in the past?
4. How do these young people view their communities, and in particular, do they feel safe there? Would they seek help from law enforcement if they were in trouble or victimized? Would they report a crime they knew had occurred? Is there any relationship between their views on these issues and how often they have been stopped by police in the past?
5. How do these young people see themselves? Is their race an important and positive aspect of how they define themselves? Do they feel capable and have an optimistic outlook on their own future? Is there any relationship between how they see themselves and how often they have been stopped by police in the past?
6. What's the perspective of adults who are parents or caretakers of these youth? In particular, how do they view their communities, the heavy police presence, and the possible impact of both on their children and other young residents?
7. Finally, how do community leaders view stop and frisk and what are their suggestions for enhancing public safety and establishing healthy police-community relations?

NYPD Stop, Question and Frisk Report Database Analysis and Site Selection

As mentioned above, we began by analyzing publicly available information on stops captured in the NYPD Stop, Question and Frisk Report Database.²⁹ This dataset, updated annually, provides a record of the stop and frisk encounters citywide that officers of the NYPD record. The raw data comes from completed UF-250 forms that officers are required to fill out for stops that meet a certain criteria.³⁰ Information recorded on the UF-250 form by the officer conducting the stop includes: the location of the stop, race, ethnicity, gender, and age of the person stopped,³¹ the officer's reasons for stopping the person or escalating the stop to a frisk or a search, whether the officer used physical force at any point, whether the officer recovered any contraband—normally weapons or drugs—and whether the officer made an arrest or issued a summons. The form also includes the person's name, although names are not part of the public database. We examined data for all recorded stops in 2010, the most recent complete year of data available in October 2011 when we began the study.³²

Using statistical and geospatial software, we identified several geographic “hot spots” where stops of young people ages 10 to 25 were both frequent and spatially concentrated. The hotspot map in Appendix A highlights these areas. To identify these hotspots, we geocoded every recorded stop in New York City involving a young person for which there was valid information about the location of the stop. In total, the stops included in the hotspots map represent 51 percent of all recorded stops in the NYPD Stop, Question and Frisk database. We then plotted these stops against a series of publicly available shapefiles³³ and ran a kernel density analysis. This automated process involves imposing a grid on the map, then counting the number of stops in each grid cell, and calculating the distance between stops. It creates a visual representation of regions or areas where stops are particularly prevalent or “dense.”

We varied and tested the scale of the grid (i.e. the size of each grid cell) and the span of the search radius (i.e. the area around each individual stop when looking to see how many stops occurred nearby) without imposing any existing boundaries, such as boundaries defining police precincts or census tracts, in order to allow clusters of stops to emerge without any constraints. In this way, we identified meaningful and stable clusters of stops.

The map in Appendix A shows the nine areas of New York City that contain within them the stop and frisk hotspots that we identified. Each of these nine areas was considered to be a potential study site that we explored further. Specifically, we assessed the feasibility of conducting fieldwork in each of these areas, looking in particular at potential local partners, costs, and deadlines. In addition, and more substantively, we examined each neighborhood in terms of the characteristics of the

²⁹ New York City Police Department Stop, Question and Frisk Database,

http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/analysis_and_planning/stop_question_and_frisk_report.shtml

³⁰ Officers are required to complete the UF-250 form, or “Stop, Question and Frisk Report Worksheet,” whenever they stop a person and the stop includes the use of force, a frisk or more extensive search, an arrest, or if the person refuses to identify himself or herself. Delores Jones-Brown, Jaspreet Gill, and Jennifer Trone, “Stop, Question and Frisk Police Practices in New York City: A Primer,” John Jay College, Center on Race, Crime and Justice: New York, March 2010.

³¹ Officers record the person's gender and age based on their identification, or make an assessment if the person is not carrying ID. They also assess and record the person's race/ethnicity.

³² More recently, Vera reviewed data on stops conducted in 2011 and in 2012. The geographic hot spots and demographics of persons stopped are very similar for all three years.

³³ Shapefiles are a series of digital layers that include geographic references and other information for creating spatial representations. Shapefiles of administrative boundaries (including police precincts, community districts, and boroughs) sourced from the city's NYC OpenData site were used to provide context to the maps of stop-and-frisk hotspots.

community and patterns of recorded police activity, seeking to select sites that are somewhat distinctive in relation to one another. As a result of this process, we chose the following six neighborhoods as our study sites: East New York (including Brownsville and Cypress Hills) and Bedford-Stuyvesant, both in Brooklyn; the South Bronx; East Harlem in Manhattan; and Jackson Heights and Jamaica in Queens. Table 1 presents basic demographic information for each study site.³⁴ The table also includes the number and proportion of stops in 2010 involving persons under 25 years old that occurred in each neighborhood. Collectively, these six neighborhoods represent 28 percent of all of all stops of 10- to 25-year-olds in 2010.

Table 1. Characteristics of the neighborhoods selected as study sites

| Study Site | NYPD precinct(s) | Race/Ethnicity | Median Household Income | % Unemployed | Number and % of all stops in 2010 involving persons under 25 years old |
|---|-------------------------|---|--------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn | 79, 81 | Black – 64.6% Hispanic – 19.9% White – 10.9% Other –4.6% | \$34,519 | 10.7% | 12,736, 4% |
| East New York (incl. Brownsville & Cypress Hills), Brooklyn | 73, 75 | Black – 51.6% Hispanic – 36.7% White – 3.4% Other –8.3% | \$32,998 | 10.3% | 26812, 8% |
| South Bronx | 40, 42, 44 | Black – 25.9% Hispanic – 70.9% White – 1.6% Other –1.6% | \$20,037 | 15.6% | 24,309, 8% |
| East Harlem, Manhattan | 23 | Black – 31.2% Hispanic – 49.2% White – 12% Other –7.6% | \$30,330 | 14.6% | 9,352, 3% |
| Jamaica, Queens | 103 | Black – 65.3% Hispanic – 17.3% White – 1.7% Other –15.7% | \$51,535 | 13.6% | 8,572, 3% |
| Jackson Heights, Queens | 115 | Black – 6.2% Hispanic – 64.2% | \$47,478 | 8.9% | 7,989, 2% |

³⁴ New York City Department of Planning, “2010 Census: Population, 2010 Demographic Tables,” http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/census/demo_tables_2010.shtml (accessed June 25, 2013). Note that neighborhood level data were not available by precinct level, so race and economic data are reported out at the neighborhood tabulation level used by the Department of Planning.

| | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|---|----------|------|---------------|
| | | White – 11.9% Other –17.9% | | | |
| NYC Overall | 8,175,133 | Black – 24.5% Hispanic – 28.6% White – 33.3% Other – 13.6% | \$48,631 | 9.1% | 322,308, 100% |

Surveys: Recruitment and Sampling

The principal method we used to collect quantitative data was to survey young people ages 18 to 25, who were in one of the six study sites and reported having been stopped by police at least once in their lifetime. An important feature of the 80-question survey—and of the study overall—is that it focuses specifically and exclusively on young people who have directly experienced stop and frisk.

The survey was self-administered in the form of a fairly lengthy and detailed written questionnaire intended to take between 35 and 50 minutes to complete. The questionnaire was designed to collect a wide array of information, including and most importantly, information about prior stops and observations of police activity, perceptions of police, perceptions of personal safety and willingness to cooperate with law enforcement, and self-perceptions. There are several items on the questionnaire that ask for information about the respondent’s demographic and personal background, ranging from race, ethnicity, and age, to how long the person has lived in the neighborhood and any history of involvement with the juvenile and/or criminal justice system. The survey also includes questions about the respondent’s current life and activities, such as participation in school and employment. There are also questions about sexual orientation, gender identity, immigration, and homelessness designed to identify individuals belonging to marginalized and especially vulnerable groups.

Most of the survey items are formulated as multiple-choice questions, although for some of the items the answer required is either a number or a brief written response. The questionnaire uses standardized scales and reflects the best available research on how to reliably elicit information from individuals about their experiences with and perceptions of law enforcement,^{35 36 37 38 39} as well as their perceptions of themselves.⁴⁰ A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix B. The survey was available in both Spanish and English at the survey site, and respondents were asked to use the language that they felt most comfortable with.

³⁵ Tom Tyler and Cheryl Wakslak, “Profiling and Police Legitimacy: Procedural Justice, Attribution of Motive, and Acceptance of Police Authority,” *Criminology* 42, no. 2 (2004): 253-282.

³⁶ Robyn Lacks and Jill Gordon, “Adults and Adolescents: The Same or Different? Exploring Police Trust in an Intercity, Adolescent Population,” *Criminal Justice Studies* 18, no. 3 (2005): 271-280.

³⁷ David Brandt and Keith Markus, “Adolescent Attitudes Towards the Police: A New Generation,” *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, 15, no. 3 (2008): 10-16.

³⁸ Michael Reisig and Roger Parks, “Experience, Quality of Life, and Neighborhood Context: A Hierarchical Analysis of Satisfaction with Police,” *Justice Quarterly*, 17, no. 3 (2000): 607-630.

³⁹ Delores Jones-Brown, Debunking the Myth of Officer Friendly: How African American Males Experience Community Policing. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 16, no. 2 (2000): 209-229.

⁴⁰ Rila Luhtanen and Jennifer Crocker, “A Collective Self-Esteem Scale: Self-Evaluation of One’s Social Identity,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, no. 3 (1992): 302-318.

We surveyed people over the course of two to three days in each study site. Two-person teams of researchers stationed themselves in high foot-traffic areas, at or very near the precise stop and frisk hotspots that we had identified. The researchers conducted random street intercepts of potentially eligible participants, briefly stating the nature of the study and, assuming the person was at all interested, asking if the person lived in the neighborhood, was within the eligible age range (18 to 25), and had been stopped by police at least once in the past. We worked with community-based organizations operating in each of the six study sites to secure spaces close by where eligible individuals could sit down and complete the survey.⁴¹

As is common with this kind of research, many people did not stop when a researcher approached them. Others stopped long enough to be screened but were unwilling to complete the survey; and some were ineligible to participate. Across all six sites, 30 to 40 percent of eligible individuals we tried to recruit actually completed the survey.

We set out to survey 100 people in each site. As shown in Table 2, in both East New York and the South Bronx, we fell just slightly short of our target. We faced much greater challenges in Jackson Heights. This site differs from the others in that the majority of residents (65 percent) are foreign-born and only 16 percent reported speaking English at home.⁴² Although the teams of researchers were fluent in Spanish and spent an additional day in Jackson Heights, most of the people they approached either would not stop to talk to them or declined to participate in the survey. In general, people seemed to be reluctant to speak with outsiders about the police. In the end, we were only able to survey 36 people in Jackson Heights. For this reason, and because Jackson Heights is significantly unlike the other five neighborhoods, we chose to analyze findings from Jackson Heights separately. While this created a limitation in terms of the study, we see this as an opportunity to build on Vera’s work with immigrant communities to develop new approaches to conducting research going forward.

Table 2. Number of people surveyed in each study site

| Study Site | People Surveyed |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn | 103 |
| East New York, Brooklyn | 99 |
| South Bronx | 89 |
| East Harlem, Manhattan | 103 |
| Jamaica, Queens | 100 |
| Jackson Heights, Queens | 36 |
| Total | 530 |

⁴¹ Surveys were conducted at the following community-based organizations: Restoration Plaza in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn; Cypress Hills Local Development Corporation in East New York, Brooklyn; The South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corporation (SoBro) in the South Bronx; Harlem RBI in Manhattan; Make the Road NY in Jackson Heights, Queens; and Queens Engagement Strategies for Teens in Jamaica, Queens.

⁴² New York City Department of Planning, “2010 Census: Population, 2010 Demographic Tables,” http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/census/demo_tables_2010.shtml (accessed June 25, 2013).

Participants received the 80-question survey, and a researcher was always present in the room and available to answer any questions. All participants were required to sign a consent form attesting to their voluntary participation in the study and received a \$25 Visa gift card once they completed the survey.

Interviews: Recruitment and Sampling

The second primary component of the study—yielding both quantitative and qualitative data—was a series of in-person interviews with a separate sample of young people and at least one parent/caregiver. Like the survey, the interviews were restricted to young people who lived in the study sites and had been stopped by police at least once in the past, but in this case we took the opportunity to study a younger population with the permission of parents/caregivers and limited eligibility to 13- to 21-year-olds.

The interviews with youth were designed to take place in two separate sessions, for roughly one hour each. Parents/caregivers were interviewed once, for roughly an hour. The semi-structured nature of the interviews gave us an opportunity to collect more detailed and in-depth information about how young people experience stop and frisk and how they see the police, the neighborhood, and themselves—in essence, offering a window into a person’s life and a chance to understand stop and frisk as one aspect of growing up in one of these six neighborhoods.

Balancing the desire to conduct an in-depth interview with the concern that many 13- to 21-year-olds might have a hard time remaining focused throughout a very long interview, we decided to conduct the interviews in two separate one hour-long sessions, with the follow-up interview taking place roughly three weeks after the initial interview. In general, initial interview (Part I) covers all of the same areas and issues that the survey addresses, although the way the issues are raised and questions are posed is somewhat different. The primary objectives of the follow-up interview were to explore in more detail whether and how living in a highly policed neighborhood influences a young person’s sense of safety and mobility within the community, and also to learn about any street stops that occurred since the first interview. The complete interview guide is included in Appendix C.

The guide for interviewing parents/caregivers focuses on their own pattern of social activities and engagement in the local neighborhood, contacts with law enforcement—stops, voluntary contacts, likelihood of reporting—history of victimization, and their opinions about the police and their role in the community, among other things. It is also included in Appendix D.

We worked through local community-based organizations (CBOs) to recruit families for the interviews. Specifically, we asked CBOs in each neighborhood if we could describe the planned study at an upcoming meeting or event and solicit participation in the interview component of the study. By December 2012, we had contact information for 175 youth who were interested in participating, 143 of whom were eligible.

We used a stratified random sampling technique to select and contact eligible youth in each study site, aiming to interview 40 youth across the six sites. Initially, we considered these 40 youth to be our “primary” interview subjects. As noted above, we also aimed to interview any siblings that met eligibility criteria and at least one parent/caretaker.

We began contacting and interviewing people in May 2012, a process that continued into the early fall of that year. All interview participants were required to sign a consent form attesting to their

voluntary participation in the study. For youth under age 18, consent was provided by a parent/caregiver. All subjects, regardless of age, received a \$50 Visa gift card following the first interview. When subjects completed the follow-up interview, they were given a \$25 Visa gift card.

Interviews were conducted at times and places convenient to the study participants, which usually turned out to be the family’s home. Youth were always interviewed separately from their parent/caregiver to encourage candid comments by all participants about their interactions with and views of the police, as well as other subjects of discussion. There were two researchers assigned to every interview—a lead interviewer and a designated note taker who typed near-verbatim notes, as well as other observations. Interviews were conducted in the language in which each individual respondent felt most comfortable, either English, Spanish, or French.

In the end we interviewed 34 primary young people⁴³—slightly short of our target of 40, plus nine siblings and 35 parents/caregivers. In terms of the findings presented in this report, we make no distinction between primary interview subjects and siblings and throughout present data on the 43 young people that we interviewed. Table 3 provides a breakdown of the number of people interviewed in each study site. As with the survey, recruiting participants in Jackson Heights proved to be particularly challenging, and almost equally challenging in Jamaica, Queens.

The table also presents the number of youth who completed both the initial and follow-up interviews—only 26 out of 43. Although all of the youth agreed to participate in two separate interviews, scheduling the follow-up interview proved to be difficult and impossible in many cases. Disconnected phone numbers or simple disinterest in participating further in the study seem to be the primary reasons some young people failed to complete a follow-up interview. As a result, the interview component of the study lacks the full scope of information that might have been provided through an additional interview with each young participant.

Table 3. Number of people interviewed in each study site

| Study Site | # of Youth Interviewed (youth) | # of Parents/ Caregivers Interviewed | Total # of Youth who Completing the Follow-up Interview |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Bedford-Stuyvesant | 8 | 5 | 7 |
| East New York | 10 | 8 | 5 |
| South Bronx | 13 | 10 | 10 |
| East Harlem | 9 | 9 | 3 |
| Jackson Heights | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jamaica | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 43 | 35 | 24 |

⁴³ Of the 143 eligible participants we attempted to contact, 41 could not be reached due to disconnected phones, wrong numbers, or unresponsiveness to the researcher’s attempts. Among those we actually contacted, 15 declined to participate and 52 had scheduling conflicts that prevented the interview from actually taking place.

Race/Ethnicity and Gender of Study Participants

The race, ethnicity, and gender of our study participants, compared to all stops in 2010 is illustrated in figures one and two. As shown in these pie charts, our study sampled a greater proportion of blacks and females relative to the representation of these groups in 2010 in the NYPD’s stop and frisk database. Vera survey respondents were asked to first identify their race and then their ethnicity, selecting among several options or writing in their preferred response.⁴⁴ This largely reflects the fact that we aimed to represent the demographic breakdown of the six neighborhoods where we conducted our study. Data related to race on the NYPD UF-250 form are collected and recorded somewhat differently; officers may rely on the race recorded on the person’s ID, how the person self-identifies, and/or their own perception of the person’s race.

Researchers asked survey respondents to identify their “gender” by choosing male, female, or transgender, or writing in a response, whereas the UF-250 form includes just two categories of “sex,” male and female, and is often based on the sex recorded on the suspect’s ID.

Figure 1. Race/ethnicity of Study Participants and 2010 NYPD stops

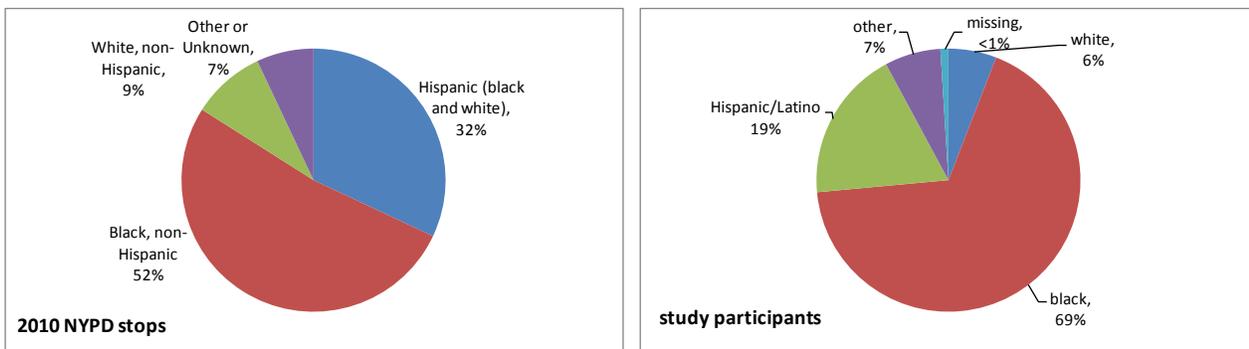


Figure 2. Gender/Sex of Study Participants and NYPD stops, 2010



⁴⁴ New York Police Department (NYPD), “2012 Reasonable Suspicion Stops: Precinct Based Comparison by Stop and Suspect Description,” http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/analysis_and_planning/2012_sqf_final_04_02_2013.pdf (accessed June 25, 2013).

Focus Groups

We also conducted one focus group in each of the study sites, except for Jackson Heights. The focus groups involved three to six adults who interact regularly with local youth and their families—namely, community and/or youth advocates, religious leaders or other leading figures in the community, or individuals who work or volunteer for a local community-based organization. All focus group participants were required to sign a consent form attesting to their voluntary participation in the study and were promised anonymity in the eventual report. Each participant received a \$25 Visa gift card.

Over the course of two hours, the researchers facilitating these groups aimed to elicit participants' views about stop and frisk as a policing strategy, and in particular, what, if anything they hear from other residents about it and how they respond to any concerns or frustrations that residents express. The facilitators also encouraged candid discussion of crime in the neighborhood and police-community relations generally, including recommendations for improving police-community partnerships. One or two designated (nonprofessional) note takers typed near-verbatim notes, as well as other observations. The lead focus group facilitator also took some notes (sessions were not sound recorded).

Analysis of the Survey, Interview, and Focus Group Responses

Surveys. We used SPSS for all statistical analyses conducted in this report. After all survey data were entered and double-checked for data entry errors, basic descriptive statistics were computed to generate a demographic profile of survey respondents (age, race, etc.) and to capture the overall distribution of responses for the main variables, which ranged from the number of stops in the past year and lifetime number of stops to an array of variables aiming to measure general and contact-specific perceptions of police, neighborhood activities, and self-perceptions.

Following the descriptive analyses, we conducted tests for association and correlation in order to determine the strength and direction of associations among variables. We wanted to examine, in particular, whether and, if so how, variables measuring frequency of contact with police (i.e. number of stops) are related to various measures of perception, such as views of the officers who had conducted the reported stops and views of police in general. In addition, we explored the data for other possible relationships—for example, between gender, age, race, ethnicity and perceptions; and between history of arrest and perceptions.

A more advanced set of bivariate analyses involved testing whether observed differences for specific variables—for example, the reported number of stops in the past year for males and females—are statistically significant; that is, whether differences are due to chance or tied to the specificity of the sample. We ran similar tests of significance in order to compare relationships, differences in averages, and differences in proportions of other variables, for example, the relationship between the perceived likelihood of crime reporting and the frequency of past stops. Depending on the type of data, and the number of categories being tested, we conducted the following tests to determine statistically significant differences:

- **T-tests:** For differences in continuous or ordinal variables (for example, age or average scores on a scale measuring perceptions of police) between two groups (for example, males and females).

- **ANOVA tests:** For differences in continuous or ordinal variables between multiple groups (for example, differences in the total number of stops among participants from each of the study sites).
- **Crosstab using chi-square test to detect significant differences:** For differences in proportions (for example, the proportion who agree or disagree with the statement “*The police are good at preventing crimes*”) among two groups (for example, males and females).
- **Crosstabs using Cramer’s V to detect significant differences:** For differences in proportions among three or more groups (for example, proportion who agree with the statement “*The police are good at preventing crimes*” by study site).
- **Correlations using Pearson’s correlation coefficients:** For relationships between two continuous or ordinal variables (for example, does the number of stops increase as age gets higher?)

We also specified a number of multivariate models to assess whether bivariate associations would remain statistically significant when controlling for additional factors and correlates. Using Ordinary Least Squares for example, we explored whether survey respondents thought that police stops were justified, controlling for demographic factors, prior arrests, and frequency of stops. For binary variables, such as whether or not the respondent felt safe in different situations, we used binary logistic regression modeling. We built this and other models using a stepwise approach, adding substantive predictors to each iteration of the model.

Some of the correlates of police stops we explored in this study were operationalized as latent variables. Instead of measuring these directly using single survey items we combined information from multiple items to create “constructs” or scales. This technique is frequently used when researchers seek to identify complex attitudinal concepts such as self-esteem or when studying interrelated, yet potentially unique, patterns of behavior such as local routine activities. Consistent with this approach we rely on a technique known as factor analysis (using principal components analysis, with varimax rotation) to better specify some of our dependent variables mainly in terms of self-perceptions, perceptions of police, and neighborhood activities. In the final set of findings, only the factors created from the self-perceptions items were used and reported out on. Other factors were not included because they were either unreliable or too difficult to interpret.

Throughout the report we present only those associations, correlations, and differences among groups that are statistically significant, with the exception of Jackson Heights.

Interviews and Focus Groups. Researchers relied on NVivo qualitative software to code and analyze the more than 100 pages of transcription and notes from the interviews and focus groups. The purpose of the coding is to be able to discover themes and patterns in the data. We developed 151 codes⁴⁵ and related definitions based on our primary research questions. Examples include: neighborhood change, family involvement in criminal justice system, most memorable stop, and participant perceptions of

⁴⁵ NVivo software refers to codes/categories as nodes, to be created by the researcher prior to analyses of qualitative data.

police. We then searched the qualitative data for related text and marked the relevant section with the appropriate code—a tag or label to facilitate later analysis. After each interview and focus group was coded once, a second researcher reviewed and coded the same data. Researchers then compared the versions, testing for inter-coder reliability to avoid measurement errors and allow for more concrete conclusions. Once coding was complete, we combed the coded data to identify patterns or isolated responses—quotes from a particular interview subject or focus group participant—that might answer or partially answer our primary research questions. For example, in order to determine how the most recent stop and frisk experience might have shaped the youth’s perception of police, researchers searched for passages coded for “most recent stop” and “police perceptions” instead of reviewing all the youth interviews in their entirety, and determined the ways in which the participants discussed the experience in relation to the stop interaction. In addition to this qualitative analysis, we also present quantitative findings for some specific interview questions.

Presentation of Findings in this Report

In this report we present our findings in four main chapters. Immediately following this discussion of our methods, we present and discuss findings related to the frequency, nature, and outcomes of the stop and frisk encounters that our survey and interview participants reported, as well as their observations of police activity. The next chapter presents findings related to how the young people we studied perceive the police—both officers who stopped them and police in general—as well as findings about whether people who report being stopped more frequently in the past perceive the police differently. We then present findings related to personal safety within the context of these neighborhoods and the likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement for self-protection or to report a crime, and also examine whether the frequency of past stops and other factors are related to perceptions in this key area. Finally, we present and discuss our findings regarding how the young people we studied see themselves and their future.

In each of these chapters, we present findings for all of the study sites combined, with the exception of Jackson Heights, which we discuss separately for reasons stated earlier in this chapter. Generally, we lead with findings from the surveys and present quantitative and qualitative information from the interviews, as well as information gleaned during the focus groups, to confirm or contradict the survey findings and also to add detail and nuance. Each of these four main chapters ends with a brief summary discussion of the key findings and their implications. In an additional, shorter chapter we offer select findings from our small survey of young people in Jackson Heights. The report concludes with a chapter in which we briefly explore some of the most important implications of our findings and offer some recommendations based on our research.

Chapter 1. Frequency and Nature of Encounters with Police

This study was designed to measure how often young New Yorkers who live in highly patrolled neighborhoods encounter the police—measures that would also serve as a baseline for future research on stop and frisk. To generate those baseline measures, researchers at Vera surveyed and interviewed young people who had been stopped by police at least once in the past. We asked them about two types of encounters with officers: street stops that they experienced and police activities that they observed. In addition to measuring frequency, we also asked the young people we surveyed and interviewed where the stops they experienced took place and what happened—specifically, were they frisked or searched, did the police use force against them, were they arrested or handed a summons, and did the police recover any weapons, drugs, or other illegal items. Their responses are described below. Each of the following sections opens with relevant results from the survey, and in some cases those findings are supplemented with information from our interviews.

Frequency of Experiencing Street Stops

The young people we surveyed were asked to report how many times they had been stopped by police *in the past year* and also *in total* over the course of their life. At least one past stop was a requirement for participating in the survey. Their responses reveal a wide range of experiences, in terms of how often they had been stopped. Some of the young people reported being the subject of only one stop ever and none in the past year. Some reported enough stops for the experience to have become familiar. Others reported many, many stops in the past year and/or over their lifetimes.

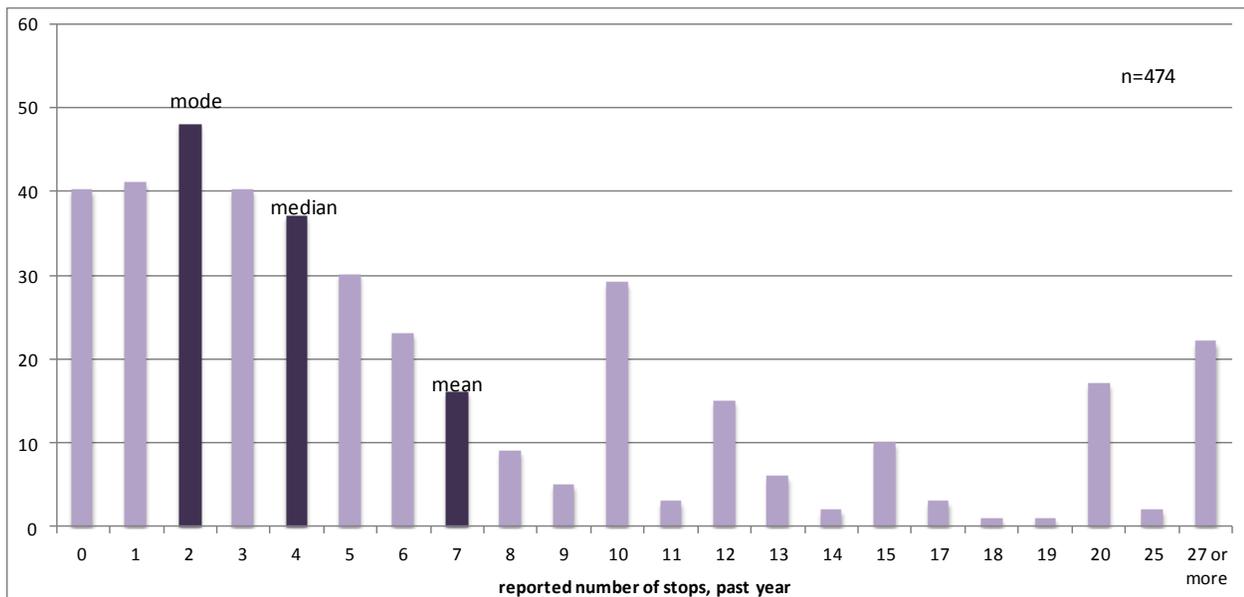
Number of Stops in the Past Year

“How many times have you been stopped, questioned, and/or frisked in the past year?”

Responses to this survey question ranged from zero to more than 100. A few people even gave implausible answers such as a thousand times or ten thousand, possibly suggesting that they had been stopped more often than they could count or remember. We adjusted outlying values, resulting in a mean (i.e. average) value of 7 and a median (i.e. middle) value of 4.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ For computation of measures of central tendency (mean, median, and mode) a maximum value equal to the 95th percentile value was used. For both past year stops and lifetime stops, the maximum value imposed was 27.

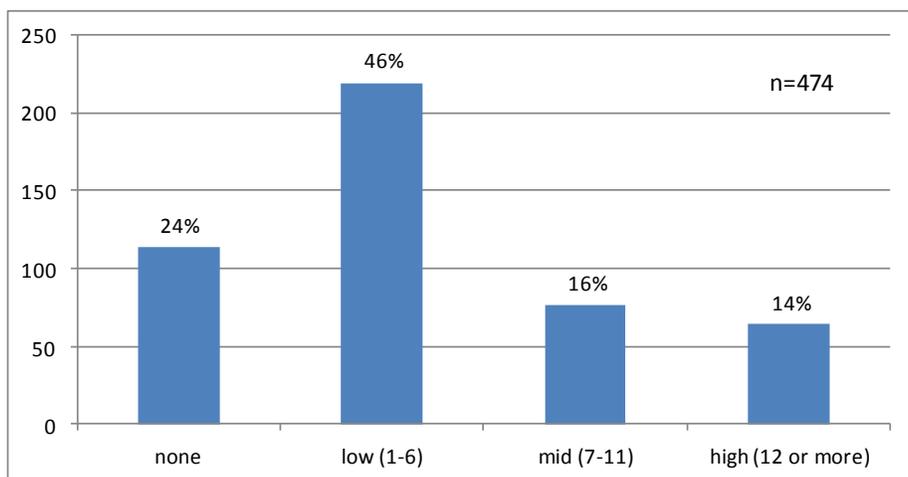
Figure 3. Responses to the survey question, “How many times have you been stopped, questioned, and/or frisked in the past year?”



Given the wide range and distribution of responses that we received, neither the mean nor the median number of stops in the past year provides an especially meaningful measure of a typical experience—one that reflects, in other words, how often most young people in these neighborhoods were stopped over the course of a year. Even the mode, or the most common response—having been stopped two times over the past year—was reported by just 12 percent of survey respondents (n=48). Nearly equal proportions of respondents, for example, indicated they hadn’t been stopped at all in the past year (10 percent, n=40) or at the other extreme, reported being stopped 20 times or more over the past year (10 percent, n=41).

What we can emphasize instead is that the vast majority (76 percent, n=360) of the young people we surveyed reported being stopped *at least once in the past year*. The remaining 24% (n=114) said they had been stopped at some point in their lives (a requirement for participation in the study), but not in the past year. Among those who reported at least one stop in the past year, we defined three levels of frequency in relationship to the average for the sample overall: low (1-6 stops), a range that falls below the average and was reported by nearly half (46 percent, n=219) of young people surveyed; mid (7-11 stops), which is average or slightly above average and was reported by 16 percent (n=77) of people surveyed; and high (12 or more stops) a frequent experience reported by 14 percent (n=64) of young people surveyed.

Figure 4. Recoded frequency levels for number of times stopped, questioned and/or frisked in the past year



Lifetime Number of Stops

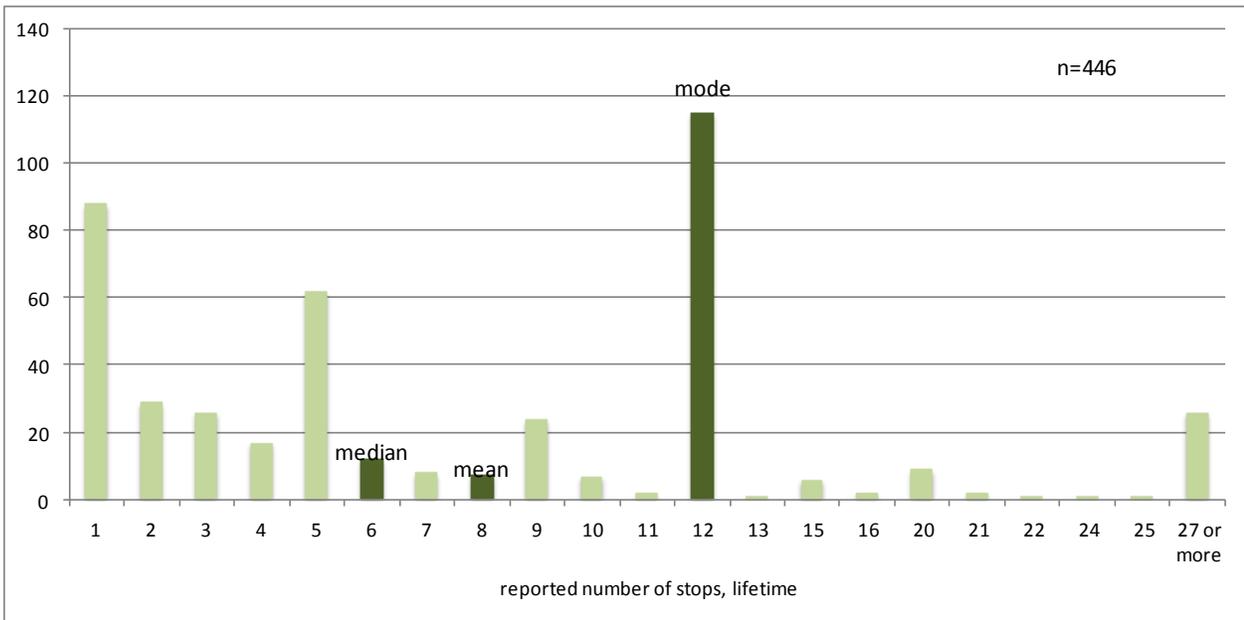
“How many times have you ever been stopped, questioned, and/or frisked by the police?”

When asked to think back over many years and report the *total* number of times they had been stopped by police, the young people we surveyed offered responses ranging from one (the minimum number of stops required to participate in the survey) to more than 100, with a mean of eight and a median of six.⁴⁷ Those who could not recall an exact number were asked to select among a few possible ranges.

The mode, or most common response, was 12. Roughly a quarter (26 percent) of survey respondents (n=115) provided this answer. We didn’t ask, and thus don’t know, whether these 12 encounters happened over many years or just a few, and whether they happened recently or long ago. But even without this information, it’s clear that being stopped by police is certainly a familiar experience for these 115 young people as well as an additional 49 people (10 percent of the sample) who reported being stopped more than 12 times. On the other hand, 20 percent of respondents (n=88) reported that they had been stopped by the police only once in their lives, making this an isolated event for a significant proportion of the young people we surveyed.

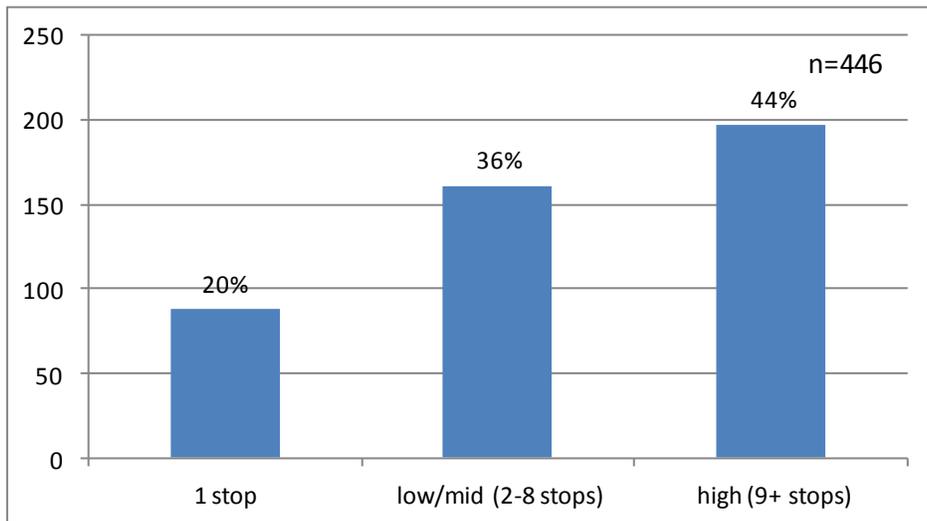
⁴⁷ Here too outlying values were adjusted to the 95th percentile of 27. When a respondent choose among a range of stops instead of providing an exact number, we used the average value for that range.

Figure 5. Responses to the survey question “How many times have you ever been stopped, questioned, and/or frisked by the police?”



Looking across the entire sample of people surveyed at number of lifetime stops reported, we have defined three levels of frequency in relationship to the average for the sample overall: one stop ever, an isolated experience reported by 20 percent (n=88) of the young people we surveyed; low/mid (2-8 stops over a lifetime), a number at or below average and reported by roughly a third (36 percent, n=161) of people surveyed; and high (nine or more stops over a lifetime), a number above average and reported by slightly fewer than half (44 percent, n=197) of people surveyed. These three levels are illustrated in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6. Recoded frequency levels for lifetime number of times stopped, questioned and/or frisked



We also asked the 42 young people we interviewed how many times in their lives they had been stopped by the police, either while walking on the street or in a car. Among this group of 13- to 21-year-olds, responses also varied widely. While 19 percent (n=8) reported only one stop ever—a requirement for participating in the interview—the vast majority (81 percent, n=35) reported having been stopped more than once. More than half of all the young people we interviewed (60 percent, n=25) reported that they had been stopped ten or more times, and nearly half of this group (n=12) had been stopped so many times they had lost count. Compared to the survey results, these data paint a picture of stops occurring somewhat more often. It is important to note, however, that many of the young people we interviewed—both those who reported few stops over their lifetimes and those who reported many—had difficulty recalling the exact number of times that they had been stopped by police.

Demographic Differences, Gender and Race. There are obvious reasons to expect that young males are likely to be stopped by police more frequently than young females. To begin with, 91 percent of all recorded stops in 2012, the most recent year of complete data, were of males. Moreover, the gender gap in offending has been widely documented, with males being much more likely to commit crimes than females.⁴⁸ Young males, for example, comprised 72 percent of delinquency cases nationally in 2010.⁴⁹ The gender gap in offending means that officers on the lookout for suspects are more likely to focus on males than females. Several of the young people we interviewed talked about this explicitly. One 20-year-old black male in Brownsville summed it up by saying, “They don’t really search girls like that neither.” A 17-year-old black and Hispanic male from the South Bronx said, “The only time they stop females is if she’s with boys... They know the cops won’t really be searching the girls. I think if I was a girl I would be better off with the police.”

The vast majority (74 percent) of our survey respondents are male—some evidence itself that young males are more likely to be stopped, since at least one prior stop was a requirement for participating in the survey. A quarter (25 percent) of the sample is female, and less than one percent (two respondents) are transgender. When we examined the average number of lifetime and past year stops we found marked and statistically significant differences between the young men and women we surveyed. Females reported an average of four stops ever and three stops in the past year, while males reported an average of 10 stops ever and nine in the past year.

We also compared respondents of different races and ethnicities, keeping in mind certain local trends in crime reporting. Specifically, the majority of suspects, as well as victims, for all crime types in New York City are reported to be black, and the vast majority of suspects (78 percent) in shootings are reported to be black.⁵⁰ While these trends may or may not be indicative of actual criminal behavior, they closely parallel trends in stops citywide, with 60 percent of all recorded stops in 2012 involving black suspects.

⁴⁸ Callie Mae Rennison, “A New Look at the Gender Gap in Offending,” *Women and Criminal Justice* 19, no. 3 (2009): 171-190.

⁴⁹ Charles Puzzanchera and Wei Kang, *Easy Access to Juvenile Court Statistics: 1985-2010*,
<http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezajcs/> (accessed June 25, 2013).

⁵⁰ New York Police Department (NYPD), “Crime and Enforcement Activity in New York City,”
http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/analysis_and_planning/crime_and_enforcement_activity.shtml (accessed June 25, 2013).

Our sample of survey respondents is 69 percent black, 19 percent Hispanic/Latino, six percent white, and six percent other. Looking across these groups, we found no statistically significant differences in the average number of reported lifetime stops or stops in the past year. This finding, however, should be interpreted with caution. Because of the racial and ethnic composition of the neighborhoods where we conducted the study, we surveyed very few young white individuals—just 32 in fact. Had the study been different—including young people who’ve never been stopped or encompassing neighborhoods with a majority white population that are not stop and frisk hot spots—we might have found significant racial or ethnic differences in the number of reported stops. At best, there is some evidence that in highly patrolled, largely minority neighborhoods, and among young people who have been stopped by police at least once, those who are white may be stopped as often as those who are black or Hispanic/Latino.

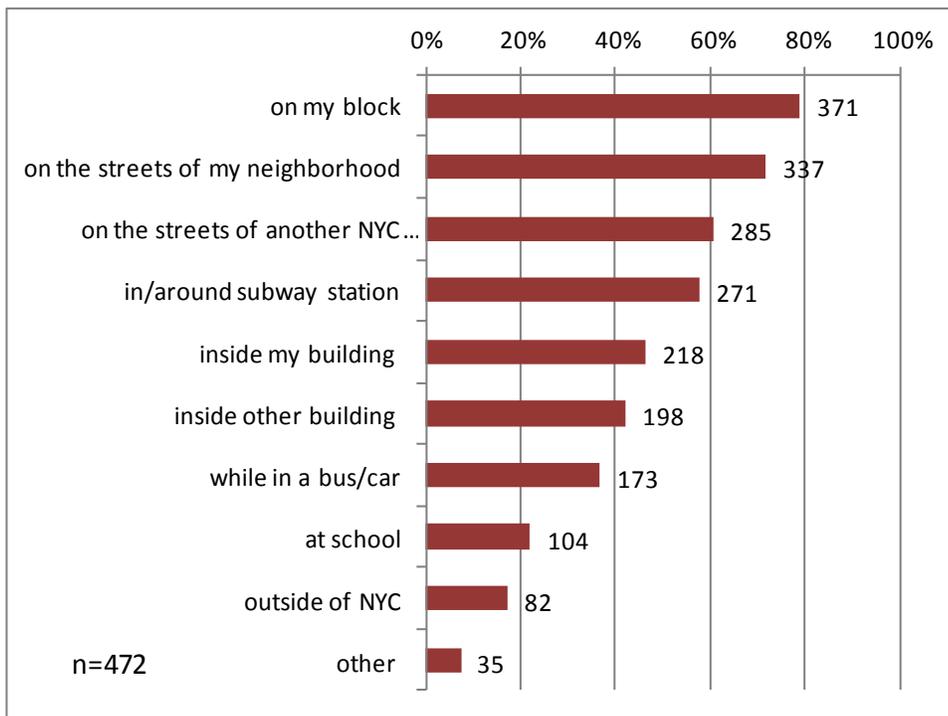
The only statistically significant difference ($p < .01$) we found emerged when we compared people who were born in the United States with those who had been born in another country. Individuals born in the United States reported more lifetime stops (mean=8, $n=397$) than people who were born in another country (mean=5, $n=43$). One potential explanation, which we could not explore given the limited data we collected, is that people born outside the United States came to this country somewhat recently and therefore had less time “at-risk” of being stopped by the police.

We then looked at the average number of stops by study site. There were no significant differences in number of lifetime stops reported, but there were some differences in the number of reported stops in the past year. On average, participants in East Harlem reported the fewest number of stops in the past year (mean=5), while those in East New York reported the highest number (mean=8). The averages for the South Bronx and Jamaica, Queens, are close to East New York (roughly 7.5 stops) and the average among respondents in Bedford-Stuyvesant is in the middle (6.5 stops).

Location of Street Stops

Survey respondents were asked to select all of the places they had *ever* been stopped by the police, *at any point* in their lives. Not surprisingly, their responses indicate that young New Yorkers who live or spend time in highly patrolled neighborhoods are most likely to have been stopped near their homes. Specifically, 79 percent of respondents reported that they have been stopped at least once on their own block, and 72 percent reported that they’ve been stopped at least once elsewhere in their own neighborhood. Almost half (46 percent) reported that they’ve been stopped at least once inside their own building. Many also reported having been stopped at least once in a location farther away from home—61 percent in another New York City neighborhood and 58 percent in a subway station. Less than a quarter (22 percent) reported ever being stopped at school.

Figure 7. Responses to the survey question, “Select all of the places you’ve been stopped, questioned and/or frisked at least once.”



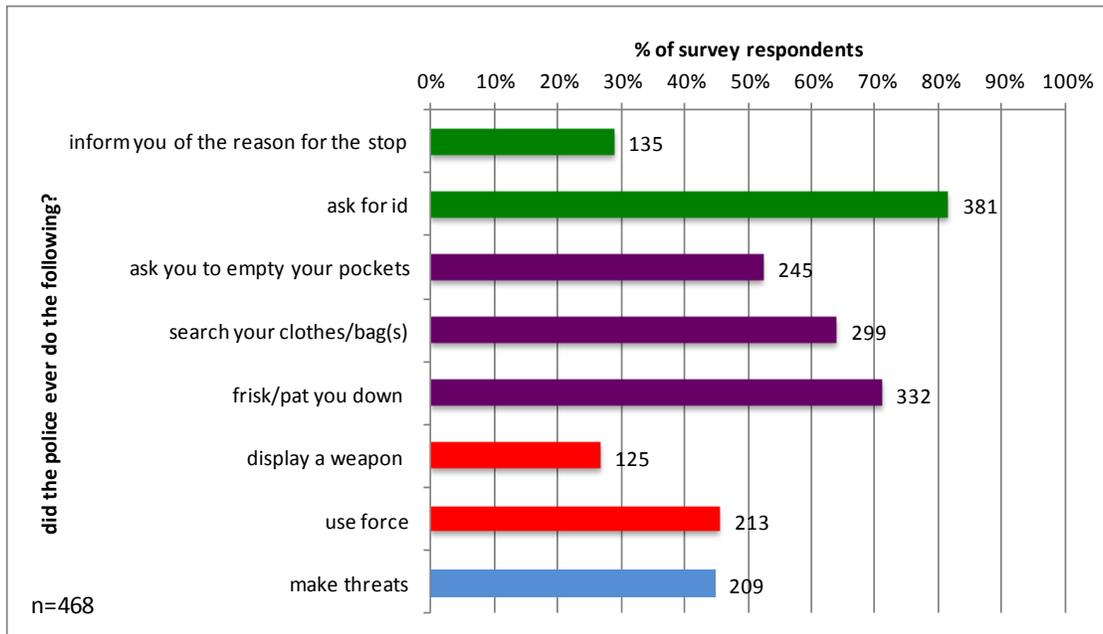
As a group, the young people we interviewed painted a similar picture of where stops are most likely to occur—in particular, in their own neighborhood or in another highly patrolled New York City neighborhood. Although less than a quarter (22 percent) of young people surveyed reported ever being stopped at school, their comments indicate that surveillance—if not stops themselves—is a regular part of their everyday school experience. Some (12 percent, n=5) of them talked about having to pass through metal detectors and scanners to enter their school building. A black 13-year-old boy living in Bedford-Stuyvesant said, “We didn’t have a lot of frisking in my school because we had a lot of metal detectors, like in the airport. But a lot happened like outside the school, right out by the building or the train station.” A 15-year-old black/Hispanic teenager living in East New York said that school safety officers don’t stop and search kids during school unless “you smell like a certain drug.” Our interviews suggest that on the rare occasions when kids are stopped in school, it’s often in response to a fight or some other immediate threat. One person even said, “Lots of kids have positive relationships with the school [safety] officers.”

What happened during those stops?

We asked the young people we surveyed to report whether certain significant actions and outcomes had *ever* occurred during the course of a street stop. The possibilities covered standard police procedures (such as informing the person of the reason for the stop and asking for identification), what the officers did during the stop (in particular, frisking or searching the person, using force, displaying a weapon), and outcomes of the stop (such as recovering illegal items and arresting the person). Figures

8 and 9 show the proportion of respondents that reported experiencing these actions and outcomes *at least once* during the course of one or more street stops.

Figure 8. Responses to the survey question, “Thinking about all of the times you were stopped, did the police ever do any of the following to you?”



Standard Police Procedures. As written in the NYPD patrol guide, upon stopping an individual, police officers should request identification, and when there is no probable cause for arrest, inform the person of the reason for the stop.⁵¹ Less than a third of survey respondents (29 percent) reported *ever* being informed of the reason they were stopped. On the other hand, 81 percent reported being asked for identification at least once by officers who had stopped them.

Information gleaned during interviews echo and illuminate these survey findings. When asked to recall the most recent stop and whether or not the officer gave a reason for stopping the person, nearly half (45%=21) of young people we interviewed said that they were not informed of the reason they were stopped. When asked to think back on how often the police had asked to see some form of identification, just over half (n=23 or 55 percent) youth reported that the officers who stopped them “always” asked for identification. One 18-year-old black male from the South Bronx said that after being pulled off a bus on his way to school because he “fit a description” he began carrying identification with him at all times to prevent encounters with police from escalating.

⁵¹ New York Police Department (NYPD), “P.G. 212-01 Roll Call Formations,” <http://subversion.assembla.com/svn/mobitek/NYPD/assets/11.txt> (accessed June 25, 2013); Al Baker, “Police get added order: Stop, Frisk and ‘Explain,’” *The New York Times*, April 30 2009.

Frisking and Searching. If an officer has reason to believe that the person is armed and dangerous, he/she may frisk (i.e. pat down) the suspect's clothing.⁵² The clear majority of young people we surveyed answered that they had experienced being frisked and/or searched *at least once* in the course of being stopped: Specifically, 71 percent reported being frisked/patted down on at least one occasion; 64 percent indicated that their clothes or bag(s) had been searched; and 52 percent reported being asked to empty their pockets. Our interviews suggest that young people typically allow officers to frisk and/or search them. A few youth explained that they comply with such requests either because they don't feel like they have a choice or because they don't want the situation to escalate.

Use of Threats and Force. Almost half of the young people we surveyed reported experiencing *at least one* stop and frisk encounter in which the officer issued threats and/or used physical force against them. Specifically, 45 percent of respondents reported that an officer had made a verbal threat during the course of at least one stop. A nearly identical proportion of people surveyed (46 percent) reported that an officer had used force against them during the course of at least one stop. The survey form noted that force includes, but is not limited to, an officer "putting his/her hands on you, forcing you to the ground, or pushing you up against a wall or a car."⁵³ Roughly a quarter (26 percent) of respondents reported being involved in at least one stop in which the officer displayed his or her weapon.

More than half (60 percent, n=25) of the youth we interviewed reported that physical force had been used against them at least once during a street stop, and 26 percent (n=11) said officers had used force on more than one occasion. We learned from these interviews that the use of force typically occurred while an officer was frisking or searching the person and often involved being pushed against a wall, although some people recalled officers twisting their arms and/or cuffing their hands while they were being patted down or searched. When we asked these 25 young people if they felt that the officer's use of force was justified in their particular case, not a single person responded yes. They all agreed that the use of force was unwarranted.

Only two of the people we interviewed recounted a stop in which an officer drew and pointed a gun at them. When asked to describe the most memorable experience of being stopped by police, a 20-year-old Latino male living in East Harlem shared the following story about a stop that had happened after school:

They thought I had a gun in my bag, they approached me with their guns drawn, told me to get on the floor. Eight cops all had their guns pointed at me. They said they thought I had a gun in my bag. I said I didn't and told them they can check my bag...I just couldn't believe it. It ended with my parents coming to pick me up from the precinct. They came with a lawyer.

Outcomes of Stops. We asked the young people we surveyed to indicate whether they had *ever* been arrested or received a summons as a result of being stopped by police, and also whether officers had *ever* recovered contraband (i.e. weapons and drugs). Roughly a third (37 percent) of people surveyed reported having been arrested at least once and 50 percent said they had received a summons at least

⁵² New York Police Department, "Frequently Asked Questions: Police Administration," http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/faq/faq_police.shtml#stop (accessed June 25, 2013)

⁵³ The definitions for use of force were consistent with those definitions on the UF-250 form and the Stop, Question and Frisk database. The first type of force listed on the UF-250 form is "hands on suspect."

once following a stop. Only 15 percent of survey respondents reported being involved in a stop in which a weapon, drugs or another illegal item was recovered.

The first two findings are somewhat higher than expected in the context of the much smaller proportion of young people who reported being involved in any stop in which contraband was recovered. It may be that some respondents remembered and reported arrests stemming from incidents other than street stops. As support for this possible explanation, we found that nearly half (46 percent, n=74) of the people who reported having been arrested during the course of a street stop also provided affirmative answers to one or both of the following survey questions:

“Have you ever been arrested for a juvenile delinquency offense?”

“Have you ever been arrested and charged with a criminal offense?”

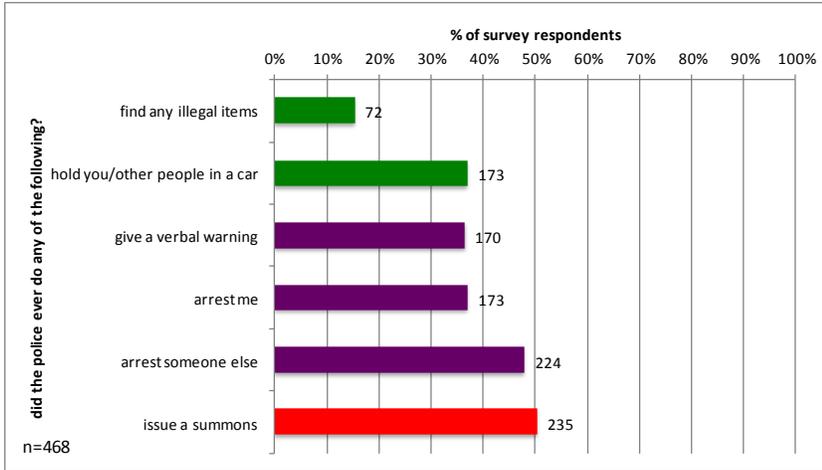
The young people we interviewed were much less likely to report ever being arrested or receiving a summons. Specifically, only three of them (seven percent of the total) reported ever having been arrested during a stop, and thirteen (31 percent) said they had ever received a summons. The differences between the survey respondents and interview participants might be partly explained by the fact that, as a group, the individuals we interviewed were younger than the people we surveyed (13 to 21 years old, compared with 18 to 25 years old). Persons younger than 16 cannot be issued a summons for failure to provide identification, and police officers may be more lenient with younger people.

In our interviews we asked young people what they were doing immediately prior to being stopped and how they felt when they were stopped. They described a mix of emotions, including surprise, confusion, amusement, frustration, annoyance; feeling offended, disappointed, and angry; and lingering feelings of fear and anxiety. This combination of emotions derives in part from the fact that nearly all of them were engaged in everyday activities at the time they were stopped, such as walking home from school, crossing the street, standing in front of a store, or hanging out in the park. They were taken by surprise because they felt that they were doing nothing wrong when the officers stopped them. In fact, only four of the 42 young people we interviewed said that just prior to being stopped they had committed a violation (e.g. jumping a turnstile or walking between subway cars) or were engaged in behavior that might warrant police intervention, such as being among or near a group when a fight broke out. A 20-year-old black male living in East New York recalled being caught completely off guard when he was stopped:

I was going to the store for my mother. And then when I came out the building I see my uncle and he's coming from the way I'm going and we walk back to the store. And they [the police] just pulled up and hopped out and tried to pull up and take us. So I'm like whoa, too much is happening.

Two people we interviewed reported that they started laughing after the officers departed because they found the situation ridiculous. Interestingly, a few people reported that although they knew they were not violating the law at the time they were stopped, the encounter was such a surprise that they actually second-guessed themselves and for a moment thought they might have done something wrong. With only a very few exceptions, the youth we interviewed felt that the police had no reason to stop them and at best, had wasted their time.

Figure 9. Responses to the survey question, “Thinking about all of the times you were stopped, did the police ever do any of the following to you?”

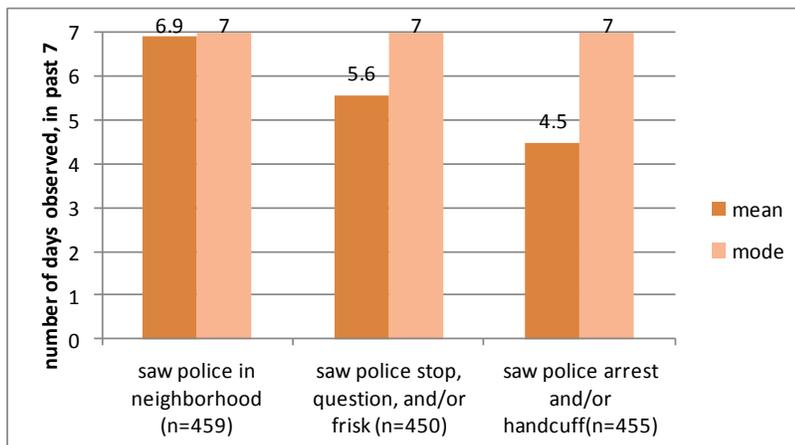


Frequency of Observing Police Activity

In addition to surveying young people about their own experience of being stopped by police, we also asked them about police activity they had observed *over the past week*. Specifically, respondents were asked to report how many of the past seven days they had (1) seen the police in the neighborhood; (2) seen police stop someone; and (3) seen police arrest and/or handcuff someone. Their responses suggest a near constant police presence in these neighborhoods and significant police activity.

On average, respondents reported observing police in their neighborhood in almost seven out of seven days (mean=6.9), seeing someone get stopped and/or frisked in almost six out of seven days (mean=5.6), and seeing someone be handcuffed and/or arrested in almost five out of seven days (mean=4.5). The mode, or most common response, for each of these observations was seven out of seven days.

Figure 10. Responses to the survey question, “How many days in the past week have you seen police do the following?”



We posed a similar question during our interviews with young people: How often in the past seven days have you observed police patrolling the neighborhood on foot or in cars and (separately) stopping to question and/or frisk people? We recoded their numerical responses as one of three categories: often (five or more times in the past seven days), sometimes (three to four times in the past seven days), or rarely (two or fewer times in the past seven days). Their responses as a group paint a somewhat different picture.

Just over a third (36 percent, n=15) of people interviewed reported seeing police on patrol in their neighborhood often over the previous seven days; fewer (14 percent, n=6) reported seeing them sometimes; and just under half (45 percent, n=19) said they had seen them rarely. Further analysis shows a relationship between the age of the interview participants and their answers, with older participants (18 to 21 years old) being twice as likely as younger ones (13 to 17 years old) to see police on patrol often. A 21-year-old Latina living in the South Bronx said that she often saw police in her neighborhood. When we asked her how often she said, “A lot. They walk 24/7 through Mott Haven... They bother anything and everyone they want to bother.” In contrast, a 17-year-old black female also from the South Bronx said, “No, you don’t see police here unless something happened.” We found similar trends regarding observations of stop-and-frisk encounters over the past seven days: the older group of interview participants was more likely to report observing stops often, while the younger group was more likely to report rarely seeing them.

We also asked how often, over the past seven days, they had seen police officers assisting or talking with neighborhood residents. In this case, the response was nearly universal and didn’t depend on age: 86 percent (n=36) of all the youth we interviewed provided answers that fell into the “rarely” category. Some of the young people stated that they hadn’t observed any positive engagements. A 15-year-old black/Hispanic boy living in Brooklyn responded, “Nah, I haven’t seen that.” And the same 21-year-old Latina quoted above said, “Yeah, they usually just talk with each other in like groups of three on the corner, just hanging out.”

We asked similar questions when interviewing adult caregivers. Roughly half (49 percent, n=17) had seen police patrolling their neighborhood often over the previous seven days. On the other hand, an even larger proportion (69 percent, n=26) had rarely observed stop and frisk encounters. Like the youth we interviewed, the vast majority of adult caregivers (86 percent, n=30) had rarely observed police officers assisting and chatting with neighborhood residents over the past seven days they.

Summary Discussion

These measures of how frequently young New Yorkers are stopped by police show a wide range of experiences. Even though we purposely limited our research to highly patrolled neighborhoods and young individuals who had been stopped at least once in the past, a typical experience was not revealed. Instead, we found significant numbers of young people reporting one stop ever and none in the past year, more stops over a lifetime than the person could remember, and experiences that lie in between these extremes.

Notwithstanding the wide range of reported number of stops in the past year and over a person’s lifetime, which are themselves important findings and baselines for future research, we can still draw some meaningful conclusions about frequency. In particular, our study shows that one stop doesn’t necessarily lead to subsequent stops: 20 percent of the 18- to 25-year-olds that we surveyed

reported only the one stop required for participation in the survey, making this an isolated experience for them. The obvious corollary is that the vast majority (80 percent) reported being stopped more than once, including 36 percent who reported up to eight stops over their lifetime. Perhaps most important, nearly half (44 percent) of the young people we surveyed reported nine or more stops over their lifetime, certainly making this a familiar experience if not necessarily a frequent one.

Looking only at more recent experience—number of stops in the past year—we found that roughly a quarter (24 percent) of the young people we surveyed reported no stops in the past year; nearly 46 percent reported up to six stops; and 30 percent reported seven or more stops over the past year, arguably making stop and frisk encounters a frequent experience for nearly a third of the young people we surveyed. We also learned that, as a group, the young men we surveyed reported significantly more stops in the past year and over their lives than the young women we surveyed.

Frisks and searches were very common. The majority of young people we surveyed—close to 70 percent—reported that they had been frisked and/or searched at least once in the course of being stopped by police, which are by definition invasive experiences even if fully justified. Nearly half of the young people we surveyed reported at least one stop and frisk encounter in which an officer threatened them (45 percent) and/or used physical force against them (46 percent), and roughly one out of four respondents (26 percent) reported being involved in at least one stop in which an officer displayed his or her weapon—frightening and potentially traumatic experiences, even if they occur only once in a lifetime.

Much of the criticism of stop and frisk has centered on the big numbers—close to 533,000 stops in 2012 alone. Our findings suggest that a significant proportion of young New Yorkers who reside in highly patrolled neighborhoods have been stopped by police repeatedly—not just once or twice, but several times—and that a significant proportion have experienced the harsher aspects of street stops. These findings add important factual information to ongoing discussions about the extent to which stop and frisk touches the lives of young people in highly policed communities. Our finding that close to half of survey respondents had experienced threats and/or physical force underscores the need for police and young residents to learn how to prevent more stops from escalating to the point where officers use threats and physical force, or draw weapons unless absolutely necessary for the officer's own safety.

Chapter 2. Perceptions of the Police

In this study we set out to explore and measure how young people who are stopped by police, especially repeatedly, view the officers who stopped them and police in general. In particular, we aimed to measure perceptions of fairness and legitimacy—in other words, to what degree do these young people believe that the officers who stopped them and the police in general act in ways that are honest, equitable, and effective? Their views matter: prior research has found that individuals who view the police as fair and legitimate are more likely to trust and cooperate with law enforcement and to obey the law themselves, compared to those who believe the police are overstepping their authority.⁵⁴ As in the previous chapter, each of the following sections opens with relevant results from the survey, and in some cases those findings are supplemented with information from our interviews.

Perceptions of Police Behavior During Stops

We asked the young people we surveyed to think about all of the times they've been stopped by police (if more than once) and, separately, to recall the most recent stop, and then to agree or disagree with the following statements that measure positive opinions of the officers' behavior during these stop and frisk encounters:

The police had good reason to talk to me.

Police officers treated me fairly.

I was treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation.

Police showed concern about my rights.

Police treated me with respect and dignity.

In addition, and only in relation to the most recent stop, we also asked for their response to the statement:

I am satisfied with the way police officers handled the situation.

These questions are designed to measure legitimacy, fairness, and respect. Respondents could choose among four possible answers: “strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” or “strongly disagree.” Each of the four answers has a corresponding numerical score from 1 to 4, with 1 representing strong disagreement and 4 representing strong agreement. As Figure 11 shows, on average the young people we surveyed either disagreed or strongly disagreed with each of these statements. In other words, they did not think that the officers they encountered had a good reason to talk to them, treated them fairly or the same as anyone else in a similar situation, showed concern for their rights, or treated them with respect and dignity. There was virtually no difference between their views about the officers who had stopped them most recently and all of the officers who had ever stopped them.

⁵⁴ Tom Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (Princeton University Press, 2006); Tom Tyler, “Enhancing Police Legitimacy,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593: (2004): 84–99.

Figure 11. Mean scores for survey items measuring positive police conduct—all stops and the most recent stop

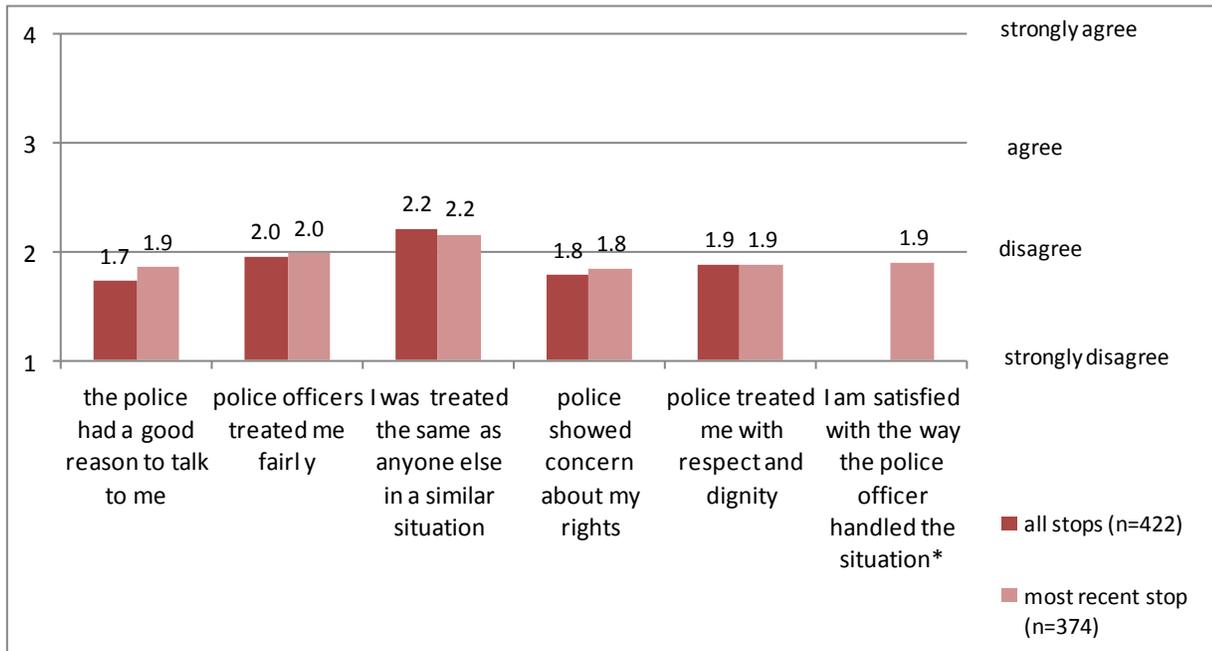
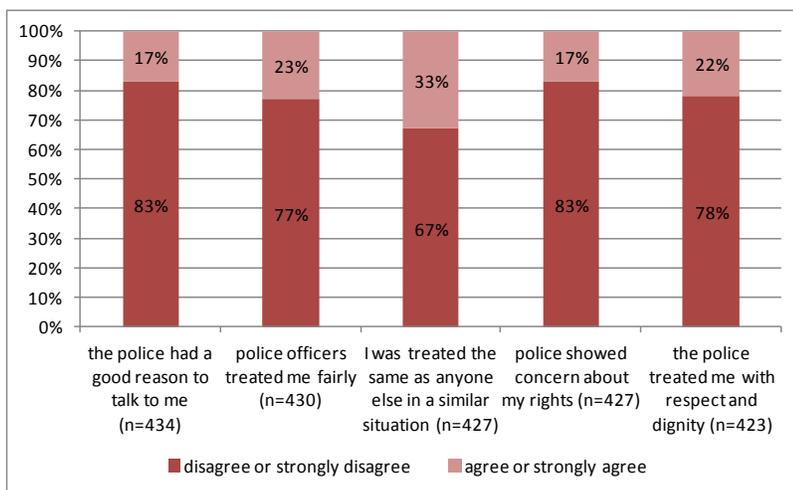


Figure 12 below presents these findings in a different way, illustrating the proportion of survey respondents that disagreed or strongly disagreed with these same statements compared with those who agreed or strongly agreed. The chart clearly shows that in response to each statement about positive conduct, the vast majority of respondents disagreed, with the greatest number disagreeing that the officers had a good reason to talk to them and, separately, that the officers showed concern about their rights (83 percent for each, n=362 and n=355, respectively).

Figure 12. Perceptions of positive police conduct during all stops—Percent of survey respondents who disagreed or strongly disagreed, compared with the percent that agreed or strongly agreed



*This question was only asked in relation to the most recent stop

While there is obviously some variation in how the young people we surveyed replied to these statements, many survey respondents consistently disagreed with positive statements about the police. Specifically, fully 45 percent (n=212) of survey respondents disagreed or strongly agreed with *all* five statements. In other words, they had consistently negative views of the officers who had stopped them in terms of legitimacy, fairness, and respect.

The survey also included a series of *negative* statements designed to tap and measure perceptions of bias:

The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my gender identity or sexual orientation

The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my nationality or the language I speak.

The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my age.

I was treated worse than others in a similar situation because of my race/ethnicity.

Here too, respondents were asked to think about all stops and, separately, the most recent stop, and to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. Figure 13 shows their mean responses. As a group, they agree, although not strongly, that age, race and ethnicity, and to a lesser degree, nationality or language, influenced how police treated them while disagreeing that that their gender identity and sexual orientation had an influence.

Figure 13. Mean scores for survey items measuring perceptions of police bias—all stops and most recent stop

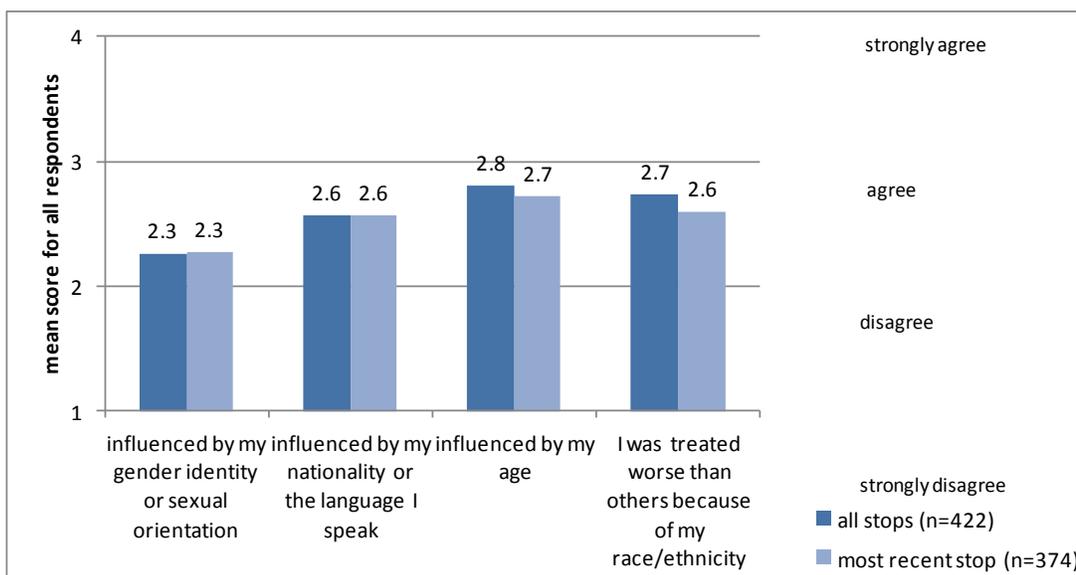
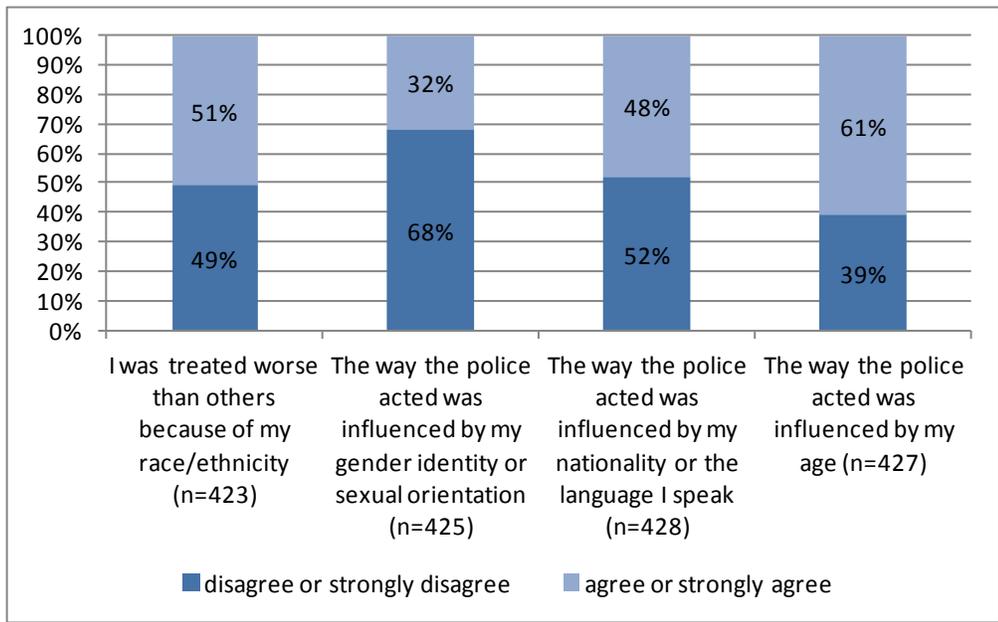


Figure 14 below shows the proportion of survey respondents that disagreed or strongly disagreed with these same statements, compared with those who agreed or strongly agreed. Respondents were roughly split on two of the statements—bias related to race/ethnicity and also bias related to nationality or language—with roughly equal proportions agreeing and disagreeing. Still, it’s notable that about half of the sample agreed or strongly agreed with each of these statements. There is stronger evidence that young people believe the way police act toward them is influenced by their age, with 61 percent of respondents (n=263) indicating that the officers who stopped them would have treated them differently if they were older or younger. Finally, a comparatively smaller proportion of respondents (32 percent) believe that their gender identity or sexual orientation played a role in how they were treated by the officers who stopped them, and among the 55 people who identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual, and/or transgender, 25 (46 percent) felt that the way the officers treated them was influenced by their sexuality or gender. In contrast to respondents’ widespread disagreement with the positive statements about police conduct, in this case only 11 percent of respondents (n=54) agreed or strongly agreed with *all* of the statements about bias.

Figure 14. Perceptions of police bias—Percent of survey respondents who disagreed or strongly disagreed, compared with the percent who agreed or strongly agreed



We also explored the issue of bias in our interviews with young people, by asking the following question:

Do you think you would be treated differently by the police during a stop if you were another race/ethnicity? Why? Different gender? Why?

Our sample of 42 interview participants was two-thirds male and 96 percent Black or Latino. All of them were 13 to 21 years old at the time of the interview. The majority of these young people

replied affirmatively that their gender and race affected how police officers had treated them. Specifically, 81 percent (n=34) said that the police would have treated them differently if they were a different gender, and 64 percent (n=27) said that they would have been treated differently if they were another race. Some said specifically that black and Latino males are more likely to be stopped than white males, and discussed the racial and ethnic stereotypes they believe underlie this trend. An 18-year-old Latino male living in East Harlem said, “Cause like if I was a white person they would’ve let me just walk by. But because I look like one of the people that do the crimes, they had to stop me.” He explained that merely because of his ethnicity and style of dress the officers thought that he and the friend accompanying him were involved in a shooting that took place the previous the night.

Several of the youth we interviewed noted that police target young men of color while virtually ignoring young women. For example, an 18-year-old black and Hispanic male living in Bedford-Stuyvesant said, “They don’t really mess too much with females, not the cops around here anyway. I haven’t ever seen them hop out on girls the way they hop out on us.” He also recalled a specific incident in which he was walking with a group of girls and was singled out by police because he was male.

One time I’m with [a] whole bunch of girls, and it’s like six of them and I’m the only male, and we walk into the hallway to their house and next thing you know the cops come and they stop us and they tell the girls to go over there. I said “I’m with them and I’m not trespassing,” and then they said “turn around,” and I’m like “what?” So I turned around and then I’m going out the building and then all the girls are like “what happened?”

Sense of Whether or Not Stops Were Justified

We asked two questions designed as proxy measures for whether or not the young people we surveyed felt the stops they had experienced were justified. For each question, respondents were asked to choose among 4 possible answers: never, rarely, sometimes, or always.

When you were stopped, how often were you engaged in behavior that warranted the stops?

Thinking of all the times you were stopped, did the police ever find an illegal item, such as a weapon, drugs, or an open container of alcohol?

Obviously, these questions only tap the respondent’s views, which may or may not reflect the actual circumstances under which the officers made the stop. For example, a stop can be legally justified if a suspect has something that appears to be a weapon in their pocket (commonly known as a “suspicious bulge”), but if the person is not in fact armed, he or she may feel that the stop was not justified.

Based on the answers to these questions, the majority of young people we surveyed seem to believe that, in general, the stops they experienced were not justified. Specifically, 70 percent (n=329) reported that they were *rarely* or *never* engaged in behavior that warranted the stop(s); 85 percent (n=396) reported that the police *never* found any illegal items on them and 60 percent (n=287) responded negatively to both questions.

Some of the parents/caregivers we interviewed, as well as some focus group participants, questioned the legitimacy of stops, claiming that officers stop young people based on stereotypes about who commit crimes and not on actual evidence. For example, a 38-year old mother in the South Bronx said that officers should exercise better judgment in deciding whom to stop and not base decisions on

race or style of dress. “I don’t think I would judge people because they were black or Hispanic or if they had baggy jeans or a suit. I wouldn’t stereotype people. I wouldn’t want to harass people because they dress a certain way.” A participant in the Jamaica, Queens, focus group talked about the lack of clarity of some of the most commonly used justifications for stops: “When you look at the [UF-250] form, they’re reporting things that officers can’t even tell the kids what it means. For example, what are furtive movements? If you tell us what furtive movements is, we’ll stop doing it.” This person works as a youth organizer for an agency that aims to empower poor communities throughout the city.

Both of these comments reflect growing skepticism about some commonly used but hard-to-define reasons for stops included on the UF-250 form, specifically: “furtive movements,” “fits a relevant description,” “suspicious bulge,” “wearing clothes indicative of a crime,” and “other,” recorded respectively as the primary reason in 52 percent (277,160 stops), 17 percent (90,610 stops), seven percent (37,310 stops), five percent (26,650) and 16 percent (85,280 stops) of stops in 2012. These justifications account for 97 percent of all stops or a total of roughly 517,000 of the 533,000 recorded stops).

Relationship between number of stops and perceptions of officers during stops

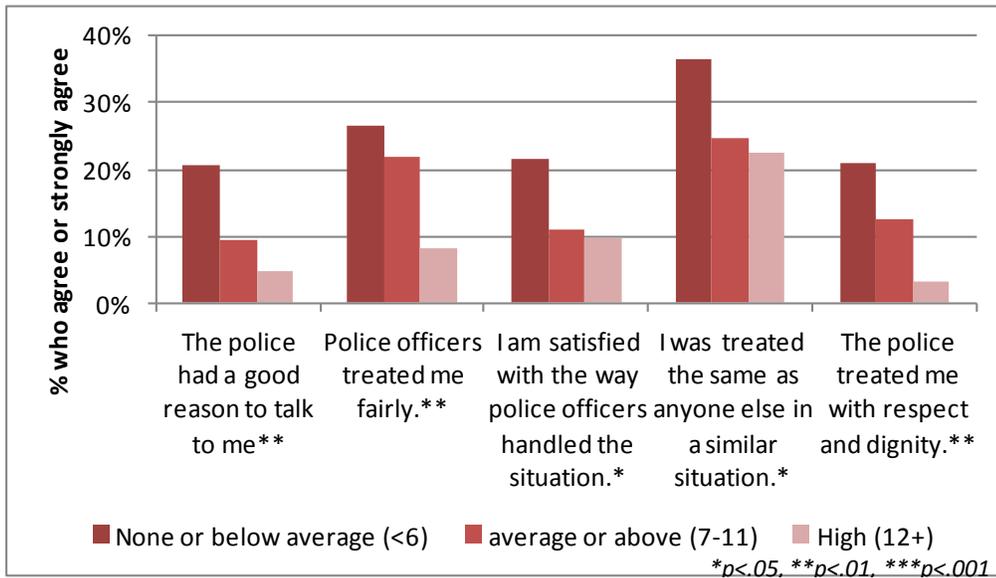
In addition to measuring and exploring how the young people we surveyed perceive the officers they’ve encountered in stop-and-frisk situations, we set out to explore whether or not there is a relationship between the experience of being stopped repeatedly and a person’s perceptions of the officers who conducted these stops. In other words, we asked, is it the case that the more times a young person is stopped the more likely they are to believe the officer who stopped them acted illegitimately and treated them in an unfair and biased way? We defined 3 categories, or levels, of frequency centered around the average of 7 stops *in the past year*:

- None or below average (0-6 stops in the past year), 70 percent of respondents, n=333
- Average or above (7-11 stops in the past year), 16 percent of respondents, n=77
- High (12 or more stops in the past year), 14 percent of respondents, n=64

We ran ANOVA tests for between-group differences in average scores as well as a Pearson’s chi-square test to determine between-group differences in the proportions of youth who provided different answers to each statement. For ease of interpretation, we present only those findings in which the chi-square test produced statistically significant differences among youth in the different frequency categories.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Statistical significance in this case indicates some between group differences in response to a particular survey item but does not imply that all evident differences between the three groups are statistically significant. The test does not allow for such fine distinctions.

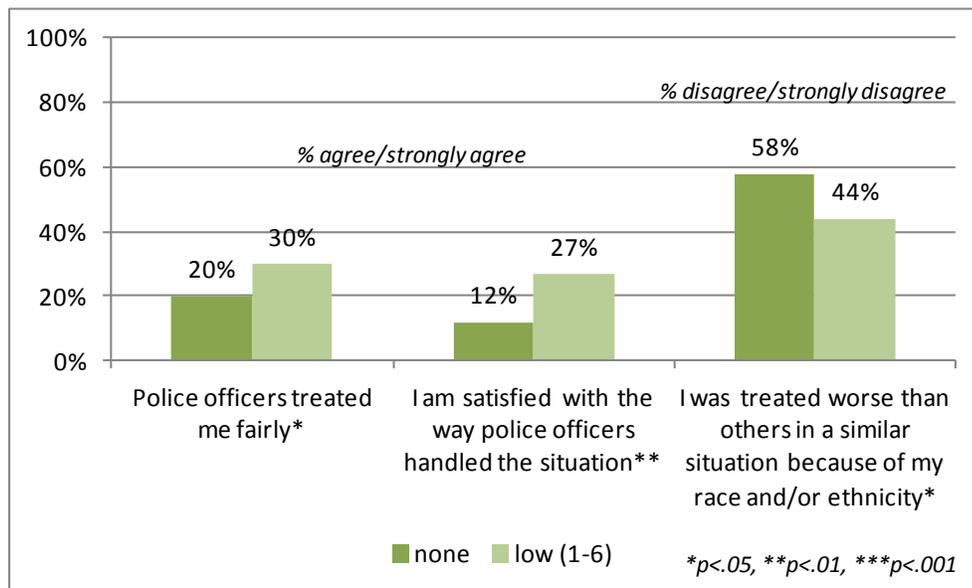
Figure 15. Agreement with positive statements about police conduct during the most recent stop, by frequency of stops in the past year



As figure 15 shows, we found some strong and statistically significant relationships between the number of stops *in the past year* and respondents’ assessments of the conduct of the officers who had stopped them *most recently* in terms of legitimacy and fairness. Specifically, respondents in the two higher frequency categories were *significantly less likely* to agree or strongly agree with five out of the six positive statements about the officers who stopped them most recently, compared with those in the lowest frequency group. The only statement in which the differences were not statistically significant is: “*Police showed concern about my rights.*” There were no statistically significant differences between these three groups in terms of their responses to the set of negative statements about police bias.

We then disaggregated the “none or below average” category to see if there are any meaningful differences in perceptions between young people who reported no stops in the past year and those who reported between one and six stops and discovered something unexpected and interesting. As a group, young people who reported no stops over the past year—but who had reported at least one stop in their lifetime (a requirement to participate in the survey)—were less likely to agree with two of the positive statements and more likely to agree with one of the negative statements than those whose reported one to six stops in the past year. Figure 16 illustrates the statistically significant differences.

Figure 16. Agreement with positive statements and disagreement with negative statements about police conduct during the most recent stop, comparing no stops in the past year and a low number of reported stops in the past year



Other than this difference, the two groups appear similar: demographically, distributed across study sites in an equal way, and reporting similar levels of involvement with the criminal and juvenile justice systems. Also, there was no significant difference between the groups in the number of lifetime stops reported. This counterintuitive finding – which somewhat weakens our initial finding that more stops are related to more negative opinions about the officers who conducted these stops – is interesting because it suggests that young people who have been stopped somewhat recently, but only a few times, may view the police more positively than those who have had no recent stop and frisk encounters with police. In other words, some familiarity with police—even through being the suspect in a stop—may have some benefit in terms of perceptions which remains in force until the number of stops becomes excessive, or most likely, unless a particular encounter is perceived to be especially harsh or unfair. At the same time, it is important to remember that this finding is based on responses to just three of the 11 statements.

Relationship between the stop outcome and perceptions of officers during stops

It's possible that a person's assessments of legitimacy and fairness are influenced, at least in part, by the outcome of an encounter with the police—specifically, whether or not the outcome is favorable to the person. In other words, is someone who is stopped by police and subsequently arrested more likely to have a negative view of the encounter overall than if they had not been arrested? While most studies have concluded that individuals are more concerned with the fairness of police procedures than with

the favorableness of the outcome, we wanted to know if these findings held true with our study sample.⁵⁶

We examined responses to the same positive and negative statements about fairness and bias of officers *during the most recent stop* and compared youth who claim to have been arrested *during that stop* with youth who said they were not arrested. We found only one statistically significant difference—in response to the statement, “*Police officers treated me fairly.*” Overall, 77 percent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement, but levels of disagreement are significantly higher among respondents who said they were arrested during their most recent stop. Fully 91 percent (69 of 76) of young people who reported that their last stop resulted in an arrest did not feel as though the officers who stopped and arrested them had treated them fairly, compared with 76 percent of respondents who said they had *not* been arrested. A closer look at the 76 people who reported being arrested during the most recent stop reveals that only eight of them (12 percent) felt that they were engaged in behavior that warranted the stop in the first place. Fourteen people (20 percent) reported that the officers had found some illegal items in the course of frisking and/or searching them.

General Perceptions of Police

In addition to exploring how the young people in our study view the officers who have stopped them, we were also interested in their perceptions of law enforcement generally. To tap and measure these perceptions, we asked survey respondents to read to the following *positive* statements about the police in their neighborhood and strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Respondents were instructed to base their answers on their *general impressions* of police in their neighborhood, not on any particular encounter with an officer.

If I were in trouble, I'd feel comfortable asking for help.

The police are honest.

The police are good at preventing crimes.

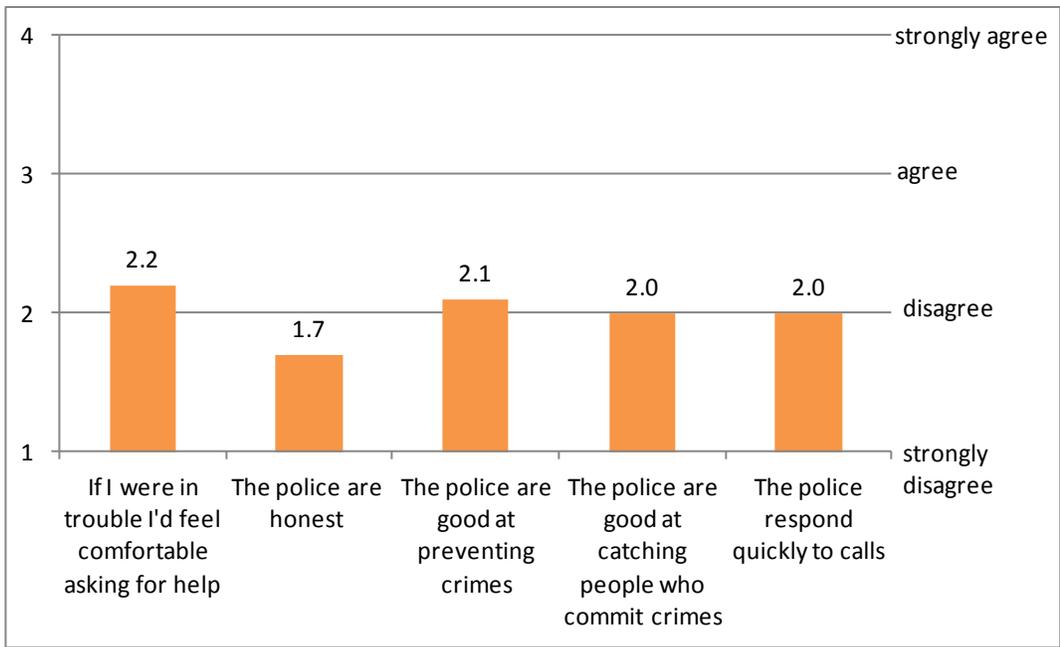
Police are good at catching people who commit crimes.

Police respond quickly to calls.

Figure 17 below shows the mean (average) scores for each of these statements. On average, the young people we surveyed disagreed with each of these statements, indicating that they do not feel comfortable asking the police for help or believe the police are honest, and they also believe the police are ineffective at preventing crime and catching criminals, and do not respond quickly to calls for service.

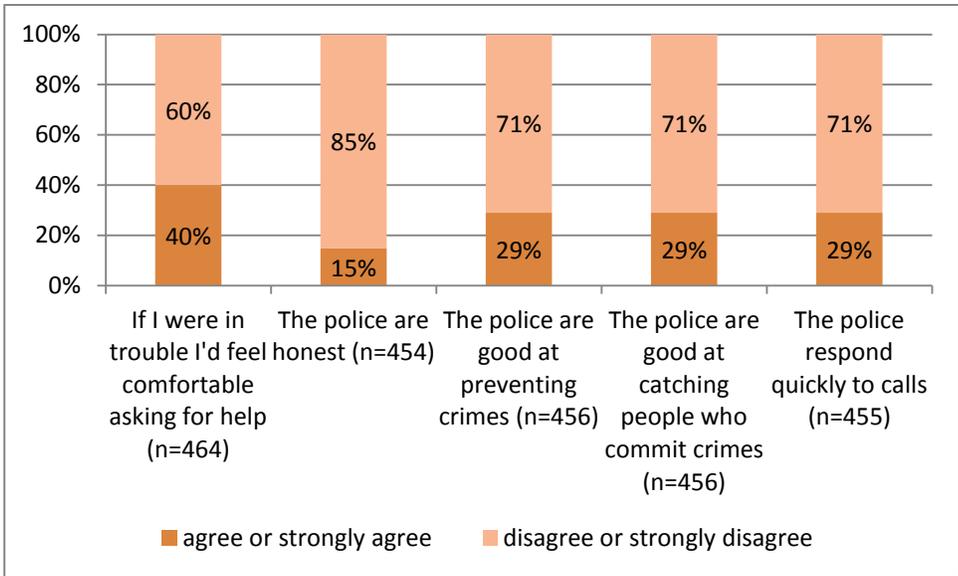
Figure 17. Mean scores for statements measuring positive attitudes about neighborhood police

⁵⁶Tom Tyler, “Ethnic Group Differences in Trust and Confidence in the Police,” *Police Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (2005): 322-342; Tom Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (Princeton University Press, 2006); Robin Engel, “Citizens’ Perceptions of Distributive and Procedural Injustice During Traffic Stops with the Police,” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 42, no. 4 (2005): 445-481.



A large majority of young people surveyed did not agree with these positive statements (see figure 18). Only four out of 10 would feel comfortable asking a police officer for help if they were in trouble. Less than a third (29 percent) believe the police are effective, evidenced by the fact that they didn't think the police are good at preventing or solving crimes and do not respond to calls quickly. Finally, a mere 15 percent of respondents believe the police are honest. These findings are illustrated in Figure 18.

Figure 18. Positive statements about neighborhood police—Percentage of survey respondents who agreed or strongly agreed, compared with the percentage that disagreed or strongly disagreed



We also asked survey respondents to agree or disagree on the same scale with a series of *negative* statements about police in their neighborhood that address issues related to ineptitude, over-reaching authority, and untrustworthiness:

The police ignore a lot of crime.

I avoid the police whenever possible.

The police have too much power around here.

People in my neighborhood don't trust the police.

The police around here bother kids for no good reason.

Figure 19 shows the mean (average) scores for each of these statements. On average, the young people we surveyed did not agree that the police ignore a lot of crime. However, they did strongly agree that they avoid the police whenever possible, that the police have too much power and bother kids for no good reason, and that residents don't trust the police.

Looking at the proportion of respondents that agreed with each of these statements, versus the proportion that disagreed, the vast majority (80 percent or greater) avoid the police, don't trust the police, and believe that police overstep their authority and bother kids for no reason. Respondents were roughly split on whether or not police ignore a lot of crime (51 percent agreed, 49 percent disagreed). Figure 19 illustrates these findings.

Figure 19. Mean scores for statements measuring negative attitudes about neighborhood police

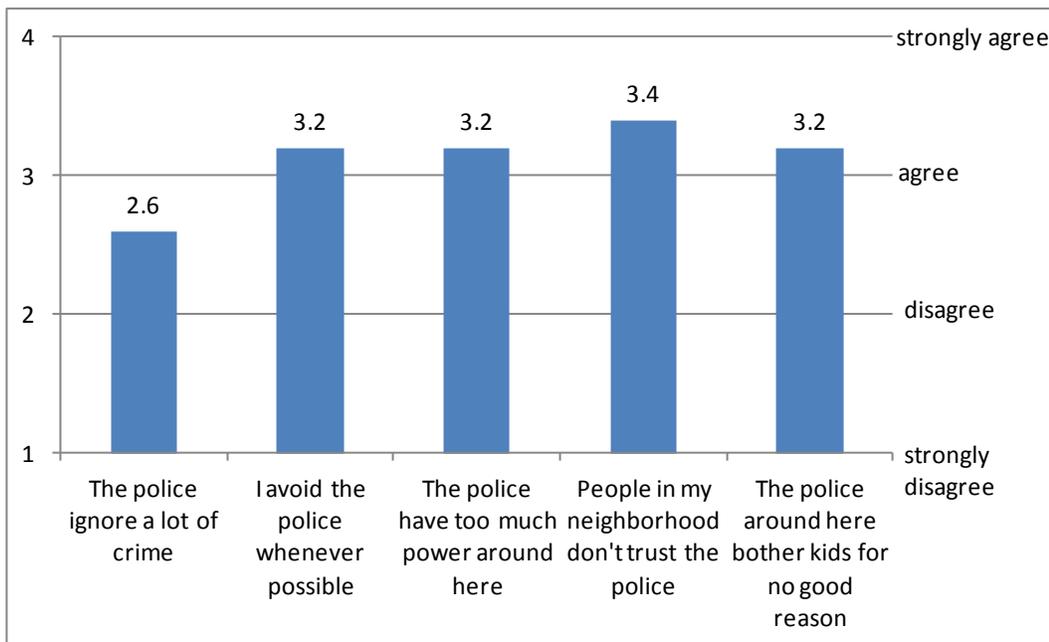
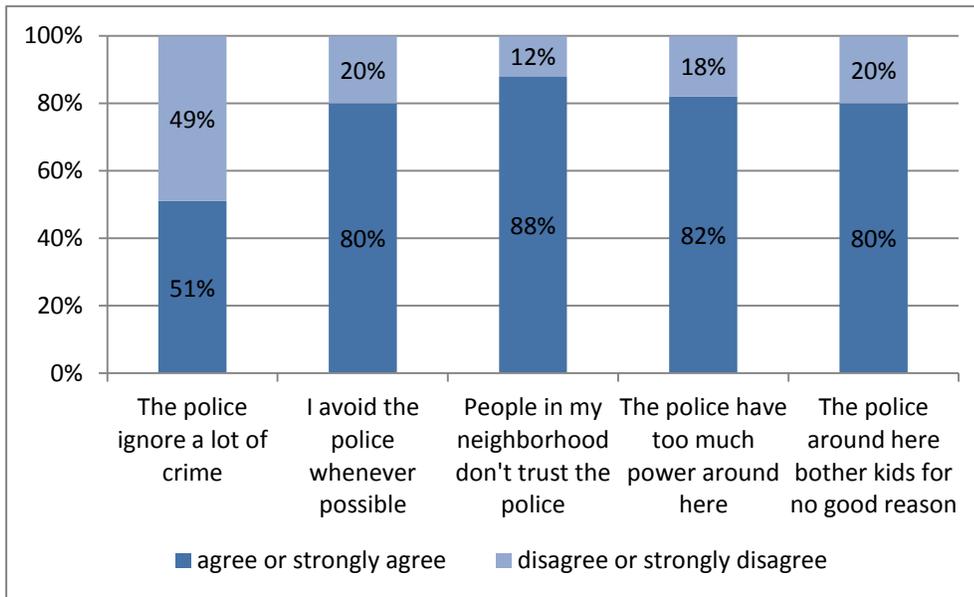


Figure 20. Percent of survey respondents who agreed/strongly agreed and disagreed/strongly disagreed with negative general attitudes towards the police



Finally, we also looked at the proportion of survey respondents who have no positive attitudes about police in their neighborhood, and/or have only negative attitudes based on their responses to the positive and negative statements. Roughly a third (34 percent) of respondents did not agree with *any* of the five positive statements, and the same proportion (34 percent) agreed with *all* of the five negative statements. Seventeen percent of respondents disagreed with all of the positive statements *and also* agreed with all of the negative statements.

We explored these same issues in our initial and follow-up interviews.⁵⁷ Mostly, their responses echoed the survey findings above with a few exceptions.

Performance. Most of the young people we interviewed expressed low opinions of police performance and also perceived a lack of concern about the safety and wellbeing of residents in the community. (The same was true for the adult caregivers we interviewed.) For example, in response to the question posed during the initial interview, *Do you think the police help to keep your neighborhood safe?* a majority of young people (60 percent, n=25) replied that the police did *not* do a good job of protecting their neighborhoods, and 24% (n=10) replied that police generally do a good job. The remaining young people (17 percent, n=7) either expressed mixed opinions or didn't answer the question.

Trust. In response to the follow-up interview question, *“Do you trust the police in your neighborhood? Why or why not?”* more than half of the 23 young people who completed a second interview (57%, or n=13) reported that they did not trust police. Among the main reasons for their distrust: police officers

⁵⁷ We interviewed 42 youth initially but were only able to conduct follow-up interviews with 26 youth.

lack objectivity and unfairly target young people for stops. A 21-year-old black/Puerto Rican male living in East New York explained that he and his friends distrust police because, “We have been harassed by them before,” but noted that his mother does trust the police because she’s an older woman who sometimes feels vulnerable to crime.

Avoidance. Most of the young people we interviewed felt that police officers generally abuse their authority. Consequently, many youth said they try to avoid interacting with police. In response to the question posed during the initial interview, “Do you change the way you do things to avoid potential encounters with the police?” more than half (57 percent, n=24) of young people said that they attempted to avoid police by taking alternate routes, avoiding crowds, putting on headphones, and wearing inconspicuous clothing, among other behaviors. While these youth use a range of strategies to skirt police or deflect attention away from themselves, a large percentage of youth (43 percent, n=18) reported that they did *not* engage in avoidant behaviors because they were never doing anything wrong. When asked if he changes his behavior to avoid potential encounters with police, an 18-year-old black male living in Brooklyn, said, “[I] mind my own business and keep walking,” and a 15-year-old Latina living in Harlem said, “I just don’t even pay attention, just as long as I don’t got nothing on me.”

Comfort seeking help. In contrast to our survey findings, most of young people we interviewed said that they were comfortable asking the police for help. In response to the question, “In what circumstances do you see yourself calling the police?” nearly three-quarters (74 percent, n=31) reported that they would call the police for assistance, especially if they felt personally threatened, witnessed a crime in process, or were confronted with another type of emergency situation.

Relationship Between Number of Stops and Perceptions of Police

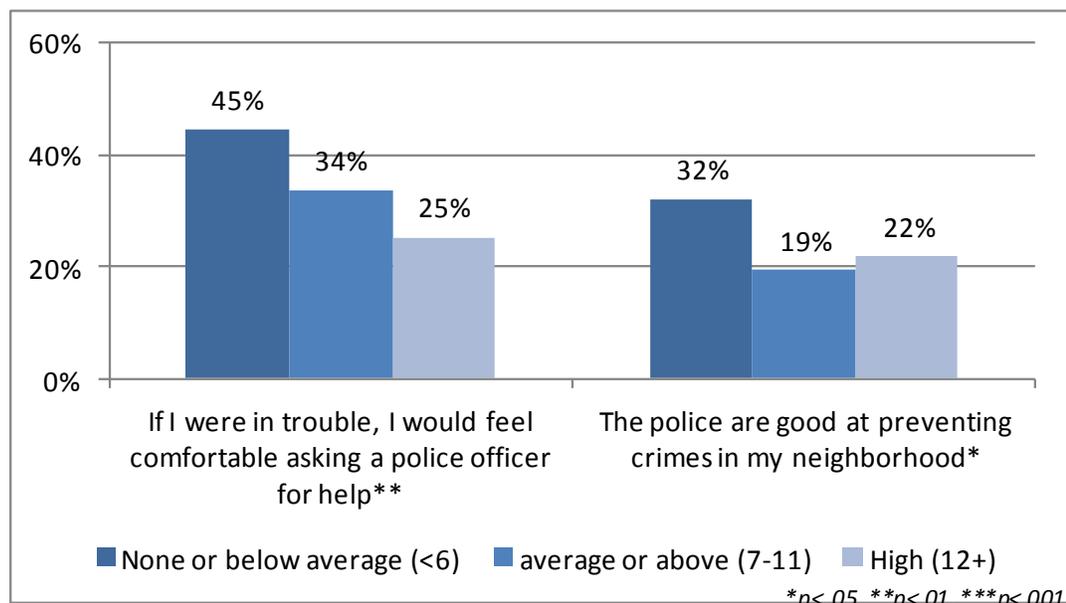
After discovering the association between being stopped frequently and having negative views of the officers who conducted those stops, we set out to test whether there is a similar relationship between number of stops and perceptions of police generally. In other words, is it true that the more times a young person is stopped, the more likely he or she is to express negative views about police generally?

We conducted a similar analysis, again looking at the number of reported stops *in the past year*, and found just two statistically significant correlations.⁵⁸ Young people who report having been stopped more often in the past year are less likely to agree or strongly agree that they would seek help from the police or that the police are good at preventing crime in their neighborhoods. These findings are presented in figure 21.

We also examined whether being arrested has an effect on perceptions of police generally and found no statistically significant differences between those who said they had been arrested during the their most recent stop and those who reported no arrest.

⁵⁸ Here too, statistical significance indicates some significant between-group differences but does not imply that all evident differences between the three groups are statistically significant. The test does not allow for such fine distinctions.

Figure 21. Agreement with statements about seeking help from police and the police being effective in preventing crime, by frequency of stops in the past year



Multivariate Analyses

Finally, we ran a series of multivariate models to determine whether certain factors, especially in combination, predict respondents’ perceptions of police. This type of analysis is designed to reveal “hidden” relationships in the data—whether, for example, males are more likely than females to have negative impressions of the police, regardless of the number of times they have been stopped, and that this trend is most pronounced among older males. Discovering such relationships is crucial to understanding what the data really show.

We looked specifically at demographic characteristics, number of reported stops, prior arrests, and respondents’ sense that they had been justly or unjustly stopped in relation to four outcomes: (1) positive perceptions of police related to the most recent stop, (2) negative perceptions of police related to the most recent stop, (3) positive general attitudes of police in the neighborhood, and (4) negative general attitudes of police in the neighborhood. We created each of these by adding the number of times a respondent agreed or strongly agreed with survey items measuring that outcome.⁵⁹

We ran linear regression models, starting with demographics, then added the number of stops, followed by prior arrests, and finally whether or not the respondent thought the stops were justified. Because past year and lifetime stops were highly correlated, the number of lifetime stops was recoded as the number of stops that happened beyond the past year—lifetime stops minus past year stops, in other words (referred to in the following tables as “additional stops.”)

⁵⁹ Responses to individual survey items were factor analyzed using a principal components analysis with varimax rotation. While perceptions of police related to the last stop fell neatly into two logical, reliable factors (fairness and bias, $\alpha = .86$ and $.82$, respectively), attitudes towards the police generally did not factor as well, so we created summary scales that included all items that were meant to assess each of the four outcomes.

Positive perceptions of police related to the most recent stop. Table 4 shows results from a regression model that predicts positive perceptions of police related to the most recent stop. The full model (number 4 in the table) shows that survey respondents who are black and/or Latino/Hispanic, and also older, are less likely to have positive perceptions of the officers who stopped them most recently, as are respondents who've been stopped more frequently, both in the past year and beyond. While the explanatory power is low overall ($r^2 = .12$), the model is significant, and it's notable that the effect is largely driven by the frequency of stops (past year and additional)—a finding that supports our prior analysis. Equally notable, the following factors are not statistically significant predictors of positive perceptions of police: gender, citizenship, prior arrests, and whether or not the respondent felt the stops were justified.

Table 4. Regression analysis results for positive perceptions of police

| | 1. demographics | | 2. stops | | 3. prior arrests | | 4. unjustified | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|
| | beta (standardized coefficient) | sig. |
| (Constant) | | 0.001 | | 0.001 | | 0.001 | | 0.001 |
| male | -0.074 | 0.228 | 1.159 | 0.533 | 0.046 | 0.480 | 0.039 | 0.550 |
| black and/or hispanic | -0.146 | 0.020 | 0.246 | 0.023 | -0.134 | 0.028 | -0.133 | 0.029 |
| US citizen | 0.035 | 0.573 | 0.324 | 0.349 | 0.059 | 0.327 | 0.061 | 0.317 |
| age | -0.135 | 0.028 | 0.678 | 0.016 | -0.138 | 0.023 | -0.135 | 0.026 |
| past year stops | | | 0.044 | 0.000 | -0.325 | 0.000 | -0.334 | 0.000 |
| additional stops | | | 0.018 | 0.047 | -0.135 | 0.065 | -0.142 | 0.054 |
| prior juvenile or adult arrests | | | | | -0.031 | 0.624 | -0.038 | 0.542 |
| last stop led to an arrest | | | | | 0.276 | 0.972 | -0.049 | 0.421 |
| felt stops were unjustified | | | | | | | -0.072 | 0.239 |

Negative perceptions of police related to the most recent stop. Table 5 shows results from a model that predicts negative perceptions of police related to the most recent stop. Results are somewhat similar, although in this case age is the only significant demographic predictor. Older respondents are more likely to have negative perceptions of the officers who stopped them most recently. Here too, the frequency of stops (past year and additional) is again a strong predictor: a higher the number of stops reported predicts negative perceptions. A history of arrest and feeling that stops were not justified had no significant effect.

Table 5. Regression results for summary negative perceptions of police

| | 1. demographics | | 2. stops | | 3. prior arrests | | 4. unjustified | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|
| | beta (standardized coefficient) | sig. | beta (standardized coefficient) | sig. | beta (standardized coefficient) | sig. | beta (standardized coefficient) | sig. |
| (Constant) | | 0.463 | | -0.776 | | 0.357 | | 0.367 |
| male | 0.163 | 0.007 | 0.051 | 0.792 | 0.060 | 0.351 | 0.059 | 0.358 |
| black and/or hispanic | 0.097 | 0.120 | 0.088 | 1.457 | 0.094 | 0.126 | 0.094 | 0.127 |
| US citizen | 0.019 | 0.765 | 0.002 | 0.031 | 0.007 | 0.910 | 0.007 | 0.909 |
| age | 0.147 | 0.015 | 0.146 | 2.478 | 0.155 | 0.009 | 0.155 | 0.010 |
| past year stops | | | 0.325 | 4.233 | 0.345 | 0.000 | 0.345 | 0.000 |
| additional stops | | | 0.224 | 3.082 | 0.235 | 0.002 | 0.235 | 0.002 |
| prior juvenile or adult arrests | | | | | -0.030 | 0.631 | -0.030 | 0.626 |
| last stop led to an arrest | | | | | -0.089 | 0.137 | -0.089 | 0.138 |
| felt stops were unjustified | | | | | | | -0.006 | 0.923 |

Positive perceptions of neighborhood police. Table 6 shows results from a model predicting positive perceptions of neighborhood police in general. The only significant predictors in this case are past year stops and additional stops. In other words, survey respondents reporting higher numbers of stops are less likely to express positive attitudes about the police in their neighborhood.

Table 6. Regression results for summary positive general attitudes towards police

| | 1. demographics | | 2. stops | | 3. prior arrests | | 4. unjustified | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|
| | beta (standardized coefficient) | sig. |
| (Constant) | | 0.000 | | 0.000 | | 0.000 | | 0.000 |
| male | -0.054 | 0.361 | 0.055 | 0.398 | 0.056 | 0.388 | 0.056 | 0.397 |
| black and/or hispanic | -0.106 | 0.080 | -0.097 | 0.103 | -0.095 | 0.111 | -0.095 | 0.112 |
| US citizen | -0.055 | 0.365 | -0.032 | 0.590 | -0.031 | 0.600 | -0.031 | 0.601 |
| age | -0.104 | 0.081 | -0.101 | 0.087 | -0.100 | 0.092 | -0.099 | 0.094 |
| past year stops | | | -0.292 | 0.000 | -0.287 | 0.000 | -0.288 | 0.000 |
| additional stops | | | -0.163 | 0.025 | -0.159 | 0.031 | -0.160 | 0.031 |
| prior juvenile or adult arrests | | | | | -0.017 | 0.789 | -0.017 | 0.781 |
| last stop led to an arrest | | | | | -0.001 | 0.989 | -0.002 | 0.979 |
| felt stops were unjustified | | | | | | | -0.007 | 0.905 |

Negative perceptions of neighborhood police. Table 7 shows results for a model designed to predict negative perceptions of police in the neighborhood. Here too, past year stops and additional stops are the only significant predictors.

Table 7. Regression results for summary negative general attitudes towards police

| | 1. demographics | | 2. stops | | 3. prior arrests | | 4. unjustified | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|
| | beta (standardized coefficient) | sig. |
| (Constant) | | 0.007 | | 0.003 | | 0.003 | | 0.005 |
| male | 0.024 | 0.687 | -0.067 | 0.300 | -0.064 | 0.325 | -0.059 | 0.369 |
| black and/or hispanic | 0.104 | 0.083 | 0.088 | 0.139 | 0.089 | 0.138 | 0.090 | 0.134 |
| US citizen | 0.021 | 0.723 | 0.002 | 0.978 | 0.003 | 0.955 | 0.005 | 0.931 |
| age | 0.086 | 0.149 | 0.073 | 0.216 | 0.075 | 0.202 | 0.072 | 0.226 |
| past year stops | | | 0.235 | 0.002 | 0.237 | 0.003 | 0.243 | 0.002 |
| additional stops | | | 0.198 | 0.006 | 0.197 | 0.007 | 0.201 | 0.006 |
| prior juvenile or adult arrests | | | | | 0.017 | 0.786 | 0.024 | 0.704 |
| last stop led to an arrest | | | | | -0.049 | 0.413 | -0.045 | 0.455 |
| felt stops were unjustified | | | | | | | 0.055 | 0.367 |

In sum, the multivariate analyses that we conducted provide strong support for the finding that young people who report a history of being stopped repeatedly by police are much more likely to have negative opinions of the officers who stopped them and of police in general, independent of demographics, prior experiences with the justice system, and whether or not they felt the stop(s) they experienced were justified.

Summary Discussion

What we learned about how young people in highly patrolled neighborhoods who’ve been stopped by the police view law enforcement is seriously concerning. Whether responding to questions about specific officers who had stopped them or to questions about police in their neighborhood generally, the majority of the young people we surveyed and interviewed neither trust nor think highly of the officers who patrol their neighborhoods, and in particular, believe that police are biased in how they deal with young people, especially young black and Latino/Hispanic males.

When asked to reflect on their most recent stop and frisk encounter and respond to five positive statements about the officers who conducted that stop, levels of disagreement ran high. For each statement, the proportion of survey respondents who disagreed never dipped below 67% and went as high as 83 percent. Moreover, nearly half (45 percent, n=212) of these 18- to 25-year-olds disagreed with *all* five statements, showing their consistently negative views of the officers who stopped them most recently in terms of legitimacy, fairness, and respect. More than half of survey respondents believe they were stopped or treated differently because of their age and/or their race or ethnicity. The majority of young people we surveyed seem to believe that, in general, the stops they experienced were not justified. Specifically, 70 percent (n=329) reported that they were *rarely* or *never* engaged in behavior that warranted the stop(s); 85 percent (n=396) reported that the police *never* found any illegal items on them. While their views may not reflect the actual circumstances or legality of the stops, they are nevertheless important.

Perceptions that the police are biased were also common among the 13- to 21-year-olds that we interviewed. More than three out of four (85 percent) said that the police would have treated them differently if they were a different gender, and more than half (68 percent) said that they would have

been treated differently if they were another race. Many of the young black and Latino males we interviewed seem resigned to what they view as an uneven application of justice that is pervasive in their neighborhoods. One young man from East Harlem even said that the best way to stay out of trouble with the police is to “act white...and pull your pants above your waist.”

Like these young people, some of the adults who participated in our neighborhood focus groups viewed stop and frisk within a broader context of institutional racism, in one case calling the city a “police state” in which the NYDP had taken hold of minority communities a long time ago. In the focus group we conducted in Bedford-Stuyvesant, a participant who directs a community-based organization that works citywide captured this view by saying, “stop and frisk has been going on since there were black people and cops.” Some parents/caregivers expressed concern about the impact on young people of a heavy, aggressive police presence. In reflecting on the sheer volume of officers visible in the neighborhood and what she might do differently, this mother said, “I’d have cops there, but I wouldn’t have them walking in large groups, especially not 20 at a time, like they do now. I see them walking 20 in a group and I think ‘Is this an army?’ And you have to move out the way for them. I’d make sure people felt safe and weren’t scared.”

When we asked the young people in our study to think beyond specific officers who had stopped them and to comment more generally on police in their neighborhood, their views were equally critical in some key areas. In particular, only 15 percent of the young people we surveyed believe the police are honest, and 88 percent believe that residents of their neighborhood do not trust the police. Of note, only four out of ten said they would be comfortable seeking help from police when in trouble.

Lack of trust was somewhat of a theme among the adults who participated in the neighborhood focus groups. On the micro level, as one focus group participant said, stop and frisk often involves “...a scared officer and a scared youth, and then you don’t know what going to happen.” He runs a program for justice-system involved young men and women in Jamaica, Queens. On a larger level, people talked about a general lack of trust between police and the community. A participant in the Jamaica focus group who runs a student center for immigrant youth said, “A lot of law enforcement don’t trust the adults in our community to handle the youth in our community. A lot of times they don’t have faith that we will do the right thing,” adding somewhat angrily that while the police don’t trust parents to handle their own kids they are happy to let the prison system take over. Another participant in the same focus group, a community council member, talked about the need for adults to be more proactive: “Now young people will openly sit on the corner and smoke their herb, there’s no respect. Yes, we need to talk to them instead of turning our head and walking away from them. We need to communicate with the young people and we’re not doing enough of that.”

As our findings show, negative perceptions about specific officers in stop and frisk encounters and police more generally are fairly typical of the entire sample of young people we surveyed, including young people who hadn’t been stopped at all in the past year. At the same time, the most fine grained data analyses that we conducted show a clear relationship between frequency of stops and negative perceptions of police. In other words, the more often a young person has been stopped in the past, the more likely that person is to express low opinions of the police, regardless of other factors (such as arrest history) that may shape the way young people view the police. No other factor—age, gender, race/ethnicity, history of prior involvement in the criminal justice system, or even feeling that

the stops they experienced were unjustified—has as much influence statistically on their perceptions of police.

Our findings suggest that the young people in these five highly patrolled New York City neighborhoods view the police differently than most people. Consider these results from the Bureau of Justice Statistics's 2008 Police-Public Contact Survey, which was administered to a nationally representative sample of more than 60,000 people age 16 and older: Among people who report having had some contact with the police, 90 percent felt that the officers acted appropriately, and 92 percent felt that the police were respectful (note the contact was not necessarily a stop and frisk, and the person surveyed may have initiated contact with the police).⁶⁰ Similarly, a 2005 study of adult residents of Chicago found that 77 percent of people were satisfied with the police, and among those who reported being stopped by a police officer, on foot or pulled over while driving, 64 percent thought the officers treated them fairly, and 56 percent thought they were polite.⁶¹

There is some support for our findings. When researchers from the Center for Court Innovation surveyed people in Brownsville, Brooklyn, also one of our study sites, they found similarly low opinions of the police. On a convenience sample of 815 respondents, 28 percent of whom were stopped and/or frisked in the past year, only 19 percent agreed that the police are fair and 52 percent thought that the relationship between the police and the community was a negative one.⁶²

As the next chapter explores, such low levels of trust in law enforcement may be a real barrier to fighting crime in these neighborhoods and citywide, because young people who do not trust the police are much less likely to cooperate with law enforcement, even to improve the safety of their own neighborhoods.

⁶⁰ Christine Eith and Matthew R. Durose, *Contacts between the Police and the Public, 2008* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008; prepared under grant number 234599).

⁶¹ Wesley Skogan, "Citizen Satisfaction with Police Encounters", *Police Quarterly* 8, no 3 (2005), 298-321.

⁶² Suvi Hynynen, *Community Perceptions of Brownsville: A Survey of Neighborhood Quality of Life, Safety and Services*. (New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation, 2011).

Chapter 3. Sense of Safety and Collaboration with Law Enforcement

One of the chief criticisms of stop and frisk is that it has seriously damaged police-community relations in areas of New York City where they are needed most to protect residents and solve crimes. The previous chapter presents an array of findings that, when viewed together, strongly suggest that young people who live in the most violent and also highly-patrolled neighborhoods, and who have a history of being stopped by police, have very low opinions of law enforcement. In this chapter, we present findings that address the next logical question: how likely are these same young people to contact and collaborate with law enforcement to protect themselves and reduce crime in the neighborhood? After briefly describing the study sites, we explore these neighborhoods from the perspective of the young people we interviewed and surveyed—how they view the community, their routine activities, and whether or not they feel safe where they live as well as their own history of victimization. We then present findings that specifically address their likelihood of working with law enforcement in specific situations. Finally, we examine whether there's any relationship between these aspects of their lives and the number of times they have been stopped by police.

Community Life: Some Key Characteristics of the Study Sites

The five neighborhoods where we conducted our research are vibrant communities with diverse populations, thriving commercial districts and some strong and active community-based organizations. They are also neighborhoods with high levels of poverty and unemployment,⁶³ and rapid turnover of residents.

These five neighborhoods also have some of the highest levels of recorded crime in New York City—both before and after the citywide drop in major offenses that began in the mid-1990s. While New York City as a whole is safer today and considerably less deadly than it was 20 years ago,⁶⁴ and while violent crime continues to decrease citywide, reports of murder, rape, robbery, and felony assault combined increased from 2011 to 2012 in all of the police precincts included within our five study sites, as shown in table 8.⁶⁵

The potential dynamics of community life in these neighborhoods are too numerous and complex to discuss here but include, on the one hand, local residents relying on each other—pooling resources such as childcare to cope with poverty, and working together to combat crime; and on the other hand, residents retreating from public areas, avoiding one another, and becoming less invested and involved in the neighborhood, partly as a result of crime and fear of crime.

⁶³ We provide the median income and level of unemployment for each study site in the methodology section of this report, which describes the study's methodology.

⁶⁴ The number of murders citywide peaked in 1990 at 2,245, shrank to 664 by the end of that decade, and declined somewhat to 536 in 2010. Source: FBI Uniform Crime Report Statistics, online at ucrdatatool.gov

⁶⁵ Compstat data retrieved from the NYPD's website shows an increase from 2011 to 2012 in the total number of complaints for the four violent index crimes (murder, rape, robbery and felony assault) in all of the precincts included in our study sites: the 75th, 79th and 81st precincts in Brooklyn; the 23rd precinct in Manhattan, the 40th and 41st precincts in the Bronx, and the 103rd precinct in Queens.

Table 8. Percent increase (2011 to 2012) in the number complaints for major felony offenses, for police precincts included in the study sites

| Precinct | % increase |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Bed-Stuy, 79th | 2.1% |
| Bed-Stuy, 81 st | 8.0% |
| East NY, 75 th | 5.8% |
| East Harlem, 23 rd | 14.9% |
| South Bronx, 40 th | 0.9% |
| South Bronx, 41 st | 19.0% |
| Jamaica, 103 rd | 9.2% |

How law enforcement navigates the challenges of policing high-crime neighborhoods is crucial because their actions can have significant positive or negative effects, and sometimes both. The heightened presence of police almost certainly deters some criminal activity and may reassure some residents. On the other hand, aggressive policing can weaken communities. A heavy police presence can become a constant reminder of the worst aspects of the neighborhood and the risk of falling victim to crime. If people fear the police, they may retreat from public spaces. And perhaps most damaging of all, if residents view the police as an occupying force, they have little incentive to assert their own authority to improve the overall health and safety of the neighborhood.

How Young People View Their Neighborhoods

Most of the young people who participated in our study were well-positioned to talk about their neighborhood. On average, survey respondents had been living in the same home for nine years, and fully half (55 percent) of them had lived in the same home for at least the past five years. Most of the youth and caretakers we interviewed were also established residents, with the majority (61 percent) having lived in the same home for five years or more. Because the interviews were designed to elicit assessments of the neighborhood in a much more in-depth and detailed way than a survey could, findings reported in this section draw largely from our interviews of 13- to 21-year-olds and their parents/caregivers.

We began our interviews with the following set of questions:

“How do you like your neighborhood?”

“How long have you lived in the neighborhood? Have you lived here your whole life?”

“What is your neighborhood called?”

“Describe your block or building [Prompt: what does it look like?]”

We left it up to our study participants to define what they considered their “neighborhood” to be, and this established a context for all the other information they provided about their neighborhood, in either the survey or in interviews. In general, the young people we interviewed don’t view their neighborhood as merely or primarily a geographical area encompassing certain blocks or buildings. Instead, they view and understand the neighborhood as a diffuse array of settings and social spaces in which “people know each other,” as one young person said.

Many of the young people we interviewed began by succinctly describing their neighborhood as “okay” or “alright,” but after further discussion would often make overtly negative comments that reflect their concern about and dissatisfaction with the neighborhood. Some (14 percent, n=6) described the area where they live as “crazy” or “tough,” referring to high levels of crime and violence. For example, a 19-year-old black male described his East Harlem neighborhood as “a music video, one of the bad ones where’s [sic] mad drug dealers on the corners and security guards.”

Some parents/caregivers also talked about dangers in the neighborhood. A 52-year-old Puerto Rican mother living in East Harlem explained her dismay at how the community has changed and impacted her son: “I think it’s sad about what’s going on in the community. He can’t get off 116th and walk through the projects, he’s gotta walk from 110th because of the fighting between the two projects. It’s that and many other things that happen in the community...projects versus projects. A lot of things.”

Several of the adults and older young people we interviewed focused on the lack of programs, recreational facilities, and infrastructure needed to sustain a healthy and vibrant community. For example, a 20-year-old black male who lives in Bedford-Stuyvesant recalled being active in his community when he was younger and lamented the decline in civic engagement today: “[I] worked for Planned parenthood, was a teen advocate...if there were more community programs instead of liquor stores on every block it would be better.” Several people also talked about the absence of playgrounds and parks, and a 21-year-old black female living in the South Bronx had enjoyed participating in events sponsored by the Police-Athletic League, although “they took that away too.” Capturing one of the most common deficits of poor neighborhoods, a 21-year-old black/Hispanic youth in East New York said, “[There’s] no access to healthier food alternatives, I have to shop outside [the neighborhood] to get things to eat.”

In contrast, younger people were more likely to frame community problems in terms of their peers “acting ghetto” or “being loud.” A 15-year-old black male living in East New York said his neighborhood was full of “bullies,” a view echoed by a 15-year-old black male living in East Harlem who said, “Sometimes people will try to bother you and see what type of person you are...they are not easy to get along with, they crazy sometimes.”

Some of the people we interviewed expressed their dissatisfaction with the neighborhood by saying they wanted to relocate—move to a “more quiet” area, for example—or in one case, by bluntly saying to hypothetical others, “Don’t come here.”

For some young people, local troubles seem rooted in broader social problems, specifically related to race and inequality. For example, when describing [his/her] building, one 15-year old Latina living in East Harlem explained how low levels of trust among neighbors reflected strained relationships across racial lines: “...the building thinks it’s a white peoples’ building ...cause they

have a white landlord. Yeah, and cause there is a few black people in the building and...they don't trust us at all, they put cameras.”

We asked the young people we interviewed as well as those we surveyed to pinpoint what most concerned them about the neighborhood. Specifically, during interviews we asked people to describe the things that cause them the “greatest discomfort” when they are out in the neighborhood. Survey respondents were asked to write in one response to the question “*What is the most important problem in your neighborhood today?*”

Most of the interview participants, both youth and parents/caregivers, provided answers that focused on violent crime as the most critical local problem, followed by drugs and other types of crime. Only four of the 42 youth we interviewed, or 10 percent, talked about troubling police practices. A slightly larger proportion of parents/caregivers (14 percent, or five out of 35) mentioned policing as a significant source of discomfort and concern. There was less consensus among the individuals we surveyed. To begin with, nearly a third (31 percent, n=157) of them did not answer the question, and some of those who did identified more than one problem. The most common response, provided by nearly a third of respondents (30 percent, n=140) was some troubling aspect of policing, such as racial profiling, police harassment, and the indiscriminate use of stop and frisk.⁶⁶ The other most common responses were crime, violence, and gangs, identified by 23 percent of respondents; followed by local problems/lack of resources and, separately, drugs (each identified by eight percent of respondents).

Past Victimization

Given documented levels of crime in these five neighborhoods and comments from the young people in our study about their neighborhood being “tough” or “crazy,” we were interested in assessing rates of victimization among our study sample. We found rates of violent victimization that are truly alarming.

Because young men in inner-city neighborhoods may be unlikely to identify as victims, even if they have in fact experienced crime, we deliberately worded the following survey questions to avoid the term victim.

Has violence ever been used against you (for example, mugged, robbed, or assaulted)?

Has violence been used against any member of your household (for example, a mugging or a fight?)

Have you, or another member of your household, had anything stolen worth more than \$50?

Fully half (50 percent n=239) of the young people we surveyed reported some past victimization, which included answering yes to “has violence been used against you” and/or “have you, or another member of your household, had anything stolen worth more than \$50.” When we asked about specific types of crime, more than a third (39 percent, n=173) of respondents reported that they had been the victim of violence, and more than half of them (n=104), or 24 percent of the entire sample, reported that violence had been used against them more than once—that’s one out of every

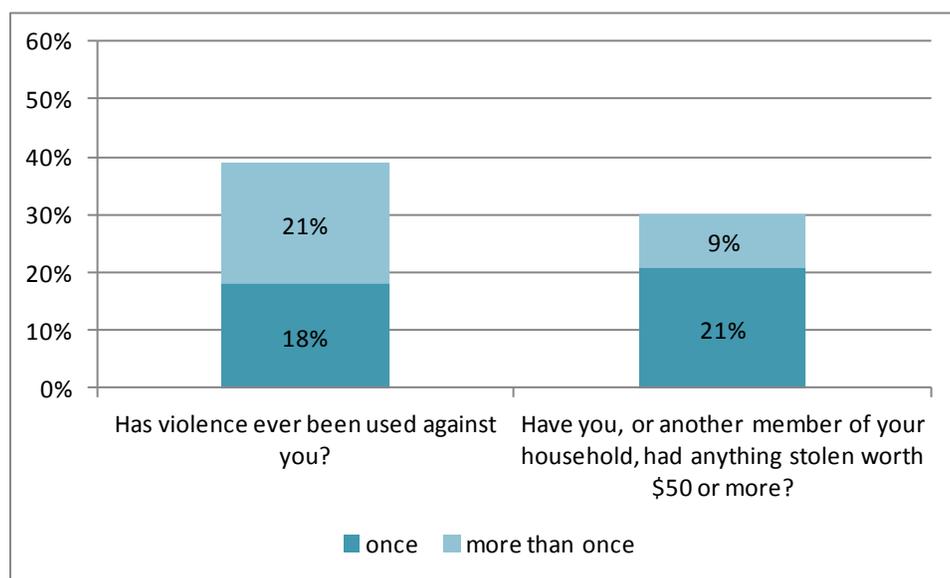
⁶⁶ Because some respondents wrote in more than one “top” problem in the neighborhood, it would not be accurate to say that fully 30 percent of respondents pointed to the police as *the* most important problem in their neighborhood.

four people we surveyed. A quarter (25 percent, n=119) of respondents reported that a household member had been the victim of violence, and here too, more than half of them (n=70), or 16 percent of the entire sample, reported that violence had been used against a family member on more than one occasion.

To measure rates of non-violent victimization, we asked about theft—specifically, if the respondent or any member of the household had something valued at \$50 or more stolen. Close to a third (230 percent, n=132) of survey respondents answered yes and eight percent (n=38) of the sample overall, reported that theft of this degree of had happened on more than one occasion. These findings are illustrated in figure 22.

Research conducted nationally has found much lower rates of victimization among the general public. Data collected in 2011 and published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, for example, shows the rate of violent victimization for people age 12 and older to be 2.5 percent, and the rate of property crime victimization to be 13.9 percent.⁶⁷ In comparison, the reported rate of violent victimization among our survey sample is 15 times greater, and the rate of property victimization is roughly double.⁶⁸

Figure 22. Reports of victimization among survey respondents



The 13- to 21-year-olds that we interviewed were only slightly less likely than the 18- to 25-year-old survey respondents to report some prior victimization. Specifically, 17 out of the 42 youth we interviewed (40 percent) said they had been the victim of a crime, compared with 50 percent of survey respondents. However, since 15 of the 42 youth we interviewed mentioned being assaulted and/or robbed, their rate of violent victimization (36 percent) is essentially the same as the older group (39

⁶⁷ Jennifer L Truman and Michael Planty, *Criminal Victimization 2011* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2012; prepared under grant number 239437).

⁶⁸ Estimates for the rate of property victimization are likely low because our survey only included one type of potential property victimization—having something worth more than \$50 stolen from the household.

percent). Vicarious experiences of victimization were even more prevalent than direct experience, with 28 of the 42 youth (67 percent) reporting at least one friend who had been the victim of a crime, and 21 youth (50 percent) reporting at least one family member who had been victimized.

Sense of Safety

The high rates of reported victimization provide an interesting context for exploring how safe, or unsafe, these same young people feel day-to-day in their neighborhoods. Our findings are based on responses to the following five survey questions:

I feel safe at home (response options: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree)

I feel safe in my community (response options: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree)

How safe would you feel if a stranger stopped you at night in your neighborhood to ask for directions? (response options: very unsafe, somewhat unsafe, safe, or very safe)

How worried are you about you or someone else in your household being a victim of a crime in your neighborhood? (response options: not at all worried, a little worried, somewhat worried, very worried)

How likely is it that you will be the victim of a crime in your neighborhood in the next year? (response options: very unlikely, unlikely, neither unlikely nor likely, likely, very likely)

Findings for the sample overall. While nearly all respondents (91 percent) feel safe at home, and the clear majority (64 percent) feel safe in their communities, a sizeable number still expressed some sort of fear, with 43 percent reporting they wouldn't feel safe if stopped by a stranger at night, 58 percent worried about someone in their household being victimized, and 26 percent reported that they were likely or very likely to be victimized in the coming year. These findings are portrayed in figures 23-27 below. It's notable that the young people we surveyed, most of whom are male, indicated much more concern about someone they know and love—specifically someone in their household—falling victim to crime about their own safety. These findings are presented in figures 23 through 28 below.

Figures 23 and 24. Percent of survey respondents who agree and disagree with the statement “I feel safe at home” and “I feel safe in my community”

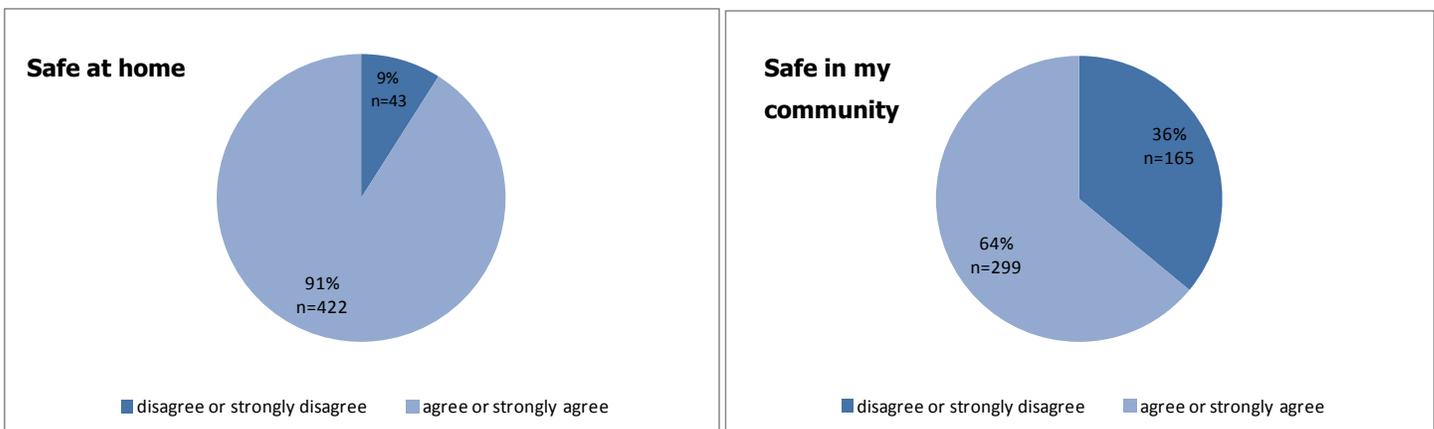


Figure 25. Responses to the survey question “How safe would you feel if a stranger stopped you at night in your neighborhood to ask for directions?”

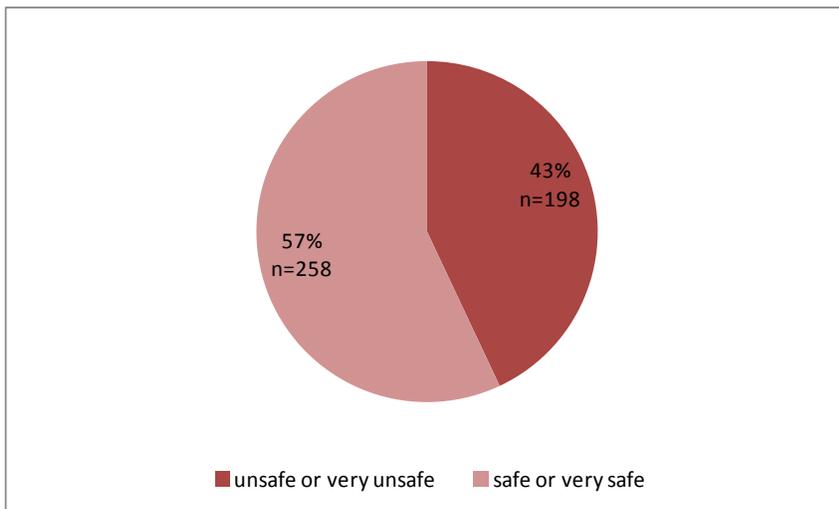


Figure 26. Responses to the survey question “How likely is it that you will be the victim of a crime in your neighborhood in the next year?”

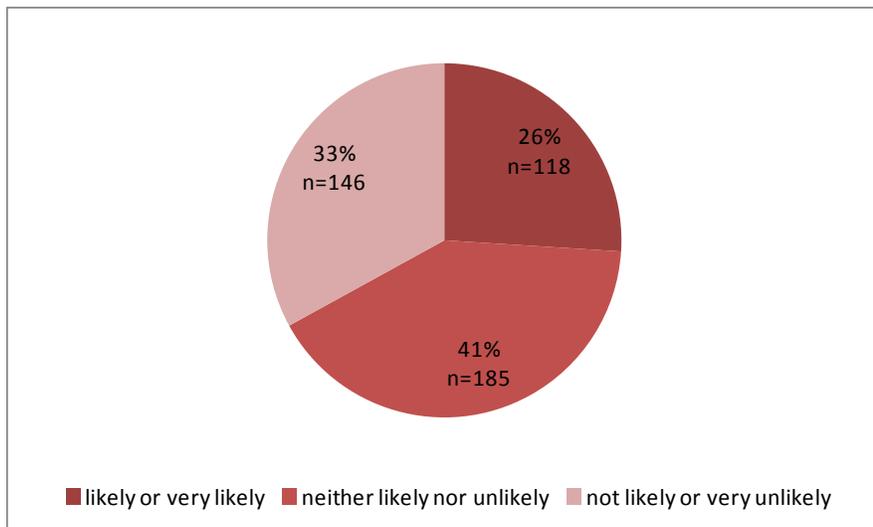
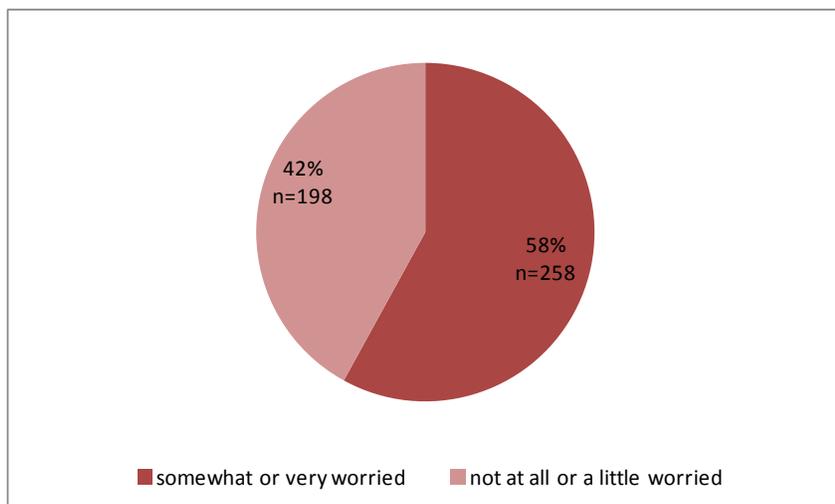


Figure 27. Responses to the survey question “How worried are you about you or someone else in your household being a victim of a crime in your neighborhood?”



Despite living in relatively high-crime areas of New York City, the young people we surveyed seem to feel about as safe as U.S. residents generally and somewhat safer than New Yorkers in other neighborhoods. National data from the Gallup poll reveals that 37 percent of Americans fear for their safety when walking alone at night within a mile of their homes—a proportion only slightly lower than the 43 percent of our survey sample who would feel unsafe or very unsafe if they were stopped by a stranger in their neighborhood at night.⁶⁹ And in New York City, research by the Center for Court Innovation focusing on five somewhat diverse neighborhoods (Harlem, Crown Heights, and Red Hook in Brooklyn; midtown Manhattan; and Long Island City in Queens) found a lower sense of safety among the adults (average age = 37) they surveyed: 71% reported feeling safe in their homes (compared to 91 percent of our sample) and 45 percent said they felt safe on the street (compared to 64 percent of our sample).⁷⁰

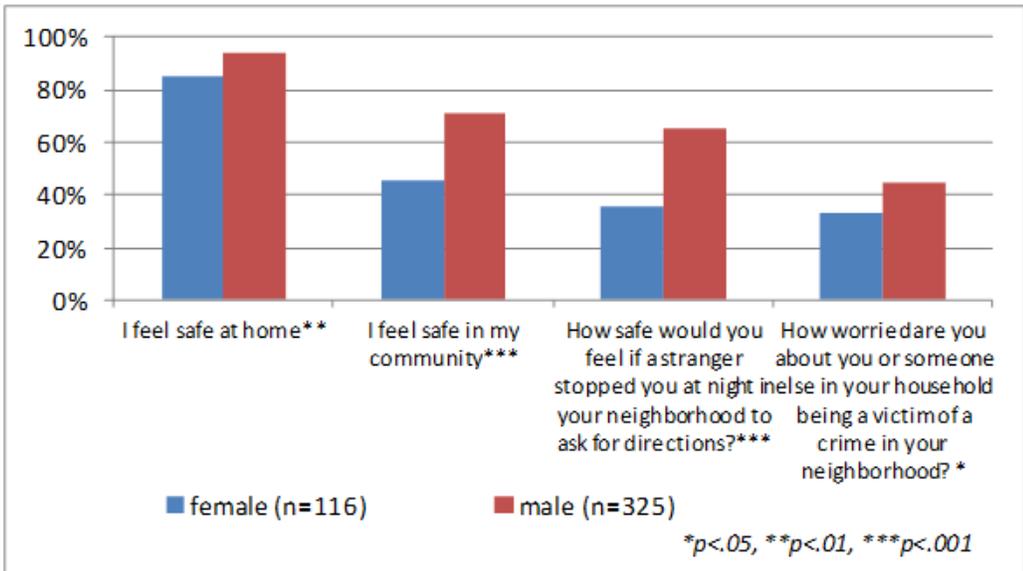
Demographic differences. Among our sample, gender and race/ethnicity predict, to some extent, a person’s self-reported sense of safety, while age seems to have no influence. Figure 28 shows statistically significant differences between females and males on four of the five measures of sense of safety.⁷¹ Across the board, males were more likely than females to report feeling safe at home and also in the community, to feel safe if approached by a stranger at night, and to be less worried about somebody in their household becoming the victim of a crime.

⁶⁹ Lydia Saad, “Worry About Crime Remains at Last Year’s Elevated Levels,” *Gallup*, October 19, 2006.

⁷⁰ Sarah Custer, Amanda Cissner, and Rachel Finkenstein, *Public Perceptions of Neighborhood Quality of Life and Safety in Five New York City Communities: Results from Operation Data, 2004-2005* (New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation, 2008).

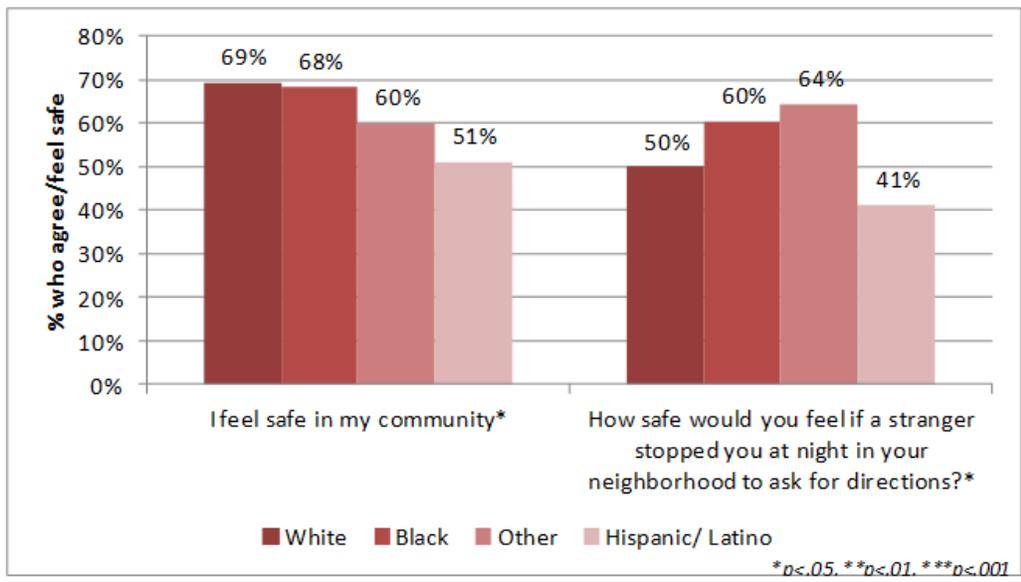
⁷¹ Because we only surveyed two transgender individuals they were excluded from the significance tests.

Figure 28. Sense of safety, differences by gender



When we disaggregated the sample by race/ethnicity, we found statistically significant differences on two of the five survey items measuring sense of safety. On both these measures, Hispanic/Latino respondents reported the lowest levels of perceived safety. Only half (51 percent) of them feel safe at home, and an even lower 41 percent would feel safe if stopped by a stranger at night and asked for directions. Findings are illustrated in figure 29.

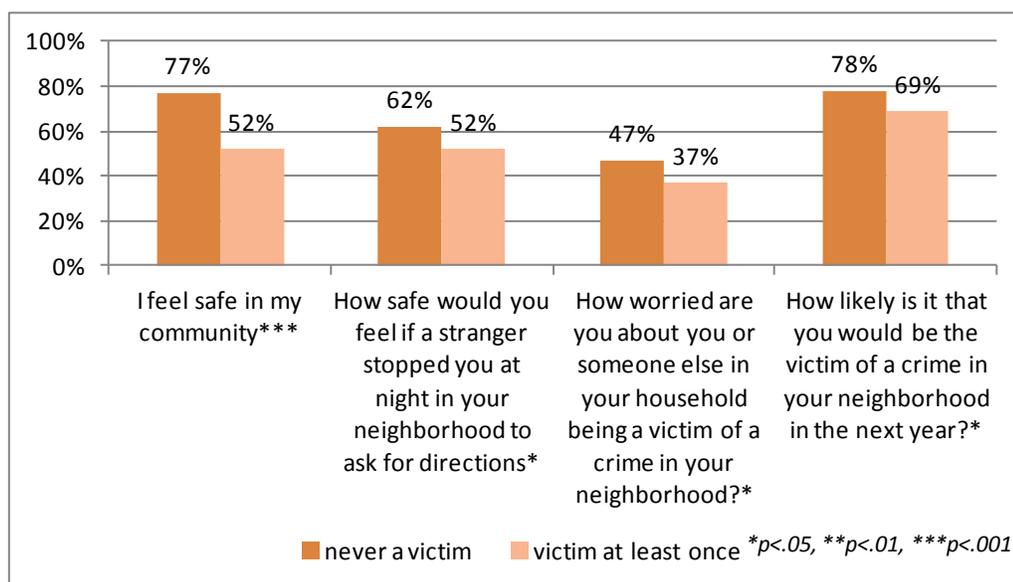
Figure 29. Sense of safety, differences by race/ethnicity⁷²



⁷² The category “other” includes Asians as well as respondents who identified their race/ethnicity as “other” on the survey form.

Differences in relation to prior victimization. As one might expect, directly experiencing crime can decrease a person’s sense of safety. As a group, the young people we surveyed who reported some past victimization felt less safe compared to those who had never been the victim of violence: Only about half (52 percent) of them reported feeling safe in their community, versus 77 percent of those who had not been victims; fewer would feel safe if approached by a stranger at night (52 percent of those who had been victims versus 62 percent of those who had not), roughly a third (37 percent) were *not* worried about somebody in their household being the victim of a crime, compared with 47% who had not been victimized; and 69 percent felt that they were *not* likely to be the victim of a crime, compared to 78 percent of those who had not been victimized. Notwithstanding these significant differences, the degree of personal safety reported among those with a history of victimization is still relatively high, with roughly one out of two people feeling safe in their community and nearly seven out of ten believing they are unlikely to be victimized again.

Figure 30. Sense of safety, differences by history of violence victimization



Our interviews helped to illuminate why many young people who live in relatively high-crime neighborhoods and have experienced crime still have a strong sense of personal safety. A 15-year-old black male in Brownsville, reported feeling safe because “I always have friends across the street, so if anything happens they could help me out.” Like this boy, many of the young people we interviewed talked about being able to handle potential dangers and being familiar with and known in the neighborhood—both contributing to their sense of safety.

Our interviews also revealed that in a few cases, young people had experienced and were reporting violence that occurred at the hands of police. Out of the 18 young people who reported one or more events in which they were victimized, three of them reported violent stop and frisk encounters. In the East Harlem focus group, a participant who works in one of the neighborhood’s largest social service agencies claimed that stop and frisk has not made young people feel safer and explained that: “It is victimization. You are the victim of an illegal action of the police.” A 52-year-old Puerto Rican

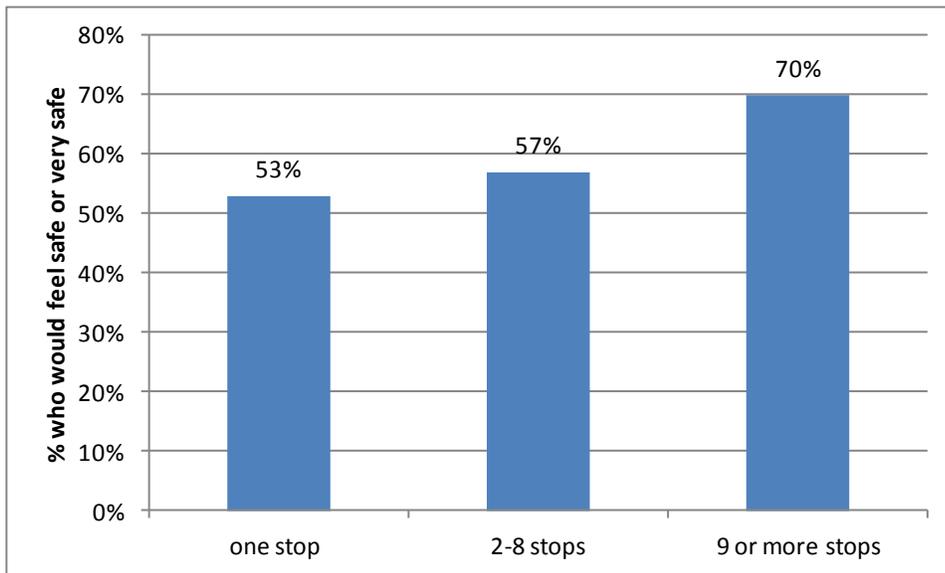
mother in East Harlem expressed concern about the potential for police abuse in the context of stop and frisk. She said, “Cops will likely not hurt the kid when others are watching. People are calling out more to come and watch the incidents between cops and people. People are still afraid and don’t want to be a part of, or get caught up in it. It does change how people feel.”

Differences in relation to frequency of stops. Given that the young people we studied live in neighborhoods with a visible police presence and a relatively high number of stop and frisk encounters, we wondered if the experience of being stopped, especially repeatedly, was related in any way to a person’s sense of safety. One could imagine potentially positive as well as negative dynamics in this regard. Experiencing vigilant law enforcement first-hand might make young people feel safer where they live, even if they also resent being stopped by police. On the other hand, if young people fear the police, then they might feel less safe with each additional stop.

We tested for statistically significant differences in feelings of safety among survey participants who have been stopped at different frequency levels, in the past year and in their lifetimes. A curious pattern emerged. The young adults in our study who have been stopped more often over their lifetime reported feeling safer in the neighborhood than those who’ve been stopped less frequently. Specifically, 72 percent of those who’ve been stopped nine or more times in their lifetime reported feeling safe in their communities, while only 52 percent of those who have been stopped once felt safe; and 66 percent of those who have been stopped nine or more times said they would feel safe if stopped by a stranger at night, compared with 40 percent of those who’ve been stopped only once.

It is important to note that this type of analysis does not control for any other factors that might mitigate or explain these effects. In fact, when we disaggregated the sample by gender, we discovered that the difference related to community safety was fully mitigated by gender: females, who in our sample reported being stopped at the lowest frequencies, were also most likely to feel unsafe in the community. When we looked at males only, the relationships between number of stops and feeling safe in the community disappeared. The other difference, however, remained in effect: seventy percent of males who’ve been stopped nine or more times reported that they would feel safe if a stranger stopped them at night and asked for directions. Only 53 percent of males who’ve been stopped only once reported feeling safe in this situation. These findings, illustrated in figure 31, represent statistically significant differences ($p < .05$).

Figure 31. Sense of safety by frequency of stops for male survey respondents



It could be that young males in high-crime neighborhoods are somehow reassured by the stop-and-frisk activity they experience—although one would assume that the mere presence of police would be equally reassuring and young men who have been stopped only once see police patrolling their neighborhood daily. A more likely explanation is that individuals who have been stopped more often are either less fearful of strangers or reluctant to admit fear—they’re tougher, in other words. This could be because they are accustomed to navigating their neighborhood alone at night, because they themselves are perpetrators of crime, or because the repeated experience of being stopped by police has toughened them. And of course adopting a tough appearance and/or stance probably makes these young men more likely to targets of stop and frisk.

Multivariate Analysis of Sense of Safety

In an effort to better understand the individual effects of various factors on a young person’s sense of safety, we ran a multivariate logistic regression. This model examines the extent to which demographic characteristics, history of violent victimization, frequency of stops, and any prior arrest, alone or in combination, predict whether or not survey respondents report they would feel safe or very safe if stopped by a stranger in their neighborhood at night. This single outcome measure was chosen for two reasons: First, it produced the most robust set of comparisons (by gender, race, and stops) in the descriptive analyses. Second, it is similar to the measure of safety (comfort walking alone at night within a mile of one’s home) that social scientists and the national Gallup poll consider to be the standard.⁷³

⁷³ Mark Warr, *Fear of Crime in the United States: Avenues for Research and Policy*, (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 2000; prepared under grant number 185545).

The results in table 10 reveal several interesting findings. First, while gender seems to be a strong predictor of sense of safety (with males being three times more likely than females or transgendered respondents to report that they'd feel safe), this effect disappears once prior violent victimizations as well as frequency of stops are taken into account. In fact, only prior violent victimization and frequency of stops are significant predictors of sense of safety in this model. Specifically, those who have been victimized are 50 percent less likely than those who have not been victimized to report that they'd feel safe when approached by a stranger. In addition, after controlling for the impact of victimization, for each additional stop reported in the past year, respondents were 8% *more* likely to report that they'd feel safe, and for each additional stop beyond the past year, they were 10% percent *more* likely to feel safe. Finally, a prior arrest is not a predictor of sense of safety. If history of arrest is viewed as a proxy for criminal behavior, this suggests that the positive relationship between number of past stops and feeling safe in the presence of a stranger is not because these individuals are committing crimes.

Table 9. Regression Results for Analysis of Safety

| | 1. demographics | | 2. victim | | 3. stops | | 4. prior arrests | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-----------|-------|----------|-------|------------------|-------|
| | exp (B) | sig. | exp (B) | sig. | exp (B) | sig. | exp (B) | sig. |
| male | 3.089 | 0.000 | 3.016 | 0.000 | 1.816 | 0.066 | 1.762 | 0.084 |
| black and/or hispanic | 0.837 | 0.690 | 0.797 | 0.615 | 0.709 | 0.459 | 0.666 | 0.392 |
| age | 1.010 | 0.868 | 1.022 | 0.715 | 1.014 | 0.823 | 1.011 | 0.863 |
| US citizen | 2.585 | 0.313 | 2.914 | 0.260 | 2.190 | 0.409 | 2.018 | 0.461 |
| ever a victim | | | 0.579 | 0.040 | 0.556 | 0.033 | 0.532 | 0.024 |
| past year stops | | | | | 1.093 | 0.001 | 1.084 | 0.004 |
| additional stops | | | | | 1.100 | 0.001 | 1.095 | 0.002 |
| prior juvenile or adult arrests | | | | | | | 1.450 | 0.219 |
| last stop led to an arrest | | | | | | | 1.105 | 0.793 |
| (constant) | | | | | | | 0.277 | 0.000 |

Cooperation with Law Enforcement

It is well documented that crime in New York City, especially violent crime, is concentrated in a few neighborhoods and that citywide young black and Latino/Hispanic males are much more likely than any other demographic group to be the victims of violent crime. In fact, they make up the overwhelming majority of victims for all types of crime.⁷⁴ They also represents nearly a third of suspects in all stops citywide. Through our surveys and interviews, we aimed to measure how likely, or unlikely, these young people are to cooperate with law enforcement in a variety of ways.

The individuals we surveyed were asked to answer the following eight questions designed to measure their willingness to cooperate with law enforcement. For each questions, respondents were asked to choose among the following five answers: very unlikely, unlikely, not likely nor unlikely, likely, and very likely.

⁷⁴ New York Police Department (NYPD), http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/analysis_and_planning/2012_year_end_enforcement_report.pdf (accessed June 25, 2013).

1) If you knew about someone from your neighborhood who had broken a law and was wanted by the police, how likely would you be to report it to the police?

2) How likely would it be that your neighbors would report this person to the police?

3) If you witnessed a crime or knew about a crime that took place, how likely would you be to report it to the police?

4) If your neighbors witnessed a crime or knew about a crime that took place, how likely would they be to report it to the police?

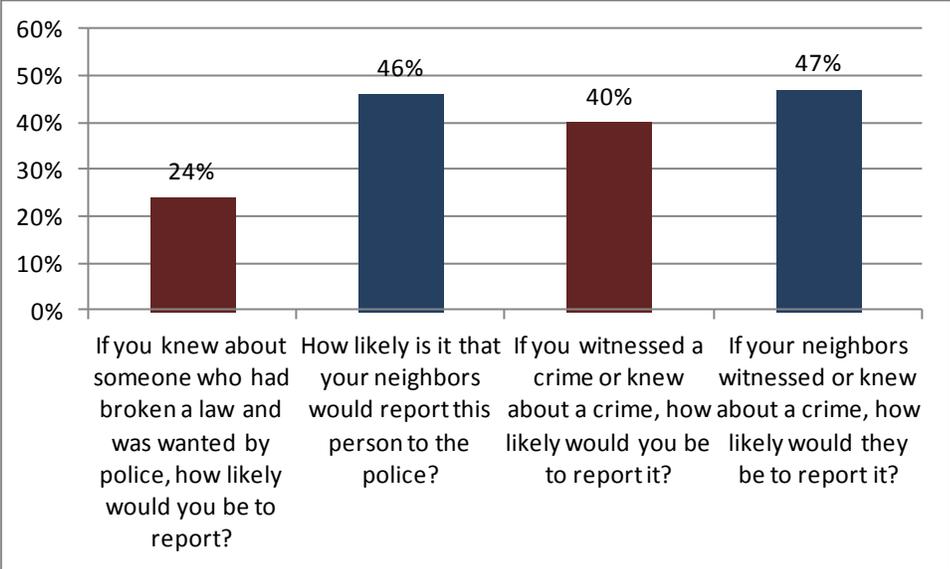
5) If you were the victim of a violent crime, like an assault or robbery, how likely would you be to:

- a. Report it to the police*
- b. Cooperate with the police investigation of the crime*
- c. Talk to the District Attorney's office about the crime*
- d. Testify in court*

The first four questions are designed to measure survey respondents' likelihood that they or a neighbor would report a crime that they knew about or witnessed but were not directly involved in. The questions 1 and 2 are about reporting an individual suspected of committing a crime; questions 3 and 4 are about reporting a crime, but not a particular person.

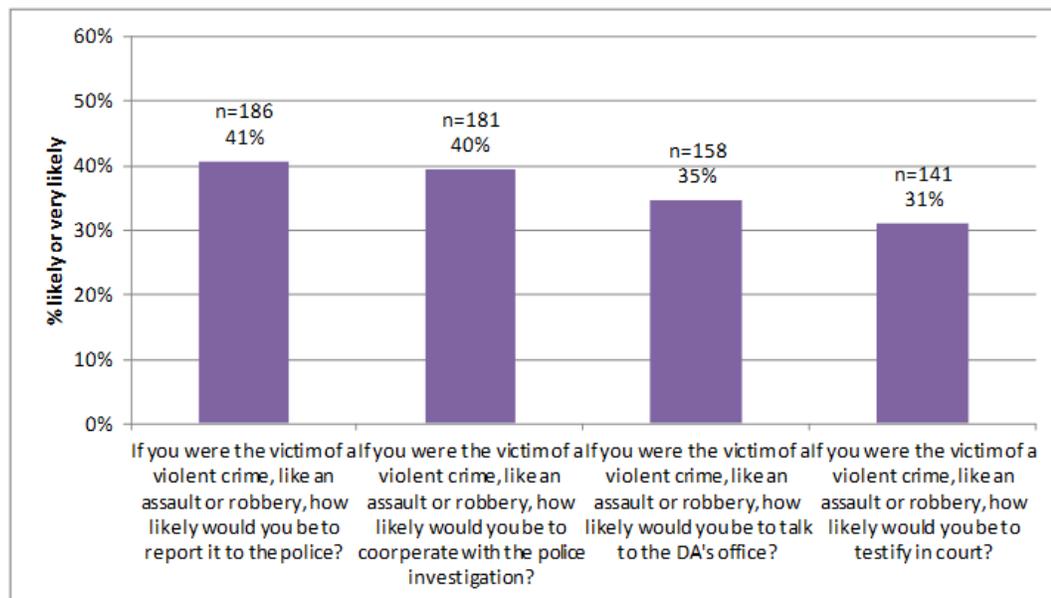
The findings suggest an unwillingness to report crime. In fact, not more than one out of two respondents felt that they or a neighbor would report an individual suspect or a crime that had occurred, and at the low end, only 24 percent of respondents said they would be likely or very likely to report someone whom they believed had broken the law. In general, respondents believe their neighbors would be more likely to contact police in these situations than they would be. It's possible that the young people we surveyed think of "neighbors" as older residents who are more willing to cooperate with police. The full set of results are presented in figure 32.

Figure 32. Responses to survey questions measuring the likelihood of reporting a crime affecting someone other than the respondent



The fifth question, with multiple parts, is designed to measure the likelihood that the young people we studied would report crimes and cooperate with law enforcement if they were the victim of a violent crime, such as an assault or robbery. Again, the likelihood of reporting is low, although not as low as in the previous set of findings: only 41 percent of respondents would report the crime to the police, and even fewer indicated they would be likely to aid a police investigation, talk to the District Attorney or testify in court. These findings are presented in figure 33.

Figure 33. Responses to survey questions measuring cooperation with law enforcement in which the respondent is the victim of a violent crime



Gender differences. Previous research shows significant differences in crime reporting by gender, with female victims more likely to report crimes than their male counterparts.⁷⁵ We found statistically significant differences between the males and females surveyed in terms of their likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement. For all questions that pertain to the respondents' own behavior, as opposed to what they assume their neighbors might do in the same situation, females were much more likely than males to report crimes they knew about or had experienced and also to participate in later stages of a criminal case. The most striking difference pertains to the likelihood of reporting a violent crime in which the respondent is the victim. Here, the proportion of females who said they'd be likely to report a crime is almost double the proportion of males (63 percent versus 32 percent). These findings are presented in figures 34 and 35.

⁷⁵ Timothy Hart and Callie Rennison, *Reporting Crimes to the Police, 1992-2000* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003; prepared under grant number 195710).

Figure 34. Likelihood to report a crime against someone else, differences between females and males surveyed

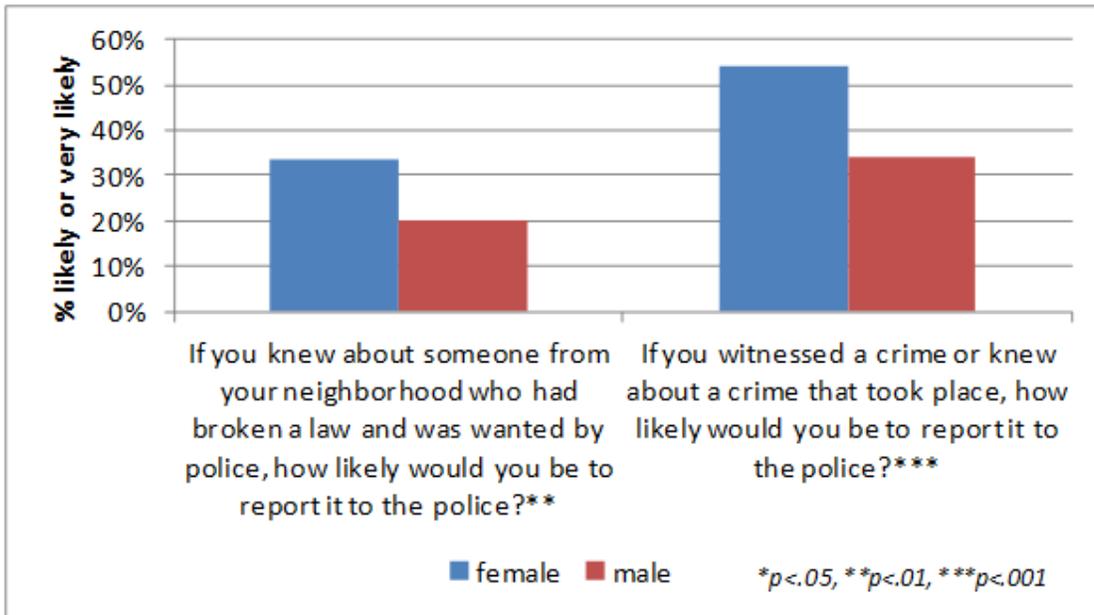
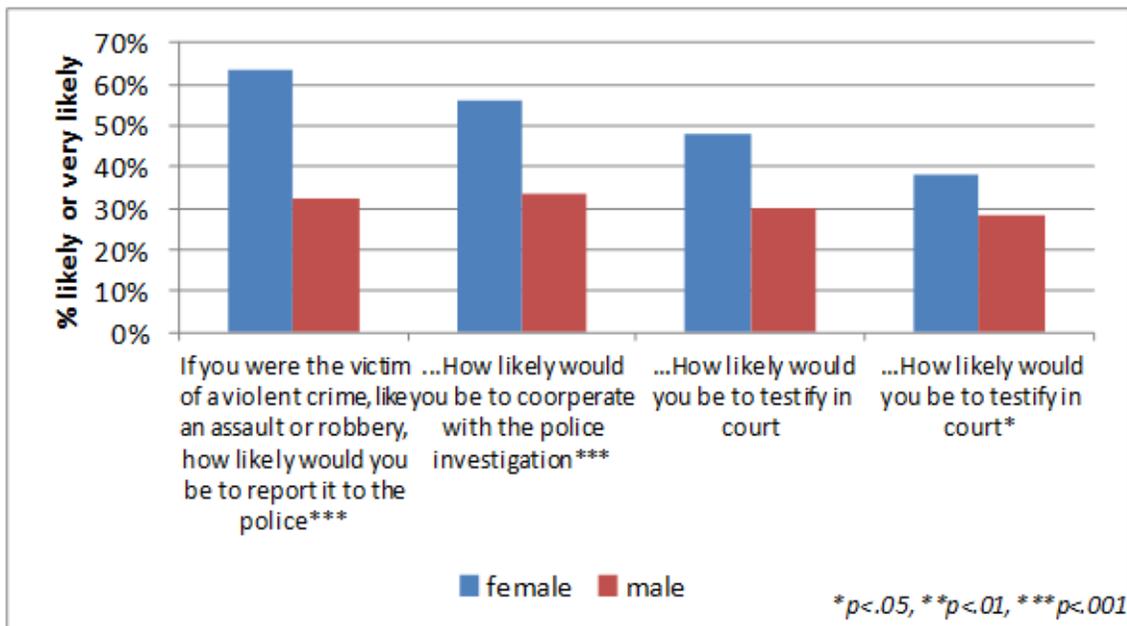


Figure 35. Likelihood to report a violent crime against yourself and cooperate further with law enforcement, differences between females and males surveyed



Our interviews with young people and their parents/caregivers provided an opportunity to explore this issue somewhat differently than we did in the survey. In every interview, we posed the following question:

“In what circumstances do you see yourself calling the police?”

What we heard from this group of 13- to 21-year-olds and their parents/caregivers suggests that residents of high-crime neighborhoods are most likely to contact law enforcement in an emergency situation, especially if they are personally threatened. At the same time, their answers suggest that the vast majority of youth (74 percent, n=31) and parents/caregivers (79 percent, n=27) have some general willingness to work with law enforcement. On the other hand and equally notable, 12 percent of youth and parents/caregivers combined (n=9, of 76) said they would not call the police under any circumstances, and 11 percent (n=8, of 76) of people interviewed did not answer this question. Some people told us that they didn’t trust the police or felt the police are ineffective. For example, a 19-year-old black male living in Bedford-Stuyvesant said, “I don’t know, honestly I feel that if I call the police for a crime, they’ll either come too late or they won’t do what they’re there to do.”

When we asked if they thought people in their neighborhood would be likely to cooperate with police, 36 percent (n=27, of 76) said yes, there is some willingness to help the police, but a larger 43 percent (n=33, of 76) said no. Eleven percent didn’t express an opinion on this subject. We also heard from many people, young and older, that residents are afraid of retaliation and being viewed as a snitch and that this is one reason why many people refuse to cooperate with the police.

Since we did not ask specifically about reporting crimes, it’s not possible to compare these responses to our overall survey findings.

Relationship between feeling safe and likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement. Feeling safe in the community seems to matter to crime reporting.⁷⁶ As a group, the young people we surveyed who feel safe in the neighborhood—and who are also less likely to have been victims in the past—indicated that they would be unlikely to report a crime to the police. On the other hand, respondents who feel less safe in the community—and are also more likely to have been victimized in the past—indicated that they would be likely to report a crime that they knew about or experienced and also to cooperate with all phases of a criminal case.

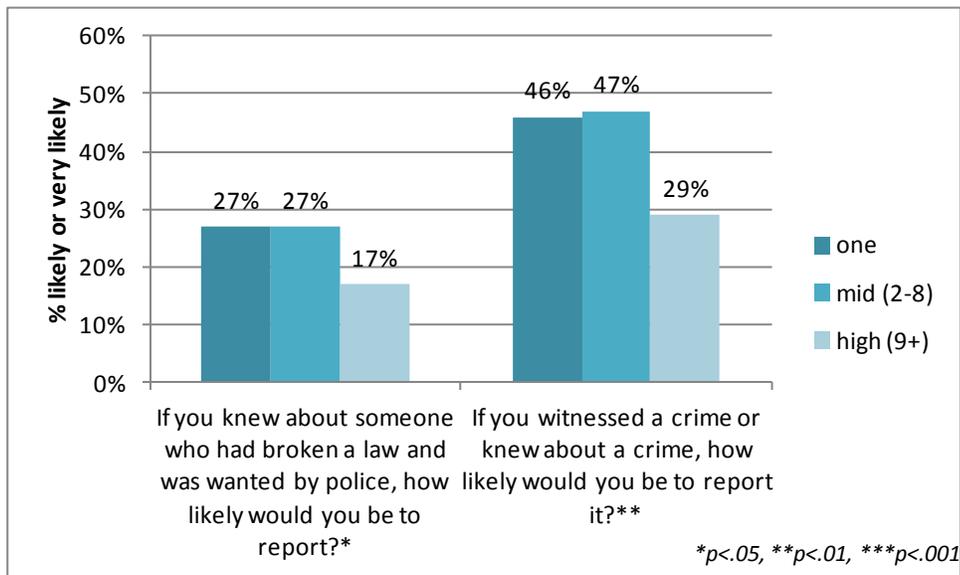
Notwithstanding these findings, our interviews suggest a more complex dynamic at play. As mentioned above, the young adults interviewed expressed concern about coming across as a snitch—something taken very seriously in these communities—if they were to report a crime. In fact, 31 percent of youth interviewed (n=13) reported that their neighbors wouldn’t cooperate with the police for fear of being seen as a snitch. As one 15-year-old black male living in East Harlem said, “[O]ur generation, they consider that snitching...they don’t want to tell on somebody, they may find out later and come to you.” Older residents experience a similar reluctance. A 51-year-old Honduran mother living in East Harlem expressed the catch-22 nature of “getting involved”:

⁷⁶ For this analysis, raw scores on measures of likelihood of reporting were correlated with raw scores on measures of safety. Significant relationships are reported when the two-tailed Pearson’s correlation coefficient is significant at least to the .05 level.

Other neighbors don't like when you get involved. It's simple, I see those kids when they smoking, if I call the police, I'm gonna get in trouble. They might wait for me in the elevator and do something. I don't know. Sometimes you want to help, but then you become prisoner too. If you see something and you tell the police they'll arrest you for that. Don't get involved.

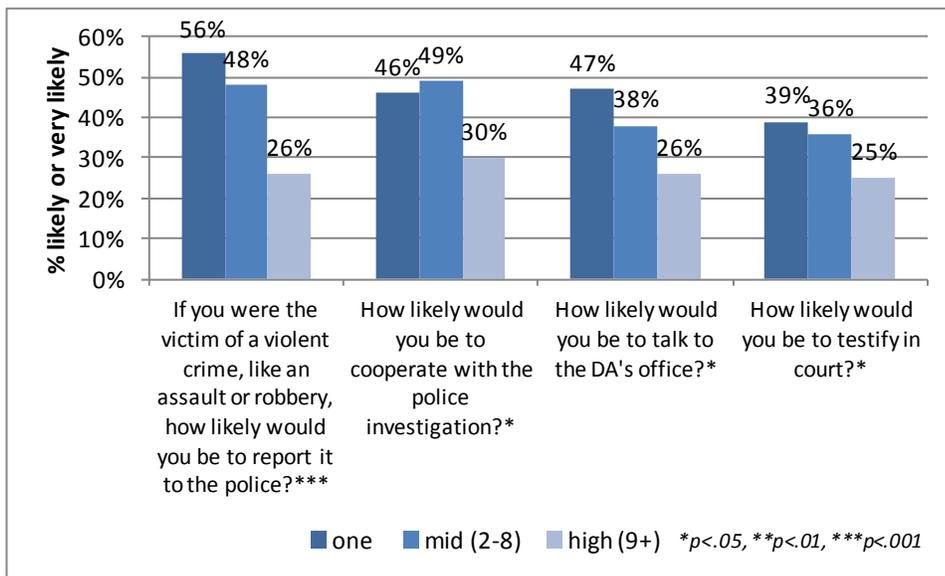
Relationship between frequency of stops and likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement. Young people who have been stopped numerous times by police may grow to resent law enforcement and, therefore, be less likely to contact and assist law enforcement in ways that are necessary for apprehending criminals and enhancing public safety. To find out if this is true, we examined the survey data for any relationship between items measuring likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement and the frequency with which young people in our study have been stopped over their lifetime.⁷⁷ While there's no meaningful difference between young people who have been stopped just once and those who've been stopped two to eight times, there is a large and statistically significant difference between respondents in these low frequencies groups and those who report having been stopped nine or more times. Specifically, only 17 percent of this high frequency group would report a known criminal to the police, and only 29 percent would report a crime that they witnessed or knew about. Similarly, those in the high frequency group are significantly less likely to report a violent crime that they experienced and to cooperate with the police, talk to the District Attorney's office, and testify in court. These findings are presented in figures 36 and 37.

Figure 36. Likelihood of reporting a crime in which you were not the victim, by lifetime stops



⁷⁷ We focus on lifetime stops, as opposed to stops in the past year, since we suspect that any impact on likelihood of collaborating with law enforcement would be more sensitive to the cumulative effect of lifetime stop-and-frisk experiences, rather than just the number of stops in the past year.

Figure 37. Likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement by frequency of stops, lifetime



It's important to keep in mind that, regardless of these differences, willingness to report crime and cooperate with law enforcement is low across the board. At the highest levels, no more than one out of 2 people we surveyed would report a crime to the police, and at the lowest levels, only one in four would report a known criminal to the police. These findings are also low in comparison to findings from other research studies. A study of college students found that on a scale of 1 through 5, where 1 equals "certainly would *not* report" and 5 equals "certainly would report" a crime, the average likelihood of reporting was equal to 4. A comparable average composite score for our survey sample is 2.7, where 2 equals not likely to report and 3 equals neither unlikely nor likely to report.^{78 79} This study provides an interesting comparison group: a mostly white (57 percent) sample of students who were an average of 21 years old and attending the University of Nevada in Las Vegas.

These findings, in particular, suggest that many of the young people we surveyed are not likely to engage with law enforcement, even in situations where they need help. Despite the fact that they see police almost every day in their neighborhoods, they are unlikely to report crimes, including a crime against themselves, or cooperate with law enforcement to hold criminals accountable. Based on their high rates of victimization and their high likelihood of repeat victimization, as shown by previous research, these are exactly the individuals that police need to engage to improve community safety overall.

Our interviews reveal some interest and willingness to work with the police on public safety issues, which is too often trumped by disappointment and concern with the way that police interact with neighborhood residents who are not committing crimes. For example, a black 64-year-old caregiver in East Harlem told us:

⁷⁸ Composite score was calculated based on an average of each respondent's likelihood to report a crime that they had witnessed but weren't a victim of, and likelihood of reporting a violent victimization to the police.

⁷⁹ Timothy Hart and Violet Colavito, "College Student Victims and Reporting Crimes to the Police: The Effects of Collective Efficacy," *Western Criminology Review* 12, no. 3 (2011): 1-19.

I think people in the neighborhood are willing to work with the police. If the police approached them in a civil manner, they'd be more willing to work with the police. Not that they'd volunteer, but they'd work with them.

This view was echoed by a 45-year-old Puerto Rican mother living in the South Bronx who claimed:

Well, if they had a better interaction with the community I would say that I'd feel they're keeping the community safe. But I see them as another group of gangs, running the streets. If their [police-community] relationship was positive I'd say we were safer, but because I know the interaction is not positive, it's—I see it as also dangerous.

Multivariate Analysis of Likelihood of Crime Reporting

We ran a logistic regression analysis to examine whether demographic characteristics, prior victimization, frequency of past stops, and/or previous experiences with the justice system—alone or in combination—predict whether the young people we surveyed are likely, or unlikely, to report serious crime. We limited our analysis to looking only at their professed likelihood of reporting a violent crime that they personally experienced. Table 10 presents the results of our analyses.

Demographics do, in fact, explain much of the measurable variation in likelihood of reporting: Males are 60 percent *less* likely than females to report a violent victimization to the police, and for each increasing year in age from 18 to 25, a respondent is 12 percent more likely to report a crime (for example, a 20-year-old is 24 percent more likely to report than an 18-year-old). A history of violent victimization matters as well, and has a larger effect than gender or age: respondents who indicated they've experienced violence in the past victimization were almost twice as likely to say they would report a violent crime against them in the future. This effect remains in force even after controlling for demographic factors.

Interestingly, only stops that occurred in the past year predict likelihood of reporting, which negates the theory that the inclination to report a crime is influenced by a person's lifetime experience of stop and frisk encounters with police. In terms of stops that occurred over the past year, our analysis shows that *for each additional stop*, respondents are *eight percent less likely* to report a future violent crime against them to the police, after accounting for any differences in reporting explained by demographics and prior victimizations.

Table 10. Results from logistic regression analysis predicting the likelihood of reporting a violent crime to the police when the respondent is the victim

| | 1. demographics | | 2. victim | | 3. stops | | 4. prior arrests | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-----------|-------|----------|-------|------------------|-------|
| | exp (B) | sig. | exp (B) | sig. | exp (B) | sig. | exp (B) | sig. |
| male | 0.219 | 0.000 | 0.220 | 0.000 | 0.362 | 0.001 | 0.380 | 0.002 |
| black and/or hispanic | 0.449 | 0.046 | 0.461 | 0.056 | 0.458 | 0.063 | 0.472 | 0.078 |
| age | 1.102 | 0.076 | 1.093 | 0.109 | 1.111 | 0.065 | 1.121 | 0.048 |
| US citizen | 0.670 | 0.621 | 0.566 | 0.494 | 0.782 | 0.768 | 0.865 | 0.864 |
| ever a victim | | | 1.867 | 0.015 | 1.906 | 0.015 | 1.925 | 0.014 |
| past year stops | | | | | 0.912 | 0.001 | 0.919 | 0.002 |
| additional stops | | | | | 1.023 | 0.325 | 1.021 | 0.373 |
| prior juvenile or adult arrests | | | | | | | 0.801 | 0.441 |
| last stop led to an arrest | | | | | | | 0.581 | 0.158 |
| (constant) | | | | | | | 0.458 | 0.601 |

Changing the Dynamic through Engagement

Looking across our many interviews with young people and their parents/caregivers, as well as our neighborhood focus groups, a common theme emerges: that the police need to find meaningful ways to engage with the community. In the view of many people, this is the only way to repair the damage of a decade of the aggressive practice of stop and frisk and an even longer history of strained police-community relations. Two black men in the Bedford-Stuyesant focus group, one who works with a local organization combating hunger and another who works with communities to create social change through the arts summed up the status quo:

Participant one: “It’s energy, it’s a tension. You operate on two premises—I am glad they’re here, but I also hate they’re here. I need them and I can’t stand them.”

Participant two (immediately following): “...and I know they [the police] can’t stand me either.”

When asked to provide examples of ways the police could work more effectively with communities to enhance public safety, a 45-year-old Puerto Rican mother from the South Bronx said, “I would be a cop that people would feel safe talking to, whether it’s a negative or positive. Someone who’s here to bring good, not just to enforce too much of their laws.” During the focus group in East New York, someone who works for a local community organization that does youth outreach and organizing said, “Trust starts with respect, and young people don’t feel respected...” This sentiment was echoed almost exactly by a 21-year-old black and Hispanic young man we interviewed in East New York, who when asked how police could better patrol his community, said, “...treat [us] with respect and don’t treat the kids like criminals. It all boils down to the level of respect. If they respect [us] as [a] citizen that has rights and not a criminal or potential criminal.”

One focus group participant from Bedford-Stuyvesant, who organizes tenants’ associations, spoke about the potential payoff of constructive engagements with police and also about the deeply rooted skepticism, or simple disinterest, among young residents:

The buildings I’ve worked in where there’s been drastic improvements, tenants have attributed those improvements to relationships with the police, particularly the community affairs unit. I have a lot of tenants that go to the precinct meetings and bring up tenant issues. That’s where the relationship is positive, but it ends there. When young people go out into their communities they are being stopped and frisked. When I run these tenant meetings, I asked youth about how we can improve police-youth interactions and change the dynamics of power. The youth said “why would I do that?”

Another focus group participant, who works at a social services agency in East Harlem, emphasized that officers patrolling the street need to engage with the community; that it can’t be a role for community affairs officers only:

There needs to be more involvement of the cops in the community. They need to meet with the parents and the community to let them know what is going on and be more involved. It needs to

be more of the officers not the community affairs people because they are not the ones doing the stops.

Some focus group and interview participants went so far as to suggest that police should volunteer at local organizations or community centers in the neighborhoods they patrol. Participants acknowledged that this is currently done by some officers, but not as part of a general police strategy. One focus group participant, a resident of Bedford-Stuyvesant who works for a local organization that combats hunger, suggested mandatory community service for police officers: "...as a way of showing your commitment to work there, to show that you're interested in building a relationship with [residents], to deal with this distrust. I'm not saying you're snitching, but you've built a relationship where there's no fear." In his view, the practice of community-service would result in more effective and targeted policing, because police would become more informed about and sensitive to the neighborhood and its residents. Putting himself in the role of an officer he said, "I don't even have to stop and frisk. I know people."

We heard from some young people as well about the need to engage with the community, both to build trust and for law enforcement to become more effective. According to an 18-year-old black male from the South Bronx: "I guess, like, if you really want to protect you need to become acquainted with the people in the neighborhood. You can't just patrol; you actually need to speak to people. You could easily figure out what's going on in the community, if you speak to people."

At the same time, some people recognized the dangers of asking for more police presence, with one participant of the Jamaica, Queens, focus group, a member of the local precinct community council, stating, "We have to be careful what we ask for as adults. We want to see more community policing, but once they get into our buildings or neighborhoods, there's no stopping what they're going to do." Another participant at the same focus group, who works for an organization that provides job training and resources to young men in the community, mentioned the challenges that even well-intentioned officers face: "[It is] hard to be a good officer in a broken system, the conversation is critical around individual officers, which ones are good and bad. But ultimately the conversation is about systems."

While the NYPD declined to participate in a focus group as part of our study, the Youth Justice Board, a program run by the Center for Court Innovation where young people study and propose solutions to public safety problems, convened a round-table conversation of young people and retired police officers, at around the same time as our focus groups took place. During this informative conversation, one retired officer offered this useful insight, "You need to get people to understand the police, and the police need to understand young people better."⁸⁰

Summary Discussion

This chapter presents several sets of findings, the most compelling of which suggest a seriously problematic relationship between the police and young people in communities where violent crime and also stop and frisk are most prevalent.

⁸⁰ Bob Louittit, *Talking it through: A police-teen dialogue*, interview by Center for Court Innovation.

Half of the young people we surveyed reported some past victimization, including 39 percent who reported experiencing violence once and 24 percent who reported being the victim of violence on more than one occasion. Research suggests that their history places them at significant risk of subsequent violent victimization. Moreover, elevated levels of crime in these five neighborhoods, compared to the city overall, means that all of the young people we surveyed are statistically at greater risk of being the victims of crime.

Although the majority of young people we surveyed report feeling safe in their neighborhood—and some of the young men we interviewed said they can “handle” potentially dangerous situations—a closer look reveals that a large proportion do not feel as safe as they might initially suggest. Specifically, close to half (43 percent) would feel unsafe if a stranger approached them at night to ask for directions, and more than half (58 percent) worried that they or someone in their household will be the victim of crime in the near future.

Despite their history of victimization and current fears, only 41 percent of them would contact the police if they themselves were the victim of a violent crime—and many fewer, 24 percent or only one in four, would report a known criminal to the police. Their likelihood of reporting crimes is much lower than rates documented in other studies. And while willingness to cooperate with law enforcement is low across the entire sample of young people we surveyed, those who have been stopped more often in the past are even less likely to cooperate with law enforcement.

Looking only at reported stops over the past year, we found that with every additional stop, a young person is eight percent less likely to report a violent crime in which they are the victim. For example, someone who has experienced seven stops in the past year—the average number of stops for the sample overall—is roughly 48 percent less likely to report a violent victimization to police than someone who was stopped only once, after controlling for the influence of race, gender, age, previous victimization, and prior arrests. This finding, more than any other, suggests that repeated exposure to stop and frisk could lead young people to avoid law enforcement whenever possible, leaving themselves at risk and also seriously hampering the ability of police to effectively protect all residents in high-crime neighborhoods. This finding is supported by other research which found that, in areas with high levels of crime and disorder, intense policing may bring about the opposite of the intended effect unless coupled with open communication and positive interactions with residents.

Our research also suggests opportunities for police to engage in meaningful ways with the communities they serve. Many people expressed at least some willingness to work with law enforcement to improve the health and safety of their communities. Nobody said that they wanted the police to leave their communities completely, and many people interviewed identified the role of police as being “to serve and protect.” But they also expressed disappointment, frustration, concern, and even anger over what they view as an inappropriately wide net cast in their communities, one that especially targets young men of color.

Chapter 4. Sense of Self

In the two previous chapters of this report, we explore how young people perceive the police, whether or not they feel safe where they live, and whether or not they are likely to turn to law enforcement for help or to report crimes they know about. Equally important is to explore how they see themselves and their future, especially since they are engaging with law enforcement as criminal suspects at a time of life when they are still developing physically, emotionally, and mentally—when their own sense of who they are is in flux.

The experience of being stopped by police—especially repeatedly and if these encounters are perceived to be unfair—could be associated with undesirable developmental consequences: Young people might start to view themselves as delinquent, even if their behavior isn't actually delinquent, internalizing a label they feel is imposed on them by police.⁸¹ They might begin to view parents, teachers, and other adults in positions of authority from a cynical perspective, souring these relationships and possibly amplifying other forms of “acting out.”⁸² They might even adopt a defiant attitude toward their peers as well as adults,⁸³ or they could maintain only a few narrowly defined social ties or even become isolated.⁸⁴

With these concerns in mind, we set out to explore and measure their engagement in school, work, and neighborhood life; their support networks; their racial identity, self-confidence, and autonomy as key facets of their evolving sense of self; and their optimism about the future. As a complement to this information, we also asked their parents/caregivers to comment on these aspects of their children's lives. In the remainder of this chapter, we present our findings, including whether a young person's experience as a suspect in stop and frisk encounters seems to be related in any way to his or her identity and outlook on the future.

Engagement in Neighborhood Life

Few, if any, of the young people we studied appeared to be socially isolated. Quite the opposite: They are in school and/or working, engaged in the life of the neighborhood, and seem to have strong support networks—despite, in many cases, living in neighborhoods marked by concentrated disadvantage and fragile families.

More than half (61 percent) of the 18- to 25-year-olds we surveyed reported being enrolled in high school, GED classes, college, or some other educational or training program, and school enrollment was even higher (71 percent) among the 13- to 21-year-olds we interviewed. Somewhat concerning, only about half of the 18- to 25-year-olds we surveyed reported part-time (28 percent) or

⁸¹ Howard Becker, *Outsiders*, (New York: Free Press, 1963); Glen Loury, *The anatomy of racial inequality*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

⁸² John Jackson, *Harlemworld*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003); Patrick Carr, Laura Napolitano, and Jessica Keating, “We never call the cops and here is why: A qualitative examination of legal cynicism in three Philadelphia neighborhoods,” *Criminology* 45 (2007):445-480.

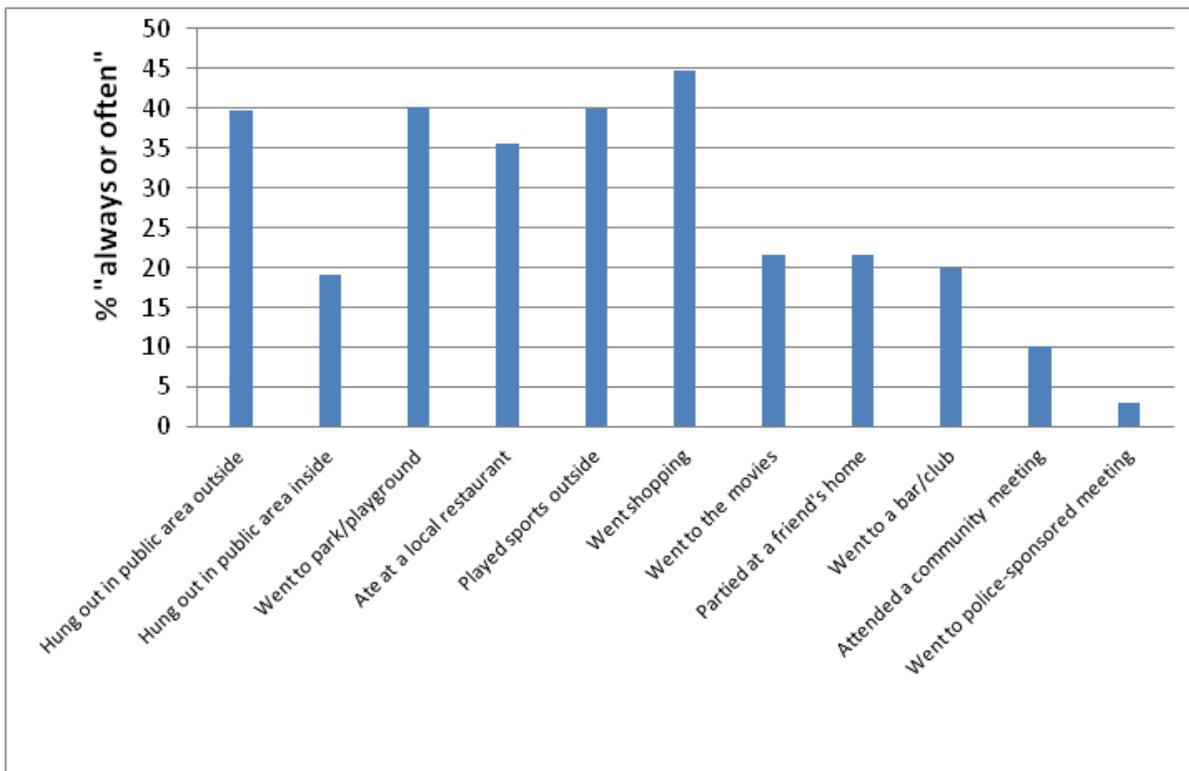
⁸³ Elijah Anderson, *Code of the street*, (New York: Norton, 1999); Dennis Rosenbaum, Amie Schuck, Sandra Costello and Marianne King, “Attitudes toward the Police. The effects of direct and vicarious experiences,” *Police Quarterly* 8, (2005): 343-365.

⁸⁴ Michelle Fine, Nick Freudenberg, Yasser Payne, Tiffany Perkins, Kersha Smith and Katya Wanzer, “Anything can happen with police around: Urban youth evaluate strategies of surveillance in public places,” *Journal of Social Issues* 59, no. 1 (2003):141-158; Tom Tyler and Yuen Huo, *Trust in the Law: Encouraging public cooperation with the Police and Courts*, (New York: Russell-Sage, 2002); Tom Tyler and Jeffrey Fagan, “Legitimacy And Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?” *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 6, (2008): 231-275.

full-time (15 percent) paid employment, reflecting elevated rates of unemployment overall in these neighborhoods and the struggle that young people, especially young men of color, have in finding paid work in the mainstream economy.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a heavy police presence, perhaps coupled with fear of crime, could lead residents to limit their activities in the neighborhood, virtually abandon public spaces, and stay at home. This is not the trend among the young people in our study. Significant numbers of survey respondents reported shopping in the neighborhood, making use of neighborhood parks and playgrounds, and “hanging out” in public spaces. Specifically, we asked respondents how often in the past month they engaged in a number of different activities in their own neighborhood and to choose among the following responses: always, often, sometimes, rarely, or never. The proportion who responded always or often is presented in figure 38.

Figure 38. Responses to the survey question, “In the past month, how often did you do any of the following activities *in your neighborhood?*”



We also asked survey respondents if they participate in a number of different organizations or activities, including church congregations, youth groups, block associations, and sports teams. Roughly 80 percent of respondents reported belonging to at least one neighborhood group or participating in at least one organized activity, and 30 percent reported participation in two or more. The most common ties are to sports and other leisure-related activities (indicated by 34 percent of respondents), followed by religious groups (31 percent) and youth groups (18 percent). More conventional forms of civic engagement are much less common, such as belonging to a racial, ethnic or cultural affiliation

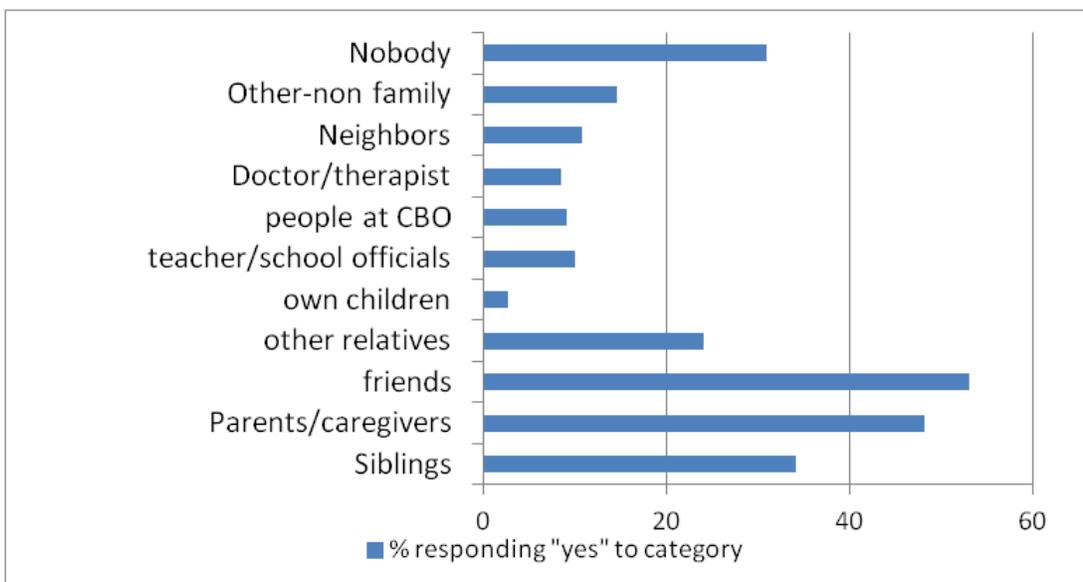
group (indicated by four percent of respondents), block association (12 percent), tenant association (three percent), community council (two percent), or political group (two percent).

Support Networks

“When you need guidance on something that’s troubling to you, who do you go to?” We included this question in the survey as a way to measure the scope and strength of a young person’s support network. Respondents were instructed to check any of the 11 possible options that apply to them. Their responses, which are presented in figure 39, show that the young people we surveyed rely mainly on friends and/or family for help in times of trouble, as opposed to professionals, such as teachers, therapists, or staff of community-based organizations. Females, however, were more likely than males to select “therapist.”

We posed a similar question during our interviews and also heard from many people that they rely mainly on friends and family. A 15-year-old black and Hispanic male living in East New York told us he relies on his uncle and his cousins: “My uncle, because he’s not that much older than me so he’s been through it. He can still relate and give me advice on how to do things differently. My cousins, we’re all the same age.” Further, we learned during our interviews that a significant proportion of youth (44 percent) provide support to family and friends as well as receive it. For example, a 15-year-old black male living in East Harlem talked about assisting a classmate in school: “Well, I know this student and he’s messing up and stuff like that so I’m helping, and I say like you gotta get your stuff together. ... He doesn’t do his work ... like he just stares off. And I say you gotta pay attention and stuff like that. So I’ll show him how to do stuff and stuff like that.”

Figure 39. Responses to the survey question, “When you need guidance on something that’s troubling to you, who do you go to?”



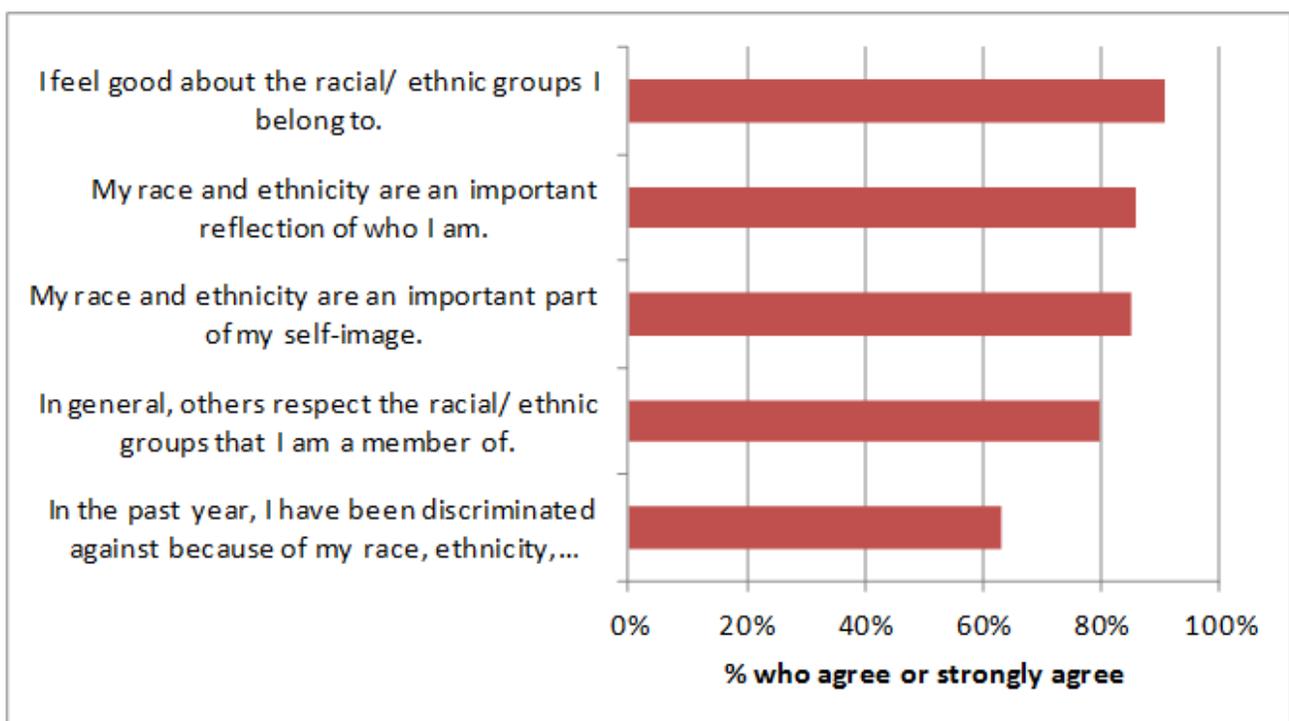
Also notable, about a third of survey respondents (31 percent, n=143) checked “nobody,” indicating that they rely on themselves, at least sometimes, to navigate difficult situations. Among this group, slightly more than half of them (59 percent, n=84) selected “nobody” as their sole response to this question, perhaps reflecting a support network that is limited scope and not very strong or reliable. On the other hand, 41 percent (n=59) selected “nobody” among other responses, perhaps as a signal of their self-confidence and growing autonomy. We explore this issue in the following section.

Sense of Self and Optimism about Future

Practically all of the young people we surveyed expressed a positive view of themselves and are optimistic about the future. These findings are evident in their widespread agreement with a number of statements about themselves. Taken collectively, these findings suggest resilience in the face of challenge and adversity—in particular, the challenge of navigating high-crime, disadvantaged neighborhoods that are intensively patrolled by police.

Racial/ethnic identity. To begin with, the young people we surveyed, who are mainly black (69 percent) and Latino/Hispanic (19 percent), feel that race is a strong and positive part of their identity. Fully 91 percent (n=413) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “*I feel good about the racial/ethnic groups I belong to.*” And levels of agreement with each of the other three positive statements presented in figure 40 below are 80 percent or greater. This sense of pride prevails, despite the fact that 63 percent (n=293) of respondents indicated they were discriminated against in the past year because of their race or ethnicity, skin color, the language they speak, or their country of origin.

Figure 40. Proportion of survey respondents who agree/strongly agree with statements related to their racial/ethnic identity



Self-worth and self-reliance. The young people we surveyed believe that people who know them well view them in a positive light. For each of the following statements, roughly nine out of ten respondents agreed or strongly agreed:

“People who know me think I am good at what I do.”

“People who know me trust and respect me.”

“People in my family have confidence in me.”

They also expressed considerable self-confidence and self-reliance. Again, for each of the following statements roughly nine out of ten respondents agreed or strongly agreed:

“I can get myself going when things are going really badly.”

“I can solve my own problems.”

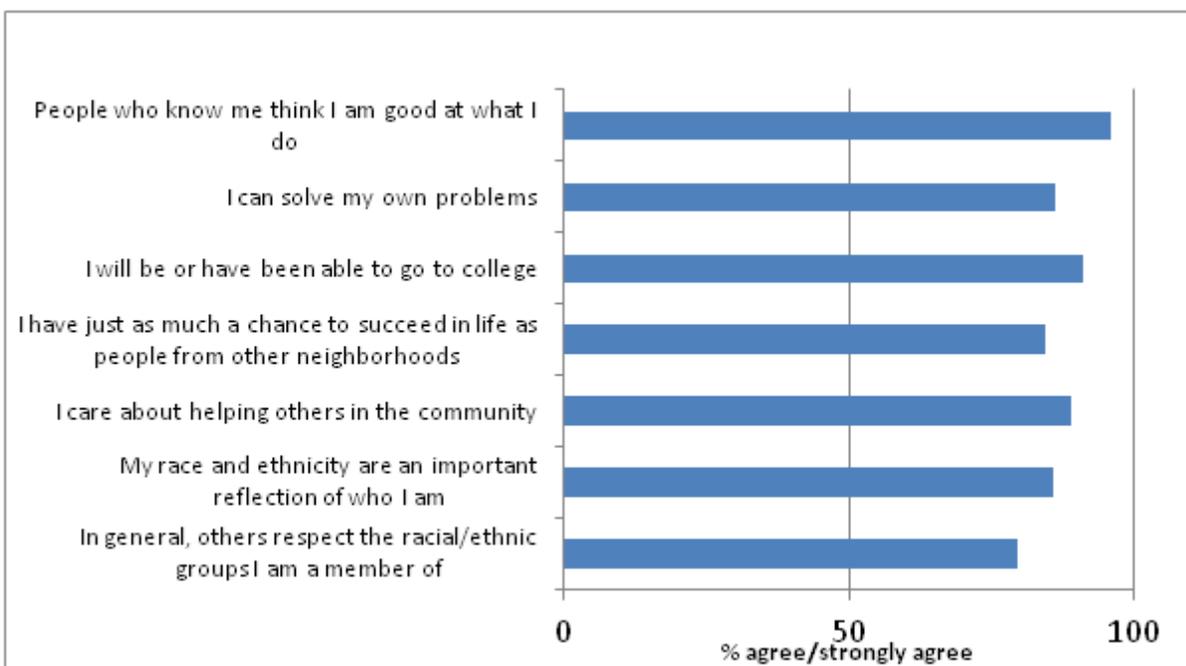
Interestingly, these young people are not only confident in themselves, fully 89 percent care about helping others in their community. All of these findings are illustrated in figure 41.

Optimism about the future. Even on items measuring their likelihood to succeed, also presented in figure 41, there is widespread agreement. For each of the following statements, at least eight out of ten respondents agreed or strongly agreed:

“I will be or have been able to go to college.”

“I have just as much chance to succeed in life as people from other neighborhoods.”

Figure 41. Proportion of survey respondents who agree/disagree with statements about autonomy and optimism



Our interviews allowed us to explore in some detail how young people in our study sites see their future. In general, they expected to advance in their education and get a good-paying job, although they didn't necessarily have fixed goals or clear pathways for achieving their goals—not surprising, given their young age. A fourteen-year-old Hispanic girl living in East Harlem, for example, said that she wanted to go to college, “to be a lawyer, or a hair stylist.” The desire for stability, economic and otherwise, was a common thread linking several of interviews. An 18-year-old black and Hispanic young man living in Bedford-Stuyvesant remarked, “I need a future, I need a career. I am trying to get a career so I can start a family and all of that. I want to get away from here...I could do construction, I like construction. I want to be the union so I could get the money. I wouldn't mind being a business man though—just typing stuff up.”

Like him, several young people spoke explicitly about wanting to leave the neighborhood or even move to another city to have a better life. For example, an 18-year-old Latino we interviewed in East Harlem said, “[I] got my one-track mind, I want to get somewhere, I don't want to live in the projects anymore. Just want to leave New York City.” In a few cases the desire to leave the neighborhood was directly linked to past experiences with police. An 18-year-old in Bedford-Stuyvesant said, “It makes me think like, I want to get out of here and do something useful so they can't say I was one of those kids. If they see me in the future and don't recognize me, I want to shake their hands, be like ‘you used to lock me up.’” On the other hand, a 20-year-old black and Hispanic young woman in East Harlem expected to return to the community after college to help others: “I want to go to college to help kids. Teen youth. Tell them about what I am going through, teaching them.”

The parents/caregivers we interviewed expressed similar aspirations for their children in relation to education, wanting them to be able to assume the responsibilities of adulthood, and to thrive. For example, a 61-year-old black grandmother living in Bedford-Stuyvesant said, “I want them to prosper and go out and have a successful life. I have instilled in my grandson that education is the key. Grab it, it won't be given to you on a silver platter. ...get the scholarships, you have the grades you need that for the opportunities.”

Equally important, and not at all surprising, several people talked about just wanting their children to be happy and healthy. A young black mother in Bedford-Stuyvesant said, for example, “Everyone says they want their kids to go to college. I just want them to do well and be successful... I just want them to be happy.” Similarly, a much older Puerto Rican mother in East Harlem said, “I want him to succeed in life. To become whatever in his heart that he wants to be. To be successful in life and to never get hurt.”

Relationships between Self-Perceptions and Frequency of Past Stops

We took a streamlined approach to examining whether self-perceptions are related in any way to previous stop and frisk experiences. Using a principal components factor analysis, we discovered that several of the survey items measuring different aspects of self-perception are highly-correlated with one another, so we consolidated these 11 items into two distinct and reliable dimensions, which we're calling identity and optimism.

1. **Identity** ($\alpha=.82$) includes:

- I feel good about the racial/ethnic groups I belong to.
- My race and ethnicity are an important reflection of who I am.
- In general, others respect the racial/ethnic groups that I am a member of.
- I can solve my own problems.
- I care about helping other people in my community.

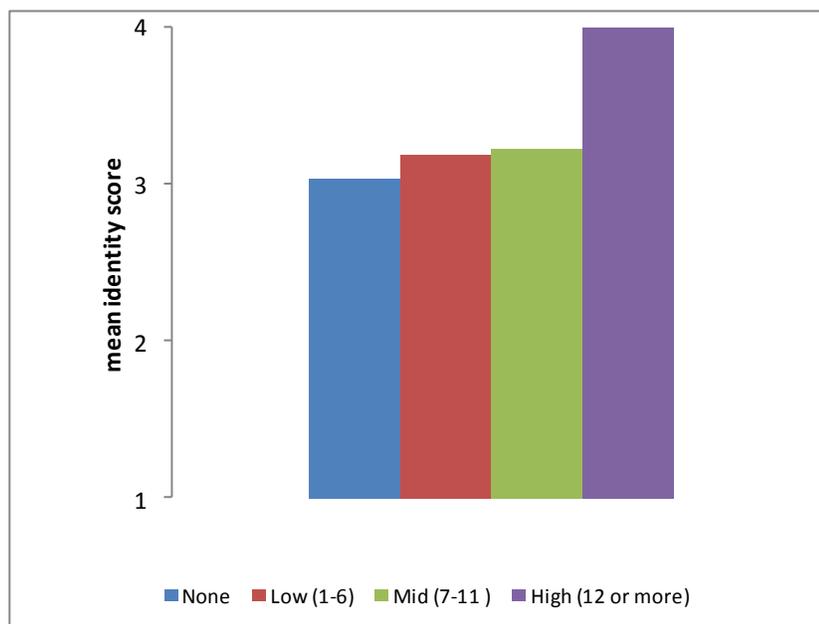
2. **Optimism** ($\alpha=.81$) includes:

- I have just as much chance to succeed in life as people from other neighborhoods.
- I will be or have been able to go to college.
- I can get myself to keep going when things are going really badly.
- People who know me trust and respect me.
- People in my family have confidence in me.
- People who know me think I am good at what I do.

We assigned every respondent a summary score for each dimension (where 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= agree, and 4=strongly agree), which we created by averaging their scores on each of the survey items that falls under that dimension. We then explored whether either of these two dimensions vary at all in relation to the reported number of stops in the past year, applying the four frequency groups that we've used in all our analyses of past-year stops: none (0), low (1-6), mid (7-11) and high (12 or more). We didn't find much difference but what we did find surprised us. The young people in our sample who reported more stops in the past year scored slightly higher on the identity dimension, meaning they expressed a stronger and more positive sense of their racial/ethnic identity and also more confidence in their own ability to solve problems. The correlation is rather weak but still statistically significant ($r=0.16^{**}$). This finding is illustrated in figure 42. We did not find any statistically significant relationship between past year stops and optimism.

It makes some intuitive sense that youth who are accustomed to being stopped by police, and who overwhelmingly believe they are stopped in part because of their race/ethnicity, would either shun that identity or strongly embrace it. Fortunately, the latter is the case. Similarly, navigating these encounters with police is likely to build a young person's confidence in being able to solve problems.

Figure 42. Relation between number of past year stops and perceived identity



In our follow-up interviews with young people, we were able to explore the relationship between having a positive sense of self and living in a highly patrolled neighborhood. Most pointedly, we asked each young person the following question: *“Do you think that police activity in your neighborhood has influenced the way you think about yourself?”*

Of the 23 youth who completed a follow-up interview and answered this question, approximately two-thirds (65 percent) reported that experiences with police had no effect on how they see themselves. The remaining third (35 percent) reported that police activity had affected them, but then talked largely about the frustration they felt. Only two youth reported that their encounters with police changed the way that they perceived themselves. Yet, during both the initial and follow-up interviews we heard many comments that suggest young people do at least think about stop and frisk in terms of what it might imply about who they are. For example, a 21-year-old black and Hispanic male living in East New York said, “Growing up if you are used to having someone constantly seeing you as a criminal, maybe this is what I am and maybe what I am supposed to be.” Such reactions are often tied to race: a 17-year-old Puerto Rican teenager living in East Harlem said, “I feel like ‘why are they choosing me?’ I’m just minding my own business. I’m not one of these kids that just be hanging outside. I’m going somewhere and doing things.” A 15-year-old Dominican girl in East Harlem said she felt “bullied” by police, an interesting word choice since bullies typically view their targets in a derogatory light.

In line with our survey findings, most of the young people we interviewed seem to feel very positive about themselves despite what they almost universally describe as unfair encounters with police. The real change, it seems, is in how they view the police—comments that echo the findings we presented in the second chapter of this report. When we asked an 18-year-old black male living in Bedford-Stuyvesant whether police encounters had changed his self-perceptions he replied, “About myself no, about them [the police] yes, it makes me realize they’re not fair. ...they just search us for no reason. They make us mad, and then when we’re mad, try to arrest us for disorderly conduct.” Another black male living Bedford-Stuyvesant, this one 19-years-old, summed it up as follows: “I already know how the police is, and how the system work.” A 16-year-old black and Hispanic boy living in East New York talked about channeling his frustration into something positive: “By seeing them do it, it makes me want to do something like (pauses) ... like start an organization or something. And changing it [the neighborhood] in my own way. Not the way they do it”.

The parents/caregivers we interviewed were more likely than young people themselves to believe that policing practices, and stop and frisk in particular, had changed how their children perceive themselves, with roughly a quarter (24 percent, n=8) of parents/caregivers expressing this view and talking specifically about negative changes or the risk of negative changes. For example, a 38-year-old black mother in East New York said, “[T]hey view themselves as being thugs and stuff, and whenever this happens, it’s like here they go again, they’re going to stop me, so they fall into that role.” A 61-year-old black grandfather from Bedford-Stuyvesant said, “They’ve never been knocked down by the police as much ... They never had problems before, ‘til we moved here. The way they frisk these young boys. They get soaked up in that too.” A 43-year-old black father in the South Bronx suggested that stops are more likely to have a negative effect on older children, changing how they see themselves: “My oldest son in the last four or five years has been stopped so he’s changed.”

On the other hand, close to a third of parents/caregivers (32 percent, n=11) said stop and frisk activity had no such effect on their children, often pointing to the resiliency of youth. For example, a 64-year-old black grandmother in East Harlem said, “No I think the boys know who they are and where they want to go. They won’t let episodes in their life impact where they’re going to go. They don’t let you rent space in their brain.” And inbetween are parents/caregivers who either don’t know if being stopped by the police had any impact on their child’s self-perception or didn’t talk explicitly about it. Many of these parents did, however, mention subtle changes in behavior that they believe occurred as a result of frequent police encounters. Some parents/caregivers said that their children appear to be afraid of spending time in areas that are patrolled more intensively, don’t hang around the neighborhood, and/or retreat to other parts of the city. For example, a 58-year-old Puerto Rican mother in East Harlem said, “He doesn’t stay around here too long...he goes downtown, with the bike. He’s met new friends and they always ride through the five boroughs.”

Summary Discussion

The present study is unusual in many regards, including the attempt to illuminate whether being stopped by police is related in any way to how a young person views himself or herself.

In no other aspect of this study are the findings so clear and universal. Nearly all of the young people we surveyed—roughly nine out of ten—feel very good about themselves: They view their racial/ethnic identity as an important and positive part of their identity. They are self-confident and believe that people who know them hold them in high regard. They are also self-reliant, believe they are capable of solving problems, and feel in charge of their destiny. And in terms of the future, they believe they can be as successful as anyone else. Also important, the vast majority of the young people we surveyed and interviewed seem to have a strong and reliable support network, composed primarily of family and friends, and are engaged in the social life of their communities. Despite being treated like a suspect by the police, often times when they believe they haven’t done anything wrong, the young people we studied have not internalized a deviant label.

These findings are significant, given that young people’s encounters with police—numerous for some of them—could have defined who they are and limited their experiences or even encouraged them to act delinquently. How they see the police has been affected, and for the worse, but not how they see themselves. In fact, there is some evidence that successfully navigating these stop and frisk encounters with police officers actually strengthens their resolve and encourages them to stay focused on who they really are and what they can achieve and become.

Chapter 5. Findings in Jackson Heights, Queens

In this brief chapter, we report findings from the surveys we conducted in Jackson Heights, Queens. As described in the methods section of this report, we chose to analyze the data from Jackson Heights separately from the other five research sites because the sample sizes are much smaller and because Jackson Heights differs from the other neighborhoods in important ways.

To begin with, crimes trends are different in Jackson Heights. There are fewer assaults, robberies, and shootings in compared to the other five neighborhoods we studied; however, crimes of vice—particularly prostitution and human trafficking—are significant concerns.⁸⁵ In other words, the heavy police presence in Jackson Heights stems from very different social problems and public safety concerns. In addition, Jackson Heights is home to a larger number of recent and undocumented immigrants who may be reluctant to participate in a study, possibly because they are uncomfortable disclosing personal information and opinions, in particular about the police.

While we conducted an average of 95 surveys in each of the other sites and no fewer than 84 in any site, in Jackson Heights we recruited only 34 people to complete the survey, despite deploying a team of researchers that reflected neighborhood demographics (native Spanish speakers born in Central or South America) to high-traffic spots in the neighborhood, partnering with a well-known community-based organization, and spending the maximum number days allotted in any one study site trying to recruit study participants.⁸⁶ The pool of survey respondents in Jackson Heights also has a greater representation of males and individuals of Hispanic origin compared to the other sites combined. These demographic differences are presented in Table 11.

The lower-than-anticipated sample size in Jackson Heights, coupled with the fact that most of the people we approached were reluctant to participate in the study, raises concerns about the possibility of selection bias in the composition of the final sample. In particular, we're concerned that we recruited and surveyed young people who have had less direct and indirect experience of the police, and as a result, the sample and findings don't accurately reflect the full range of experiences. While we consider our challenges with recruitment in Jackson Heights to be a limitation of this study, we also consider it an opportunity to build upon Vera's experience working with immigrant communities and develop new and innovative ways to conduct social science research in these neighborhoods.

Readers should keep these sampling differences and their potential consequences in mind when considering the following findings.

⁸⁵ Sarah Mashlin Nir, "Roosevelt Avenue, a Corridor of Vice," *The New York Times*, October 12, 2012.

⁸⁶ We completed only one interview (initial and follow-up) in Jackson Heights – too small a number on which to base any findings.

Table 11. Demographic profile of respondents

| | Jackson Heights | All other sites |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Sample size | 34 | 95 (mean) |
| Demographics | | |
| % male | 81% | 74% |
| % Hispanic | 54% | 32% |
| Age (mean) | 21 | 21 |

Frequency of Police Contact

When we analyzed the survey results, we found that among respondents in Jackson Heights, the average number of reported lifetime stops, stops in the past year, and days observing police activity in the past week were all substantially lower than the averages of the other five research sites combined. The ranges, especially the range in number of lifetime stops reported, was somewhat more narrow in Jackson Heights, with more responses clustering near the mean values. These findings are presented in Table 12.

Table 12. Reported Frequency of stops and observation of police activity

| | Jackson Heights | All other sites |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| Lifetime stops (mean, standard deviation) | 4.8 (5.1) | 8.0 (6.9) |
| Stops in the last year (mean, standard deviation) | 4.0 (6.9) | 6.9 (7.1) |
| Observed police activity in the neighborhood: Number of days out of the past 7 (mean) | 2.9 | 4.5 |

The nature of the stops reported is also different in Jackson Heights compared with the other five research sites. Officers were more likely to follow standard procedure and were less likely to frisk and search people; issue threats, use force and display a weapon; and make an arrest, issue a summons or recover illegal items. The specific findings are presented in table 13 below.

Table 13. Responses to the survey question, “Thinking about all of the times you were stopped, did the police ever do any of the following to you?” (Percent respondents answering “yes”)

| | Jackson Heights | All other sites |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Standard procedures</i> | | |
| Informed of reason for the stop | 42.4 | 28.8 |
| Asked for ID | 84.8 | 81.4 |
| <i>Frisk and search</i> | | |
| Frisked | 42.4 | 70.9 |
| Searched clothes/bag | 45.5 | 63.9 |
| Asked to empty pockets | 33.3 | 52.4 |
| <i>Escalation</i> | | |
| Issued threats | 24.2 | 44.7 |
| Used physical force | 21.2 | 45.5 |
| Displayed a weapon | 18.2 | 26.7 |
| <i>Outcomes</i> | | |
| Issued a summons | 30.3 | 50.2 |
| Arrested you | 30.3 | 45.1 |
| Found illegal items | 12.1 | 15.4 |

Perceptions of Police

When we examined responses to survey items measuring perceptions of police we also discovered marked differences between the pool of respondents in Jackson Heights and respondents in the other five sites combined. For example, in considering all of the times they have been stopped by police and whether those stops seemed justified and fair in their opinion, more than a third (38 percent) of respondents in Jackson Heights either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “*The police had a good reason to talk to me.*” In comparison, a mere 12 percent of respondents in the other sites combined agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. On the issue of potential bias, 45 percent of respondents in Jackson Heights agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “*I was treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation.*” while substantially fewer respondents (35 percent) in the other five sites combined indicated some level of agreement. It could be that the comparatively mild nature of the stops in Jackson Heights plays a role in these survey respondents being more likely, compared to people surveyed in the other neighborhoods, to feel that the stops they’ve experienced were justified and fair. However, even in Jackson Heights, fewer than one out of two respondents felt that police had “a good reason to talk to me” and that they were treated “the same as anyone else in a similar situation.”

When asked to think more generally about police in the neighborhood, as a group the young people we surveyed in Jackson Heights were more positive than respondents in the other five neighborhoods, in some cases strikingly so. For example, more than a third (37 percent) of respondents in Jackson Heights agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “*The police are honest.*” While only 15 percent of respondents in the other sites combined indicated agreement. Nearly half (48 percent) of respondents in Jackson Heights indicated that they would be comfortable asking police for help if in

trouble, compared to 40 percent of respondents in the other sites. Still, rates of trust and likelihood of seeking help were rather low.

These findings, presented in Table 14, are indicative of the general pattern of perceptions of police among respondents in Jackson Heights compared to the other five neighborhoods.

Table 14. Perceptions of Police: Percent respondents who agree or strongly agree with the statements

| | Jackson Heights | All other sites |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| Perception of the conduct of officers during all stops: | | |
| <i>“The police had a good reason to talk to me.”</i> | 38% | 12% |
| <i>“I was treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation.”</i> | 45% | 35% |
| General attitudes about police: | | |
| <i>“The police are honest.”</i> | 37% | 15% |
| <i>“If I were in trouble, I’d feel comfortable asking for help.”</i> | 48% | 40% |

Relationships between Frequency of Stops and Perceptions of the Police

Looking across sites, respondents in Jackson Heights reported less frequent contact with police and less negative views of both the stops they had experienced and police in general. However, and consistent with findings drawn from the other research sites, we find that the perceptions of the police—linked to stops as well as more general attitudes—tended to be less positive among those respondents who reported a higher number of stops, both over their lifetime and in the past year. For example, for individuals reporting 0-6 stops, the average level of agreement with the statement, *“The police had a good reason to talk to me”* was 2.35 (ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree) compared to 1.33 for individuals reporting 12 or more stops. Given the small number of respondents, however, we cannot verify these differences are statistically significant.

Neighborhood Life and Personal Safety

The findings also reveal some differences between Jackson Heights and the other five sites in terms of routine activities and community engagement. In particular, only 24 percent of the young people we surveyed in Jackson Heights answered “always” or “often” in response to the question, *“In the past month, how often have you hung out with friends in a public area outside? (street or courtyard)?”* compared with 40 percent of respondents in the other sites combined. This may, in part, explain why recruiting young people to take surveys proved so difficult in Jackson Heights. We found no differences, however, in the proportion of respondents who indicated that they participate in one or more local activities or organizations, suggesting that young people in Jackson Heights are not disengaged from their immediate social environment but simply connect with peers and others in a different way. These and other findings are presented in Table 15.

A history of violent victimization is even more common among the young people we surveyed in Jackson Heights compared with the other five sites combined (49 percent vs. 39 percent). However,

a smaller proportion of respondents in Jackson Heights compared with the other five sites believe they are “likely” or “very likely” to be a victim of crime in the coming year.

Table 15. Neighborhood life and personal safety

| | Jackson Heights | All other sites |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Neighborhood life</i> | | |
| % who report hanging out outside “always/often” | 24% | 40% |
| % who report participating in at least one local organization or activity | 83% | 83% |
| <i>Personal safety</i> | | |
| % who report past experience of violence | 49% | 39% |
| % who believe it is “likely” or “very likely” they will be a victim of crime in the coming year | 26% | 31% |

Cooperation with Law Enforcement

We also explore whether there is a unique pattern of responses linking the number of police stops (lifetime) to the degree of potential cooperation with law enforcement among Jackson Heights survey respondents. As noted in chapter four, findings from the other five research sites indicate that cooperation declines significantly in association with more frequent exposure to stop and frisk. This trend appears to be true as well among the people we surveyed in Jackson Heights. Individuals reporting a high number of stops in the past year and over their lifetime indicate that they would be less likely to report a violent crime that they experienced to the police and would be less likely to participate in any stage of the criminal investigation and prosecution when compared with respondents who report a lower-than-average number of stops.

Self-Perceptions

Compared with the other five sites, young people in Jackson Heights appear to be somewhat less confident in their ability to problem-solve on their own and less optimistic about their future. For example, proportionally fewer respondents in Jackson Heights (67 percent versus 85 percent) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “*I can solve my own problems.*” And although the disparity is less pronounced, fewer agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “*I have just as much chance to succeed in life as people from other neighborhoods*” (73 percent versus 82 percent). These and other findings are presented in table 16.

On the other hand, the young people we surveyed in Jackson Heights are even more likely than young people in the other five neighborhoods to feel good about their racial/ethnic identity, although the difference is slight: 85 percent of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement, “*My race and ethnicity are an important reflection of who I am.*” versus 83 percent for the rest of the sample. In addition, they are nearly as likely as young people in the other five neighborhoods to believe that they are held in high esteem by individuals who know them: eighty-nine percent of respondents in Jackson Heights agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “*People who know me think I am good at what I do,*” compared with 92 percent of respondents in the other sites combined. They are also likely to express solidarity with other members of their community by agreeing or

strongly agreeing with the statement, *“I care about helping other people in my community.”* Here too the difference between Jackson Heights and the other 5 sites is negligible (82 percent agreement compared with 86 percent agreement).

Table 16. Self-perceptions: Percent of respondents who agree/strongly agree with the statements

| | Jackson Heights | All other sites (5) |
|--|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>“I can solve my own problems.”</i> | 67% | 85% |
| <i>“I have just as much chance to succeed in life as people from other neighborhoods.”</i> | 73% | 82% |
| <i>“My race and ethnicity are an important reflection of who I am”</i> | 85% | 83% |
| <i>“People who know me think I am good at what I do.”</i> | 89% | 92% |
| <i>“I care about helping other people in my community.”</i> | 82% | 86% |

Our findings overall suggest some important differences between Jackson Heights and the other five neighborhoods where we surveyed young people. Survey respondents in Jackson Heights reported fewer stops by police and encounters that were less intrusive and less likely to escalate. They also indicated that they observed police activity less often. They had more positive impressions of the officers who had stopped them and of police in general. However, consistent with our findings in the other five research sites, individuals who reported more stops were less likely to express positive attitudes about the police. Similarly, higher exposure to police stops is related to a lower perceived likelihood of cooperating with law enforcement and other criminal justice agencies—a pattern we identified across all study sites.

Young people in Jackson Heights were much less likely to report hanging out on the street or in other outdoor public spaces compared to young people in the other five sites, perhaps reducing their opportunities to directly or indirectly encounter police. Finally, young people in Jackson Heights are somewhat less self-confident and less optimistic about their future, although levels of both are still relatively high. Both the portrait of young people in Jackson Heights as revealed in the data and these differences between Jackson Heights and the other neighborhoods should be considered to be provisional findings at best and grist for future research given the small number of people we were able to survey in Jackson Heights and real possibility of selection bias.

Implications and Recommendations

Implications

Vera set out in this study to examine stop and frisk from the perspective of young people living in high-crime and highly patrolled neighborhoods in New York City. We limited our study to individuals who reported being stopped by police at least once and therefore cannot compare their experiences and views with young people who have no personal experience of stop and frisk. Our key findings are captured below, with an emphasis on their implications for public safety in New York City. We conclude this chapter and our report with a set of recommendations.

While a fifth of the young people surveyed reported just one stop—the minimum required for participation in the study—fully eight out of ten reported being stopped more than once, and nearly half (44 percent) of our survey sample reported *at least* nine stops over their lifetime, including some people who reported more than 20 stops. When considering the past year alone, survey respondents reported an average of seven stops, again with a high of more than 20. Although their self-reports could not be verified in official records, the accuracy of the reported numbers at the higher end of the spectrum is less important than the underlying message: being stopped so many times it feels like a dozen, twenty, or more.

Most of the young people in our sample were involved in at least one stop that went beyond a simple verbal interaction between the young person and the officer. Specifically, 70 percent reported being frisked or searched during the course of at least one stop, and nearly half reported being threatened by an officer and/or having physical force used against them on at least one occasion. One in four reported being involved in at least one stop where an officer displayed his or her weapon.

We also learned that the majority of young people we surveyed felt they had been stopped for no reason—in fact, less than a third of them reported *ever* being informed of the reason for a stop.⁸⁷ Similarly, the majority believe that they wouldn't have been stopped or would have been treated differently if they were older or were a different gender, race or ethnicity. Specifically, in considering both their most recent stop as well as all previous stops, more than eight out of ten disagreed with the statement, “The officer had a good reason to talk to me.” In addition, 85 percent of them reported that they were *never* involved in a stop in which the officer discovered illegal items.

Fortunately, the young people in our study appear to be resilient. Their encounters with police—numerous for many of them—could have changed how they view themselves for the worse.⁸⁸ Instead, we found that the vast majority feel very positive about their racial/ethnic identity and their abilities and are optimistic about their future.

At the same time, and not surprisingly given their belief that the stops they experienced were largely unwarranted, most of the young people we studied neither trust nor think highly of the officers who patrol their neighborhoods. In particular, nearly nine out of ten young people (88 percent)

⁸⁷ The 2009 NYPD patrol guide states that, when a stop is made and there is no probable cause for arrest, the officer should “provide suspect with an explanation for the stop, question, and/or frisk encounter, absent exigent circumstances”; Al Baker, “Police Get Added Order: Stop, Frisk and Explain,” *The New York Times*, April 30, 2009

surveyed believe that residents of their neighborhood do not trust the police. Their views seem to matter because they also expressed very little willingness to cooperate with law enforcement, even to seek justice for a violent crime they personally experienced. Specifically, only 41 percent indicated they would report their own violent victimization to the police, and even fewer (24 percent) would report a person whom they believe had committed a crime against someone else.

Their likelihood of reporting crimes is much lower than rates documented in other research,⁸⁹ and their beliefs in this regard are rooted in personal experience: fully half of them have been the victim of a crime and more than a third have already experienced a violent crime, in some cases more than once. They are precisely the individuals who are most at risk of future victimization and whom law enforcement needs to connect with in order to solve crimes and significantly improve safety in these neighborhoods.

The findings of this study suggest that when individuals are stopped repeatedly and feel that the stops are not justified, they may avoid law enforcement altogether, leaving themselves at risk and also seriously hampering the ability of police to effectively protect all residents in high-crime neighborhoods. While willingness to cooperate with law enforcement is low across the entire sample of young people we surveyed, those who reported being stopped more often in the recent past are even less likely to cooperate with law enforcement.

Specifically, we found among our sample that with every additional stop in the past year, the young person was eight percent less likely to indicate a willingness to report a violent crime that he or she had experienced. That means, for example, that someone who was stopped seven times in the past year—the average number of past-year stops reported by survey respondents—is roughly 48 percent less likely to report their own violent victimization than someone who was stopped only once. Even after controlling for the influence of race, gender, age, and reports of previous victimization and prior arrests, the number of stops in the past year is the greatest predictor among the young people we surveyed of their likelihood of notifying the police about their own violent victimization. This finding is supported by other research showing that intensive policing may reduce crime in the short term while also sowing the seeds for longer-term negative outcomes, a very real threat in New York City, according to criminologist David Weisburd.⁹⁰

This is a serious collateral consequence of stop and frisk. In the remainder of this chapter, we recommend four critical steps that the city and the NYPD in particular should take to reverse the trends documented by this study and begin to build the kind of positive relationships with young people that are necessary for effectively policing high-crime communities and promoting public safety citywide.

Recommendations

⁸⁹ See page 72 of this report for a description of this research.

⁹⁰ David Weisburd, “Could Innovations in Policing Have Contributed to the New York City crime drop even in a period of declining Police Strength? The Case of Stop, Question and Frisk as a Hot Spots Policing Strategy,” *Justice Quarterly* (2013): 1-25.

Recommendation 1: In light of the fact that it decreased stops by 22 percent while the crime rate held steady, the NYPD should continue to recalibrate its stop and frisk practices to remedy the serious consequences to police-community relations and public safety that this study reveals.⁹¹

The experience of being stopped repeatedly, coupled with the perception among the young people surveyed that they are unfairly targeted, turns out to have serious consequences for public safety. As described above, the more often young people are stopped, the less likely they are to trust and cooperate with law enforcement by reporting crimes. So when police stop an individual numerous times, those actions have a clear cost.

As blacks, Hispanics/Latinos, and other historically “minority” populations now collectively make up the majority of New York City’s population,⁹² it’s concerning that younger members of these racial and ethnic groups have such low opinions of police that they are unlikely even to report a violent crime against themselves. It is a promising sign that the number of stops citywide decreased 22 percent from 2011 to 2012, while crime also continued to drop, and that stops appear to be declining further in 2013.⁹³

The court decisions and prevailing laws that allow police officers under very specific and limited circumstances to stop, frisk, and search someone were never intended to sanction stop and frisk as a proactive policing strategy that law enforcement can use on a wide scale to deter crime.⁹⁴ The NYPD should recalibrate the number of stops in communities where they are currently concentrated so as to remedy the serious collateral consequences this study reveals.

Make no mistake, proactive policing is critical, and stops are an essential element of good policing when based upon specific observations that give rise to a reasonable suspicion of criminal activity. But there are additional ways to police proactively and effectively. For example, the NYPD is engaged in focused initiatives such as “Operation Crew Cut,” in which police target active street gangs to reduce the violence associated with gang activity and rivalries between gangs.⁹⁵ Such initiatives have been recognized as promising approaches to both reducing violence and increasing prosecution rates in neighborhoods where cooperation with law enforcement is low and, as a result, so are conviction rates.⁹⁶ These approaches may result in sustainable decreases in crime without heavy reliance on broader tactics like stop and frisk.

⁹¹ The annual total number of recorded stops decreased by 22 percent from 2011 to 2012, from 685,724 to 532,911. When comparing the total number of stops for each of the first two quarters of 2012 to the first two quarters of 2013, the decreases are more pronounced. The number of stops in the first quarter of each year declined by 51 percent from 2012 to 2013, and the number of stops in second quarter declined by 57 percent.

⁹² “Non-Hispanic Whites are now a minority in the 23-county New York region”

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/28/nyregion/28nycensus.html>

⁹³ Behind the Decision on the Stop and Frisk Policy, *The New York Times*,

<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/08/12/nyregion/10-years-of-stop-and-frisk.html?ref=nyregion>

⁹⁴ *Terry v. Ohio* (1968), 392 U.S. 1; *U.S. v. Cortez* (1981), 449 U.S. 411, 418; *People v. Diaz* (1998), 81 N.Y. 2d 106, 109.

⁹⁵ <http://www.nycrimecommission.org/pdfs/cc-10-02-12.pdf>

⁹⁶ David M Kennedy, “Getting Beyond Stop and Frisk,” *NY Daily News*, July 15, 2013

<http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/stop-and-frisk-article-1.1397584>

Recommendation 2: Expand upon existing trainings to encourage respectful policing that makes people feel they are treated fairly (including informing them of the reason for the stop), and emphasize strategies aimed at reducing the number of stops that escalate to the point where officers make threats and use physical force.

As noted above, a significant proportion of the young people we surveyed reported experiencing the harsher aspects of stops—specifically threats and physical force—by the officers who stopped them. While we do not know the specific circumstances of these encounters, and how often threats and force were warranted, the rates suggest that officers may be able to handle these situations differently with increased training on how to work productively with young people. Supervisors should also mandate and ensure that patrol officers routinely inform individuals of the reason for which they are being stopped, consistent with NYPD policy.

Police training should focus on developmentally appropriate responses to people of different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. These efforts should extend beyond training for new recruits at the Police Academy and be mandatory and offered regularly. Research in the field of neuroscience on the developing brain shows that the poor impulse control many teens display is rooted in biology: many young people cannot fully appreciate the consequences of their decisions and behaviors.⁹⁷ This developmental limitation, which persists into their twenties, puts the burden on police officers in their role as adult authority figures to conduct stops in ways that, as often as possible, prevent escalation. Young people can also benefit from education and training in how to engage with police officers so that these encounters are less likely to escalate.

In the United States, there are few, if any, training curricula that have been rigorously evaluated and shown to have a positive effect on improving police-citizen interactions. One of the few is Chicago’s Quality Intervention Program (QIP), a procedural justice training for police recruits in Chicago, which was evaluated and shows promising outcomes. While the evaluation yielded mixed results overall, there is strong evidence that officers trained using the QIP approach were better equipped to resolve conflicts with youth, and less likely to yell at youth, use physical force against them, or arrest them.⁹⁸

Recommendation 3: Collaborate with the predominately black and Hispanic/Latino communities where stop and frisk has been concentrated to improve relationships by finding tangible strategies to put into practice.

A generation of young people in high-crime communities has grown up familiar with stop and frisk. They view it as both misguided and unfair, because too often, in their view, officers are stopping young people who have done nothing wrong. As this study shows, levels of trust in law enforcement are extremely low among young people who have been stopped by police in these neighborhoods. It will take creative, determined, and sustained efforts to change this situation.

⁹⁷ Lisa H Thureau, “Training Law Enforcement on How to Police the Teen Brain,” *Translational Criminology* Spring 2013 (George Mason University: Fairfax, VA).

⁹⁸ Dennis P Rosenbaum and Daniel S Lawrence, “Teaching Respectful Police Citizen Encounters and Good Decision-Making: Results of a Randomized Control Trial with Police Recruits,” National Police Research Platform: Washington, DC, 2011.

Many of the young people and adults we interviewed called on police to actually get to know residents, to become involved in their communities, and to function as real partners in making their neighborhoods safer and better overall. What this looks like in practice is something that police and residents must determine together. This type of work should extend beyond the NYPD's 184 Community Affairs officers—the equivalent of 1 percent of uniformed patrol officers—to involve the many officers assigned to patrol these communities.⁹⁹

In neighborhoods where crime is of particular concern, police can best ensure public safety not only by enforcing the law, but by conducting themselves in a manner that fosters respect, trust, and a resulting spirit of cooperation with the residents of those neighborhoods. As one 18-year-old black male from the South Bronx said, “I guess, like, if you really want to protect you need to become acquainted with the people in the neighborhood. You can't just patrol; you actually need to speak to people.” The resilience of the young people Vera surveyed and interviewed is an asset in this work. Their confidence in themselves and resolve to stay focused on what they can achieve and become is something for police to work with.

Recommendation 4: Partner with researchers to better understand the costs and benefits of various proactive policing strategies as well as individual practices such as stop and frisk.

There is a clear trend in public service toward “evidence-based” practice, and police departments are following suit by partnering with researchers to learn what works and what strategies and tactics to avoid or minimize.¹⁰⁰ With cities facing increasing budgetary challenges, it is imperative that law enforcement policies be rooted in scientific evidence as well as rigorous cost-benefit analysis, because a policy might pay off in one important regard but have costly unintended consequences that overwhelm its value.¹⁰¹

The NYPD's commitment to data-driven policing strategies—most notably its innovative use of CompStat, which has been widely adopted nationally and often associated with drastic improvements in the way police departments control crime and hold officers accountable¹⁰²—provides a good foundation on which to build relationships with external evaluators. The number of stops citywide is on the decline and crime rates are also falling—murders and shootings were down 29 percent by mid-year 2013, compared to the same time period last year.¹⁰³ These trends, along with the upcoming mayoral election, potential change in NYPD leadership, and the ruling and proposed remedies in *Floyd, et al. v. The City of New York, et al.*—all of which are likely to spur changes in the NYPD's policies and practices—should be closely studied.

⁹⁹ The 2013 budget shows 184 uniformed officers in community affairs, compared to 17,626 uniformed patrol officers, with patrol expenditures of \$1.4 billion, and community affairs expenditures of \$13.3 million. The 2014 planned budget included an increase of \$56,000 for community affairs.

¹⁰⁰ See examples of these types of efforts at George Mason University Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy website, <http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/>.

¹⁰¹ Chief Jim Beuerman (Ret). “Being Smart on Crime with Evidence Based Policing” *NIJ Journal* No 269, (Washington DC: Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice), 2012.

¹⁰² Daniel DeLorenzi, Jon M. Shane, and Karen L. Amendola, “The CompStat Process: Managing Performance on the Pathway to Leadership,” *The Police Chief* vol. 73, no. 9, September 2006.

¹⁰³ “Mayor Bloomberg provides mid-year crime update,” July 21, 2013; <http://www.mikebloomberg.com/index.cfm?objectid=01A8E716-C29C-7CA2-FB42EA9C7DF818C8>

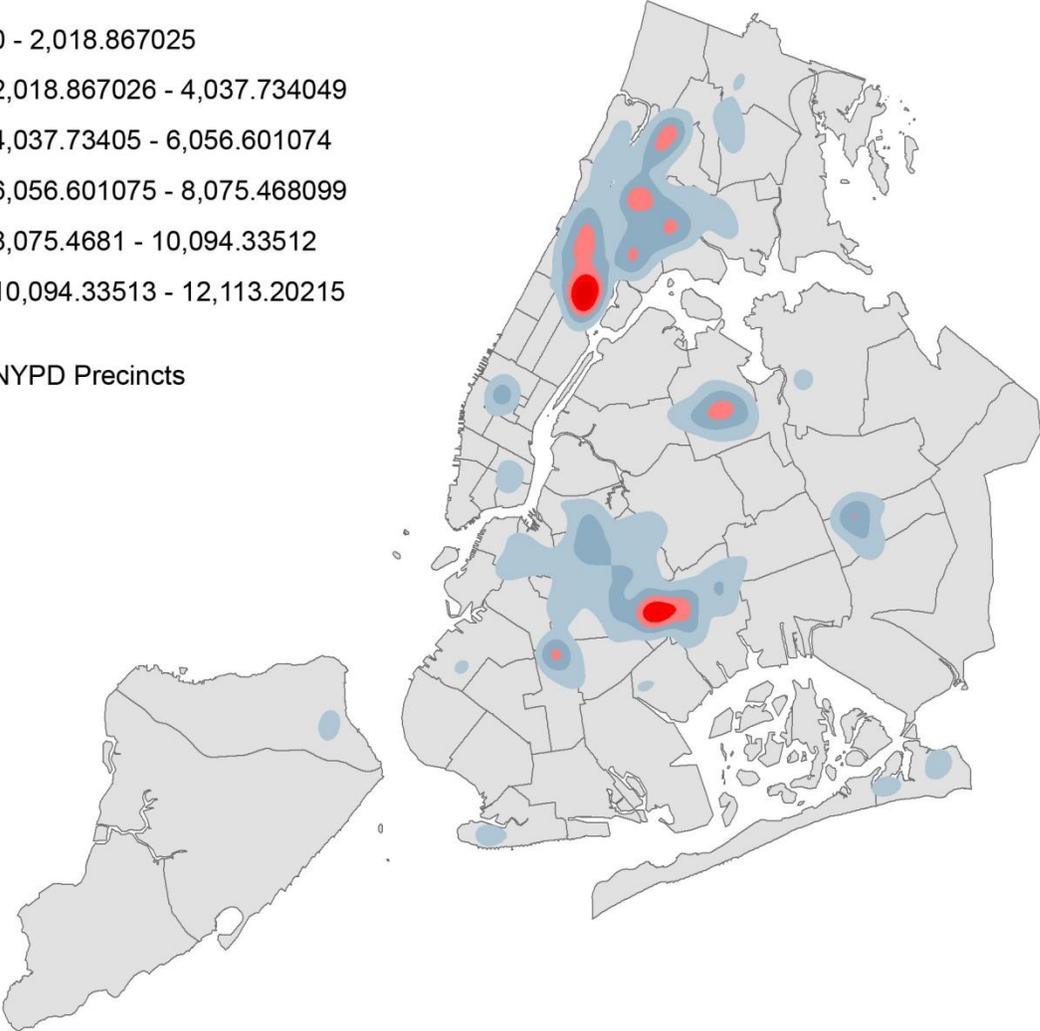
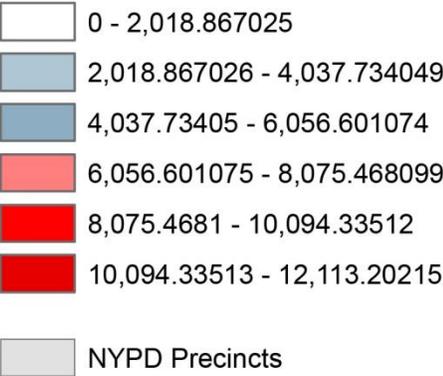
Researchers could begin to answer these questions and provide the NYPD, city leaders, and the public with better evidence than currently exists about the true value and costs of different approaches to promoting public safety in New York City. Within this context, it is important to understand that changes in police practice may not yield meaningful results immediately. For a generation of young people, stop and frisk is the predominant type of policing they know. Even if the number of stops dropped 50 percent next year, it might not spark an immediate change in how young people view the police or their likelihood of working with them to prevent and solve crimes. This suggests the need to regularly survey young people to understand whether, and if so how, their perceptions of police and willingness to cooperate with law enforcement shift as policies and public discourse on the issue continue to change. Even more meaningful would be longitudinal research that follows groups of young people and other neighborhood residents over time.

Genuine partnerships are essential for any of this research, since researchers would need access to NYPD data that is currently unavailable, and the NYPD would need to share which practices seem to be successful and which appear to have disappointing results. The NYPD would benefit by joining the ranks of police departments across the country and worldwide that have welcomed open dialogue around their practices, and as a testament to this openness, invited researchers to use their data to assess and evaluate their policies.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ For specific examples of leadership in this area, see efforts by members of the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame: <http://cebcp.org/hall-of-fame/>

2010 SQFs Kernel Density: Citywide 10- to 25-Year-Olds

Hotspots



STOP, QUESTION, AND FRISK SURVEY

Self-Administered Survey



Office use only:

ID # _____ Date: _____ Site: _____ Assisted? YES NO

Notes: _____

In this survey we will ask you about your neighborhood, your experiences with the police, and other issues related to public safety. Please read each question carefully and then check the box beside the option that best fits your response or fill in the blank where applicable.

Completing this survey should take about 25 to 40 minutes.

If you need help please ask for assistance.

I. Living Arrangements and Neighborhood Life

1. How did you hear about this survey?

- Meeting at organization/provider (Organization: _____)
- In the street
- Other (How? _____)

2. What is the name of the neighborhood where you live? _____
(Do not write the name of the borough. Instead, please write names such as “Sunset Park”, “Jamaica”, “East Harlem”)

3. Where do you live?

- Private home, co-op or apartment
- Shelter/temporary housing
- NYCHA (public) housing complex
- Homeless
- Other: _____

4. In what year did you move into your current home? _____ (write the year, like “1997”)
or Not Applicable)

5. Do you participate in any of the following organizations or activities in your neighborhood? (check all that apply)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Church, temple, any other religious organization | <input type="checkbox"/> Block groups |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Charity | <input type="checkbox"/> Tenant association |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent-Teacher Association | <input type="checkbox"/> Community council |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Organizations of people with similar background (NAACP/ Make The Road NYC) | <input type="checkbox"/> Political group/ organization |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community gardens | <input type="checkbox"/> Informal sports/ games (for example: basketball, cards) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Youth groups (for example: scouts, explorers, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> Supportive services/ clinics (for example: AA, MADD) |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |

6. In the past month, how often did you do any of the following activities in your neighborhood (check the box that applies):

a. Hung out with friends in public area outside (street, courtyard).

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

b. Hung out with friends in public area inside (building lobby, other indoor area).

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

c. Went to a local park/ playground.

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

d. Ate at a local restaurant.

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

e. Played sports outside.

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

f. Went shopping for clothes or shoes.

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

g. Went to the movies

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

h. Went to a party at a friend's home

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

i. Went to a bar or club

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

j. Went to a community/school meeting

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

k. Went to a community meeting or activity organized by the Police

Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never Not applicable

7. What is the most important problem in your neighborhood today? (Write only one)

8. Who do you live with? (check all that apply)

- Live Alone
- Live with someone else (check below):
 - Parent(s)/ Caregiver
 - Sibling(s)
 - Aunt/ Uncle
 - Grandparent(s)
 - Cousin(s)
 - Child/ Children
 - Spouse
 - Partner
 - Other family
 - Other non-family (like roommates, coworkers)

9. Are you a parent/caregiver?

- No, I am not a parent/caregiver.
- Yes,

Number of youth you live with, in your home: _____

Please list their ages: _____

10. Do you have a job for which you get paid?

- Yes, full time
- Yes, part time
- Yes, self-employed
- No

11. Have you been homeless within the past year (that is since June of 2011)?

- Yes
- No

II. Police Stops and Other Contacts With the Police

12. How many DAYS in the PAST WEEK have you seen police officers in your neighborhood?

Number of days out of 7: _____ days

13. How many DAYS in the PAST WEEK have you seen police officers stop, question or frisk anyone in your neighborhood (not counting you)?

Number of days out of 7: _____ days

(A police stop is when the police approach you while in the street or in a car, they ask you questions, and may search you or your belongings).

14. How many DAYS of the PAST WEEK have you seen police handcuff or arrest anyone in your neighborhood (not including you)?

Number of days out of 7: _____ days

15. Do you know any police officers that work in your neighborhood by sight?

Yes: How many? _____

No

16. Do you know any police officers that work in your neighborhood by name?

Yes: How many? _____

No

17. How many times have you *EVER* been stopped, questioned and/ or frisked by the police?

Number of times: _____

*If you are not sure about the number of times please provide a range INSTEAD:.

1 to 4 times

5 to 8 times

9 to 12 times

More than 12 times

Not sure

18. How many times have you been stopped, questioned and/or frisked *IN THE PAST YEAR* (that is since June of 2011)? Number of times: _____

19. How old were you when you were first stopped? Age: _____

20. Please check all of the following places in which you've been stopped, questioned, and/or frisked at least once (pick the closest matches):

On my block

Inside my building

Inside other building

At school

On the streets of my neighborhood

In the streets of another neighborhood (but in NYC)

In/around a subway station

While in a car or bus

Outside of NYC (upstate, New Jersey, etc.)

Other: _____

21. How often have you been stopped alone?

Always alone

Most times alone

Some of the time alone

Rarely alone

Never (I have always been in company of other people)

22. Thinking about all the times you were stopped, did the police ever do the following to you? (check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Inform you of the reason for the stop | <input type="checkbox"/> Hold you/other people in a police car |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ask for ID | <input type="checkbox"/> Issue a summons |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frisk/ pat you down | <input type="checkbox"/> Give a verbal warning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Search your clothes/ bag(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Arrested me |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Use force (for example: police put their hands on you, forced you to the ground, put you up against a wall/ car). | <input type="checkbox"/> Arrested someone I was with |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Display weapon | <input type="checkbox"/> Ask you to empty your pockets |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Make threats | <input type="checkbox"/> Find any illegal items, such as a weapon, drugs, or an open container of alcohol |

23. When you were stopped, how often were you engaged in behavior that warranted these stops?

- Always/Often Sometimes Rarely/Never

24. How did you feel during these stops?

a. The police had a good reason to talk to me.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

b. Police officers treated me fairly.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

c. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my race and/ or ethnicity.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

d. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my gender.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

e. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my sexual orientation or gender identify.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

f. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my nationality or the language I speak.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

g. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my age.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

h. What I said influenced how I was treated by the police.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

i. What I did during the stop influenced how I was treated by the police.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

- j. I was treated worse than others in a similar situation because of my race and/ or ethnicity.**
 Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
- k. I was treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation.**
 Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
- l. The police showed concern about my rights.**
 Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
- m. The police treated me with respect and dignity.**
 Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

If you have been stopped, questioned and/or frisked by the police only once in your lifetime please skip to Question #29.

If you have been stopped more than once:

25. When did the MOST RECENT stop by the police occur (Month and Year)? _____

a. Where did it happen?

- On my block
- Inside my building
- Inside other building
- On the streets of my neighborhood
- In the streets of another neighborhood (but in NYC)
- At school
- In/around the subway station
- While in a car or bus
- Outside of NYC (upstate, New Jersey, etc.)
- Other: _____

b. Were you alone (circle one)? YES NO

c. Did the police do any of the following to you in this stop? (check all that apply)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Informed me of the reason for the stop | <input type="checkbox"/> Held me/other people in a police car |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asked for ID | <input type="checkbox"/> Issued a summons |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frisked/ patted me down | <input type="checkbox"/> Gave a verbal warning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Searched my clothes/ bag(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Arrested me |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Used force (for example: police put their hands on you, forced you to the ground, put you up against a wall/ car). | <input type="checkbox"/> Arrested someone I was with |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Displayed weapon | <input type="checkbox"/> Asked me to empty my pockets |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Made threats | <input type="checkbox"/> Found any illegal items, such as a weapon, drugs, or an open container of alcohol |

26. Had you been engaged in behavior that warranted the stop (circle one)? YES NO

The following items ask you to describe the way you felt during this ***MOST RECENT*** stop.

27. How did you feel during this stop?

a. The police had a good reason to talk to me.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

b. Police officers treated me fairly.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

c. I am satisfied with the way police officers handled the situation.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

d. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my race and/ or ethnicity.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

e. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my gender

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

f. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my sexual orientation or gender identify.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

g. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my nationality or the language I speak.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

h. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my age.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

i. What I said influenced how I was treated by the police.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

j. What I did during the stop influenced how I was treated by the police.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

k. I was treated worse than others in a similar situation because of my race and/ or ethnicity.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

l. I was treated the same as anyone else in a similar situation.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

m. The police showed concern about my rights.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

n. The police treated me with respect and dignity.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

28. Was this stop like all the other police stops that you have personally experienced?

- This stop was worse This stop was like all other stops This stop was better

29. Have you ever been in contact with the police in the following situations? (check all that apply)

- Reported a crime that happened to me.
 Reported a crime that happened to someone else.
 Reported a traffic accident or medical emergency.
 Reported a suspicious person.
 Contacted police about any other neighborhood problems like noise, parking.
 Contacted police about advice or information
 Contacted police to give them information
 Raised an issue or concern at a police meeting.
 I had no contact with the police in any of these situations → **Skip to Question #33**

30. How did you feel in these interactions with the Police? (only answer if you reported at least one contact with the police in question #29 above).

a. The police did a good job dealing with my situation.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

b. I am satisfied with the way police officers handled the situation.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

c. The police helped make the situation better.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

d. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my race and/ or ethnicity.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

e. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my gender

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

f. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my age

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

g. The police showed concern about my rights.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

h. The police treated me with respect and dignity.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

31. When was the MOST RECENT voluntary contact you had with the police (to report a crime, to give information, to raise a concern)? Please provide Month and Year: _____

a. Type of contact? (check one)

- Phone
- Face-to-face
- Internet
- Other _____

b. What was the reason for the contact? (Describe why you got in touch with the Police)

32. How did you feel during this interaction with the Police?

a. The police did a good job dealing with my situation.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

b. I am satisfied with the way police officers handled the situation.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

c. The police helped make the situation better.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

d. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my race and/ or ethnicity.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

e. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my gender.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

f. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my sexual orientation or gender identity.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

g. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my nationality or the language I speak.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

h. The way the police acted toward me was influenced by my age.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

i. The police showed concern about my rights.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

j. The police treated me with respect and dignity.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

33. If you knew about someone from your neighborhood who had broken a law and was wanted by the police, how likely would you be to report it to the police?

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

34. How likely would it be that your neighbors would report this person to the police?

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

35. If you witnessed a crime or knew about a crime that took place, how likely would you be to report it to the police?

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

36. If your neighbors witnessed a crime or knew about a crime that took place, how likely would they be to report it to the police?

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

37. Have you ever filed a formal complaint against the Police (circle one)? Yes No

- If YES, was it about a stop and frisk incident (circle one)? Yes No

III. Self-perceptions

38. When you need guidance on something that's troubling you, who do you go to?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody, I work it out by myself | <input type="checkbox"/> People at a community-based organization |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctor/therapist |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent/ Caregiver | <input type="checkbox"/> Neighbors |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friends | <input type="checkbox"/> Other non-family (coworkers, roommates) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other Relatives | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Own Children | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers or other school officials | |

39. I can solve my own problems.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

40. I feel safe in my community.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

41. I feel safe at school.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

42. I feel safe at home.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

43. I care about helping other people in my community.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

44. I feel good about the racial/ ethnic groups I belong to.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

45. In general, others respect the racial/ ethnic groups that I am a member of.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

46. My race and ethnicity are an important reflection of who I am.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

47. My race and ethnicity are an important part of my self-image.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

48. I have just as much chance to succeed in life as people from other neighborhoods.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

49. I will be or have been able to go to college.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

50. In the past year, I have been discriminated against because of my race, ethnicity, color, language, or country that I or my family came from.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

51. I can get myself to keep going when things are going really badly.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

52. People who know me trust and respect me.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

53. People in my family have confidence in me.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

54. People who know me think I am good at what I do.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

IV. Attitudes Toward the Police

55. In this section, we ask you general questions about your attitudes and perceptions of police.

a. If I were in trouble, I would feel comfortable asking a police officer for help.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

b. The police are honest.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

c. The police in my neighborhood ignore a lot of the crime that they see.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

d. I avoid the police whenever possible.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

e. The police have too much power around here.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

f. People in my neighborhood don't trust the police.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

g. The police around here bother kids for no good reason.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

h. The police are good at preventing crimes in my neighborhood.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

i. The police are good at catching the people who commit crimes in my neighborhood.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

j. The police in this neighborhood respond quickly to calls.

- Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

V. Crime and Victimization Experiences

56. Has violence ever been used against you (for example: mugged, robbed, or assaulted)?

- Yes
 - a. If yes, how many times? _____
 - b. How many times in this neighborhood? _____
 - c. How many times in the past year? _____
 - d. How many times in the past year, in this neighborhood? _____
- No
- I prefer not to answer

57. Has violence ever been used against any member of your household (for example, a mugging or a fight)?

- Yes
 - a. If yes, how many times? _____
 - b. How many times in this neighborhood? _____
 - c. How many times in the past year? _____
 - d. How many times in the past year, in this neighborhood? _____
- No
- I prefer not to answer

58. Have you, or another member of your household had anything stolen worth more than \$50?

- Yes
 - a. If yes, how many times? _____
 - b. How many times in this neighborhood? _____
 - c. How many times in the past year? _____
 - d. How many times in the past year, in this neighborhood? _____
- No
- I prefer not to answer

59. How safe would you feel if a stranger stopped you at night in your neighborhood to ask for directions?

- Very Safe Somewhat Safe Somewhat Unsafe Very Unsafe

60. How worried are you about you or someone else in your household being a victim of a crime in your neighborhood? Would you say you are:

- Very Worried Somewhat Worried A little Worried Not At All Worried

61. How likely is it that you will be the victim of a crime in your neighborhood in the next year?

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

62. If you were the victim of a violent crime, like an assault or robbery, how likely would you be to:

a. Report the crime to the police.

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

b. Cooperate with the police investigation of the crime.

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

c. Talk to the District Attorney's Office about the crime.

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

d. Testify in court.

- Very likely
- Likely
- Not likely nor unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very unlikely

63. Have you ever been arrested for a juvenile delinquency offense (most offenses committed by somebody under the age of 16) (circle one)? YES NO

- If **not**, move question # 63.
- If **yes**, please answer the following:
 - a. How many times have you been arrested for a delinquency offense?** _____
 - b. What is the most serious offense you've ever been charged with as a delinquent?** _____ -
 - c. What is the most serious offense you've been adjudicated, or found guilty, of, if any?**
 - d. Have you ever been charged with prostitution, as a delinquent?**
 - Yes
 - No

e. Have you spent time in a secure juvenile detention facility in NYC, such as Spofford, Bridges, Crossroads, or New Horizons?

- Yes
 No

f. Have you ever been sentenced to placement and gone to an OCFS facility to serve your sentence?

- Yes
 No

64. Have you ever been arrested and charged with a criminal offense (most offenses committed by somebody 16 years and over)? YES NO

• If not, move to Question #65.

• If yes, please answer the following:

a. How many times have you been arrested for a criminal offense? _____

b. What is the most serious offense you've ever been charged with as an adult?

c. What is the most serious offense you've been found guilty of, if any? _____

d. Have you ever been charged with prostitution, as an adult?

- Yes
 No

e. Have you spent time in jail at Riker's Island?

- Yes
 No

f. Have you ever been sentenced to serve time in prison?

- Yes
 No

65. Has one or more of your parents/caregivers been:

Arrested and held by the police? Yes No Don't know Don't want to answer

Put in jail? Yes No Don't know Don't want to answer

Incarcerated in a prison? Yes No Don't know Don't want to answer

66. Are you currently on either probation or parole (Circle One)?

- No
 Yes, probation
 Yes, parole
 Yes, both

67. How many people do you know who are currently locked-up/confined to a secured facility like juvenile hall or a prison? (by "knowing" we mean that you know them by sight or name, that you have been in touch in the past five years, or could get in touch easily if needed)

- How many people do you know currently in state or federal prison? _____
 How many people do you know currently in juvenile detention or placement? _____
 I do not know anyone currently locked-up/ confined to a secured facility.

Part VI: Demographics

68. How old are you? _____

69. Are you currently enrolled in school or college?

- No
- Yes, GED
- Yes, other educational/training program
- Yes, high school
- Yes, college
- Yes, some other school (Explain): _____

70. What is the highest level of education you have completed so far?

- Elementary School
- Middle School
- High School
- College
- Graduate School
- Vocational/ Trade School
- G.E.D.

71. What is your ethnicity?

- Hispanic or Latino/a
- West Indian/ Caribbean
- White/Caucasian
- Other (explain) _____

72. What is your race?

- White
- Black
- Asian
- American Indian
- Other (explain) _____

73. What is your gender? _____

(For example: Male, Female, Transgender)

74. What is your sexual orientation?

- Straight
- Lesbian or Gay
- Bi-sexual
- Questioning
- Other

75. Were you born in the United States?

- Yes
- No (country: _____) include here any foreign country including Puerto Rico

76. Are you a citizen of the United States?

- No, not a US citizen.
- Yes, born in the US (skip to question #78)
- Yes, born in a U.S. territory (for example: Puerto Rico, Guam) (skip to question #77)
- Yes, born abroad of US citizen parent or parents (skip to question #77)
- Yes, US citizen by naturalization (had green card first) (skip to question #77)

77. If not a U.S. citizen, what is your legal status?

- I have a temporary visa in the U.S.
- I have a green card.
- I do not have legal status.
- I do not know if I have legal status.
- I do not want to answer this question.

78. When did you first come to live in the U.S. (year, like "1993") _____ or Not Applicable

79. Were your parents born in the United States?

- Yes, both born in the U.S.
- One of my parents born outside the U.S. (including Puerto Rico, Guam, etc.)
- No (Please, answer #79a)

79a. If no, what country or countries were they born in? _____

80. What is the primary language or languages spoken in your home? _____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey!

APPENDIX C: Youth Interview Guide

This interview guide contains several broad topic areas, and drafts of semi-structured interview prompts, that will be covered over the course of two to three individual interviews, spanning a four- to six-month period.

INTERVIEW #1

- I. I hope to talk to you about your neighborhood, what you do around here [there], and what you think about local services and organizations including for example your school, places for recreation, the police, and so forth. The interview should last about an hour.**
1. How do you like your neighborhood?
 - a) How long have you lived in the neighborhood? Have you lived here your whole life?
 - b) What is your neighborhood called?
 - c) Are you going to school? Working?
 - What school do you go to [Prompt: Type, name, location]? When did you start going there?
 - OR What kind of job do you have?
 2. Describe your block or building [Prompt: what does it look like?]
 3. What do you think are the biggest problems in the neighborhood?
 4. Do you think there has been more or less crime in your neighborhood this year compared to last year? What is the most common crime around here?
 5. Do you participate in any activities outside of school? [Prompt: These may include organized sports, church, etc. What kind? How often? Are these in your neighborhood?]
 6. Where do you usually spend most of your free time [Prompt: At home, outside, park, friends' homes, etc.]? How many hours a week would you say you hang out outside without an adult present?
 - a) Who do you generally hang out with?
 - b) How often do you hang out in the street after dark? Where do you go?
 - c) What places are more/less safe? What makes you feel safe?
 - d) Do you or your friends ever feel you could be the victim of a crime in these places?
 7. In general, what are the things that cause you the greatest discomfort when out in your neighborhood?
 - a) How do you respond to these discomforts?
 8. In general, what do you think are the things that cause the greatest discomfort at school for you and your friends?
 - a) How do you respond to these discomforts?
 - b) Is there a safety officer? Does he/she make you feel safer? Why or why not?

9. Do you feel the presence of the police in your neighborhood makes you feel safe?
- Does it make you feel less likely to become a victim of a crime? Why or why not?

II. We'd like to hear some more about the places you see the police, your encounters with them, and about your experiences with the juvenile or criminal justice system.

10. How often do you see the police in your neighborhood? How many times in the past week did you see the police doing at least one of the following things in your neighborhood:
- Patrolling with lights and/or sirens on
 - Chatting with people, giving information out
 - Helping someone
 - Searching someone
 - Arresting someone
11. Have you ever been the victim of a crime? How many times? How many in the past year? Did you or anyone else reported any of these crimes to the police or called 911?
- If yes to victimization: [Prompt: what type of crime? Was there any injury or what was the approx. value of the property taken? Was there a weapon involved?]
 - If yes to calling the police: Who called the police? What happened as a result of the call? If respondent called the police: Why did you call them? Were you satisfied with the outcome?
 - If no to calling the police: Why not? [Prompt: Did you call someone else for help? Were you afraid to call the police? Do you know to report a crime?]
12. Were you offered and/ or did you receive support services when you were victimized?
13. Have you called the police for other reasons for ex. to report a crime that you were not a victim of or to ask for help in other way? How many times? Any in the past year? If yes, what happened as a result of your report? If no: Why? [Prompt: Were you satisfied with the outcome?] Have you called any other places or people for help, for ex. neighbors, relatives or other agencies? If no: Why?
14. Have you ever been arrested? How many times? For what? How many times were you arrested in the past year?
15. Have you ever had a case heard by family or criminal court?
16. Have you ever been brought to the court for something else, like a status offense (running away, etc.) or a PINS?
17. Have you ever had a case diverted (so, you never actually had to go to court, but you did have to be under the probation supervision for a period of time, or go to an after school program)?
18. Have you ever been to jail or detention (Bridges, Spofford, Horizons, Crossroads)?
19. Have you ever been punished by the courts? What was your sentence?
20. Have you ever been punished by the school? What was your sentence?
21. How many of your close friends have ever:
- Been the victims of a crime? What types of crimes?
 - As far as you know, have most of these crimes been reported to the Police or other law enforcement authorities?
 - How many of your close friends have been arrested for committing a crime? What types of crime?

22. How many of your close relatives have ever:
 - a) Been the victims of a crime? What types of crimes?
 - b) As far as you know, have most of these crimes been reported to the Police?
 - c) Been arrested for committing a crime? What types of crimes?
23. Do you know any people who are currently locked-up, that is, confined to a secured facility like juvenile hall or a prison? Immigration detention? (by “knowing” we mean that you know them by sight or name, that you have been in touch in the past five years, or could get in touch easily if you needed to)?
 - a) How many people do you know currently in state or federal prison?
 - b) How many people do you know currently in juvenile detention or placement?

III. Now we’d like to talk some more about your opinions of and experiences with the police.

24. When you are walking down the street and see a police officer, what is the first thought that comes to your mind? How do you feel? How do you behave?
 - i. What if the officer were patrolling the neighborhood on foot: How would you feel? How would you behave?
 - ii. Sitting in a squad car?
 - iii. Driving down the street?
25. Do you ever change the way you do things to avoid potential encounters with the police? (Prompt: the places you go, the things you wear?)
26. What do you think the police’s role is in your neighborhood?
 - a. Do you think the police do a good job of filling this role? [Prompt: Why/why not?]
 - b. Do you think that in this neighborhood when the Police arrest someone they usually have a good reason to do so? How about stops?
 - c. Describe your very best experience with the Police in your neighborhood
 - d. What is the most positive story about the police in this neighborhood you have ever heard?
27. How often do you and your close friends talk about the Police?
 - a) What do you talk about? What was the most recent conversation about? [Prompt: how do these conversations get started? Something happened to someone, TV news, etc.]]
 - b) What about close relatives: how often do you and your close relatives talk about the police? What was the most recent conversation about?
28. Overall, what has shaped your opinion of the police? For ex. personal experience, stories by others, what you see/read in the news? [Prompt if from a different country: things that happened back home/ in your country of origin?]
29. Do you think people in your neighborhood are willing to help the police? [Prompt: Calling to report crimes, tips, etc.). How do people in your neighborhood view people who help the police?
30. In what circumstances do you see yourself calling the police?
 - a. If never, why?

- b. Have you ever called on people to solve an emergency rather than calling the police? Who? Why?

31. Have the police approached you while you were walking on the street or while in a car? How many times? How many in the last year? What percentage of these happened in your neighborhood?

IF STOPPED:

- a) How often have the police [always/most times/often/a few times/rarely] ...
- ...asked you for ID or for some other information?
 - ...frisked you or patted you down?
 - ...searched your clothes or bags?
 - ...used force against you or the people you were with? Do you think the use of force was justified?
- ...In how many of the situations where you have been stopped did you get arrested or were issued a summons?
- b) Think about the stop that you remember the most (the one that has the most meaning to you). Tell me what happened:
- When was that? Where? Were you alone?
 - Were you stopped along with other people?
 - Were there any bystanders/other people around?
 - Were you informed of the reason for the stop?
 - Were you held in a police car?
 - Were you frisked? Were you searched?
 - Was any force used by the police during the stop? If so, was excessive force used?
 - How did you feel during the stop?
- c) How did the stop end?
- d) What, if anything, could the police have done differently to make the situation better?
- e) What if anything would you have done differently?
- f) If you had been the police conducting the stop, would you have behaved differently? Why?

32. Think about the most recent stop (if different from above). Tell me what happened:

- a. When was that? Where? Were you alone?
- b. Were you stopped along with other people?
- c. Were there any bystanders/other people around?
- d. Were you informed of the reason for the stop?
- e. Were you held in a police car?
- f. Were you frisked? Were you searched?
Was any force used by the police during the stop? If so, was excessive force used?
- g. How did you feel during the stop?
- h) How did the stop end?
- i) What if anything could the police have done differently to make the situation better?
- j) What if anything would you have done differently?

k) If you had been the police conducting the stop, would you have behaved differently? Why?

33. Do you think you would be treated differently by the police during a stop if you were another race/ethnicity? Why? Different gender? Why?

34. Have any of these stops or others you experienced changed your opinion of the police? In what ways?

IV. Before we're done let me ask you a few basic questions about your background.

35. How old are you?

36. What is your gender?

37. What is your race? Ethnicity? Where were you born?

38. What language does your family speak at home?

39. When did you move to New York/your current home?

40. Who else lives in your home besides you? Where were they born? (prompts: mother, father, siblings)

41. Do you have siblings? If yes, how many of the siblings living with you are 10 years of age or younger?

42. Do you have any kids? Do any of them live with you?

43. Are you currently in school? What grade are you in? [For people not in school] Are you currently working on your GED?

44. What plans do you have for when you graduate from high school?

[Interviewer: note public housing]

INTERVIEW #2

I. This second interview will be mostly about your perceptions of the role of police and the community in the creation of public safety. We also want to ask you again about recent interactions with the police. The interview should last about 45 minutes.

1. What was your idea of the Police growing up?
 - a) What did your parents tell you about the Police?
 - b) What did your parents tell you about how to react if you are stopped by the police for any reason? Did anyone else give you specific advice?
2. How about your own experience: What is your first memory of the Police?
3. What did you hear from your friends growing up about the police? (Prompt: If born outside the US, ask for their perception about police in the home country as well as in the US)
4. Do you think neighbors help to keep your neighborhood safe? Why?
5. Do you think the police help to keep your neighborhood safe? In what ways?
6. Do you think neighbors and police work together to keep this neighborhood safe? In what ways (for example, if a detective needed help with an investigation)? Is that different for young people and adults?

II. I now would like us to focus on your opinion of the police above and beyond what we talked about last time.

7. Do you trust the police in your neighborhood?
 - a) How about most of your friends, do you think they trust the police in their own neighborhood? Relatives?
 - b) Why or why not?
 - c) Do you think the police trust you?
 - d) Who do you think the police trust?
8. What do you think of police activity in your neighborhood? [Prompt: Do you see police activity as valuable? Necessary? Fair? Respectful?]
 - a. How about frequent patrols?
 - b. Stop & search activity?
 - c. Drug enforcement?
 - d. Quality of life enforcement (trespassing, graffiti, etc.)?
9. Do you think that police activity in your neighborhood has influenced the way you think about yourself? How? How about perceptions of your community?
10. What do you think is the most effective thing the police does in your neighborhood to reduce crime?
11. What do the police usually do in your neighborhood?
 - a. How do they interact with people?
 - b. Do they speak the same language as the residents?
 - c. Are they respectful of you and your friends?

- d. Are Police involved in your community in any in any other ways that you know of, having nothing to do with law enforcement? For example, they may run athletic groups, or have other ways that they interact or help out the neighborhood.
- e. Do you know any police officers in your neighborhood by sight or by name?
- f. Do you know if there are police officers living in your neighborhood?
- g. Have you noticed any changes in the way police behave in your neighborhood in recent years? [Prompt: Their attitudes and/or what they do, the volume of police, how they talk to people, etc.?] How about any changes in the way police behave at school?

12. Who can change the way the police act in your neighborhood? People? Organizations?

13. Since we last talked, have you been stopped in your neighborhood or elsewhere in the city? How many times? If more than once, think about the last time you were stopped since we last talked.

[If only one stop and it happened in stop settings, move to next section; if more than one stop, focus on most recent non-school-based stop]:

Tell me what happened:

- b) When was that? Where? Were you alone?
- c) Were you stopped along with other people?
- d) Were there any bystanders/other people around?
- e) Were you informed of the reason for the stop? Did you understand what was being said to you?
- f) Were you held in a police car?
- g) Were you frisked? Were you searched?
Was any force used by the police during the stop? If so, was excessive force used?
- h) How did you feel during the stop?
- i) How did the stop end?
- j) What, if anything, could the police have done differently to make the situation better?
- k) What, if anything, would you have done differently?
- l) If you had been the police conducting the stop, would you have behaved differently? Why?

III. Now we want to ask you a few questions about your school

14. How many of your friends go to your school? Relatives?

15. Do you know whether your parents regularly attend parent-teacher meetings? If no, why?

16. What would you say are the most important safety problems at your school?

17. Do you think your parents know what's going on at the school in terms of safety?

18. How many times in a week do you see the following activities in your school:

- a. Stop & search activity
- b. Locker searches

- c. Someone arrested or detained
- d. Police called in

19. Do you think teachers and school administrators know about these practices? Do they support these practices?

20. How many times have you been stopped, frisked or searched at school? How about in the past year?

21. Please describe the instance you remember the most where you observed or were involved in being stopped, questioned, and/or frisked in your school.

- a. Have you told me about this specific stop before?
- b. If not, when were you stopped? Where? Were you alone?
- c. Tell me what happened
 - 1. Were you stopped along with other people?
 - 2. Were there any bystanders/other people around?
 - 3. Were you informed of the reason for the stop?
 - 4. Could you understand what was being said to you? Could you communicate with the school safety officers?
 - 5. Were you held in the office of the school safety officer?
 - 6. Were you frisked? Were you searched?
Was any force used by the school safety officer during the stop? If so, was excessive force used?
 - 7. How did you feel during the stop?
- d. How did the stop end?
- e. What, if anything, could the school safety officer have done differently to make the situation better?
- f. What, if anything, would you have done differently?
- g. If you had been the police conducting the stop, would you have behaved differently? Why?

22. Now think about the most recent stop at school (if different from above). Tell me what happened:

- m) When was that? Where? Were you alone?
- n) Were you stopped along with other people?
- o) Were there any bystanders/other people around?
- p) Were you informed of the reason for the stop?
- q) Were you held in the office of the school safety officer?
- r) Were you frisked? Were you searched?
Was any force used by the school safety officer during the stop? If so, was excessive force used?
- s) How did you feel during the stop?
- l) How did the stop end?
- m) Is there anything you could have done to make the situation better?
- n) What could the school safety officer have done to make the situation better?
- o) If you had been the school safety officer conducting the stop, would you have behaved differently? Why?

23. Have any of these contacts in school settings changed what you think of the school safety officer's role in school safety? [Prompt: If so, in what ways?]
24. What do you think the role of the police/school safety officer is in your school?
- Do you think the school safety officer does a good job of filling this role? [Prompt: Why/why not?]
 - Do you think that in your school when the school safety officer arrests someone they usually have a good reason to do so? How about stops? Describe your very best experience with the school safety officer in your school?
 - What is the most positive story about your school's safety officers that you have ever heard?

IV. Before we are done let me ask you a couple of questions about you and your family.

25. In what ways do you think your family is like other families in your neighborhood? In what ways do you think is different?
26. When you need guidance on something that's troubling you, who do you go to?
- Are you the source of guidance or advice to someone? [Prompt: younger siblings, cousins, own children, best friend]
27. How would you describe the way you relate to your parents/caregivers?
28. How well do you think your parents know what's going on in your life?
- Do you feel you and your parents want the same thing for your life?
 - Do you feel your parents support you?
29. Do you think your parents/relatives worry about your safety in your neighborhood?
- Do you worry about their safety?
 - What kind of advice do you get from them? What advice do you give them?

V. Lastly, I would like to ask you a couple of questions on ways things can change for the better in your neighborhood:

30. How would you police your neighborhood? [Prompt: What would you do?] Your school?
31. What can neighborhood residents do to improve their own safety?
32. What advice would you give a parent in your community about raising children in your community?

APPENDIX D: Caretaker Interview Guide

This interview guide contains several broad topic areas, and drafts of semi-structured interview prompts, that will be conducted over the course a single interview.

INTERVIEW

I. I hope to talk to you about your neighborhood, what you do around here, and what you think about local services and organizations; including for example your school, places for recreation, the police and so forth. The interview should last about ninety minutes.

1. How do you like your neighborhood?
 - a. How long have you lived in your neighborhood?
 - b. What is your neighborhood called?
2. Please describe the building you live in.
3. Who do you live with?
4. What do you think are the biggest problems in the neighborhood?
 - a. [Prompt: if residence is public housing, ask respondent to describe the building, its people, how the local building environment is different from the immediate neighborhood, different problems?]
5. Do you think there has been more or less crime in your neighborhood this year compared to last year? What is the most common crime around here?
6. Do you participate in any community organizations? [Prompt: Tenant association, block association, church, community gardens, etc.? How often do you participate? Are these organizations in your neighborhood?]
7. Do you think community organizations can improve neighborhood conditions? Do you think they can shape the way police works in the neighborhood?
8. How often do you get together with people on your block/ in your building to help each other out?
9. In general, what are the things that cause you the greatest discomfort when out in your community? [Prompt: Discomfort due to immigration status].
10. How do you respond to these discomforts?
11. Overall, what has shaped your opinion of the police? For ex. personal experience, stories by others, what you see/read in the news, etc.?
12. Do you feel the presence of the police in your neighborhood makes you feel safe?
 - a. Does it make you feel less likely to become a victim of a crime? Why or why not?

II. We'd like to hear some more about the places you see the police, your encounters with them, and about your experiences with the criminal justice system.

13. How often do you see the police in your neighborhood? How many times in the past week did you see the police doing at least one of the following things in your neighborhood:
 - i. Patrolling with lights and/or sirens on
 - ii. Chatting with people, giving information out
 - iii. Helping someone
 - iv. Searching someone
 - v. Arresting someone

14. Can you describe any past contact you've had with the criminal justice system in New York? (if this contact occurred elsewhere, please explain)
 - a. Have you ever been the victim of a crime? How many times? How many in the past year? Did you report any of these crimes to the police or called 911?
 - i. If more than one: What is the incident of victimization that stands out the most? [Prompt: what type of crime? Was there any injury or what was the approx. value of the property taken? Was there a weapon involved?]
 - ii. If yes to calling the police: Why did you call them? [Prompt: What did you want to happen as a result of your call?] What happened as a result of your report? [Prompt: Were you satisfied with the outcome?]
 - iii. If no to calling the police: Why not? [Prompt: Did you call someone else for help?]

15. Have you called the police for other reasons for ex. to report a crime that you were not a victim of or to ask for help in other way? How many times? Any in the past year? If yes, what happened as a result of your report? [Prompt: Were you satisfied with the outcome?] Have you called any other places or people for help, for ex. neighbors, relatives or other agencies?
 - a. Have you ever been arrested? How many times? How many in the past year?
 - b. Have you ever had a case heard by family or criminal court?
 - c. Have you ever been punished by the courts? What was your sentence?

16. How many of your close relatives here in New York have ever:
17. Been the victims of a crime? What types of crimes?
18. As far as you know, have most of these crimes been reported to the Police?
19. Been arrested for committing a crime? What types of crimes?

20. Do you know any people who are currently locked-up, that is, confined to a secured facility like a juvenile hall or a prison or a detention facility (by "knowing" we mean that you know them by sight or name, that you have been in touch in the past five years, or could get in touch easily if you needed to)?
 - a. How many people do you know currently in state or federal prison?
 - b. How many people do you know currently in juvenile detention or placement?

III. Now we'd like to talk some more about your opinions of and experiences with the police.

21. When you are walking down the street and see a police officer standing on a street corner, what is the first thought that comes to your mind? How do you feel? How do you behave?

- i. What if the officer were patrolling the neighborhood on foot: How would you feel? How would you behave?
 - ii. Sitting in a squad car?
 - iii. Driving down the street?

- 22. Do you ever change the way you do things in order to avoid potential encounters with the police?
 - a. (Prompt: the places you go, the things you wear?)

- 23. What do you think the police's role is in your neighborhood?
 - a. Do you think the police do a good job of filling this role? [Prompt: Why/why not?]
 - b. In this neighborhood, do you think that when the police arrest someone they usually have a good reason to do so? How about stops?
 - c. Describe your very best experience with the police in your neighborhood
 - d. What is the most positive story about the police in this neighborhood you have ever heard?

- 24. Do you think people in your neighborhood are willing to help the police? [Prompt: Calling to report crimes, tips, etc.). How do people in your neighborhood view people who help the police?

- 25. In what circumstances do you see yourself calling the police?
 - a. If never, why?
 - b. Have you ever called on people to solve an emergency rather than calling the police? Who? Why?

- 26. Have the police approached you while walking on the street or while in a car? How many times? How many in the last year? What percentage of these happened in your neighborhood?
 - a. IF STOPPED:

- 27. How often [always/most times/often/a few times/rarely] the police ...
 - a. ...asked you for ID or for some other information?
 - b. ...frisked you or patted you down?
 - c. ...searched your clothes or bags?
 - d. ...used force against you or the people you were with? Do you think the use of force was justified?
 - e. ...In how many of the situations where you have been stopped did you get arrested or were issued a summons?

- 28. Think about the stop that you remember the most (the one that has the most meaning to you). Tell me what happened"
 - a. When was that? Where? Were you alone?
 - b. Were you stopped along with other people?
 - c. Were there any bystanders/other people around?
 - d. Were you informed of the reason for the stop?

- e. Were you held in a police car?
 - f. Were you frisked? Were you searched?
Was any force used by the police during the stop? If so, was excessive force used?
 - g. How did you feel during the stop?
 - h. How did the stop end?
 - i. What, if anything, could the police have done differently?
 - j. What, if anything, would you have done differently?
29. If you had been the police conducting the stop, would you have behaved differently? Why?
30. Do you think you would be treated differently by the police during a stop if you were another race/ethnicity? Different gender? Why?

IV. Family relations

31. How many children do you have? What are their age(s)?
32. How many children do you have? Do they all live with you?
33. Describe your relationship with your child/ children? [Prompt: Has it always been this way?]
34. How well do you think you know what's going on in your children's' lives?
- a. How well do you think you know what's going on in the community?
 - b. What do you want for your child/ children?
 - c. Do they want the same things?
35. Do you worry about the safety of your children in this neighborhood?
- a. Do you think they worry about their own safety?
 - b. Do you think your children worry about your safety as well?
 - c. What kind of advice do you get from them in terms of how to act in the street? What advice do you give them?
 - d. What do you tell them to do in case of emergency or if they need help and you're not around? Any particular examples or stories that come to mind?
36. What did your parents/caregivers tell you about the police growing up?
- a. What was your first interaction with the police or the criminal justice system? (Prompt: If they were born outside the US, ask if their first encounter was in the US or abroad?)
 - b. Has the way you interact with the police changed over time? If so, why?
37. Are you aware of any police stops involving your child? [Prompt: If so, what do you know?]
- a. Do you think this has changed how your child thinks about the police? How?
 - b. Do you think this has changed how your child thinks about him- or herself? Why?
 - c. Do you think this has changed how your child thinks about his/her community? How?
38. Generally, how would you characterize the impact that police activities have on your community? Your child? Your family?

39. Do you think that police activity in your neighborhood has influenced the way you think about yourself? How? How about perceptions of your community?

V. Recommendations

40. How would you police this neighborhood if you were a police officer working in the neighborhood? If you were the mayor of New York City?

41. What can neighborhood residents do to improve their own safety?

42. What advice would you give a parent about raising children in your community?

VI. Background & personal information

43. Before we're done with this interview let me ask you a few basic questions about your background

44. How old are you?

45. What is your gender?

46. What is your ethnicity? What is your race? Where were you born?

47. When did you move to New York/your current home?

48. Who else lives in your home besides you? Where were they born? (prompts: mother, father, siblings)

[Interviewer: note public housing]