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Behind the Badge

Amid protests and calls for reform, how police view their jobs, key issues and recent fatal encounters between blacks and police

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Terminology

Throughout this report, "department" and "agency" are used interchangeably and refer to both municipal police departments and county sheriff's departments.

The terms "police officer" and "officer" refer to sworn officers in both police and sheriff's departments. References to "officers" or "all officers" include rank-and-file officers, sergeants and administrators.

References to rank-and-file officers include sworn personnel assigned to patrol, detectives and non-supervisory personnel assigned to specific units such as narcotics, traffic or community policing. Sergeants are first-line supervisors. Administrators are officers with the rank of lieutenant or higher, including senior command officers.

References to whites and blacks include only those who are non-Hispanic and identify as only one race. Hispanics are of any race.

References to urban and suburban police officers are based on the ZIP code in which their department is located. Urban police officers are defined as those whose department is within the central city of a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA). Suburban officers are those whose department is within an MSA, but not within a central city.

Behind the Badge

Amid protests and calls for reform, how police view their jobs, key issues and recent fatal encounters between blacks and police

Police work has always been hard. Today police say it is even harder. In a new Pew Research Center national survey conducted by the National Police Research Platform, majorities of police officers say that recent high-profile fatal encounters between black citizens and police officers have made their jobs riskier, aggravated tensions between police and blacks, and left many officers reluctant to fully carry out some of their duties.

The wide-ranging survey, one of the largest ever conducted with a nationally representative sample of police, draws on the attitudes and experiences of nearly 8,000 policemen and women from departments with at least 100 officers.[1] It comes at a crisis point in America's relationship with the men and women who enforce its laws, precipitated by a series of deaths of black Americans during encounters with the police that have energized a vigorous national debate over police conduct and methods.

Within America's police and sheriff's departments, the survey finds that the ramifications of these deadly encounters have been less visible than the public protests, but no less profound. Three-quarters say the incidents have increased tensions between police and blacks in their communities. About as many (72%) say officers in their department are now less willing to stop and question suspicious persons. Overall, more than eight-in-ten (86%) say police work is harder today as a result of these high-profile incidents.

Officers say fatal encounters between police and blacks have made policing harder

% of officers saying high-profile incidents between police and blacks have made …

12% No difference

No answer

86% Their job harder
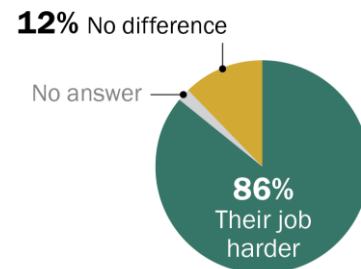
Note: Less than 0.5% said these incidents have made their job easier.

% of officers saying each has happened in their department as a result of high-profile incidents involving blacks and the police

Officers have become more concerned about their safety	**93%**
Officers have been more reluctant to use force when it is appropriate	**76**
Interactions between police and blacks have become more tense	**75**
Officers have become less willing to stop and question people who seem suspicious	**72**

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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[1] See the methodology appendix for a more detailed description of the criteria used to select the agencies in the sample.

At the same time that black Americans are dying in encounters with police, the number of fatal attacks on officers has grown in recent years. About nine-in-ten officers (93%) say their colleagues worry more about their personal safety – a level of concern recorded even before a total of eight officers died in separate ambush-style attacks in Dallas and Baton Rouge last July.

The survey also finds that officers remain deeply skeptical of the protests that have followed deadly encounters between police and black citizens. Two-thirds of officers (68%) say the demonstrations are motivated to a great extent by anti-police bias; only 10% in a separate question say protesters are similarly motivated by a genuine desire to hold police accountable for their actions. Some two-thirds characterize the fatal encounters that prompted the demonstrations as isolated incidents and not signs of broader problems between police and the black community – a view that stands in sharp contrast with the assessment of the general public. In a separate Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults, 60% say these incidents are symptoms of a deeper problem.

Majority of police say fatal police-black encounters are isolated incidents; majority of the public says they point to a bigger problem

% saying the deaths of blacks during encounters with police in recent years are …

	Isolated incidents	Signs of a broader problem
Officers	67	31
Public	39	60

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"
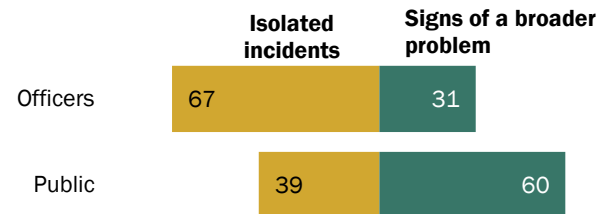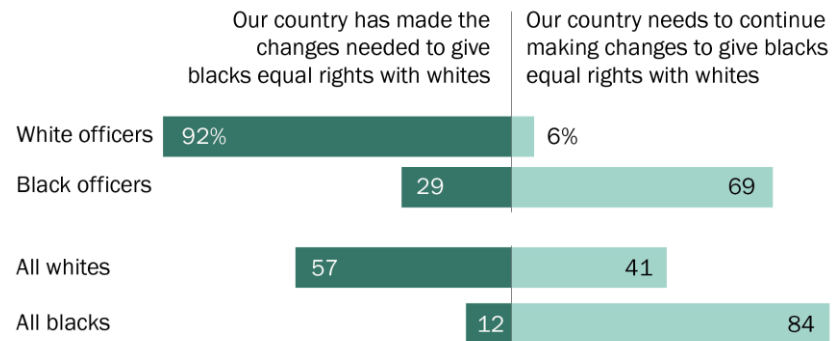
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A look inside the nation's police departments reveals that most officers are satisfied with their department as a place to work and remain strongly committed to making their agency successful. Still, about half (53%) question whether their department's disciplinary procedures are fair, and seven-in-ten (72%) say that poorly performing officers are not held accountable.

Conflicting experiences and emotions mark police culture

Other survey findings underscore the duality of police work and the emotional toll that police work can take on officers. About eight-in-ten (79%) say they have been thanked by someone for their service in the month prior to the survey while on duty. But also during that time two-thirds say they have been verbally abused by a member of their community, and a third have fought or physically struggled with a suspect. A majority of officers (58%) say their work nearly always or often makes them feel proud. But nearly the same share (51%) say the job often frustrates them. More than half (56%) say their job has made them more callous.

Most police officers feel respected by the public and, in turn, believe officers have little reason to distrust most people. Rather than viewing the neighborhoods where they work as hostile territory, seven-in-ten officers say that some or most of the residents of the areas they patrol share their values. At the same time, a narrow majority of officers (56%) believe an aggressive rather than courteous approach is more effective in certain neighborhoods, and 44% agree that some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way.

Police, public divided by race over whether attaining equality requires more changes

% saying that ...

	Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites	Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites
White officers	92%	6%
Black officers	29	69
All whites	57	41
All blacks	12	84

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016.
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Long-standing tensions between police and blacks underlie many of the survey results. While substantial majorities of officers say police have a good relationship with whites, Hispanics and Asians in their communities, 56% say the same about police relations with blacks. This perception varies dramatically by the race or ethnicity of the officer. Six-in-ten white and Hispanic officers characterize police relations with blacks as excellent or good, a view shared by only 32% of their black colleagues.

The racial divide looms equally large on other survey questions, particularly those that touch on race. When considered together, the frequency and sheer size of the differences between the views of black and white officers mark one of the singular findings of this survey. For example, only about a quarter of all white officers (27%) but seven-in-ten of their black colleagues (69%) say the protests that followed fatal encounters between police and black citizens have been motivated at least to some extent by a genuine desire to hold police accountable.

And when the topic turns more broadly to the state of race relations, virtually all white officers (92%) but only 29% of their black colleagues say that the country has made the changes needed to assure equal rights for blacks. Not only do the views of white officers differ from those of their

black colleagues, but they stand far apart from those of whites overall: 57% of all white adults say no more changes are needed, as measured in the Center's survey of the general public.

Public, police differ on some key issues

Further differences in attitudes and perceptions emerge when the views of officers are compared with those of the public on other questions. While two-thirds of all police officers say the deaths of blacks at the hands of police are isolated incidents, only about four-in-ten members of the public (39%) share this view while the majority (60%) believes these encounters point to a broader problem between police and blacks.

And while a majority of Americans (64%) favor a ban on assault-style weapons, a similar share of police officers (67%) say they would oppose such a ban.

On other issues the public and police broadly agree. Majorities of both groups favor the use of body cameras by officers to record interactions with citizens (66% of officers and 93% of the public). And about two-thirds of police (68%) and a larger share of the public (84%) believe the country's marijuana laws should be relaxed, and a larger share of the public than the police support legalizing marijuana for both private and medical use (49% vs. 32%).

These findings come from two separate Pew Research Center surveys. The main survey is an online poll of a nationally representative sample of 7,917 officers working in 54 police and sheriff's departments with 100 or more sworn officers. (Some 63% of all sworn officers work in departments of this size.) The National Police Research Platform, headquartered at the University of Illinois at Chicago during the study period, conducted this survey of police for the Pew Research Center May 19-Aug. 14, 2016, using its panel of police agencies. The NPRP panel is described in more detail in the methodology.

The views of the public included in this report drew from a Pew Research Center American Trends Panel survey of 4,538 U.S. adults conducted online and by mail Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. That survey included many of the same questions asked on the police survey, allowing direct comparisons to be made between the views of officers and the public.

Contrasting experiences, conflicting emotions

The survey provides a unique window into how police officers see their role in the community, how they assess the dangers of the job and what they encounter on a day-to-day basis. It also gives a glimpse into the psychology of policing and the way in which officers approach the moral and ethical challenges of the job.

Police have a nuanced view of their role – they don't see themselves as just protectors or as enforcers. A majority (62%) say they fill both of these roles equally. They also experience a range of emotions on the job – often conflicting ones. A majority of officers (58%) say their work nearly always or often makes them feel proud. Almost as many (51%) say they nearly always or often feel frustrated by the job.

Officers are somewhat less likely to say they feel fulfilled by their job (42% say nearly always or often). Relatively few officers (22%) say their job often makes them feel angry, but a significant share (49%) say it sometimes makes them feel this way. Officers who say their job often makes them feel angry seem to be less connected to the citizens they serve. Fully 45% say very few or none of the people in the neighborhoods they serve share their values. Only 20% of officers who say they hardly ever or never feel angry say the same.

White officers are significantly more likely than black officers to associate negative emotions with their job. For example, 54% of white officers say they nearly always or often feel frustrated by their work, while roughly four-in-ten (41%) black officers say the same. Hispanic officers fall in the middle on this measure.[2]
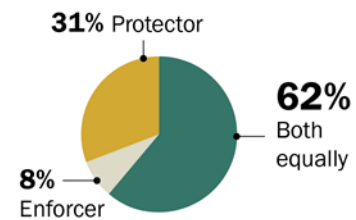
Officers worry about their safety and think the public doesn't understand the risks they face

Fatal encounters between blacks and police have dominated the headlines in recent years. But the story took on another twist with the ambush-style attack that killed five police officers last summer in Dallas. Because these attacks occurred while the survey was in the field, it was possible to see if safety concerns of officers were affected by the incidents by comparing views before and after the assault.
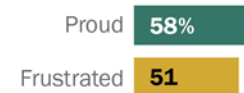
The dual nature of police work: For officers, emotions and experiences are often in conflict

% of officers saying …

They see themselves as protectors/enforcers …

31% Protector

62% Both equally

8% Enforcer

Police work nearly always/ often makes them feel …
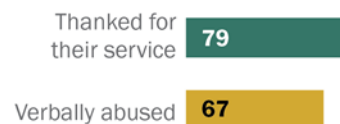
Proud **58%**
Frustrated **51**

They worry about their safety at least some of the time

84

They think the public doesn't understand risks they face

86

In the past month they have been ____ by a community member while on duty

Thanked for their service **79**

Verbally abused **67**

Note: Pie chart may not add to 100% due to rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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[2] Because of the small sample of non-Hispanic Asian officers (148), their views were not broken out separately but are included in the overall results.

Overall, the vast majority of officers say they have serious concerns about their physical safety at least sometimes when they are on the job. Some 42% say they nearly always or often have serious concerns about their safety, and another 42% say they sometimes have these concerns. The share of police saying they often or always have serious concerns about their own safety remained fairly consistent in interviews conducted pre-Dallas to post-Dallas.[3]

While physical confrontations are not a day-to-day occurrence for most police officers, they are not altogether infrequent. A third of all officers say that in the past month, they have physically struggled or fought with a suspect who was resisting arrest. Male officers are more likely than their female counterparts to report having had this type of encounter in the past month – 35% of men vs. 22% of women. And white officers (36%) are more likely than black officers (20%) to say they have struggled or fought with a suspect in the past month. Among Hispanic officers, 33% say they had an encounter like this.

Although police officers clearly recognize the dangers inherent in their job, most believe the public doesn't understand the risks and challenges they face. Only 14% say the public understands these risks very or somewhat well, while 86% say the public doesn't understand them too well or at all.[4] For their part, the large majority of American adults (83%) say they do understand the risks law enforcement officers face.

White officers more likely than black officers to have had a physical altercation with a suspect

% of officers saying they have physically struggled or fought with a suspect who was resisting arrest in the past month

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Police interactions with the public can range from casual encounters to moments of high stress. And the reactions police report getting from community members reflect the diverse nature of

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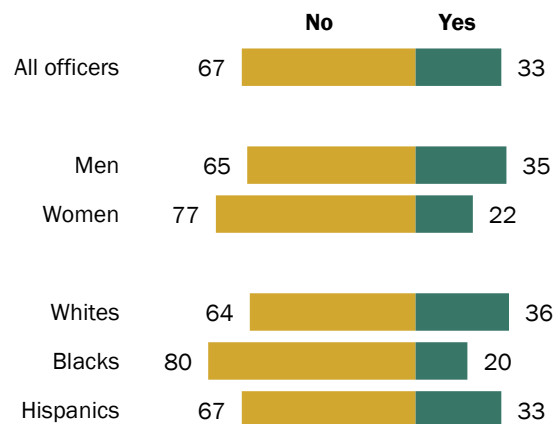
[3] On July 7, 2016, five police officers were shot and killed, and nine officers were injured, in Dallas when they were ambushed by a black man who claimed to be angry over recent police shootings of blacks. This incident occurred while the police survey was in the field; 6,957 officers were interviewed before the Dallas shootings, and 960 were interviewed after the incident.

[4] Throughout this report, whenever response options are combined, net shares are calculated before rounding.

those contacts. Large majorities of officers across most major demographic groups report that they have been thanked for their service, but there are significant differences across key demographic groups when it comes to verbal abuse. Men are more likely than women to say they have been verbally abused by a community member in the past month. White and Hispanic officers are more likely than black officers to have had this experience. And a much higher share of younger officers (ages 18 to 44) report being verbally abused – 75%, compared with 58% of their older counterparts.

The situations police face on the job can often present moral dilemmas. When asked how they would advise a fellow officer in an instance where doing what is morally the right thing would require breaking a department rule, a majority of police (57%) say they would advise their colleague to do the morally right thing. Four-in-ten say they would advise the colleague to follow the department rule. There's a significant racial divide on this question: 63% of white officers say they would advise doing the morally right thing, even if it meant breaking a department rule; only 43% of black officers say they would give the same advice.

Size and demographic composition of America's police departments

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, there were 15,388 state and local law enforcement agencies, employing more than 750,000 sworn officers in 2013 (the most recently available data). The majority of these agencies were local municipal police departments (12,326). There were 3,012 sheriff's departments, which serve areas of the country that do not lie within the jurisdictions of police departments of incorporated municipalities, though some small cities contract with the local sheriff's department for police services. There are also 50 primary state police agencies.

The Pew Research Center survey conducted by the National Police Research Platform is representative of officers nationwide in local police and sheriff's departments with at least 100 full-time police officers. A majority of full-time sworn officers (477,317) were part of local police departments in 2013. Agencies with at least 100 full-time equivalent officers employed 63% of the nation's full-time officers even though these departments accounted for only 5% of all local police departments (or 645 departments). It is these larger local police agencies that have been at the center of recent national conversations on policing.

Majority of full-time officers are in agencies with at least 100 officers

Number of officers*	Departments		Full-time officers	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	12,326	100	477,317	100
1,000 or more	49	<0.5	161,883	34
100-999	596	5	138,248	29
10-99	5,786	47	156,262	33
1-9	5,895	48	20,926	4

*Includes both full-time and part-time officers with a weight of 0.5 for part-time employees.
Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics Survey (LEMAS), 2013.
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In 2013, more than a quarter (27%) of full-time police officers were racial or ethnic minorities. Some 12% of full-time local police officers were black; another 12% were Hispanic; and 4% were Asian, Pacific Islander, American Indian or multiracial. By comparison, 12% of the U.S. adult population was black; 15% was Hispanic; and 8% was some other racial or ethnic minority in 2013. Women remain underrepresented in the field, making up just 12% of full-time officers in 2013; women are 51% of the U.S. adult population.

In general, departments that serve larger populations are more racially and ethnically diverse and tend to have a higher share of women serving as full-time officers. For example, more than four-in-ten officers serving populations of 500,000 or more were racial or ethnic minorities in 2013, compared with fewer than one-in-five in jurisdictions with less than 50,000 people.

Police are highly committed to their work but say more officers are needed

A look inside the nation's police departments reveals a great deal about how officers view their jobs, their leadership and their resources. For the most part police officers give their workplace a positive rating and are committed to their agency's success. A solid majority of officers are either very satisfied (16%) or satisfied (58%) with their agency as a place to work. And an overwhelming share of officers (96%) agree that they are strongly committed to making their agency successful.

Still, police do not offer universal praise of their departmental leadership. Only three-in-ten say they are extremely (7%) or very (23%) supportive of the direction that top management is taking their organization. About half are moderately (28%) or slightly (19%) supportive and 15% are not supportive at all.

And police express serious concerns about resource limitations. At the most basic level, most police (86%) say their department does not have enough officers to adequately police the community. Police who work in larger agencies (with 1,000 officers of more) are more likely than those working in smaller agencies to say that there is a shortage of officers in their department (95% vs. 79%).

Police give their departments relatively positive, though not exemplary, ratings for training and equipping officers to do their jobs. Roughly four-in-ten officers (39%) say their department has done very well in terms of training them adequately for their job, and a similar share (37%) give their department high marks for clearly communicating the responsibilities of the job. About three-in-ten officers (31%) say their department has done very well when it comes to equipping them to perform their job. On each of these dimensions, about four-in-ten officers say their department has done somewhat well, while about one-in-five rate their department's performance as not too well or not at all well in these areas.

Most officers say their department has too few officers to police the community

% of officers saying their department _____ have enough officers to adequately police the community
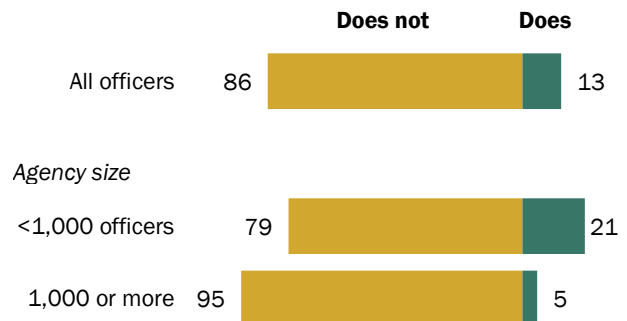
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Again there are gaps by department size, with smaller departments (1,000 officers or fewer) giving their leadership significantly higher ratings when it comes to training and equipping them, as well as communicating job expectations.

Most officers say their use-of-force guidelines are appropriate and helpful

As many departments grapple with use-of-force policies and training, most officers say their own agency's guidelines strike the right balance. About one-in-four (26%) say the rules governing use of force in their department are too restrictive, while 73% say they are about right (1% say the guidelines are not restrictive enough).

Roughly a third (34%) of officers say their department's guidelines are very useful when police are confronted with actual situations where force may be necessary. An additional 51% say the guidelines are somewhat useful. Some 14% say they are not too useful or not at all useful. And when the department guidelines are not being followed, police overwhelmingly say fellow officers need to step up. Fully 84% say officers should be required to intervene when they believe another officer is about to use unnecessary force; just 15% say they should not be required to intervene.

In terms of striking the right balance between acting decisively versus taking time to assess a situation, police tend to be more concerned that officers in their department will spend *too much time* diagnosing a situation before acting (56% worry more about this) than they are about officers *not spending enough time* before acting decisively (41%).

Black officers are much more likely than white or Hispanic officers to say they worry more that officers will not spend enough time diagnosing a situation before acting (61% for blacks vs. 37% for whites and 44% of Hispanics). Overall, blacks and department administrators (59%) are the only two major groups in which a majority is more concerned that officers will act too quickly than worry that they will wait too long before responding to a situation.

Officers give their departments mixed ratings for their disciplinary processes. About half

About half say disciplinary process in their department is fair

% of officers saying they _____ with each of the following statements
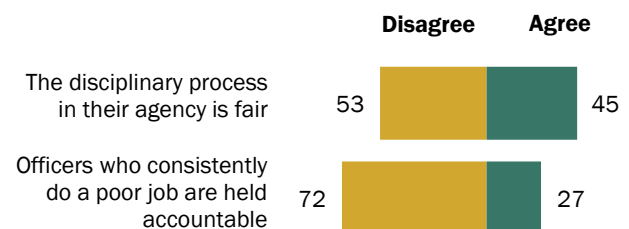
	Disagree	Agree
The disciplinary process in their agency is fair	53	45
Officers who consistently do a poor job are held accountable	72	27

Note: "Agree" comprises those who say they agree or strongly agree with the statement. "Disagree" comprises those who say they disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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(45%) agree that the disciplinary process in their agency is fair, while 53% disagree (including one-in-five who strongly disagree). When they are asked more specifically about the extent to which underperforming officers are held accountable, police give more negative assessments of their departments. Only 27% agree that officers who consistently do a poor job are held accountable, while 72% disagree with this.

Most officers have had at least some training in key areas of reform

Reforming law enforcement tactics and procedures – particularly as they relate to the use of force – has become an important focus both inside and outside the police department. In the wake of recent fatalities of blacks during encounters with police, recommendations have been made to prevent these types of situations from occurring.

The survey finds broad support among police, especially administrators, for the use of body cameras. Even so, officers are somewhat skeptical that their use would change police behavior. Half of all officers say body cameras would make police more likely to act appropriately, while 44% say this wouldn't make any difference.

Despite the national attention given to training and reforms aimed at preventing the use of unnecessary force, relatively few (half or fewer rank-and-file officers) report having had at least four hours of training in some specific areas over the preceding 12 months.

About half of rank-and-file officers say they have had at least four hours of firearms training in the last 12 months involving shoot-don't shoot scenarios (53%) and nonlethal methods to control a combative or threatening individual (50%). Some 46% of officers have had at least four hours of training in how to deal with individuals who are having a mental health crisis, and 44% say they have had at least four hours of training in how to de-escalate a situation so it is not necessary to use force.

Roughly two-thirds of officers say they favor the use of body cameras

% of officers saying they personally _____ the use of body cameras, regardless of whether their department uses them

	Oppose	Favor
All officers	33	66
Rank-and-file officers	34	65
Sergeants	31	67
Administrators	18	82
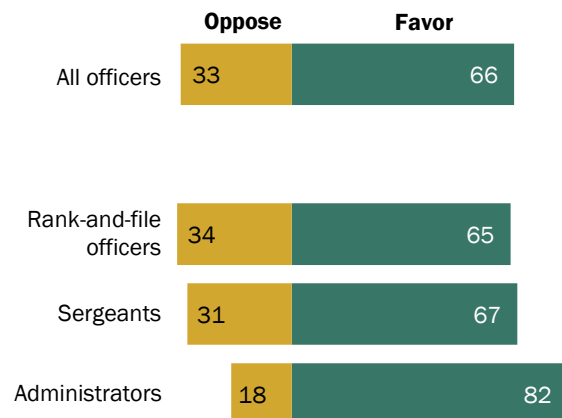
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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About four-in-ten officers say they have received at least four hours of training in bias and fairness (39%) and how to deal with people so they feel they've been treated fairly and respectfully (37%).

Most officers say high-profile incidents have made policing harder

Whether an officer works in a department that employs hundreds or thousands of sworn officers or is located in a quiet suburb or bustling metropolis, police say their jobs are harder now as a consequence of recent high-profile fatal incidents involving blacks and police.

Overall, fully 86% of officers say their jobs are harder, including substantial majorities of officers in police departments with fewer than 300 officers as well as those working in "mega departments" with 2,600 officers or more (84% and 89%, respectively). In fact, across every major demographic group analyzed for this survey, about eight-in-ten officers or more say these high-profile incidents have made policing more challenging and more dangerous.

While the impact of these incidents is broadly felt, officers in larger departments are far more likely than those in small agencies to say these incidents have had an impact. For example, roughly half of officers (54%) in departments with fewer than 300 officers say their peers have become less willing to stop and question people who seem suspicious. By contrast, fully 86% of police in departments with 2,600 officers or more say fellow officers are now

Impact of fatal incidents involving blacks felt more by large departments than by small agencies

% of officers in _____ saying each has happened in their department as a result of high-profile incidents involving blacks and the police

■ Small departments (fewer than 300 officers)
■ Large departments (2,600 or more)

Officers have become less willing to stop and question people who seem suspicious
- 54
- 86

Interactions between police and blacks have become more tense
- 61
- 87

Officers have become more reluctant to use force when it is appropriate
- 63
- 85

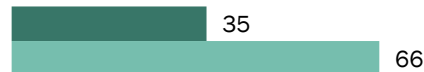Officers have become more concerned about their safety
- 88
- 95

Departmental changes

The department has modified its policies or procedures about the use of force
- 19
- 68

The department has taken steps to improve relations between police and blacks
- 35
- 66

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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more hesitant to question people who look or act suspicious. Similarly, roughly nine-in-ten officers (87%) in the largest departments say that police interactions with blacks have become more tense; 61% of officers in small departments agree.

Police in larger departments also are more likely than those in small agencies to say officers in their department are more reluctant to use force to control a suspect even when it is appropriate, a move that police critics may view as a positive sign but others may see as putting officers at increased risk.

The survey also found that roughly half (46%) of officers say fatal encounters between blacks and police in recent years have prompted their department to modify their use-of-force policies. Officers in large departments are more than three times as likely to report that their departments have made this change as small agencies (68% vs. 19%). About two-thirds of police in larger departments (66%) say their departments have taken steps to improve relations with black residents. By contrast, about a third of officers in small departments (35%) have made similar outreach efforts.

How officers view police relations with whites and minorities

Large majorities of white, black and Hispanic officers agree that police and whites in their communities get along.[5]

But striking differences emerge when the focus shifts to police relations with racial and ethnic minorities. A consistently smaller share of black officers than their white or Hispanic colleagues say the police have a positive relationship with minorities in the community they serve. Roughly a third of all black officers (32%) characterize relations with blacks in their community as either excellent or good, while majorities of white and Hispanic officers (60% for both) offer a positive assessment.

Most white, Latino officers say fatal encounters between blacks and police are isolated incidents; majority of black officers disagree

% of officers saying the deaths of blacks during encounters with police in recent years are …

	Isolated incidents	Signs of a broader problem
All officers	67	31
Whites	72	27
Blacks	43	57
Hispanics	72	26
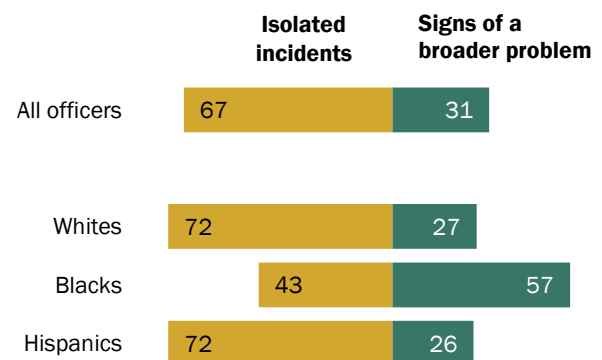
Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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[5] The sample includes 148 non-Hispanic Asian officers, too small to reliably characterize Asian officers as a group or compare them with other racial and ethnic groups. The views of Asian officers, however, are included in the overall results.

At the same time, only about half of all black officers (46%) but large majorities of Hispanic (71%) and white (76%) officers say relations between police and Hispanics are excellent or good. Similarly, three-quarters of all black officers but 91% of white officers and 88% of Hispanic officers rate relations with Asians in their communities positively.

Majority of police view fatal encounters as isolated incidents

Two-thirds of police officers (67%) say the highly publicized fatal encounters between police and blacks are isolated incidents, while 31% describe them as signs of a broader problem. Yet underlying this result are striking differences between the views of black and white officers – differences that mirror the broader fault lines in society at large on racial issues.

A majority of black officers (57%) say these encounters are evidence of a broader problem between police and blacks, a view held by only about a quarter of all white (27%) and Hispanic (26%) officers.

Black female officers in particular are more likely to say these incidents signal a more far-reaching concern. Among all sworn officers, 63% of black women say this, compared with 54% of black men.

Widespread doubts about protesters' motives

Most police officers are deeply skeptical of the motives of the demonstrators who protested after many of the deadly encounters between police and blacks. Fully nine-in-ten (92%) believe that long-standing bias against the police is a great deal (68%) or some (24%) of the motivation behind these demonstrations. In sharp contrast, only about a third (35%) of officers say in a separate question that a genuine desire to hold officers accountable for their actions is at least some of the motivation for the protests.

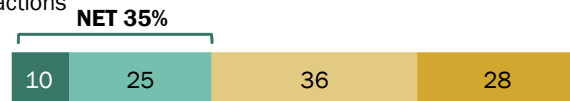### Most officers say protests mainly motivated by bias toward police

% of officers saying protests over deaths of blacks who died during encounters with the police are motivated ___ by …

■ A great deal   ■ Some   ■ Not much   ■ Not at all

Long-standing bias against the police

NET 92%

| 68 | 24 | 4 | 2 |

A genuine desire to hold officers accountable for their actions   **NET 35%**

| 10 | 25 | 36 | 28 |
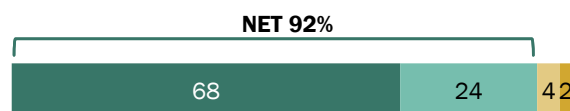
Note: No answer category not shown. NETs calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Once again, race pushes police in opposite directions. Among black officers, 69% say the protests were sincere efforts to force police accountability – more than double the proportion of whites (27%) who share this view. Female officers, older police and department administrators also are more likely than male officers, younger police and rank-and-file officers to believe protesters genuinely seek police accountability.

Support for aggressive, physical tactics

The law gives police great discretion in how they interact with citizens. Depending on the situation, these techniques can range from polite persuasion to the use of forceful and more pointed verbal commands to the extreme physical measures that officers sometimes use, often as a last resort, to control threatening or combative individuals. The use of these more severe techniques has been a main focus of the national debate over police methods.

To measure their attitudes toward more aggressive tactics, officers were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with two statements. The first statement read, "In certain areas of the city it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous." The second measured support for the assertion that "some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way."

Some officers say tough, aggressive tactics are needed with some people and in some neighborhoods

% of officers saying they ___ with each of the following statements

■ Strongly disagree ■ Disagree ■ Agree ■ Strongly agree

NET 44%

Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way | 10 | 45 | 39 | 5

NET 56%

In certain areas of the city it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous | 10 | 34 | 39 | 17
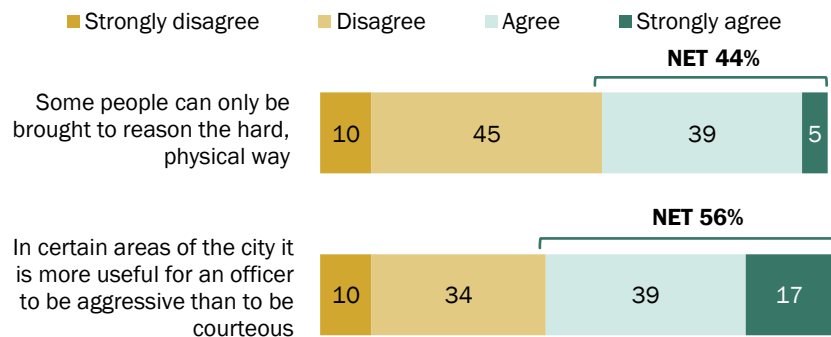
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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A narrow majority of officers (56%) feel that in some neighborhoods being aggressive is more effective than being courteous, while 44% agree or strongly agree that hard, physical tactics are necessary to deal with some people.

On both measures, a larger share of younger, less senior officers and those with less than five years of experience favor these techniques, while proportionally fewer older, more experienced officers or department administrators endorse them.

A majority of officers say they have become more callous

There's a saying in police work that officers see things the public doesn't see – and also things the public *shouldn't* see. Exposure to the dark side of life, coupled with the stress that officers encounter working in high-pressure situations or with hostile individuals, means that many officers may pay an emotional price for their service.

For example, a 56% majority of officers say they have become more callous toward people since taking their job. Younger officers and white officers are more likely than older or black officers to say they have become more callous.

Officers who report they have grown more callous are also more likely than their colleagues to endorse aggressive or physically harsh tactics with some people or in some parts of the community. They also are more likely than other officers to say they are frequently angered or frustrated by their jobs or to have been involved in a physical or verbal confrontation with a citizen in the past month or to have fired their service weapon while on duty at some point in their careers.

It is difficult to discern with these data whether increased callousness is a primary cause or a consequence of feelings of anger or frustration, or attitudes toward aggressive tactics. However, the data suggest that these feelings and behaviors are related. For example, officers who sense they have become more callous on the job are about twice as likely as those who say they have not to say their job nearly always or often makes them feel angry (30% vs. 12%). They also are more likely to feel frustrated by their job (63% vs. 37%).

Among those officers who say they have become more callous, about four-in-ten (38%) physically struggled or fought with a suspect in the previous month compared with 26% of those who say they have not become more insensitive.

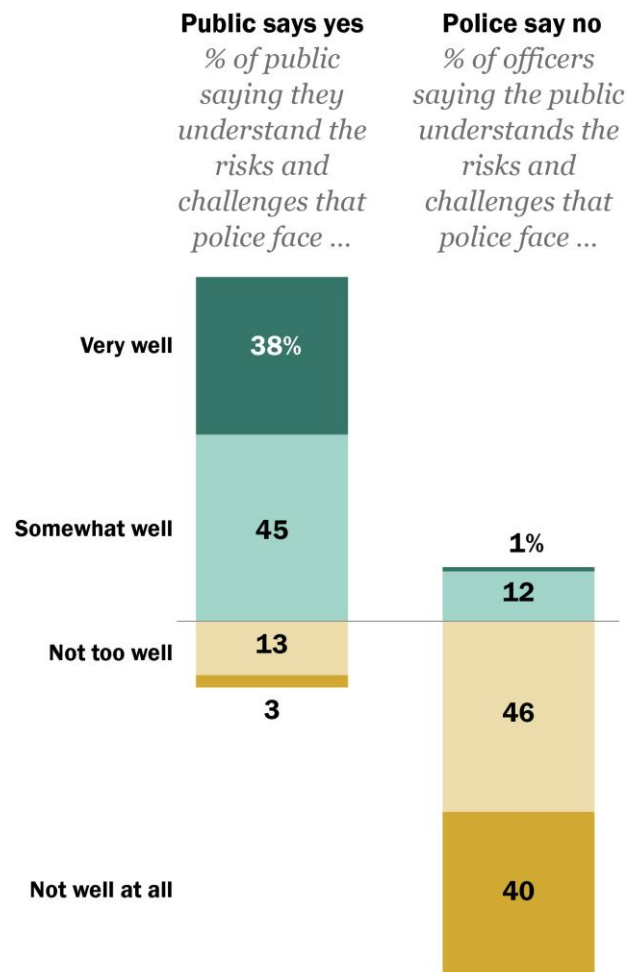## Similarities and differences between police and public views

On a range of issues and attitudes, police and the public often see the world in very different ways. For example, when both groups are asked whether the public understands the risks and rewards of police work, fully eight-in-ten (83%) of the public say they do, while 86% of police say they don't – the single largest disparity measured in these surveys.

And while the country is divided virtually down the middle over the need to continue making changes to obtain equal rights for blacks, the overwhelming majority of police (80%) say no further changes are necessary. The public also is twice as likely as police to favor a ban on assault-style weapons (64% vs. 32%).

Yet these differences in views are matched by equally significant areas of broad agreement. Large majorities of officers (92%) and the public (79%) say anti-police bias is at least somewhat of a motivation for those protesting the deaths of blacks at the hands of police. Majorities of police and the public favor the use of body cameras by officers, though a significantly larger share of the public supports their use (93% vs. 66%) and sees more benefits from body cams than the police do.

While they disagree about an assault weapons ban, large majorities of the police (88%) and the public (86%) favor making private gun sales and sales at gun shows subject to background checks. Majorities also favor creating a federal database to track all gun sales (61% for police and 71% of the public).

Do Americans understand the challenges police face on the job?

Public says yes
% of public saying they understand the risks and challenges that police face …

Police say no
% of officers saying the public understands the risks and challenges that police face …

Very well 38%

Somewhat well 45   1%
12

Not too well 13
3   46

Not well at all 40

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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The remainder of this report explores in greater detail the working lives, experiences and attitudes of America's police officers. Chapter 1 examines police culture, how officers view their job as well as the risks and rewards of police work. Chapter 2 reports how officers view their departments and their superiors as well as officers' attitudes toward the internal rules and policies that govern how they do their job, including the use of force. Chapter 3 looks at how officers view the citizens they serve and how they think the citizens view them, including officers' perceptions of the relations between police and whites, blacks and other minority groups in their communities. Chapter 4 explores police reaction to recent fatal encounters between blacks and police, the protests that followed many of these incidents and the impact those events have had on how officers do their job. Chapter 5 looks at how officers view various police reforms, including the use of body cameras, and reports on the kinds of police training officers receive to help reduce bias, de-escalate threatening situations as well as how to know when – and when not to – use their service weapons or use deadly force. The final chapter compares and contrasts the views of police with those of the public on a wide range of issues relevant to police work, including attitudes toward gun law reforms and changes to the country's marijuana laws. It also explores how each group views recent fatal encounters between blacks and police as well as the protests that have frequently followed those incidents.

Other key findings:

- About half of black officers (53%) say that whites are treated better than minorities in their department or agency when it comes to assignments and promotions. Few Hispanic (19%) or white officers (1%) agree. About six-in-ten white and Hispanic officers say minorities and whites are treated the same (compared with 39% of black officers).

- Most officers say that outside of required training, they have not discharged their service firearm while on duty; 27% say they have done this. Male officers are about three times as likely as female officers to say they have fired their weapon while on duty – 30% of men vs. 11% of women.

- Roughly three-in-ten officers (31%) say they have patrolled on foot continuously for 30 minutes or more in the past month; 68% say they have not done this.

- Officers are divided over whether local police should take an active role (52%) in identifying undocumented immigrants rather than leaving this task mainly to federal authorities (46%).

- The share of sworn officers who are women or minorities has increased slowly in recent decades. Since 1987 the share of female officers has grown from 8% to 12% in 2013, the last year the federal Department of Justice measured the demographic characteristics of police agencies. During that time, the share of black officers increased from 9% to 12% while the Hispanic share more than doubled, from 5% to 12%.

- About seven-in-ten officers say some or most of the people in the neighborhoods where they routinely work share their values and beliefs. Officers in larger departments are less likely than those in smaller departments to say they share values with the people in the areas where they patrol.

- About half (51%) of police officers compared with 29% of all employed adults say their job nearly always or often frustrates them, while about four-in-ten officers (42%) and half of employed adults (52%) say their work frequently makes them feel fulfilled.

- A large majority of all officers (76%) say that responding effectively to people who are having a mental health crisis is an important role for police. An additional 12% say this is a role for them, though not an important one and 11% say this is not a role for police.

1. Police culture

In police departments around the country, officers are often sent out to start their shift with an admonition from their supervisor – something to the effect of, "Come back safe." There's no disputing that law enforcement is a dangerous occupation.[6] Police officers feel this acutely, but they question whether the public truly understands the risks they face on the job. The vast majority of police (84%) say they worry about their safety at least some of the time, and roughly the same share (86%) say they don't think the public understands the risks and challenges they face on the job.

While physical confrontations are not a part of the daily routine for most police officers, a third of all officers say they have struggled or fought with a suspect who was resisting arrest in the past month. Some 27% say they have discharged their service firearm while on duty at some point in their career, not including anytime they used their weapon in training exercises.

The survey captured the duality of police work on several dimensions. A majority of police (58%) say their work as a law enforcement officer nearly always or often makes them feel proud. But nearly the same share (51%) say their work often makes them feel frustrated. A large majority (79%) say they have been thanked by someone for their police service in the past month, but almost as many (67%) say they have been verbally abused by a member of their community while on duty during that same period. And when asked whether they view themselves more as protectors or enforcers, roughly six-in-ten police officers (62%) say they fill both of these roles equally.

There are significant gaps across key demographic groups on several of these measures. White officers are more likely than black officers to believe that the public doesn't understand the risks they face on the job, to say they have recently gotten into a physical

About six-in-ten police officers see themselves as protectors *and* enforcers

% of officers saying, even if both are important parts of their work, they see themselves more as ...
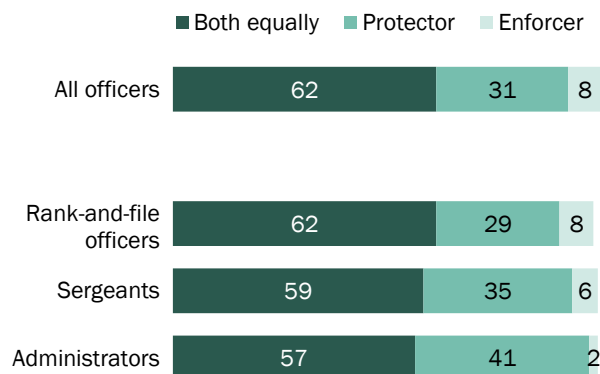
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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[6] According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, police officers are at a higher risk of suffering work-related injuries or fatalities than workers in most other occupations. See http://www.bls.gov/iif/oshwc/cfoi/police-officers-2014.htm for more details.

struggle with a suspect and to say the job makes them feel frustrated or angry. Male and female officers have similar outlooks on their job but report different experiences, especially when it comes to violent confrontations.

Experiences and attitudes also differ substantially according to rank. For example, compared with administrators, rank-and-file officers and sergeants worry more about their safety and feel less understood by the public.

While officers worry about their safety, most feel public doesn't understand the risks they face
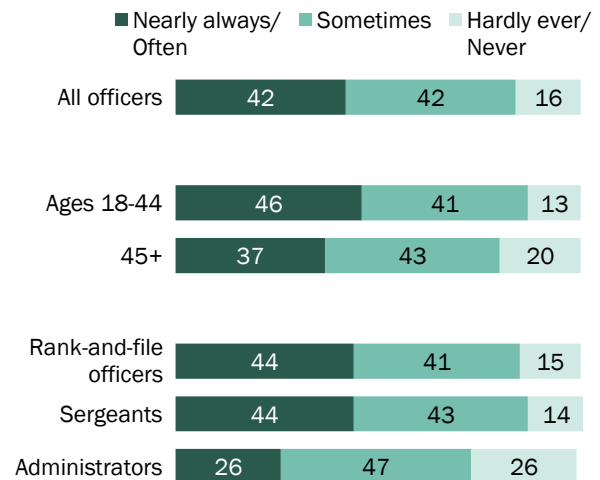
When asked at the most basic level whether they see themselves more as protectors or enforcers, most police officers (62%) say they see themselves filling both roles equally. About three-in-ten (31%) say they see themselves mainly as a protector, while only 8% say they view themselves more as enforcers.

Across gender, racial and age lines, majorities of police officers say they consider themselves both protectors and enforcers. Black officers (69%) are more likely than white officers (59%) to say this, while a somewhat higher share of white officers (32%) than black officers (27%) say they see themselves mainly as protectors. Administrators are somewhat more likely than sergeants or rank-and-file officers to view themselves mainly as protectors.

Whether protectors or enforcers, most police officers say that they face dangers on the job. Roughly four-in-ten say that they nearly always (13%) or often (29%) have serious concerns about their physical safety when they are at work. Another 42% say they sometimes have these concerns. Only 16% say they hardly ever or never worry about their safety.

Younger officers worry more often about their physical safety

% of officers saying they have serious concerns about their physical safety when they are at work …

Legend: ■ Nearly always/ Often ■ Sometimes ■ Hardly ever/ Never

	Nearly always/ Often	Sometimes	Hardly ever/ Never
All officers	42	42	16
Ages 18-44	46	41	13
45+	37	43	20
Rank-and-file officers	44	41	15
Sergeants	44	43	14
Administrators	26	47	26

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Male and female officers report having serious concerns about their safety with roughly equal frequency. And there are only modest differences on this measure between black and white officers.

Younger officers express a higher level of concern about their safety than do their older counterparts. Among those ages 18 to 44, fully 46% say they nearly always or often have serious concerns about their physical safety when they are at work; 37% of officers ages 45 and older voice the same level of concern.

Perhaps related to the age differences or their specific job assignments, rank-and-file officers and sergeants are more likely than administrators to say they often have concerns about their safety.

The level of concern on the part of individual officers did not appear to increase after the fatal attack on five officers in Dallas last summer. The share of police saying they nearly always or often have serious concerns about their own safety remained fairly consistent pre-Dallas to post-Dallas.
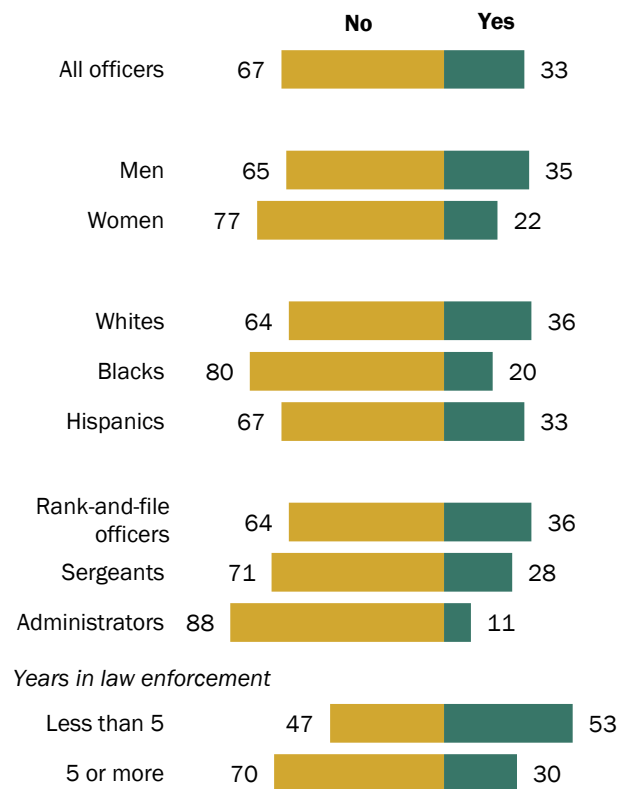
While not commonplace, physical confrontations with suspects are not a rare occurrence for police

A third of all officers say they have physically struggled or fought in the past month with a suspect who was resisting arrest. There are large demographic differences on this measure. Male officers are much more likely than their female counterparts to report having had this type of encounter in the past month – 35% of men vs. 22% of women.

There are large gaps by race as well. While 36% of white officers say they have struggled

Men, newer officers more likely to report violent encounters with resistant suspects

% of officers saying, in the past month, they have physically struggled or fought with a suspect who was resisting arrest

	No	Yes
All officers	67	33
Men	65	35
Women	77	22
Whites	64	36
Blacks	80	20
Hispanics	67	33
Rank-and-file officers	64	36
Sergeants	71	28
Administrators	88	11
Years in law enforcement		
Less than 5	47	53
5 or more	70	30

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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or fought with a suspect in the past month, only 20% of black officers say they have had the same type of experience. Among Hispanic officers, 33% say they had an encounter like this. These racial patterns persist across different-sized agencies.

Officers who are fairly new to the job are much more likely than more seasoned officers to have struggled or fought with a suspect in the past month. Some 53% of officers who have been on the job for less than five years say they have done this, compared with 30% of those who have been on the job five years or longer.

These experiences also vary significantly by rank. Among rank-and-file officers, 36% say they have had a violent encounter with a suspect who was resisting arrest in the past month; 28% of sergeants report having a run-in like this, as do 11% of administrators.

Perhaps not surprisingly, police who have had this type of experience recently are more likely than those who have not to say they often have serious concerns about their personal safety when they are on the job (54% vs. 37%).

## About seven-in-ten officers have never fired their service weapon while on duty

Most officers say that, outside of required training, they have not discharged their service firearm while on duty; 27% say they have done this. Male officers are about three times as likely as female officers to say they have fired their weapon while on duty – 30% of men vs. 11% of women.

Among white officers, 31% say they have discharged their service firearm while on duty. A smaller share of black (21%) and Hispanic (20%) officers report doing the same.

Not surprisingly, officers with a longer tenure in law enforcement are more likely than newer officers to have used their firearm while on duty. Some 14% of those with less than five years of experience say they have fired their

Male officers, whites more likely to have fired service weapon on duty

% of officers saying, other than on a gun range or while training, they have discharged their service firearm while on duty
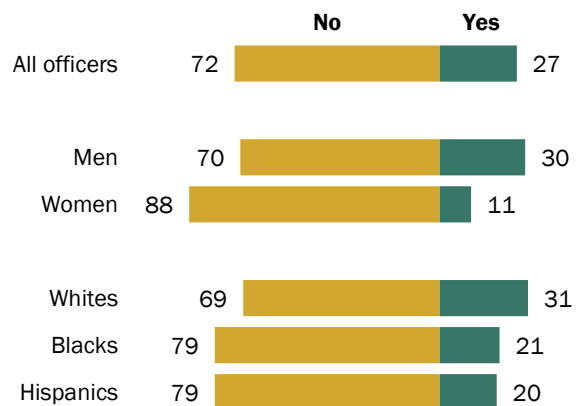
	No	Yes
All officers	72	27
Men	70	30
Women	88	11
Whites	69	31
Blacks	79	21
Hispanics	79	20

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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weapon, while 29% of officers who have been on the job five years or longer say they have done this. Interestingly, those with 20 or more years of experience are no more likely than those with 10 to 19 years of service to have used their weapon while on duty.

How well does the public understand the risks police face? Four-in-ten officers say not well at all

The relationship between the police and the public is a complicated one. While many police officers often worry about their own safety, the vast majority believe the public doesn't understand the risks and challenges they face on the job. When asked how well the public understands the risks police face, 46% of officers say not too well, and an additional 40% say not well at all. Only 1% say the public understands the risks and challenges faced by police very well, and 12% say the public understands somewhat well.

White and Hispanic officers are much more likely than black officers to say the public doesn't understand the risks and challenges involved in police work. Fully 42% of white and Hispanic officers say the public does not understand these risks well at all, compared with only 29% of black officers.
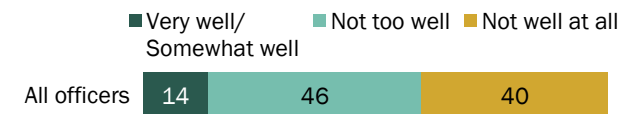
Younger officers are more skeptical than their older counterparts that the public grasps the risks and challenges police face on the job.

Most police say the public doesn't understand the risks they face

% of officers saying the public understands the risks and challenges they face on the job …

■ Very well/   ■ Not too well   ■ Not well at all
Somewhat well

	Very well/Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all
All officers	14	46	40

% saying not well at all, by subgroup

Whites	42
Blacks	29
Hispanics	42
Ages 18-44	44
45+	34

Agency size

<1,000 officers	35
1,000 or more	45

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. "Very well/Somewhat well" calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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While 44% of officers ages 18 to 44 say the public doesn't understand these things well at all, only 34% of officers ages 45 and older agree with this assessment. Similarly, rank-and-file officers (42%) and sergeants (39%) are more likely than administrators (25%) to say the public doesn't understand police work well at all.
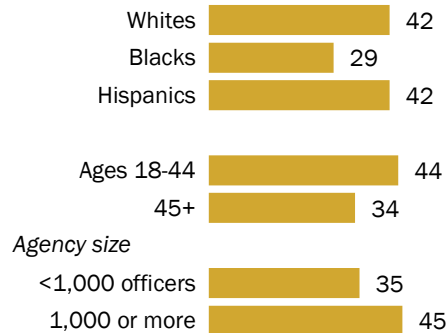
Officers from larger departments feel more of a disconnect with the public than officers from smaller departments. Among those in departments with 1,000 or more officers, 45% say the public

doesn't understand well at all the risks and challenges police face. Among those in departments with fewer than 1,000 officers, 35% share this view.

For police, contact with citizens can be a mixed bag

Police interact with the public in a variety of settings, and the reaction they get from community members can range from affirmative to abusive. About eight-in-ten officers (79%) say they have been thanked by a community member for their police service in the past month. At the same time, 67% say they have been verbally abused by a member of their community while they were on duty over the same period.

In some ways, these two common experiences sum up the complex nature of policing: Praise and hostility can both be part of a typical day's work. Fully 55% of officers say they have had both of these experiences over the past month.

For many officers, being thanked and verbally abused are commonplace

% of officers saying they have been _____ by a community member in the past month while on duty
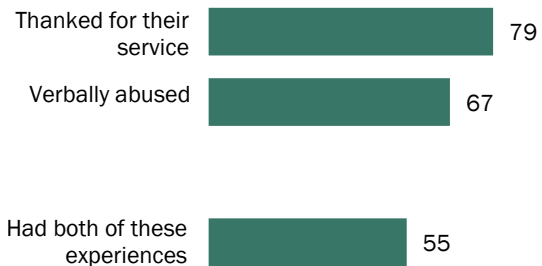
Thanked for their service	79
Verbally abused	67
Had both of these experiences	55

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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The experience of being thanked by a community member tends to be fairly universal. Large majorities of officers across most major demographic groups report that they have been thanked for their service in the past month. The share of Hispanic officers reporting this (73%) is somewhat lower than the share of white (81%) or black (83%) officers.

Officers who are relatively new to the job are more likely to report being thanked in the past month: 92% of officers who have been on the job less than five years say this, compared with 77% of those who have been on the force five years or longer.

When it comes to being verbally abused by community members while on duty, male officers report having had this experience more often than their female counterparts: 69% of men say they've had this type of experience in the past month, compared with 60% of women.

The gap between black officers and their white and Hispanic counterparts is even wider: Seven-in-ten white officers and roughly the same share of Hispanic officers (69%) say they have been verbally abused by a community member in the past month, while 53% of black officers report the

same. In addition, younger officers are more likely than older officers to have had this type of encounter – 75% among officers ages 18 to 44 vs. 58% among those ages 45 and older. Administrators, who have less day-to-day contact with community members, are significantly less likely to say they have been verbally abused in the past month. Even so, 43% of administrators say they have had this type of experience.

Roughly three-in-ten officers say they've spent at least 30 consecutive minutes patrolling on foot in the past month

The image of the "cop walking the beat" is not necessarily the norm for today's police. Among all officers, regardless of rank or assignment, roughly three-in-ten officers (31%) say they have patrolled on foot continuously for 30 minutes or more in the past month; 68% say they have not done this.
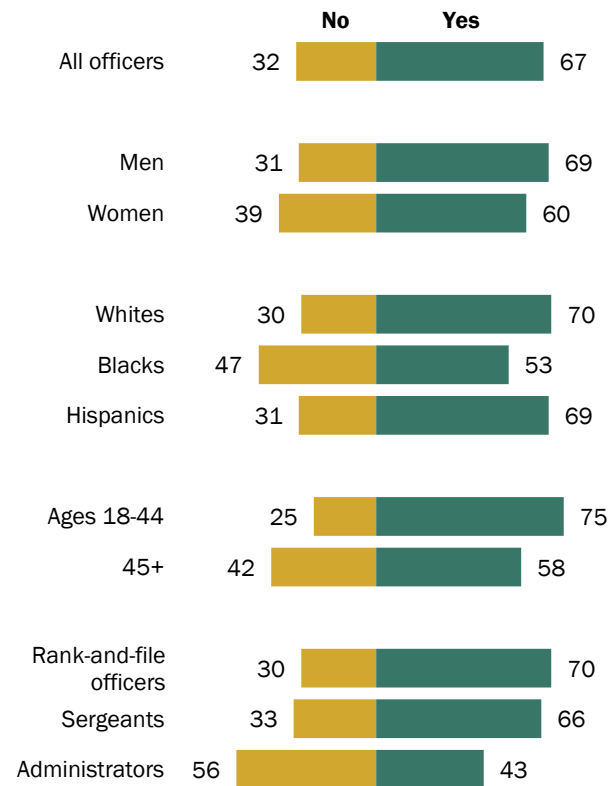
Among officers who say their current job responsibility is patrolling (45% of all police), 39% say they have patrolled on foot for 30 minutes or more in the past month. Within this group, similar shares of men and women say they have patrolled on foot in the past month. And younger and older patrol officers are about equally likely to have done this.

White and Hispanic officers, more than blacks, report being verbally abused by community members

% of officers saying they have been verbally abused by a member of the community in the past month while on duty

	No	Yes
All officers	32	67
Men	31	69
Women	39	60
Whites	30	70
Blacks	47	53
Hispanics	31	69
Ages 18-44	25	75
45+	42	58
Rank-and-file officers	30	70
Sergeants	33	66
Administrators	56	43

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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The prevalence of patrolling on foot doesn't differ significantly by community type – similar shares of patrol officers from urban (39%) and suburban (38%) departments say they have patrolled on foot for at least 30 continuous minutes in the past month.

To be sure, there are many ways – beyond walking the streets – for officers to engage with their communities. A third of all officers say they have spoken to a citizens' group or a school or

appeared at a community event in the past month. Where administrators are less likely than officers to patrol the streets, they are about twice as likely to appear at community events. Among rank-and-file officers, 31% say they have done this in the past month. By comparison, 59% of administrators (and 37% of sergeants) have appeared at a community event.

Police from larger agencies (1,000 officers or more) are less likely than those from agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers to have spoken to a citizens' group or participated in a community event (28% vs. 38%). Black officers are somewhat more likely than white officers to have done this (42% vs. 32%).

Police say they feel pride in their work more often than fulfillment

Police express a range of emotions when asked how their work makes them feel. Pride is a common sentiment, but so is frustration. A majority of all officers say their work in law enforcement nearly always (23%) or often (35%) makes them feel proud. About half say their work nearly always (10%) or often (41%) makes them feel frustrated.

To some degree, pride and frustration are negatively correlated. Among the small share of officers who say their work as a police officer hardly ever or never makes them feel proud, the vast majority (90%) say they nearly always or often feel frustrated by their work. Among those who nearly always or often feel

Administrators about twice as likely as rank-and-file officers to have participated in a community event in the past month

% of officers saying, in the past month, they have spoken to a citizens' group or a school or appeared at a community event
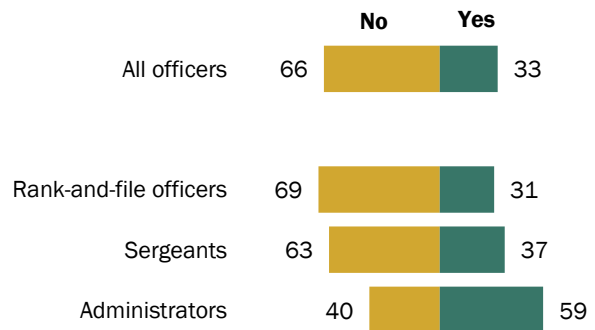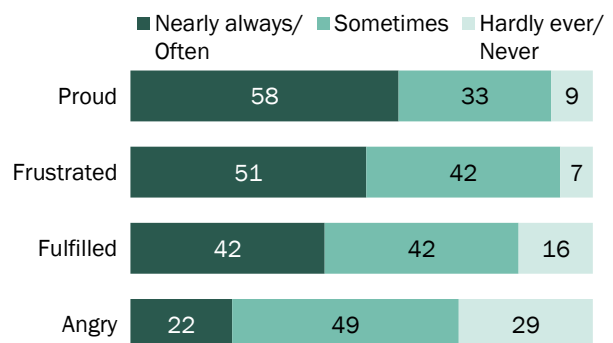

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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About six-in-ten officers say their work nearly always or often makes them feel proud

% of officers saying their work as a law enforcement officer _____ makes them feel …

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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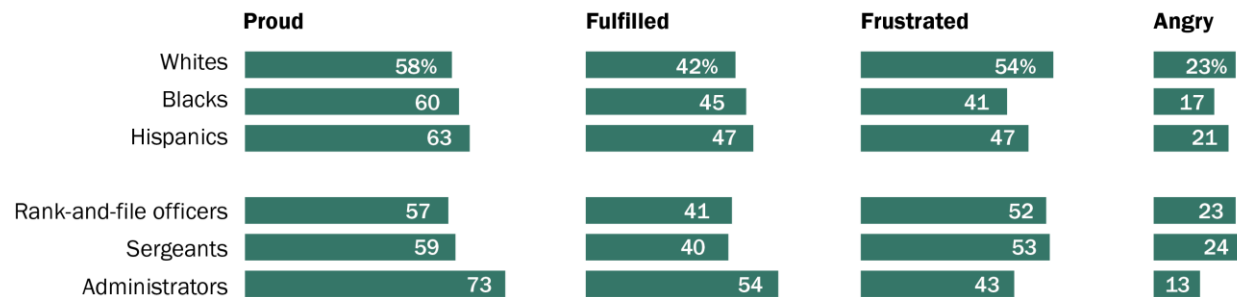pride in their work, only 37% also say they regularly feel frustrated by their job.

Roughly four-in-ten officers say their work makes them feel fulfilled nearly always (9%) or often (33%), while about half as many say their work makes them angry (3% nearly always, 19% often).

Feelings about police work vary significantly across key demographic groups. White officers are significantly more likely than black officers to say they nearly always or often feel frustrated by their work. Some 54% of white officers say this, compared with roughly four-in-ten (41%) black officers. Hispanic officers fall in the middle on this measure.

About one-in-four white officers (23%) say their work in law enforcement nearly always or often makes them feel angry. A smaller share of black officers – 17% – say this. Among Hispanic officers, 21% say they nearly always or often feel angry, a share that is not significantly different from white or black officers.

Race and rank linked to feelings about police work

% of officers saying their work as a law enforcement officer nearly always or often makes them feel …

	Proud	Fulfilled	Frustrated	Angry
Whites	58%	42%	54%	23%
Blacks	60	45	41	17
Hispanics	63	47	47	21
Rank-and-file officers	57	41	52	23
Sergeants	59	40	53	24
Administrators	73	54	43	13

Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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When it comes to positive feelings about police work, white, black and Hispanic officers are more closely aligned. Similar shares of each group of officers say their work in law enforcement nearly always or often makes them feel proud and fulfilled (though the share of Hispanic officers who feel this way is slightly higher than the share of whites).

Police officers who are new to the job are more likely than more seasoned officers to say their work makes them feel proud or fulfilled, and they are less likely to say they often feel frustrated. Seven-in-ten officers who have been on the job less than five years say they nearly always or often feel proud of the work they do. By comparison, 57% of those who have been on the job five years or more say they always or often feel proud. Similarly, 59% of new officers say their work makes them feel fulfilled nearly always or often, a sentiment shared by 40% of officers who've been on the force for five years or more. And while 39% of new officers say they nearly always or often feel frustrated by their job, 53% of those with five or more years on the force say this.

There are sharp gaps by rank in the emotions officers experience on the job. Administrators (73%) are much more likely than rank-and-file officers (57%) or sergeants (59%) to say they nearly always or often feel proud of the work they do. Administrators also say they more often feel fulfilled by their job: 54% of administrators vs. 41% of rank-and-file officers and 40% of sergeants say their work nearly always or often makes them feel fulfilled.

In addition, administrators are less likely to voice frustration or even anger over their jobs. While 43% of administrators say their job nearly always or often makes them feel frustrated, about half of rank-and-file officers (52%) and sergeants (53%) say they often feel this way. Rank-and-file officers (23%) and sergeants (24%) are roughly twice as likely as administrators (13%) to say their work nearly always or often makes them feel angry.

For police, sometimes moral imperative trumps department rules

Sometimes police are faced with situations where doing what is morally the right thing would require breaking a department rule. By a ratio of 57% to 40%, officers say they would advise a fellow officer in this type of situation to do the right thing rather than follow the rule.

The balance of opinion on this question is fairly consistent across major demographic

White officers differ from blacks and Hispanics over when it's appropriate to break department rules

% of officers saying they would advise another officer to ____ if faced with a situation in which doing the morally right thing required breaking a department rule
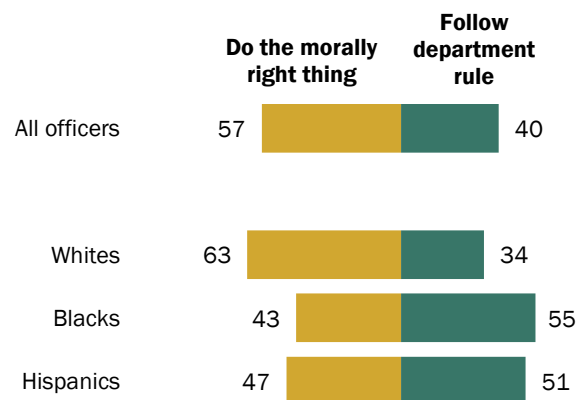
	Do the morally right thing	Follow department rule
All officers	57	40
Whites	63	34
Blacks	43	55
Hispanics	47	51

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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groups, with one exception. White officers have a much different view on this than their black and Hispanic counterparts.

Among white officers, 63% say they would advise another officer to do the morally right thing, even if it requires breaking a department rule. Only 43% of black officers and 47% of Hispanic officers say the same. Among black officers, 55% say they would advise a fellow officer to follow the department rule.

Views on this hypothetical dilemma vary only modestly across rank and job tenure. Rank-and-file officers, sergeants and administrators all lean narrowly toward advising a fellow officer to do the morally right thing even if it requires breaking a department rule. Administrators are slightly more likely than the rank and file to say this.

Officers who work in urban departments (60%) are somewhat more likely than those working in suburban departments (53%) to say they would advise a colleague to do the morally right thing even if it meant breaking the rules.

Police were also asked about the extent to which the so-called code of silence prevails in their department when someone witnesses wrongdoing or unethical behavior by a fellow officer. Respondents were asked to imagine a scenario in which an officer who is on duty is driving his patrol car on a deserted road and sees a vehicle that is stuck in a ditch. The officer discovers that the driver is a fellow officer who is not hurt but is obviously intoxicated. Instead of reporting the accident and the offense, he drives the intoxicated officer home. (The scenario did not include any information about the potential punishment for the intoxicated officer.)

After being presented with this set of facts, roughly half (53%) of the officers surveyed said that most officers in their department would *not* report the officer who covered up for his colleague, including about a quarter who say only a few (22%) or none (5%) of their peers would report the cover-up.

On the flip side, roughly three-in-ten officers (29%) surmised that all or most of the officers in their department would turn in the officer who covered up. Some 15% said about half of the officers in their department would turn in their colleague.

2. Inside America's police departments

Most police officers are satisfied with their department as a place to work and are strongly committed to ensuring their agency is successful. But police offer less positive views about some key aspects of their department's processes and policies. For example, officers are divided on whether the disciplinary process in their department is fair. And a majority of officers do *not* feel that officers who are consistently doing a poor job are held accountable.

Police also indicate that their department does not have sufficient resources or training. A vast majority of officers say their department does not have enough officers to adequately police the community. And only about three-in-ten (31%) officers say their department has done very well in equipping them adequately to do their job. Roughly four-in-ten officers say their department has done very well in training them adequately to perform their job (39%) and communicating their job responsibilities clearly (37%).
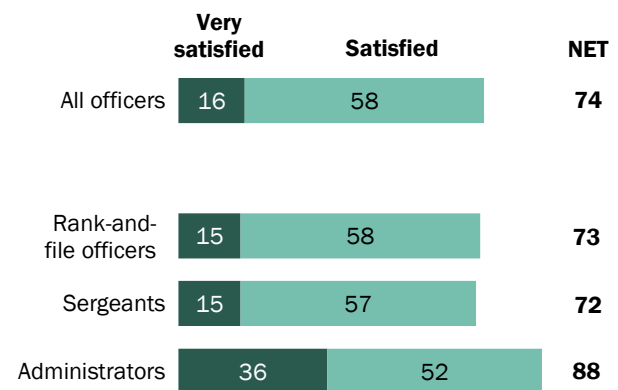
The survey also asked officers about their views on the use-of-force guidelines in their department. About a quarter of officers (26%) say that their department's use-of-force guidelines are too restrictive – 73% say the guidelines are about right. But only about a third of officers (34%) say that their department's use-of-force guidelines are very useful when they are confronted with situations where force may be necessary.

When it comes to preventing the use of unnecessary force, an overwhelming majority say officers should be required to intervene when they think another officer is about to use unnecessary force.

This chapter examines how police officers across the nation view the leadership and the internal processes and policies within their own departments. It also explores officers' concerns about how their colleagues interact with the public.

A majority of officers are satisfied with their agency as a place to work

% of officers saying they are _____ with their agency as a place to work

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	NET
All officers	16	58	**74**
Rank-and-file officers	15	58	**73**
Sergeants	15	57	**72**
Administrators	36	52	**88**

Note: NETs calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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Most officers are satisfied with their department and committed to its success

Roughly three-quarters (74%) of police officers say they are satisfied with their agency as a place to work, although relatively few (16%) say they are *very* satisfied. Levels of satisfaction with their department vary by officer's rank. While majorities of each rank say they are at least satisfied with their agency as a place to work, administrators are about twice as likely to say that they are *very* satisfied with their agency (36% vs. 15% of rank-and-file officers and sergeants).

Newer officers (25%) are also more likely to express a high level of satisfaction with their department than those who have been in the field for five or more years (15%).

Overall, officers express a firm commitment to their department: Almost all officers strongly agree (60%) or agree (36%) that they are strongly committed to making their agency successful. This is consistent across all demographic groups and agency characteristics.

## Support for top leadership's direction is stronger in smaller agencies

Police offer mixed support for their top leadership. Three-in-ten officers say they are extremely or very supportive of the direction their top management is taking the organization, and 28% say they are moderately supportive. Roughly a third (34%) of officers say they are slightly supportive or not supportive at all.

Police in agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers are more supportive of their leadership's direction than those in larger agencies. About four-in-ten (39%) officers at agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers say they are extremely or very supportive of their management's direction. Only 20% of officers in departments with at least 1,000 say the same; 44% of officers in these departments say they are slightly or not at all supportive of their top management's direction.

Police offer mixed support for their agency's top leadership

% of officers saying they are ____ supportive of the direction that top management is taking their organization

■ Extremely/Very ■ Moderately ■ Slightly/Not at all

	Extremely/Very	Moderately	Slightly/Not at all
All officers	30	28	34

Agency size

	Extremely/Very	Moderately	Slightly/Not at all
<1,000 officers	39	29	25
1,000 or more	20	28	44
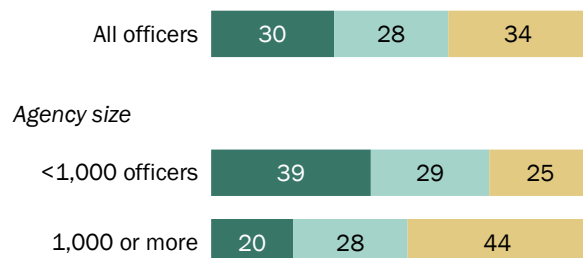
Note: "Don't know management's direction" and no answer categories not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Most officers feel their supervisor treats them and their colleagues with respect

About four-in-ten (43%) officers say their supervisor always respects them and their colleagues, while about as many (41%) say this is usually the case; 15% say their supervisor sometimes, hardly ever or never treats the officers he or she supervises with respect.

When asked how often employees in their department are asked for input on decisions that will affect them, roughly half (54%) of officers say this is hardly ever (39%) or never (15%) the case. Still, 45% of officers say they are at least sometimes asked for input about decisions that will affect them.

Women are more likely than men to say employees are hardly ever or never asked for their input. Among female officers, 63% say that they and their co-workers are hardly ever (45%) or never (18%) asked for their input. By comparison, 53% of men say the same (comprising 38% who say hardly ever and 15% who say never).

Police in large departments (with 2,600 officers or more) are about three times as likely as those in small departments to say they are never asked for their input. Just 8% of police in departments of fewer than 500 officers say they are never asked for input on decisions that will affect them. By comparison, 27% of police in departments with at least 2,600 officers say the same.

Most officers say they are treated with respect by their supervisor

% of officers saying their supervisor _____ treats officers he or she supervises with respect

■ Always ■ Usually ■ Sometimes ■ Hardly ever ■ Never

43	41	11	4	1

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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About half of officers say they are hardly ever or never asked for input about decisions that will affect them

% of officers saying that employees in their departments are _____ asked for their input on decisions that will affect them

■ Always/Usually ■ Sometimes ■ Hardly ever ■ Never

	Always/Usually	Sometimes	Hardly ever	Never
All officers	11	34	39	15
Men	12	35	38	15
Women	8	30	45	18

Agency size

	Always/Usually	Sometimes	Hardly ever	Never
<500 officers	15	43	33	8
500 to 2,599	13	36	40	11
2,600 or more	6	22	44	27

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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For promotions and assignments, minorities and women are more likely to say their counterparts are treated better

In America's police departments, women and Hispanics are underrepresented despite their growing shares in recent decades. In 2013 (the most recent data available), blacks made up the same share of local police officers as they did in the U.S. adult population. (See "Growing diversity inside America's police departments" textbox for more details on diversity in U.S. police departments.) The survey asked how women and minority officers are treated relative to their counterparts when it comes to assignments and promotions in their department.

Some 56% of officers say that minorities and whites are treated about the same way when it comes to assignments and promotions, while about three-in-ten (31%) say minorities are treated better than whites in these cases. Roughly one-in-ten (11%) officers say that whites are treated better than minorities when it comes to assignments and promotions in their department.

But officers of different racial and ethnic backgrounds offer vastly different views on how minorities are treated in comparison to whites when it comes to assignments and promotions. Roughly six-in-ten white (61%) and Hispanic (58%) officers say that minorities and whites are treated about the same. By contrast, about half (53%) of black officers say that whites are treated better than minorities, while about one-in-five (19%) Hispanic officers and only 1% of white officers say the same.

About four-in-ten (37%) white officers say that minorities are treated better than white officers when it comes to decisions about assignments and promotions. By comparison, 23% of Hispanic officers and 6% of black officers say minorities are treated better than whites.

About half of black officers say whites are treated better than minorities in assignments and promotions

Q. When it comes to decisions about assignments and promotions, which comes closest to describing how things work in your department? (%)

	Whites are treated better than minorities	Minorities and whites are treated about the same	Minorities are treated better than whites
All officers	11	56	31
Whites	1	61	37
Blacks	53	39	6
Hispanics	19	58	23
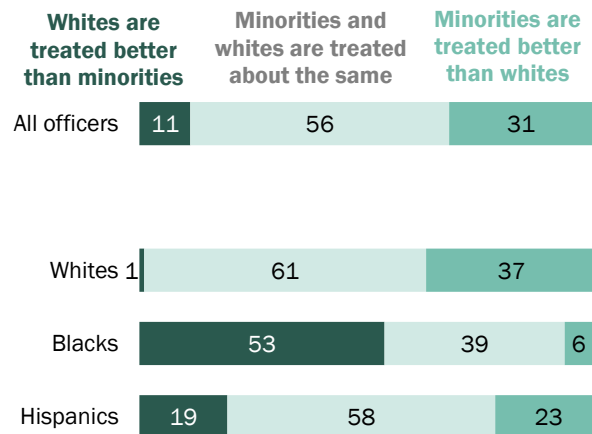
Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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Growing diversity inside America's police departments

America's police departments have become increasingly diverse since the late 1980s. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, about 504,000 sworn police officers were employed in local U.S. police departments in 2013, the most recent year for which data were available.[1] Among full-time officers, 12% were women in 2013, up from 8% in 1987. Women accounted for about one-in-ten supervisory or managerial positions and 3% of local police chiefs in 2013 (these data were collected for the first time in 2013). In general, departments that serve larger populations tend to have a higher share of women on their police force and a higher share of female supervisors.

Police departments have also become more racially and ethnically diverse: In 2013 more than a quarter (27%) of officers were racial or ethnic minorities, up from 23% in 2000. Some 12% of full-time local police officers in 2013 were black, equal to their share of all U.S. adults. Another 12% of full-time officers were Hispanic, compared with 15% of U.S. adults in 2013. While the share of police officers who are black has remained largely the same since 2000, the share who are Hispanics has grown by about 3 percentage points.[2]

In 2013, racial and ethnic minorities accounted for about a quarter of the police force and women made up about one-in-eight police officers

% of full-time sworn officers serving in local police departments who are women
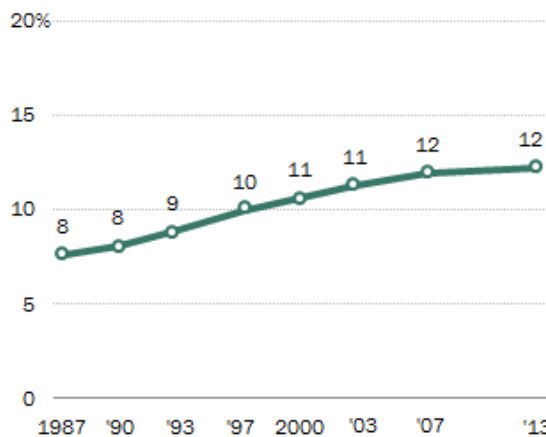
% of full-time sworn officers serving in local police department, by race and ethnicity
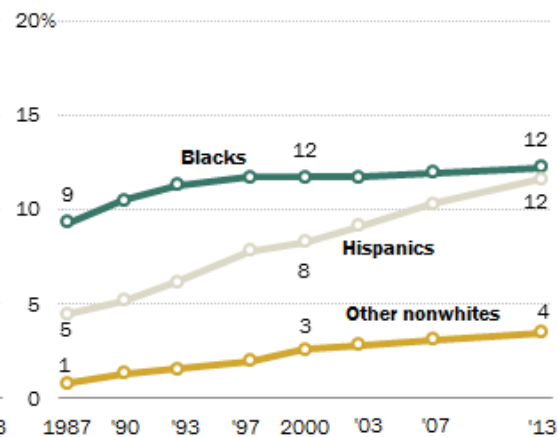
Note: Blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Other nonwhites include Asians, Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians or Alaskan Natives, or two or more races.
Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1987 to 2013 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics Survey (LEMAS).
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[1] Most sworn officers in local police departments were full-time employees (477,317). This figure does not include officers in sheriff's departments or state agencies.
[2] Change calculated prior to rounding.

Roughly four-in-ten female officers say men are treated better when it comes to assignments and promotions

More than half (59%) of officers say that when it comes to assignments and promotions, men and women are treated the same in their department, while about three-in-ten (28%) say women are treated better than men. Some 12% say that men are treated better than women in these cases.

Views on how men and women are treated in their department vary greatly by gender. About four-in-ten (43%) women say that men are treated better than women when it comes to assignments and promotions, but only 6% of men say the same. And a third of men say that women are treated better in these cases, compared with just 6% of women. Six-in-ten men and half of women say they are treated about the same when it comes to assignments and promotions.

Black men and women are more likely than their white counterparts to say that men are treated better than women in their departments. Among men, 21% of black officers and 3% of white officers say this. Just 6% of Hispanic men say that men are treated better than women.

Among women, black officers are about twice as likely as white officers to say that men are treated better than women when it comes to assignments and promotions (61% vs. 33%). Some 44% of Hispanic women say this is the case.

For assignments and promotions, about four-in-ten female officers say men are treated better than women

Q. When it comes to decisions about assignments and promotions, which comes closest to describing how things work in your department? (%)

	Men are treated better than women	Men and women are treated about the same	Women are treated better than men
Men	6	60	33
Women	43	50	6
Among men			
Whites	3	64	32
Blacks	21	53	24
Hispanics	6	54	39
Among women			
Whites	33	62	5
Blacks	61	34	5
Hispanics	44	48	6

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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It's worth noting, however, that across racial and ethnic groups, female officers are far more likely than their male counterparts to say men in their departments are treated better than women when
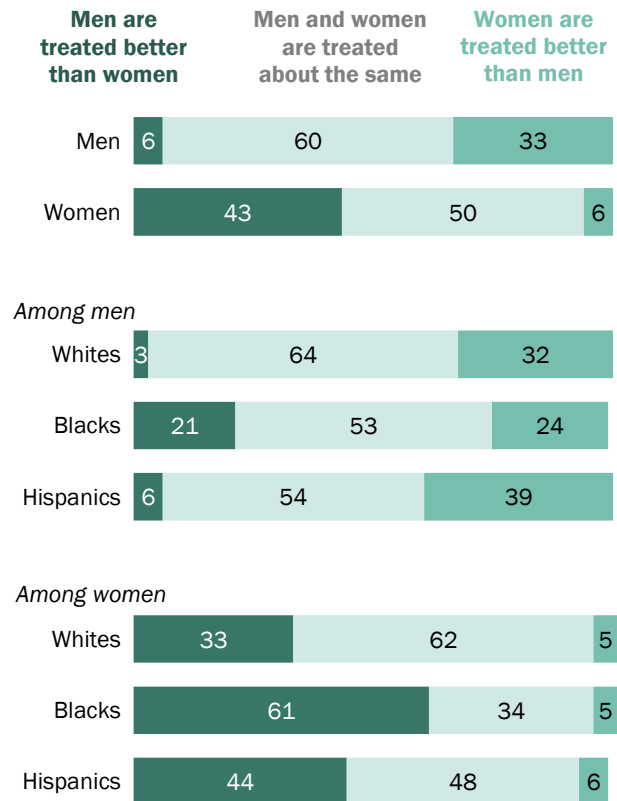
it comes to assignments and promotions. Men across all major racial and ethnic groups are more likely than their female counterparts to say that women are treated better than men.

Officers are divided on the fairness of their agency's disciplinary process

Police offer mixed assessments on some key aspects of the disciplinary process in their departments. When asked if they agree or disagree with the statement that the disciplinary process in their agency is fair, officers are divided: 45% say they strongly agree or agree with this statement; 53% say they disagree or strongly disagree.

But a majority (72%) of officers say they disagree (47%) or strongly disagree (25%) that officers in their department who consistently do a poor job are held accountable. Roughly a quarter (27%) of officers agree, including just 3% who strongly agree. While similarly large shares of officers across all demographic groups disagree that officers who consistently do a poor job are held accountable, police in larger agencies with at least 1,000 officers are particularly likely to disagree (81% vs. 63% of police in departments with fewer than 1,000 officers).

Officers' assessments of key aspects of the disciplinary process are mixed

% of officers saying they ____ with each of the following statements
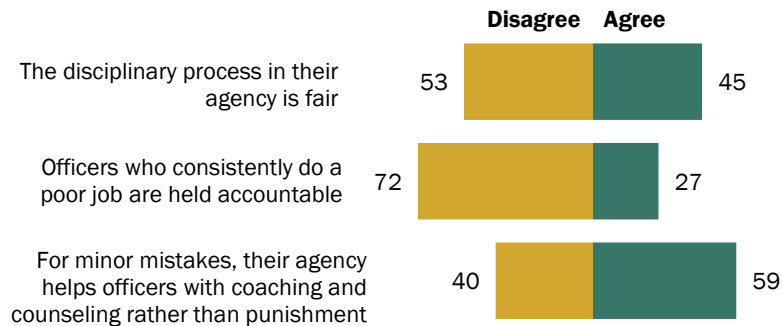
Note: "Agree" comprises those who say they agree or strongly agree with the statement. "Disagree" comprises those who say they disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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For minor mistakes, more officers today agree coaching is used vs. punishment

% of officers saying they ____ that, for minor mistakes, their department helps officers with coaching and counseling rather than punishment
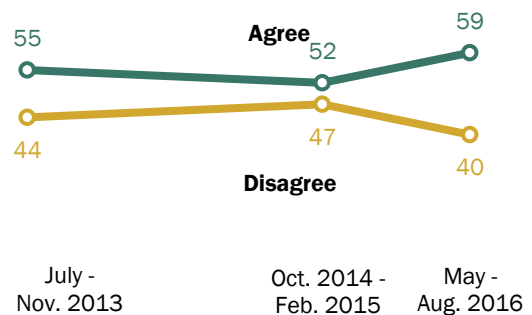
Note: "Agree" comprises those who say they agree or strongly agree with the statement. "Disagree" comprises those who say they disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Police offer a slightly more positive view when asked whether they agree or disagree that their department helps officers with coaching and counseling rather than punishment for minor mistakes: About six-in-ten (59%) agree, while 40% disagree. Officers in departments of fewer than 1,000 officers are more likely than those in larger departments to agree that their department helps officers with coaching and counseling rather than punishment for minor mistakes (69% vs. 49%). Officers of higher rank are also more likely to say this is the case (79% of administrators agree vs. 57% of rank-and-file officers).

The share of officers who agree that for minor mistakes the department helps officers with coaching and counseling rather than punishing them is up 7 percentage points since it was last asked about two years earlier (October 2014 to February 2015). At that time, officers were divided on the topic: 52% said they agreed with the statement that in their department officers are helped with coaching and counseling rather than punished for minor mistakes, while 47% disagreed.

Men and white officers more likely than counterparts to agree that their agency's disciplinary process is fair

Views of the disciplinary process being fair vary by the characteristics of the officers and the department. Men are more likely than women to say they agree that the disciplinary process in their agency is fair (47% vs. 39%).

While half of whites agree that the disciplinary process in their agency is fair, 41% of black officers and 36% of Hispanic officers say the same.

Police in smaller agencies are about twice as likely as those in larger agencies to agree that the disciplinary process in their department is fair. About six-in-ten (59%) of those in

Officers in smaller agencies more likely to agree that their agency's disciplinary process is fair

% of officers saying they _____ that the disciplinary process in their agency is fair
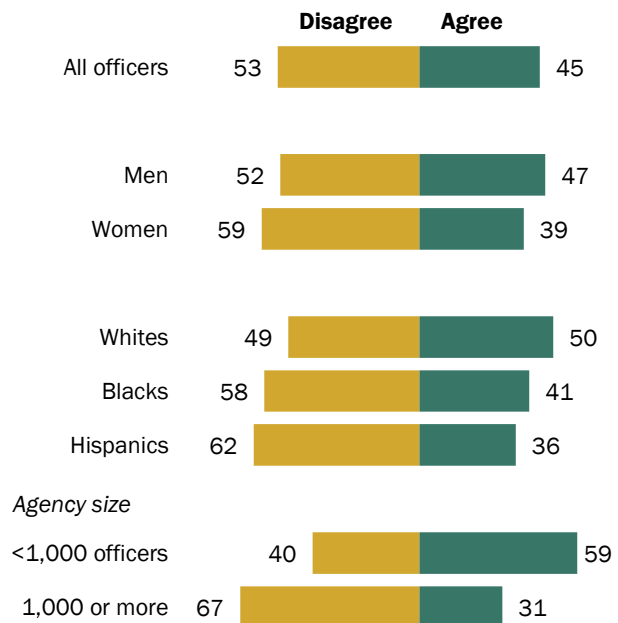
	Disagree	Agree
All officers	53	45
Men	52	47
Women	59	39
Whites	49	50
Blacks	58	41
Hispanics	62	36
Agency size		
<1,000 officers	40	59
1,000 or more	67	31

Note: "Agree" comprises those who say they agree or strongly agree with the statement. "Disagree" comprises those who say they disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers agree with the statement, while about three-in-ten (31%) in agencies with 1,000 or more officers agree.

A majority of officers say there are not enough police in the community where they work
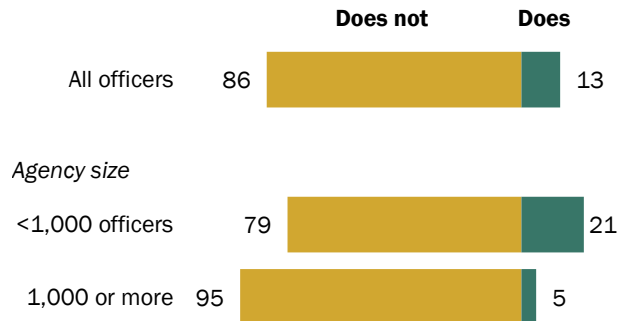
Fully 86% of officers say their department does not have enough officers to adequately police the community. Similarly large shares of officers say this across all demographic groups and agency characteristics. But police in agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers are about four times as likely as those in larger agencies to say they *do* have enough officers to police the community (21% vs. 5%).

Officers of higher rank are also more likely to say that their department has enough officers. About a quarter (23%) of administrators say their department has enough officers to adequately police the community, compared with 13% of rank-and-file officers and 10% of sergeants.

The survey also asked officers how well their department has trained and equipped them. Roughly four-in-ten officers say that their department has done very well in training them adequately to do their job (39%) and in communicating their job responsibilities to them clearly (37%). And about three-in-ten (31%) say

Most officers say their department has too few officers to police the community

% of officers saying their department ____ have enough officers to adequately police the community
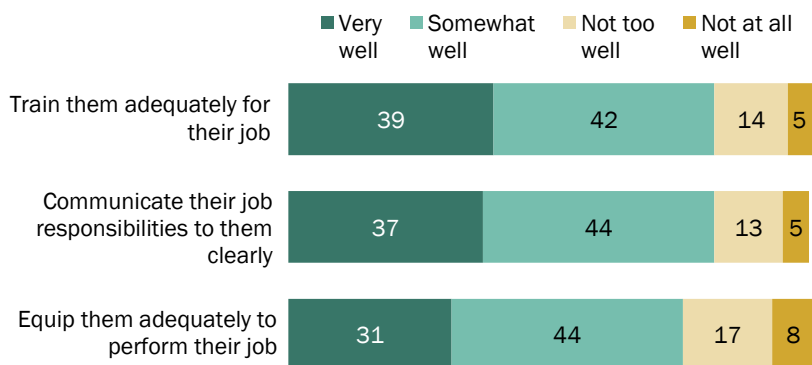

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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About four-in-ten officers say their department has done very well in training them adequately for their job

% of officers saying their department has done each of the following …

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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the department has done very well in equipping officers to adequately perform their job. In all, a majority of officers say that their department has done at least somewhat well in each of these areas.

Police in larger agencies are considerably less likely to say their department has done very well in each of these aspects. For example, 29% of police in agencies with at least 1,000 officers say their department has done very well in training them adequately for their job,

Officers in larger agencies less likely to say their department has trained and equipped them very well

% of officers in departments with _____ officers saying their department has done each of the following very well

■ <1,000   ■ 1,000 or more

Training them adequately for their job	49 / 29
Communicating their job repsonsibilities clearly	45 / 29
Equipping them adequately to perform theirjob	41 / 19

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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compared with 49% of police in agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers. Likewise, just 19% of police in agencies with 1,000 or more officers say their department has done very well in equipping them adequately to perform their job, compared with 41% of those in smaller agencies.

Officers with less than five years of experience are more likely than those with more experience to say their department has done very well in each of these areas. For example, 57% of officers with less than five years of experience say their department has done very well in training them adequately for their job, compared with 37% of officers with five or more years of experience.

About a third of officers say their department's use-of-force guidelines are very useful

When asked whether their department's use-of-force guidelines are too restrictive, not restrictive enough or about right, a majority (73%) of officers say that their department's rules are about right. Still, about a quarter (26%) say the use-of-force guidelines are too restrictive. Only about 1% say their department's guidelines are not restrictive enough.

While similar shares of officers across demographic groups say their use-of-force rules are about right, police in larger agencies with at least 1,000 officers are about twice as likely as officers in
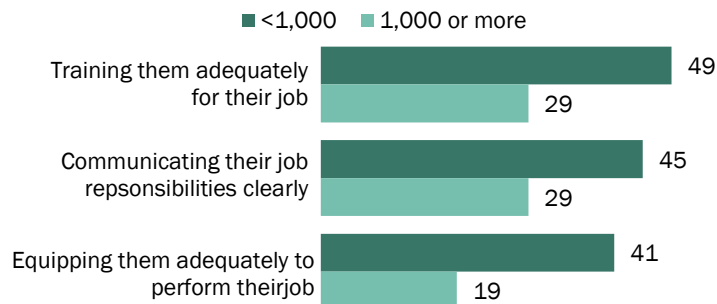
smaller agencies to say that their department's rules governing the use of force are too restrictive (37% vs. 15%).

Rank-and-file officers and sergeants are somewhat more likely than administrators to say their department's rules governing the use of force are too restrictive. Roughly a quarter of rank-and-file officers (27%) and sergeants (24%) say this is the case, compared with 17% of administrators.
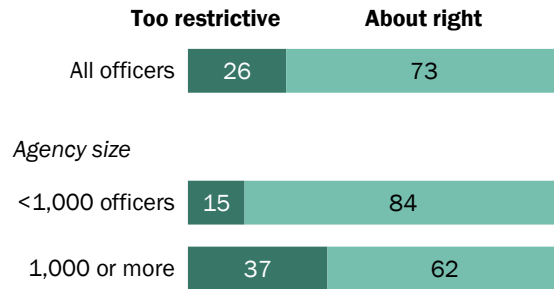
Roughly a third (34%) of officers say that their department's use-of-force guidelines are very useful when they are confronted with actual situations where force may be needed. An additional 51% say they are somewhat useful. Some 14% say they are not too useful or not at all useful.

Those in agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers are considerably more likely than those in larger agencies to say their agency's guidelines are very useful. About four-in-ten (41%) in agencies with fewer than 1,000 officers say this, compared with 27% in agencies with at least 1,000 officers.

Administrators are also substantially more likely than rank-and-file officers to say their department's guidelines are very useful (49% vs. 33%, respectively).

Officers in larger departments are more likely to say their use-of-force guidelines are too restrictive

% of officers saying that in general the rules governing the use of force in their departments are ...

	Too restrictive	About right
All officers	26	73
Agency size		
<1,000 officers	15	84
1,000 or more	37	62

Note: "Not restrictive enough," "The department has no such guidelines" and no answer categories not shown.
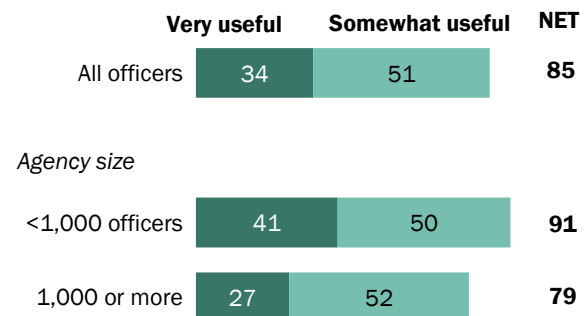Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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About a third of officers say, when put to the test, use-of-force guidelines in their department are very useful

% of officers saying their department's use-of-force guidelines are _____ when officers are confronted with actual situations where force may be needed

	Very useful	Somewhat useful	NET
All officers	34	51	**85**
Agency size			
<1,000 officers	41	50	**91**
1,000 or more	27	52	**79**

Note: NETs calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Police worry more that their fellow officers will spend too much time versus not enough time diagnosing a situation before acting

More police officers worry about their fellow officers *spending too much time* diagnosing a situation before acting (56%) than about their fellow officers *not spending enough time* before acting decisively (41%).
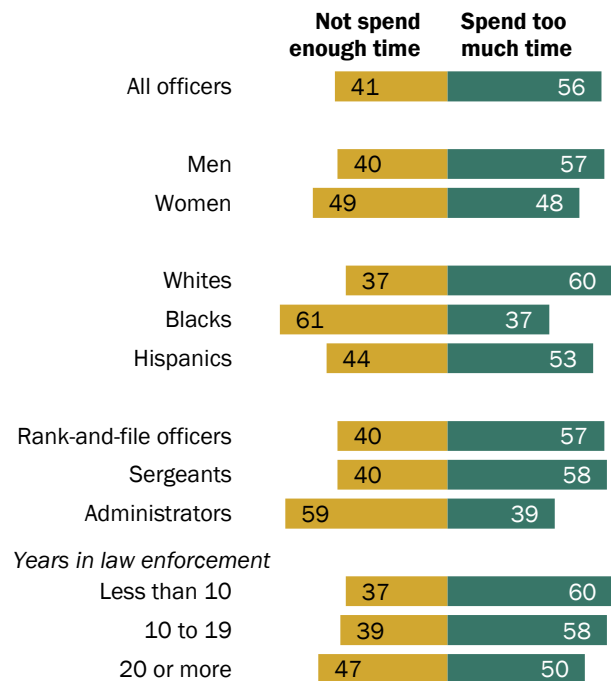
Black officers and administrators stand out as the only groups studied that are more likely to say they worry more that officers in their department will *not* spend enough time diagnosing the situation before acting than that they will spend *too much time*.

About six-in-ten (61%) black officers say they worry more that officers will *not* spend enough time diagnosing the situation before acting, compared with 37% of white officers and 44% of Hispanic officers. And 59% of administrators say the same. By comparison, just 40% of rank-and-file officers and sergeants say they worry more that officers will *not* spend enough time diagnosing the situation before acting.

Men are more likely than women to say that officers in their department will spend *too much time* diagnosing the situation before acting (57% vs. 48%, respectively). And about six-in-ten officers with less than 20 years of experience say they worry more that officers

will spend too much time diagnosing a situation before acting, compared with half of officers with 20 or more years of experience.

More police worry their fellow officers will not act quickly enough than worry they will act too quickly

% of officers saying that when it comes to the way most officers in their department deal with members of the public, they worry more that the officer will ____ diagnosing the situation before acting decisively

	Not spend enough time	Spend too much time
All officers	41	56
Men	40	57
Women	49	48
Whites	37	60
Blacks	61	37
Hispanics	44	53
Rank-and-file officers	40	57
Sergeants	40	58
Administrators	59	39
Years in law enforcement		
Less than 10	37	60
10 to 19	39	58
20 or more	47	50

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
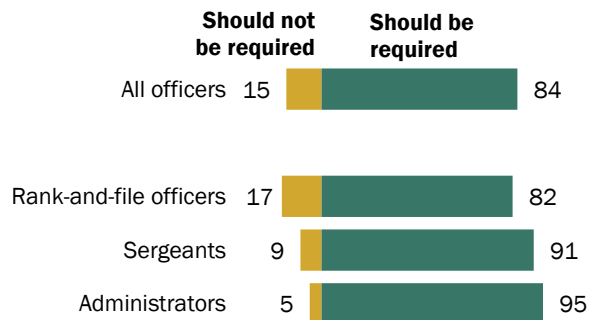"Behind the Badge"

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Most officers say that they should be required to intervene when another officer is about to use unnecessary force

One policy recommendation to protect community members and police from unnecessary force is to require police to intervene when they think another officer may use unnecessary or excessive force.[7] A majority (84%) of police say that officers should be required to intervene when they believe another officer is about to use unnecessary force, while just 15% say they should not be required to intervene.

Majorities of police officers across all characteristics say that officers should be required to intervene in these scenarios. But rank-and-file officers are more likely than those of higher ranks to say they should *not* be required to intervene when they think another officer is about to use unnecessary force (17% of rank-and-file officers say this, compared with 9% of sergeants and 5% of administrators).

Most officers favor a requirement to intervene when another officer is about to use unnecessary force

% of officers saying that officers _____ to intervene when they believe another officer is about to use unnecessary force

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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About four-in-ten officers say they are expected to meet a quota for arrests or tickets

In recent years quotas – which have been used to measure performance for officers – have been criticized for a range of reasons related to their limits in assessing the quality of policing. And today, in several states ticket and arrest quotas are illegal.

While few officers (3%) say that they are formally expected to meet a predetermined number of tickets, arrests, citations or summonses in their unit, about a third (34%) of officers say there are informal expectations for meeting a predetermined number of arrests or tickets. A majority (63%) say officers in their unit are not expected to meet any predetermined number of tickets or arrests.

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[7] In 2016, the Police Executive Research Forum, a nonprofit focused on critical issues in policing, developed 30 guiding principles on use of force to help protect officers and the communities they serve. The requirement for intervening to prevent other officers from using excessive force was one of the recommended policies.

Rank-and-file officers – those who routinely monitor an area, issue tickets and make arrests – are particularly likely to say there are informal expectations. Some 36% of rank-and-file officers say there is an informal expectation for meeting a predetermined number of tickets or arrests; 29% of sergeants and 23% of administrators say the same.

About four-in-ten officers say they are formally or informally expected to meet a certain number of arrests or tickets

% of officers saying that officers in their unit have _____ to meet a predetermined number of tickets, arrests, citations or summonses
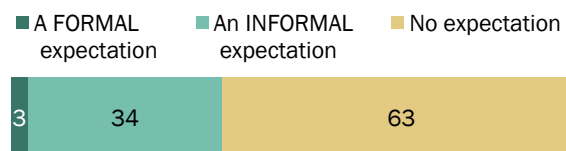
■ A FORMAL expectation	■ An INFORMAL expectation	■ No expectation

3	34	63

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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3. Police and the community

Police officers routinely deal with people behaving at their worst. Frequent encounters with verbally abusive and sometimes physically combative citizens also come with the badge.

Despite these experiences, the Pew Research Center survey finds that a majority of officers retain a generally positive view of the public. About seven-in-ten reject the assertion that most people can't be trusted, and a similar share believes that most people respect the police.

Most officers say the public respects them, few feel distrustful of most people

% of officers saying they ___ with each of the following statements

■ Strongly disagree ■ Disagree ■ Agree ■ Strongly agree

Most people respect the police	7	25	61	6

NET 68%

Officers have reason to be distrustful of most citizens	16	56	23	5

NET 28%

Note: No answer category not shown. NET calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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These opinions, if anything, have grown somewhat more positive in recent years despite the national outcry over police methods and behaviors that followed a series of recent, highly publicized deaths of black men at the hands of law enforcement officers.

Rather than viewing the neighborhoods where they work as hostile territory, about seven-in-ten officers say at least some or most of the residents share their values. More than nine-in-ten believe it is important for an officer to know the people, places and the culture in the areas where they work in order to be effective at their job.

About nine-in-ten officers (91%) also say police have an excellent or good relationship with whites in their communities. But just 56% rate the relationship between police and blacks positively, while seven-in-ten report good relations with Hispanics. These perceptions differ dramatically depending on the race or ethnicity of the officer. For example, six-in-ten white officers characterize police relations with blacks in their areas as excellent or good, a view shared by only 32% of black officers.

The survey also finds that officers are divided over the use of more aggressive and potentially more controversial methods to deal with some people or to use in some neighborhoods in their

communities. A modest majority (56%) agree that aggressive tactics are more effective than a more courteous approach in certain areas of the city, but 44% disagree with this premise. Another 44% agree or strongly agree that some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way. Younger, less experienced and lower ranking officers are significantly more likely to favor these more confrontational approaches than older, more experienced department administrators.

The survey also finds that police work takes an emotional toll on many officers. A 56% majority say they have become more callous toward people since they started their job. This perceived change in outlook is closely linked to increased support for aggressive or physically punishing tactics. In addition, officers who say they have become more callous on the job report significantly higher levels of work-related anger and frustration than other officers. They also are more likely to have fought or struggled with a suspect who was resisting arrest in the past month or to have fired their service weapon sometime in their career.

Police feel respected

Roughly two-thirds of all officers agree (61%) or strongly agree (6%) that most people respect the police. About seven-in-ten (72%) reject the statement that "Officers have reason to be distrustful of most citizens."

Comparisons with earlier surveys by the National Police Research Platform (NPRP) find that these views of the public have not grown more negative in the wake of recent deadly encounters involving police and black men. If anything, these data suggest police views of the public have gotten more favorable in the past year and a half.

In the NPRP survey conducted in September 2013 to January 2014, six-in-ten officers said most of the public

Rank-and-file officers less likely than police supervisors or administrators to have a positive view of the public

% of officers saying they ___ that most people respect the police
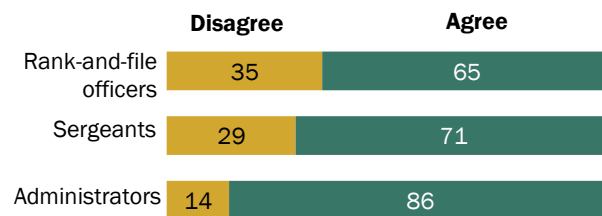
% of officers saying they ___ that officers have reason to be distrustful of most citizens
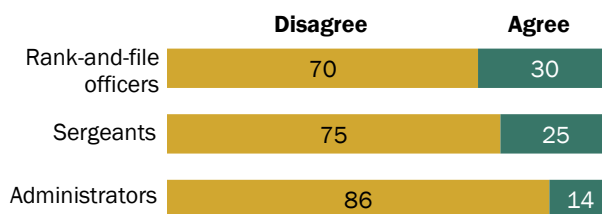
Note: No answer category not shown. "Agree" comprises those who say they agree or strongly agree with the statement. "Disagree" comprises those who say they disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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respects the police. A somewhat smaller share (55%) expressed the same opinion in a NPRP survey conducted in October 2014 to February 2015, months after the Michael Brown shooting. But since then, the share who says police are respected has rebounded to 68%.

The mistrust measure has varied less in recent years. In the 2013-14 survey, 67% of officers disagreed that officers have reason to be distrustful of most citizens, a view shared by 69% of officers in 2014-15 and 72% in the latest survey.

These views differ significantly by rank. Rank-and-file officers – a group largely composed of the men and women with the greatest contact with average citizens – have a significantly less favorable view of the public than do administrators. About two-thirds of rank-and-file officers (65%) but 86% of administrators believe that most people respect the police.

Similarly, 70% of rank-and-file officers but 86% of administrators disagree or strongly disagree that police have reason to distrust most people.

Police see need to understand the community

Most officers agree that in order to be effective, police need to understand the people in the neighborhoods they patrol. About seven-in-ten (72%) say it is very important for an officer to have detailed knowledge of the people, places and culture in the areas where they work, while a quarter say it is somewhat important. Only 3% say knowledge of the neighborhoods they patrol is not too or not at all important.

Yet the degree to which officers value local knowledge varies significantly by the officer's race and gender. Fully 84% of black officers and 78% of Hispanics say knowledge of the people, places and culture of the neighborhoods they patrol is very important to

Most officers say police need to know the community to be effective

% of officers saying it is ___ for officers to have detailed knowledge of the people, places and culture in the areas where they work
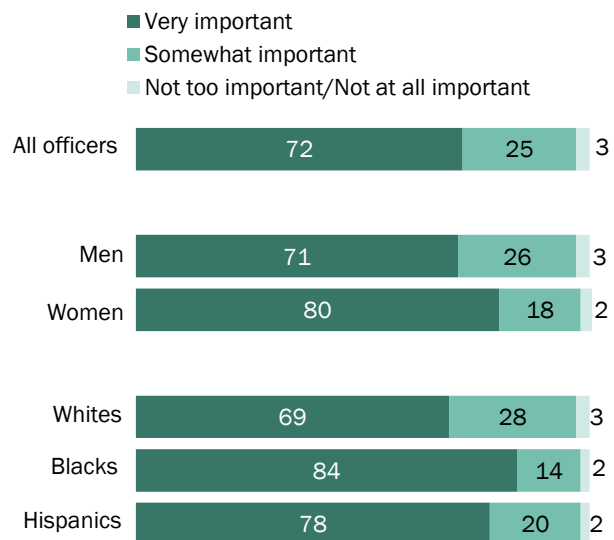
■ Very important
■ Somewhat important
■ Not too important/Not at all important

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not too/Not at all
All officers	72	25	3
Men	71	26	3
Women	80	18	2
Whites	69	28	3
Blacks	84	14	2
Hispanics	78	20	2

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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be effective at their job, a view shared by 69% of whites. Female officers also are more likely than males to place a premium on local knowledge (80% vs. 71%).

Police say they share values with at least some residents where they work

Overall, about seven-in-ten officers say at least some (59%) or most or nearly all (11%) of the people in the neighborhoods where they routinely work share their values and beliefs.

Significant differences emerge when these results are broken down by the officer's rank: About two-thirds of rank-and-file officers (68%) believe that some or most of the people living in their patrol areas share their beliefs. By contrast, three-quarters of sergeants and 85% of administrators say the same thing.

When the analysis is limited to rank-and-file officers – the group that arguably has the most direct daily contact with citizens – views differ significantly within key demographic groups. Most notably, younger rank-and-file officers and those in larger departments are less likely than older officers or those in small police departments to say they share common values and beliefs with at least some of the people in the areas they patrol.

About six-in-ten rank-and-file officers (62%) ages 18 to 34 say some or most of the people in the neighborhoods where they work share their beliefs and attitudes. By contrast, about three-quarters (76%) of rank-and-file officers ages 50 and older express a similar view.

Rank-and-file officers in larger departments also are less likely to share values with the people in the areas where they patrol. Eight-in-ten rank-and-file officers working in departments with fewer than 300 sworn personnel say they share values and beliefs with at least some of the people they patrol. By contrast, about six-in-ten (62%) rank-and-file

Younger rank-and-file officers less likely to say the people in the neighborhoods where they work share their values

*% of **rank-and-file officers** saying ___ of the people in the neighborhoods they routinely patrol share their values and beliefs*
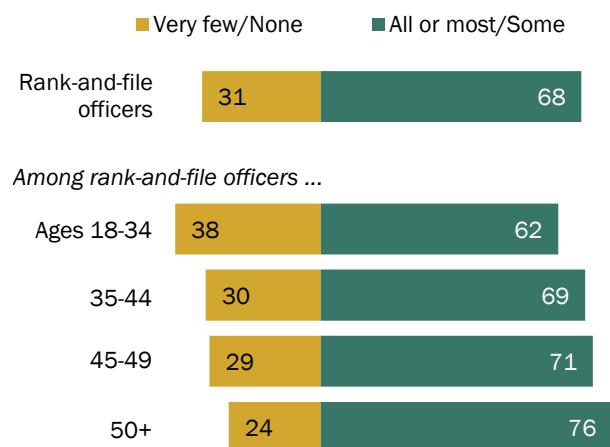
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
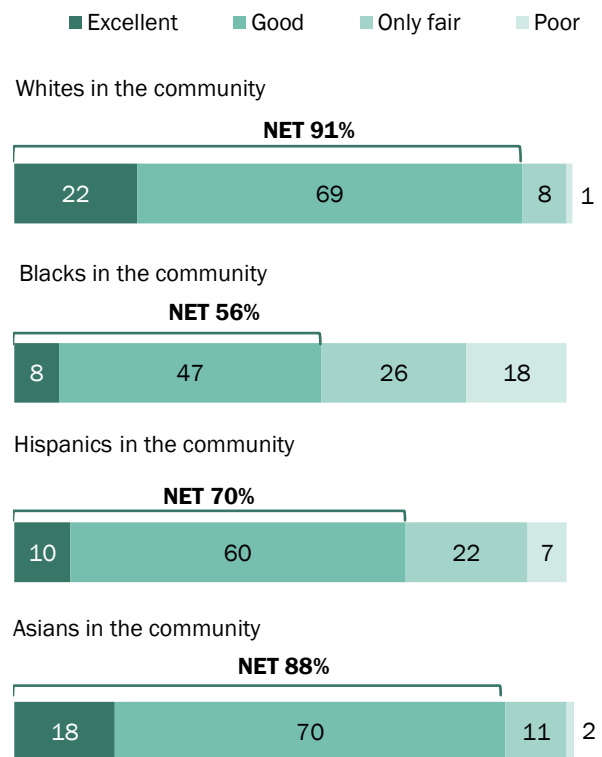"Behind the Badge"

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officers in departments with 2,600 or more sworn personnel say the same. (This difference may not be surprising. Larger departments typically serve urban areas with a more diverse set of neighborhoods than smaller communities. These urban neighborhoods often can be home to various nationalities and racial, ethnic, language and religious groups with attitudes and beliefs that may be very different from those of the rank-and-file officer.[8])

About half or more of all officers say their departments have excellent or good relations with major racial and ethnic groups in the communities where they work. This overall positive assessment varies considerably by the racial/ethnic group and also by the race and ethnicity of the officer. Black officers in particular are significantly less likely than white or Hispanic officers to rate relations with minority groups in their community favorably. (Note: The percentages are based on only those officers who offered a rating.)

Overall, about nine-in-ten officers (91%) characterize relations between police and whites in their communities as excellent (22%) or good (69%). By contrast, 56% of all officers have a similarly positive view of relations between police and the black community (8% say relations are excellent, while 47% say they are good). Seven-in-ten say relations with Hispanics are positive, and 88% say the same about Asians.

About half or more officers say police have positive relations with the racial, ethnic groups in their communities

% of officers saying they would rate relations between the police in their department and the following groups in the community they serve …

■ Excellent ■ Good ■ Only fair ■ Poor

Whites in the community

NET 91%

| 22 | 69 | 8 | 1 |

Blacks in the community

NET 56%

| 8 | 47 | 26 | 18 |

Hispanics in the community

NET 70%

| 10 | 60 | 22 | 7 |

Asians in the community

NET 88%

| 18 | 70 | 11 | 2 |

Note: NET calculated before rounding. Percentages based on those officers who rated relations with each group. A total of 15% of all officers report they could not rate relations with Asians because there are too few in the community where they worked; 2% say there are too few blacks and 3% say there are too few Hispanics or whites.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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[8] For an analysis of the changing demographics of metropolitan, suburban and exurban areas, see Frey, William H. May 2011. "Melting Pot Cities and Suburbs: Racial and Ethnic Change in Metro America in the 2000s." Brookings Institution.

Black officers see police-minority relations less positively

About nine-in-ten white, black and Hispanic officers agree that police and whites in their communities have good relations. But striking differences emerge when the focus shifts to how black, white and Hispanic officers view police-minority relations in their communities.

Only about a third of all black officers (32%) say relations between police and blacks in their community are excellent or good, while about twice as many (68%) characterize police-black relations as only fair or poor.

By contrast, six-in-ten white and Hispanic officers report that police-black relations in the communities they serve are excellent or good.

Views also diverge along racial lines when the focus turns to how black, white and Hispanic officers view police-Hispanic relations. Roughly three-quarters of white officers (76%) and 71% of Hispanic officers say police in their communities have excellent or good relations with Hispanics. By contrast, only 46% of black officers share that positive assessment, while 54% characterize relations between police and Hispanics as only fair or poor.

A similar but more muted pattern is apparent on views of police relations with Asians in their community. About nine-in-ten white and Hispanic officers (91% and 88%, respectively) say relations between police and Asians are excellent or good, while 75% of black officers agree.

Use of aggressive, physical tactics

To measure the extent to which officers endorse the use of aggressive tactics in some situations over less potentially provocative techniques, the survey asked officers how much they agreed or

Black officers far less positive about local police-minority relations than white or Hispanic officers

% of officers by race or ethnicity who see police relations with each racial/ethnic group in their community as excellent or good

Whites	
White officers	92%
Black officers	91
Hispanic officers	90

Blacks	
	60
	32
	60

Hispanics	
	76
	46
	71

Asians	
	91
	75
	88
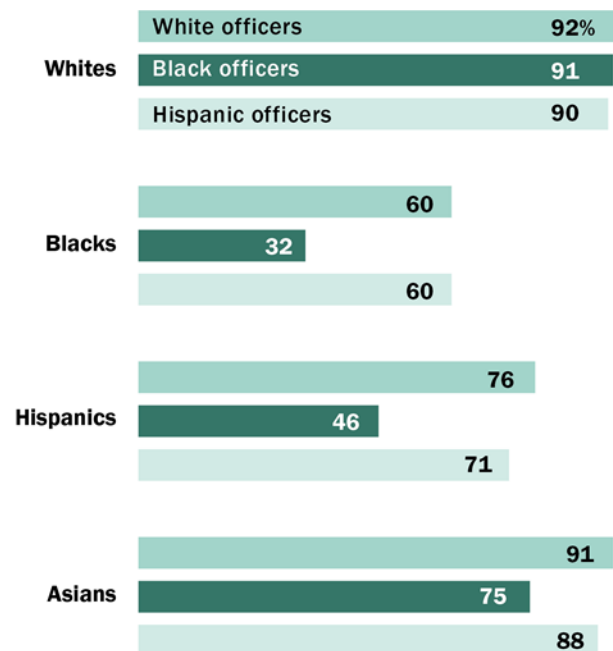
Note: Percentages based on those officers who rated relations with each group. White and black officers include only non-Hispanics. Hispanic officers are of any race. Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
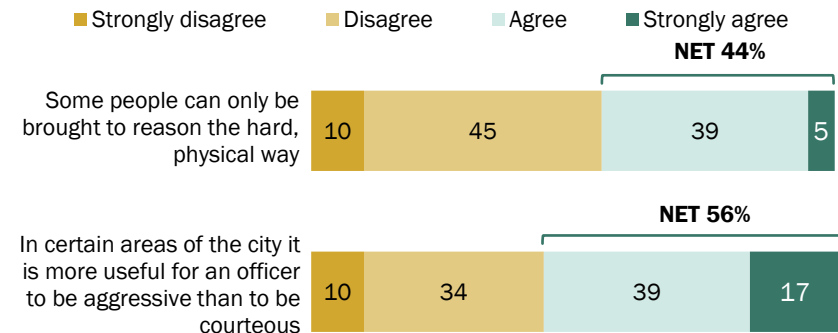"Behind the Badge"

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disagreed with two statements. The first statement read, "In certain areas of the city it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous." The second measured support for the assertion that "some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way."

Overall, the survey finds that a narrow majority (56%) of officers feel that in some neighborhoods being aggressive is more effective than being courteous. A

Some officers say tough, aggressive tactics are needed with some people and in some neighborhoods

% of officers saying they ___ with each of the following statements

■ Strongly disagree ■ Disagree ■ Agree ■ Strongly agree

NET 44%

Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way
| 10 | 45 | 39 | 5 |

NET 56%

In certain areas of the city it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous
| 10 | 34 | 39 | 17 |

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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smaller but still substantial share (44%) agrees or strongly agrees that hard, physical tactics are necessary to deal with some people, while 55% disagree.

The survey also finds that younger and less senior officers are more likely than older officers or administrators to favor more potentially provocative methods. About two-thirds (68%) of officers younger than 35 favor being aggressive over being courteous in some neighborhoods. By contrast, the share supporting aggressiveness over courtesy falls steadily in each age group to 44% among officers 50 and older. And while a narrow majority of younger officers (55%) approve of using a hard, physical approach with some people, support for rough tactics declines to about a third (36%) for officers 50 and older.

Significant differences in views on both questions emerge when the analytic focus shifts to the officer's rank. About six-in-ten rank-and-file officers (59%) support using aggressive tactics in place of courtesy in some neighborhoods, a view shared by only 34% of department administrators. To a lesser extent, rank-and-file officers also are more likely than department administrators to favor harsh, physical methods in dealing with certain people (44% vs. 36%). Sergeants (46%) also are more likely than administrators to support hard, physical tactics.

The clear differences in the views of lower-ranking officers and more senior administrators raise this question: Since department administrators are older than rank-and-file officers (median age

49 vs. 41), could these differences in attitudes mainly be due to factors associated with officers' rank or tenure and not their age?

The answer is no. When only the views of rank-and-file officers are examined, the same age pattern is evident: Fully 69% of rank-and-file officers younger than 35 favored aggressive tactics over a courteous approach, compared with 48% of rank-and-file officers 50 and older. Similarly, slightly more than half (55%) of rank-and-file officers under the age of 35 agreed that hard, physical methods are needed for some people, compared with 35% of rank-and-file officers 50 and older.

The relationship between support for harsh tactics and an officer's years of police experience follows a similar though more complex pattern because age is closely

Younger, lower-ranking officers more likely to favor aggressive and hard, physical approaches

% of officers saying they agree or strongly agree that ...

In certain areas of the city it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous.

All officers	56
Ages 18-34	68
35-44	59
45-49	50
50+	44
Rank-and-file officers	59
Sergeants	49
Administrators	34

Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way.

|	
All officers	44
Ages 18-34	55
35-44	45
45-49	40
50+	36
Rank-and-file officers	44
Sergeants	46
Administrators	36

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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correlated with police experience. Once differences by age are accounted for in the analysis, there are no significant differences in views based on experience. For example, more than half (55%) of rank-and-file officers younger than 35 with less than 10 years of experience favor harsher measures for some people – and so does about the same proportion (54%) of those with 10 or more years of service.
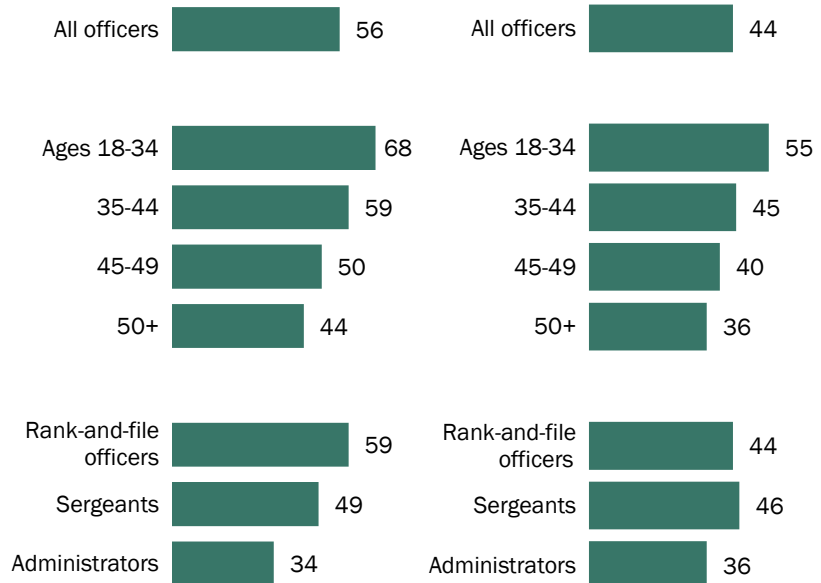
A majority of officers become more callous

Police work can be emotionally difficult, and it hardens many officers. According to the survey, a narrow majority of the police (56%) say they have become more callous toward people since taking their job, a view that is significantly more likely to be held by whites and younger officers than by blacks or older department members.

Overall, the survey finds that 13% strongly agree and an additional 43% agree that they have become more callous toward people since taking the job. About a third (34%) disagree, while 9% strongly disagree.

Younger officers are particularly likely to say they have become more callous, a view shared by 62% of officers younger than 35 but only 46% of those 50 or older.

The differences are even greater when the views of black and white officers are compared. Only about a third (32%) of black officers but about twice the share of whites (62%) report they have become more callous since taking the job.

Hispanic officers fall between white and black officers on this question. About half (51%) of Hispanic officers say they have grown more callous, a significantly larger share than among blacks but significantly smaller than the proportion of whites.

Majority of officers say they have become more callous since taking the job

% of officers saying they ___ that they have become more callous toward people since they took this job

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Younger officers, whites likelier to become more callous since joining department

% of officers saying they agree or strongly agree that they have become more callous toward people since they took this job
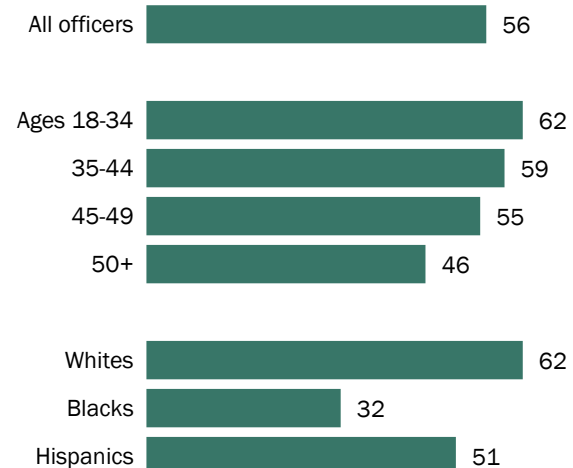
Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Comparisons to the results of previous NPRP police surveys suggest little significant variation in the share of officers who report becoming more callous. In the 2013-14 survey, the number stood at 53%, while in the 2014-15 poll, 59% reported growing more callous since taking this job compared with 56% in the latest poll.

Callousness associated with support for aggressive, physical tactics

The survey finds that officers who feel they have grown more callous since starting their job are also more likely to endorse the use of aggressive or physically harsh tactics in some situations or in some parts of the community than officers who say they have not grown more callous. Officers who say they have grown more callous are also more likely than their colleagues who say they have not to say they are frequently angered or frustrated by their jobs. They also are more likely to have been involved in a physical or verbal confrontation with a citizen in the past month or to have fired their service weapon sometime in their careers.

About two-thirds (66%) of those who self-report having become more callous also agree that it is more useful in certain neighborhoods for an officer to be aggressive rather than to be courteous. By contrast, roughly four-in-ten (43%) of those who have not become more callous say this. Similarly, about half of officers (53%) who say they have become more callous agree or strongly agree that hard, physical methods are the only way to deal with some individuals, a view shared by 32% of those who say they have not become more callous.

Increased sense of callousness linked to officers' views on aggressive tactics, negative feelings toward job

Among officers who say they have/have not become more callous, the % who also agree/ strongly agree that ...
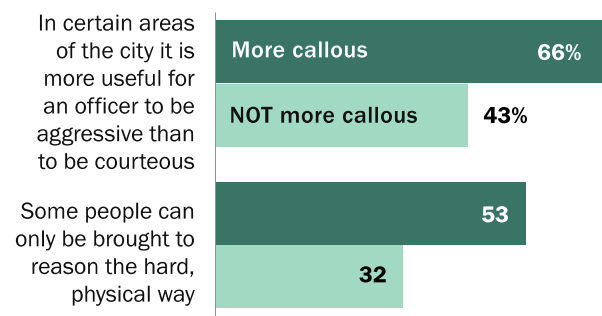
Among officers who say they have/have not become more callous, the % who say their work nearly always/often makes them feel ...
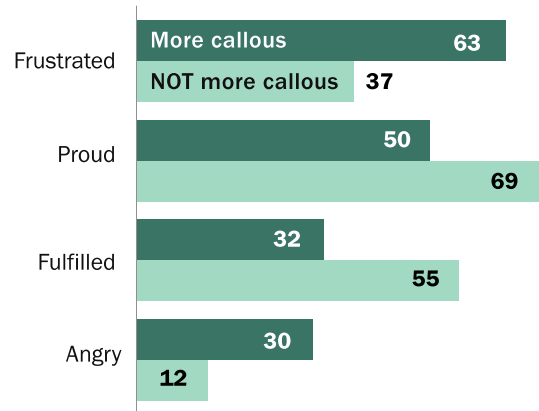
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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It is difficult to determine from these data whether increased callousness is a primary cause or a consequence of feelings of anger or frustration, or the source of attitudes toward aggressive tactics. It could be that an increasingly callous outlook breeds anger and aggression in some officers. It could also be that repeated exposure to confrontations with citizens or frustrations on the job leads an officer to become more unfeeling.

However, the data suggest that these feelings and behaviors are related. For example, the sense of having become more callous on the job is associated with how these officers feel about their work, the survey finds. Those who say they have become more callous are about twice as likely as those who say they have not to say their job nearly always or often makes them feel angry (30% vs. 12%). They also are far more likely to nearly always or often feel frustrated by their job (63% compared with 37% among those who say they have not become more callous since taking their job).

By the same token, those who say they have grown more callous are significantly less likely than other officers to say their job nearly always or often makes them feel fulfilled (32% vs. 55%) and are less likely to say they often feel proud (50% vs. 69%) about their work.

Callousness and experiences

An officer's sense that he or she has grown more callous on the job also is associated with a range of experiences on the streets. While this analysis does not attempt to determine whether increased callousness is a primary cause of these behaviors, these data suggest they are related.

Among those officers who say they have become more callous toward people, roughly four-in-ten (38%) also report they had physically struggled or fought with a suspect who was resisting in the past month. By contrast, about a quarter (26%) of those who say they have not become more insensitive were involved in a physical altercation during

Increased sense of callousness associated with involvement in confrontations

Among officers who say they have/have not become more callous, the % who also say they …
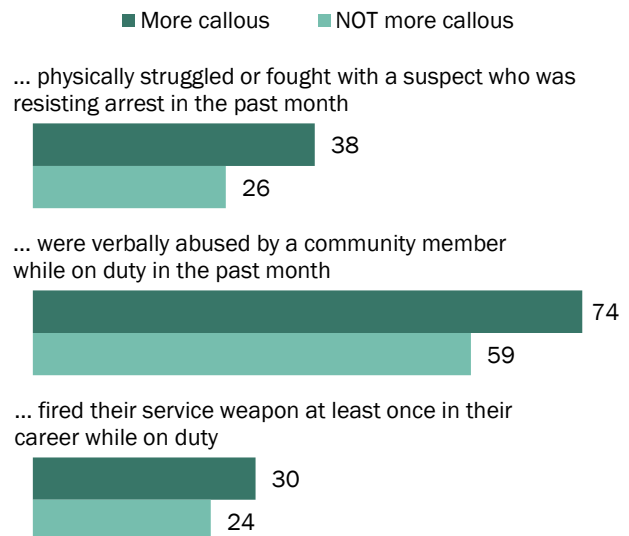
an arrest in the past month.

At the same time, about three-quarters (74%) of those who say they have grown more callous also say they were verbally abused by a community member in the past month compared with 59% of other officers. Three-in-ten officers who say they have grown more callous also report firing their service weapons sometime during their police careers. By contrast, 24% of other police officers say this.

4. Police, fatal encounters and ensuing protests

Shortly after noon on Aug. 9, 2014, Michael Brown, an 18-year-old black man, was shot and killed by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. Since 2015, almost 500 blacks have been fatally shot by police.[9] Their deaths and the disputed circumstances surrounding many of these incidents have sparked widespread protests over police tactics and raised new questions about the relationship between the black community and the police.

A large majority of officers view these protests with deep skepticism. Fully two-thirds of police (68%) say the demonstrations are motivated to a great extent by long-standing bias against the police. A similarly sized majority (67%) characterizes the deaths of blacks during encounters with the police that prompted these demonstrations as isolated incidents and not signs of a broader problem between police and the black community. Black and white officers have profoundly different views on this issue: 57% of black officers but only 27% of their white colleagues say these deadly incidents point to larger issues between blacks and police.

At the same time, these fatal encounters and the public outcry they have generated have affected police work in fundamental ways. More than eight-in-ten officers say their job is harder now as a result of these incidents. Three-in-four officers say interactions between police and blacks in their community have grown more tense. About as many (72%) also say their colleagues are less willing now to stop and question people who seem suspicious or to use force when it is appropriate to do so.

Roughly nine-in-ten (93%) also say officers in their departments are now more concerned about their safety, an assessment the overwhelming majority of officers held even before the ambush slayings of five Dallas police officers on July 7, 2016, by a black man who reportedly sought to avenge recent shootings of black men by police.

These incidents also have prompted many police departments to examine their own use-of-force policies, the survey finds. About half of officers (46%) report that their department has

Officers say policing is harder now as a result of incidents

% of officers saying high-profile incidents involving police and blacks have made ...

12%
No difference

No answer

86%
Their job harder
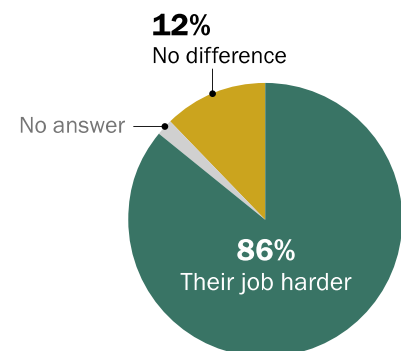
Note: Less than 0.5% said these incidents have made their job easier.

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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[9] Pew Research Center analysis of data collected by The Washington Post.

modified its use-of-force policies or procedures, including 68% of officers in agencies with 2,600 or more sworn personnel. About six-in-ten officers (59%) say their agency has taken steps to improve relations between police and blacks.

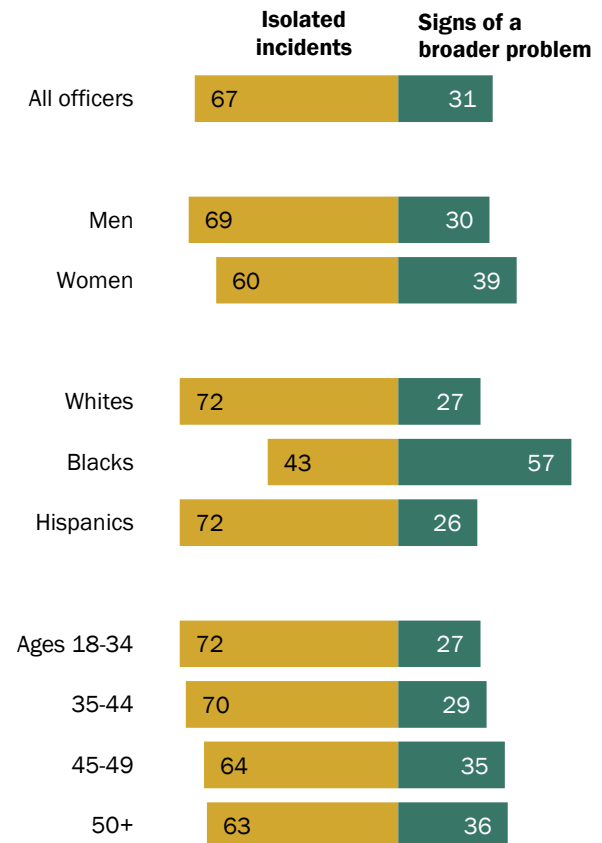## Large majority of officers say fatal encounters are isolated incidents

Two-thirds of police officers (67%) say the highly publicized deaths of blacks during encounters with the police are isolated incidents, while 31% describe them as signs of a broader problem. Moreover, the survey finds that majorities of officers in virtually every major demographic group share this view, with one striking exception. A majority of black officers (57%) say these deaths are evidence of a broader problem between police and blacks, a view held by only about a quarter of all white (27%) and Hispanic (26%) officers.

Black female officers in particular are more likely to say these incidents signal a more far-reaching concern. Among sworn officers, 63% of black women say this, compared with 54% of black men. By contrast, roughly equal proportions of white male officers (27%) and white female officers (29%) say the same. Among Hispanic officers, about a quarter of men (26%) and 32% of women say the incidents reflect a broader problem.

Less dramatic differences arise between other demographic groups. Overall, male officers are more likely than female officers to see these deadly encounters as isolated incidents (69% vs. 60%, respectively), in large part because disproportionately more black women say

Most white, Latino officers say fatal encounters between blacks and police are isolated incidents; majority of black officers disagree

% of officers saying the deaths of blacks during encounters with police in recent years are ...

	Isolated incidents	Signs of a broader problem
All officers	67	31
Men	69	30
Women	60	39
Whites	72	27
Blacks	43	57
Hispanics	72	26
Ages 18-34	72	27
35-44	70	29
45-49	64	35
50+	63	36

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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these incidents point to a more pervasive problem.

Younger police also are more likely than older officers to say these fatal police-black encounters are isolated incidents, a view shared by 72% of officers younger than 35 but 63% of officers 50 and older. Similarly, larger shares of rank-and-file officers and sergeants view these deaths as isolated incidents (68% and 69%, respectively), compared with 61% of administrators.

Most officers say anti-police bias motivates protests

Overall, a majority of officers are deeply skeptical of the motives behind those who are protesting high-profile deaths of blacks at the hands of police. However, black officers are far more likely than their white colleagues to believe that protests are motivated by a desire to hold officers accountable.

Overall, about nine-in-ten officers (92%) say long-standing anti-police bias is a motive for the protests, comprising 68% who say it is a great deal of the motivation and about a quarter (24%)

who believe bias plays some role. Only 7% say bias against the police is not much or not at all a reason for the protests.

At the same time, only about a third (35%) say protesters felt a genuine desire to hold officers accountable for their actions, including 10% who say a great deal of the motivation for the protests arises from the desire for accountability. By contrast, about two-thirds say the desire for accountability was not much (36%) or not at all (28%) a motive for the protesters' actions.

Overall, at least nine-in-ten officers across racial/ethnic groups – 95% of whites, 91% of blacks and 90% of Hispanics – say the protests are motivated at least to some extent by anti-police bias. But white officers are more likely than black officers to say protests are driven *a great deal* by bias against the police (72% vs. 59%, respectively). About two-thirds of

Most officers say protests mainly motivated by bias toward police

% of officers saying protests over deaths of blacks who died during encounters with the police are motivated ___ by ...

■ A great deal ■ Some ■ Not much ■ Not at all

Long-standing bias against the police

NET 92%

| 68 | 24 | 4 | 2 |

A genuine desire to hold officers accountable for their actions

NET 35%

| 10 | 25 | 36 | 28 |
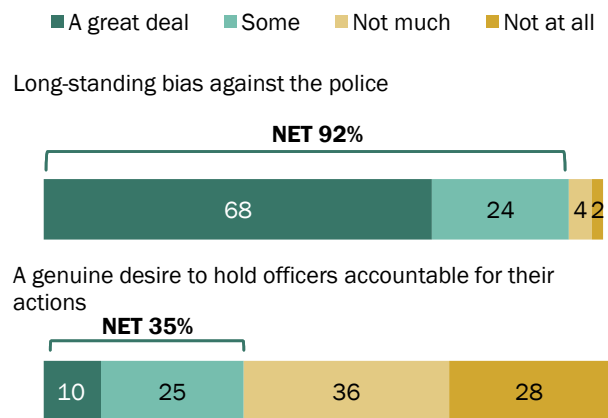
Note: No answer category not shown. NETs calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Hispanic officers (65%) share this view, placing them squarely between whites and blacks.

The racial and ethnic divide among officers opens even wider when they are asked the degree to which protesters are motivated by a genuine desire to hold police accountable for their actions. A substantial majority of black officers (69%) say the desire for accountability was a great deal (34%) or some (35%) of the impetus for the protests.

By contrast, about a quarter of white officers (27%) say this, including only 5% who say it had a great deal to do with the demonstrations. Again, Hispanic officers (42%) fall between whites and blacks on this question.

Differences also emerge when the focus shifts to gender, age and officer's rank. Among all sworn officers, women are significantly more likely than men to say the protests are, at least to some extent, efforts to produce accountability (44% vs. 34%).

Younger and older officers also hold significantly different views. According to the survey, three-in-ten officers younger than 35 say the desire for accountability is motivating the demonstrators a great deal or some. By contrast, 44% of officers 50 years old or older say this.

Police administrators are more sympathetic to the motives of protesters than lower-ranking officers. Fully 46% of administrators say demonstrators are motivated a great deal or some by the desire to make police accountable for their actions. By contrast only about a third of rank-and-file officers (34%) and sergeants (36%) share this view.

Black and white officers disagree over extent to which protests are motivated by desire to hold police accountable

% of officers saying protests over deaths of blacks who died during encounters with the police have been motivated a great deal or some by genuine desire to hold police accountable
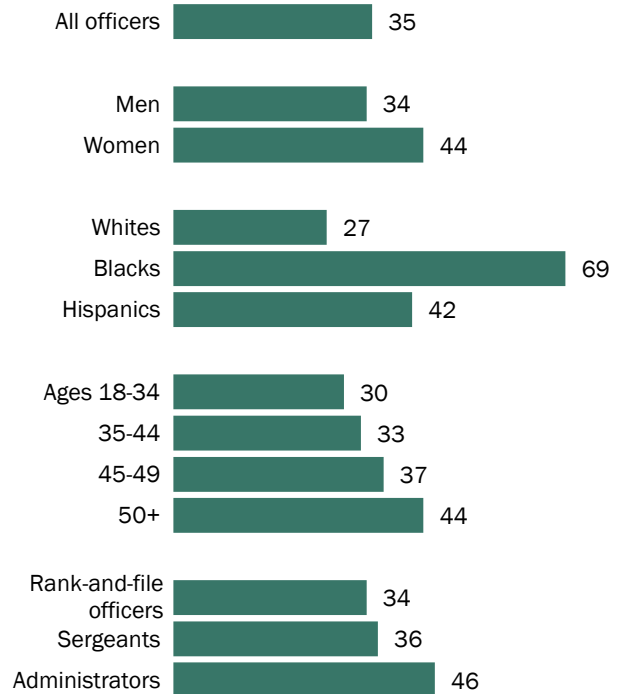
All officers	35
Men	34
Women	44
Whites	27
Blacks	69
Hispanics	42
Ages 18-34	30
35-44	33
45-49	37
50+	44
Rank-and-file officers	34
Sergeants	36
Administrators	46

Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Officers say high-profile incidents have made policing harder

Police work is a hard job that most officers say has become harder as a result of deaths of blacks who died during encounters with police. Across every major demographic group analyzed for this survey, about eight-in-ten officers or more say these high-profile incidents have made policing more challenging and more dangerous.

Overall, fully 86% of officers say their job is harder now as a result of these deadly encounters. Even officers from smaller departments that typically serve smaller communities say it's harder to be a police officer now; 84% of police in departments with fewer than 300 sworn officers say their job is more difficult now – and so do 89% of officers in big-city departments with 2,600 or more police.

An officer's race matters, though not as much on this question as in others in this survey. Roughly nine-in-ten white officers (89%) say policing is now harder, compared with 81% of black officers. Among all sworn officers, black male officers in particular are significantly less likely than either white men or women to say their job is harder now (79% for black men vs. 89% and 90% for white men and women, respectively). Among black female officers, 84% say their job is more difficult now.

Officers say policing has changed

To measure the impact of fatal police-black encounters on police work, the survey asked officers if their department has changed in six possible ways as a result of these high-profile incidents involving blacks and the police. The results document a range of consequences in departments across the country.

Perceived tensions between blacks, police have grown; officers more worried about safety and more reluctant to use appropriate force

% of officers saying each has happened in their department as a result of high-profile incidents involving blacks and the police

Officers have become more concerned about their safety
93

Officers have been more reluctant to use force when it is appropriate
76

Interactions between police and blacks have become more tense
75

Officers have become less willing to stop and question people who seem suspicious
72

The department has taken steps to improve relations between police and blacks
59

The department has modified its policies or procedures about the use of force
46

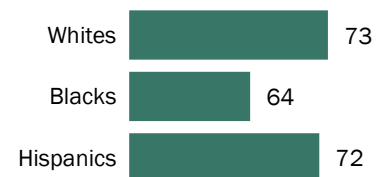Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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▪ **Increased safety concerns:** Fully nine-in-ten officers (93%) say police in their department have become more concerned about their safety. An analysis of survey responses taken before and after five police officers died in an ambush-style attack by a gunman in Dallas suggests that safety worries were high even before this incident: About nine-in-ten (92%) officers expressed concerns about their physical safety before the attack, compared with 97% after the attack, a small but significant increase.

▪ **Increased reluctance to use force:** As a result of high-profile fatal police-black encounters, three-quarters of officers (76%) say officers in their department have been more reluctant to use force when it is appropriate. White and Hispanic officers (76% and 81%, respectively) are more likely than black officers (68%) to say their colleagues are holding back in using more forceful methods, even when such tactics are suitable for the situation.

▪ **Increased tension between police and blacks:** Three-quarters of all officers report increased tension between blacks and police in their community. Female officers are somewhat more likely than males to say this (80% vs. 75%).

▪ **Increased reluctance to stop and question suspicious people:** About seven-in-ten officers (72%) say the widely publicized deaths of blacks who died during encounters with police have made officers in their department less willing to stop and question people who seem suspicious. This finding raises the possibility that many officers are responding to these incidents by "de-policing" – that is, by not fully carrying out their law enforcement responsibilities out of fear of becoming involved in a high-profile incident.[10] A larger share of white police officers (73%) than black officers (64%) say their colleagues are now more hesitant to question suspicious people. In particular, white male officers are significantly more likely to say this (74%) than white female or black male officers (65% for both).

At the same time, the survey finds that many departments have initiated or modified programs to address issues raised by the

Regardless of race, officers say their colleagues are now more reluctant to stop and question suspicious people

% of officers saying that officers in their department have become less willing to stop and question people who seem suspicious

Whites	73
Blacks	64
Hispanics	72

Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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[10] For a popular account of de-policing in several American cities, see Kaste, Martin. Jan. 8, 2015. "When Morale Dips. Some Cops Walk the Beat – But Do the Minimum." National Public Radio.

fatal encounters between blacks and police.

- **Efforts to improve black-police relations:** About six-in-ten officers (59%) say their department has taken steps to improve relations with the black community. This view varies substantially by the rank of the officer. Roughly eight-in-ten department administrators (79%) say their department has initiated outreach efforts to the black community. By contrast, only 56% of rank-and-file officers and 64% of sergeants express a similar view, suggesting that word about such efforts may not be filtering down the ranks.

- **Changes to the department's use-of-force policies and procedures:** Roughly half of all officers (46%) say their departments have modified their use-of-force protocols as a consequence of fatal black-police encounters. Black officers are more likely than whites to say this change has happened in their department (59% vs. 42% for whites).

Larger departments most affected

The series of high-profile deadly incidents involving police and blacks has had the greatest impact on officers in the country's largest police departments.

On every measure tested, police working in departments with 2,600 sworn officers or more are significantly more likely to say their department has been affected by these incidents than those in police agencies with fewer than 300 officers. Among departments with more than 100 sworn police, three-in-ten officers nationally work in these large departments, while a slightly smaller share are employed in agencies with fewer than 300

High-profile incidents have disproportionately affected policing in larger departments

% of officers in ___ saying each has happened in their department as a result of high-profile incidents involving blacks and the police

■ Small departments (fewer than 300 officers)
■ Large departments (2,600 or more)

Officers have become less willing to stop and question people who seem suspicious
- Small: 54
- Large: 86

Interactions between police and blacks have become more tense
- Small: 61
- Large: 87

Officers have become more reluctant to use force when it is appropriate
- Small: 63
- Large: 85

Officers have become more concerned about their safety
- Small: 88
- Large: 95

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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officers (24%). The others work in departments with 300 to 2,599 officers (45%).

About nine-in-ten officers (86%) in large departments with at least 2,600 officers say their colleagues have become less willing to stop and question suspicious individuals. By contrast, about half (54%) in small departments with fewer than 300 officers say this.

Fully 87% of officers in large departments, but 61% in small agencies, say relations with blacks in their community have grown more tense as a consequence of recent black deaths during encounters with the police. Some 85% of officers in large police departments say their colleagues are more reluctant now to use force even when it is appropriate to do so. By contrast, about six-in-ten (63%) in small departments say this.

On just one measure are there only modest differences between police in larger and smaller departments: Fully 95% of officers in the largest departments say police are now more concerned about their safety, a view shared by 88% of those in small agencies.

Equally striking differences between larger and smaller departments emerge when officers were asked if their department has taken steps to improve relations between police and the black community.

About two-thirds of officers in large departments (66%) say their department has attempted to improve relations between officers and the black community as a result of fatal police-black encounters, while 35% of the officers in small departments say the same.

Similarly, about two-thirds of officers in larger departments (68%) say their department has modified its use-of-force rules in response to fatal police-black encounters, while 19% of the officers in small departments say the same.

Large departments more likely to have moved to modify use-of-force policies or procedures

% of officers in _____ saying each has happened in their department as a result of high-profile incidents involving blacks and the police

■ Small departments (fewer than 300 officers)
■ Large departments (2,600 or more)

The department has taken steps to improve relations between police and blacks

Small	35
Large	66

The department has modified its policies or procedures about the use of force

Small	19
Large	68
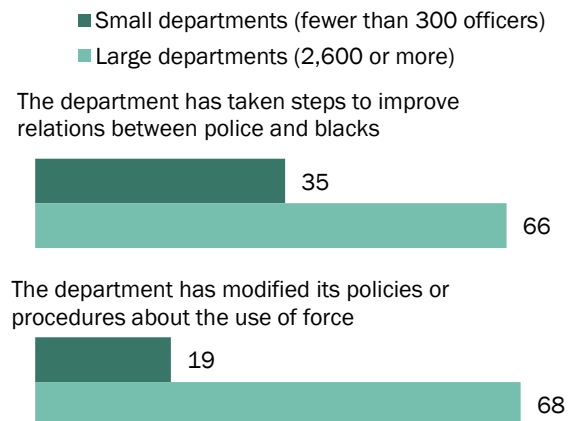
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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5. Reimagining the police through training and reforms

Recent fatalities of blacks during police encounters have brought police training and reforms to the forefront of conversations on how to prevent the use of unnecessary force. Recommendations have been made to prevent these types of situations from occurring, such as requiring officers to wear body cameras and training officers on how to de-escalate situations to reduce the need to use force.[11]

The survey finds that a majority of officers favor the use of body cameras by police officers. About half think that wearing body cameras will make police more likely to act appropriately. But just one-third of officers think that it would make the public more likely to cooperate with the police.

Despite the national attention given to training and reforms aimed at preventing the use of unnecessary force, relatively few (half or less than half of rank-and-file officers) report

Roughly two-thirds of officers say they favor the use of body cameras

% of officers saying they personally ____ the use of body cameras, regardless of whether their department uses them

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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having had at least four hours of training in some key areas over the past 12 months. For example, half of rank-and-file officers say, over the past year, they have had at least four hours of training in nonlethal methods to control a combative or threatening individual, and 46% say they have had at least four hours of training on how to deal with individuals who are having a mental health crisis.

The survey also asked officers their views on how useful several different approaches of policing are today. A majority of police say that requiring officers to show respect, concern and fairness when dealing with the public is very useful. But less than half of those who view this as a very or somewhat useful approach say that their department's leadership provides a great deal of support to officers who want to do so. A narrow majority of officers say that patrolling high-crime areas is very useful in policing today. About three-in-ten officers (32%) who view this as a useful strategy say their leadership gives a great deal of support to officers who want to take this approach.

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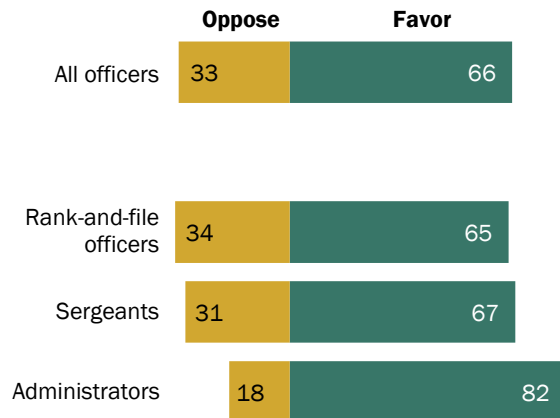
[11] In 2016, the Police Executive Research Forum, a nonprofit focused on critical issues in policing, developed 30 guiding principles on the use of force that includes recommendations on policies, training, tactics and equipment.

Most officers favor use of body cameras, but many are skeptical that they would change behavior

A majority (66%) of officers favor the use of body cameras by police. Administrators are particularly likely to favor their use: 82% of administrators say they favor the use of body cameras, compared with about two-thirds of sergeants (67%) and rank-and-file officers (65%).

Half of officers say that wearing body cameras would make officers more likely to act appropriately when dealing with the public. But a similar share (44%) say that wearing a body camera would make no difference in the way officers interact with the public. Only 5% say wearing a body camera would make officers less likely to act appropriately.

Black officers are considerably more likely than their white and Hispanic counterparts to say wearing body cameras would make officers act more appropriately. Roughly seven-in-ten (71%) black officers say this, compared with about half of white (46%) and Hispanic (53%) officers.

Officers with higher ranks and more years of experience are also particularly likely to say that wearing body cameras would make officers more likely to act appropriately when dealing with the public. About seven-in-ten (69%) administrators say this, compared with roughly half of sergeants (53%) and rank-and-file officers (48%). And, while 57% officers with 20 or more years of experience say this,

Black officers more likely than whites, Hispanics to say body cams would change police behavior

% of officers saying that wearing body cameras would make officers _____ when dealing with the public
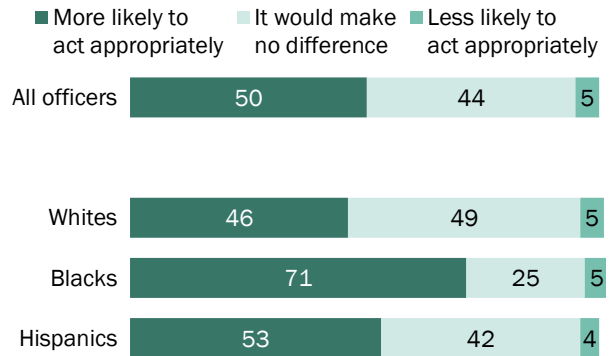
Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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Administrators see more benefit to body cams than sergeants, rank-and-file officers

% of officers saying that body cameras on officers would make members of the public ...
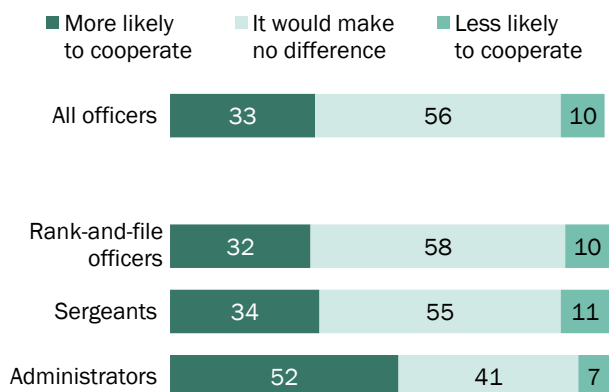
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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only 49% of those with 10 to 19 years of experience and 43% of officers with less than 10 years of experience agree. Among rank-and-file officers, these differences by years of experience remain.

When asked about the effect of body cameras on the way the public interacts with police officers, only one-third of officers say that body cameras would make the public more likely to cooperate. Just over half (56%) say wearing body cameras would not make a difference in the way the public interacts with police officers. One-in-ten say that wearing body cameras would make members of the public less likely to cooperate with officers.

Views on this differ significantly by rank: 52% of administrators say that wearing body cameras would make the public more likely to cooperate with officers. Smaller shares of sergeants (34%) and rank-and-file officers (32%) hold this view.

Black officers are also more likely than white officers and Hispanic officers to say that wearing body cameras would make members of the public more likely to cooperate. Some 44% of black officers say this, compared with 31% of white officers and 33% of Hispanic officers.

Most officers report having some use-of-force training in past 12 months

The survey asked police officers how much training they had in several key areas, which has been [recommended](#) to protect the public and police from encounters where unnecessary force is used.

About one-in-four rank-and-file officers say they have had no training on how to de-escalate a situation in the past 12 months

*% of **rank-and-file officers** saying they have received _____ training in each of the following areas in the past 12 months*
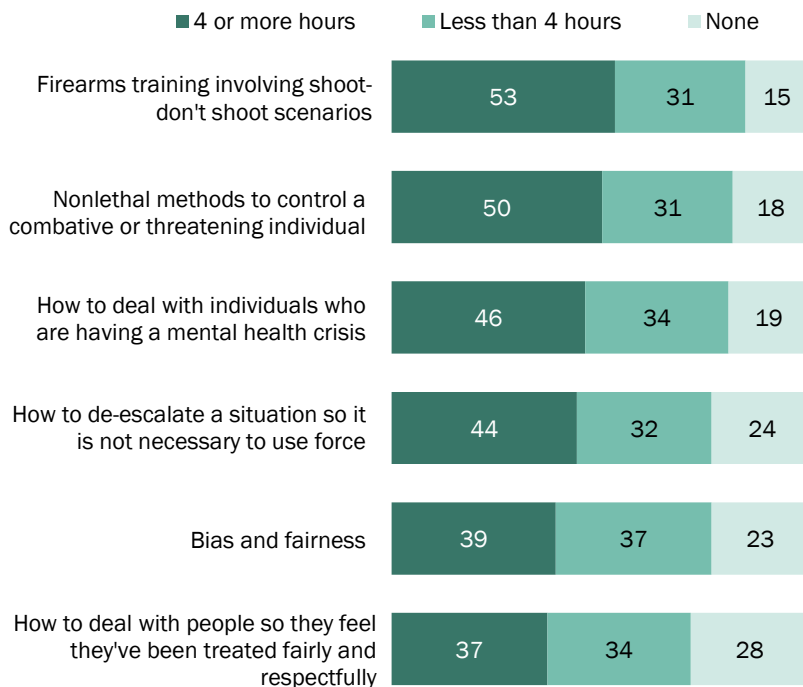
Legend: ■ 4 or more hours ■ Less than 4 hours ■ None

Training area	4 or more hours	Less than 4 hours	None
Firearms training involving shoot-don't shoot scenarios	53	31	15
Nonlethal methods to control a combative or threatening individual	50	31	18
How to deal with individuals who are having a mental health crisis	46	34	19
How to de-escalate a situation so it is not necessary to use force	44	32	24
Bias and fairness	39	37	23
How to deal with people so they feel they've been treated fairly and respectfully	37	34	28

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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About half of rank-and-file officers – those who are assigned to a beat where they routinely interact with the public – say they have had at least four hours of firearms training involving shoot-don't shoot scenarios (53%) and nonlethal methods to control a combative or threatening individual (50%) in the past 12 months.

Some 46% of rank-and-file officers have had at least four hours of training in how to deal with individuals who are having a mental health crisis, and 44% say they have had at least four hours of training in how to de-escalate a situation so it is not necessary to use force. About four-in-ten rank-and-file officers say they have received at least four hours of training in bias and fairness (39%) and how to deal with people so they feel they've been treated fairly and respectfully (37%).

Rank-and-file officers with less than five years of experience are more likely than those with more experience to say they have had these types of trainings in the past 12 months. For example, 63% of rank-and-file officers with less than five years of experience say they have had at least four hours of training in nonlethal methods to control a combative or threatening individual, compared with 47% of rank-and-file officers with five or more years of experience.

Nearly four-in-ten officers say it's very important to have knowledge of policing strategies scientifically shown to be effective

Some 36% of police officers say it is very important to have a good knowledge of what scientific research shows to be effective policing strategies. But high-ranking administrators are more likely than rank-and-file officers or sergeants to say this is the case. About half of administrators (49%) say it is very important, while 35% of rank-and-file officers and 34% of sergeants say the same.

There are also differences along racial and ethnic lines. Some 44% of black officers and 46% of Hispanic officers say it is very important to have a good knowledge of scientific research on effective policing,

Administrators place more importance on the science of policing

% of officers saying it is _____ for law enforcement officers today to have a good knowledge of what scientific research shows are effective policing strategies
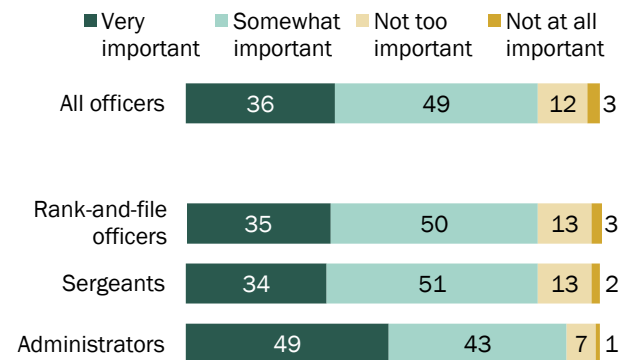
	Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important
All officers	36	49	12	3
Rank-and-file officers	35	50	13	3
Sergeants	34	51	13	2
Administrators	49	43	7	1

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
"Behind the Badge"

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compared with 32% of white officers.

New officers (43%) are more likely than officers with five or more years of experience (35%) to say it is very important to have good knowledge of what scientific research shows to be effective policing strategies.

A majority of officers say showing respect, concern and fairness when dealing with the public is very useful in policing today

Some police reform efforts are aimed at more subtle shifts in how the police interact with community members and where they focus their resources.

A majority (65%) of officers say that today in policing it is very useful for departments to require officers to show respect, concern and fairness when dealing with the public – an approach referred to as procedural justice. Among those who view this as a very or somewhat useful strategy, 45% say that their department's leadership gives a great deal of support to officers who want to do this. An additional 42% say their leadership gives a fair amount of support.
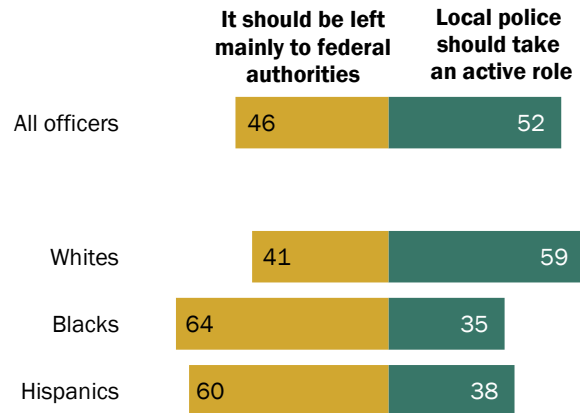
About six-in-ten (58%) officers say that requiring officers to patrol more frequently in high-crime areas is very useful. This approach is called "hot spot" policing, because it concentrates policing efforts in the small areas where crime is concentrated. Among officers who view this as a useful approach, 32% say that their department's leadership gives officers who want to patrol more frequently in high-crime areas a great deal of support. An additional 46% say the department's leadership gives a fair amount of support.

Fewer officers view the community policing approach as very useful today: About four-in-ten (41%) say that requiring

Most officers see value in showing respect and fairness when dealing with the public

% of officers saying that today in policing it is _____ to require officers to do each of the following
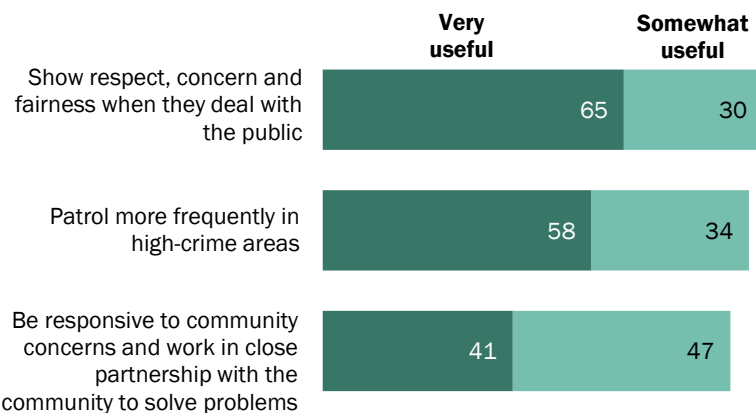
	Very useful	Somewhat useful
Show respect, concern and fairness when they deal with the public	65	30
Patrol more frequently in high-crime areas	58	34
Be responsive to community concerns and work in close partnership with the community to solve problems	41	47

Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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officers to be responsive to community concerns and work in close partnership with the community to solve problems is very useful. Among officers who view this as a useful strategy, roughly three-in-ten (32%) officers say their department's leadership gives a great deal of support to officers who want to do so. An additional 50% say their leadership gives a fair amount of support.

Most officers say responding effectively to mental health crises is an important role of police officers

About three-quarters (76%) of officers say that responding effectively to people who are having a mental health crisis is an important role of police officers, and an additional 12% say that it is a role of police officers but not an important one. About one-in-ten (11%) officers say this is *not* a role of police officers.

While majorities of officers across all demographic groups studied and agency characteristics say responding to mental health crises is an important role of police officers, those in larger department are less likely than officers in smaller department to say this is the case. About seven-in-ten (68%) officers in departments with at least 2,600 officers say responding effectively to people

Most officers say responding effectively to mental health crises is an important role of police officers

% of officers saying that they think responding effectively to people who are having a mental health crisis is _____ of police officers
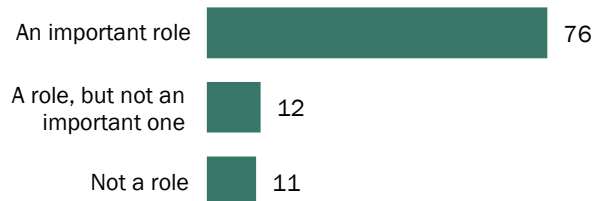
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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who are having a mental health crisis is an important role of police officers, compared with 83% among those in departments with fewer than 500 officers and 78% in departments with 500 to 2,599 officers.

About half of officers say local police should take an active role in identifying undocumented immigrants

Officers are slightly more likely to say that local police should take an active role (52%) in identifying undocumented immigrants rather than leaving this task mainly to federal authorities (46%).

White officers and those with more years of experience are more likely than their counterparts to say that local police should take an active role in identifying undocumented immigrants. About six-in-ten (59%) white officers say this, compared with 35% of black officers and 38% of Hispanic officers. And about six-in-ten (58%) officers with at least 20 years of experience say this, compared with 52% of those with 10 to 19 years of experience and 46% of those with less than 10 years of experience.

About half of officers say local police should take the lead in identifying undocumented immigrants

% of officers saying that when it comes to identifying undocumented or illegal immigrants …

	It should be left mainly to federal authorities	Local police should take an active role
All officers	46	52
Whites	41	59
Blacks	64	35
Hispanics	60	38

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016.
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6. Police views, public views

Police and the public hold sharply different views about key aspects of policing as well as on some major policy issues facing the country. For example, most police say more officers are needed to adequately patrol their communities, while the majority of the public doesn't think more officers are necessary. A majority of officers oppose a ban on assault-style weapons, while a majority of the public favors a ban on these weapons. More than eight-in-ten police say people don't understand the risks and rewards of police work well, while an equally large majority of the public says they do.

At the same time, there are areas of broad agreement between officers and the public. Majorities of the police and public favor the use of body cameras by officers to record interactions with the public. Large majorities of police and the public also support easing some legal restrictions on marijuana, though the public is more likely than officers to support the legalization of marijuana for both personal and medical use (49% vs. 32%).

These contrasting views and striking similarities emerge from two surveys, one of 7,917 sworn police officers conducted online May 19-Aug. 14, 2016, and the other a nationally representative survey of 4,538 adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016, by mail and online. The surveys included a number of identically worded questions, which allowed for direct comparisons of how officers and the public see the role of the police in their communities and how they view recent deaths of blacks during encounters with police, as well as to capture their views on some major policy issues, including gun control, the use of body cameras by officers and assessments of racial progress.

Some of the sharpest differences between the police and the public emerge over views on deaths of blacks during encounters with police in recent years and the protests that many of

Police, public differ on perceptions of deadly black-police encounters

% saying the deaths of blacks during encounters with police in recent years are …
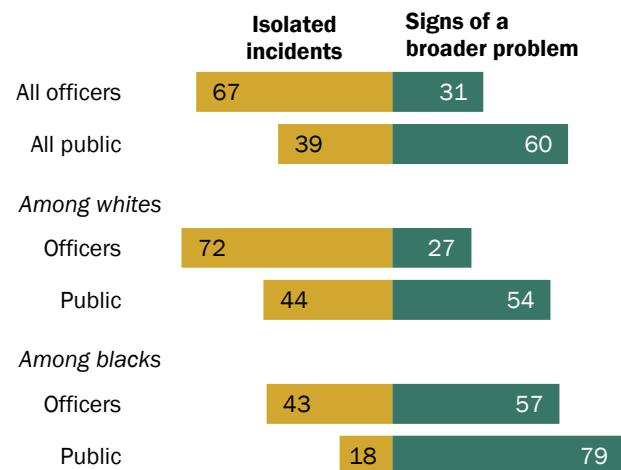
	Isolated incidents	Signs of a broader problem
All officers	67	31
All public	39	60
Among whites		
Officers	72	27
Public	44	54
Among blacks		
Officers	43	57
Public	18	79

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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those incidents ignited. For example, 67% of the police but only 39% of the public describe these deadly encounters as isolated incidents rather than signs of a broader problem between blacks and police. When this overall finding is analyzed by race, an equally striking result snaps into focus: About seven-in-ten white officers (72%) but fewer than half of all black officers see these encounters as isolated incidents. By contrast, majorities of black officers (57%) as well as the public overall (60%) say the incidents are signs of a broader problem between police and the black community.

When the subject shifts to overall views on racial progress, large differences again emerge between the public and the police and also between blacks and whites within each group. For example, when police and the public are asked if the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites, fully eight-in-ten police officers – including 92% of white officers but only 29% of black officers – say the necessary changes have been made. By contrast, about half (48%) of the public, including 57% of whites but only 12% of blacks, says the country has made the changes needed for blacks to have equal rights with whites.

The remainder of this chapter examines these and other related findings in greater detail. The first sections compare and contrast police and public views on the role of police in the community and how each group views the risks and rewards of police work. The next sections describe how each group views recent deadly encounters between police and blacks and also examines police and public attitudes toward the protests that followed many of these incidents. The final section examines police and public attitudes on some current issues relevant to law enforcement, including gun policy, legalization of marijuana and racial equality.

How the public sees the police, how police see themselves

Protectors, enforcers or both – what do Americans see when they look at their local police? And do their perceptions of the police align with what officers say is their primary role?

Overall, about six-in-ten (62%) officers say their primary role is to serve as both protectors and enforcers; among the public, about half (53%) view their local police this way.

Protectors or enforcers? Majority of officers, half of public say police are both

% of officers and the public saying they see themselves/see their local police more as …
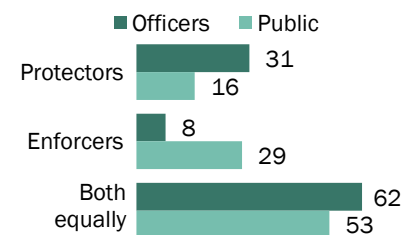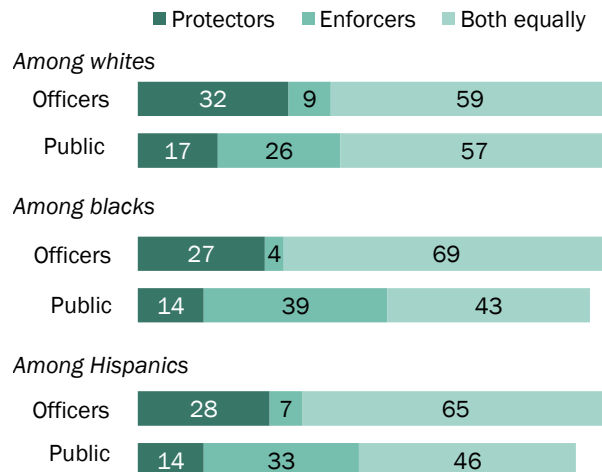

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016.
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At the same time, three-in-ten officers (31%) say their primary role is to serve as protectors, about twice the share of the public (16%) who see their local police in that way.

An even larger disparity between police-public views emerges over the enforcement role of police. Only 8% of officers say they mainly see themselves as enforcers – the long arm of the law – yet fully three times the share of the public (29%) see their local police that way.

This disparity over how the public views police and how officers see their role is partially explained by race. Blacks are significantly more likely than whites to see their local police as mainly enforcers (39% vs. 26%) and less likely to see officers as both protectors and enforcers (43% vs. 57%).

Overall, 46% of Hispanic adults see police in their community as both enforcers and protectors, while 33% view them as enforcers and 14% as protectors. Among Hispanic officers, about two-thirds (65%) see their role to be both protectors and enforcers, while 7% say they are enforcers and 28% consider themselves to be protectors.

Contrasting views on size of police force

When it comes to manpower, police are unequivocal: More than eight-in-ten officers (86%) say their department does not have enough police to adequately patrol their community. By contrast, a majority of the public (57%) wants no change in the size of the local police force. About a third of the public

Majority of public wants no change in size of force; officers say more police needed

% of public saying they would prefer ___ than currently exists in their local area
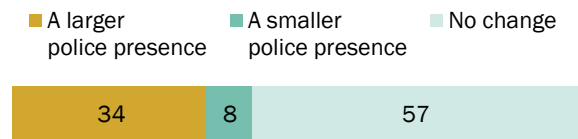
- A larger police presence
- A smaller police presence
- No change

| 34 | 8 | 57 |

% of officers saying their department ___ have enough officers to adequately police the community

Does not | **Does**

| 86 | 13 |

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Among blacks, police and public have different views of role of police

% saying they see themselves/see their local police more as …

- Protectors
- Enforcers
- Both equally

Among whites

| Officers | 32 | 9 | 59 |
| Public | 17 | 26 | 57 |

Among blacks

| Officers | 27 | 4 | 69 |
| Public | 14 | 39 | 43 |

Among Hispanics

| Officers | 28 | 7 | 65 |
| Public | 14 | 33 | 46 |

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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(34%) want more officers in their local area, and 8% favor fewer officers.

Among the public, these differences are linked, in part, to how they see their local police. Among those who view the local police as mainly being enforcers, a quarter say they want more officers and 19% would favor a smaller police department. The remaining 54% favor no change.

At the same time, roughly a third (36%) of those who see the police as both protectors and enforcers would prefer to see more officers. Only 4% favor a smaller force, while 59% prefer the current level of policing. Similarly, about a third of those who view their police as protectors (30%) favor a larger police presence, 11% would like a smaller force and 59% prefer no change. (The views of police on whether there are enough officers in their communities are far more unequivocal: About eight-in-ten or more in each group says their department falls short of having the number of officers their community needs.)

Police work: Great risks, great frustrations

The overwhelming majority of Americans say they understand the risks and challenges that police face. And an equally lopsided share of police disagrees.

Fully eight-in-ten Americans (83%) say they understand the risks and challenges of police work – including 38% who believe they understand the risks very well. By contrast,

Americans who see local police as enforcers less likely to want a greater police presence

% saying they would like to see a _____ police force in their local area, among the public who view local police more as protectors/enforcers/both equally
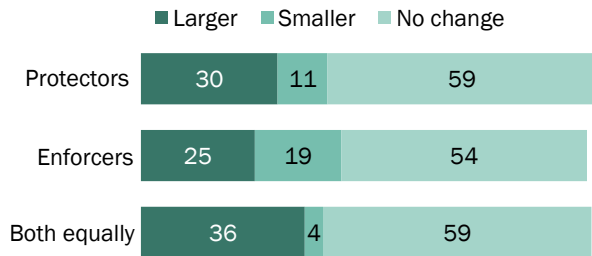
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Do Americans understand the challenges police face? Public says yes, police say no

% of public saying they understand the risks and challenges that police face on the job …
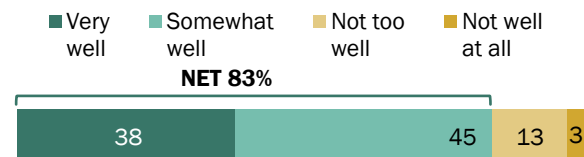
% of officers saying the public understands the risks and challenges that police face on the job …
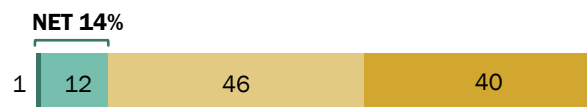
Note: No answer category not shown. NETs calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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fully 86% of the police say the public does not fully comprehend the trials that officers face – including 40% who say Americans don't understand well at all the risks and challenges of police work.

Another survey finding provides a striking example of an apparent disconnect between what the public thinks police work is like and the reality of law enforcement.

Perhaps influenced by popular television police dramas that routinely feature vividly choreographed shootouts, more than eight-in-ten Americans (83%) believe that typical police officers fire their service weapon while on duty at least once in their career – and about three-in-ten (31%) believe police discharge their weapon at least a few times a year.

In fact, only about a quarter of all officers (27%) say they have ever fired their service weapon.[12]

Police work more dangerous, more frustrating

But how do police view the risks and rewards of their work, and how do those views differ from Americans in other occupations? To partially answer those questions, the surveys asked officers

and employed Americans how often they worried about their physical safety while at work, how often their job made them feel frustrated and how often it made them feel fulfilled.

Average police officers are three times as likely as workers overall to say they nearly always or often have serious concerns about their physical safety while on the job (42% vs. 14%). Employed Americans, meanwhile, are about four times as likely as officers on average to say they hardly ever or never seriously worry about their physical well-being at work (67% vs. 16%).

Officers also are more likely on average than employed Americans overall to say their jobs frequently make them feel frustrated and somewhat

Officers more worried about their personal safety on the job

% saying they ___ have serious concerns about their physical safety when they are at work
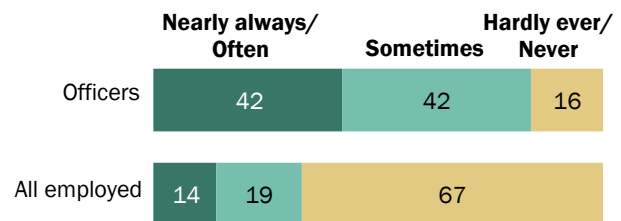
	Nearly always/ Often	Sometimes	Hardly ever/ Never
Officers	42	42	16
All employed	14	19	67

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. *"Behind the Badge"*

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[12] The survey questions specifically asked the public and officers not to include in their count or estimate instances where officers fired their service weapon "on a gun range or while training."

less likely to feel fulfilled by their work. Half (51%) of officers say their job nearly always or often frustrates them, compared with 29% of all workers. A larger share of white officers report feeling frustrated by their job than do white workers overall (54% vs. 28%).

At the same time, about four-in-ten officers (42%) say their work frequently makes them feel fulfilled, compared with half of employed adults (52%) who feel that way. There was no significant difference between white and black officers.

Officers, public agree that police work is more difficult now

The public and officers agree that recent deaths of blacks during incidents with police and the protests they have sparked have added to the challenges of police work. More than eight-in-ten officers (86%) say their job is harder now as a result of the protests. At the same time, seven-in-ten Americans believe police work has become more dangerous in the past five years.

On both measures, solid majorities of whites and blacks agree police work is harder now, though whites are more likely than blacks to say policing has become more challenging. About nine-in-ten white officers (89%) and 81% of black police say their job has gotten harder. Similarly, roughly three-quarters of whites (74%) in the general population and 60% of blacks say policing has become more hazardous in recent years.

Police work: More frustrating, less fulfilling than most other jobs

% saying their work nearly always or often makes them feel …
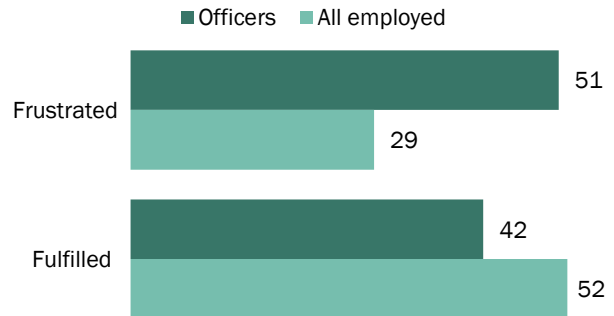
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Officers say policing is harder now, public views it as more dangerous

% of officers saying high-profile incidents involving police and blacks have made their job …
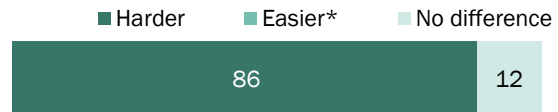
*Less than 0.5%

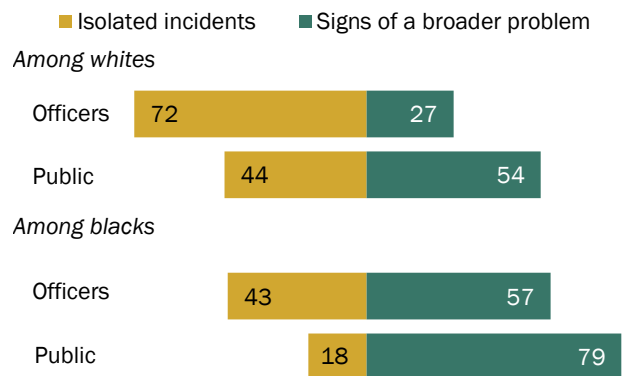*% of public saying policing is ___ compared with five years ago*
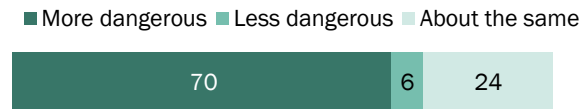
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Public, police see deadly police-black encounters differently

Police and the public describe the recent fatal incidents involving blacks and the police in very different ways.

Roughly two-thirds of the police (67%) say these deadly encounters are isolated incidents, while about three-in-ten (31%) say they are signs of serious problems between law enforcement and the black community. But when the public is asked to consider these incidents, the result is virtually reversed: Six-in-ten say these encounters are signs of a broader problem, while 39% describe them as isolated incidents.

These differences grow sharper when race is added to the analysis. Black and white officers see these incidents very differently, as do whites and blacks in the general public.

For example, about seven-in-ten white police officers (72%) and 44% of whites overall say fatal black-police encounters are isolated incidents. By contrast, only about four-in-ten black officers (43%) and 18% of blacks overall share this view.

At the same time, black officers are about twice as likely as blacks nationally to describe these encounters as isolated incidents (43% vs. 18%). And while a narrow majority of black officers (57%) say the incidents are signs of a broader problem, a much larger majority of blacks overall (79%) express this view. In fact, roughly similar shares of black police and

Majority of police say fatal police-black encounters are isolated incidents; majority of the public says the encounters point to a bigger problem

% saying the deaths of blacks during encounters with police in recent years are …
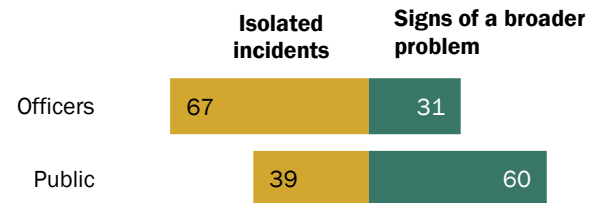
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Large racial differences on perceptions of deadly black-police encounters among police, the public

% saying the deaths of blacks during encounters with police in recent years are …

Note: No answer category not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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whites overall – 57% and 54%, respectively – see these incidents as pointing to larger issues between blacks and law enforcement.

Anti-police bias is seen as a motive for protests by most officers and public

Large majorities of the police and the public agree that long-standing anti-police bias was at least some of the principle behind the protests that have followed many of the recent fatal incidents involving blacks and the police.
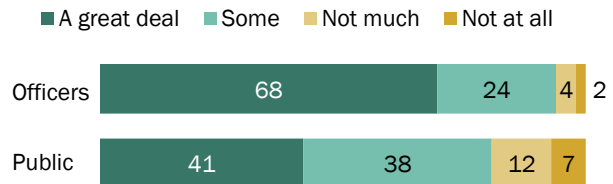
About nine-in-ten officers (92%) say the protests were motivated by bias toward the police, including 68% who say this was a great deal of the reason behind the demonstrations. A smaller but still substantial 79% majority of the public agrees that prejudice against the police provided at least some of the impetus for the protests, including 41% who see this as a major motivation.

A familiar pattern emerges when race is factored into the analysis. Black and white officers differ somewhat about the motives of the protesters, and the views of each group differ with those of all blacks and whites.

Fully nine-in-ten white officers (95%) and 85% of whites nationally say the protests are motivated at least somewhat by anti-police bias. Underlying this modest difference is the much larger share of white officers who feel that long-standing animosity toward police is a

Most officers, public agree anti-police bias is a motive for protests

% saying protests over deaths of blacks who died during encounters with the police are motivated ___ by long-standing bias against the police

Legend: ■ A great deal ■ Some ■ Not much ■ Not at all

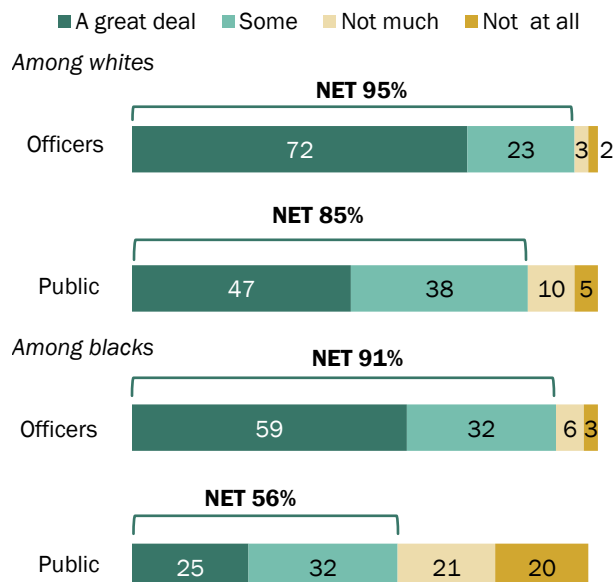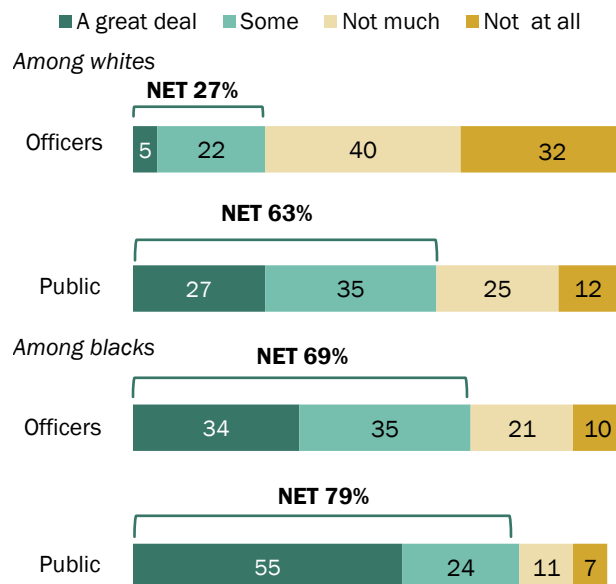|	A great deal	Some	Not much	Not at all
Officers	68	24	4	2
Public	41	38	12	7

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Many blacks and whites say anti-police bias is a protest motive

% saying protests over deaths of blacks who died during encounters with the police are motivated ___ by long-standing bias against the police

Legend: ■ A great deal ■ Some ■ Not much ■ Not at all

Among whites

	A great deal	Some	Not much	Not at all	NET
Officers	72	23	3	2	95%
Public	47	38	10	5	85%

Among blacks

	A great deal	Some	Not much	Not at all	NET
Officers	59	32	6	3	91%
Public	25	32	21	20	56%

Note: No answer category not shown. NETs calculated before rounding. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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great deal of the protesters' motivation (72% of white officers vs. 47% for all whites).

Among blacks, the disparity between police and the public is even greater than it is among whites. About nine-in-ten black officers (91%) say anti-police feelings are a reason for the protests. By contrast, 56% of blacks overall share this view.

Again, the belief that anti-police bias is a major reason behind the demonstrations is more strongly held by black officers. Black officers are more than twice as likely as blacks generally to say bias was a great deal of the reason for the demonstrations (59% of black officers vs. 25% of all blacks).

White officers more skeptical that accountability motivated protests

The police and the public also disagree about how important a motivation the desire to hold police accountable was to protesters. The difference is dramatic: Only about a third of all officers (35%) say the desire to make officers answerable was at least some of the motivation for the demonstrations, while 65% of the public says accountability was a factor.

A different pattern emerges when blacks and whites are asked the degree to which they believe the protests are genuine attempts to force police accountability. White officers stand apart; they are far less likely than whites generally, black officers or blacks to see

Police, public disagree about accountability as a protest motive

% saying protests over deaths of blacks who died during encounters with the police are motivated _____ by the genuine desire to hold police accountable
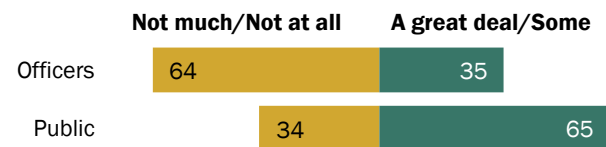
	Not much/Not at all	A great deal/Some
Officers	64	35
Public	34	65

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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White officers less likely than other groups to say accountability a motive

% saying protests over deaths of blacks who died during encounters with the police are motivated _____ by a genuine desire to hold officers accountable

Legend: ■ A great deal ■ Some ■ Not much ■ Not at all

Among whites

	A great deal	Some	Not much	Not at all
Officers (NET 27%)	5	22	40	32
Public (NET 63%)	27	35	25	12

Among blacks

	A great deal	Some	Not much	Not at all
Officers (NET 69%)	34	35	21	10
Public (NET 79%)	55	24	11	7

Note: No answer category not shown. NETs calculated before rounding. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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holding officers answerable for their actions as a major goal of the protests.

About a quarter (27%) of white officers say accountability motivated the protests; by contrast, more than twice the share of whites overall (63%) say this. In fact, a quarter of whites overall (27%) say the desire for police accountability was a great deal of the reason for the protests – identical to the share of police who say accountability was either a great deal (5%) or some (22%) of the motivation, combined.

Blacks, both officers and in the public, see the desire for accountability as a driving factor behind the protests. About seven-in-ten black police officers (69%) say concerns about police accountability played at least some role in the protests, a view shared by 79% of all blacks. Moreover, blacks nationally are significantly more likely than black officers to say this was a great deal of the motivation for demonstrators (55% vs. 34%).

Broad support for body cameras

One consequence of recent fatal encounters between police and blacks has been the growing call for police to wear video cameras to record interactions between officers and the public. While some law enforcement organizations, including the police unions in Miami and Boston, have attempted to slow down efforts to make officers wear "body cams," the surveys find that a clear majority of officers and a larger share of the public support their use.

Two-thirds of the police (66%) and an even larger share of the public (93%) favor the use of body cameras by police to record interactions between officers and the public. However, the surveys also find that police see relatively fewer benefits than the public does from the use of body cams by officers.

About six-in-ten Americans (59%) but only a third of police say body cams would make members of the public more likely to cooperate with officers. By contrast, a majority of police (56%) says body cams would make no difference, a view shared by about a third (35%) of the public. Only 5% of the public and

Majority of police and a larger share of the public favor body cameras

% saying they ___ the use of body cameras by police
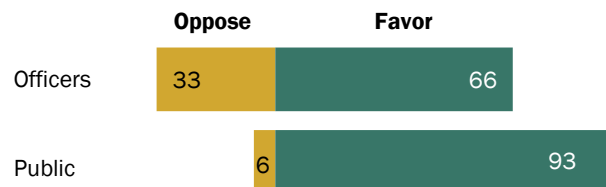
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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10% of the police say members of the public would be less likely to obey officers who are wearing body cameras.

Police are somewhat more convinced about the positive effects of body cameras on police behavior than on the public's behavior. Half of officers and two-thirds of the public (66%) say a police officer would be more likely to act appropriately when wearing a body cam. At the same time, 44% of officers and 27% of the public doubt that wearing body cams would have an impact on police behavior, while small shares of officers and the public say officers would be less likely to act appropriately (5% and 6%, respectively).

Broad support from police, public for some gun law reforms

Police officers are considerably more likely than the general public to say it is more important to protect the rights of Americans to own guns than it is to control gun ownership (74% of officers vs. 53% of the public). At the same time, there is widespread agreement between police and the public on several key gun law reforms. For example, more than nine-in-ten officers and almost the same share of the public favor laws that would prevent the mentally ill from purchasing guns (95% and 87%, respectively). And about the same proportions of the police and the public favor background checks for people who buy weapons at a gun show or from a private individual (88% and 86%, respectively).

Public sees more benefits than police from use of body cameras

% saying body cameras on officers would make …
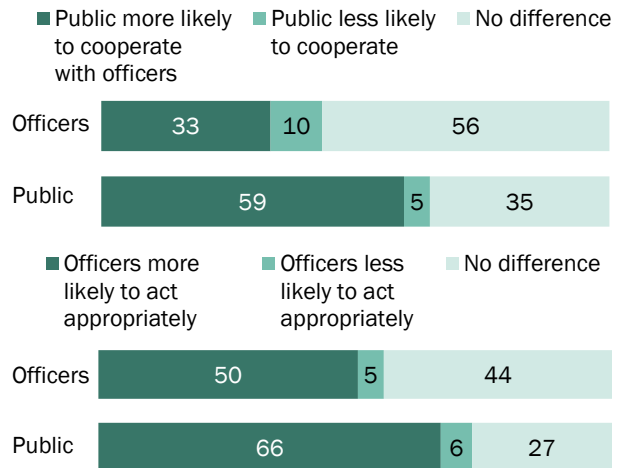
Note: No answer category not shown. Officers were shown both questions on one screen. Half the sample of the public was asked about officers acting more or less appropriately and the other half was asked about members of the public being more or less likely to cooperate with officers.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Police more supportive of gun rights than public

% saying it is more important to …
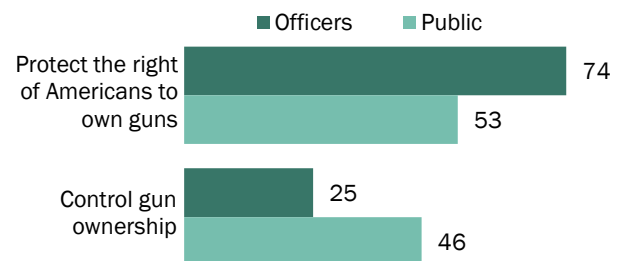
Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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A majority of police and a larger share of the public also support the creation of a federal database to track gun sales (61% and 71%, respectively).

However, the consensus on guns vanishes when the focus turns to assault-style weapons. About two-thirds of Americans (64%) but only about a third of police (32%) favor outlawing assault weapons.

The gender gap among police on this issue is among the largest of any question in this survey: A majority of female officers (57%) favor a ban on assault weapons, compared with about a quarter of their male colleagues (27%). This disparity mirrors the overall gender gap in the country as a whole: 74% of women and 54% of men favor making these weapons illegal.

A majority of police, public support easing some restrictions on marijuana

As more jurisdictions move to decriminalize or legalize the private use of marijuana by adults, large majorities of the police and the public favor easing restrictions on the drug. However, a larger share of the public than police favor legalization of marijuana for personal and medical use (49% vs. 32%).

Overall, about seven-in-ten officers support allowing medical use of marijuana (37%) or favor the legalization of the drug for both personal and medical use (32%). The public is more favorably inclined than police toward relaxing marijuana laws; more than eight-in-ten Americans support either legalizing marijuana (49%) or allowing only medical use of the drug (35%).

Police, public agree on a range of new gun control measures, disagree on assault weapons ban

% saying they favor …

■ Officers ■ Public

	Officers	Public
Laws to prevent mentally ill from purchasing guns	95	87
Making private gun sales and sales at gun shows subject to background checks	88	86
Creating a federal database to track all gun sales	61	71
A ban on assault-style weapons	32	64
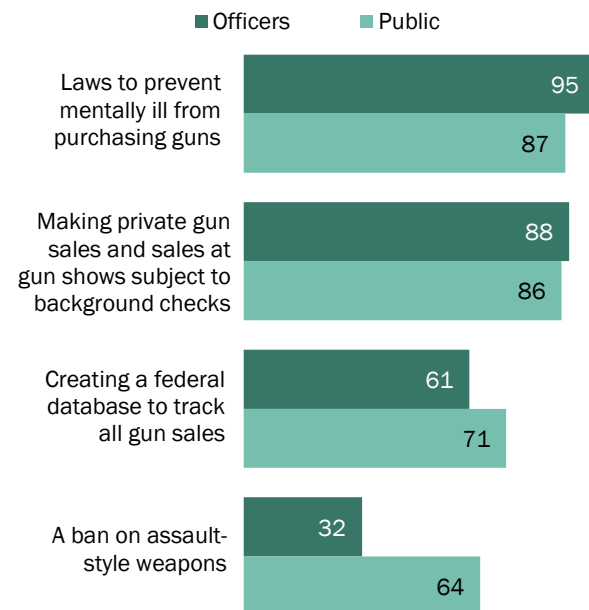
Note: Officers were shown all four questions on one screen. Half the sample of the public was asked about laws regarding the mentally ill and background checks and the other half was asked about laws on assault weapons and a federal database.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"
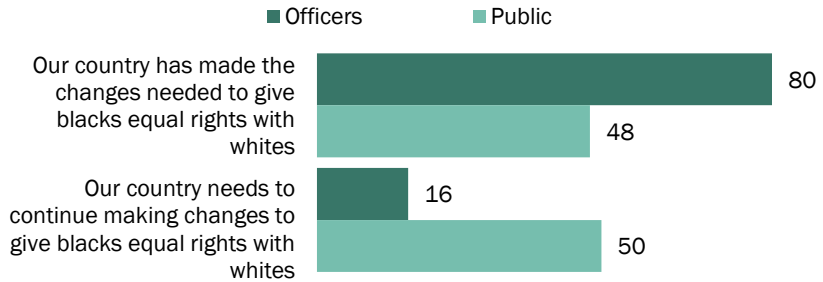
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The surveys found little support among the public for outlawing marijuana use under any circumstances (15%). However, police are twice as likely as all adults to favor an outright ban on the drug (30%).

As with younger adults generally, officers younger than 35 are more likely than those ages 50 to 60 to favor permitting personal and medical use of marijuana (37% vs. 27%). Among the public, a majority of adults (63%) under the age of 45 favor legalization.

Police say no more changes needed to achieve racial equality; public divided

The wide disparities in the views of blacks and whites in American society over whether more changes are needed to achieve racial equality loom even larger in the country's police departments.

Overall, the surveys find that police are significantly more likely than the public to say the country has made the changes necessary to give blacks equal rights with whites (80% vs. 48%). By contrast, half of the public believes the country still needs to make changes to achieve racial equality, a view shared by only 16% of police.

Underlying these overall results are sharp disagreements between blacks and whites on this issue – a racial divide that is wider within America's police departments than it is in the country as a whole.

A majority of police, public favor relaxing marijuana laws

% saying marijuana use by adults …

- ■ Should be legal for medical and personal use
- ■ Should be legal for medical use only
- ■ Should not be legal

NET 68%

| Officers | 32 | 37 | 30 |

NET 84%

| Public | 49 | 35 | 15 |
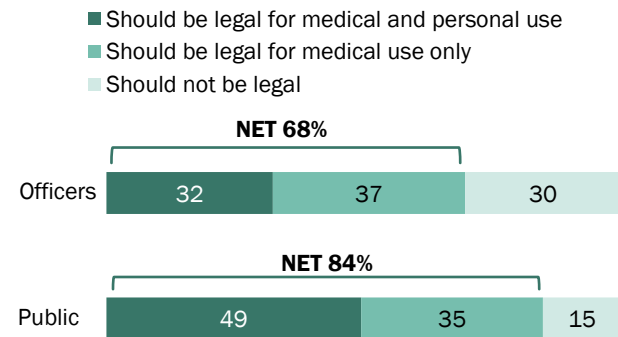
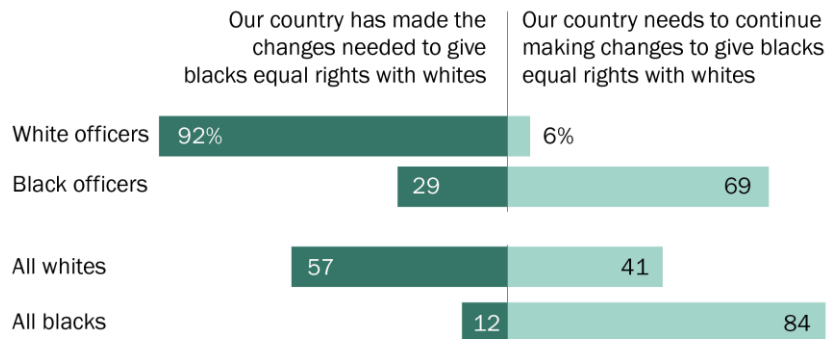Note: No answer category not shown. NETs are calculated before rounding.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Younger police and younger adults more likely to favor legalization of marijuana

% saying marijuana should be legal for medical and personal use by adults

■ Officers ■ Public

Ages 18-34	37 / 67
35-44	32 / 57
45-49	32 / 47
50-60	27 / 45
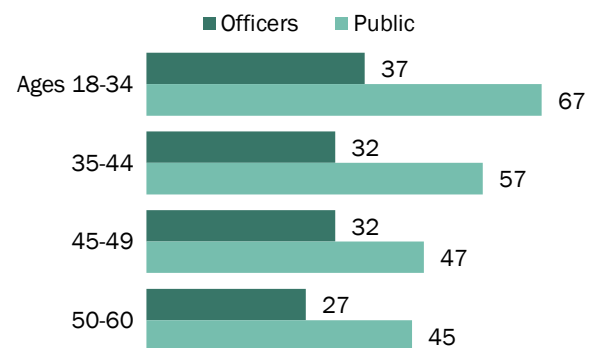
Note: Less than 2% of the police sample was older than 60 so the analysis was restricted to those in the police and general public samples who were 60 or younger.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016. "Behind the Badge"

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Fully nine-in-ten white police officers (92%) say the country has made the needed changes to achieve racial equality. Nationally, a modest 57% majority of whites say this, a difference of 35 percentage points.

The differences between black officers and blacks overall is significantly smaller. About three-in-ten black officers (29%) say the necessary changes have been made, a view shared by only 12% of blacks nationally and a 17 percentage point difference. By contrast, large majorities of black officers and blacks overall believe more changes are needed (69% and 84%, respectively).

Police more likely than public to say that no more changes are needed to give blacks equal rights with whites

% saying that ...

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016.
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Police, public divided by race over whether attaining equality requires more changes

% saying that ...

Note: No answer category not shown.
Source: Survey of law enforcement officers conducted May 19-Aug. 14, 2016; survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016.
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Acknowledgments

Methodology

Most of the data in this report come from online interviews completed by 7,917 law enforcement officers from 54 police and sheriff's departments across the United States. Of these, 6,795 interviews came from 43 municipal police departments and 1,122 interviews came from 11 county sheriff's departments. The surveys were administered between May 19 and Aug. 14, 2016. The study was conducted by the National Police Research Platform (NPRP), a consortium of researchers and practitioners around the country headquartered at the University of Illinois at Chicago during the study period. The sample is designed and weighted to represent the population of officers who work in agencies that employ at least 100 full-time sworn law enforcement officers with general arrest powers.[13]

Sample design

Participating agencies belong to a panel that was created by the NPRP. Because there is no comprehensive national list of individual police officers, it is not possible to directly draw a simple random sample of officers from all departments in the United States. Instead, selection needs to take place in multiple stages. The first stage involves selecting a sample of police departments, for which there is a comprehensive list. The second stage is to sample officers within those departments, which is possible because departments have a clear accounting of the officers they employ.

The first stage selection of police departments was performed by the NPRP in 2013. The 2007 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey was used as the sampling frame. LEMAS is a survey of municipal police departments, sheriff's departments and state police. It is conducted periodically by the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics and includes all agencies in the country with 100 or more sworn officers and a sample of agencies with fewer than 100 officers.

The NPRP panel was composed of a stratified random sample of agencies authorized to employ 100 to 3,000 officers and a purposive sample of larger agencies. For agencies other than the very largest, the eligibility criteria for selection into the panel were different for municipal police departments and sheriff's departments. Municipal police departments were deemed eligible if they were authorized to employ 100 or more full-time sworn officers and employed at least 50 officers whose regular duties include responding to citizen calls for service. Sheriff's departments were eligible if they were authorized to employ between 100 and 3,000 full-time sworn officers whose

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[13] Because the number of officers employed in any given agency varies over time, the number employed at the time the NPRP panel was created in 2013 may differ slightly from the number currently employed. One participating agency reported employing 97 full-time sworn officers at the time the 2016 survey was conducted. All other participating agencies employed 100 or more.

duties do not include jail operations, court security (e.g., court bailiffs) or civil processes such as serving subpoenas, and employed 50 or more officers who respond to citizen calls for service. These criteria were intended to exclude sheriff's departments that do not engage in traditional policing duties. State police agencies were not eligible for inclusion.

Some 757 departments met these criteria. That list was stratified by agency type (police vs. sheriff), number of law enforcement officers and Census Bureau region, and a random sample of 410 agencies was selected. Of these, 87 (21.2%) agreed to join the panel and participated in the first NPRP survey. These 87 agencies (from the randomly selected sample) were supplemented with four purposively selected larger municipal police departments that were authorized to employ over 3,000 full-time sworn officers. In 2013, these four agencies comprised roughly one-third of 11 total comparably sized municipal police departments in the U.S. and employed 38.8% of the officers in these departments.[14]

Within participating departments, all eligible officers were invited to participate. Officers were deemed ineligible only if their primary responsibilities consisted of court security, jail operations or civil processes.

Data collection

In order to secure participation at the agency level for the current wave of the survey (2016), the NPRP contacted the chief executives of each of the 91 previously empaneled agencies. Of these, 54 (59.3%) agreed to participate in the survey. Each agency that agreed to participate designated a liaison to coordinate with the NPRP on the data collection effort. In consultation with NPRP staff, agency liaisons and chiefs chose a starting date for the survey and developed department-specific strategies, such as pre-notification emails, fliers or roll call announcements, for encouraging officer participation.

Starting dates ranged from May 19 to July 11, 2016. On the starting date, department chiefs sent an email to all eligible officers in their departments containing a link to the survey and inviting them to participate. All eligible officers were assured that their participation was anonymous and that their individual responses would not be accessible to anyone within their department. Agencies were asked to have the chief send a follow-up email reminding officers to take the survey two weeks after the start date, and a final reminder after three weeks. Data collection was closed after approximately one month, with some agencies having shorter or longer field periods if requested by the chief or liaison.

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[14] Source: LEMAS 2013. In 2013, the number of authorized full-time sworn officers was not measured. Comparable police departments are defined as those employing over 2,600 full-time sworn officers.

Weighting

To ensure that estimates from this survey are generalizable to the national population of officers, the data were weighted in a two-step process. First, each officer was weighted according to his or her probability of selection. Because all officers within participating departments were sampled, each officer's probability of selection is equal to the probability that the individual's department was selected from within its stratum when the panel was initially created. The four large departments that were selected purposively were treated as having been selected with certainty for weighting.

Nonresponse to this survey could occur at three stages. First, agencies could have chosen not to participate in the panel when they were first sampled. Second, some agencies that did join the panel chose not to participate in this survey. Finally, within those participating agencies, not all officers responded to the survey request. A total of 91 agencies belonging to the panel were invited to participate in this survey. Of these, 54 (59.3%) agreed to participate. Across the 54 participating agencies, the total number of eligible officers is 57,062, of whom 7,917 responded, for an officer-level response rate of 13.9%.[15] The response rate varied by department size, at 32.7% for agencies with fewer than 600 officers, 21.6% for agencies with 600 to 1,599 officers, and 7.9% for agencies with 1600 or more officers. To adjust for nonresponse, an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on a number of dimensions was applied. The data were weighted by sex, race, rank, department type, department size in 2013, the size of the population served in 2012 and U.S. Census Bureau region.

Parameters for these population characteristics come from the 2013 LEMAS survey of police departments. Several questions that were used to define the group of eligible departments in 2007 were not asked in 2013. Equivalent parameters were calculated using an alternative definition for the population of eligible departments that relied only on variables that were available in both 2007 and 2013. This revised population definition overlapped with the original definition for 97.9% of the officers in either set of departments.

Because LEMAS is a survey of departments rather than officers, officer-level estimates were produced by weighting eligible departments by the number of officers who met the eligibility criteria for this survey. For municipal police departments, this measure of size was equal to the number of full-time sworn officers in each department. For sheriff's departments, it was equal to the number of full-time sworn officers whose primary responsibilities did not include jail operations or court security. Because the 2013 LEMAS survey did not measure the number of

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[15] Because the number of eligible officers in each agency is available only for participating agencies, it is not possible to calculate a cumulative response rate for all sampled agencies.

officers whose primary duty is civil processes, these officers could not be subtracted from the measure of size. However, their share of the population in 2007 was too small to appreciably affect weighting parameters (2.6% of officers in eligible sheriff's departments and less than 1% of officers in all eligible departments).

Law Enforcement Organizational (LEO) surveys

Several of the questions included in this survey were also asked on three earlier surveys conducted by the National Police Research Platform referred to as LEO A, LEO B and LEO C, respectively. The estimates in this report from these earlier LEO surveys were produced using data from only those departments that participated in both the original LEO survey and this Pew Research Center study. The original LEO survey datasets include officers who only partially completed the full survey. To ensure comparability to the Pew Research Center survey, only officers who answered one or more questions about age, sex, race or rank – which were located at the end of the survey – were used for analysis. As with the current study, analysis was also restricted to officers whose primary responsibilities did not include court security, jail operations or civil processes. The data were weighted following the procedure described above.

Law Enforcement Organization Surveys

Survey	Field Dates	Departments	Officers	Department response rate	Officer response rate
LEO A	July - Nov. 2013	54	9,679	59.3%	16.8%
LEO B	Sept. 2013-Jan. 2014	53	7,304	58.2%	12.7%
LEO C	Oct. 2014-Feb. 2015	48	7,115	52.7%	13.6%

Note: The number of departments and officers listed here do not reflect the full sample that responded to each of the LEO surveys, but only those departments that participated in the 2016 Pew Research Center survey. The department-level response rates are based on the 91 departments that were invited to participate in the Pew Research Center study. The officer response rate is based on the total number of eligible officers employed by the departments who participated in both the LEO and Pew Research Center studies.
Source: National Police Research Platform.
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Precision of estimates

Because of the complex design of this survey, it is not possible to produce a single margin of error that applies to all of the estimates from this survey. Some estimates (e.g., those measuring the officer's own attitudes) have a relatively small margin of error, while other estimates (e.g., those

measuring a department's policies – which are roughly the same for everyone in the department) have a larger margin of error. Consequently, we estimated precision separately for each survey estimate.

The multistage sampling process used in this survey – first departments and then officers – means that survey responses are not independent of each other as they would be if we had taken a simple random sample of all police officers directly. This clustering of officers within departments has the effect of increasing the margin of error for survey estimates relative to a simple random sample of the same size. Additionally, this clustering means that every question has a different margin of error depending on how similar officers in the same department are to one another for the item in question.

For questions where most officers in the same department give similar answers, the margin of error is larger than for items where officers give more diverse responses. For example, question 39d asks officers if their department has modified its policies about the use of force. In principle, the answer to this question should be the same for all officers in the same department. The margin of sampling error for the percentage of officers who answered yes to this question is plus or minus 9 percentage points. For this item, each additional officer in a department contributes very little additional information to the estimate. At the other end of the scale, the margin of error for the share of officers who see themselves as more of a protector than an enforcer in question 15 is plus or minus 1.5 percentage points. The sampling variability for other estimates falls somewhere in between depending on how responses are distributed within departments.

In addition to clustering, the margin of error is affected by stratified sampling and weighting. The analysis included in this report was performed using software that accounts for all of these complex design features for tests of statistical significance and measures of sampling error.

One should also bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into survey results that is not captured by the margin of sampling error.

Survey of the general public

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by the Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults living in households. Respondents who self-identify as internet users and who provided an email address participate in the panel via monthly self-administered Web surveys, and those who do not use the internet or decline to provide an email address participate via the mail. The panel is being managed by Abt SRBI.

The data representing the general public in this report are drawn from the August wave of the panel, conducted August 16-September 12, 2016 among 4,538 respondents (4,195 by Web and 343 by mail). The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 4,538 respondents is plus or minus 2.4 percentage points.

Members of the American Trends Panel were recruited from two large, national landline and cellphone random digit dial (RDD) surveys conducted in English and Spanish. At the end of each survey, respondents were invited to join the panel. The first group of panelists was recruited from the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, conducted January 23rd to March 16th, 2014. Of the 10,013 adults interviewed, 9,809 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 5,338 agreed to participate.[16] The second group of panelists was recruited from the 2015 Survey on Government, conducted August 27th to October 4th, 2015. Of the 6,004 adults interviewed, all were invited to join the panel, and 2,976 agreed to participate.[17]

Participating panelists provided either a mailing address or an email address to which a welcome packet, a monetary incentive and future survey invitations could be sent. Panelists also receive a small monetary incentive after participating in each wave of the survey.

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the propensity to join the panel and remain an active panelist varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region to parameters from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 American Community Survey. Population density is weighted to match the 2010 U.S. Decennial Census. Telephone service is weighted to estimates of telephone coverage for 2016 that were projected from the July-December 2015 National Health Interview Survey. Volunteerism is weighted to match the 2013 Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement. It also adjusts for party affiliation using an average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys. Internet access is adjusted using a measure from the 2015 Survey on Government. Frequency of internet use is weighted to an estimate of daily internet use projected to 2016 from the 2013 Current Population Survey Computer and Internet Use Supplement. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

[16] When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of 25%, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, 83% of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.

[17] Respondents to the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey who indicated that they are internet users but refused to provide an email address were initially permitted to participate in the American Trends Panel by mail, but were no longer permitted to join the panel after February 6, 2014. Internet users from the 2015 Survey on Government who refused to provide an email address were not permitted to join the panel.

Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the Hispanic sample in the American Trends Panel is predominantly native born and English speaking.

The error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for the total sample is ± 2.4 percentage points.

Sample sizes and sampling errors for subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

The Web component of the August wave had a response rate of 81% (4,195 responses among 5,150 Web-based individuals in the panel); the mail component had a response rate of 76% (343 responses among 454 non-Web individuals in the panel). Taking account of the combined, weighted response rate for the recruitment surveys (10.0%) and attrition from panel members who were removed at their request or for inactivity, the cumulative response rate for the August ATP wave is 2.9%.[18]

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[18] Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves are removed from the panel. These cases are counted in the denominator of cumulative response rates.